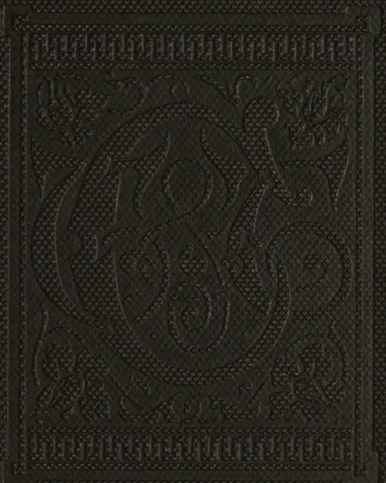

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A

Dictionary of the Bible

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A
Dictionary of the Bible

DEALING WITH ITS

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND CONTENTS

INCLUDING THE BIBLICAL THEOLOGY

EDITED BY

JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., D.D.

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

JOHN A. SELBIE, M.A.

AND, CHIEFLY IN THE REVISION OF THE PROOFS, OF

A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D.
PROFESSOR OF HEBREW, NEW COLLEGE, EDINBURGH

S. R. DRIVER, D.D., Litt. D.
REGIUS PROFESSOR OF HEBREW, OXFORD

H. B. SWETE, D.D., Litt. D.
REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY, CAMBRIDGE

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VOLUME III

KIR–PLEIADES

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1900

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PREFACE

THIS DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE, as stated in the Preface to Volumes I. and II. already published, is intended as a contribution towards furnishing the Church for the great work of *teaching*. It is a Dictionary of the Old and New Testaments, together with the Old Testament Apocrypha, according to the Authorized and Revised Versions, with constant reference to the original tongues. Every effort has been used to make the information it contains as full, reliable, and accessible as possible.

1. As to fulness. In a Dictionary of the Bible we expect an explanation of all the words occurring in the Bible which do not explain themselves. The present Dictionary meets that expectation more nearly than any work hitherto published. Articles will be found on all the Persons and Places that are mentioned in the Bible, on its Archæology and Antiquities, its Ethnology, Geology, and Natural History, its Theology and Ethics, and on such words occurring in the Authorized or Revised Version as are now unintelligible or liable to misapprehension. Much attention has been given to the language, literature, religion, and customs of the nations around Israel. The Versions have been fully treated. Articles have been contributed on the Apocalyptic and other uncanonical writings of the Jews, as well as on such theological or ethical ideas as are believed to be contained in the Bible, though their modern names are not found there.

2. As to reliability. The writers have been chosen out of respect to their scholarship and nothing else. The articles have all been written immediately and solely for this Dictionary, and, except the shortest, they are all signed. Even the shortest, however, have been contributed by writers of recognized ability and authority. In addition to the work upon it of authors and editors, every sheet has passed through the hands of the three eminent scholars whose names are found on the title-page.

3. As to accessibility. The subjects are arranged in alphabetical order, and under the most familiar titles. All the modern devices of cross-reference and black-lettering have been freely resorted to, so that in the very few instances in which allied subjects have been grouped under one heading (such as MEDICINE in this volume) the particular subject wanted will be found at once. Proper Names are arranged according to the spelling of the Revised Version, but wherever it seemed advisable the spelling of the Authorized Version is also given, with a cross-

reference. The Abbreviations, considering the size and scope of the work, will be seen to be few and easily mastered. A list of them, together with a simple scheme for the uniform transliteration of Hebrew and Arabic words, will be found on the following pages.

It is with devout thankfulness that the Editor sees this third volume of an arduous though congenial work issued within reasonable limits of time. The fourth volume is in progress, and may be looked for next year. He has pleasure in again expressing his thanks to many friends and fellow-workers, including the authors of the various articles. But especially he desires to thank the members of the editorial staff, the publishers, the printers, and (without mentioning others whose names have already appeared in the Preface to Vols. I. and II.) Mr. G. F. HILL of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum for assistance and advice in the preparation of the illustrations to the article on the MONEY of the Bible.

⁂ Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, have the sole right of publication of this DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE in the United States and Canada.

SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

ARABIC.		HEBREW.	
’	أ	’	א
b	ب	b	ב
t	ت	g	ג
th	ث	d	ד
j	ج	h	ה
ḥ	ح	u, w	ו
kh	خ	z	ז
d	د	ḥ	ח
dh	ذ	ṭ	ט
r	ر	i, y	י
z	ز	k	כ
s	س	l	ל
sh	ش	m	מ
ṣ	ص	n	נ
ḍ	ض	ṣ	ס
ṭ	ط	‘	ע
ẓ	ظ	p	פ
‘	ع	ẓ	צ
gh	غ	ḳ	ק
f	ف	r	ר
ḳ	ق	s, sh	שׂ שׁ
k	ك	t	ת
l	ل		
m	م		
n	ن		
h	ه		
u, w	و		
i, y	ى		

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. GENERAL

Alex. = Alexandrian.
Apoc. = Apocalypse.
Apocr. = Apocrypha.
Aq. = Aquila.
Arab. = Arabic.
Aram. = Aramaic.
Assyr. = Assyrian.
Bab. = Babylonian.
c. = *circa*, about.
Can. = Canaanite.
cf. = compare.
ct. = contrast.
D = Deuteronomist.
E = Elohist.
edd. = editions or editors.
Egyp. = Egyptian.
Eng. = English.
Eth. = Ethiopic.
f. = and following verse or page; as Ac $10^{34f.}$
ff. = and following verses or pages; as Mt $11^{28ff.}$
Gr. = Greek.
H = Law of Holiness.
Heb. = Hebrew.
Hel. = Hellenistic.
Hex. = Hexateuch.
Isr. = Israelite.
J = Jahwist.
J″ = Jehovah.
Jerus. = Jerusalem.
Jos. = Josephus.
LXX = Septuagint.
MSS = Manuscripts.
MT = Massoretic Text.
n. = note.
NT = New Testament.
Onk. = Onkelos.
OT = Old Testament.
P = Priestly Narrative.
Pal. = Palestine, Palestinian.
Pent. = Pentateuch.
Pers. = Persian.
Phil. = Philistine.
Phœn. = Phœnician.
Pr. Bk. = Prayer Book.
R = Redactor.
Rom. = Roman.
Sam. = Samaritan.
Sem. = Semitic.
Sept. = Septuagint.
Sin. = Sinaitic.
Symm. = Symmachus.
Syr. = Syriac.
Talm. = Talmud.
Targ. = Targum.
Theod. = Theodotion.
TR = Textus Receptus.
tr. = translate or translation.
VSS = Versions.
Vulg. = Vulgate.
WH = Westcott and Hort's text.

II. BOOKS OF THE BIBLE

Old Testament.

Gn = Genesis.
Ex = Exodus.
Lv = Leviticus.
Nu = Numbers.
Dt = Deuteronomy.
Jos = Joshua.
Jg = Judges.
Ru = Ruth.
1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samuel.
1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings.
1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles.
Ezr = Ezra.
Neh = Nehemiah.
Est = Esther.
Job.
Ps = Psalms.
Pr = Proverbs.
Ec = Ecclesiastes.
Ca = Canticles.
Is = Isaiah.
Jer = Jeremiah.
La = Lamentations.
Ezk = Ezekiel.
Dn = Daniel.
Hos = Hosea.
Jl = Joel.
Am = Amos.
Ob = Obadiah.
Jon = Jonah.
Mic = Micah.
Nah = Nahum.
Hab = Habakkuk.
Zeph = Zephaniah.
Hag = Haggai.
Zec = Zechariah.
Mal = Malachi.

Apocrypha.

1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2 Esdras.
To = Tobit.
Jth = Judith.
Ad. Est = Additions to Esther.
Wis = Wisdom.
Sir = Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.
Bar = Baruch.
Three = Song of the Three Children.
Sus = Susanna.
Bel = Bel and the Dragon.
Pr. Man = Prayer of Manasses.
1 Mac, 2 Mac = 1 and 2 Maccabees.

New Testament.

Mt = Matthew.
Mk = Mark.
Lk = Luke.
Jn = John.
Ac = Acts.
Ro = Romans.
1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2 Corinthians.
Gal = Galatians.
Eph = Ephesians.
Ph = Philippians.
Col = Colossians.
1 Th, 2 Th = 1 and 2 Thessalonians.
1 Ti, 2 Ti = 1 and 2 Timothy.
Tit = Titus.
Philem = Philemon.
He = Hebrews.
Ja = James.
1 P, 2 P = 1 and 2 Peter.
1 Jn, 2 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2, and 3 John.
Jude.
Rev = Revelation.

III. English Versions

Wyc. = Wyclif's Bible (NT *c.* 1380, OT *c.* 1382, Purvey's Revision *c.* 1388).
Tind. = Tindale's NT 1526 and 1534, Pent. 1530.
Cov. = Coverdale's Bible 1535.
Matt. or Rog. = Matthew's (*i.e.* prob. Rogers') Bible 1537.
Cran. or Great = Cranmer's 'Great' Bible 1539.
Tav. = Taverner's Bible 1539.
Gen. = Geneva NT 1557, Bible 1560.
Bish. = Bishops' Bible 1568.
Tom. = Tomson's NT 1576.
Rhem. = Rhemish NT 1582.
Dou. = Douay OT 1609.
AV = Authorized Version 1611.
AVm = Authorized Version margin.
RV = Revised Version NT 1881, OT 1885.
RVm = Revised Version margin.
EV = Auth. and Rev. Versions.

IV. For the Literature

AHT = Ancient Hebrew Tradition.
AT = Altes Testament.
BL = Bampton Lecture.
BM = British Museum.
BRP = Biblical Researches in Palestine.
CIG = Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum.
CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
CIS = Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.
COT = Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT.
DB = Dictionary of the Bible.
EHH = Early History of the Hebrews.
GAP = Geographie des alten Palästina.
GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GGN = Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
GJV = Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes.
GVI = Geschichte des Volkes Israel.
HCM = Higher Criticism and the Monuments.
HE = Historia Ecclesiastica.
HGHL = Historical Geog. of Holy Land.
HI = History of Israel.
HJP = History of the Jewish People.
HPM = History, Prophecy, and the Monuments.
HPN = Hebrew Proper Names.
IJG = Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte.
JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature.
JDTh = Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie.
JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRL = Jewish Religious Life after the Exile.
JTS = Journal of Theological Studies.
KAT = Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Test.
KIB = Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.
LCBl = Literarisches Centralblatt.
LOT = Introd. to the Literature of the Old Test.
NHWB = Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch.
NTZG = Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte.
ON = Otium Norvicense.
OP = Origin of the Psalter.
OTJC = The Old Test. in the Jewish Church.
PB = Polychrome Bible.
PEF = Palestine Exploration Fund.
PEFSt = Quarterly Statement of the same.
PSBA = Proceedings of Soc. of Bibl. Archæology.
PRE = Real-Encyclopädie für protest. Theologie und Kirche.
QPB = Queen's Printers' Bible.
REJ = Revue des Études Juives.
RP = Records of the Past.
RS = Religion of the Semites.
SBOT = Sacred Books of Old Test.
SK = Studien und Kritiken.
SP = Sinai and Palestine.
SWP = Memoirs of the Survey of W. Palestine.
ThL or *ThLZ* = Theol. Literaturzeitung.
ThT = Theol. Tijdschrift.
TSBA = Transactions of Soc. of Bibl. Archæology.
TU = Texte und Untersuchungen.
WAI = Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
ZAW or *ZATW* = Zeitschrift für die Alttest. Wissenschaft.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZDPV = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
ZKSF = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.
ZKW = Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft.

A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as KAT^2, LOT^6.

PLATES AND MAP IN VOLUME III

(Plates) Coins current in Palestine *c.* b.c. 500–a.d. 135 . *between pages* 424 *and* 425
(Map) St. Paul's Travels . . . . *facing page* 697

AUTHORS OF ARTICLES IN VOL. III

Israel Abrahams, M.A., Editor of the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, and Senior Tutor of the Jews' College, London.

Rev. Walter F. Adeney, M.A., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in New College, London.

Ven. A. S. Aglen, M.A., D.D., Archdeacon of St. Andrews.

Rev. Willoughby C. Allen, M.A., Chaplain-Fellow, and Lecturer in Theology and Hebrew, Exeter College, Oxford.

Rev. John S. Banks, Professor of Systematic Theology in the Headingley College, Leeds.

Rev. W. Emery Barnes, M.A., D.D., Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge.

James Vernon Bartlet, M.A., Professor of Church History, Mansfield College, Oxford.

Rev. L. W. Batten, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Hebrew, Protestant Episcopal Divinity School, Philadelphia.

Rev. Llewellyn J. M. Bebb, M.A., Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter; formerly Fellow and Tutor of Brasenose College, Oxford.

Rev. Willis Judson Beecher, D.D., Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature in Auburn Theological Seminary, New York.

P. V. M. Benecke, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Rev. William Henry Bennett, M.A., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in Hackney and New Colleges, London; sometime Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Rev. John Henry Bernard, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, and Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity in the University of Dublin.

Frederick J. Bliss, B.A., Ph.D., Director of the Palestine Exploration Fund in Jerusalem.

Rev. W. Adams Brown, M.A., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Union Theological Seminary, New York.

F. Crawford Burkitt, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.

Rev. William Carslaw, M.A., M.D., of the Lebanon Schools, Beyrout, Syria.

Rev. Arthur Thomas Chapman, M.A., Fellow, Tutor, and Hebrew Lecturer, Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Rev. Robert Henry Charles, D.D., Professor of Biblical Greek in the University of Dublin.

Rev. Frederic Henry Chase, M.A., D.D., Christ's College, Principal of the Clergy Training School, Cambridge.

Col. Claude Reignier Conder, R.E., LL.D., M.R.A.S.

Fred. C. Conybeare, M.A., formerly Fellow of University College, Oxford.

Rev. G. A. Cooke, M.A., formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Rev. Henry Cowan, M.A., D.D., Professor of Church History in the University of Aberdeen.

W. E. Crum, M.A., of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

Rev. Edward Lewis Curtis, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature in the Divinity School of Yale University, New Haven.

Rev. T. Witton Davies, B.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Literature in the Baptist College, Bangor, and Lecturer in Semitic Languages in University College, Bangor.

Rev. W. T. Davison, M.A., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the Handsworth Theological College, Birmingham.

Rev. James Denney, M.A., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the Free Church College, Glasgow.

Rev. W. P. Dickson, D.D., LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow.

E. von Dobschütz, Lic. Theol., Professor of Theology, Jena, Germany.

Rev. Samuel Rolles Driver, D.D., Litt.D., Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford.

Rev. David Eaton, M.A., D.D., Glasgow.

Rev. William Ewing, M.A., Glasgow, formerly of Tiberias, Palestine.

Rev. W. Fairweather, M.A., Kirkcaldy.

Rev. George Ferries, M.A., D.D., Cluny, Aberdeenshire.

Rev. George G. Findlay, B.A., Professor of Biblical Literature, Headingley College, Leeds.

Rev. John Gibb, M.A., D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Westminster College, Cambridge.

G. Buchanan Gray, M.A., Professor of Hebrew in Mansfield College, Oxford.

Rev. Alexander Grieve, M.A., Ph.D., Forfar.

Francis Llewellyn Griffith, M.A., F.S.A., of the British Museum; Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

Rev. Henry Melvill Gwatkin, M.A., D.D., Fellow of Emmanuel College, and Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge.

Rev. G. Harford-Battersby, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford; Vicar of Mossley Hill, Liverpool.

Rev. Arthur Cayley Headlam, M.A., B.D., Rector of Welwyn, Herts; formerly Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford.

Edward Hull, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., late Director of the Geological Survey of Ireland, and Professor of Geology in the Royal College of Science, Dublin.

Montague Rhodes James, M.A., Litt.D., Fellow and Dean of King's College, and Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Rev. C. H. W. Johns, M.A., Queens' College, Cambridge.

Rev. Archibald R. S. Kennedy, M.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages in the University of Edinburgh.

Rev. H. A. A. Kennedy, M.A., D.Sc., Callander.

Rev. Thomas B. Kilpatrick, M.A., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology and Apologetics in Manitoba College, Winnipeg, Canada.

Eduard König, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in the University of Bonn.

Rev. John Laidlaw, M.A., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the New College, Edinburgh.

Rev. Walter Lock, M.A., D.D., Warden of Keble College, and Dean Ireland's Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the University of Oxford.

Alexander Macalister, LL.D., M.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., Fellow of St. John's College, and Professor of Anatomy in the University of Cambridge.

Rev. J. A. M'Clymont, M.A., D.D., Aberdeen.

Rev. George M. Mackie, M.A., Chaplain to the Church of Scotland at Beyrout, Syria.

Rev. Hugh Macmillan, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Greenock.

Rev. John Macpherson, M.A., Edinburgh.

Rev. D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., Fellow of New College, and Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford.

Rev. John Turner Marshall, M.A., Principal of the Baptist College, Manchester.

Rev. George Currie Martin, M.A., B.D., Reigate, Surrey.

John Massie, M.A., Yates Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Mansfield College, Oxford; formerly Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Joseph Bickersteth Mayor, M.A., Litt.D., Emeritus Professor of King's College, London, and Hon. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Rev. Selah Merrill, D.D., LL.D., U.S. Consul at Jerusalem.

Rev. James Millar, M.A., B.D., New Cumnock.

Rev. George Milligan, M.A., B.D., Caputh, Perthshire.

Rev. R. Waddy Moss, Professor of Classics in the Didsbury College, Manchester.

Rev. Warren Joseph Moulton, M.A., B.D., Ph.D., Instructor in the Biblical and Semitic Department of Yale University, New Haven.

Rev. William Muir, M.A., B.D., B.L., Blairgowrie.

W. Max Müller, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Old Testament Literature in the Reformed Episcopal Church Seminary, Philadelphia.

Rev. J. O. F. Murray, M.A., Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

John L. Myres, M.A., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Student of Christ Church, Oxford.

Eberhard Nestle, Ph.D., D.D., Professor at Maulbronn.

Rev. Thomas Nicol, M.A., D.D., Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of Aberdeen.

W. Nowack, Ph.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Strassburg.

Rev. James Orr, M.A., D.D., Professor of Church History in the United Presbyterian Hall, Edinburgh.

Rev. William P. Paterson, M.A., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of Aberdeen.

Rev. James Patrick, M.A., B.D., B.Sc., Examiner for Degrees in Divinity in the University of St. Andrews.

Rev. John Patrick, M.A., D.D., Professor of Biblical Criticism and Biblical Antiquities in the University of Edinburgh.

Arthur S. Peake, M.A., Professor in the Primitive Methodist College, Manchester, and Lecturer in Lancashire Independent College; sometime Fellow of Merton and Lecturer in Mansfield College, Oxford.

William Flinders Petrie, M.A., D.C.L., Professor of Egyptology in University College, London.

Theophilus Goldridge Pinches, M.R.A.S., of the Egyptian and Assyrian Department in the British Museum.

Rev. Alfred Plummer, M.A., D.D., Master of University College, Durham.

Rev. Frank Chamberlin Porter, M.A., Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Biblical Theology in the Divinity School of Yale University, New Haven.

Rev. Harvey Porter, B.A., Ph.D., Professor in the American College, Beyrout, Syria.

Rev. George Post, M.D., F.L.S., Professor in the American College, Beyrout, Syria.

Ira Maurice Price, M.A., B.D., Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Chicago.

Rev. Cyril Henry Prichard, M.A., late Classical Scholar of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and Lecturer at St. Olave's, Southwark.

Rev. George T. Purves, D.D., LL.D., recently Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis in Princeton Theological Seminary, New Jersey.

William M. Ramsay, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen, Honorary Fellow of Exeter and Lincoln Colleges, Oxford.

Rev. Henry A. Redpath, M.A., Rector of St. Dunstan's in the East, London.

Rev. Archibald Robertson, M.A., D.D., Principal of King's College, London, late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford.

Rev. Stewart Dingwall Fordyce Salmond, M.A., D.D., F.E.I.S., Principal and Professor of Systematic Theology in the Free Church College, Aberdeen.

Rev. Archibald Henry Sayce, M.A., LL.D., Fellow of Queen's College, and Professor of Assyriology in the University of Oxford.

Rev. John A. Selbie, M.A., Maryculter, Kincardineshire.

Rev. Vincent Henry Stanton, M.A., D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, and Ely Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.

John F. Stenning, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer in Hebrew and Theology, Wadham College, Oxford.

W. B. Stevenson, M.A., B.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Introduction in the Theological College, Bala.

Rev. Alexander Stewart, M.A., D.D., Principal of St. Mary's College, and Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of St. Andrews.

Rev. Aaron Emmanuel Suffrin, M.A., Curate of Sparsholt with Kingstone Lisle, Berks.

Rev. Henry Barclay Swete, M.A., D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.

Rev. John Taylor, M.A., Litt.D., Vicar of Winchcombe.

Henry St. John Thackeray, M.A., Examiner in the Board of Education, formerly Divinity Lecturer in Selwyn College, Cambridge.

Rev. G. W. Thatcher, M.A., B.D., Hebrew Tutor and Lecturer on Old Testament History and Literature in Mansfield College, Oxford.

Rev. Joseph Henry Thayer, M.A., D.D., Litt.D., Bussey Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in the Divinity School of Harvard University.

Cuthbert Hamilton Turner, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Major-General Sir Charles Warren, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., F.R.S., Royal Engineers.

Rev. Adam C. Welch, M.A., B.D., Helensburgh.

The late Rev. Henry Alcock White, M.A., Tutor in the University of Durham, and formerly Fellow of New College, Oxford.

Rev. Newport J. D. White, M.A., B.D., Librarian of Archbishop Marsh's Library, and Assistant Lecturer in Divinity and Hebrew in the University of Dublin.

Rev. Owen C. Whitehouse, M.A., Principal and Professor of Biblical Exegesis and Theology, Cheshunt College, Herts.

Major-General Sir Charles William Wilson, R.E., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.

Rev. Francis Henry Woods, M.A., B.D., Vicar of Chalfont St. Peter, and late Fellow and Theological Lecturer of St. John's College, Oxford.

Rev. John Wortabet, M.A., M.D., Beyrout, Syria.

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DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

KIR (קִיר).—The name of a country and nation. It occurs in the following passages:—(1) Am 9[7] Ḳir is the land from which God brought the Aramæans (Syrians), as He led the Israelites from Egypt, etc. It must, after this analogy, be a country remote from the principal seat (*i.e.* Damascus) of the Aramæans in Amos' time. The LXX reads 'depth,' 'pit' (*βόθρος*, *i.e.* קער). (2) 2 K 16[9] After the capture of Damascus, the Aramæans were carried captive to Ḳir by the king (Tiglath-pileser III.) of Assyria. This would indicate that Ḳir was under Assyrian dominion, and, again, at a considerable distance from the region of Damascus near the borders of the Assyrian empire. But the name of the country was wanting in the LXX originally (B), and inserted later (A, etc. Κυρηνήνδε) from the Hebrew text (after Symmachus). Therefore this passage is suspicious; see Field, *Hexap.* pp. xxii, 682. (3) Am 1[5] threatens indeed: the people of Aram shall go into captivity unto Ḳir (LXX 'the one called as ally,' *ἐπίκλητος*, קרא?). But this passage also seems to be interpolated from Am 9[7]. If Ḳir was the original home of the Aramæans (Am 9[7]), the Assyrians would never have deported them back to their old country, where they would have found remainders of the original stock of their nation, and would have, by union with them, become strong again and dangerous to the king of Nineveh. The Assyrians, as well as other nations, deported their captives always to countries where they were strangers, separated by language and race from the inhabitants of the new country, and therefore forced to rely upon the government which had settled them there. Consequently, the name *Ḳir* in this passage is strange, and to be used only with caution. (4) Is 22[6] an attack on Jerusalem is described, evidently that of the Assyrian army under Sennacherib (cf. 2 K 18): 'And Elam bare the quiver with chariots of men * and horsemen, and Ḳir (LXX *συναγωγή*, cf. קרה?) uncovered (עֵרָה) the shield' (*i.e.* prepared it for fighting). Consequently, Ḳir was among the allies or subjects of the Assyrians, and was a warlike nation. (5) Also Is 22[5] seems to belong here: מְקַרְקַר קִר וְשׁוֹעַ אֶל־הָהָר, RV 'a breaking down (others, surrounding) of the walls (sing. !) and a crying to the mountains,' LXX *ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου πλανῶνται ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη*, Vulg. 'scrutans *murum* et magnificus super montem.' The passage was rendered by Cheyne (following Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 236), 'Ḳir undermineth, and Shoa is at the mount.' Klostermann, Bredenkamp, Cornill, Winckler (*Alttest. Untersuch.* 177, who conjectures, 'who stirs up Ḳoaʿ and Shoaʿ against the mountain') have, however, given up the paronomasia and corrected *Ḳir* to *Ḳoaʿ* (קוֹע), a nation mentioned together with Shoaʿ in Ezk 23[23]; the *Ḳutû* or *Ḳû* of the Assyrian inscriptions, a warlike nomadic tribe S.E. of Assyria, chiefly on the banks of the modern rivers Dijâlâ (the Gyndes of the classics) and Adhem adjoining the *Sutû*, *i.e.* the biblical Shoaʿ. This agrees with Is 22[6], where Ḳir is a neighbour of Elam. It results that we have to try the same emendation also in this passage (Is 22[6]), and indeed the LXX reads there consonants which come nearer to קוע than to קיר, likewise in Am 9 (where קער = original קוע). See, further, art. KOA, footnote.

It is very probable, then, that in all passages the same pastoral people Ḳoaʿ קוע, were originally meant. The corruption of one may have caused that of the other places. (For the Assyrian and Babylonian texts see Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 233; Schrader, *KAT*² 425). The country *Gutium*, *Gutî*, which is mentioned as early as B.C. 3000 in inscriptions, seems to be the same as *Ḳutî*, *Ḳutû*, *Ḳû*, which is only the later spelling.* The inhabitants seem to have been always Semites, so that their relationship to the Aramæans, who appear in cuneiform inscriptions first in Southern Babylonia, is very plausible. Otherwise, the cuneiform inscriptions have been searched in vain for a nation Ḳir. The ancient versions (Aq., Vulg., partly LXX, Targum) were guessing when they introduced the Libyan *Cyrene*, which is absurd.† By those to whom the emendation of *Ḳir* to Ḳoaʿ seems too bold, the conjecture may be hazarded that some day the name *Ḳir* will be discovered in the same region E. of the Lower and Middle Tigris, where various nomadic tribes roamed with the rapacious Shoaʿ and Ḳoaʿ. But the emendation seems more plausible.

W. MAX MÜLLER.

KIR (OF MOAB) (קִיר־מוֹאָב, *τὸ τεῖχος τῆς Μωαβ(ε)ίτιδος*, *murus Moab*).—One of the chief towns of the land of Moab, coupled with Ar of Moab, Is 15[1]. Since in the Moabite tongue *ḳîr* = Heb. *ʿîr* or *ʿār*, it is conceivable that Kir of Moab and Ar of Moab are identical. The almost universally accepted identification of Kir of Moab with the modern *Kerak* rests upon the Targum on Isaiah, where Kir is rendered by Kerakka (so also apparently Ar of Moab). This may have been a native name which has survived, or it may be a rendering of that name which has supplanted it. The modern name of *Kerak* can be traced back as belonging to the place in early times. Under the form Χαρακμῶβα it appears in the acts of the Council of Jerusalem A.D. 536, and in the geographers Ptolemy and Stephanus of Byzantium. The Crusaders discerned the strategic importance of the place as commanding the trade route from Egypt and Arabia into Syria. Under king Fulco of Jerusalem, A.D. 1131, a castle was built there, of which extensive remains may yet be seen. Saladin in A.D. 1183 unsuccessfully besieged it; it fell into his hands in A.D. 1188. The contributions which the Chroniclers of the Crusades make to the localizing of the site are full and interesting; it was then the chief city of Arabia Secunda, or Petracensis; it is specified as in the Belkâ, and distinguished from Moab or Rabbat, and from Mons Regalis or Montreal. The Crusaders further identified it with Petra, or gave that name to it; an error which the Greek Church has perpetuated, for the Greek bishop of Petra has his seat at Kerak. It is frequently referred to in writers of the Christian period as *Charak-Moba* (also *Mobu-Charax*), corrupted to *Charakōma*, *Charagmucha*, *Karach*, and *Kara*. On the question of the identity of Kir of Moab with Kir-hareseth or Kir-heres see art. on these names.

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* 'Of men' may be a gloss, see Duhm.

* Perhaps occurring also in Egyptian texts as *Gut*, see W. M. Müller, *Asien*, p. 281.

† More modern guesses: the Κῦρος or Κύρρος, river of Armenia, the modern Kur (Michaelis). But this name has *k* not *ḳ*, and is too far north. Bochart proposes Κουρήνη (Ptol.) in Eastern Media, but this place is obscure and too far east. Furrer suggests the region near Antioch called Κύρρος, Κυρρεστική, but this name was given only in later times in imitation of a Macedonian city (see Mannert).

The Wady el-Kerak runs S.E from the head of the bay of the Dead Sea, which lies east of the peninsula el-Lisân, uniting with the Wady 'Ain Franji about 10 miles up. Kerak is situated on a lofty spur between these two ravines, and is about four thousand feet above the level of the Dead Sea. The sides of the hill descend steeply some thousand feet to the bottom of the valleys, but the height on the other side is much greater, so that the town is commanded by hills on every side. (This may explain 2 K $3^{25\,\mathrm{end}}$). Such a position was for ancient warfare almost impregnable. The great weakness must have been want of water, and there are remains of enormous rock-hewn cisterns. The city was surrounded by a wall of great thickness, which had but two entrances—one on the N.W., the other on the S., each being approached by a long tunnel cut through the solid rock. There are remains of five great towers; but further investigation seems needed to decide what is ancient Moabite work, and what is due to mediæval engineers.

A map of the town is given in de Saulcy, *La Mer Morte*, 8, 20.

LITERATURE.—Reland, *Pal.* 463, 553, 705; Bohaeddin, *Vita Salad.* ch. 25; Georgius Cyprius, ed. Gelzer, 53, 198; Quatremère, *Hist. Sultans Mamlouks*, ii. 236; Schultens, *Index Geographica*, *s.* 'Caracha'; Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 167 f.; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 467; Seetzen, *Reisen*, i. 412 f., ii. 358; Burckhardt, *Travels*, 379–390; Irby, ch. vii.; de Saulcy, *La Mer Morte*, i. 356 f.; Schwarz, 217; Tristram, *Land of Moab*, 68 ff.; Duc de Luynes, *Voyage*, i. 99 ff., ii. 106 ff.; and for modern aspect Baedeker, *Palestine*^{3}, p. 191 f.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

KIRAMA (A Κιραμά, B Κειράμα, AV Cirama), 1 Es 5^{20}.—The people of Kirama and Gabbe returned from Babylon under Zerub., 621 strong. In Ezr 2^{26} Ramah and Geba (הָרָמָה, A Ῥαμά, B Ἀράμ); cf. Neh 7^{30} (Ἀραμά). The form in 1 Es is due to the definite article הָ being read as חָ.

KIR-HARESETH (קִיר־חֲרֶשֶׂת, *τοῖς κατοικοῦσι Δέσεθ μελετήσεις*, Vulg. *murus cocti lateris*, Is 16^7; in 2 K 3^{25} pausal form קִיר־חֲרָשֶׂת, AV Kir-haraseth, LXX *τοὺς λίθους τοῦ τοίχου καθῃρημένους*, Vulg. *murus fictilis*) or **KIR-HERES** (קִיר־חֶרֶשׂ, *κειράδες αὐχμοῦ*, *murus fictilis*, Jer 48$^{31.\,36}$; in Is 16^{11} pausal form קִיר־חָרֶשׂ, AV Kir-haresh, LXX *τεῖχος ἐνεκαίνισας*, Vulg. *ad murum cocti lateris*).—These two names are to be taken as slight variants of one and the same proper name denoting a place in the country of Moab, evidently regarded as a place of the first rank, of great strength and importance. The natural conclusion that **Kir of Moab** is meant is a conjecture, but has received general assent.

The LXX and Vulgate regard these names, however, as phrases, the meaning of which is sought by an attempted Hebrew etymology. That they were so regarded when the vowel points were added to the text need not be assumed, though some traditional etymology may have influenced the pointing. Certainly, the etymologies suggested connecting them with *ḳîr*, 'a wall,' and some Hebrew word denoting 'clay,' or its manufactured products such as 'bricks' or 'pottery,' do not lead to any convincing result. That *ḳîr* also denoted a 'fortress or walled city' in Hebrew seems assumed to meet the case; a 'city of potsherds' or a 'brick fortress,' even with the explanation 'because the chief seat of Moabite pottery,' is too obviously lame. Such a meaning would go against the identification with modern *Kerak*. The top of a steep hill is unlikely to be a 'seat of pottery,' and the accounts of the remains there point to the ancient walls being of stone, not brick.

There does not seem any call to seek a Hebrew etymology. If it was a Moabite name, and the variations in spelling and vocalization suggest its being foreign to the Hebrew scribes,* then we must turn to the native tongue for an etymology. There we find that *ḳîr* is the Moabite for 'town,' walled or fortified. The second element of these names is not, however, preserved in the scanty remains of the Moabite tongue (cf., however, the place name *MḪRT* in line 14 of Mesha's Inscription). Palmer (*The Desert of the Exodus*, p. 472 f.) says that *ḫârîṭ* means 'mound' in the language of the modern inhabitants. The obvious difficulty is that an interchange of *ṭ* and *s* is unusual; we should expect rather *ḫareš* than *ḫares* as representing modern *ḫariṭ*. The modern language of Moab would need detailed examination before a decisive rule could be laid down.† Of a somewhat similar Assyrian word for 'mount' (often a wooded hill), both forms, *ḫuršu* and *ḫursu*, exist side by side.

If the commonly received identification of the place with Kir of Moab and that with modern *Kerak* be correct, we might regard 'mountain fortress' as a suitable name; but that does not establish the etymology in the absence of direct evidence from native sources. All that is said of Kir-heres, etc., seems to suit Kerak well enough, and the Targum on Isaiah renders Kir-hareseth by *Kerak tokpehon*, which perhaps points to a 'cliff' fortress of some kind. See, further, art. KIR OF MOAB.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

KIRIATH (קִרְיַת).—A town noticed with Gibeah as belonging to Benjamin, Jos 18^{28}. Both the text and the site are uncertain, but the latter may possibly be found at *Ḳuriet el-'Enab*, 'town of grapes,' west of Jerusalem, which is often called simply *Ḳurieh* by the inhabitants. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii. This village, on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, is also now called *Abu Ghôsh*, from a celebrated chief so named. It is remarkable for its fine Norman church, built in the 12th cent. A.D..

It is held, however, by most OT scholars that in Jos 18^{28} *Ḳiriath* is a mistake for *Ḳiriath-jearim*,

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* '*Ḥarosheth* of the Gentiles' (Jg 4$^{2.\,13.\,16}$) is a similar name, and both it and *Ḥareseth* may go back to Canaanite sources.

† There is a *Ḳasr ḫaraša* still, 35 minutes' walk above Derâ'a (*ZDPV*, 1895, p. 69 ff.).

יְעָרִים having been dropped through confusion with the following עָרִים. Not only does קִרְיַת bear the appearance of a construct, but the same conclusion is supported by the LXX, B *καὶ πόλεις καὶ Γαβαωθιαρείμ* (where Gibeath and Kiriath-jearim are mixed up), A *πόλις* Ἰα*ρίμ*, Luc. *πόλις* Ἰα*ρείμ* (cf. Dillm. *ad. loc.*, and Bennett in *SBOT*).

C. R. CONDER.

KIRIATHAIM (קִרְיָתַיִם).—**1.** A town in a 'plain' (שָׁוֵה) inhabited by the Emim at the time of Chedorlaomer's campaign (Gn 14^{5}), mentioned with Heshbon and Elealeh as built by Reuben (Nu 32^{37}), also mentioned with Kedemoth and Mephaath, farther south, and with Beth-peor, Baal-meon, and Beth-jeshimoth (Jos 13$^{18.\,19.\,20}$). It appears as a Moabite town in Jer 48^{23}, Ezk 25^{9}, and on the stone of Mesha (line 10) is called *Ḳiryathēn.* It may be distinct from Kerioth (which see). According to the *Onomasticon* (*s.* Καριαθαείμ, Καριάθα), it lay 10 Roman miles west of Medeba. The site is uncertain, although many identify Kiriathaim with the ruin called *Ḳarêyât*, lying S.W. of *Makaur* (Machærus) and S. of *Jebel 'Attârûs.* It is probably to be sought towards the south of the Moab plateau, but may have been near Heshbon. Burckhardt's identification with *et-Teim*, 1½ miles W. of Medeba, is now generally abandoned.

LITERATURE. — Porter, *Handbook*, 300; Tristram, *Land of Moab*, 275, 305; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 567 f.; Buhl, *GAP* 276 f.; Dillmann on Gn 14^{5} and Nu 32^{37}.

2. A city in Naphtali, given to the Gershonite Levites, 1 Ch 6^{76} [Heb.^{61}). In the parallel passage, Jos 21^{32}, it is called **Kartan** (which see).

C. R. CONDER.

KIRIATH-ARBA (קִרְיַת אַרְבַּע, in Neh 11^{25} ק׳ הָאַרְבַּע).—A name which occurs repeatedly in the OT, always except in Neh 11^{25} with the explanation that it is another name for Hebron, Gn 23^{2} 35^{27} (both P), Jos 14^{15} 15^{13} (both JE) 15^{54} 20^{7} 21^{11} (all P), Jg 1^{10}. For the situation and history see art. HEBRON. *Kiriath-arba* is probably = *Tetrapolis*,* 'four-towns' (cf. בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע 'seven wells'), the name possibly implying that the city had four quarters occupied by four confederate clans. If the name *Hebron* means 'confederacy,' it may have had a similar origin. In the MT of Jos 15^{13} 21^{11} 14^{15} *Ḳiriath-arba* is taken as = 'city of Arba,' the latter supposed founder of it being called 'the father of the 'Anaḳ,' or 'the greatest man among the 'Anakim.' As Moore points out, however, the LXX has preserved the original reading in the first two of these passages, *πόλις* Ἀ*ρβὸκ μητρόπολις* (*i.e.* אֵם not אֲבִי) Ἐ*νάκ*, and in 14^{15} הָאָדָם הַגָּדוֹל is another miscorrection. It may be noted further that these last two words gave rise to a curious piece of Rabbinical exegesis, 'hā'*ādām* haggādôl' being supposed to imply that *Adam* was buried at Kiriath-arba (Hebron), 'the city of four saints,' namely, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Adam.

J. A. SELBIE.

KIRIATH-ARIM, Ezr 2^{25}.—See KIRIATH-JEARIM.

KIRIATH-BAAL (קִרְיַת בַּעַל 'city of Baal').—See KIRIATH-JEARIM.

KIRIATH-HUZOTH (קִרְיַת חֻצוֹת 'city of streets' (?), LXX *πόλεις ἐπαύλεων*, which perhaps implies a reading חצרות instead of חצות).—One of the places to which Balak first went with Balaam, Nu 22^{39}. It seems to have been near Ir of Moab (v.^{36}), and may have been a suburb of that city. Tristram (*Land of Moab*, 305) is inclined to identify it with Kiriathaim, others (*e.g.* Knobel, Keil) think it is the same as Kerioth.

C. R. CONDER.

KIRIATH-JEARIM (קִרְיַת יְעָרִים 'city of thickets').—One of the chief towns of the Gibeonites, Jos 9^{17}, on the border of Judah and Benjamin (assigned to the former tribe in Jos 15$^{9.\,60}$ 18^{14}, Jg 18^{12}, to the latter in Jos 18^{28} if Kiriath [which see] = Kiriath-jearim). The position is more particularly described in Jg 18^{12}, where the *Maḥaneh-dan* ('camp of Dan'), which was near Zorah and Eshtaol (Jg 13^{25}), is said to have been 'behind' (*i.e.* west of) Kiriath-jearim. Kiriath-jearim appears also to have been near Beth-shemesh (1 S 6^{21}), which was near Zorah. It may have been the city beyond the border of Benjamin where Saul first met Samuel (1 S 9$^{5.\,6}$, cf. 10^{2}). When the ark was sent back by the Philistines, it remained at Kiriath-jearim till the time of David (1 S 7$^{1\text{f.}}$, 2 S 6^{2}, where the city is called **Baale Judah** [but בַּעֲלֵי is an error for בַּעַל]). In Jos 15^{60} it bears the name **Kiriath-baal,** 'city of Baal,' and it is the same place that is called in Jos 15$^{9.\,10}$ and 1 Ch 13^{6} **Baalah.** Its inhabitants seem to have been related to the Hebronites, 1 Ch 2^{50}. After the Captivity it is mentioned as re-peopled (Neh 7^{29}; Ezr 2^{25}, where **Kiriath-arim** [קִרְיַת עָרִים] is a clerical error for Kiriath-jearim [ק׳ יְעָרִים]; 1 Es 5^{19}, where it appears as **Kariathiarius**). It is probably Kiriath-jearim that is referred to in Ps 132^{6}, where 'the field of the wood' is mentioned as the place where the ark was found. The prophet Uriah ben-Shemaiah, who was put to death by Jehoiakim, was a native of Kiriath-jearim (Jer 26$^{20\text{ff.}}$). In the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon*, *s.* 'Cariathiarim'), it was shown 9 Roman miles from Jerusalem, on the way to Diospolis (Lydda), but this would not be near Beth-shemesh or Zorah. In the upper part of the valley of Sorek an ancient ruined site called *'Erma* exists, on the south side of a very rugged ravine. It is evidently a town, with a remarkable rock terrace, and wells in the valley to the east. This site (suggested by Henderson) is suitable, being within sight of the mouth of the ravine, beyond which lies Beth-shemesh in the more open part of the valley, east of Zorah and Eshtaol, which appears to answer to the 'camp of Dan' (*Maḥaneh-dan*). The ruin is on the ridge on which Chesalon (which see) stands, and therefore in the required position on the border which appears to have run north from Kiriath-jearim to Chesalon (Jos 15$^{9.\,10}$), or to have left Chesalon in Benjamin, north of the border which followed the valley of Sorek. The whole ridge is covered with copse to the present time. Possibly, Kiriath-jearim is noticed in the Tel el-Amarna letters (No. 106 Berlin) as *Bîtû Bêlû* or Beth Baal, a city revolting against Jerusalem (others suppose Jerus. itself to be so called in this passage); and it is remarkable that it was one of the few cities that submitted, without fighting, to the Hebrews.

Robinson's identification of Kiriath-jearim with *Ḳuriet el-'Enab* or *Abu Ghôsh* does not meet the requirements of Jg 18^{12} and 1 S 6.

LITERATURE.—The whole question of the site is fully discussed in *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.; see also Henderson, *Palestine* (Index); G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 225 f.; Moore, *Judges*, 393 f.; Dillmann on Jos 9^{17}; Buhl, *GAP* (Index); Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 11 f. (Smith, Moore, Dillmann, Buhl, all speak with more or less suspicion of the correctness of Robinson's identification with *Ḳuriet el-'Enab*, but decline to commit themselves to the *'Erma* site, which Buhl pronounces to be still more improbable, and Smith remarks that it would place Kiriath-jearim very far away from the other members of the Gibeonite league. Neither of these writers, however, gives due weight to the position near Chesalon).

C. R. CONDER.

KIRIATH-SANNAH (קִרְיַת סַנָּה, *πόλις γραμμάτων*) occurs once (Jos 15^{49} P) as another and presumably an older name for Debir (wh. see). A third name was Kiriath-sepher (which see for site); and this, not Kiriath-sannah, was the reading of the LXX here.

To those who retain the Massor. reading the meaning is obscure. Gesenius (*Thes.*) takes Sannah for a contraction of Sansannah, and translates 'palm-city'; but, besides that the contraction is unlikely, one hardly expects a palm city in 'the hill-country.' Sayce (*HCM* 54), following a suggestion mentioned by Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 347 n.), translates 'city of instruction,' and uses the name to support his very precarious theory that Debir was a library and archive town of the Canaanites. He further suggests that the name may be present as Bit 'Sani in a fragmentary letter from Ebed-tob the vassal king of Jerusalem, in the Tel el-Amarna collection.

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* So *e.g.* Moore and Hommel, the latter of whom identifies Kiriath-arba with the *Rubûti* of the Tel el-Amarna letters (*AHT* 234 f.), but see König's art. on the Ḫabiri in *Expos. Times*, March 1900. Sayce and Petrie make Rubûti = Rabbah of Jos 15^{60}.

A. C. WELCH.

KIRIATH-SEPHER (קִרְיַת סֵפֶר, *πόλις γραμμάτων*; *Καριασσώφαρ π″ γ″*, B in Jg 1¹¹) is twice mentioned in the parallel passages (Jos 15¹⁵ᶠ·, Jg 1¹¹ᶠ·, J) as the older name of a town which the victors called Debir. It is frequently identified with the present ed-Dhâherîyeh, a village which lies '4 or 5 hours S.W. of Hebron,' on a high road down Wady Khulil, and which is on the frontier of the hill-country towards the Negeb (see, however, DEBIR).

Many commentators from the earliest times, accepting the word as Heb., have translated with various shades of sense 'book town' (cf. LXX above, Vulg. *civitas litterarum*, Targ. קְ″ אַרְכֵי). Sayce (*HCM* 54) has based on this a theory about the condition of literary culture among the early Canaanites. The three town names yield him proof of the presence of an oracle, which gave rise to a library, and so attracted students to a university. It is utterly unwarranted to build so much on the uncertain etymology of a non-Heb. word. Smith (*Hist. Geogr.* 279 n.) suggests that the sense may be 'toll-town,' and he compares for the translation 2 Ch 2¹⁷, and for the toll the town's position on a road into Syria. But the sense given to ספר is somewhat artificial. It is much more likely that traces of the same foreign root are to be found in Sephar of S. Arabia (Gn 10³⁰) and Sepharvaim (2 K 17²⁴). See the whole subject very fully and fairly discussed by Moore, *Judges*, 26 f.

A. C. WELCH.

KISEUS (Κεισαῖος).—The form in Ad. Est 11² of Kish (Est 2⁵), the name of the great-grandfather of Mordecai. See KISH, No. **4.**

KISH (קִישׁ).—**1.** The father of Saul the first king of Israel (1 S 9¹ 10²¹ 14⁵¹, Ac 13²¹). He was the son of Abiel of the tribe of Benjamin. In 1 Ch 8³³ 9³⁹ Ner and not Abiel is said to have been the father of Kish,* but there seems to have been some confusion in the text, due perhaps to the very elliptical character of the record or to the frequent recurrence of the same family names. The home of Kish and of his family was at Gibeah (rendered 'the hill of God' and 'the hill' both in AV and RV of 1 S 10⁵ and 10¹⁰). He does not seem to have been in any way prominent, but to have been living the simple life of a small farmer, when his son was called to be king. **2.** The uncle of the foregoing, the son of Jeiel or Jehiel (1 Ch 8³⁰ 9³⁶). **3.** The eponym of a family of Merarite Levites (1 Ch 23²¹· ²² 24²⁸ᶠ·, 2 Ch 29¹²). **4.** A Benjamite ancestor of Mordecai, queen Esther's cousin (Es 2⁵). See ESTHER.

W. MUIR.

KISHI (קִישִׁי).—A Merarite Levite, ancestor of Ethan, 1 Ch 6⁴⁴ [Heb.²⁹]. In the parallel passage 1 Ch 15¹⁷ the MT has קוּשָׁיָהוּ, **Kushaiah.** In all probability the latter is the correct form of the name. It is supported by Luc. Κουσει in the first of the above passages. Kittel (in *SBOT*) prefers קִישָׁיָהוּ, or rather קִישְׁיָהוּ, pointing out that the LXX (B) in 1 Ch 6⁴⁴ has Κεισαι = קִישִׁי, and in 15¹⁷ Κεισαῖος = קִישְׁיָהוּ (?).

J. A. SELBIE.

KISHION (קִשְׁיוֹן).—A town allotted to Issachar (Jos 19²⁰), given to the Levites (21²⁸, where AV has Kishon). The parallel passage, 1 Ch 6⁷² (Heb.⁵⁷], reads **Kedesh,** which is taken (perhaps wrongly) by Dillmann and others to be a textual error for Kishion. The latter name has not been recovered, while there is a large ruined mound called *Tell Ḳedes* near Taanach in Issachar. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet viii.

C. R. CONDER.

KISHON (נַחַל קִישׁוֹן; B *ὁ χειμάῤῥους Κεισών*, other forms *Κισών*, *Κισσών*).—This is the ancient name of the stream which drains almost the whole of the great plain of Esdraelon and the surrounding uplands. All the waters from Tabor and the Nazareth hills, which reach the plain eastward of a line drawn from *Iksâl* to Nain, together with those from the N. slopes of Little Hermon, are carried into *Wady esh-Sherrâr*, and thence to the Jordan. The district between Little Hermon and Gilboa, reaching as far west as *el-Fûleh*, also inclines eastward, the waters flowing down *Nahr Jalûd* past *Beisân* into the *Ghôr*. The torrents from Little Hermon between Shunem and Nain, and all from the Galilæan hills west of *Iksâl*, make their way through the soft soil of the plain, to join the deep hidden flow of Kishon. The main supplies, however, come from the southern side. The longest branches of the river stretch up the lofty steeps of Gilboa away to the east of *Jenîn*. They are dry torrent-beds, save only in the rainy season, when they carry down foaming floods to swell the central stream. The most distant perennial source is *'Ain Jenîn*, which rises in the glen behind the town. It is carried by a conduit to a well-built fountain in the centre of the place, and thence is distributed for irrigation among the gardens and orchards. By these much of the water is absorbed; and in summer the bed of the river a mile away is as dry as the surrounding plain. Copious springs in the neighbourhood of *Ta'anûk* and *Khân Lejjûn*, and many smaller sources along the southern border of the plain, send contributions to the volume of Kishon. About 3 miles east of *Ḥaifa* it is joined by the streams from the great fountains of *Sa'adîyeh*, which rise under the northern base of Mount Carmel, on the edge of the plain of Acre.

The Kishon ('crooked *or* tortuous' [?]) pursues a tortuous course, in a north-westerly direction, keeping well into the centre of the plain. It sweeps round by *Tell el-Ḳassîs*, breaks through a narrow pass on the north of Carmel into the plain of Acre, and enters the sea a little to the north of *Ḥaifa*. *El-Muḳaṭṭa'*, 'the watercourse,' is the Arab name for this stream. The old name *Kishon* seems to have quite disappeared; but of its identity there is no reasonable doubt. If the 'waters of Megiddo' (Jg 5¹⁹), by which clearly the Kishon and its branches in the neighbourhood of that city is meant, became a popular name, the Arabs may have exchanged *Megiddo*, which was meaningless to them, for *Muḳaṭṭa'*, so closely resembling it in sound, the meaning of which they knew (G. A. Smith, *HGHL*¹ 387), and which, besides, was every way appropriate; for *el-Muḳaṭṭa'* is *par excellence* 'the watercourse' of the district.* In the yielding soil of the plain it has hollowed out a great trench, often not less than 15 or 20 feet in depth, along the bottom of which the waters may creep almost unseen to the sea.

In the higher reaches the waters swiftly disappear with the advancing summer. The surface of the plain grows hard in the heat, and cracks in all directions, save only in the vicinity of springs, where, owing to the depth of adhesive mud, travelling is always dangerous. After entering the plain of Acre it is seldom dry, and from the fountains of *Saʽadîyeh* it flows in a constant sluggish stream, between deep banks, surrounded by thick jungle and marsh-land. This part has been reputed a haunt of crocodiles. In recent years Macgregor stands alone in claiming to have seen one of these reptiles while descending to the shore in his canoe (*Rob Roy on the Jordan*, pp. 398–404). A short distance from the sea the river is spanned by a wooden bridge; but save in times of flood it is easily forded along the sandbank thrown up by the waves at its mouth. From the bank southward, fringing the coast, stands a grove of beautiful date palms. Northward are great tracts of barren sandhills. The main ford is where the road crosses from Ḥaifa to Nazareth. Here a succession of bridges has been built, whose workmanship guaranteed their speedy demolition by winter spates. The means of crossing now are not different from what they were in the days of Sisera. The fords higher up are mostly safe in summer for those who know the locality of springs. In winter they are often quite impassable; to attempt them at that season without a qualified guide is to court disaster. The conditions change with great rapidity, intensifying the treacherous character of the river. A few hours of such rain as at times falls on the encircling mountains are sufficient to change the dry bed into the channel of a rushing stream, and the baked earth along the banks into a quagmire. If G. A. Smith's translation (*HGHL*^{1} 395) of Jg 5^{21},[*] 'torrent of spates,' be correct, it is entirely appropriate.

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* Kittel (in Haupt's *SBOT*) and Kautzsch read the first clause of these verses, 'And Ner begat Abner.' See ABIEL.

* Moore (*Judges*, 158 n.) rejects decidedly the attempt to find the name *Megiddo* in *Muḳaṭṭa'*.

The tides of conflict often rolled along the banks of the Kishon in this great battlefield of the ancient world, but its name is seldom mentioned in history. The first probable reference to it is in Jos 19^{11} 'the brook that is before Jokneam' (RV); Jokneam of Carmel being identified with *Tell Keimûn*, the allusion seems clear (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*). Kishon next appears in the account of Israel's victory over Sisera and his hosts (Jg 4^7, cf. Ps 83^9), and is enshrined in the song celebrating that glorious event, as an ally of the triumphant army (Jg 5$^{19.\ 21}$), where a most realistic picture is given of the enemy's rout. The storm beat hard in the faces of the foe; the moistened soil, firm enough for the passage of footmen, yielded to the tread of cavalry; the terrified plunging of the horses as they sank in the deep mire threw their ranks into confusion, leaving them exposed to the onrush of the eager and agile highlandmen. The pitiless rain sent down swift cataracts from the hills, and soon Kishon in dark and sullen flood rolled onward to the sea. Any ford would then be difficult. The foreign horsemen knew none of them, and in vain efforts to escape they simply plunged into the river to die. The ground in the neighbourhood of Megiddo, where this battle appears to have been fought, is extremely treacherous, as the present writer had occasion to prove, even as late as the month of May (1892).

Kishon again figures in the narrative of Elijah's encounter with the false prophets (1 K 18^{40}). The scene of this famous contest is, with tolerable certainty, located at *el-Maḥraḳah*, 'the place of burnt sacrifice,' a rocky plateau at the eastern end of the Carmel range. Thence the doomed men were led down for slaughter in the Kishon. A path, steep but practicable, leads to the river just at the base of *Tell el-Kassîs*, 'hill of the minister,' or 'presbyter.' The bed of the Kishon after the prolonged drought was, of course, dry; but the down-rush from the coming storm would soon efface all evidence of the prophet's ghastly work. Close by this hill the grim tragedy was probably enacted. Kishon is not mentioned again in the sacred records, and the name does not occur in Josephus. Eusebius and Jerome mistakenly describe it as rising on Mount Tabor; Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1173) speaks of נַחַל קִישׁוֹן as descending from Mount Carmel. He evidently applies נַחַל קְדוּמִים (Jg 5^{21}) to the Belus, *Nahr Naʽamân*, near Acre.

LITERATURE.—*PEF Mem.* ii. 36, 96, etc.; Conder, *Tent-Work in Palestine*, 69, 97; Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 208–218, 230-234, etc.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL*^{1} 382, 394; Robinson, *BRP* iii. 228, 232, *Later Res.* 114, etc.; Macgregor, *Rob Roy on the Jordan*, 394, 398–404; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, 336, 339, 355; Maundrell, *Early Travels in Palestine* (Bohn), 430.

W. EWING.

KISS (verb, נָשַׁק, *φιλέω* and *καταφιλέω*; subst. נְשִׁיקָה, *φίλημα*).—A mark of affection or favour, given upon the lips, cheek, brow, beard, hand, clothing, even the ground trodden upon, etc., according as it bore less or more of the idea of respect or fear. As a common form of salutation, it had a place in the social life of ancient times, and still has in the East, which it no longer possesses in modern European countries, being limited by our latter-day reserve to the more tender relationships of life. The OT affords no phenomena regarding the kiss distinctive from the usages of ancient peoples other than Hebrew: in NT we find one peculiar form (see below, **5**). The various circumstances and occasions in which the kiss, in some form or other, finds place may be enumerated as follows:—

1. The kiss as a token of *domestic affection.* The mother caressing her infant, fondling it with hands or lips, is so natural that probably we need not go further for the origin of kissing: we have, however, no instance of this mentioned in the Bible (but cf. 1 K 3$^{19\mathrm{ff.}}$). The extension of the kiss to other family relationships (in law and blood alike) is but natural: we may distinguish three cases. (*a*) Parents kiss their sons and daughters, Gn 31$^{28.\ 55}$ 48^{10} (grandchildren), Ru 1^9. (*b*) Brothers and sisters kiss each other, Gn 33^4, Ca 8^1; in Gn 29^{11} Jacob kisses Rachel as her cousin; the male cousin having the same right as the brother (as among the Bedawîn, Wetzstein, *ZDMG* xxii. 93, 108). (*c*) Children kiss their parents, Gn 27^{26} 50^1 (Joseph kisses his dead father, on which see Schwally, *Leben nach d. Tode*, p. 8, and cf. the solemn kiss at the end of the orthodox rite of burial [Neale, *Holy East. Ch.* ii. 104$^{\mathrm{b}}$]), Ru 1^{14}.

2. Connected with (*a*) we have (remembering that the relation of father to child was not without a stern element: in older times he had the power of life and death; see Benzinger, *Heb. Archäol.* 148) the kiss as a mark of *condescension*, 2 S 15^5 (Absalom kisses the people) 19^{39} (David kisses Barzillai); the king or prince as father of his people.

3. From (*b*) we may derive the kiss of *friendship.* From among brothers the privilege of kissing is carried into relations outside of the family strictly taken, Gn 29^{13} (Laban and Jacob), To 7^5 (Raguel and Tobias—cousins once removed); then among friends as such, 1 S 20^{41} (Jonaṭhan and David). Meetings and partings were naturally the special occasions for the kiss;—*a fortiori* for the family kiss as under **1**—1 K 19^{20}, To 10^{12}, Lk 7$^{45\mathrm{a}}$, Ac 20^{37}; a still more fitting occasion was the reconciliation of friends, Gn 45^{15}, 2 S 14^{33}, Lk 15^{20}. Here, too, belongs the false kiss, Pr 27^6, Sir 29^5, Lk 22$^{47.\ 48}$; also the kiss in a metaphorical sense, Ps 85^{10}, Ezk 3^{13} (AVm).

4. Again, from (*c*) we have the kiss as a mark of *respect* growing into *reverence*, 1 S 10^1, Pr 24^{26}, Lk 7$^{38.\ 45\mathrm{b}}$; see also Gn 41^{40} (but cf. Dillmann, *Genesis*, *ad loc.*); cf. the kissing of the royal hand, or the pope's sandal; slaves kissing the sleeve or skirt of their master, as still in the East; the conquered kissing the conqueror's feet, or the ground he treads upon ('licking the dust,' Ps 72^{9}, Is 49^{23}, Mic 7^{17}). Idols were kissed by their worshippers, 1 K 19^{18}, Hos 13^{2}, to which may be compared the kissing of the Black Stone in the Ka'ba at Mecca; towards the heavenly bodies as deities a kiss was thrown with the hand (Job 31^{27}).*

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[*] On the very obscure expression נַחַל קְדוּמִים (AV, RV 'that ancient river'; LXX *χειμάρρους ἀρχαίων*) see, further, Moore, *ad loc.*

5. In NT and the subsequent usage of the Church we find the kiss as a token of *Christian brotherhood*: a holy kiss (φίλημα ἅγιον), Ro 16^{16}, 1 Co 16^{20}, 2 Co 13^{12}, 1 Th 5^{26}; a kiss of love (φίλημα ἀγάπης), 1 P 5^{14}. In time this became a regular part of the Church service as the 'kiss of peace' (ἀσπασμὸς εἰρήνης, osculum pacis, *Const. Apost.* ii. 57. 12, viii. 5. 5; Tertull. *de Orat.* 14). At first it was given promiscuously; later the men kissed the men, the women the women.

6. Finally must be mentioned the kiss as a token of *love between the sexes*, naturally seldom mentioned even in OT (Ca 1^{2}, and in a bad sense Pr 7^{13}), and, as might be expected, not at all in NT.

A. GRIEVE.

KITE.—There are two passages in AV (Lv 11^{14}, Dt 14^{13})† where 'kite' occurs as the tr. of אַיָּה *'ayyâh*. In another passage (Job 28^{7}) AV gives 'vulture.' for *'ayyâh*. In all RV gives 'falcon.' In the first two passages RV tr. דָּאָה *dâ'âh* and דַּיָּה *dayyâh*, 'kite.' In both AV tr. 'vulture.' In Is 34^{15} RV tr. *dayyôth*, 'kites,' AV 'vultures.' *Dâ'âh*, *dayyâh*, and *'ayyâh* refer to birds of prey of the falcon tribe. It is evident from the passages in Lv and Dt that the words are generic, and it is a waste of time to endeavour to fasten specific meanings on them.

There are three kites in Bible lands: (1) *Milvus ictinus*, Sav., the *Red Kite*, which may be the *'ayyâh*. It is called in Arab. *sa-f*. It is common in winter, and in rainy weather the flocks of red kites sit motionless in rows on rocks and trees. (2) *M. migrans*, Bodd., the *Black Kite*, perhaps the *dâ'âh* or *dayyâh*. It is very common in Egypt, where it perpetually hovers over the towns and feeds upon garbage. It comes to Palestine and Syria in March, and soon spreads over the country. (3) *M. Ægyptius*, Gmel., the *Egyptian Kite*. It is distinguished from the former by its yellow bill and more deeply forked tail. It is found in Palestine chiefly in the Jordan Valley and adjacent ravines.

G. E. POST.

KITRON (קִטְרוֹן).—A Canaanite town in the territory of Zebulun, Jg 1^{30}. See KATTATH.

KITTIM (כִּתִּים, *i.e.* prop. 'Kitians' [note כִּתִּיִּים in Is 23^{12} Kt., Jer 2^{10}], people of כת [*CIS* I. i. 11], more usually כתי *Kition* [I. i. 10, 11, 14, 19, 88 etc.]; AV **Chittim**, so also RV in 1 Mac 1^{1} 8^{5}).—A people described in Gn 10^{4} as descended from Javan, and therefore belonging to the Greek or Græco-Latin races of the West, occupying territories stretching along the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea. Elishah, Tarshish, and Rodanim (Ῥόδιοι in LXX, better than Dodanim of MT), named in that passage alongside of Kittim, are now generally identified respectively with Sicily and Southern Italy, Spain, and Rhodes. As these are all islands or coastlands in the West, it is natural to look to the same region for the localizing of the Kittim. That they were islanders is explicitly asserted by the phrase current among the prophets, 'the isles of Kittim' (Jer 2^{10}, Ezk 27^{6}). But though distinctly Westerns in respect of geographical situation, they are represented as having been from the earliest times intimately associated with the civilized and commercial peoples of the extreme eastern limits of the Mediterranean coast. Thus Ezekiel (27^{6}) mentions 'the isles of K.' as supplying Tyre with boxwood, or more probably sherbin wood, a species of cedar, out of which the benches or decks of their costly and luxurious ships were constructed. And further, we find that the prophet in this passage places 'the isles of K.' between Bashan and Elishah, therefore west of the former and east of the latter, *i.e.* between Palestine on the east and Sicily or Italy on the west. In Is 23$^{1.12}$ Tarshish or Spain is said to hear from the land of K. of the fall of Tyre, which implies that the land of K. lay somewhere between Tyre and Tarshish. The country of the K., therefore, must have been an island situated somewhere in the eastern part of the Mediterranean, to the east at least of Sicily, and not very far removed from the coasts of Tyre. Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 1) points to the name of the city Kition or Citium in Cyprus as a memorial of the residence of the K. in that island. This writer also, most probably drawing his information from tradition current among the Jews of his day, states that the ancient name of Cyprus was Cethima, and that it received its name from Cethimus, the third son of Javan, who had settled there, and whose descendants held possession under the name of Kittim. Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, whose life covers most of the 4th cent., makes use (*Hær.* xxx. 25) of the name K., in a wider sense, to include not only the inhabitants of Cyprus, but also those of Rhodes, and even of the coastlands of Macedonia. This, indeed, is quite in keeping with the later Jewish usage of this word. 'The ships of K.' in Dn 11^{30} are evidently those of the Romans, and 'the land of K.' in 1 Mac 1^{1} 8^{5} is evidently that of the Macedonians. In this late period the name was applied generally to the lands and peoples of the West. The reference to the Romans in Dn 11^{30} is quite distinctly to the expedition of Caius Popilius Laenas. This Roman general was sent in A.D. 168 against Antiochus Epiphanes, who had entered Egypt and attacked that country, quickly reducing him to submission and causing him hastily to withdraw to Syria. The story of the campaign is told by Polybius (xxix. 11) in language singularly like that employed in Daniel. See also Livy, *Hist.* xliv. 19, xlv. 11. This wider application of the name K. is quite in accordance with the usage of Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 1), who says that it is from the possession of the island of Cethima or Cyprus by Cethimus that 'all islands and the greatest part of the seacoasts are named Cethim by the Hebrews.' At the same time, just as here also in Josephus, it appears to be the unanimous opinion of antiquity that the original location of the K. was in the island of Cyprus.

In very early times the Phœnicians had sailed up and down in the Mediterranean, and, while trafficking in their wares far and near, they established colonies in several of the islands, and at points along the coast convenient as depôts for their foreign carrying trade. From its natural situation Cyprus must have early attracted their attention, and must soon have become their principal station in the conducting and extending of their trade with the West. Herodotus (*Hist.* vii. 90) distinctly states that most of the Cypriote cities had originally been Phœnician colonies. The Phœnician origin of Kition, a city in the south-east of the island, now Larnaka, is plainly witnessed to by Cicero (*de Finibus*, iv. 20), and naturally enough the Phœnician settlers in other parts of the island would carry with them the name of their oldest and principal foundation. These Phœnician settlements in Cyprus date from a very early age—it may be even before the days of Moses (Diodor. v. 55. 77; Herodot. i. 105; Pausan. i. 14. 6). After a time it would seem that these Phœnicians in Cyprus were joined by certain Canaanitish refugees, who had been driven out by the Philistines, and that they brought with them their moon goddess Atergatis (Derceto), whose temple was built at Old Paphos, while that of the Phœnician Baal was at Kition (see ASHTORETH). The existence of such Phœnician colonies in Cyprus is witnessed to also by the occasional references in history to the Kittim as subject to, or at least as claimed as subjects of, Tyre. It would seem that even as early as the days of king Solomon the K. were subject to the Tyrians, and compelled by Hiram to pay tribute (Jos. *Ant.* VIII. v. 3, *c. Apion.* i. 18). Josephus also tells how Elulæus, king of Tyre, sailed against the revolted K., and reduced them again to submission (*Ant.* IX. xiv. 2). In the annals of Sargon the Cypriote kings are referred to as put under tribute in B.C. 709 (Schrader, *COT*^{2} ii. 96).

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* 'Kiss the son' Ps 2^{12} (AV, RV text), is an extremely doubtful passage. The MT נַשְּׁקוּ בַר is prob. corrupt, and nothing is gained by simply substituting Heb. בֵּן for Aram. בַּר. Aq., Symm., Jerome (although in his Comm. on Ps he gives *adorate filium*) take בר='pure,' 'choice' (cf. RVm), and tr., respectively, καταφιλήσατε ἐκλεκτῶς, προσκυνήσατε καθαρῶς, *adorate pure*. The LXX δράξασθε παιδείας (cf. Targ. קַבִּילוּ אוּלְפָנָא, Vulg. *apprehendite disciplinam*, and RVm), 'lay hold of instruction,' may imply a text קְחוּ מוּסָר. Lagarde emends (מוֹסֵרוֹ) נַשְּׁקוּ מוֹסֵרוֹ 'put on his bonds' (cf v.^{3}), and this has been adopted by Kamphausen and Cheyne (*Origin of Psalter*, 351). But in his latest view of the passage (*Book of Psalms*, 2nd ed., and *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, 1898, p. 112) Cheyne substitutes נַשְּׁקוּ ('kiss'='do homage') for גִּילוּ ('rejoice') in v.^{11}, and drops בר, which, he says, is really a fragment of the word rendered 'with trembling' (ברעדה): thus—

Serve J″ with fear,
And do homage with trembling,
Lest he be angry, and your course end in ruin.

† The text of Dt 14^{13} is corrupt. For הָרָאָה read הַדָּאָה, and delete הַדַּיָּה (so *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, Siegfried-Stade, Dillm., Driver, Steuernagel, following Sam. and LXX).

It is not, however, to these Phœnician colonists that the name is given in Gn 10^4. The Phœnician K. may rather be set alongside of the Caphtorim (Gn 10^{14}), who are represented as Cushites, and of the sons of Ham, and as inhabiting some island or coastland near to Cyprus, in all probability Crete. The Japhethite K., as sons of Javan, belonged to the Greek family of nations—whether to the ancient pre-Hellenic Carian population of the island, or to some Hellenic tribe which had in early times settled there, can scarcely now be determined. Interesting inscriptions have been discovered near Larnaka, the ancient Kition, which, although figured in Phœnician letters, are yet composed in a Greek dialect. This seems to indicate that the people from whom these inscriptions have come down to us were a Greek people, ethnographically belonging to the family of Javan, retaining their language and modes of thought, but largely influenced by the presence of a Phœnician immigration. That they adopted the Phœnician letters and mode of writing is just the sort of result we should have expected, seeing that the Phœnician colonists were enterprising merchants, who would naturally lead in matters of commerce and correspondence with those around.

The last recorded words of Balaam are a prophecy of the destruction of Asshur and Eber by some conquering power coming in ships from 'the coast of Kittim' (Nu 24^{24}). It is quite evident that here the term מִיַּד כִּתִּים is used, not to describe the island of Cyprus, or any other exactly defined territory, but as indicating quite generally some great Western people which had made themselves a name, and become a terror among the nations. No doubt Asshur and Eber stand for the great powers of the East collectively, and the prophecy is a foretelling of the utter overthrow of the sovereignty of the Eastern monarchies by the advancing power of the great empires of the West. The beginning of the fulfilment was seen in the campaigns of Alexander the Great, but it was much more truly and permanently realized in the development and growth of the empire of the Romans. The phrase 'coast of Kittim,' therefore, does not mean Macedonia, nor Rome, but simply the Western power which, for the time being, is to the front, or gives promise of prominence and permanence in the immediate future. See CYPRUS.

LITERATURE.—Besides works mentioned in the text, see Kurtz, *History of the Old Covenant*, vol. iii. Edin. 1859, p. 450 ff.; Orelli, *The OT Prophecy of the Consummation of God's Kingdom*, Edin. 1885, pp. 143–147; Bevan, *Short Commentary on Daniel*, Camb. 1892, p. 190 f.; Ewald, *History of Israel*, London, 1880, vol. v. pp. 245, 297. See also 'Chittim' by Kautzsch in Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 234; and by Kneucker in Schenkel, *Bibellexicon*, 1515 f.; and the literature under CYPRUS.

J. MACPHERSON.

KNEAD, KNEADING-TROUGH.—See BREAD, vol. i. p. 317^a.

KNEE, KNEEL (בֶּרֶךְ [Assyr. *birku*], in Dn 6^{10} Aram. בְּרַךְ, once Dn 5^6 Aram. אַרְכֻבָּה; 'kneel' is expressed by vb. בָּרַךְ in *Qal*,* 2 Ch 6^{13}, Ps 95^6 [all], cf. Aram. ptcp. בָּרֵךְ in Dn 6^{10} and *Hiph.* וַיַּבְרֵךְ used in Gn 24^{11} of causing camels to kneel. The LXX and NT terms are *γόνυ*, 'knee,' and *γονυπετεῖν*, 'kneel').—The knees appear repeatedly in Scripture as a seat of strength, and hence as weakened through terror, Job 4^4 ('thou hast confirmed the feeble knees'; cf. Is 35^3, He 12^{12}); Ezk 7^{17} ('all knees shall be weak as water'; cf. 21^7 [Heb.^{12}]); Dn 5^6 (the appearing of the handwriting upon the wall so terrified Belshazzar that 'his knees smote one against another'; cf. Nah 2^{10}). A psalmist complains that his knees are weak through fasting, Ps 109^{24}. Amongst the plagues denounced upon disobedience to the Deuteronomic law is this, 'The LORD shall smite thee in the knees . . . with a sore boil,' etc., where the reference appears to be to some form of elephantiasis (see Driver, *ad loc.*).

Kneeling down to drink (from their hands) was the attitude adopted by a portion of Gideon's warriors on the occasion of the famous test, Jg $7^{5.\,6}$ (where see Moore's note). One of the stages in the measurement of the depth of the river which Ezekiel saw issuing from the temple was that 'the waters were to the knees' (Ezk 47^4). Delilah made Samson sleep עַל־בִּרְכֶּיהָ Jg 16^{19}; the Shunammite's son sat upon his mother's knees till he died, 2 K 4^{20}; children were dandled upon the knees, Is 66^{12}.

Gn 48^{12} (E), 'And Joseph brought them out from between his knees' (וַיּוֹצֵא יוֹסֵף אֹתָם מֵעִם בִּרְכָּיו), is not perfectly clear, but the meaning probably is that Joseph took his sons away from *Jacob's* knees, before himself bowing down to receive the blessing (v.^{15} connects directly with v.^{12} in E's narrative, the intervening vv.$^{13.\,14}$ being from J).

In Gn 30^3 (E) Rachel gives Bilhah to Jacob 'that she may bear upon my knees' (וְתֵלֵד עַל־בִּרְכַּי); in 50^{23} (also E) the children of Machir the son of Manasseh were born upon Joseph's knees (יֻלְּדוּ עַל־בִּרְכֵּי יוֹסֵף); Job (3^{12}) asks, 'Why did the knees receive me?' (מַדּוּעַ קִדְּמוּנִי בִרְכָּיִם). In the first two passages at least † there appears to be an allusion to the custom of placing newly-born infants on the father's (or grandfather's) lap as a token of his recognition or adoption of them (cf. Hom. *Od.* xix. 401). Rachel thus undertakes to acknowledge Bilhah's children as her own, and Joseph recognizes Machir's children as his descendants (see

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* The other conjugations have the sense of 'bless' (*Piel*), 'bless oneself' (*Niph.* and *Hithp.*), 'be blessed' (*Pual*). The pass. ptcp. *Qal* בָּרוּךְ also occurs 71 times with the meaning of 'blessed.'

† In Job 3^{12} Dillmann finds nothing more than a placing of the newly-born child on the knee of the midwife or the father, without any symbolical meaning (but see Duhm, *ad loc.*).

Dillm. on all these three passages; also art. Birth in vol. i. p. 300^{b}; Ploss, *Das Weib*^{2}, ii. 177 ff.; Stade, *ZATW* vi. (1886), 143 ff.).

Kneeling as an attitude in worship is repeatedly mentioned in Scripture, 1 K 8^{54}=2 Ch 6^{13} (Solomon at dedication of the temple); 1 K 19^{18} ('the knees which have not bowed to Baal'; cf. Ro 11^{4}); Ezr 9^{5} (Ezra in confessing the iniquity of the foreign marriages); Is 45^{23} ('to me every knee shall bow'; cf. Ro 14^{11}, Ph 2^{10}, on which last see Lightfoot's note); Dn 6^{10} (when Daniel prayed three times a day); Ac 7^{60} (the dying St. Stephen); 9^{40} (St. Peter before the raising of Dorcas); 20^{36} (St. Paul praying with the elders of Ephesus); 21^{5} (a similar scene at Tyre); Eph 3^{14} (St. Paul's prayer for the 'Ephesians.'). A variation from this attitude is found in 1 K 18^{42}, where Elijah in praying for rain 'put his face between his knees' (וַיָּשֶׂם פָּנָיו בֵּין בִּרְכָּיו). The same mental feeling underlies the adoption of kneeling in addressing an entreaty to a fellow-creature, or in doing homage to a superior, 2 K 1^{13} (Ahaziah's officer in entreating Elijah to spare his life); Mt 17^{14} (the father of the epileptic boy came kneeling to Jesus [*γονυπετῶν αὐτόν*]); Mk 1^{40} (the leper); 10^{17} (the rich young ruler); Mt 27^{29} (the soldiers mocked Jesus by kneeling down before Him [*γονυπετήσαντες ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ*, cf. Mk 15^{19} *τιθέντες γόνατα προσεκύνουν αὐτῷ*]). In Lk 5^{8} Simon Peter falls down upon his knees (*προσέπεσεν τοῖς γόνασιν*) as he cries, 'Depart from me: for I am a sinful man, O Lord.'

For the doubtful 'Bow the knee' of Gn 41^{43} see Abrech. J. A. Selbie.

KNIFE (מַאֲכֶלֶת, חֶרֶב).—Knives were originally of flint or sharp stone (Ex 4^{25} צֹר, Jos $5^{2.3}$ חַרְבוֹת צֻרִים).

Flint knives have been found in a cave at Antelias, near Beirût, amongst bones and charcoal; and also in a calcareous deposit on the old road along the sea-coast near the Nahr el-Kelb. It is said that flint knives are still used by the Bedawîn of the Syrian desert. The knives generally used in Syria are sheath-knives, and are stuck in the girdle. They are from 8 to 10 in. long, including the handle. They are used for every purpose for which a knife is required, and are formidable weapons. W. Carslaw.

KNOCK.—See House, vol. ii. p. 435.

KNOP (a variant of *knob* and of *knap* [in knapweed], Old English *cnaep*) is used by our translators to render **1.** כַּפְתֹּר *kaphtōr*, the spherical ornament on the stem and arms of the golden lampstand in the tabernacle (Ex 25^{32-36} and parll. pass. 37^{17-22}). The Greek translators have *σφαιρωτήρ*, the Vulgate *sphærula*, Luther *Knauf* (a kindred word). The 'knops' are easily recognizable in the familiar representation of the later 'candlestick' on the arch of Titus. For their relation to the rest of the ornamentation see Tabernacle (sec. dealing with the **golden candlestick**). A similar knop is seen on the stem of the chalice which appears on the obverse of certain Jewish coins (see Money).

The same word, *kaphtōr*, occurs in two other passages of the OT, viz. Am 9^{1} (AV 'smite the lintel of the door,' marg. 'chapiter' [so RV] or 'knop'), and Zeph 2^{14} (AV 'the upper lintel,' marg. 'knops *or* chapiters'; the last is the rendering of RV). In the former passage the reference is clearly to the capitals or chapiters of the pillars in the schismatic temple of J″ at Bethel, in the latter to those of the columns in the ruined city of Nineveh. The feature common to these capitals and the knops of the lampstand was doubtless the circular or rather spherical form (cf. the spherical capitals of the two pillars Jachin and Boaz, 1 K 7^{41}; see art. Chapiter).

2. In our EV 'knops' is also the translation of an entirely different word פְּקָעִים, *pĕḳāʿîm*, of which the precise signification is still uncertain. It is used to describe the ornamentation on the cedar lining of the temple walls: 'And there was cedar in the house within, carved with knops (marg. 'gourds') and open flowers' (1 K 6^{18} RV). This must refer to some egg-shaped (cf. Targum, *in loc.*) ornament, carved in low relief, perhaps, as the margin proposes, the fruit of the *citrullus colocynthus*, which appears to bear in Hebrew the cognate name *paḳḳûʿah*—the 'wild gourd' of 2 K 4^{39}.* Two rows of the same ornamentation were introduced 'under the brim' of the great 'molten sea' which stood in the temple court (1 K 7^{24}). In this case, however, the knops were not the product of the artist's chisel, but were cast with the sea (*ib.*). See Sea (Brazen). A. R. S. Kennedy.

KNOWLEDGE.—The word 'knowledge' is here considered, not generally, but only in the ethico-religious sense, or so far as there is an approximation in Scripture to a technical (theological) use of it. At the very beginning of the OT the probation of man is connected with the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gn 2^{17}). The view of 'knowledge' underlying this mythical narrative seems to be that which is brought out in Wellhausen's interpretation (*Prolegomena*^{2}, p. 316 f.). To know good and evil does not mean in Hebrew to have the moral consciousness developed; it means to be intelligent, 'to know what's what.' The desire to know is the desire to be like God—to possess His secrets, to wield His power, and so to be independent of Him. But the gratification of this desire, so the moral would originally run, always defeats itself. The impulse to know, the impulse which creates science and civilization, is indulged at a great cost. We build Babylon, and become conscious that we have lost Eden. That this appreciation of 'knowledge,' which pervades the sceptical passages in Ecclesiastes, underlies the third chapter of Genesis, is not to be denied; but neither can we deny that the myth is so treated by the writer as to make it yield an explanation of the transition in human history from innocence to guilt. The eating of the forbidden fruit was an act in which man lost the knowledge of God and acquired the knowledge of sin.

i. The OT everywhere assumes that there is such a thing as the knowledge of God, but it is never speculative, and it is never achieved by man. God is known because He makes Himself known, and He makes Himself known in His character. Hence the knowledge of God is in the OT=true religion; and as it is of God's grace that He appears from the beginning speaking, commanding, active, so as to be known for what He is, so the reception of this knowledge of God is ethically conditioned. The secret (סוֹד, lit. *friendly conversation*) of the Lord is with them that fear Him (Ps 25^{14}); the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord are one (Is 11^{2}). On the other hand, an irreligious man is described as one who does not know God; and that though he is the priest ministering at the altar (1 S 2^{12}). The moral corruption of the last days of Israel is described by Hosea when he writes, 'There is no truth, nor loving-kindness, nor knowledge of God in the land' (Hos 4^{1}). The ethical content and value of this knowledge are seen also in ch. 6^{6} 'I desire mercy and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings.' It is in this sense of an experimental acquaintance with God's character, and a life determined by it, that a

* It has been pointed out (Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, p. 278) that פְּקַעַת in the Mishna denotes a ball of yarn (see this word and פְּקוּעָה in Levy, *Neuheb. Wörterb. s.vv.*).

universal knowledge of God is made the chief blessing of the Messianic age. 'The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the LORD' (Is 11^{9}); 'They shall all know me, from the least to the greatest' (Jer 31^{34}). And this again is not because men have achieved it by speculative efforts of their own: 'All thy children shall be taught of the LORD' (Is 54^{13}). Side by side with this practical knowledge of God the OT makes room for any degree of speculative agnosticism. God is great beyond all our thoughts: His ways are unsearchable (Job 5^{9}). He is a God who hides Himself (Is 45^{15}), and gives no account of His matters. But such agnosticism is not a rival of religion, of the knowledge of God: it is a part of it. The knowledge of God includes a recognition of His immensity, and part of man's worship must always be silence (Ps 65^{1}). This is especially brought out in the Book of Job. The conception of true religion as the knowledge of God is probably the true antecedent and parent of some NT expressions for which affinities have been sought in the phenomena of Gnosticism. John (6^{45}) quotes Is 54^{13} (see above); and the key to the emphasis which he lays on 'knowing' God, or the truth, or Jesus Christ, is more likely to be found in such passages as are referred to above, than in modes of thought alien to Christianity.

ii. In the NT it will be convenient to take the different sections apart. (*a*) In the *Gospels* Christ appears first in the character of a teacher, moved with compassion for a people left without the knowledge of God, excluded from His kingdom because the key of knowledge—*i.e.* knowledge itself, the key which should open the door of the kingdom—has been taken away by its guardians (Lk 11^{52}). He represents it as the chief privilege of His disciples that to them it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven (Mt 13^{10-17})—mysteries which kings and prophets had longed to see, but could not. He represents it as His own unique distinction that He alone has, and can communicate, the knowledge of God as the Father, in which true religion henceforth consists (Mt 11^{25-27}). But here, as in the OT, it is no abstract conception that Jesus wishes to impart; to know God as Father is in reality to know that we are the children of God, and in knowing it to become His children. The new knowledge has to give a new character to our life, and if there is no trace of such a new character it is vain for us to say that we know the Father: we are in darkness in spite of all God has done to make Himself known. The ethical conditions of this knowledge are plainly stated in Mt 5^{8}, Jn 7^{17}; and in Jn 17^{3} it is identified with eternal life, the perfect blessing that the Son of God has come to impart. The proper relation to God is always conceived by St. John to be involved in the true knowledge of God; to know Him that is true and to be in Him that is true are all one. It is exactly this sense that the knowledge of God has in Hos 4. 6, or in Jer 31: there is no schism between the intellectual and the practical for the apostle or the prophet; the two are united in the integrity of the heart, which in Scripture is the organ of knowledge. When we read in Jn 8^{32} 'Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall set you free,' the freedom spoken of is probably not so definite in its application as in many places in St. Paul. The idea rather is that to be right with God puts one right, sets one free, in all other relations.

(*b*) In *St. Paul's writings* knowledge appears in many aspects. (*α*) In contrast with the wisdom of this world the gospel as a whole is conceived as a wisdom of God, which God has revealed in His Son and interpreted by His Spirit. There is, indeed, or there might have been, a natural knowledge of God (Ro $1^{19f.}$, Ac 14^{17}), but a knowledge of God in any sense bringing salvation is possible only through the reception of God's Spirit (1 Co 2). Such knowledge *every* Christian possesses; Christ is made to him *wisdom* (1 Co 1^{30}), and he is chosen in sanctification of the Spirit and belief of *the truth* (2 Th 2^{13}). But St. Paul speaks of knowledge in another sense. There are degrees of insight into the one great truth of God; there are truths which are not imparted to babes, but only spoken 'among the perfect' (1 Co 2^{6}); there is a *χάρισμα*, a special spiritual gift, called 'the word of knowledge' (1 Co 12^{8}), in which the Corinthians were rich; and though a *χάρισμα* was given to one for the good of all, we see that knowledge might be the possession of a few, or of a circle, not of the whole Church. To judge from 1 Co $2^{9f.}$ one of the subjects with which this higher knowledge was concerned was eschatology—'all that God has prepared for them that love him.' But it had also more directly practical applications. An enlightened conscience in regard to the use of things indifferent was one mode of it. 'As touching things offered to idols, we know that we all have knowledge' (1 Co 8^{1}). Christian intelligence generally was sufficiently developed to know that an idol is nothing in the world. But in some it was not sufficiently developed to know that this mere perception of a principle is no adequate guide to Christian conduct. It is not by principle merely, but by consideration of persons, circumstances, and consequences, that a Christian must act; in other words, not by knowledge but by love. Knowledge in this abstract sense is not without moral peril; it inflates the individual, whereas love builds up the body of Christ. All through the First Ep. to the Corinthians, knowledge as a gift distinguishing one Christian from another is subordinated in this way to love (chs. 8. 12. 13. 14).

(*β*) When we pass to the Epp. of the Captivity, knowledge has quite another position and emphasis. The gospel is confronted with a *φιλοσοφία*, which is at the same time a 'vain deceit,' something determined by human tradition and agreeing with 'the elements of the world,' Jewish or pagan (Col 2^{8}); and in opposition to this philosophy, or as it would now be called theosophy, the Christian revelation is defined and expanded as the true wisdom of God. As a formal indication of the extent to which the gospel is here put under the point of view of 'knowledge,' Holtzmann (*NT Theologie*, ii. 237) quotes the following list of words from the Ep. to the Ephesians: *ἀκούειν, ἀλήθεια, ἀληθεύειν, ἀποκάλυψις, ἀποκαλύπτειν, ἀποκρύπτειν, ἄφρων, γινώσκειν, γνῶσις, διδασκαλία, διδάσκειν, εἰδέναι, ἐπιγινώσκειν, ἐπίγνωσις, μανθάνειν, μυστήριον, νοεῖν, νοῦς, πλάνη, σκοτίζεσθαι, σκότος, σοφία, σοφός, σύνεσις, συνιέναι, φανεροῦσθαι, φῶς, φωτίζειν.* This knowledge centres in Christ. He is the mystery of God, in whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden away (Col 2^{2}). All the questions which man has to ask in the sphere of religion—questions as to the origination of the world, its natural unity, the place in it of the human race; questions as to the relation of humanity to God, its sin, reconciliation, and glory—must find their answer in Him. The doctrine of Christ in these Epistles is expanded into a Christian interpretation of the world, and this is the object of Christian knowledge. It is not to be the property of a class. St. Paul warns *every* man and teaches *every* man in *every* wisdom, that he may present *every* man *perfect* in Christ (Col 1^{28}). As in the earlier Epistles, there is a certain eschatological reference in the knowledge or wisdom which is so emphasized here: Christ is conceived among the Gentiles as '*the hope of glory*' (Col 1^{27}), and St. Paul prays that the Ephesians may have the eyes of their hearts enlightened to know what is '*the* *hope of his calling*, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints' (Eph 1^{18}). Such inward illumination indeed is the aim of the letters; they can be summed up (Weiss, *NT Theol.* p. 428) in the prayer 'that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give unto you a spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of him' (Eph 1^{17}). In this last passage knowledge is *ἐπίγνωσις*, a word which as opposed to *γνῶσις* denotes full or further knowledge, and which, though frequent in St. Paul, is used besides only in He and 2 P. According to Cremer, it is always used of a knowledge which has the strongest influence on the religious life; it is combined with such expressions as *τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀληθείας, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ θελήματος τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ Κυρ. ἡμῶν* Ἰ. Χ. It does not therefore suggest an abstractly intellectual view of Christianity—a theology, so to speak, as distinct from a religion; just as in the OT and in St. John, knowledge includes the spiritual and moral relation to its object, which answers to the nature of that object. Truth as truth is in Jesus is not only to be believed and known but *done* by the Christian (1 Jn 1^{6}). What St. Paul calls *ἡ ἐπίγνωσις τοῦ θεοῦ* is not only a deeper comprehension of the Christian revelation in itself, but a deeper insight into its practical significance and obligations.

(γ) In the Pastoral Epistles Christianity is conceived as a teaching or doctrine (*διδασκαλία*) more definitely than in any other part of the NT. Christians are those who have repented and come to the knowledge of the truth (1 Ti 2^{4} 4^{3}). To oppose the gospel is to resist the truth (2 Ti 3^{8}). But though the truth can be stated by itself, it is always of moral import. It is the truth 'which is according to godliness' (Tit 1^{1}), a *διδασκαλία καλή* and *ὑγιαίνουσα*. When men abandon it or reject it, it is from some moral unsoundness; they turn from the truth, and with itching ears heap up teachers 'according to their own lusts.' The 'knowledge falsely so called' (1 Ti 6^{20}), whether the *ἀντιθέσεις* justifies a reference to Marcion or not, is conceived as a morbid phenomenon opposed to the morally wholesome teaching of Christianity, and whoever is misled by it 'errs concerning the faith'—his religious life misses the mark.

(*c*) In *the other books of the NT* knowledge is not a characteristic conception. In 2 P it has a certain prominence ($1^{2f.}$ 2^{20} 3^{18}), in a sense more akin to that which it bears in the Pastorals than elsewhere; the *ἐπίγνωσις* or full knowledge of God, or of Jesus our Lord, is saving knowledge. We grow in it as we grow in the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ; the two processes of growth are one. It is morally efficacious for our deliverance from the pollutions of the world. In the Ep. to the Hebrews *γνῶσις* does not occur at all, and *ἐπίγνωσις* only in 10^{26} (cf. Tit 1^{1}, 1 Ti 2^{4} 4^{3}). But the whole Epistle may be regarded as a specimen of a particular kind of Christian *γνῶσις*. It recognizes the distinction between a less and more perfect apprehension of Christianity ($5^{11ff.}$ $6^{1ff.}$), and the writer exhibits his own 'knowledge' in that interpretation of the OT which makes its institutions and characters typical of Christ. This typological *γνῶσις* is quite different from the *ἐπίγνωσις* of the mystery of God, even Christ, which we find in the Pastoral Epistles; yet as a mode of representing the organic unity of the NT and the OT it may also contribute to a Christian philosophy. And some such thing—not in the sense of a speculation *a priori*, without ethical inspiration, but in the sense of an expression and interpretation of Christian faith, which shall be pervaded throughout by the spiritual virtue of that faith—seems to be set before us by the NT writers as the ideal of 'knowledge.'

J. DENNEY.

KOA (קוֹעַ; Ὑχουε B, Λουδ A, Κουε Q; Targ. קוּעָאֵי; Syr. ܩܘܥ; Aq. *κορυφαῖον*; Vulg. *principes*).—In Ezk 23^{23} 'the children of Babylon and all the Chaldæans, Peḳod, and Shoa' (שׁוֹעַ), and *Ḳoa'*, all the children of Asshur with them,'—most probably the contracted form of *Ḳutû, Ḳuti*, the name of a people (also called *Gutium, Guti*), often mentioned in the Assyrian Inscriptions, whose home was to the N. of Babylon, in the mountainous district between the upper Adhem and the Dijâlâ (see the map in Del. *Paradies*; *KAT*^{2} *ad loc.*).* The following are the grounds for this conclusion. The inscriptions speak often of a country *Su-êdin, Su-tium*, or *Suti*; and as Ezk names together *Peḳod* (also Jer 50^{21}) and *Shoa'*, so Sargon (Khors. inscr. l. 19: *KIB* ii. 55; cf. ll. 82, 123, 135 f.) mentions together among his conquests *Puḳudu* and *Suti*: elsewhere, moreover, in the inscriptions, the shorter form *Su* is found for *Su-êdin, Su-tium*: on these grounds, therefore, it is probable that the *Shoa'* of Ezk are the *Suti* of the inscriptions (S.E. of Ḳutu, in the direction of Elam). Further, as Ezk. couples together *Shoa'* and *Ḳoa'*, so the inscriptions often couple together *Su-êdin* or *Suti* with *Ḳutu*:† a presumption thus arises that as *Shoa'* corresponds to *Suti* or *Sutu*, so *Ḳoa'* corresponds to *Ḳutu*, the only link in the complete proof that is missing being the fact that (according to Del.) the shorter form *Ḳu* (corresponding to *Su*) is not known to occur in the inscriptions. Nevertheless, the identification is a very probable one; and if, as Hilprecht's discoveries appear to have shown,‡ the Chebar was 'a large navigable canal near Nippur,' Ezekiel would not, speaking comparatively, have been far distant from any of the three peoples named in this verse. Both Sutu and Ḳutu are, as Winckler (*Alttest. Unterss.* 1892, 178) remarks, the standing *foes* of Assyria: the words in Ezk. 'all the children of Asshur,' are not, however, necessarily in apposition with these two names.§

Ges. (*Thes.*) defends the appellative sense *principes*; but his etymology, though ingenious, must be owned to be far-fetched and improbable. See, further, Schrader, *KAT*^{2} *ad loc.*; and especially Delitzsch, *Paradies*, pp. 234–6; and cf. art. KIR in the present volume.

S. R. DRIVER.

KOHATH (קְהָת) is known to us only from P and the Chronicler. According to these writers, he was the second of the three sons of Levi (Ex 6^{16}, Nu 3^{17}, 1 Ch $6^{1.16}$ 23^{6}). He had four sons, Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel (Ex 6^{18}, Nu 3^{19}, 1 Ch $6^{2.18}$ 23^{12}), and lived to the age of 133 years (Ex 6^{18}). In 1 Ch 6^{22} Amminadab is said to be the son of Kohath, but this is probably a clerical error for Izhar (cf. 6^{38}). His sister was Jochebed, the aunt and wife of Amram, and the mother of Moses (Ex 6^{20}, Nu 26^{59}). For the rebellion of his grandson Korah (Nu 16) see KORAH. Nothing further is related of K. personally, but we have fuller particulars of the fortunes of his descendants. Their history falls into three periods—(1) the wilderness wanderings and the settlement in Canaan, (2) the monarchy, (3) the period after the Exile.

1. At the time of the census taken by Moses in the wilderness of Sinai the **Kohathites** were

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* Or acc. to Winckler (*Unterss. zur altor. Gesch.* 131), like the *Suti*, a nomadic tribe of the Mesopotamian plains.

† Cf. *KIB* i. p. 5, where the 'widespread Ḳuti' and the 'Suti' are named in successive lines among the tribes subjugated by Rammân-nirâri I. (*c.* 1325 B.C.). So Sargon, *l.c.* (*KIB* ii. 55), mentions *Gutium*, three lines before *Puḳudu* and *Suti*.

‡ *Bab. Exped. of the Univ. of Pennsylv.* ix. (1898), p. 28; cf. *PEFSt*, Jan. 1898, p. 55.

§ Winckler (with Bredenkamp and Klostermann) would read קוע for קיר (with שׁוע as pr. name) in Is 22^{5}. This is favoured also by W. Max Müller (in art. KIR above); but the two names are difficult to harmonize with מקרקר, except by giving this verb arbitrary meanings like 'surround' or 'stir up.'

divided into four families, the Amramites, the Izharites, the Hebronites, and the Uzzielites (Nu 3^{27}). The whole number of males from a month old was 8600 (3^{28}), and between 30 and 50 years of age 2750 ($4^{2.\ 3.\ 34\text{-}37}$). Their position in the camp was on the side of the tabernacle southward (3^{29}), and their chief at this time was Elizaphan the son of Uzziel (3^{30}). The office assigned to them by P during the wilderness wanderings was the carrying of the sanctuary and its furniture, after it had been prepared for travel by Aaron and his sons (3^{31} $4^{4\text{-}15}$ 10^{21}). In this respect the Kohathites, the family of Aaron, had a more honourable office than that given to the descendants of Gershon the elder brother, and they consequently precede the Gershonites in Nu 4, Jos 21, 1 Ch 6. 15, 2 Ch 29^{12}. In consequence of the greater holiness of their burden they carried it upon their shoulders (Nu 7^{9}), in contrast to the Gershonites and Merarites, to whom waggons and oxen were given ($7^{7.\ 8}$). The Kohathites are also mentioned at the time of the census taken by Moses and Eleazar in the plains of Moab by the Jordan, when the whole number of Levites was 23,000 (26^{57}).

At the allotment of Levitical cities by Joshua and Eleazar after the settlement in Pal., thirteen cities out of the territories of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin were assigned to the Kohathite descendants of Aaron (Jos $21^{4.\ 13\text{-}19}$ [P]=1 Ch $6^{57\text{-}60}$); and ten others out of the territories of Ephraim, Dan, and Western Manasseh to the rest of the Kohathites (Jos $21^{5.\ 20\text{-}26}$ [P]=1 Ch $6^{61.\ 67\text{-}70}$).

2. In the reign of David, as narrated by the Chronicler, we have several references to the Kohathites. The Kohathite family of Heman, together with the Gershonite family of Asaph and the Merarite family of Ethan or Jeduthun, were, acc. to this writer, specially set apart to administer the temple music (cf. 1 Ch $6^{31\text{-}47}$ $16^{41.\ 42}$ $25^{1\text{-}7}$, and see HEMAN). In accordance with this, at the bringing up of the ark into Jerus., of the large number of Kohathites who are said to have been present (1 Ch $15^{5.\ 8.\ 9.\ 10}$), Heman and certain others took part in the music ($15^{17.\ 19}$). Descendants of the four Kohathite families are mentioned as 'heads of the fathers' houses' when David divided the Levites into courses (1 Ch $23^{12\text{-}20}$), and in 1 Ch $26^{1.\ 23\text{-}31}$ the particular offices held by descendants of the first three families are given in detail. Kohathites are spoken of as taking part in the temple services in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 20^{19}), and as co-operating with the other Levites in cleansing the temple under Hezekiah ($29^{12.\ 14}$).

3. In the period after the Exile we find very few traces of the Kohathite family. The Berechiah, son of Asa, son of Elkanah, mentioned in 1 Ch 9^{16}, was probably a Kohathite. So also were the 'children of Shallum' who accompanied Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{42}; cf. 1 Ch $9^{17.\ 19}$, Neh 12^{25}, in last Meshullam).

The **Kohathites** (הַקְּהָתִי; in Nu 10^{21}, 1 Ch 20^{19} הַקְּהָתִים) are mentioned Nu $3^{27.\ 30}$ $4^{18.\ 34.\ 37}$ 10^{21} 26^{57}, Jos $21^{4.\ 10}$, 1 Ch $6^{33.\ 54}$ 9^{32}, 2 Ch 20^{19} 29^{12}. Also called 'the sons of Kohath,' Ex 6^{18}, Nu $3^{19.\ 29}$ $4^{2.\ 4.\ 15\,(2)}$ 7^{9}, 1 Ch $6^{2.\ 18.\ 22.\ 61.\ 66.\ 70}$ 15^{5} 23^{12}, or 'the children of Kohath,' Jos $21^{5.\ 20\,(2).\ 26}$. For their history see above.

W. C. ALLEN.

KOHELETH.—See ECCLESIASTES.

KOLAIAH (קוֹלָיָה).—**1.** The father of a false prophet named Ahab, Jer 29^{21} [Gr. 36^{21}; *υἱὸν Κουλιοῦ* only in Q^{mg}]. **2.** The name of a Benjamite family which settled in Jerusalem after the Captivity, Neh 11^{7}; B *Κοδιά*, A *Κωλειά*.

KONÆ (*Κωνά*, Jth 4^{4}).—So B calls an unknown town of Palestine. But ℵ reads *Κωλά* (as A in Jth 15^{4}, for *Χωλά*); A has *Κωνας*. Some MSS read *κώμας*, whence AV 'the villages.'

F. C. PORTER.

KOPH (ק).—The nineteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 19th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. It is transliterated in this Dictionary by *ḳ*.

KORAH, DATHAN, ABIRAM (קֹרַח, דָּתָן, אֲבִירָם).—Most readers of the Eng. Bible are familiar with the story of Korah's rebellion, and of the terrible fate that overtook him and his followers. When we turn, however, to the record of these events (Nu 16), it is by no means easy to reduce it to a consistent or continuous narrative. The thread of the story is strangely broken, and we encounter remarkable repetitions (vv.$^{5.\ 8.\ 16}$). Here, as in many other cases, we are helped by the labours of those critics who have analyzed the contents of the Hexateuch.

There is reason to believe that *three* strata are present in the composition of Nu 16 and 17. This conclusion, which had been previously reached by various critics, was first placed on a thoroughly satisfactory basis by Kuenen (*ThT* (1878), p. 139 ff.), whose analysis has been substantially accepted by critics of such different schools as Baudissin, Cornill, Dillmann, Driver, Robertson Smith, and Wellhausen. Of the three narratives, the first two were originally quite independent of one another, while the third works over the material from the standpoint of a later age than that of the second writer.

I. We have a narrative from the well-known source JE, which has suffered very slight mutilation at the hands of the final redactor. It tells how Dathan and Abiram, descendants of Reuben, the oldest of Jacob's sons, rose against *Moses*, because they were jealous of the authority he claimed, and were disappointed with the results of his leadership. On being informed of their murmurings, Moses cited them to appear before him; but they refused to obey the summons, and repeated to his messengers their complaints (Nu $16^{12\text{-}14}$). Moses, in anger (v.^{15}), went to their tents in company with the elders of Israel, and solemnly warned the people to withdraw from the neighbourhood of Dathan and Abiram, who, with all their households, were then swallowed up by the earth (vv.$^{28\text{-}34}$). 'This is a rebellion of *laymen* against the *civil* authority claimed by Moses' (Driver).

II. The author of the priestly narrative (P) relates quite a different story. Korah, at the head of 250 princes of the congregation, instigates a rebellion against Moses *and Aaron*, in the interests of *the people at large* against *the tribe of Levi*. 'All the congregation are holy,' says K. (v.^{3}), and as much entitled as the Levites to discharge religious functions. Moses invites them to put the matter to the proof by coming on the following day with their censers to offer incense. They accept the challenge (vv.$^{18.\ 19}$), and, in the act of offering, they are consumed by fire from the Lord (v.^{35}). Their fate provokes the people, who murmur that Moses and Aaron had killed the people of the Lord (v.^{41}). A plague breaks out in consequence, which is only stayed by the atoning offering of Aaron (v.^{48}), The story of ch. 17 is the sequel, and comes from the same source, P. The blossoming of Aaron's rod is meant to establish, not his rights in opposition to those of other Levites, but to establish the prerogative of *the tribe of Levi* as represented by Aaron, in opposition to *the other tribes* as represented by their respective princes. Here, again, we have a rebellion of *laymen*, but directed this time against the *ecclesiastical* authority claimed by the tribe of Levi.

III. Another writer of the priestly school, whom we may designate, with Cornill, P^{x}, worked up the narrative at a later period. In his version of the story, K., at the head of 250 *Levites*, opposes, in the interest of the tribe of Levi, the monopoly of the *priesthood* claimed by *Aaron* (vv.$^{8\text{-}11}$). The test proposed by Moses is the same as in the second narrative (vv.$^{16.\ 17}$, which are a repetition of vv.$^{6.\ 7}$), and P's account of the fate of the rebels is adopted (v.^{35}) without change. From the hand of the latest writer come also vv.$^{36\text{-}40}$, which relate how the censers of the 250 were made into a covering for the altar, to be a memorial of the fate of the rebels.

It is evident that the two priestly narratives have quite different aims. In P there is no opposition between Levites and priests, but between non-Levites and Levites, whereas in P^{x} there is a sharp distinction between the tribe of Levi and the family of Aaron. (Note especially v.^{40}, where the moral of P^{x}'s narrative is thus given, 'that no stranger which is not of the seed of Aaron come near to burn incense before the Lord, that he be not as K. and as his company'). On the other hand, it is not quite certain whether, according to the original narrative of P, even K. himself was a Levite, for the words in v.^{1} 'the son of

Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi,' may well come from the hand of the redactor. But in any case it is clear enough that all his 250 followers were not Levites; a conclusion which is confirmed, if confirmation were necessary, by Nu 27^{3}, where the daughters of Zelophehad plead that their father had no part in the rebellion of Korah. As Zelophehad belonged to the tribe of *Manasseh*, this plea need not have been offered if all K.'s followers had been Levites.

The differences between JE and P, and the original independence of their narratives, are equally apparent. JE knows only Dathan and Abiram, P knows only Korah; and, accordingly, the author of Dt 11^{6}, who is acquainted with the Jahwistic but not with the Priestly document, mentions only Dathan and Abiram.

The analysis of the two chapters may be given as follows (practically after Driver):—

JE 16$^{1b \cdot 2a.\ 12\text{-}15.\ 25\text{-}26.\ 27b\text{-}34}$.
P 16$^{1a.\ 2b\text{-}7a.\ 18\text{-}24.\ 27a.\ 32b.\ 35.\ 41\text{-}50}$. ch. 17.
P^{x} 16$^{7b\text{-}11.\ 16\text{-}17.\ 36\text{-}40}$.

The composite character of the narrative is borne out by the separation, after 16^{1}, of the two parties, Dathan and Abiram on the one hand, Korah and his company on the other. They act separately (cf. vv.$^{3\text{-}4}$ with vv.$^{12\text{-}15}$); they are addressed separately (cf. vv.$^{5\text{-}7}$ with vv.$^{25.\ 26}$); they are punished separately and differently (cf. v.^{31} with v.^{35}).

Traces of the welding process by which the narrative has assumed the comparative smoothness of its present form may be detected in v.^{7b} ('ye sons of Levi'), and in v.^{32b} ('and all the men that appertained unto Korah, and all their goods').

It cannot be over-emphasized that *all* the indications in the narrative point to the above result, and that literary differences combine with differences of agents and of motives to establish three distinct elements in the composition. 'Of course *in itself* a difference of motive is no ground for supposing that the narrative in which it appears is of composite authorship; that inference follows solely from *the manner in which the difference is introduced* . . . In itself an alliance between an ecclesiastical and a civil party is perfectly intelligible; but the literary analysis shows Nu 16 to be composite; and when the component parts have been separated into two groups, it is found that the actors in one group represent ecclesiastical interests, while they represent civil interests in the other. Such a coincidence cannot be accidental; the differences of person and motive (though they *might* have been combined in such a manner as to arouse no suspicion whatever that the narrative was composite) so *coincide* with literary differences as to corroborate the conclusion to which these point' (Driver, *LOT*^{5}, App. 523 f. [cf. ^{6} p. 65]).

We have thus disentangled three distinct narratives, of which the last two are memorials of the struggles that took place, and of the various stages that were passed through before the prerogatives of Levi were admitted by the other tribes, and those of the house of Aaron by the other Levitical families. At whatever date we place these last results, we may be certain that they were not reached without fierce opposition.

One or two remarks have still to be made on the text of Nu 16. In v.^{1} וַיִּקַּח, for which the LXX offers ἐλάλησεν, and which AV and RV both render 'took *men*' (supplying the last word), can scarcely be the correct reading. There is probably a copyist's error also in וְאוֹן בֶּן־פֶּלֶת 'and On the son of Peleth.' There is no mention of **On** in the subsequent narrative, nor does his name occur anywhere else in the OT. For *Peleth* we should doubtless read, as in Ex 6^{14} etc., *Pallu*, and perhaps, as Graf suggests, v.^{1b} should run thus: וְדָתָן וַאֲבִירָם בְּנֵי אֱלִיאָב בֶּן־פַּלּוּא בֶּן־רְאוּבֵן. In vv.^{24} and ^{27} Wellhausen and Driver agree in holding that the original reading was probably 'tabernacle of J″.'

LITERATURE.—Driver, *LOT*^{5} 59 ff., App. 523 f. [^{6}, 63 ff.]; Graf, *Gesch. B. d. AT*, 89 ff.; Baudissin, *Ges. d. AT Priest.* 35 n.; Wellh. *Comp.* 106, 339; Reuss, *AT*, iii. 34, 454; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 402; Kuenen, *ThT* xii. (1878), p. 139 ff., *Hex.* 95, 334; Oort and Hooykaas, *Bible for Young People*, iv. 242; Cornill, *Einleit.*^{2} 59 f.; Kittel, *Hist. of Hebrews*, i. 219.

2. Korah, a son of Esau (Gn 36^{5}). **3.** A 'duke' of Edom (Gn 36^{16}). **4.** A son of Hebron (1 Ch 2^{43}).

J. A. SELBIE.

KORAHITES (קָרְחִי), or **SONS OF KORAH** (בְּנֵי קֹרַח); AV has in Nu 26^{58} **Korathites,** and in Ex 6^{24}, 1 Ch 12^{6} 26^{1}, 2 Ch 20^{19} **Korhites.** — The inference from Nu 16^{32}, that the whole family of Korah perished along with their head, is checked by a note in 26^{11} to the effect that the 'sons of Korah died not.' This explanation was called for in view of the fact that a well-known guild connected with the second temple traced their descent to Korah. At one time the 'sons of K.' appear to have constituted one of the two great temple choirs, the Asaphites composing the other (see ASAPH). We have two groups of Pss (42–49 and 84. 85. 87. 88) whose superscription לִבְנֵי קֹרַח shows that they were taken from what was once the hymn-book of the Korahite choir. The musical service of the temple had been remodelled by the time of the Chronicler, when three guilds (Heman, Asaph, Ethan) had replaced the original two (Asaph, Korah). The Korahites have now become a guild of *door-keepers* (1 Ch 9^{19} 26$^{1.\ 19}$ etc.), although a reminiscence of their former functions as *singers* is found in 2 Ch 20^{19} (W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 205 n.). J. A. SELBIE.

KORE.—1. (קֹרֵא) The eponym of a Korahite guild of door-keepers, 1 Ch 9^{19}. **2.** (קוֹרֵא) Son of Imnah, a Levite in the time of Hezekiah, 2 Ch 31^{14}.

KUSHAIAH.—See KISHI.

L

L.—1. This symbol was proposed by de Lagarde (*Genesis græce*, 1868, p. 12) to denote the illuminated Purple Manuscript of the Greek Genesis at Vienna, one of the chief specimens of Christian book-illumination. The manuscript is designated VI by Holmes, and the text has been edited by him from a copy of Alter, 1795, in a publication preparatory to the great Oxford Septuagint (title: *Honorabili, et admodum reverendo, Shute Barrington, LL.D. Episcopo Dunelmensi, Epistola, complexa* GENESIN, *ex codice purpureo-argenteo Cæsareo-Vindobonensi expressam; et Testamenti Veteris Græci, versionis septuaginta-viralis, cum variis lectionibus denuo edendi, Specimen. Dedit Robertus Holmes, S.T.P.* Oxonii, MDCCXCV fol.). It is a parallel to the famous *Codex Cottonianus Geneseos* in the British Museum, and has not been used by Swete for his edition of the Greek OT (vol. i. 2nd ed. 1895),* because at that time it was not yet published in full facsimile. This has been done since in the splendid work, *Die Wiener Genesis herausgegeben von Wilhelm Ritter von Hartel und Franz Wickhoff.* Beilage zum xv. und xvi. Bande des Jahrbuches der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses. Mit 52 Lichtdrucktalfeln, etc. Wien (Prag, Leipzig), F. Tempsky, 1895 fol. (the Greek text in transcription, pp. 102–125). An exhaustive monograph on the pictures of the MS has recently been published by a pupil of Prof. V. Schultze of Greifswald, Willy Lüdtke, *Untersuchungen zu den Miniaturen der Wiener Genesis* (Inaugural Dissertation, Greifswald, 1897, 50 pp.). Lüdtke considers the volume as the first known manuscript of the Bible in which pictures are connected with the text, the first illustrated book of Bible story, and is inclined to assign it to the latter half of the 5th cent. E. M. Thompson (*Handbook of Greek and Latin Palæography*, 1893, p. 154) makes it probably of the latter half of the 6th cent.; Kenyon, of the 5th or 6th cent. The text is sometimes abbreviated, and several passages are very difficult to read; the MS is therefore less important for the textual criticism of the Greek OT; but it is a monument of the first rank in the history of Christian art. Attached to the codex are two leaves from the purple MS of the New Testament, called N.

2. In the criticism of the NT the symbol L is used to designate the *Codex Regius*, a manuscript of the Greek Gospels preserved in the National Library of Paris, now numbered 62. It was known already to Stephen, who called it *η*, as is stated in the volume by a later hand, 'Roberto Stephano *η*.' Scrivener (*Introduction to the NT*, 4th ed. (1894) p. 138) overlooked this *η*, and misunderstood, therefore, this entry when he wrote, 'it was even then in the Royal Library, although "Roberto Stephano" is marked in the volume.' Griesbach rated the MS very high: Tischendorf published it in full in his *Monumenta sacra inedita*, 1846. It is ascribed to the 8th cent., and was for a long time unique, as giving two alternative endings to the Gospel of Mark, namely—besides and before the received one, which is introduced by the heading *ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα φερόμενα μετὰ τό· ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*, a shorter ending, printed by Westcott-Hort after the one just mentioned. This wretched supplement, as Scrivener styles it, is separated in this MS from the words of the text (*ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*) by an ornamented line, and introduced by the heading *φέρεταί που καὶ ταῦτα.* Recently it has been found in several Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Ethiopic documents, the nearest ally to L being a manuscript on Mount Sinai (Δ^{12}), ascribed to the 7th cent. The latter has the subscription *εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον* immediately after *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*; then follows the shorter supplement (whether introduced by the same formula as in L is not certain, the MS being defective at that place) with slight variations (*om.* *καὶ* before *ἄχρι*, *adds* *ἀμήν* after *σωτηρία*); after this comes *ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα* etc. On the questions connected with the end of St. Mark see the monograph of Dean Burgon (1871); P. Martin, *Introduction à la critique textuelle du NT*, Partie pratique, tome ii. (1884); Westcott-Hort, *NT*, App. 28–51, with the additional notes to pp. 38 and 51 on p. 142 of the reprint of 1896; J. R. Harris, 'On the alternative ending of St. Mark's Gospel,' *Journ. of Biblical Literature* (1894), pp. 96–103; H. B. Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (1898), p. xcvi ff.; Th. Zahn, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (1899), ii. pp. 227–235, 237–240. The shorter ending had its origin probably in Egypt; there also L seems to have been written. On the third leaf of the MS is a note by a later hand, which might show where the MS was before it came to Europe, if it could be read and interpreted with certainty (a Georgios *τοῦ Διάσκόβιτη* left some MSS *εἰς τοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Παύλου τὸ ὀσπίτιον*). Facsimiles are to be found in Tischendorf, plate i. n. 7, plate iii. n. 7; Scrivener, plate ix. n. 21; P. Martin, *Description technique des manuscrits grecs relatifs au NT conservées dans les bibliothèques de Paris* (1884), plate 1.

EB. NESTLE.

LAADAH (לַעְדָּה).—A Judahite, the 'father' of Mareshah, 1 Ch 4^{21} (B *Μαδάθ*, A *Λαδά*).

LABAN (לָבָן, *Λαβάν*).—**1.** Son of Bethuel (Gn 28^{5}), grandson of Nahor, Abraham's brother ($22^{20.\ 22}$ 24^{24},—in 29^{5} 'son' = grandson), and brother of Rebekah (24^{29}; 25^{20}), uncle of Jacob on his mother's side (27^{43}; 28^{2}), and (after his marriage with Leah) his father-in-law as well. When Abraham and Lot migrated from Ḥaran (on the Belikh, a tributary of the Euphrates, in Mesopotamia) into Canaan (Gn $12^{4.\ 5}$), Nahor remained behind in Ḥaran; here his family grew up around him ($22^{20\text{-}24}$; the names, except in the cases of Bethuel and Rebekah, are, however, those of *tribes*); and Ḥaran (cf. 29^{4}), though the identification is not made expressly, is, there can be no doubt, the 'city of Nahor' (24^{10}), to which Abraham's servant took his way, when sent by his master to find a wife for Isaac from the land of his nativity. Laban's home (Gn 24^{10}) was in 'Aram (AV Syria) of the two rivers' (the Euphrates, in its upper course, and the Ḥabor); and so, like his father Bethuel (25^{20} 28^{5}), he is called specifically the 'Aramæan' (AV Syrian), 25^{20} $31^{20.\ 24}$ (cf. of Jacob, Dt 26^{5}). It is in connexion with the negotiations for Rebekah's hand that we first read of Laban. He is evidently the moving spirit in his father's house. He comes forward to receive Abraham's servant, listens to what he has to say, and takes the lead in the subsequent negotiations ($24^{29\text{-}33.\ 50.\ 53b.\ 55}$). It is no doubt true that in the East (cf. Gn $34^{11.\ 12}$, Ca 8^{8}) a girl's brothers have a prominent voice in the disposal of their sister's hand; but, independently of this, Laban seems clearly to throw his father Bethuel into the background. It has been observed that Laban already displays the grasping disposition which was manifested more fully afterwards in his dealings with Jacob: he is attracted by the ring and bracelets which Abraham's servant had given his sister (24^{30}).

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* Its readings will find a place in the Apparatus of the larger edition, which is now being prepared by Brooke and M'Lean.

What we read about Laban subsequently relates exclusively to his dealings with Jacob (29^{10}–31^{55}). These have been described so fully in the art. JACOB (vol. ii. pp. 528–9, 533) that an outline will be sufficient here. Laban must now be pictured as quite an old man. Jacob, sent by his mother to her brother, arrives at Ḥaran, and quickly finds his uncle's house (29^{1-13}). He remains with him a month (29^{14}); at the end of which time Laban, no doubt discovering that his services as a shepherd are likely to prove valuable to him, asks him on what terms he will remain with him. He replies that he will serve him 7 years for his younger daughter Rachel. At the end of the 7 years Laban, by a ruse, passes off upon him his elder daughter Leah; and only permits him to have Rachel as well, on condition that he serves him for 7 years more (29^{15-30}). At the end of the second 7 years Jacob is anxious to return home; but Laban, reluctant to part with a profitable servant, invites him, with a show of disinterestedness, to name the terms on which he will continue in his service (30^{25-28}). Jacob thereupon proposes an arrangement by which, ostensibly, he will gain little or nothing, and with which, therefore, Laban immediately closes, but which, it soon appears, his son-in-law knows how to turn to his own advantage (30^{29-43}). Laban, envious of Jacob's increasing prosperity, now shows ill-will towards him; his sons (mentioned also in 30^{35}) complain that Jacob has taken away all their father's possessions: accordingly Jacob, after consulting with his wives (who both agree that their father has shown them no real affection, $31^{14.\,15}$),* takes flight, accompanied by his family and their belongings (31^{1-21}). His father-in-law, considering that he has some kind of claim on the services and belongings of his son-in law, and vexed besides at the loss of the teraphim (which Rachel had stolen), starts in pursuit. On the way, apparently on the night before he came up with Jacob, 'as if an evil conscience preyed secretly upon him' (Ewald, *Hist.* i. 356), he is warned in a dream not to proceed against Jacob too violently (31^{24}). Overtaking the fugitives on the borders of Gilead, Laban remonstrates with Jacob on his ungrateful treatment of him, and especially for having carried away his daughters secretly, which was both an affront to them (31^{26b}), and an injury to his own feelings (31^{28}). Jacob, in reply, declares that he was afraid, if he told Laban, that he would retain his daughters by force; and then, after the incident with the teraphim (in which Laban is outwitted by his own daughter), he goes on to remind him of the long years which he has spent ungrudgingly in his service, and of the repeated attempts that Laban had made ($31^{7f.}$) to deprive him of his lawful earnings (31^{31-42}). Laban, conscious of the truth in Jacob's reproaches, makes no attempt to reply: he contents himself with protesting that everything which Jacob has is really his; and then seeks to close the dispute by representing himself as concerned for his daughters' welfare. Accordingly he proposes a covenant, the terms of which are—(1) that Jacob will in no way ill-treat his daughters; (2) that neither he nor Jacob will pass the boundary, marked by a heap of stones then thrown up, with hostile intent towards the other (see, further, on the object of this 'covenant,' above, ii. p. 529). The covenant having been solemnly ratified by both parties, Laban returns home, and is not mentioned again (31^{43-55}).

The character of Laban is not an amiable one. His sister and daughters all show duplicity and acquisitiveness; and Laban displays an exaggeration of the same qualities. His leading motive is evidently self-interest; and he is not particular in the choice of means for securing his ends. The ruse by which he passes off Leah upon his nephew instead of Rachel, is an unpardonable piece of deceit. In his subsequent dealings with his son-in-law, he does not treat him equitably. It is admitted by him, expressly in J (30^{27}), and by implication in E,—for the statements in 31^{38-41}, cf. v.^{6}, pass unchallenged,—that Jacob is a good servant; but Laban seeks to make out of him more than fair profits. In 30^{29-43} he betrays his grasping disposition by closing with an arrangement which, if carried out fairly, could not but have proved an inequitable one for Jacob, and in which, therefore, Laban had no right to be surprised if he found himself circumvented. In the narrative of E (31^{1-42})—which (vv.$^{8-12}$) differs from that of J in not representing Jacob as taking any unfair advantage of his father-in-law (cf. ii. p. 533, *note*)—Laban is charged with defrauding Jacob, and arbitrarily changing the wages that had been agreed upon, to suit his own ends (vv.$^{7.\,41}$). And his daughters own ($31^{14.\,15}$) that he is a hard and unnatural parent.

2. A place mentioned in the obscure verse, Dt 1^{1} (see Comm.; or above, art. DI-ZAHAB). Nothing can be said about it, except that if the verse describes a locality in the 'steppes of Moab,' Laban will be the name of a place in that neighbourhood, otherwise unknown; while if, as others suppose, the verse, at least in its original context, described places passed by the Israelites in their previous wanderings, it may be identical with the LIBNAH (which see) of Nu 33^{20} (which, to judge from v.^{17}, was near a *Ḥaẓêroth*, as was the case also with the Laban mentioned in Dt 1^{1}). S. R. DRIVER.

LABANA (Λαβανά), 1 Es 5^{29} = LEBANAH, Ezr 2^{45}.

LABOUR.—As a subst. 'labour' is now almost confined to what is called the *abstract* use—the act or state of labouring. Formerly it expressed also the fruit of labour, as Ex 23^{16} 'when thou hast gathered in thy labours (מַעֲשֶׂיךָ) out of the field'; Hab 3^{17} 'The labour (מַעֲשֵׂה) of the olive shall fail' (Davidson, 'the produce of the olive'). Hence the word is frequently in the plural, as Jn 4^{38} 'other men laboured, and ye are entered into their labours' (εἰς τὸν κόπον αὐτῶν, RV 'into their labour'). Knox, *Hist.* 92, has the word in the sense of 'effort,' 'Great labours were made to make them have a good opinion of the Masse.'

The verb is used with a trans. force in 2 Mac 2^{31} 'But to use brevity, and avoid much labouring of the work (τὸ ἐξεργαστικὸν τῆς πραγματ(ε)ίας παραιτεῖσθαι, RV 'to avoid a laboured fulness in the treatment'), is to be granted to him that will make an abridgement.' So in beg. of Pref. to AV 1611, 'Zeale to promote the common good, whether it be by devising any thing our selves, or revising that which hath bene laboured by others, deserveth certainly much respect and esteeme, but yet findeth but cold intertainment in the world.' Cf. Hall, *Works*, ii. 100, 'these are the men whose cure wee must labour'; Pref. to Rhem. NT, 1852, 'The poore ploughman, could then in labouring the ground, sing the hymnes and psalmes either in knowen or unknowen languages, as they heard them in the holy Church, though they could neither reade nor know the sense, meaning, and mysteries of the same.' J. HASTINGS.

LACCUNUS (Λακκοῦνος, AV Lacunus), 1 Es 9^{31}. —The name in Ezr 10^{30} is CHELAL, to which the Vulg. form *Calcus* in 1 Es approaches.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

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* 'And hath also quite devoured our money,' *i.e.* the price paid for us by our husband, the gains accruing to Laban from Jacob's 14 years' service, some part of which he would, if generous, have naturally allowed his daughters.

LACE.—Lace is from Lat. *laqueus*, a snare, through the Old French *laqs, las*, and it is used in the sense of snare in Chaucer, Spenser, and others. Thus Chaucer, *Legend of Good Women*, 600—

> ‘But love had broght this man in swiche a rage,
> And him so narwe bounden in his las,
> Al for the love of Cleopataras,
> That al the world he sette at no value.’

Then it is used for any cord or band, as Fuller, *Holy Warre*, 123, ‘Pitie it was that Rahabs red lace was not tied at his window.’ This is the meaning of the word in AV, where it occurs only as tr. of פָּתִיל *pâthīl*,* Ex 28^{28} (‘And they shall bind the breastplate by the rings thereof unto the rings of the ephod with a lace of blue’) 28^{37} $39^{21.\,31}$; and of *κλῶσμα* in Sir 6^{30} ‘her bands are purple lace’ (*κλῶσμα ὑακίνθινον*, AVm ‘a ribband of blue silk’; RV ‘a ribband of blue’; Fritzsche, ‘purple-blue threads’; Bissell, ‘hyacinthine threads’). Cf. Shaks. *Winter's Tale*, III. ii. 174—

> ‘O, cut my lace, lest my heart, cracking it,
> Break too.’

J. HASTINGS.

LACEDÆMONIANS. — The word *Λακεδαιμόνιοι* occurs only once in LXX, and its Eng. equivalent only once in RV, viz. 2 Mac 5^{9}. Jason, the head of the Hellenizing party in Jerus., who had bought the high priesthood from his brother Onias III. during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, was himself outbidden and expelled from the office by Menelaus his brother (Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 1 and XV. iii. 1), or, according to 2 Mac 4^{23}, the brother of Simon, a former governor of the temple. On a false report of the death of Antiochus, Jason made an unsuccessful assault upon Jerus.; but, after causing great loss of life among his fellow-citizens, he was driven an outcast to the land of the Ammonites, from there to the court of Aretas an Arabian prince, then into Egypt, and lastly to the L., in whose country he died a dishonoured exile. The reason of his ultimate recourse to the latter people was the alleged kinship between the Jews and the Greeks, resting on the supposed connexion between Peleg and the Pelasgians, a prehistoric people mentioned as living in different parts of Greece and coasts of the Ægean Sea. Peleg, however, or Phaleg, whose name implies ‘division’ (Jos. *Ant.* I. vi. 4), the ancestor of Abraham and the son of Heber,—the eponymous ancestor of the Hebrew race,—was (Jos. *ib.*) the great-grandson of Noah, and belonged to the Semitic family. The Pelasgians, on the other hand, were part of the Indo-European stock, and afterwards mingled with the Hellenes in Greece, and with the Carians, Lydians, and Phrygians in Asia Minor.

LITERATURE.—Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vols. i. and iii., Appendixes and Notes.

C. H. PRICHARD.

LACHISH (לָכִישׁ, LXX *Λαχείς*, twice with the art. *τὴν Λαχείς* Jos $10^{32\text{f.}}$, in Jos 15^{39} B *Μαχής*, B^{ab} *Λαχής*; Vulg. *Lachis*). —An important fortified town in Judah. Its king, Japhia, formed a league with four other Canaanite kings, viz. those of Jerus., Eglon, Hebron, and Jarmuth, to smite the Gibeonites, as they had made peace with Israel (Jos $10^{1\text{ff.}}$, JE mainly). Joshua overcame the united forces, and the kings fled to a cave in Makkedah, where they were pursued by the Israelites, who rolled stones against the mouth of the cave. Later, the kings were taken out, humiliated, and hanged on five trees. At sunset, by command of Joshua, their bodies were taken down and placed in the cave, at whose mouth stones were again rolled. The siege of L. by Joshua, according to D^{2}, occupied parts of two days (vv.$^{31.\,32}$). When it was taken, all the inhabitants were put to the sword.

The place is next mentioned in the list of cities built by Rehoboam for defence, by which it may be understood that he re-fortified the town (2 Ch 11^{9}). Amaziah fled to L. from a conspiracy in Jerus., but he was pursued and slain there (2 K 14^{19} ‖ 2 Ch 25^{27}). The prophet Micah inveighs against L. as ‘the beginning of sin to the daughter of Zion, for the transgressions of Israel were found in thee’ (Mic 1^{13}), an enigmatical utterance, the conjectures regarding the meaning of which will be found in Nowack's *Comm. ad loc.* When Sennacherib made his raid on the kingdom of Judah, he took all the fortified cities, including L. (2 K $18^{13.\,14}$, Is 36^{1}). The scene of the siege is depicted in an Assyr. sculpture, now in the British Museum. To this place Hezekiah sent messengers with immense gifts and promises of submission, to induce the Assyr. king, who was there encamped, to abandon the campaign (2 K $18^{14\text{-}16}$). In reply, Sennacherib despatched a great host against Jerus. (2 K 18^{17} ‖ Is 36^{2}). But his forces were miraculously destroyed, and he returned to Assyria, abandoning his conquests (2 K $19^{35.\,36}$ ‖ Is $37^{36.\,37}$, 2 Ch 32^{21}). The account in 2 Ch 32^{9} mentions the envoys sent to Hezekiah, but not the expedition against Jerus., as it says of Sennacherib, ‘but he (himself laid siege) to L., and all his power with him.’ When *c.* 120 years later, Nebuch. king of Babylon, destroyed the kingdom of Judah and carried the people into captivity, L. was one of the cities taken (Jer 34^{7}). On the return of the Jews, L. was one of the places re-occupied, but it is noticeable that while each of the other places is spoken of as being occupied ‘with the villages thereof,’ ‘Lachish and the fields thereof’ are referred to as if the occupation was but feeble (Neh 11^{30}). It is not mentioned in the NT, nor in the Apocrypha.

Scholars are now generally agreed that L. is to be identified with Tell el-Ḥesy, a mound in the rolling country between the maritime plain and the Judæan hills, 16 miles E. of Gaza, a little to the north. This identification was first proposed by Conder, who sees in the radicals of the modern name a reminiscence of the ancient, though the change in the second radical from כ to ח is unusual. The position of Tell el-Ḥesy corresponds fairly with Jerome's description of L. in the *Onomasticon*. He says: ‘Lachis in tribu Juda . . . et nunc est villa in septimo milliario ab Eleutheropoli euntibus Daromam.’ Eleutheropolis is the modern *Beit Jibrin*, 10 miles from Tell el-Ḥesy, which nearly coincides. Daroma may be the Shephelah, or low country, in which Tell el-Ḥesy is situated. Another equally important mound, Tell en-Nejileh, is found 3½ miles to the south of Tell el-Ḥesy, about the same distance from *Beit Jibrin*. Both have springs at their base. These two mounds seem to represent L. and Eglon, which were within easy marching distance, as Joshua took Eglon on the day that he left L. (Jos 10^{35}). As Eglon disappears from history earlier than L., and as the remains on the top of Tell en-Nejileh are earlier than those on the top of Tell el-Ḥesy, Petrie regards the former as Eglon and the later as Lachish. However, until systematic excavations are conducted at Tell en-Nejileh, the matter should not be held to be finally settled.

The site of Tell el-Ḥesy is admirably suited for a town, as the original dwellings stood on a bluff facing east, some 60 feet above the Wady el-Ḥesy, and were further protected by ridges to the west. During the course of centuries the remains accumulated, until the last occupation stood some 120 feet above the stream-bed. In 1890, Petrie, excavating for the Pal. Explor. Fund, studied the *tell*, during a short season, in cuttings around its sides, arriving at conclusions which the present writer's more extended work, covering four seasons, modified, but did not materially alter. One-third of the mound being chosen, it was cut down, layer by layer, each layer representing a distinct occupation, until the virgin soil was reached. We have thus the plans of eight cities, the second built on the ruins of the first, the third on the ruins of the second, and so on. This series of superimposed constructions is due to the material. Each city was built of mud-brick, which requires nothing but mud-brick for its foundation. The cities were approximately dated by the objects found *in situ*. The first three or four towns occupied an area about ¼ mile square, while the later towns confined themselves to a space about 100 yards square, and may thus be regarded as a series of forts, as almost all are flanked by thick walls. The earliest town was distinguished by peculiar styles of pottery, which have been named Amorite. It also contained a group of unique bronze implements. It is fortified by a strong wall and tower, and may be dated at about B.C. 1700. City II. is dated by scarabs at about B.C. 1500. City III. was buried under a thick bed of ashes. Outside one of its chambers was discovered a cuneiform tablet, which from its style and contents is shown to belong to the period of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, which were letters sent to Amenhotep III. and IV. of Egypt, about B.C. 1450, by their allies and dependants in Syria, Palestine, and farther east. It mentions the name of Zimridi, who, as we learn in a tablet from Jerus., was governor of L., murdered in that city by servants of the Egyp. king. The hopes suggested by the discovery of this tablet are far-reaching. The date B.C. 1450 for this city is confirmed by scarabs found here. In City IV. (B.C. 1400–1000) Phœn. pottery prevails. Here iron objects first appeared, but these were found in all the superimposed cities. In City V. (about B.C. 1000) and City VI. (about 800) Jewish ware is prevalent. City VI. has a great accumulation, from which we infer a long occupation. The red and black figured Greek pottery is common in Cities VII. and VIII., suggesting B.C. 500–400 as the limits of these occupations. The absence of coins and of Roman and Seleucidan remains shows that the site was deserted after B.C. 400.

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* Elsewhere *pâthīl* is rendered in AV ‘bound’ Nu 19^{15}; ‘ribband’ Nu 15^{38} (RV ‘cord’); ‘thread’ Jg 16^{9} (RV ‘string’); ‘line’ Ezk 40^{3}; ‘bracelets’ Gn 38^{18} (RV ‘cord’) 38^{25} (RV ‘cords’); ‘wires’ Ex 39^{3}.

The remains at Tell el-Ḥesy thus correspond admirably to the history of Lachish. One of the earlier cities undoubtedly fell a prey to Joshua, a later one was fortified by Rehoboam, and we may point with considerable confidence to the thick walls of City VI. as the fortifications taken by Sennacherib, whose sculptures commemorating the event bear a striking resemblance to Tell el-Ḥesy.

We have, however, in considering the identification, to count with the phrase of Jerome, 'nunc est villa.' While the *tell* shows no late remains, the adjacent fields are strewn with Roman pottery, and 3 miles away is the slight ruin of *Umm-Lakis* [but see Clermont-Ganneau, *Bibl. Res. in Pal.* i. (1896) p. 438], containing Roman remains, which was formerly identified with L. and which Petrie translates, 'her [? ; see *Mound of Many Cities*, p. 141] mother was Lachish.' He suggests that soon after the return of the Jews from exile they removed the settlement to *Umm-Lakis*. The name is pronounced *Laggis* by the Arabs, who pronounce a ק like hard *g*. A change from כ to ק is not common. But either in the fields near Tell el-Ḥesy, or at *Umm-Lakis*, we have late ruins which may easily represent the town still inhabited in the time of Jerome.

LITERATURE.—*Tell el-Hesy* (*Lachish*), by W. M. Flinders Petrie; *A Mound of Many Cities, or Tell el-Ḥesy Excavated*, by F. J. Bliss; both published for the Committee of the PEF by Alexander P. Watt, London.

F. J. BLISS.

LACK is both a subst. (=want) and a verb (=be deficient in, want). Thus as subst., Ex 16^{18} 'he that gathered little had no lack'; Job 4^{11} 'The old lion perisheth for lack of prey'; Ph 2^{30} 'to supply your lack of service toward me' (τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα; RV 'that which was lacking in your service'); 1 Th 4^{12} 'that ye may have lack (χρείαν, RV 'need') of nothing.' Cf. Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 263, 'To the one and the other is required the vertue morall called fortitude, whiche as moche as it is a vertue is a Mediocritie or meane betwene two extremities, the one in surplusage, the other in lacke'; T. Lever, *Sermons*, p. 83, 'Some doo raveyn and spoyll that which is not their owne, and be ever in lacke and neede.' Lever uses the subst. in the plu. also, *Sermons*, p. 74, 'These be verye small thinges towardes the amendment of so many lackes, in so great a multitude.'

As a verb 'lack' is both trans. and intrans. Thus Ja 1^{5} 'If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God.' Cf. Ro 2^{20} Tind., 'An informer of them which lacke discrecion'; Pr. Bk. 1549 (Communion), 'And if there be any of you, whose conscience is troubled and grieved in any thing, lacking comfort or counsel, let him come to me, or to some other discreet and learned priest, taught in the law of God, and confess and open his sin and grief secretly, that he may receive such ghostly counsel, advice, and comfort, that his conscience may be relieved.' The intrans. use, though Abbott (*Shaks. Gram.* § 293) gives it in his list of 'trans. verbs rarely used intransitively,' is often found in AV. Thus Ps 34^{10} 'The young lions do lack, and suffer hunger'; 1 Co 12^{24} 'having given more abundant honour to that part which lacked.' Cf. Pr. Bk. 1552 (Com.), 'there lacketh nothing but the guests to sit down'; and Hall, *Works*, ii. 51, 'Either will or ability lacked in them.'

Earle (*Psalter of* 1539, p. 267) points out that, in place of 'lack' of previous versions, AV often has 'want.' He quotes Ps 23^{1} 'therefore can I lack nothing' in 1539, 'I shall not want' in 1611; Jg 18^{10}, Lk 15^{14}. And he explains that the word 'lack' had in the meantime suffered depreciation from the use of it as a common interpellation by stall-keepers to passers-by: What d'ye lack, what d'ye lack? To Earle's examples add Ja 1^{4} Tind. 'lacking nothing,' AV 'wanting nothing'; and for the subst., 'for lacke of knowlage' in the Camb. MS of Ridley's *Brefe Declaration*, reprinted by Moule (p. 95), changed in the Oxford and 'modernized' MS into 'want.'

J. HASTINGS.

LAD.—In OT the only word tr^{d} 'lad' is נַעַר *na'ar* (33 times), and in NT παιδάριον (once, Jn 6^{9}). Like *na'ar* in Heb., 'lad' has always been used colloquially in Eng. for 'servant.' Once RV changes 'lad' into 'servant,' 2 K 4^{19} 'And he said to a lad (הַנַּעַר, RV 'his servant'), Carry him to his mother.' Tindale uses the word of Joshua, Ex 33^{11} 'And when Moses turned agayne in to the hoste, the ladd Josua his servaunte the sonne of Nun departed not out of the tabernacle' (AV 'his servant [RV 'minister'] Joshua the son of Nun, a young man'). Once the Rhem. version translates παῖς by 'lad,' Mt 17^{18} 'the ladde was cured from that houre' (AV and all previous versions 'child,' RV 'boy').

J. HASTINGS.

LADAN (לַעְדָּן).—**1.** A name occurring in the genealogy of Joshua, 1 Ch 7^{26} (Λαδδάν). **2.** A Gershonite family name, 1 Ch $23^{7.8.9}$ (B Ἐδάν, A Λεαδάν) $26^{21\ ter}$ (B Χαδάν, Λαδάν ^{bis}, A Λεδάν ^{bis}, Λααδάν). In 6^{17} it appears as LIBNI (wh. see).

LADDER (סֻלָּם, κλίμαξ).—**1.** Jacob in his dream at Bethel saw a 'ladder' set up on the earth and reaching to heaven (Gn 28^{12}). The Heb. word occurs only here, and though LXX renders it by κλίμαξ it has been doubted whether 'ladder' conveys its exact meaning.* The heights near Bethel are said to present the appearance of steps from certain points of view, and it has been conjectured that in Jacob's dream the piled-up rocks around him were transformed into a vast stairway on which angels went and came (Dillm. and others note that the angels are conceived as wingless. See ANGEL, vol. i. p. 94^a). The visionary 'ladder' was a symbol to Jacob of the communication with God which was open to him, and Christ alluded to it in claiming that this communication between heaven and earth would be perfected in Himself (Jn 1^{51}). See Bush, *Notes on Genesis*; Dods, *Genesis, in loc.* **2.** In 1 Mac 5^{30} ladders are mentioned among the preparations for the siege of Dathema. The use of scaling ladders for attacking fortified walls was general in ancient warfare. Such ladders are represented on Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, as well as on later classical remains. See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, i. 243; Erman, *Ancient Egypt*, 533; Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 372; Rüstow u. Köchly, *Geschichte des Griechischen Kriegswesens*, 205, 320; Rich, *Rom. and Gr. Antiquities, s.v.* 'Scalæ.'

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* Henderson (*Expos. Times*, Jan. 1893, p. 151 f.) contends that Jacob's 'ladder' was really a temple-tower similar to the Babylonian *E-Sagila*.

JAMES PATRICK.

LADDER OF TYRE (*ἀπὸ τῆς κλίμακος Τύρου*; Vulg. *a terminis Tyri*; Syr. 'from the borders of Tyre,' 1 Mac 11^{59}; Talm. סולמא דצור; '*κλίματος* in Alex. 64, 93 ist vielleicht vorwitzige* Aenderung des unverstandenen Ausdrucks,' Grimm, *Handbuch zu den Apokryphen, loc. cit.*).—This was evidently a prominent landmark; it is given as the northern limit of the territory to the captaincy of which Antiochus VI. promoted Simon Maccabæus (1 Mac 11^{59}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 4). In describing the situation of Acre, Josephus mentions it again, as a mountain lying about 100 stadia to the north (*BJ* II. x. 2). The mountains stand round the plain of Acre almost in the form of a semicircle, terminating S.W. and N.W. in the bold promontories of Carmel and *Râs en-Naḳûrah*, which drop precipitously on the shore. Between the base of Carmel and the beach there is a strip of land, leaving room for a highway, which affords free communication between the plain of Acre and that of Sharon. The cliffs of *Râs en-Naḳûrah*, on the contrary, plunge straight into the waves, and the journey northward is made with difficulty over the height. This has led many to identify *Râs en-Naḳûrah* with the 'Ladder' to be scaled before the land of the Tyrians could be approached. But when this obstacle is surmounted, a not less formidable barrier is interposed between the traveller and Tyre by *Râs el-Abyaḍ*, 'the white promontory,' Pliny's *Promontorium album*, at a few miles' distance, on the northern edge of a pleasant vale. The cliffs of this headland 'of white indurated marl interlaced with seams of dark-coloured flint,' fall from a great height, sheer into the sea. Along the face of the precipice a pathway has been cut, to be traversed not without danger; the crags rising steeply from the edge on one hand, and on the other a perpendicular descent, the waves booming among the rocks and caves 200 ft. below. The ascent to this path is cut after the manner of a staircase. This, perhaps, has led some to identify the Ladder of Tyre with *Râs el-Abyaḍ*. But the same was true of *Râs en-Naḳûrah* before certain recent alterations (*PEF Mem.* i. 192). Asher hazards the conjecture that Benjamin of Tudela intended this place by חוֹמַת צור (vol. ii. p. 75).

A study of the locality together with the statement of Josephus (*BJ* II. x. 2) has convinced the present writer that the name Ladder of Tyre was not applied to either of these promontories alone. Speaking in succession of the mountains of Galilee and Carmel, Josephus says that which the natives call the Ladder of the Tyrians 'is the highest of all.' *Râs en-Naḳûrah*, which is only 223 ft. high, does not answer the description; neither does *Râs el-Abyaḍ*, which, in addition, is not visible from Acre. It could apply only to the lofty ridge N. of the plain, measuring some 8 miles across, and rising to a height of over 1000 ft., which, as it sinks seaward, throws off three distinct headlands, terminating abruptly on the shore: *Râs el-Musheirifeh*, *Râs en-Naḳûrah*, and *Râs el-Abyaḍ*. The two former, being close together, are often spoken of as one under the name of the second. These western spurs, barring the approach to the Phœnician plain, doubtless suggested the name, 'Ladder of the Tyrians,' applied to the whole mountain.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *Later Researches*, 66, 89; Stanley, *Sinai and Pal.* 264, 266, 269; Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 246, 263, 265; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 39; *PEF Mem.* i. 143, 192; Maundrell, *Early Travels in Palestine* (Bohn); Baedeker, *Pal. and Syr.*^{2} 271.

W. EWING.

LADE.—The mod. form 'load' occurs in AV 1611 twice, Is 46^1 'your carriages were heavie loaden,' and Ps 68^{19} 'Blessed be the Lord, who daily loadeth us with benefits.' Elsewhere the form is 'lade,' which is now used only of ships. T. Fuller, *Holy and Profane State*, p. 359, says, 'The ship may have Castor and Pollux for the badge, yet notwithstanding have S. Paul for the lading.'

J. HASTINGS.

LADY.—This word occurs six times in AV, translating three different words. (1) גְּבֶרֶת *gĕbhereth*, which means 'mistress' and is so translated everywhere else (viz. Gn $16^{4.8.9}$, 2 K 5^3, Ps 123^2, Pr 30^{23}, Is 24^2), is translated 'lady' in Is $47^{5.7}$, a tr^n which has come down from Wyclif. RV retains 'lady,' but Amer. RV prefers 'mistress.'

(2) שָׂרָה *sârâh*, the name of Abraham's wife, signifies 'princess,' which is its tr. in 1 K 11^3 and La 1^1 in AV and RV. But in Jg 5^{29}, Est 1^{18} AV gives 'lady,' which RV changes to 'princess' in the second passage; the same change should have been made in the first also. In Is 49^{23} both have 'queen,' with AVm 'princess.'

(3) In NT *κυρία*, which occurs only 2 $\text{Jn}^{1.5}$, is translated 'lady,' a tr^n which again comes from Wyclif. In this case the tr^n is much disputed, some taking the word as a proper name. See art. JOHN, EPISTLES OF, vol. ii. p. 740 f.

As in the sense of *master* 'lord' has nearly passed out of use, except in its application to Christ, so 'lady' in the sense of *mistress* is rapidly passing away, except in reference to the Virgin Mary.* The Douay version of La 1^1 was originally 'How doth the citie ful of people sit solitarie: how is the ladie of the Gentils become as a widow?' But the modern editions have 'mistress' for 'ladie.' Cf. Gn 16^4 Wyc. 'And Agar seigh that sche hadde conseyved, and sche dispiside hir ladi'; and Is 47^7 Cov. 'and thou thoughtest thus, I shalbe lady for ever.'

J. HASTINGS.

LAEL (לָאֵל, BA *Δαήλ*, Luc. *Δαουήλ*; O.L. [Lyons MS] *Dael*;—apparently an error extending through all known copies of the LXX, and earlier than the O.L.).—A Gershonite Levite, Nu 3^{24}. The name means 'belonging to God,' and is interesting as being almost the only example in OT of such a formation (preposition + divine name). The idea expressed by it 'appears to rest on a reflection which must have been foreign to the highest antiquity' (Nöldeke, *WZKM*, 1892, p. 314, quoted in Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, p. 207; cf. also Wellhausen, *Reste*^{2}, p. 7). The nearest Semitic parallel to it adduced by Nöldeke is the Palmyrene לשמש 'belonging to the sun.'

J. A. SELBIE.

LAHAD (לַהַד).—A Judahite family name, 1 Ch 4^2 (B *Λαάθ*, A *Λάδ*).

LAHAI-ROI.—See BEER-LAHAI-ROI.

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* Suggested perhaps by *ὁρίων* which follows.

* In the 'glosses' as they were called, *i.e.* marginal notes, to the fragment of NT printed by Tindale in 1525, there occurs at Mt 1^{25} 'it followeth not that Joseph knew our lady afterward.' In the notes to the NT of 1538, 'Mary' is substituted for 'our lady.'

LAHMAM (לַחְמָם, perh. textual error for לַחְמָס, which is adopted by RVm **Lahmas**, following LXX *Μαχές* and Luc. *Λαμμάς*).—A town of Judah, noticed with others near the foot of the hills, Jos 15^{40}. There is a ruin called *el-Laḥm*, near Beit Jibrîn, which is a possible site (cf. Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung*, 129; *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xx.). C. R. CONDER.

LAHMI. — The name given in our copies of Chronicles to a certain Philistine giant. The statement is: 'And smote Elhanan . . . Lahmi the brother of Goliath the Gittite' (1 Ch 20^{5}). But the parallel statement is: 'And smote Elhanan . . . the Bethlehemite Goliath the Gittite' (2 S 21^{19}). Any one who will compare these, as written in Hebrew characters, will find reason to think that one is a copy of the other, and that one copyist or the other misread his copy. Probably the reading in Samuel is correct, and the word Lahmi (אֶת־לַחְמִי) is properly a part of the word Bethlehemite (בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי), the giant in question being a relative and namesake of the Goliath whom David slew (but see art. DAVID, vol. i. p. 562^{b}, and cf. Driver, *Text of Sam.* p. 272).

W. J. BEECHER.

LAISH (לַיִשׁ).—**1.** The original name of the town of Dan (wh. see), Jg $18^{7.\ 14.\ 27.\ 29}$. The variation **Leshem** (wh. see) occurs in Jos $19^{47\ bis}$. **2.** The father of Palti or Paltiel, to whom Michal, David's wife, was given by Saul, 1 S 25^{44}, 2 S 3^{15}.

LAISHAH (לַיְשָׁה), Is 10^{30}.—The name of a place connected with Gallim, and mentioned here along with other localities in Benjamin and Judah. If Gallim be *Beit Jâla* near Bethlehem, Laishah would also be in that neighbourhood.

LAKE.—The inland waters which may be classed under the term *lakes* are of two kinds—open and closed. Open lakes, in which the water is fresh, have an outlet in the form of a river or stream by which the unevaporated waters escape; while, in the case of closed lakes having no outlet, the water they receive from streams or springs is evaporated as fast as it enters, and as a general result the water of such lakes is salt or brackish. Of both of these varieties we have examples in the cases of the three principal lakes of Palestine; those of Hûleh (Merom), Galilee (Tiberias), and the Dead Sea. In the case of the first two, the waters of the Jordan descending from their sources in the Lebanon, augmented by many other streams flowing in from the east and west, enter from the north and pass out from the south; finally entering at the northern end of the Dead Sea, they pass off into the air by evaporation, there being no outlet from this great reservoir (see MEROM, WATERS OF; GALILEE, L. OF; DEAD SEA). These lakes being each described under their own names, only a few points by which they are connected with each other need be noticed here.

(1) *The physical origin of the Jordanic lakes.*—As the great line of fault and dislocation of the strata known as 'the Jordan-Arabah fault' is now recognized as the primary cause of the valley, or line of depression, of that name, it may be inferred that the existence of the lakes is due to unequal subsidence in the primeval floor of this line of valley; the lake basins representing portions where the depression of the original bed was greater than the intervening portions now occupied by the river Jordan.* In addition to this cause, which may be called *mechanical*, it is not improbable that volcanic action during the Miocene and Pliocene periods may have played an important part in the formation of these great hollows. The evidences of volcanic action all along the eastern side, and, to a limited extent, along the western side, of the Jordan valley are shown in the vast sheets of lava of the Jaulân, Gilead, and Moab; and it seems a fair inference that the withdrawal of such enormous quantities of matter from the underground magma, and its extravasation at the surface, may have resulted in producing subsidences in the bed of the Jordan valley similar to those known to exist in other volcanic regions, such as Auvergne in Central France and the countries bordering the Mediterranean.

(2) *Relative levels.*—The surface of the Lake of Hûleh is 7 feet below that of the Mediterranean, and its depth slight; that of the Sea of Galilee 682 feet below the same level; and that of the Dead Sea 1292 feet: thus the fall between the L. of Hûleh and that of Galilee is 675 feet in a distance of 10 miles, being about 67 feet per mile, that between the L. of Galilee and the Dead Sea 610 feet in a distance of 65 miles, being at the rate of nearly 9·4 feet per mile; the Jordan is therefore, at least in its upper section, a rapid stream. The above distances are measured in a direct line.

Besides these three most important lakes, we may mention—

(*a*) *L. Phiala* (Birket er-Râm), lying at the southern foot of Hermon, a lake, circular in form and about half a mile in diameter, which occupies the crater of an extinct volcano; one of the great group of Trachonitis.*

(*b*) *Birket el-Jish.*—Another small lake of volcanic origin, occupying the crater of a truncated cone called Jebel Jish, not far from Safed, on the western side of the Jordan valley.

(*c*) *The Damascus Lakes.*—These shallow sheets of water, which in summer are converted into swamps, are fed by the Abana (Nahr Barada) and Pharpar (Nahr Taura) 'rivers of Damascus' (2 K 5^{12}). These streams, issuing from the ravines in the Lebanon, by whose springs they are fed, pour their life-giving waters over a tract of the Syrian Desert in which the city of Damascus is situated; and, assisted by an ancient system of canals and conduits, spread fertility over an area of several hundred square miles, converting it into a garden remarkable both for the richness and the variety of the vegetation, which has been a theme of admiration for all travellers. The Abana traverses the city itself, and its waters are distributed by seven canals and conduits (see DAMASCUS). Looking at the beneficent effects of the waters of these rivers on the soil of Syria, Naaman seems to have been fully justified from his point of view in exclaiming, 'Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel?' E. HULL.

LAKKUM (לַקּוּם, B *Δωδάμ*, A *ἄκρου*, Luc. *Λακούμ*).—A town of Naphtali, Jos 19^{33}. It is mentioned in the *Onomasticon* as *Λακούμ*, but the site has not been recovered.

LAMA.—See ELI, ELI, LAMA SABACHTHANI.

LAMB is used to render various Hebrew terms, of which the most frequent are the following: **1.** כֶּבֶשׂ *kebes*, LXX *ἀμνός*, with its feminines *kibsāh* and *kabsāh*, *ἀμνάς*, EV 'ewe lamb,' whence by metathesis the less common forms כֶּשֶׂב *keseb* and כִּשְׂבָּה *kisbāh*. *Kebes* is said to occur 87 times in

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* It should be recollected, however, that these supposed local depressions occurred *not* from a nearly horizontal floor, but from one inclined from north to south; in other words, from the sources of the Lebanon to the original floor of the Dead Sea —a slope of over 2000 feet in a distance of about 150 miles.

* Described by S. Merrill (*East of the Jordan*, 14 (1881)), Tristram (*Land of Israel*, 589, 2nd ed.).

Ex, Lv, and Nu (all in passages belonging to P) in connexion with the ritual of the various sacrifices. It most nearly corresponds to our 'lamb,' being very frequently employed with the qualification 'of the first year' (בֶּן־שָׁנָה lit. 'son of a year'). In a number of passages the Revisers have sought to bring out more clearly the distinction between the masc. and the fem. forms by rendering *kebes* more uniformly 'he-lamb' (as opp. to *kibsāh* 'ewe-lamb,' Nu 6^{14} etc.), see Nu $7^{17ff.}$ $28^{3ff.}$ $29^{2ff.}$, Lv $14^{13.21}$.

2. שֶׂה *seh*, which strictly denotes 'a head of small cattle' (צֹאן), *i.e.* a sheep or a goat, and therefore lacks the precision of *kebes* (cf. Ex 12^5 'Your [Passover] lamb (שֶׂה) shall be without blemish, a male of the first year, ye shall take it from the sheep (כְּבָשִׂים) or from the goats'). In a few passages our EV have 'sheep' where, as in Ex 12^5 just quoted, the context points to 'lamb' as the more appropriate rendering, so *e.g.* Lv 22^{27}.

3. כַּר *kar*, perhaps a he-lamb at a stage intermediate between the *kebes* and the *'ayil* (אַיִל) or ram. *Kārîm* are mentioned as delicacies Dt 32^{14}, Am 6^4, as coveted spoil 1 S 15^9, and as tribute Is 16^1, 2 K 3^4 (Mesha's to the king of Israel; cf. RVm and *Comm. in loc.*).

In three passages of the Greek translation the obscure word קְשִׂיטָה *ḳĕsîṭah* is wrongly translated 'lambs' (see art. KESITAH).

We have seen how frequently lambs are mentioned in connexion with the sacrifices of the Priests' Code. Of these may be singled out the daily morning and evening sacrifice—the תָּמִיד *tāmîd* of later Judaism; cf. Dn $8^{11ff.}$ and Mishna *passim*—at each of which 'a male of the first year, without spot,' was offered (Ex $29^{38ff.}$, Nu $28^{3ff.}$); the Sabbath *tāmîd*, when the number of lambs was doubled (Nu $28^{9f.}$); the sacrifices at the great festivals such as Pentecost, when nine lambs in all were offered, and Booths, when the daily number rose to fourteen (Nu $29^{13ff.}$, but seven only on the eighth day, v.^{36}). To a different category belong the mother's offering of a lamb after childbirth (Lv 12^6), and the leper's of 'two he-lambs and one ewe-lamb of the first year' (Lv $14^{10ff.}$). For the special case of the Passover lamb, see art. PASSOVER.

The flesh of the lamb was naturally esteemed a delicacy among the Hebrews as elsewhere (Dt 32^{14}, Am 6^4; also 2 S $12^{3ff.}$, Nathan's parable of the ewe-lamb). It was forbidden, however, to kill a lamb till it was a week old (Ex 22^{30}, Lv 22^{27}), and even then the dam and her offspring must not be killed on the same day (Lv 22^{28}).

It was inevitable that so familiar and characteristic a creature as the lamb should supply Hebrew writers with a variety of figures. Thus the gambolling of lambs in the spring-time suggests itself to the author of the Book of Wisdom as a suitable figure for the exuberant and praiseful joy of the Hebrews on the occasion of the exodus from Egypt (Wis 19^9; cf. a similar figure in Mal 4^2 [Heb. 3^{20}]). In Hebrew, as in other literatures, the lamb is the symbol of innocence and gentleness, as opposed to cunning and ferocity. 'What fellowship,' asks ben-Sira, 'hath the wolf with the lamb?' (Sir 13^{17}; cf. Horace, *Epod.* iv. 1); yet one of the most striking features of the Messianic age is the cessation of this hereditary antipathy, when 'the wolf shall dwell with the lamb' (Is 11^6; cf. 65^{25}). The lambs are the special object of the Messiah's care (Is 40^{11} טְלָאִים *ṭĕlā'îm*, ἄρνας). In the spirit of this prophecy we find that 'feed my lambs' (τὰ· ἀρνία μου) was part of the Master's threefold charge to Peter (Jn 21^{15}).

The lamb as the synonym of guileless innocence and gentleness, further, is appropriated by Jeremiah, who, all unsuspicious of the wiles of his enemies, describes himself as 'a gentle lamb' (Jer 11^{19} RV), a figure repeated in the familiar portrait of the suffering Servant of J″, who is also portrayed 'as a lamb that is led to the slaughter' (Is 53^7 RV).* The influence of the latter passage in shaping the Messianic Hope of Judaism cannot be over-estimated. Thus it is generally admitted that it, above all, was in the Baptist's mind when he pointed to our Lord with the words, 'Behold the Lamb of God † (ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ) which taketh away the sin of the world' (Jn $1^{29.36}$; cf. Ac 8^{32}). It is not impossible, however, that there may also be included a reference to the lamb of the daily sacrifice and even to the lamb of the approaching Passover (see Westcott, *in loc.*), since the writer of the Fourth Gospel beyond a doubt declares the Saviour upon the cross to be the true Paschal Lamb (see esp. Jn 19^{36}; cf. for St. Paul 1 Co 5^7). This expiatory aspect of our Saviour's death is also emphasized by St. Peter in his application to Christ of the technical attributes of the sacrificial victim, 'a lamb without blemish and without spot' (1 P 1^{19}; cf. Ritschl, *Die christl. Lehre v. d. Rechtfertigung*², 1882, ii. 176, 177).

There remains the oft-recurring (twenty-seven times) symbol of the Book of Revelation, in which our Lord is figured as the 'Lamb' (note ἀρνίον throughout, not ἀμνός), first introduced in 5^6 'as though it had been slain' (ἀρνίον . . . ὡς ἐσφαγμένον). This is not the least striking of the points of contact—even though the terms used are not identical—between the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel (see the latest commentary, Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis*, 1896, p. 206), and in so far supports the opinion of those who seek the source of the apocalyptic symbol in the Paschal Lamb rather than in Is 53^7 (for the whole question see the commentaries and works on NT theology). The lamb in early Christian symbolism is beyond the limits of a Dictionary of the Bible (see art. LAMB in Smith's *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

LAME, LAMENESS.—See MEDICINE.

LAMECH (לֶמֶךְ, Λάμεχ).‡—**1.** A descendant of Cain, Gn $4^{18ff.}$ (J). He is said to have married two wives, Adah and Zillah (v.^{19} the first mention of polygamy in the Bible), the former of whom became the mother of Jabal and Jubal, the latter of Tubal-cain (v.$^{20ff.}$). Legend ascribed to Lamech the following somewhat enigmatical utterance, which has been preserved by J in poetical form:—

> 'Adah and Zillah, hear my voice;
> Ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech;
> For I slay (have slain?) a man for wounding me,
> And a young man for bruising me.
> If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold,
> Truly Lamech shall be avenged seventy and sevenfold.'

The above is frequently called 'the sword-lay,' being supposed to be a glorification by Lamech of the weapons forged by his son Tubal-cain, by the aid of which he can defy his enemies and defend himself, instead of having to look, like Cain, to God for protection. This is the generally accepted interpretation of modern scholars (those who are curious to make acquaintance with Jewish and patristic fancies may refer to Smith's *DB*, *s.* 'Lamech'), and there can be little doubt that it is mainly correct. Wellhausen (*Composition d. Hex.* 305), it is true, thinks it is precarious to explain the lay from its present context, with which it may have a purely accidental connexion. That is to say, he sees no necessity for connecting Lamech's language with Tubal-cain's invention, but would recognize in it only a piece of characteristic Oriental bravado (the calling in of the wives is characteristic too, parallels being found amongst the Arabs) uttered by one clan (or chieftain) against another. Holzinger substantially accepts Wellhausen's explanation.

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* The terms are different, however, in the original: כֶּבֶשׂ in Jer 11^{19}, שֶׂה in Is 53^7.

† Cf. also the pseudepigraphic work, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*: 'Honour Judah and Levi, for from them shall arise for you *the lamb of God* (ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ), saving all nations by grace' (*Test. Josephi* 19).

‡ Dillm. and Holzinger agree (against Budde) that the name למך is unintelligible from Hebrew, but that Arabic may give the meaning *juvenis robustus*. Ball ('Genesis,' in *SBOT*), following Hommel (*PSBA*, March 1893), considers *Lamech* 'to be an easy adaptation of Bab. *Lamga*, "the Servant" (of Merodach), another title of Sin, synonymous with *Ubara* in the name *Ubara-tutu*, "vassal of Merodach," the 'Ωτιάρτης (or rather 'Ωπάρτης) of Berosus, and father of Ξίσουθρος, the hero of the Flood, who corresponds to the Hebrew Noah.'

2. A descendant of Seth and father of Noah, Gn $5^{25f. 28. 30f.}$ (P), 1 Ch 1^{3}. From the coincidence of the names *Lamech* and *Enoch* in the Cainite genealogy of J (Gn 4) and the Sethite genealogy of P (ch. 5), as well as the very close resemblance between a number of other names in the two lists, it is generally held that we have before us two recensions of one and the same list, the object of the one being to trace the descent of the human race to an ancestor called Cain, the other to one called Seth. Delitzsch, while opposing this, agrees with Wellhausen, that, together with the genealogy 4^{16-22} terminating in Lamech and his three sons, there was in the Jahwistic document another genealogy which started from Adam and terminated in Noah and his three sons, and that this has been displaced by the genealogy of P (ch. 5). Wellh. finds the conclusion of J's narrative in 5^{29}, its opening perhaps in $4^{25f.}$.

LITERATURE.—Buttmann, *Mythologus*, i. 152 ff.; Budde, *Bib. Urgeschichte*, 102, 130 ff.; Wellh. *Comp.* 5, 305; Kuenen, *Hexateuch* (Macmillan), 252; Reuss, *AT* 213 f.; Stade, *ZATW* (1894), 283, 295 ff.; *Comm.* of Del., Dillm., and Holzinger, *ad loc.*

J. A. SELBIE.

LAMED (ל).—The twelfth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 12th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. In this Dictionary it is transliterated by *l*.

LAMENTATION.—See MOURNING.

LAMENTATIONS, BOOK OF—consists of five poems, whose subject is the sufferings of Judah and Jerusalem during the siege and subsequent to the capture of the city by the Chaldæans (B.C. 586). The description of the woes of the people is interspersed with confessions of sin, exhortations to repentance, and supplications for a return of the divine favour.

I. NAME AND PLACE IN THE CANON.—In Hebrew Bibles the title of the book, taken from its opening word, is *'Ekhah* (אֵיכָה = How !). Another name, which occurs in the Massoretic subscription and in the Talmud and Rabbinical literature, is *Ḳînôth* (קִינוֹת), to which correspond the Θρῆνοι of the Sept. and the *Threni*, *Lamentationes*, *Lamenta* of Jerome and the Fathers. In the Heb. Canon (according to German MSS) the book is placed among the *Kĕthûbhîm* or Hagiographa, and forms one of the five *Megillôth* or Rolls (Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther). These were read in the Synagogue service on stated occasions every year, Lamentations on the 9th of Ab, the anniversary of the destruction of the temple. In the Sept. as in the Eng. Bible, Lamentations immediately follows Jeremiah. That this was not the position in which the Sept. translators found it, is held by some to be proved by the circumstance, noted by Nöldeke, that the trⁿ of the two books is not from the same hand, Jer being a comparatively free rendering of the original, while Lamentations is rigorously literal and marked by numerous Hebraisms. When the latter book attained to its present position in the Alex. Canon, it came to be regarded more and more as an appendage to its predecessor, until Jeremiah-Lamentations could be reckoned a single book like Judges-Ruth. This result was reached all the more readily in some quarters owing to a fancy for reckoning the canonical books of the OT as twenty-two, the number of letters in the Heb. alphabet. (See Ryle, *Canon of the OT*, 219 f., and Wildeboer, *Entstehung des AT Kanons*, 76 f.).

II. STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK.—The first four chapters are acrostic poems, of which the first, the second, and the fourth contain each 22 verses which open with the Heb. letters in succession. Ch. 3 contains 66 verses, and each letter is repeated thrice, having three successive verses assigned to it. Ch. 5 is not acrostic, but contains 22 verses. In chs. 1 and 2 the verses consist of three members, in 4 of only two, while in 3 each verse has but a single member. It is the *division* of these members, however, which characterizes the four poems we are discussing. The *Ḳînah* or elegy is marked by a peculiar rhythm which differentiates it from ordinary Hebrew poetry. De Wette, Keil, Ewald, and others helped to elucidate the nature and laws of the elegiac measure, but to Budde belongs the merit of having thoroughly investigated and explained the subject. His conclusions are set forth mainly in an essay in the *ZATW* (1882, pp. 1–52); but the Eng. reader will find all that is essential in an interesting article contributed by the same author to the *New World* (March 1893), under the title 'The Folk-Song of Israel in the mouth of the Prophets.'

The characteristic features of the elegiac measure are that each verse-member (there may be one or more members in a verse) is divided by a *cæsura* into two unequal parts, of which the second is the shorter (the proportion is generally 3 : 2), and that this second part, instead of balancing and reinforcing the first, as is usual in the Heb. poetry, is frequently an imperfect echo of it, or not parallel in thought to it. (See Driver's *LOT*⁶ 458). Budde has proved that this was the strain affected by the 'mourning women' in their lamentations for the dead. In Jer 9^{17}, where these are summoned to utter a dirge, the 'limping verse,' as Budde calls it, is introduced with great effect (vv.$^{19. 21. 22}$) alternately with the ordinary evenly-moving verse. There are numerous other instances of its occurrence in the OT, of which we may cite the magnificent passage Is 14^{4b-21} (ode on the king of Babylon), Ezk 19, and Am 5^{2} (cf. Driver's note on this last passage). The prophets seem to have adopted this measure whenever they desired to make an unusually deep impression. It is obvious that all the associations connected with it rendered its employment in Lamentations specially suitable. 'The singer or singers employed this versification because it afforded them the surest way of putting their listeners into a mood corresponding to their melancholy utterances. High and low, learned and unlearned, old and young, man and woman, all understood this melody, all felt themselves transported by it to the bier of their relatives or neighbours, and were carried away by it to bewail their people, their city, themselves' (Budde). The plaintive melancholy cadence can be fully appreciated only in the original Hebrew, but its effect can be approximately reproduced even in English. Take as an example 1^{5}—

'Her adversaries are become the head,
Her enemies prosper;
For the Lord hath afflicted her
For the multitude of her transgressions:
Her young children are gone into captivity
Before the adversary.'

(It is greatly to be regretted that this peculiar rhythm is not exhibited in the RV, although in Kautzsch's *AT* it is reproduced very effectively in German by Baethgen).

The text of Lamentations is in some instances corrupt, and it is not easy to bring every verse under Budde's scheme. Still, not a little success has been achieved by this critic and others in restoring the original text of the *Ḳinah*. See, further, art. POETRY.

From all this it is evident that in poems such as those that make up Lamentations we have no simple spontaneous outburst of grief, but the result of conscious effort and of not a little technical skill. While ch. 5 is not in the *Ḳinah* measure (it is only accidentally that vv.$^{2.\ 3.\ 14}$ conform to it), something of the same effect is produced by the assonances (*u, nu, anu, enu, inu, unu*), which recur 44 times (Reuss), and to which there is no parallel in the OT except in Ps 124.

III. ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS.—Each of the five poems is complete in itself, and forms a well-rounded whole, independent alike of its predecessor and its successor. This was admitted even by Eichhorn, who ascribed all the five to Jeremiah, but held that they were composed by the prophet at different times and when in different moods. Attempts have indeed been made to trace a progress either in the historical situation (de Wette), or in the thoughts (Ewald), from one chapter to another. The former failed completely to accomplish his self-imposed task, and the scheme of the latter can be carried through only by discovering in the Lamentations features that are absent and ignoring others that are present. Ewald certainly lays himself open to the sarcastic remark of Thenius, that upon such principles a connexion could be established between the most disparate elements in the world. Let any careful student judge whether it is correct to say with Ewald that chs. 1 and 2 contain the bitterest and, as yet, hopeless complaints; that in ch. 3, which is the turning-point, the poet reaches comfort at least for himself; that in ch. 4 lamentation indeed recurs, but now the people break in with the language of prayer and hope; while in ch. 5 we have nothing but prayer, offered by the whole community, whose tone is sad indeed, yet composed and hopeful. No doubt Ewald exhibits here an attractive model from which the author or authors *might* have worked, but they have not done so. Nay, so far from there being any traceable connexion between the different poems, it is no easy matter sometimes to discover connecting links between the verses of the same poem. The truth is that the nature of the subject did not readily admit of logical development, and it may have been partly for this reason and as a mnemonic device that the acrostic scheme was adopted in the first four chapters (its absence in ch. 5 has never been satisfactorily explained). In chs. 2 and 4 the verses have the firmest, in 1 and 5 the loosest connexion. In the light of the foregoing remarks it will be understood that the following scheme of analysis, which is mainly Löhr's, is largely provisional.

Ch. 1 contains two divisions—(*a*) vv.$^{1-11b}$ spoken by the poet (with the exception of ^{9c}); (*b*) vv.$^{11c-22}$ spoken by the city (with the exception of ^{17}). The ever-recurring themes are the abandonment of the city by her allies, the distress of her inhabitants, the pride of the enemy. In v.^{8} there is already a confession that Jerusalem has been justly punished for her sins, and in ^{9c} already a cry to God, which is repeated in ^{11c}. In vv.$^{12-16}$, where the city is supposed to speak, we have an appeal to passers-by, to whom under a variety of figures the misery of Zion is described. In v.^{17} the poet suddenly speaks again in his own person, but in vv.$^{18.\ 19}$ it is once more the city that appeals to all peoples, and in vv.$^{20-22}$ addresses a prayer to J″ to execute vengeance on the foes who had gloried in Jerusalem's misfortunes.

In ch. 2 the situation reminds us of Jer 14$^{15-18}$. There are two main divisions—(*a*) vv.$^{1-12}$. The daughter of Zion has been crushed down by the judgment of J″, all her political glory has faded, her temple has been destroyed, the city and its inhabitants have suffered alike. The agonies of the siege, the despair of the citizens, the terrible scenes due to famine, are realistically depicted; (*b*) vv.$^{13-22}$. The poet turns to the people with mingled warnings and consolation. The sin of Jerusalem, especially of her false prophets, and the scorn that has overtaken the latter, are held up to view; the nation is invited to turn to J″ in supplication (vv.$^{18.\ 19}$), and it responds in the prayer of vv.$^{20-22}$.

Ch. 3 is the most important from a *religious* point of view, and is also constructed with the most art. It differs from the other chapters in being spoken in the 1st person singular, although we should perhaps understand the 'I' not of an individual, but of the people collectively, after the manner of Pss 31. 34. 35. 51, and many of the later psalms.* The chapter may be arranged under three divisions. (*a*) Vv.$^{1-18}$ touchingly describe the utter desolation of the people, but at the mention of God in v.^{18} a ray of hope darts into the soul of the speaker, who after the parenthetical passage (vv.$^{19-21}$) passes on to fulfil in (*b*) a *didactic* function (vv.$^{22-51}$). The inexhaustible compassion of God is insisted upon, the purposes of grace which He may have in His visitation are suggested, all tending to enforce the call to repentance. (*c*) In vv.$^{52-54}$ there is a return to the tone of complaint, which soon passes, however, into joyful confidence (vv.$^{55-58}$) that God will hear and deliver, while vv.$^{59-66}$ breathe a prayer for vengeance on the nation's foes. (As to the interpretation of vv.$^{56ff.}$ and the question of a *precative* perfect, see Ewald's *Heb. Syntax*, Kennedy's tr. p. 15; Driver's *Heb. Tenses*^{3}, pp. 14, 25; Davidson's *Heb. Syntax*, p. 63).

Ch. 4 closely resembles in structure ch. 3. There are two main divisions, the first of which falls into two subdivisions. (*a*) Vv.$^{1-11}$, of which vv.$^{1-6}$ exactly balance vv.$^{7-11}$. The בְּנֵי צִיּוֹן of the one is parallel to the נְצִירִים of the other; in both sections there is a description of the sufferings occasioned by famine, and a tracing of these to the anger of J″ (v.^{12}, which breaks the connexion, probably owes its origin simply to the necessities of the acrostic scheme). In (*b*) there are three subdivisions—(1) vv.$^{13-16}$ treat of the sin and the punishment of the priests and the prophets; (2) vv.$^{17.20}$ of the sin and the punishment of the king and his courtiers, who looked in vain to Egypt for help; (3) vv.$^{21.\ 22}$ address a word of threatening to Edom and of comfort to Israel.

Ch. 5, like ch. 1, is wanting in consecutive thought. It opens with a prayer that J″ would look upon the reproach of His people, which is described from a variety of points of view (vv.$^{2-18}$). Zion's desolation suggests, by way of contrast, J″'s abiding power, upon the ground of which the poet repeats his appeal for help (vv.$^{20-22}$). The last verse being considered one of ill omen, the Jews were accustomed in reading to repeat after it the preceding verse. For a similar reason the same usage was followed in connexion with the last verse of Isaiah, Malachi, and Ecclesiastes.

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* So Calov, Hupfeld, Reuss, Cheyne, Smend (see esp. *ZATW*, 1882, p. 62 ff.). On the other hand, Budde (*Klagelieder*, 92 f.) contends for the individual sense of the 'I,' by which he supposes the author of the poem to have intended an eye-witness (most likely Jeremiah) of the destruction of Jerusalem.

IV. Authorship.—Both in Jewish and in Christian circles a tradition has long prevailed that the book was written by Jeremiah. We will examine—

(*a*) *The External Evidence.*—While the Heb. Bible is silent as to the authorship of Lamentations, it is otherwise with the Sept., where the book opens thus: *καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐρημωθῆναι ἐκάθισεν Ἰερεμίας κλαίων καὶ ἐθρήνησεν τὸν θρῆνον τοῦτον ἐπὶ Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ εἶπεν* ('And it came to pass, after Israel was led into captivity and Jerusalem laid waste, that Jeremiah sat weeping, and lamented with this lamentation over Jerusalem, and said'). It has been urged that these words, which sound like the rendering of a Heb. original, imply a notice to the above effect in the Heb. MS from which the Sept. translator worked. The Vulg. opens with words which reproduce in Lat. the above Gr. sentence, with the additional phrase *et amaro animo suspirans et ejulans*, and these words in italics imply, acc. to some, the existence of yet another Heb. original. In ch. 5, moreover, Vulg. has the heading *Oratio Jeremiæ prophetæ*. The superscription of the book in Pesh. also supports the same tradition.

There are, however, two circumstances that greatly weaken the force of the above evidence. Firstly, the absence of any allusion to Jeremiah in the MT would be utterly inexplicable if such a notice as occurs in the Sept. had ever stood in the Hebrew. As every student knows, it was far more the tendency of copyists to add than to suppress. Secondly, the place of the book in the Heb. Canon, not attached to Jer, but included among the *Kěthûbhîm*, is hard to reconcile with its prophetic authorship. As Driver remarks, at least three centuries separated the Sept. from Jeremiah, and its notice quoted above may be merely an inference founded on the general resemblance of tone which the Lamentations exhibit to such passages as Jer 8^{18}–9, 14–15, and on the reference assumed to be contained in $3^{14.\ 53\text{-}56}$ to incidents in the prophet's life (Jer 20^7 $38^{6\text{ff.}}$). It was doubtless a similar feeling that gave rise to the extraordinary conflate reading *τῷ Δαυὶδ Ἰερεμίου*, which is the title in some MSS of Ps 137 (Cheyne). According to Löhr and Gerlach, the *καὶ ἐγένετο*, etc., of the Sept. was written in order to connect Lamentations with the prophecies of Jeremiah, probably at the time when it was an object to reduce the number of books in the Canon to twenty-two. It need scarcely be added that the statements of the Fathers, the superscription in the Targum, and the citations from the Talmud, have no independent value as evidence in regard to the authorship.

There has been much discussion as to the meaning of 2 Ch 35^{25} 'And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah, and all the singing men and singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations unto this day, and they made them an ordinance in Israel, *and behold they are written in the lamentations*.' The question is whether the words we have italicized refer to our book of Lamentations. If so, we should have a tradition as early as the days of the Chronicler (*c.* B.C. 250) in favour of Jeremiah's authorship of at least a portion of its contents. Thenius answers the above question in the negative, holding that the *Ḳînôth* referred to were *a collection of lamentations for the dead* sung on the occasion of the burial of the kings of Judah. In this collection Jeremiah's lament for Josiah may easily have had a place, but our book never formed part of it. On the other hand, a great many of the leading OT scholars of the day understand the Chronicler to refer to the canonical book of Lamentations. Löhr offers three reasons for this conclusion: (1) it is hard to believe that there were extant other lamentations by Jeremiah outside the Canon; (2) the Chronicler might readily have referred such passages as La 2^6 and 4^{20} to Josiah; (3) an uncritical writer like the Chronicler might easily have committed a blunder into which Jos. (*Ant.* x. i. 5) probably and Jerome certainly fell. The words of the latter in commenting on Zec 12^{11} are, 'super quo (Josia) lamentationes scripsit Jeremias, *quæ leguntur in Ecclesia* et scripsisse eum Paralipomenon testatur liber.' The same interpretation of the Chronicler's language is supported by Nöldeke, Cornill, Wildeboer, W. R. Smith, and Budde.[*] If it be correct, it gives us a testimony in favour of Jeremiah's connexion with Lamentations, dating from about the same period, and entitled to much the same consideration as the testimony of the Sept. which we have just examined. As the external evidence is manifestly insufficient to decide the question, we are thrown back upon—

(*b*) *The Internal Evidence.*—At the first glance this may seem to be in favour of Jeremiah's authorship, which has been strongly maintained by Keil and others. The verdict of modern criticism, however, is given for the most part against the traditional view. The undoubted affinities of all the five chapters with Jer (see a list of similarities in Driver, *LOT*^{6} 462*d*) are recognized by critics of all schools, but are explained on the ground that this prophet's works were the favourite study of the author or authors of Lamentations, who were in such sympathy with his spirit that the book might be entitled 'Lamentations of the sons of Jeremiah' (Cheyne).

There are several passages which militate against Jer.'s authorship. La 2^9 ('Her prophets find no vision from the Lord') might almost be pronounced decisive. In this same verse, moreover, חָזוֹן is used in a special sense which meets us for the first time in Ezk 12^{27}. A number of other instances are cited by Cornill (*Einleit.*^{2} 247) where the language shows such a dependence upon Ezekiel (who did not publish his prophecies before B.C. 570), that Jeremiah's authorship seems out of the question. La 4^{17} does not sound like the language of Jeremiah, who never shared the hopes of those who looked for help to Egypt. La 4^{20} could hardly be spoken of Zedekiah by one who judged him as Jeremiah did. Chs. 1 and 5 imply an acquaintance with Deutero-Isaiah, while ch. 3 contains echoes of the later psalms and of Job (which probably dates at the earliest from the Exile). In his *Job and Solomon*, Cheyne adduces the following parallels with the latter book—La $3^{7.\ 9}$ = Job 19^8, La 3^8 = Job 30^{20}, La 3^{10} = Job 10^{16}, La $3^{12.\ 13}$ = Job 7^{20} $16^{12.\ 13}$, La $3^{14.\ 63}$ = Job 30^9. The dependence of the elegies upon Job is more likely than the converse supposition.

A circumstance that may have some bearing on the question of authorship, is that the order of the letters ע and פ is different in chs. 2–4 from what it is in ch. 1. In the latter the normal order is followed, in the other three chapters פ precedes ע (a phenomenon which occurs also in the correct text of Ps 34 as well as in Pr 31 [according to the LXX], probably also in Ps 9 f., and, according to Bickell, in Nah 1; cf. Budde, *Klagelieder*, 70 f.). Even if we suppose, with Thenius, Ewald, Nägelsbach, and others, that at one time the order of the Heb. alphabet was not definitely fixed, it is hardly likely that one and the same author would have followed different orders in two successive poems. This would indicate, then, that at least ch. 1 is from a different hand from chs. 2–4.

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[*] Budde points out, however, that the Chronicler does not attribute all five poems to Jeremiah, but apparently only one of them, the other four being assigned to the 'singing men and singing women' (*Klagelieder*, p. 73).

In regard to the linguistic aspect of the question, it may be mentioned that Löhr (*ZATW*, 1894, Heft 1; cf. Driver, *LOT*^{6} 463) subjects the vocabulary of Jeremiah and of Lamentations to a comparison, the result of which is that while the words common to both are four times as numerous as those found only in Lamentations, yet the latter contains a great many words not found in Jeremiah. These words, moreover, are without exception important, while the common use of words like אִישׁ or בֵּן, of course, proves nothing as to community of authorship (*e.g.* שׁ for אֲשֶׁר, which occurs in La $2^{15.16}$ 4^9 5^{18}, is unknown to Jer). Many of the above considerations tell not only against Jeremiah's authorship but against—

V. The Unity of the Book.—While there is comparative agreement amongst modern critics that Jeremiah is not the author, there has been much diversity of opinion as to the number of authors whose work is to be traced in the book. W. R. Smith argued strongly that the book is a unity (art. 'Lamentations' in *Encycl. Brit.*^{9}), but the prevailing tendency at present is decidedly adverse to this opinion. It is pretty generally agreed that at least ch. 3 is by a different and later hand than the rest of the book. Budde formerly (*ZATW*, 1882) agreed with Stade, who is content to go this length, and who assigns 1. 2. 4. 5 to a single author. Thenius holds 2 and 4 to be Jeremiah's, while 1. 3. 5 are assigned each to a separate author. A considerable number of modern critics divide the book into three groups in the following chronological order (2 and 4) (1 and 5) (3). This, which was the scheme of Nöldeke, has gained the adherence of Löhr, Cornill, Wildeboer, and now (*Klagelieder*, 1898, pp. 74 ff.) substantially of Budde.* Another arrangement of the book is that of Cheyne (*Jeremiah* in 'Men of the Bible' series), which also recognizes three groups (1. 2. 4) (3) (5). On this question criticism has not yet spoken the last word.

VI. Place and Date of Composition.—Upon these two points there are differences of opinion even amongst those who support Jeremiah's authorship of the book. The freshness of the pictures has often been adduced as an argument for an early date. It may be said, however, that while there is something that appeals to the imagination in the old picture of the faithful prophet sitting down to lament the fate of the city which had turned a deaf ear to his warnings, it is a psychological improbability that a man of Jeremiah's spirit should have turned out acrostic poems, and especially such a laboured work of art as ch. 3 amidst blackened ruins where the fire had hardly cooled, and in streets where the blood had hardly dried. Hence, even if the poems were his, we should have to think of a relatively late date for their composition, when the bitterness of the moment had given place to calm reflection. (With this tallies 5^{20} 'so long time'). Thenius, who regarded 2 and 4 as genuine productions of Jeremiah, dated the one at about B.C. 581 (prior to the third deportation after the murder of Gedaliah), and the other at a later period, during the prophet's sojourn in Egypt. Löhr formerly fixed upon 550 as an approximate date for the completion of the book. This would allow sufficient time to account for the references to Ezekiel. In a later work (1893) Löhr is willing to come down as late as 530, but objects to a post-exilic date, because he holds that the *Ḳinah* measure, although found in Deutero-Isaiah, cannot be traced in any post-exilic work (not occurring in Hag, Zec, Mal, Jl, or Jon). Wildeboer finds nothing in the contents of the book to compel us to fix upon the close of the Exile as the *terminus ad quem* for the publication of Lamentations. Some of the elegies might well have been composed in Babylon by an exile who did not share the sanguine expectations of Deutero-Isaiah, or even in Judæa by one who had returned with Zerubbabel in 536. Wildeboer thinks, however, that the latest possible date is 516, the year when the rebuilding of the temple was finished. But if the possibility of Lamentations being post-exilic is admitted, some plausibility must be conceded to Cheyne's suggestion (*Founders of OT Criticism*, 356) that as the church of the second temple composed its own psalms, it is far from impossible that it preferred to indite fresh elegies for use on the old fast-days. There were details enough in the historical books to enable a poet possessed of dramatic imagination to draw the pictures in Lamentations. The tone of the book, however, is inconsistent with the contention of Fries (*ZATW*, 1893), that chs. 4 and 5 belong to so late a period as that of the Maccabees. This is conclusively proved by Löhr (*ZATW*, 1894), who exhibits the complete contrast between the Maccabæan Psalms, where the people protest that they suffer in spite of their innocence, and the Bk. of Lamentations, which confesses throughout that the nation's suffering is due to the nation's sin.

Literature.—Driver, *LOT*^{6} 456–465; Cornill, *Einleit.*^{2} 244–248; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 181, 219, also art. 'Lamentations' in *Encyc. Brit.*^{9}; Wildeboer, *Lit. d. AT*, 298–303; Nöldeke, *AT Lit.* 142 ff.; artt. by Budde, Smend, Löhr, Fries in *ZATW* (1882–1894); Ryle, *Canon of OT*, 69, 115, 121, 219; Wildeboer, *Entsteh. d. AT Kan.* 9, 12, 17, 77, 131 ff.; Buhl, *Canon and Text of OT*, 20, 39 f. Of modern foreign commentaries may be mentioned those of Thenius, Keil, Ewald, Gerlach, Reuss, Nägelsbach, Löhr (1891 and 1893, the latter in Nowack's *Handkom. z. AT*; both Löhr's works are exceedingly valuable, and there is an important review of the first by A. B. Davidson in *Crit. Review*, Jan. 1892); Minocchi, *Le Lament. di Geremia*, 1897; Budde in *Kurzer Hdcomm.*, 1898. Amongst Eng. commentaries are those of Payne Smith (in *Speaker's Comm.*), Plumptre (in *Ellicott's Comm. on OT*), Cheyne (in *Pulpit Comm.*), cf. the same author's *Jeremiah* in 'Men of the Bible' series, and his *Founders of OT Criticism*, 356 f.; Streane (*Camb. Bible for Schools*), Adeney (in *Expositor's Bible*). See also Greenup, *Targum on Lam.*, *Comm. of Rabbi Tobia ben Elieser on Lam.*, *Short Comm. on Lamentations.* J. A. Selbie.

LAMP (לַפִּיד, נֵר, *λύχνος*, *λαμπάς*).—The first of these words is tr^{d} 'torch' in Nah 2^4 and Zec 12^6 (AV and RV); and in Gn 15^{17}, Jg 7^{16}, Job 41^{19}, Ezk 1^{13} the same tr^{n} is adopted by RV in place of 'lamp' of AV. The other Heb. word, as well as the Gr. *λαμπάς*,* may mean torch likewise, but is more properly lamp, with oil and wick, as in the description of the golden candlestick (Ex 25^{31-37}) of the tabernacle, and those made by Solomon for the temple (2 Ch $4^{20.21}$), which were kept burning all night (Ex $30^{7.8}$, Lv 24^2).

The common lamps of Pal. were of terra-cotta, as we have abundant evidence from the numerous specimens found in all parts. Glass lamps of Egyp. or Phœn. make might have been known, and bronze lamps are not infrequently found. Very little is known of the lamps used in Egypt. Herod. (ii. 62) describes them as flat saucers filled with a mixture of salt and oil, on the top of which floated the wick. The oldest form of lamp found in Pal. is not unlike that described by Herodotus. It is like a shallow saucer, the rim of which, on one side, is pinched together, forming a narrow channel through which the wick passed (see Fig. 1). This style is called Phœn., and is found in the tombs and ruins of the oldest cities in Phœnicia and Palestine (*PEFSt*, 1893, p. 14; and Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities*, p. 87). The more common forms are oblong, but not open like the above. There is a saucer-like depression in the upper surface, at the bottom of which there is an orifice for the admission of the oil into the lamp, and another opening at the extremity for the admission of the wick. At the opposite end there is often a small handle (see Figs. 2 and 3: Fig. 3 is bronze). Sometimes the form is circular, an open saucer-shape, with a smaller saucer inverted in the larger (see Fig. 4). This form of lamp, especially No. 2,[*] with or without the handle, is called Roman, and was doubtless commonly used in the time of Christ, and is most probably the kind referred to in the parable of the Ten Virgins (Mt 25). They hold little oil, and would soon need replenishing. The peasants of Syria and Pal. use these lamps still, although petroleum has in most places taken the place of olive oil for lighting. An open glass or terra-cotta cup with a piece of rag for a wick is often seen in the poorer peasants' houses, and this they frequently keep burning all night. The people of the country do not like to sleep without some light in the house, and a dim one furnished by such a lamp suits their purpose. In illuminations at weddings and on feast-days this open style of lamp is much employed. The wick used is a small one drawn through a piece of cork and left to float on the surface of the oil.

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* Who assigns chs. 2 and 4 to an eye-witness (not Jeremiah) of the calamities they describe, dates chs. 1 and 5 (from *different* hands) about 530 (or later) and 550 respectively, while he fixes the date of ch. 3 much later, in the pre-Maccabæan period in the 3rd cent. B.C.

* See under art. Lantern.

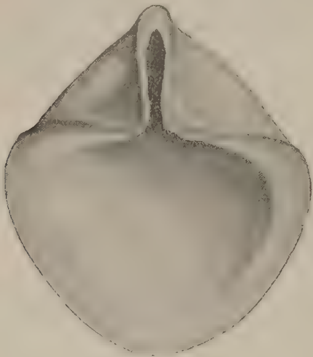

FIG. 1.

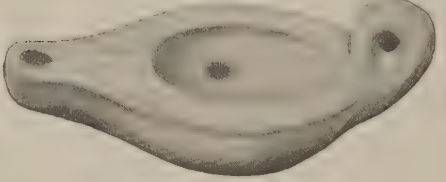

FIG. 2.

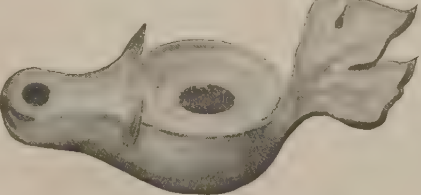

FIG. 3.

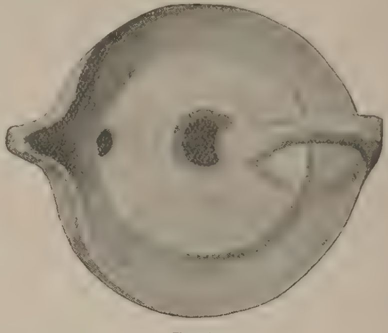

FIG. 4.

Lamps appear to have been kept burning before the *teraphîm* (images of ancestors); hence the words 'the lamp of the wicked is put out' (Job 18⁶ 21¹⁷) may have originally meant that the wicked shall have no male descendants to fulfil this duty of placing a lamp before his image (so Schwally, *Leben nach dem Tode*, 40). H. PORTER.

LAMPSACUS (1 Mac 15²³ RVm).—See SAMPSAMES.

LANCE.—See SPEAR.

LANCETS (רֹמַח 1 K 18²⁸).—A mistaken correction in modern edd. of the original reading of the AV of 1611, 'lancers,' *i.e.* 'lances,' properly spears used for hurling. Both forms of the word are old, 'launcetis' being the later Wyclifite form in this passage. AV of 1611 adopted the 'launsers' of the Bishops' Bible (spelling it 'lancers,' however), and the change into 'lancets' was not made before 1762. Cf. Scrivener's *Introduction to the AV*, pp. xlvi, xlvii. See SPEAR.

W. E. BARNES.

LAND CROCODILE (Lv 11³⁰ RV).—See CHAMELEON.

LAND LAWS.—See LAW (in OT) and SABBATICAL YEAR.

LANDMARK (גְּבוּל).—An object, such as a stone, a heap of stones, or a tree with a mark in its bark, intended to fix the limit of a field, a farm, or the property of an individual. In Palestine these landmarks are scrupulously respected; and in passing along a road or pathway one may observe from time to time a stone placed by the edge of the field from which a shallow furrow has been ploughed, marking the limits of cultivation of neighbouring proprietors.

In order to perpetuate the observance of the rights indicated by landmarks in the Mosaic ritual, a curse is pronounced against the surreptitious removal of a landmark belonging to one's neighbour (Dt 19¹⁴, for the meaning of which see Driver, *ad loc.*). In Egypt the land had to be re-measured and allotted after each inundation of the Nile, and boundary-stones placed at the junction of two properties. A collection of such objects is to be seen in the *Assyrian Room*, British Museum.

E. HULL.

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[*] See an interesting paper by Père Lagrange in *Rev. Biblique* (Oct. 1898) on two Pal. lamps to which his attention was called by Clermont-Ganneau. These are figured in the *Revue*.

LANGUAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.—1. *Names.*—(*a*) The greater part of the Old Test. is written in the language called by the Assyrians 'the tongue of the west country' (Winckler, *Die K. I. Sargons*, p. 72, l. 423, etc.),[*] by biblical writers 'the lip of Canaan' (Is 19^{18}), or 'Jewish' (2 K $18^{26.\,28}$; cf. Neh 13^{24}), by the Rabbis 'the Sacred Tongue' (*Sotah*, vii. 2, etc.), or 'the Text' as opposed to 'the Targum' (Bab. *Megillah*, 18*a*, etc.), or 'the language of the Law' as opposed to 'the language of the doctors' (Weiss, *Studien zur Mischnahsprache*, p. 9). The Palestinian[†] Rabbis further apply to it the term 'Hebrew' (Jerus. *Megillah*, p. 19, etc.), and the absence of this name in the OT can be due only to accident; it is the term regularly employed by Greek-speaking Jews (first occurring, it would seem, in the Pref. to Sir; used also by Josephus, *Ant.* I. i. 2), and it can only be through ignorance that Philo substitutes 'Chaldee' for it. The name 'Hebrew' was adopted by early Christian writers (*e.g.* Ac 21^{40}), and with the spread of Christianity it migrated into Asiatic, African, and European languages; some of which have also adopted from the Rabbis the name 'Sacred Tongue.'

(*b*) The portions of the OT which are not in Hebrew are in the language called Aramaic in the Bible (2 K 18^{26} etc.) and Talmud (Bab. *Shabbath*, 12*b*, etc.), and not infrequently 'Targum' in the latter (Bab. *Megillah*, *l.c.*), 'Syriac' in the LXX and sometimes in the Talmud (Jerus. *Sotah*, vii. 2). It would seem that the name 'Chaldee' does not belong properly to this language, although the Aramæans and Chaldees are sometimes juxtaposed in old inscriptions (Sennacherib, ed. G. Smith, p. 36). It is probable that the use of the name for 'Aramaic' is due to the comparison of Dn 1^4 with 2^4; and the identification of the two appears in the notes of Jerome and Ibn Ezra on the latter passage, though the LXX translator of Dn 2^{27} appears expressly to avoid it. In Syriac works, probably through similar reasoning, 'Chaldee' is sometimes said to mean 'Old Syriac' (*Thes. Syr. s.v.* 'Kaldaya'); but in very late times the 'Chaldæans' are identified with the 'Nestorians,' probably on the ground of their geographical position (Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 181; cf. Rassam, 'Biblical Lands,' in the *Proceedings of the Victoria Institute*). In Aramaic are written (1) Dn 2^4–7^{28}, (2) certain documents quoted in Ezr 4^7–6^{18} and $7^{12\text{-}26}$, ostensibly in their original language; it is, however, noticeable that the connecting narrative is also in Aramaic; (3) Jer 10^{11}, regarded by some as an interpolation, while others endeavour to account for the transition on rhetorical grounds. There are besides several places in the OT where the writers appear to lapse into Aramaic, possibly through the fault of their copyists. In Jos 15^{25} the adjective חֲדַתָּה, in the name 'New Hazor,' is Aramaic; in 14^8 an Aramaic word (המסיו) is substituted for the Hebrew of the word 'melted' in the phrase 'melted our heart' (cf. Dt 1^{28}). Sporadic cases of words which are Aramaic both in derivation and grammatical form occur in Is 30^{28}, Ezk 24^{26} 33^{30}, Ps 116^{12}, possibly Job 37^{13}, Dn 11^{23}, and elsewhere.

(*c*) The employment of other languages than these in the OT does not exceed the quotation of isolated words and phrases, or calling attention to varieties of nomenclature. Besides the Aramaic equivalent for Gilead cited in Gn 31^{47}, Egyptian is quoted *ib.* $41^{43.\,45}$ (JE), Moabite Dt 2^{11}, Ammonite *ib.* v. ^{20}, Sidonian and Amorite *ib.* 3^9, Tyrian 1 K 9^{13}, Persian (?) Est 3^7, Babylonian (?) Dn 4^5, perhaps Philistian Is 2^6. Moreover, it may be observed that, in speaking of dignitaries, biblical writers are ordinarily (not invariably) careful to give them their native titles: see Ex 15^{15}, Jos $13^{3\text{-}21}$, Ezk 23^6, Hos 10^5, Est 1^3 4^{12} 8^{10}, Dn 3^2 etc.

2. *Antiquity.*—The Hebrew language may be appropriately termed the Israelitish dialect of Canaanitish. Outside the OT the chief pre-Alexandrian monuments of the Israelitish dialect which we possess appear to be an inscribed weight in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, found at Nablûs, and the Siloam inscription (Driver, *Notes on Samuel*, p. xv), probably of the age of Hezekiah. But of other Canaanitish dialects we possess far earlier monuments. The oldest of these are the glosses of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (see Winckler's edition in the *KIB*, 1896). The writers of these epistles sometimes accompany their Assyrian with a Canaanitish equivalent, using, of course, the cuneiform character for both (examples are 181. 5 *khalkaat*, explained by *abada*, 'perished'; 189. 16 *ana shamē* by *shamima*, 'heavenward'; 191. 24 *sise* by *suusu*, 'horse'; 189. 18 *kakkadunu* by *rushunu*, 'our head'). It may be noted as a peculiarity of the writers' dialect that the substantive verb in it would appear to have drawn some of its tenses from the stem in use in Phœnician (and Arabic), and others from the stem in use in Hebrew (and Aramaic). 'If you say *kuna*,' says one writer, 'I will answer *yahya*' (149. 36). These tablets are assigned to the 15th cent. B.C., but the existence of the Canaanitish language is certified for a yet earlier period by some of the loan-words found in Egyptian monuments, some of which go back to the 16th century or earlier. The bulk, however, of these loan-words occur in papyri of the 14th and 13th cents. B.C. Maspero, who first brought this fascinating subject into prominence (in his *Epistolographie Egyptienne*, 1873), thought that during those centuries the employment of Semitic words was in fashion among the upper classes in Egypt; and if this opinion be correct, it follows that the Canaanitish language must by then have reached a high state of development. This opinion, however, was not shared by J. H. Bondi, who, in his dissertation on these words (Leipzig, 1886), collected as many as sixty-five of them; while a still greater number was collected by W. Max Müller (in his *Asien und Europa*, 1893), who has since (in the volume dedicated to Ebers, 1897) tracked out a few in the celebrated *Papyrus Ebers*, which deals with medical prescriptions. Whether their introduction into Egyptian was the work of the upper or the lower classes, the variety of the spheres of thought to which they belong is such as to allow of their being compared with the words afterwards borrowed by the Copts from the Greeks. The unsatisfactory nature of the Egyptian transcription renders them somewhat less amenable to grammatical analysis than the Tel el-Amarna glosses. Of the remaining monuments of the Canaanitish language, the inscription on a patera dedicated to Baal-Lebanon in Phœnician (*CIS* i. No. 5) is probably the oldest, while the Mesha stele (of the time of Jehoshaphat of Judah) approaches most nearly to the Israelitish idiom, being in Moabitic; of the other Phœnician inscriptions, that of Byblus (*CIS*, i. 1) approximates to Hebrew, but the most important is doubtless the Eshmunazar inscription (*CIS* i. 3), about the time of Alexander the Great. From Palestine the Canaanitish language was carried by Phœnician colonists to Africa, the islands and harbours of the Mediterranean, and Spain. Here it was supplanted first by Greek, and then more extensively by Latin; but would seem to have survived as a spoken language down to the 5th cent. B.C., and perhaps later.

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[*] Delitzsch (*Handwörterbuch*, *s.v.* 'ḫilāni') suggests that Hittite is meant here. It would seem, however, that the words are easily explicable as Canaanitish (cf. Jer 22^{14}), and B. Meissner (*Noch einmal das Bît Ḫillāni*, 1893) thinks this does not admit of a doubt.

[†] In the Babylonian Gemara עברי at any rate sometimes means a foreign language, *e.g.* *Shabbath*, 115*a*.

3. *Origin.*—The Canaanitish language belongs to the Semitic family, and is closely allied to the Arabic, *i.e.* the language made world-famous by the conquests of Mohammed and his successors. These are the only languages of the Semitic family that have, in regular use, (1) a prefixed article, leading to a variety of syntactical rules; (2) an interrogative prefix of a single letter,* as well as a syllabic prefix of the same import (Dt 32^{6}); (3) a series of passive conjugations, formed by a change of vowel from the active;† (4) a regular conjugation Niphal;‡—Canaanitish has, moreover, considerable remnants of (5) a case system; (6) an infinitive system; (7) a mood system identical with those of classical Arabic. The theory represented in the grammar of J. Olshausen (Brunswick, 1861), according to which the relation of Hebrew to Arabic is that of daughter to mother (in the sense in which these metaphors may be used of languages), is that which best suits the facts;§ and indeed the proximate ancestors of Hebrew forms can in the great majority of cases be easily found in Arabic. The apparent absurdity of deriving so ancient a language as Canaanitish from one of which the earliest monuments in our possession are so recent, disappears in the face of the overwhelming evidence which comparative grammar can produce. The earliest specimens of classical Arabic that have come down to us are not, indeed, earlier than the 6th cent. A.D.; and though numerous inscriptions in other dialects have been discovered in both S. and N. Arabia, the dialect of the Koran is scarcely represented in any stone monuments earlier than the composition of that book. There is, however, no doubt that the Mohammedans inherited a literary language, which prevailed over the greater part of the Arabian peninsula, with slight differences of dialect. But for the early history of that language we cannot go to Mohammedan writers, but are left to what we can infer.

The line of investigation to be followed is the same as that applied by M. Pictet to the Indo-European languages, and which employs the assumption (called by M. Lenormant 'the true principle') that, where kindred nations which have separated call objects or institutions by the same names, and there are no signs of those names having been borrowed independently, they must have possessed the names and the objects, etc., before they parted. A comparison therefore of the Hebrew and Arabic names for a variety of things should give us something like a correct idea of the state of Arabian society when the Canaanites first migrated northward. The result would seem to be the following:—

The nation from which the Canaanitish colonies emanated must before that event have attained as high a level of development as any Oriental State uninfluenced by Europe has reached. Society was already organized on the basis of the family, for the languages have identical names for 'father-in-law,' 'mother-in-law,' 'son-in-law,' and 'daughter-in-law,' which necessarily imply it; but the family was polygamic, since the relation of 'fellow-wife' is indicated by the same name with the proper phonetic changes. The treble system of naming in use in Arabia would seem to have existed also, since the Canaanites retain all three words for 'naming' and 'names,'* but have apparently ceased to distinguish between them accurately; and the castes of freemen and slaves were already distinct. The life of the people was passed partly in villages, partly in towns, with streets and squares, and defended by walls. The same cereals were cultivated in the fields, many of the same pot-herbs in the gardens, mostly the same fruits in the orchards and plantations, and the same animals domesticated as afterwards in Canaan; and the chief agricultural processes had already been invented and named. Various trades were exercised in the towns: there were smiths and carpenters who understood the use of the saw, the axe, and the adze; there were money-changers with scales,† and there were money-lenders.‡ The last two trades imply some acquaintance with arithmetic, and the Arabs before the Canaanitish migration possessed special names for 'thousands' and 'myriads.' Money-lending implies the calculation of days, and this is based on astronomical observation, the beginnings of which already existed, for some of the constellations§ were already named. Writing already existed,‖ and, it would seem, an alphabet,¶ and certain styles of elegant composition were already practised.** Religion had already taken shape: men could distinguish between the sacred and the profane, they had a pilgrimage, and learned various ceremonies, including, probably, genuflexions and prostrations. The prophetic profession seems to have existed in a variety of forms. Custom had already to some extent become stereotyped in the form of law.

It is probable, therefore, that the Canaanites issued from a country where a classical language was spoken and written. Some tribes may have carried that language with them into their new home; but, in the case of those whom we know best, it would appear to be a vulgar dialect of Arabic which formed the basis of the language. Many curious parallels can be found between the language of the Bible and the dialects of Arabic spoken in Egypt and Syria in the present day.†† While in general simplifying the structure of the ancient language, they contain many relics of the classical rules. The classical language from which both are derived must therefore have flourished long before the 15th cent. B.C., for which time the existence of the later language is certified. The elaborate syntax and accidence which the early poetry of the Arabs exhibits would seem to have been codified more than two thousand years before that poetry was composed. It is in favour of this result that the Arabs have no accurate notion of the commencement of their literature, or of the time when any of their classical metres was invented. Yet those metres imply the whole of the grammatical system, which can only have been the product of organized study. That all trace of the schools and colleges of early Arabia should have perished is noteworthy, but scarcely extraordinary, if we consider what such isolated monuments as the Mesha stele or the Iguvine tablets imply as to the extent of literatures that have wholly perished.

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* The Aramaic of Daniel also has this.

† The biblical Aramaic as well as that of the papyri shows some traces of these passives. The Hebrew of the OT shows considerable relics of a passive of the first form, which the grammatical tables cannot recognize. The punctuators identified it with *Pu'al*, the passive of ii. עֻבַּר Is 14^{3} and שֻׁפַּךְ Lv 6^{21} are striking cases.

‡ This conjugation is given in the Assyrian paradigms.

§ Vollers, in his review (*ZA*, 1897) of Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik des Kl. Arabischen*, thinks that work will tend to modify this view; but see the author's reply in the same volume.

* כנה in Arabic, 'to address by an indirect name,' *i.e.* to call a man by his son's name, 'father of so-and-so,' instead of by his own. In the *Aghānī* the narrators often point out how the Caliph *kannānī*, 'called me Abū so-and-so' to do me honour. In Syriac the word merely means to 'name'; in Hebrew, Is 45^{4} 'to call by a family name,' Job 32^{21} 'to flatter.' It would seem clear that the Arabic practice (extraordinary as it is) lies behind both the Heb. and Syr. usage. The word *laḳab*, in Arabic 'title,' serves to give a verb to the Hebrew שֵׁם: אֲשֶׁר נִקְּבוּ בְּשֵׁמוֹת 'whose names have been mentioned,' Nu 1^{17}.

† מֹאזְנַיִם is a case of popular etymology. The root יזן being lost in Hebrew, the word was popularly derived from אֹזֶן 'an ear.' The Carthaginians have a similar word, *Rev. Ass.* v. 12.

‡ The Heb. נשה, of which the construction is peculiar, seems evidently connected with *nasī'ah*, 'deferred payment.'

§ See Hommel's article in the *ZDMG*, 1892.

‖ The word סֵפֶר seems to be the Arab. *zibr*, which occurs in the earliest Arabic known to us. See *Mu'allaḳah* of Labid. The Assyr. *satar* is used in early Arabic also. The meaning 'to write' is lost in Hebrew, but lies behind the sense of שֹׁטֵר.

¶ הגה has the sense of Arab. *hajā*, 'to articulate,' in several passages: Pr 8^{7}, Is $59^{3.\,13}$.

** It seems difficult to separate the word מְשֻׁגָּע used with נָבִיא Hos 9^{7}, מִתְנַבֵּא Jer 29^{26} (cf. 2 K 9^{11}), from the Arab. *sij'*, 'rhymed prose,' the traditional style of the *Kāhins*. The Heb. הִגָּיוֹן was compared by Meier with the Arab. *hijā*. מָשָׁל and *mathal* appear to be also independent.

†† Some examples are given by W. Wright in his *Arabic Grammar* (2nd ed.) and his *Comparative Grammar*. The form הֶעֱלִיתֻנוּ (Nu 20^{5}) is vulgar (*ḳataltūnā* for *ḳataltumūnā*). The uses of יַעַן can be illustrated by those of *ya'nī* in languages that borrow from Arabic. The use of אֲשֶׁר as a final and explanatory particle would seem to be a vulgarism. الذى is so used in some Arab. dialects, and likewise in modern Armen. the relative *wor* has taken the place of *yethē* 'that.' Perhaps the Heb. עָשָׂה 'to do,' is the Arab. *ghashiya* vulgarly used; cf. *Lisān al-'arab*, xix. 363, 5.

The evidence for the priority of Arabic grammar to the development of the Canaanitish language is to be found partly in what may be termed the residues which Canaanitish exhibits. Of these, examples are to be found (1) in the spelling, (2) in the grammatical forms, (3) in the syntax.

(1) As examples of orthographic residues, we may notice (*a*) the employment of א to represent the sign of prolongation of the vowel *o* in a number of words in which the Arabic has the consonantal א preceded by a short *a* (*e.g.* רֹאשׁ, צֹאן, יֹאמַר; see Böttcher, *Lehrbuch*, i. p. 245). In some other words the letter א is still written without affecting the pronunciation. It would seem clear that the tribes who migrated from Arabia to Canaan had already found difficulty in pronouncing the consonantal *Aleph*, which indeed many still regard as the hardest of the Arabic consonants. They pronounced *ā* for *a'*, a pronunciation which indeed the Arabic grammarians tolerate in poetry. But while this *ā* in Arabic was either retained or reduced in the direction of *ē*, the immigrants pronounced it as well as other Arabic *ā*'s (with rare exceptions) as *ō*. The writing צֹאן for *zōn* therefore is a case in which an old spelling is retained after it has become doubly unsuitable to represent the correct pronunciation; and in all cases where this letter represents anything but the soft breathing, it must be regarded as a remnant from an earlier language, or due to false analogy. The perpetual interchange which we notice in the OT between roots ל״א and roots ל״ה shows that the consonantal א could no longer be pronounced at the end of a word. But from etymological orthography of this sort we can infer with certainty the existence of a literature in which the orthography agreed not only with etymology, but with the actual pronunciation; in other words, the existence of written documents in Arabic earlier than the Canaanitish migration.

(*b*) Of no less interest as an etymological remnant is the employment of the letter ה *at the end of words* to represent the lengthening of a vowel, a peculiarity which the Phœnician dialects apparently do not share with the Hebrew and Moabitic. This mode of writing has two obvious sources. In Arabic the pausal form of nouns ending in *atun* is *ah*, and in this form the *h* is pronounced as a consonant (Heb. הּ), as we learn from its treatment in verse: thus *martabah* is made to rhyme with *intabah*, in which the *h* is radical (Hariri, ed. 1, p. 64), etc. This pausal form has in Hebrew ousted the other. That it is everywhere pronounced *ā* for *ah* is a phenomenon to be easily illustrated from Hebrew itself (in which the *āh* of the feminine suffix has a tendency to sink into *ā*), and from many other languages. But the Phœnicians did not adopt this pausal form, retaining the *t* in the absolute as well as in the construct state. Hence one of the sources of this employment of the letter *h* was wanting in their language.

The second source of this phenomenon is to be found in the masculine suffix of the third person. Relics of the Arabic *hu* are not infrequent, but ordinarily (as in modern Arabic locally) that suffix is reduced to *ō*. When modern Arabic is written, the *h* is retained (see *e.g.* *Ḳaṭa'if al-laṭāif*, Cairo, 1894, p. 51, etc.), and the same is the case frequently in Hebrew and in Moabitic. In all these cases, however, it is an etymological remnant.

(*c*) As a third case of etymological writing, we may note the employment of the sign שׂ to represent *s*. This orthography is characteristic of the older forms of Hebrew, Phœnician, and Aramaic, falling gradually into disuse in all of them. Now we know that the words which in Hebrew are written with שׂ almost invariably correspond to Arabic words with *sh*. Since a great number of the words which in Arabic have the sibilant that corresponds with ס have that letter in Hebrew also, the desire to avoid confusion may well have perpetuated the old spelling in the cases where a *sh* had come to be pronounced *s*. We learn, moreover, from the well-known passage in Jg 12^{6} that in parts of Palestine only one of these sibilants could be pronounced.

(2) Of the grammatical residues, which are numerous, we need merely notice the variation in the second and third persons plural of the imperfect between the forms *ūn* and *ū*. All distinction in meaning between these forms is clearly lost; at most it can be said that some writers have a predilection for one form rather than the other. Classical Arabic, however, distinguishes them very decidedly: the dropping of the *n* with its vowel is a sign of the subjunctive or jussive mood, and is not an isolated phenomenon, but belongs to a system. What renders the treatment of these forms by the Hebrews peculiarly interesting is that the vulgar Arabic written by Jews, Christians, and even Mohammedans, exhibits the same phenomenon. Such writers as Jephet Ibn Ali are well acquainted with both forms: only the sense of their proper employment fails them.

(3) As a syntactical residue we may instance the treatment of the numerals. Here the Arabic rule is very simple, and its ground can easily be seen. One part of it is that the numbers 11–99 take after them the accusative singular. If the usage of the Hebrew OT be tabulated, the only expression for it seems to be that with words which from their nature are constantly coupled with numerals the Arabic rule is fairly regularly observed; with others the plural is more common, but the singular optional. Thus in Jg 8^{28} 'The land rested forty year,' but v.^{30} 'Gideon had seventy sons'; Jg 9^{2} speaks of 'seventy man,' but v.^{24} 'the seventy sons of Jerubbaal,' v.^{56} 'his seventy brothers.' In Jos the rule is sometimes observed with the word 'man,' but other variations occur which stamp the language as patois-like and ungrammatical: the following examples of the syntax of the word 'twelve' taken from Jos 3 and 4 show how unsettled was the usage in even so ordinary a matter. 3^{12} שְׁנֵי עָשָׂר אִישׁ, 4^{2} שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר אֲנָשִׁים, 4^{4} שְׁנֵים הֶעָשָׂר אִישׁ; $4^{3.9}$ שְׁתֵּים עֶשְׂרֵה אֲבָנִים, 4^{8} שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה א׳. The rule seems to be similarly observed when numerals precede the word אֶלֶף 'a thousand,' owing to ancient calculations, whereas the old rule about the syntax of words following אֶלֶף seems to be equally often observed and forgotten. From the practically regular observance of the Arabic syntax in the case of the word 'year,' which from its nature must be constantly coupled with numerals, it seems reasonable to infer the antiquity of the Arabic rules. The ordinary style of the OT exhibits therefore in this case, as in the last, a survival from an older language.

At what time the Canaanitish language first began to be written cannot be determined; but it seems certain that there can have been no break of any length between the writing of Arabic and the writing of Canaanitish; the etymological remnants would otherwise be inexplicable. Thus the writing of *aiment* in French for *aime* must be inherited from a generation who both pronounced and wrote *aiment* or *amant*; had French been first written by persons who pronounced the word *aime*, the *nt* could never have been introduced. We cannot know either whether the Canaanitish orthography was gradually formed or became fixed at a definite epoch. The evolution of Ethiopic from Sabæan, which offers some striking analogies to that of Canaanitish from Arabic, is in favour of the latter supposition. Those who made Ethiopic a written language abandoned some of the Sabæan letters and introduced others. Those who gave Canaanitish a literature omitted some six or seven of the letters of the old Arabic alphabet, but added none. It is probable, then, that the double pronunciation of the six letters בגדכפת, with which we are familiar in Hebrew, Phœnician, and Aramaic, was not yet noticeable. The lost letters are to some extent the same as those which are no longer pronounced in many of the countries where Arabic is spoken, albeit they are still written. In Canaanitish *th* coalesces with שׁ, *dh* with ז, *kha* with ח, *ḍād* and *ẓā* with צ, *ghain* with ע. This rule holds good ordinarily, but human speech is subject to fluctuations, and irregular correspondence (as *e.g.* חרל Arab. *khadhala*, נערר Arab. *ta'adhdhara*) need not always imply independent roots, where the significations are clearly akin. In the case, moreover, of the other letters the Canaanitish dialect shows considerable deviation from the Arabic, sometimes in a manner that can be paralleled from dialects the peculiarities of which are noted by Arabic grammarians. Thus it would appear that there was a tendency to shift from *mediæ* to *tenues* (*e.g.* מסך, Arab. מזג; כחר, Arab. נחר; תּף, Arab. דף; שלף,

Arab. שׁלב ; שׁפע, Arab. שׁבע̇ ; פזר, Arab. בֿדר), which can be paralleled from what has happened in other languages (*e.g.* modern Armenian as compared with ancient). The Canaanitish language shows further considerable confusion of the gutturals: besides the tendency to pronounce ק for כ (*e.g.* בקר for בכר, עקשׁ for עכשׁ, צחק for צחך), we find ח for ע (קרחה, Arab. קרעה), ה for ח (*e.g.* בזה, Syr. בזח, Arab. מוח), כ for ח̇ (כבה for Arab. ח̇בו), etc. There is also considerable confusion of the sibilants (ס for ז in נסע, ס for צ in כפק, ז for צ in זעיר, etc.), and of the liquids (*e.g.* נקב for לקב, רשׁן for רשׁם, סלח for סמח); moreover, the letter ת is frequently displaced by the emphatic ט, *e.g.* קטל for קתל, etc., and ם by ב (*e.g.* נשׁב for נשׁם, ערברב for ערמרם, בחן for מחן). Further phenomena which often meet us in vulgar dialects are the frequent assimilation of the nasal *n* before another consonant (cf. Ital. *mese* for *mensem*, mod. Armen. *gigni* for *gingni*, 'he falls'), and the misplacement of the aspirate. Indeed, in Canaanitish as well as in the older Aramaic and in some of the S. Arabian dialects, an initial breathing seems regularly to be aspirated when it is a grammatical prefix, and sometimes when it is radical (so הפך for אפך); but, on the other hand, the Hebrew sometimes substitutes the soft breathing for the aspirate (cf. אימה with Arab. היבה), especially in the middle of a word (so עֵד 'a witness' for עהד 'one who knows'; cf. Jer 29^{23} יודע ועד ; דור through דאר for דהר). Where two of these irregular changes occur in the same word, it often becomes unrecognizable; and the occasional transposition of radicals introduces great difficulty: just as some mod. Armenian dialects have *tepur* for *phethur*, so Hebrew has צוה for וצה, לוה for ולה; cf. עצם for Arab. עמ̇ץ. The chief grammatical differences between Arabic and Hebrew are due (1) to the loss of the final vowels, which in the older language have syntactical value; (2) to the exaggeration of the accent, resulting in the strengthening of some vowels and the loss of others; (3) to the tendency to simplify, which explains the loss of whole series of forms in many of those languages that have grown out of the decay of classical idioms. In the opinion of some, the language has by these changes gained in vigour what it has lost in finesse—a matter which must be left to the individual taste.[*]

Of the families of words in use in Canaanitish, it would seem that more than half can be identified with roots known to the lexicographers of classical Arabic; but the waywardness which characterizes human speech has not failed to leave its mark on the treatment of the old words in respect both of their preservation and the evolution of their significations. Thus Canaanitish and classical Arabic have the same word for 'peace,' but different words for 'war'; the same for 'to eat,' but different for 'to drink'; the same for 'near,' but different for 'far'; the same for 'low,' but different for 'high'; the same for 'gold,' but different for 'silver'; the same for 'to ride,' but different for 'to sit' and 'to stand'; the same for 'ass,' but different for 'horse,' though the same for 'horseman.' In several of these cases, and in numerous others, while the same words or the same families are retained in both languages, the meaning in one or other has been so generalized or specialized as to render the introduction of another necessary in order to represent the original meaning. In some cases it is likely that neither language retains the original sense; but in most it would seem that, in spite of the late date of our Arabic documents, the Arabic signification is prior; and good service has been done by those acquainted with both languages since the days of the Talmudists in tracking out the development of these significations.

A few familiar cases are—(1) the Hebrew for 'to say' אמר, in Arab. 'to command': that 'to command' is the original sense is shown by occasional relics of that meaning in the OT (2 S 1^8), and by the derivative התאמר 'to be proud,' a sense which can scarcely be connected with the Hebrew 'to say,' but derives very naturally from the Arab. 'to play the prince or commander,' like the words השׂתרר (Nu 16^{13}), התנשׂא (*ib.* 16^3). (2) זיד, in Heb. 'to act insolently,' in Arab. 'to increase': a relic of the older usage seems to be found in Dt 18^{20} 'the prophet who shall add to speak in my name words which I have not commanded him': the Latin *loquetur ultro* would exactly illustrate the transference of ideas. (3) The Hebrew חלל 'to profane,' and החל 'to begin,' seem both traceable to the Arab. חל 'to loosen,' whence both ideas flow by a course of reasoning exactly similar to that illustrated in the evolution of the Aramaic שׁרה. In several cases what we have in Canaanitish is apparently an expression current in the mouths of the vulgar exalted into a classical phrase: the Hebrew words for 'handmaid' and 'family' would appear to have a very obvious etymology in Arabic (cf *Koran*, iv. 28; *Romance of Saif*, i. 28), which, however, would exclude them at the first from the mouths of the well-bred. A certain number of alterations in meaning can be explained by popular misapplications, *e.g.* the Canaanites use for 'blind' the word which in Arab. means 'one-eyed,' for 'deaf' the word which in Arab. means 'dumb.'

It is not in our power to gauge the whilom wealth of the Hebrew language,[*] and far more of the copious Arabic vocabulary may have been retained by the Canaanites than is ordinarily supposed. Most of the books of the OT offer examples of *hapax legomena* that can be satisfactorily explained from the Arabic, whether in the form of antiquated phrases for which the ordinary language employs other synonyms (*e.g.* Dt 27^9 הסכת, Arab. *uskut*, 'be silent,' in every way parallel to the herald's 'O yez'), or of dialectic words (*e.g.* נצב, Arab. *niṣāb*, Jg 3^{22}), or of words which there is no reason to suppose to have been rare, but which for one reason or another the biblical writers have not elsewhere occasion to employ (*e.g.* עֲטִישָׁה 'sneezing,' Job 41^{18}).

Arabisms in this sense can be found not only in the latest biblical writers,[†] but even in the fragments of Ben-Sira, and in the New-Hebrew of the Mishna.[*] As borrowing from the Arabs is highly improbable, and in many cases shown by the phonetic changes to be impossible, the whole stock of words common to Canaanitish and Arabic must have constituted the linguistic capital of the former language. The parallelistic style, which is probably earlier than the migration, served to retain in use many synonyms which might otherwise have disappeared;[†] but without a far greater mass of literature than has come down to us we could not pronounce without hardihood on the original bulk of the Canaanitish vocabulary, or deny any genuine Arabic root a place in it.[‡]

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[*] Of many of the elegances of Arabic grammar there are faint traces in the OT. The Arab. *rubba* 'many a,' appears *once*, Pr 20^6. Of the broken plural the only real example in the OT appears to be זְכוּר plural of זָכָר; in other cases its meaning is lost, even though its form be present, *e.g.* קְלֹקֵל Nu 21^5. In Böttcher's *Lehrbuch* the most is made of these relics as well as of supposed remains of the dual of verbs and pronouns. The syntax of the Book of Joshua seems to show that there was a time when the old rules of the article were in danger of being lost (3^{14} 7^{21} 8^{10} ^{33}), but this (like Is $36^{8.\ 16}$) may be due to corruption of the text. A remarkable relic is in Jer 22^{18} הוֹי אָחוֹת, which resembles the *āh* added in Arabic, *wā Zaidāh*, 'alas, Zaid!' (Vernier, *Gram. Arabe*, § 565).

[*] In the Concordance published at Warsaw, 1883, *roots* are given in large type, *verbs* (counting each conjugation separately) are marked with a circle, and *nouns* with a star. According to computations made for this article, the numbers are respectively 2058, 2930, 3937.

[†] So Ec 9^1 בּוּר 'to try,' Arab. *bāra*; in *Lisān al-'arab*, v. 153, several curious passages of old authors are cited in which this word occurs. The etymology is given by Ges. *Thes.*, but omitted in the *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* 2^{20} יֵאֵשׁ can scarcely have been thought out by the writer from the biblical נואשׁ, but must represent an old word (Arab. *ya'isa*). A few striking Arabisms may be collected here. Gn 28^{12} סֻלָּם 'a staircase,' Arab. *sullam*; 40^{16} חֹרִי 'white bread,' Arab. *ḥuwwāri*; 42^{27} אַמְתַּחַת 'baggage,' Arab. *amti'at*, plur. of *matā'* (it is curious that Mohammed uses this word in *Koran*, xii. 25, where this verse is represented 'when they opened their baggage *matā-'ahum*'. The change of ע to ח is caused by the following ת: in Egypt it is now customary to say שׁמחת for שׁמעת, ארבחת for ארבעת [Tantavy, *Grammaire*, p. v.]); Ex 5^4 תַּפְרִיעוּ

4. *Secondary Sources.*—Of the roots and words which the Hebrew vocabulary contains, a great number cannot be identified in the Arabic dictionary. Of these, however, some seem to have been current in Arabia before the migration, for we find them in the Ethiopic language, which we know to have sprung from a S. Arabian dialect.[§] A few more are stamped as Arabic by their occurrence in S. Arabian inscriptions.[||] But this still leaves a great number unaccounted for. We have therefore to recognize in Canaanitish a non-Arabic element, and must endeavour to account for its origin.

According to the biblical account, the patriarchs and their families having acquired Hebrew in Canaan, sojourned in Egypt, but retained their own language, which was brought back to Canaan. Although the seclusion of the Israelites in Egypt, on which some of the narratives insist, would account for their failing to adopt the language of Egypt, their dependent position there would lead us to expect that their Hebrew would be affected by their long exile from Canaan, and that their literature would show traces of Egyptian, which other Canaanitish monuments would fail to exhibit. This expectation is not fulfilled. If the hieroglyphic vocabulary[*] be collated with the Hebrew, the cases in which they show any correspondence are extremely rare, and these cases seem to belong to a period prior to the separation between the Egyptian and Semitic races: in any case, the fact that they are mostly Semitic and not specifically Hebrew words, shows that they were not learned by the Israelites in Goshen. The Coptic vocabulary is indeed far more illustrative of Hebrew; but this is due mainly to the extensive borrowing of Canaanitish by the Egyptians at a period to which reference has been made; and in many cases the words are Semitic with purely Canaanitish forms, and words which, while isolated in Coptic, belong to extensive families in Semitic. The few words in Hebrew which may be justly regarded as Egyptian are such as may easily have been brought by travellers.[†] It is, however, surprising that the historians of the Egyptian episode in Exodus are acquainted with scarcely any of the Egyptian technicalities which we should have expected them to introduce, *e.g.* the words for taskmasters, magicians,[‡] pyramids, and that one of the writers excerpted should suppose that the Egyptians spoke Hebrew (Ex 2^{10}). One of the authors copied in Gn is better informed on this point (42^{23}), but even his employment of Egyptian words is inconsiderable. Very different is the amount contributed to Canaanitish by the language of Assyria. We learn from the Tel el-Amarna tablets that in the 15th cent. B.C., while Palestine was under Egyptian suzerainty, the official language of communication was Assyrian, albeit the Canaanites had a language of their own. The employment of Assyrian as an official language points, however, to a yet earlier period of Assyrian supremacy. The language known as Assyrian is indeed Semitic, but greatly mixed with foreign elements, and with the consonantal system seriously deranged: it is therefore probable, where Canaanitish and Assyrian have words in common which are unknown to the other Semitic languages, that the former has borrowed from the latter. These words have been the subject of some classical monographs;[§] and they are such as affect the whole character of the syntax, pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions,

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'ye make idle,' Arab. *tufrighūna*; 26^5 מַקְבִּילוֹת, Arab. *muḳābilāt*; Lv 19^{28} כְּתֹבֶת, Arab. *kitābat*; Nu 19^{15} צָמִיד 'a cover' or 'lid,' Arab. *ṣimād*; 25^8 קֻבָּה 'a tent,' Arab. *ḳubbah*; Dt 6^7 שִׁנַּנְתָּם 'thou shalt teach them,' Arab. *sanna* 'to prescribe,' whence 'the sunnah'; 18^{57} שִׁלְיָה, Arab. *salā*; Jos 10^{12} דום 'remain,' 'abide,' Arab. *dum*; Is 10^{15} מַשּׂוֹר, Arab. *minshār* 'saw'; 33^{20} צען 'to migrate,' Arab. *ẓa'ana*; 32^4 עִלֵּג, Arab. *'ilj* 'barbarous'; 41^{26} צַדִּיק 'truthful,' Arab. *ṣiddīḳ*; Jer 12^8 צָבוּעַ, Arab. *ḍabu'un*; Ezk 16^3 שַׁלֶּטֶת 'loud-tongued,' Arab. *salīṭat*.

[*] So ערקוב *Bikkurōth*, vi. 11; אווז *ib.* vii. 6.

[†] So Job 16^{19} 'my witness (עֵדִי) is in the heavens, and my *testis* שָׂהֲדִי in the heights'; 18^5 שְׁבִיב parallel to אוֹר; Pr 22^{25} תֶּאֱלַף parallel to לָקַחְתָּ; 27^3 נֵטֶל parallel with כֹּבֶד. The retention of חָרוּץ (Phœn.) and כֶּתֶם (Egyp.?) as names for 'gold' is perhaps due to poetical necessity.

[‡] Some parallels between the expressions of the Arabs and the OT are put together by G. Jacob, *Studien in Arabischen Dichtern*, iv. (Halle, 1897), and by E. Nestle, *Marginalien*, p. 58 ff. A longer list could be got from the commentaries of A. Schultens and F. Hitzig. Some curious cases are: 'when their foot slippeth' (Dt 32^{35} etc.), for 'when misfortune befalls them,' in Arabic *zalla 'l-ḳadam* (*Koran*, xvi. 96); commencing letters with 'and now' (2 K 5^6 10^2), in Arabic *ammā ba'du*, *i.e.* 'after compliments': 'swallowing my spittle' (Job 7^{19}) used for 'resting a moment' as in Arabic; 'hast thou listened in the council of God,' etc. (Job 15^8), bears a curious likeness to the theory that the Jinns used to listen there and so learn mysteries (*Koran*, xv. 18). The phrase חִלָּה פָּנִים 'to curry favour' is perhaps to be explained from the Arab. *khalā* in *Koran*, xii. 9, 'the face of your father shall be clear (*yakhlu*) for you.' Much of the 'eloquence' of the Koran can be illustrated from that of the OT, *e.g.* 'ask the village' for 'the people of the village' in *Koran*, xii. 82, resembles Dt 9^{28}.

[§] See the Hebrew dictionaries, *s.vv.* אבן, אש, אשכל, בוא, חבר, חמס, חץ, ירה, יצא, ירה, כבר, למר, נגה, נגשׁ, נשׂא, נשך, סמך, עבה, עוף, פנה, צמר, צמר, קשר, רוץ, רחק, רשע, שחת, שכב, שכם, תקע. Specially interesting identifications are those of the Heb. מְתִים 'men,' מֶלְתָּחָה (2 K 10^{22}), מַלְתָּעוֹת (Ps 58^7). With the familiar Heb. הִגִּיד 'he told,' perhaps Eth. *aghada* should be compared; with מֵרֵעַ 'a paranymph' *mar'āwī*=*nuptiator*; with מָעַל 'to rebel' *ma'let*=*defectio*.

[||] So, *e.g.*, the preposition בַּעֲבוּר, and חלה (with the same meaning as in Eshmunazar's epitaph) in the glossary to Mordtmann's article in *Mittheilungen des K. Museums zu Berlin*, 1893.

[*] Pierret, *Vocabulaire Hieroglyphique*, Paris, 1876.

[†] One of the few philological observations of interest in the Haggadah is the suggestion of R. Nehemiah (first occurring in *Pesikta*, ed. Buber, p. 109*b*) that אָנֹכִי is the Coptic *anok*: God, he thought, addressed the Israelites (Ex 20^2) in Egyptian because they had forgotten Hebrew. This view appears for the *last* time, perhaps, in Peyron's *Lex. Copt.* Egyptian words occurring as such in the OT were collected in the last century by Jablonski (*Opuscula*, vol. i., republished Leyden, 1805); Wiedemann's *Sammlung Ægyptischer Wörter* (1883) reduces the list to meagre dimensions. A great collection of kindred Egyptian and Semitic words was made by Schwartze in his *Altes Ægypten*, 1842 (p. 1000 sqq.); whereas Uhlemann, *de Vet. Ægypt. lingua* (1851), endeavoured to collect those which might reasonably be supposed to have been borrowed by the Hebrews. If we take no account of (*a*) proper names, (*b*) words of pre-Semitic antiquity, (*c*) words borrowed by the Egyptians, the number left is small; יְאֹר, Copt. *iaro*; אָחוּ (Gn 41^2), Hier. *āχu*, Copt. *aχi*; דְּבִיר (a shrine), Hier. *ṭeber*, Copt. *tabir*, Abel, *Kopt. Untersuchungen*, 422; if the theories expounded in that work be correct, it will be difficult to deny קרס (Ex 21^6 etc.; cf. Copt. *kros*) and כִּכָּר an Egyptian origin; and the last has been regarded as Egyptian by good authorities. שַׁעַר of Gn 26^{12} seems to be rightly compared with Copt. *shaar*, and מִין 'a species' with Copt. *mini* (a native Egyptian word according to Abel, *l.c.* 28). De Rougé (*Chrestom.* i. 56) suggests that אִי 'island' is Egypt. *aạ*, and (*ib.* 40) identifies *sneḥem* with סָלְעָם (Lv 11^{22}).

[‡] Wiedemann, while offering an Egyptian etymology for חרטם, allows that it is probably Hebrew.

[§] Frd. Delitzsch, *Hebrew and Assyrian* and *Prolegomena*.

numerals, familiar adverbs, as well as political, commercial, legal, and religious terms.[*] It is not improbable that one of the most characteristic of the Hebrew idioms is due to the influence of Assyrian.[†] The study of the Assyrian monarchs' annals and letters also reveals phrases which form part of the rhetorical capital of the Hebrew authors,[‡] which it is probable were originally imitations of the Assyrian style. The Aramaic language has also inherited some of the Assyrian wit which the Canaanites did not adopt.[§]

There remain, however, a number of Canaanitish words which cannot be identified from any of the sources that have been enumerated. Several of these were probably tribal words of the communities that migrated northwards, and, though ancient and Semitic, never formed part of the old classical language; while others may have belonged to the classical language, though they have become obsolete in all its other descendants. It is likely, moreover, that a considerable number of Canaanitish words were learned from the Canaanitish aborigines. A race that may be named in this connexion, the Hittites, has left monuments the decipherment of which has occupied many scholars without as yet leading to any satisfactory result. An eminent Assyriologist has recently endeavoured to identify the Hittites with the Armenians (Jensen, *Hittiter und Armenier*, 1898); and since the Hittite race at one time played an important part in Palestine, we should expect, if Jensen's conjecture were correct, to find some considerable illustration of the Canaanitish vocabulary in the Armenian language. The mixed nature of that language (of which the basis is Indo-germanic) renders its employment for the explanation of Hebrew extremely hazardous; and many tempting identifications of words can be shown to be due to pure accident.[‖] The local names of Palestine, of which the Bk. of Joshua in particular furnishes a great number, throw less light than might be expected on the character of the aboriginal languages employed there. The greater number seem very certainly Semitic, albeit they not infrequently, both in vocabulary[¶] and grammatical form,[*] exhibit traces of an older language than that known to us as Canaanitish. A considerable number of these names can be traced to the 15th cent. B.C., and even earlier, in Egyptian and Assyrian records. An un-Semitic remnant there is, but its linguistic character is difficult to fix.

5. *Progress of the Language.*—The Tel el-Amarna tablets represent the country as settled in States, somewhat as we find it described in the Bk. of Joshua. The States in which Canaanitish was spoken must have acquired the language either prior to their separation, or posterior to it if that consisted in the hegemony of the community whose native language it was.

Dialectic differences developed as the Canaanites began to write, each dialect preserving something which the others discarded,[†] but also evolving peculiarities of its own. It would not, however, appear that the Canaanites down to a late period had any difficulty in understanding each other. Jeremiah (27^{3}) expects his message to be understood by Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Tyrians, and Sidonians; and the tombstone of Eshmunazar contains phrases which seem to imply some acquaintance on that king's part with the Hebrew Scriptures.[‡] When David succeeded in welding together an Israelitish empire, it would seem that he took steps to make the language of Israel[§] (rather than that of Judah) official; and to the extent of the elements of grammar such as were taught in the schools the Israelitish language was thereafter uniform. These elements would, however, appear to have been exceedingly meagre. The scientific spirit would seem to have failed the ancient Israelites absolutely;[‖] and it is the same habit of mind which seeks to codify the order of nature and to find regularity in human speech. The Israelites could indeed distinguish and despise a foreign pronunciation,[¶] and set value on correct speech;[**] but it is improbable that their power of judging this matter went beyond questions of intonation and accent: throughout the OT there is scarcely a grammatical term to be found; and though several of the writers have a fondness for etymologizing,[††] the cases in which modern scholars regard their efforts as successful are rare. The result of the want of grammatical training is apparent in even the most classical portions of the OT. Where the writers have to do with quite ordinary words and notions, their language is regular; but so soon as this region is left, it becomes tentative, and it is partly due to the variety of these experiments that the Hebrew grammars reach a bulk that is out of all proportion to the literature with which they have to deal. Thus, where the prophets have to address companies of *women*, we find no certainty about the grammatical terminations; Isaiah (32^{9-12}) tries three different ways of forming the imperative to be employed in such a case; Ezekiel (13^{20-22}) tries three ways of forming the pronominal suffix. The attempts made to form the infinitives of the conjugation *Niphal*, and indeed of all the derived conjugations, are very varied. Other curious specimens of uncertainty as to the right form are to be found in Jos $6^{17.25}$, Dt 2^{35} 3^7, Jer 51^9 etc.

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[*] In Frd. Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch* some 160 words and roots can be illustrated from Hebrew, but not from Arabic. Examples of the words referred to above are *sha* (Heb. שֶׁ, whence, perhaps, אֲשֶׁר), *ki-i* (כִּי), *ūlā* (perhaps אולי), *itti* (אֵת), *a-a-ka* (אֵיכָה), *a-ta-a* (עַתָּה), *ēsh-tē* (עשתי), *ma-a-du* (מְאֹד), *is-su-ri* (אִכָּר), *na-sī-ku* (נסך). Other examples of common words in which Canaanitish and Assyrian agree against the S. Semitic group are: אָדָם, אוּלָם, אוֹר, אֲשֶׁר, אֵיב, אנשׁ, אָרַשׁ, אשר; הרה; זִק (dart); יפה; לקח; מעט, מצא; ניא, נאד (hinder); נשק (kiss); סכל (fool); ספד (mourn); עבור, עבות (produce); שאר (body); שמר (guard); תמך (maintain). היכל is said to be a Sumerian word, borrowed first by the Assyrians, and from them by the Canaanites.

[†] *i.e.* the *waw conversive*. Most of the Assyrian chronicles exhibit only *one* tense, the Heb. imperfect. It would seem possible that the annalistic employment of this term in Hebrew was at first an imitation of the Assyrian, which then developed idiomatically.

[‡] So 'to open the ear' (K. 95. 15 in S. A. Smith, *KT Assurbanipals*); 'to break in pieces like a potter's vessel' (Sargon, *passim*); טוּב לֵב for 'cheerfulness,' יֹשֵׁב בַּשָּׁמַיִם as an epithet of the Deity, etc. Many cases are collected by Karppe in his articles in the *Journal Asiatique*, ser. 9, vol. x.

[§] The phrase אכל קרצי occurs in the Tel el-Amarna tablets. In Budge's notes to 'Rabban Hormizd' some interesting illustrations of this are given.

[‖] אָגָן is Armenian, according to Lagarde (*Ges. Abh.* p. 8). A word that may possibly be Armenian is צִיּוּן 'a stele' or 'monument' (2 K 23^{17}, Jer 31^{21}, Ezk 39^{15}), Arm. *siun* 'a pillar.' This is an old Armenian word = Greek *κιών* with the proper changes. Lagarde first thought כֹּמֶר (Hos 10^{5} etc.) 'a priest,' borrowed from the Arm. *khurm*, but afterwards reversed his judgment. חֹלֶד 'a mole' is temptingly like Arm. *khlourd* 'a mole,' which might seem a derivative of *khlem* 'to pluck up,' 'root out'; but from Lagarde's *Arm. Stud.* it appears to have another derivation.

[¶] *e.g.* אֶלְתְּקֵה Jos 19^{44}, perhaps Arab. *iltiḳā* 'battle,' *Koran*, iii. 11, etc. Perhaps the form אֶלְתְּקֹן has preserved the *tanwīn*.

[*] *e.g.* שַׁעֲלַבִּין Jos 19^{43}, דֹּאר 21^{32}.

[†] So in a Citian inscription we find the pluperfect formed by apposition of כן *kāna* as in classical Arabic; Heb. has neither the old substantive verb nor the construction.

[‡] Compare especially line 12 with Is 37^{31} שֹׁרֶשׁ לְמָטָּה וּפְרִי לְמָעְלָה; elsewhere the adverb used with שֹׁרֶשׁ is תַּחַת. תֹּאַר (*ib.*) in the sense of 'beauty' occurs Is 53^{2}. תַּחַת הַשָּׁמֶשׁ is a favourite phrase with Ḳoheleth, who, however, is probably later than the inscription. The commencement bears a curious likeness to Hezekiah's hymn, Is 38^{16}.

[§] Cf. Winckler's *Geschichte Israels*.

[‖] Perhaps an exception should be made in favour of geography.

[¶] Is 32^{4} 33^{19}.

[**] Heb. דַּבֵּר כֵּן Jg 12^{6}.

[††] Ezk 20^{29} is perhaps the most curious.

The state in which the text of the OT has come down to us renders it difficult to speak positively on this matter; but perhaps the result of a comparison of the few duplicate texts which we possess is such as to show that philological considerations did not concern the editors and copyists who were also the authors of the historical texts. The alterations introduced merely through the absence of any idea of accuracy and without any religious or political interest, such as are to be observed in the parallel texts of Jos 15^{16-19} and Jg 1^{11-15}, Is 2^{2-4} and Mic 4^{1-3}, or Is 36–39 and 2 K 18–20, suggest the impossibility of basing a grammatical system on books so preserved; for it is clear that the copyist's licence extends so far as the substitution not only of synonyms, at least for ordinary ideas, but of what to the copyist seemed optional grammatical forms for one another, this latter licence including not only orthography, but what seem to us most serious syntactical variations, resulting in what to the rigid grammarian might seem grave errors, though the general sense is not affected. It is unfortunate that the duplicate texts of Ps 14 and 53, Ps 18 and 2 S 22, and of the oracles common to Nu, Is, and Jer, in which the language is from the nature of the subject choice and obscure, reveal an amount of licence on the copyist's part that is far greater than what appears where the texts are easy. How much, therefore, that is abnormal in our text is due to the original authors and how much to the hands through which it has passed, cannot without fresh discovery of MSS be ascertained; but it seems likely that if there had been Hebrew grammarians as well as writing-masters in any pre-Christian century, the sphere of the optional in Hebrew grammar would have been reduced to narrower limits. There are forms in the existing text of the OT which might suggest vast surmises as to the extent to which a Palestinian could have observed the rules of Arabic grammar without being unintelligible.*

Owing to the fact that the language was never fixed by organized study, the distinction of dialects and periods is hazardous; and the very different opinions that excellent scholars have held about the time and place to which portions of the OT belong, show that there is little definite to be said about these matters. We learn from Jg 12^6 that an Ephraimite could not pronounce the letter שׁ correctly; but it by no means follows that his writing would show any signs of this inability. Some scholars have attempted to distinguish two dialects in the OT, others three (North Palestinian, South Palestinian or Simeonic, and Jewish: so Böttcher, *Lehrb.* i. 15 ff.), but it may be doubted whether there is a single grammatical form which can with safety be said to belong to one dialect rather than another. If it be the case that revisers have introduced uniformity where there were previously marked differences, we cannot now get behind their work. It is, however, possible to note in several of the OT narratives peculiar words or usages which may have been characteristic of the tribes from which those narratives emanated, though the extent of the literature at our command does not justify us in asserting this positively. Thus מוֹרָה (Jg 13^5) may be Danite for 'razor' (Arab. *mūsā*), שָׁמֵעַ (Jg 11^{10}) Gileadite for 'witness' (Eth. *samā'ī*; cf. Pr 21^{28}), נוּעַ Manassite for 'to rule' (Jg 9^{13}). Several other curious phrases occur in the history of Gideon, and several in those of Ehud (Jg 3^{15-29}) and Samson (Jg 13–16); perhaps some of those in the last two narratives are not Israelitish at all, but Moabitic and Philistian; and indeed in Jg 16^{25} the form שחק seems clearly intended to be Philistian, but is certainly not exclusively so. In the parts of the 2nd Bk. of Kings which treat of the northern kingdom, scholars have tried to detect much local phraseology; and the same has been tried with the prophecies of Hosea, Amos, and others. The general uniformity of the language renders the term 'dialect' inapplicable to these minute *nuances* of style, which for the most part may be characteristic of individual writers rather than of regions.

The chief characteristics of the Israelitish dialect were probably fixed by the time of the consolidation of the united kingdom under David; and it is not probable that from that time to the first captivity it altered very seriously. The comparatively settled state of the country being favourable to the growth of the arts and the development of professions, a certain number of words continued to accrue from foreign sources, chiefly Assyria* and Egypt, but to some extent also India† and Greece,‡ while old words were utilized to express new ideas, or old roots to form fresh derivatives. In the case of the sacerdotal profession we can apparently trace the formation of a terminology on somewhat the same lines as that by which the terminology of Mohammedan tradition was afterwards formed. The inability of the language to form compounds somewhat limits the resources of the inventors of words; the same form has to do duty for 'to contaminate' and 'to declare impure,' the same for 'to expiate' and 'to offer as an expiatory sacrifice.' Lexicography is slightly more represented in the OT than grammar, albeit it is curious that in the one case where a technical term is defined at length (Dt 15^2) that term (שְׁמִטָּה) does not recur elsewhere. The wealth, however, of the old Arabic language seems to have been so great that the preservation rather than the invention of words was desirable.§

6. *Periods.*—With regard to the periods of the language of the OT it is generally agreed that the Bks. of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Ecclesiastes, and Daniel display sufficient difference from the style of most of the remaining books to justify the application of some term like New Hebrew to the language in which they are composed. All these books have in common the

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* *e.g.* מְקַלְלוּנִי Jer 15^{10} (=*muḳallilū-nī*, Schultens); מנהו Job 4^5 (=*minhu*); 15^2 תְּרַפְּאוּנִי. Apparently, the use of *īn* and *īm* to form the plural was optional, see Mic 3^{12} quoted in Jer 26^{18}. From Jer 25^3 and Ezk 14^3 it might seem that the preformative of the 4th and 7th conjugation might be pronounced א.

* *e.g.* Ezk 16^{33} נדה, Bab. *nidit* (Meissner, *Babyl. Privatrecht*, p. 149); עסק, Assyr. *isḳu* (*ib.* 127); נכסים *nikāsu*, *ib.*

† For India see Comm. on 2 K 10^{22}. Lagarde (*Ges. Abh.*, first Essay) suggests an Indian origin for אפן, כרכם (Ca 4^{16}), and ספיר.

‡ One of the early Rabbis suggested that מְכֵרוֹת in Gn 49^5 was the Greek word μάχαιρα (R. Eleazar quoted in Levy, *NHWB*, iii. 116). The identification is tempting, as the word is exceedingly obscure; but it is not certainly right. One other pre-exilic word פִּלֶגֶשׁ is certainly identical with the Greek παλλακίς (known to Homer); it is un-Semitic in form, and would seem to belong to a monogamous community; and can be derived without much difficulty from Greek roots. The word לַפִּיר (Ex 20^{18} etc.) seems to be a contraction of the Aram. לַמְפִּיר, which in its turn can scarcely be anything but the Greek λαμπάδ-; for it has no Semitic affinities, and means 'a meteoric light,' which is the very sense the word has in old Greek writers (*e.g.* Æschylus, *Choëph.* 590, λαμπάδες πεδάοροι, mentioned among physical terrors). How this word got into Hebrew and Aramaic seems a mystery. פּוּךְ of 2 K 9^{30} etc. seems to be the Greek φῦκος, and is certainly identical with Lat. *fucus*; but the meaning of the Greek word does not quite agree. In post-exilic times the immigration of Greek words is easily intelligible, but very few can be detected with certainty. רַפְסֹדֹת of 2 Ch 2^{15} [Eng.^{16}] has a Greek appearance, but cannot be identified; אַפִּרְיוֹן of Ca 3^9 is in the same case. The identification of לִשְׁכָּה with λέσχη has found little favour.

§ See the collection in Freytag's *Einleitung ins Studium der Arab. Sprache.*

employment of Persian * or Aramaic † words for ideas which the older Hebrew was quite equal to expressing, as well as for ideas which perhaps were not known to the older Hebrews; and Ecclesiastes in particular is marked by the introduction of several particles ‡ which seem foreign to the older language, and which seem to imply that the writer had been schooled in some very different vehicle of expression. These particles were inherited by the post-biblical literature, with some others which are probably as old as Koheleth, though not employed by him. Whether some of his turns of expression were suggested by the necessity of translating from the Greek cannot at present be determined; this ingenious writer has every appearance of being a great innovator in language, and indeed seems to say so (12^9). Esther shares with Ecclesiastes some of the new particles, and from the nature of its subject-matter exhibits the Persian element very markedly. The Hebrew of Dn, though marked by conscious imitation of 'the Bible' (9^2), which is not always, perhaps, felicitous (10^{16} compared with Is 21^3), lapses occasionally into phrases that are characteristic of the very latest style,§ and also has some Syriasms that are peculiar to itself.‖ The language of the four remaining books is practically the same, although the Persian element is less apparent in Ch, which, on the other hand, exhibit grammatical formations which seem Mishnic ¶ rather than biblical, and Syriac ** rather than Hebrew.

Were more of the historical parts of the Apocrypha preserved in their original language, it is probable that it would chiefly differ from this New Hebrew in the introduction of Greek words, such as are found in great numbers in the Mishna, but the occurrence of which in the later Hebrew of the OT as a characteristic of lateness seems doubtful. If the Bk. of Ruth belongs to the early part of this period, its author has kept it free from the most characteristic phrases of the New Hebrew, while employing several expressions which, though isolated, appear to be antique.

It is certain that a considerable portion of the rest of the OT was already known to the writers of these works and constituted their classical literature; and of this collection the largest amount that can be assigned to a single period with certainty consists of the Bks. of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Deuteronomy, the genuineness of the greater portion of the first two being ordinarily admitted, while there seem cogent reasons for assigning the fifth book of the Pentateuch to about the same epoch. This may therefore be called the 'classical' period of the language, though the portions of Isaiah which belong to the close of the Exile seem to surpass them in brilliancy. All these books show signs of literary ambition: 'Isaiah' claims, with justice, the possession of a scholar's tongue (50^4); Jeremiah is conscious of the effects of his oratory (23^{29}), and dictates for a reading public (36^{23}); many chapters of Ezk reveal study and preparation; the value which Dt claims for its 'words' could scarcely be more strongly expressed than in 6^{6-10}. These writers inherited some prophetic phraseology from earlier prophets (Jer 23^{31}, where a verb 'to *nĕ'um*' is coined, meaning to use the characteristic phrase of the prophets), and, indeed, some prophetic commonplace (so Jer 25^{30} seems to give the traditional proem to a prophecy, the words recurring from Am 1^2 and Jl 4^{16}); but it is probable that in the main their language represents that of the ruling and official class at Jerusalem in its last century of independence. It is not unnatural that there should be a group of words and phrases which are peculiar to Dt and Jer, and another group peculiar to Jer and Ezk.

The greater portion of the OT, however, does not consist of works produced by single individuals, embodying their ideas in their own language, but of the work of schools or societies, who compiled, abridged, and edited. The main streams have perhaps been separated by critics with success; but each of these main streams is made up of a variety of smaller rills, so to speak, which cannot be localized. Owing to the variety of the documents, written and oral, poetical and prose, which are utilized in one place or other of the series which extends from Gn to 2 K, we have a great variety of idioms exemplified, of which only in rare cases we can define either the time or the locality. The only cases which deserve much attention are, of course, those for which the ordinary language has synonyms. In the Bk. of Leviticus a word (עָמִית) is used eleven times for 'neighbour' which may be said to occur nowhere else; this must clearly be indicative of dialect, but it is not known which. In the 'law of the slave' (Ex 21^{1-12}), a phrase (בְּגַפּוֹ) for 'by himself' occurs three times which is not known elsewhere. In the episode of Esau (Gn 27) words occur for such common notions as 'to touch' (מוש), 'to plot' (מתנחם), 'a quiver' (תלי), 'a deceiver' (מתעתע), 'a superior' (גביר), which occur nowhere else. All of these would seem to be dialectic; and the last, which is the masculine of a word that occurs frequently in the feminine, is certainly so. The story of Joseph (Gn 37–50) has a whole vocabulary of its own; as dialectic there may be characterized the words for 'just' (כן), 'sack' (אמתחת), 'restore to his place' (השיב על כנו), 'load' (טען). The word for 'just,' which occurs five times in this narrative, but for which in the same sense we have to go to Syriac authors, must certainly have met us elsewhere in the OT, if we possessed other documents of the same place and the same time as those to which the original story of Joseph belonged. Although many of the expressions which the documents employed by the compilers contain must have been as unintelligible to them as they are to us, the cases in which they endeavour to interpret or to emend them are rare. A case of an emendation occurs in Jg $3^{22.23}$, but both alternatives are obscure to us. In 1 S 9^{10} attention is called to the ancient import of a word, and in Gn 14^{14} a hard word is glossed, but in neither case is the ancient philology unequivocally confirmed by modern. Where we have parallel narratives (as in Gn $15^{2.3}$, Dt 1^{41}, and Nu 14^{44}) we can sometimes trace the remains of ancient interpretations of difficulties. The reason that these glosses are so few is probably to be found in the fact that with the Hebrews as with the Arabs a book is rather the possession of an individual or a family (Dt 31^{25}) than of the public; the skeleton writing almost necessitates an authorized exponent. A second reason is probably to be found in the tendency to abridge, which has reduced the Israelitish literature to so small a compass.

Whether it is possible to obtain any fixed linguistic epochs in the classical and ante-classical literature seems exceedingly doubtful. It is indeed possible to tell Aramaisms by phonetic rules; but as Aramaisms meet us in very early literature,—*e.g.* one of the characteristic words in the story of Jephthah is an Aramaism, a word which occurs also in Deborah's song,*—no argument as to date can be drawn from their occurrence, except when they belong to the classes already noticed. From the fact that the Canaanitish and Aramaic peoples have the same modification of the old Arabic alphabet, which they, indeed, subsequently developed somewhat differently,—from the fact that the oldest Aramaic most resembles Canaanitish, and that one of the oldest Canaanitish inscriptions which we possess contains an Aramaic word,† it would seem that the two nations though speaking different languages migrated simultaneously, and, until the final extinction of Canaanitish, did not cease borrowing from each other's vocabulary. We should obtain more fixed points from the internal growth of the language, if the literature were sufficiently large to enable us to name with precision the inventors of words; but this we are not able to do. Most of the passages that might seem of use for the history of particular words, turn out not to be so. In Jer 23^{36} the use of the word *massā* for 'oracle' is emphatically forbidden; but we find it employed nevertheless by authors far later than Jeremiah (Mal 1^{1}). The words of Dt 24^{8} seem to imply the existence in some form of the technical rules of Lv 13 and 14, but it is impossible to say how many of the terms there employed existed in the time of the Deuteronomist. A very little of the sacerdotal terminology can be traced back to those ancient times before the Canaanites separated into nations,‡ but for the origin of most of it we have no data.

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* פִּתְגָּם for דָּבָר Est and Ec; דָּת for מִשְׁפָּט Ezr and Est; אִגֶּרֶת (perhaps Assyrian rather than Persian) for סֵפֶר (2 K 5^5) Neh, Est, and Ch; פַּתְשֶׁגֶן or פַּרְשֶׁגֶן for מִשְׁנֶה Ezr and Est.

† זְמָן for עֵת Neh, Est, and Ec; כָּנַס for אסף Ec, Est, Ch; עֲבָד for מַעֲשֶׂה Ec. In Bab. *Megillah*, 9a, attention is called to the occurrence of פתגם and יקר.

‡ אִלּוּ (also in Est); כְּבָר, עֲדֶנָּה, and עֲדֶן; שֶׁ יֹתֵר and יתר מן (also in Est); מַה־שֶּׁהָיָה.

§ עָצַר כֹּחַ (10^8) only in Ch besides, תֹּקֶף (11^{17}) only in Est besides, בִּזָּה, סְלִיחוֹת, עֹמֶד.

‖ אפרן (11^{45}), מכמן (11^{43}), רשום (11^{21}).

¶ שְׁחִיטָה 2 Ch 30^{17} is the Mishnic nom. act.

** בִּירָנִיּוֹת 2 Ch 17^{12} seems to be a Syriac diminutive.

The poetical books have been left out of the above considerations, because choice and archaic language is characteristic of the poetry of all nations, and the widely divergent dates assigned by the best scholars to various psalms show the difficulty that is felt in distinguishing the really archaic from affected archaism. The five poetical books of the OT would seem to have emanated from different schools, and the *Psalms* and *Proverbs* probably also contain materials collected from very different ages. That they emanated from schools is shown by the predominance in each of a peculiar vocabulary, which in the case of the Psalms would seem to have been inherited by the authors of the much later Psalms of Solomon. The obscurity and rarity of the expressions is in other cases no clue to the date of the Psalms, for some of the least intelligible phrases are found in compositions which are agreed to be exceedingly late.§ The Proverbs are remarkable as professing to embody the compositions of non-Israelites, but the chapters in which these are collected may perhaps have been translated, as indeed the text of Pr 25^{1} implies that the proverbs of Solomon were. The nature of the collection prevents it from preserving much of the popular language, as the proverbs of most nations do, and as a collection of sayings current among the Israelites, such as those to which the prophets occasionally refer (cf. Jer 23^{29} 31^{29}, Ex 11^{7}), would undoubtedly have done. But these exhibit the remains of a somewhat developed philosophical, or perhaps we may say mystic vocabulary, and are marked by the further recurrence of several phrases, which, though not technical, seem to have been employed only in the school of the writers.* The Book of Job, which is ostensibly non-Israelitish throughout, is probably, from a linguistic point of view, the most remarkable in the OT, though to what extent (if at all) it contains non-Israelitish materials cannot with the present evidence be determined. Choice and obsolete phrases seem to be paraded here, as in the artificial poetry of the Arabs; but the commentary which may originally have accompanied them has not been handed down. Modern criticism is inclined to ascribe this book to a series of writers; but if so, they must have had access to the same sort of literature, for even a portion of such doubtful authenticity as the Elihu speeches differs from the rest, not so much in the quality of the language as in the quantity of obscure and striking expressions, many of which can here be interpreted (like those in the rest of the book) from the Arabic and Aramaic languages. It is probable that the *Canticles* preserve more of the popular style than any other portion of the OT poetry. The matter is such that the employment of a rustic dialect lends it a special charm; but the dialect cannot any more than the others be located. The language of the *Lamentations* has some peculiarities of its own, but also has much in common with that of the Psalms.†

The separation of the sources and the fixing of the dates of the pieces composing the OT has been attempted with varying success by modern critics. Neither the earliest nor the latest verse in the OT can be named with certainty, but there is probably none either earlier than 1100, or later than 100 B.C. That the earliest fragments were in verse must not be hastily assumed, since the Oriental peoples employ verse not only to commemorate, but also to glorify the past;‡ and, owing to the considerations that have already been urged, the verses which are occasionally quoted in the older historical books in connexion with particular events must, until further discoveries of literature, be located rather by religious and political than by linguistic data.

The continuity of the Hebrew language would seem to have been finally snapped with the taking of Jerusalem by the Romans; circumstances having forced the survivors of that catastrophe to adopt some other idiom for the ordinary needs of life, though it has not ceased to carry on a sort of existence to this day, partly as a learned language, partly as a vehicle of communication for members of the Jewish community throughout the world. The commencement of its decay is no doubt to be dated from the time when acquaintance with another language was necessary for high offices of State; and this would seem to have been the case in Hezekiah's time (Is 36^{11}), and was probably the case earlier. During the first exile and after it, acquaintance with some other language was requisite, not only for the official, but for the ordinary householder; and though Nehemiah busied himself with the maintenance of the Jewish language in its purity ($13^{21ff.}$), his own style gives us no exalted notion of his standard in that matter. The question, however, of the precise epoch at which Hebrew ceased to be a living language is fraught with considerable difficulty, owing to the dearth of materials for settling it. Josephus, who survived the Fall of Jerusalem, says (*BJ*, Preface,

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* יְתַנּוּ. Moore in his valuable commentary says such an Aramaism is impossible in Old Hebrew; but is not this a 'Machtspruch'? Similarly, Dillmann tries to explain away שַׁלִּיט in Gn 42^{6}. קְרָב of 2 S 17^{11}, יְקָר of Jer 20^{5}, are also Aramaic. If the form *kattūl* be everywhere Aramaic, as it seems to be, it would be difficult to point to any portion of the OT that would be certainly free from Aramaism (see Hos 8^{6}, 1 S 15. 19). Another striking case of a word known only from the Aramaic is תַּחֲלִימֵנִי in Hezekiah's ode (Is 38^{16}).

† ראשת in the patera of Baal Lebanon.

‡ *e.g.* שלם, כליל, עלה (at any rate the verb). כליל would seem to have been borrowed by the Egyptians, whence the Copt. *chlil.*

§ See *e.g.* Pss 74. 80.

* *e.g.* פרע 'to despise,' יפיח for 'a witness' התגלע.

† Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the OT* contains important observations on the usage of the different writers.

‡ Thus the author of the historical manual *Al-Fakhri* (*circ.* 1250) quotes the verses of the poet at Al-Raḍī (*circ.* 1000) on Omar II. (*ob.* 720).

§ 1), that being a Hebrew, he had written a history of the war in his native language; but when he proceeds to state that the whole East, down to the remotest of the Arabs, had access to that work, such a description applies better to Aramaic than to Hebrew. The passages in the writings of the Rabbis which bear on this question are too late to give trustworthy information.*

7. *Biblical Aramaic.*—The earliest Aramaic documents which we possess are the inscriptions first published by E. Sachau in the Collections of the Berlin Museum for 1893, which certify the existence of a written Aramaic language for the early part of the 8th cent. B.C., or earlier, just as the inscriptions on weights and indorsements on Assyrian contracts, collected in the second volume of the *CIS*, certify it for the latter half of the 8th cent. and later. The opinion of M. Maspero, (*l.c.*) that evidence for the existence of the Aramaic language is to be found in far earlier Egyptian documents, is now accepted by Egyptologists. As has already been observed, the oldest Aramaic is without a number of the characteristics that serve to distinguish the later language from Canaanitish; but it seems possible that this phenomenon is in part due to the influence of the Canaanitish orthography, since the Aramaic representation of the letters *th* and *dh* does not seem derivable from the Canaanitish and old Aramaic *sh* and *z*, whereas it is easily derivable from those letters themselves. In grammar this language shows some striking affinity with the S. Arabian dialect Sabæan; but in vocabulary the earliest Aramaic seems to agree remarkably with Canaanitish, and though several words which are ordinary in Aramaic only figure in poetical language in Heb., this is what is frequently found in the case of kindred nations.

The area within which the Aramaic language was employed seems even in Babylonian times to have been very great; we have Aramaic inscriptions and papyri found in Syria, Babylonia, Egypt, and Arabia, which there are good grounds for regarding as earlier than Cyrus. Its employment even in the 8th cent. B.C. as a diplomatic language (Is 36[11]) implies an Aramaic hegemony either in politics or literature of some previous century; for it seems clear that the only languages ever employed in this way are such as have for one of these reasons become important to members of many nationalities. The Aramaic verse in Jer (10[11]) is shown by the form of the word 'earth,' and the termination of the word 'shall perish,' to belong to the earliest form of Aramaic of which we have cognizance; but the fact that the ordinary Aramaic for 'earth' occurs in the second half of the verse shows that no confidence can be placed in the tradition, and it is highly probable that the old Aramaic forms should be restored throughout. The influence of Assyrian on the old Aramaic was very considerable in matters affecting vocabulary—such as to leave a permanent mark on the language; but on the grammar and syntax it would seem to have had either less effect or a different effect from that which it exercised on Canaanitish. The accession of the Persians to world-empire seems to have again largely affected the Aramaic vocabulary; and the documents in Ezra which belong to the Persian period bear witness to the influx of Persian words, which, if these documents are genuine, the language must almost at the commencement of that period have undergone. The idiom of these documents agrees remarkably with that of the papyri edited in *CIS* (ii. Nos. 145 ff.), which some scholars have suspected of Jewish origin. The Aramaic parts of Daniel are characterized by a distinctly more modern idiom than that of Ezra; and, indeed, contain such decidedly Hebrew constructions that it is evident that either their author thought in that language, or they represent a translation from it. Of the Aramaic inscriptions which have been discovered, perhaps those of Palmyra approach most closely to the language of Daniel. The language has begun to assimilate Greek words, but there is as yet no regular system of transliteration. The language is rigidly distinguished from the later Christian Aramaic by the preservation of the old passive forms, by the fact that the emphatic form still has the force of the definite article, as well as by certain peculiarities of grammar and orthography. The later Jewish Aramaic, while in some of these matters it has developed uniformly with the Christian dialect of Edessa, in others has retained the older forms, and in vocabulary differs widely from all Christian dialects, save that known as Palestinian Syriac. Unlike the language of Canaan, Aramaic held its ground during the integrity of the Roman Empire in the East, developing a variety of dialects and of scripts, and, though ousted in the seventh and succeeding centuries by Arabic, it has still representatives in the dialect of the Christians of Mesopotamia, which the missionaries Stoddart, and, more recently, Macleane, have endeavoured to provide with grammar and vocabulary, and in some other less known dialects.

LITERATURE.—The history of the earliest grammatical studies in Hebrew is sketched by W. Bacher, 'die Anfänge der Heb. Grammatik,' in *ZDMG* xlix. 1–62 and 334–392; for the few notices of grammar to be found in the Talmuds see further A. Berliner, *Beiträge zur Heb. Grammatik im Talmud u. Midrasch*, Berl. 1879. Bacher's papers carry the history of Hebrew grammar and lexicography down to the end of the 10th cent.; while the invention of the vowel-points is connected with the labours of the Massoretes, the first actual author of a grammatical treatise was the Gaon Saadya (*ob.* 941), whose work, however, exists only in quotations; to the 10th cent. belong the *Risalah* of Jehudah Ibn Koraish, ed. Barges and Goldberg, Paris, 1842, the *Mahbereth* or dictionary of Menahem Ibn Saruk (ed. H. Filipowski, Lond. 1854; see also Siegmund Gross, *Menahem B. Saruk*, Breslau, 1872), and the *Teshubhah* or 'Response' of Dunash B. Labrat (ed. R. Schroter, Breslau, 1866; cf. S. G. Stern, 'Liber Responsionum,' Vienna, 1870); to the 11th cent. the 'Book of Hebrew Roots' of R. Jonah, called *Abu 'l-Walid Merwan* (ed. by A. Neubauer, Oxford, 1875, cf. Neubauer, 'Notice sur la lexicographie Hébraique,' in *Journ. Asiat.* 1861), and his grammar, called *Harrikmah* (ed. Goldberg, Frankf. 1866). See further for this early period Ewald u. Dukes, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der ältesten Auslegung u.s.w. des A. Testamentes*, Stuttgart, 1844. We are brought nearer to modern times by the works of Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Moz'ne l'shon hakkodesh* (ed. Heidenheim, Offenbach, 1791), *Sefer Sahuth* (ed. Lippmann, Fürth, 1827), and *Safah B'rurah* (ed. Lippmann, Fürth, 1839); see also Bacher, *Abraham Ibn Ezra als Grammatiker*, Strassburg, 1881. To the same century belongs the lexicon of Solomon Ibn Parhon, completed at Salerno, 1160 (ed. S. G. Stern, Pressburg, 1844; cf. M. Weiner, *Parchon als Grammatiker u. Lexicograph*, Offen. 1870). Still more important were the grammatical and lexicographical works of David Kimḥi (1160-1235), whose *Michlol* has been often printed, first at Constantinople, 1534; see also J. Tauber, *Standpunkt u. Leistung des R. D. Kimhi als Grammatiker*, Breslau, 1867. His dictionary, called *Sefer hashshorashim*, has also been repeatedly printed, most recently by Biesenthal and Lebrecht, Berlin, 1847.

The European study of Hebrew and Chaldee commences with the grammars and dictionaries of Sebastian Munster and Pagninus, 1525-1543; in the next century the *Thesaurus Grammaticus* of J. Buxtorf, Basel, 1663, was of considerable importance. In this century the works of W. Gesenius have, notwithstanding many rivals, maintained their popularity; his Hebrew grammar, which first appeared at Halle, 1813 (followed by the more elaborate *Lehrgebuude*, Leipzig, 1817), has repeatedly been re-edited and translated; the 26th edition, revised by E. Kautzsch, appeared in 1896 at Leipzig, and was translated by Collins and Cowley, Oxford, 1898. Of Gesenius' rivals the most eminent was H. Ewald, the author of both a larger and a smaller grammar; the 8th edition of the former, called *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der heb. Sprache*, appeared at Göttingen, 1870, the Syntax of which was translated by Kennedy, Edinburgh, 1879. Other important works on Hebrew grammar are J. Olshausen's *Lehrbuch*, Brunswick, 1861; Fr. Böttcher's *Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, Leipzig, 1866 (in many respects the fullest that has yet appeared); B. Stade's *Lehrbuch*, Leipz. 1879 (these three do not touch the syntax); F. E. König; *Hist.-krit. Lehrgebäude*, Leipzig, 1881–1897. Driver's *Hebrew Tenses* (3rd ed., Oxford, 1890); Harper's *Elements of Hebrew*

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* Weiss in his *Studien zur Mischnahsprache* (in Hebrew), collects some passages which, though of interest, lead to no definite conclusion.

Syntax (London, 1890); and Wickes' Treatises on Hebrew Accentuation (Oxford, 1881–1887), are of great importance. Lexicography is mainly represented by various editions of the dictionaries of Gesenius (*Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1810, 13th ed. by Buhl, 1899; new edition by Brown, Briggs, and Driver in course of publication; *Thesaurus*, 1835–1858, finished by E. Rödiger); while these can be supplemented by the Concordances, of which that by Mandelkern, Leipzig, 1896, is the newest and fullest. The grammar of the Aramaic parts of the OT has been treated most recently by K. Marti in Petermann's series, Leipzig, 1896, and H. Strack, Leipzig, 1896. Some of the more important monographs on special questions have been noticed above; but the various journals devoted to the study of the OT, *e.g.* the American *Hebraica* and the German *ZATW*, as well as those devoted to Jewish literature and to Oriental study, contain more articles of importance than can be noticed here—1899.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

LANGUAGE OF THE APOCRYPHA.—The Apocrypha may with fair accuracy be described as a collection of works emanating from Jewish communities in the period between the close of the OT Canon and the commencement of that of the NT. Most of these books seem to have been composed in Hebrew, a few in Aramaic, and the rest in Greek; but as they were preserved in the Christian community, the Hebrew and Aramaic originals were at an early time lost or neglected, and their place taken by Greek translations; and in the case of some, which never acquired lasting authority, the Greek translation itself has been lost, and the work preserved, if at all, in secondary versions. This has occurred in the case of the Books of Enoch and of Jubilees, which are known *chiefly* through Ethiopic versions; while the Fourth Book of Ezra, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and the Assumption of Moses, are known in secondary translations,—in the first case in a variety of languages, in the second in Syriac, and in the third in Latin. Books 2 and following of Maccabees are known to have been written in the language in which we possess them (Greek); and the same is probably the case with the Epistle of Jeremy; but the remaining books would seem to be all translations, though it is not always easy to distinguish Hellenistic Greek from translated Hebrew. The most ambitious in point of style is the Wisdom of Solomon, which few even now regard as a translation; yet the proof that it is one is difficult to elude; for 14^{10} 'for that which is made shall be punished together with him that made it' is clearly a *mistranslation* of a sentence that is quoted in the Midrash on Gn 48 (*Rabba*, § 96) כשם שנפרעין מן העובד כך נפרעין מן הנעבד 'just as the worshipper is punished so is that which was worshipped,' the translator's mistake being due to his giving the verb עבד its Aramaic sense 'to do or make,' whereas the author used it in its Hebrew sense 'to worship.' It may be added that the Greek of this verse (*τὸ πραχθὲν σὺν τῷ δράσαντι κολασθήσεται*), which really means 'that which has been done shall be punished together with him that did it,' shows signs of mistranslation that could have been detected without the aid of the original. It is, however, certain that the translator's object was rather to provide a masterpiece of Greek rhetoric than to reproduce his original faithfully; and in the absence of materials it seems impossible to fix with precision the limits of the work translated, or the character of the original language, which must in any case have shown signs of Greek influence.

That the book called Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom or the Proverbs of Jesus Ben-Sira was originally written in Hebrew we know from the statement of the Greek translator in his preface; but the date of the disappearance of the original is a matter of obscurity. Jerome professes to have seen it. The writings of the earlier Rabbis contain a certain number of quotations from it, which are collected by Cowley and Neubauer (*A portion of the Orig. Hebrew of Ecclus.*, Oxford, 1896); this collection, however, requires considerable reduction. The reason for its disappearance is doubtless to be found in the passage in the Gemara of B. Sanhedrin (f. 100*b*), in which it is asserted that a Jew would risk his eternal salvation by reading it; the passages, however, which are cited there both for and against this opinion, seem very inadequate for either purpose. From these quotations we should gather that the author used a language similar to that of the Mishnic authors, *i.e.* a highly developed New Hebrew; and this there seems no reason to doubt, though it is likely that the quotations are not scrupulously accurate. In an essay by the present writer, published in 1890, reasons were brought forward for thinking that many of the differences between the Greek and the Syriac versions, both of which were made from the original, could be solved by the assumption that the writer used New Hebrew words; and that the writer used a nine-syllable metre, of which the base was a foot called in Greek *Bacchic*, consisting of a short, a long, and a short: the middle syllable being invariably long, whereas the others were common. Ben-Sira, however, professes to be in the main a compiler from the OT (24^{29}), which he doubtless imitated constantly; but in this he is doing himself an injustice.

In 1896 a leaf was brought over from Cairo containing a portion of Ecclus. in Hebrew, followed by the discovery of other portions, published in the work mentioned above, while yet other portions await publication.* The present writer has shown grounds (*The Origin of the Orig. Heb. of Ecclus.*, Oxford, 1899) for thinking this Hebrew a retranslation made in the 11th or 12th cent. A.D., partly from the Syriac and partly from a Persian version of the Greek.†

The remaining poetical book in this series, the Psalms of Solomon, would seem to have been rendered into Greek by a specially skilful hand: had we the original, it is probable that it would reveal little difference in expression from many Psalms in the Psalter ascribed to David.

Of the post-biblical historical writing of the Jews occasional fragments are to be found in the Talmud, *e.g.* B. *Kiddushin*, f. 66*a*. The old forms are still retained, though the writer introduces without scruple vulgarisms of his own age. It is probable that the historical portions of the Apocrypha were in a style similar to this, but of course we cannot be sure. The Book of Judith is known to have been written in Hebrew from 3^{9}, where the word 'saw' evidently is a mistranslation of a Hebrew word signifying 'plain' (משור); the statement of Jerome that Chaldee was the original language of the book, must therefore be regarded as inaccurate. Attempts that have been made to find mistranslations from the Hebrew in the other books, *e.g.* in Tobit by F. Rosenthal (*Vier Apocryphische Bücher*, 1885), and in 1 Mac by the same scholar (*das erste Makkabäerbuch*, 1867, p. 6) seem to have produced no convincing result. The title of the latter, which is handed down by Origen, *sarbeth sarbane* 'historiæ historiolarum' seems certainly Aramaic, and indeed Syriac (*Thes. Syr.* col. 4323. 4), and it is unlikely that a Hebrew book would have a title of this sort.

The prophetic and apocalyptic style is represented by works ascribed to Baruch, Ezra, and others. The Book of Baruch consists very largely of phrases taken from the OT, and hence the elaborate reconstruction of the original by Kneucker (Leipzig, 1879) probably gives a correct idea of the author's style. In the Apocalypse of Baruch some relics of the original Hebrew can, it has been thought (R. H. Charles in his edition, pp. xliv–liii) be discerned in errors of the translation; and the same is said to be the case with the Assumption of Moses (R. H. Charles in his edition, pp. xxxix–xlv). Too little of the original language can in any case be recovered to enable us to speak with certainty of its character.

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* See now *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, by Schechter and Taylor, Camb., 1899; and G. Margoliouth in *JQR*, Oct. 1899.

† See König and Margoliouth in *Expos. Times*, August 1899 and foll. months; also Smend in *ThL*, Sept. 1899; Lévi in *REJ*, Ap.-June 1899; and Bacher in *JQR*, Oct. 1899.

D. S. Margoliouth.

LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.—The subject of this article is the species of Greek in which our canonical NT Scriptures are written.

A person familiar with Attic Greek, who should take in hand for the first time a Greek NT, could not fail to be struck by its peculiar idiom. Apart from traits which distinguish one portion of the volume from another (see V. p. 41 below), the language in general would seem strange to him—by reason of the admixture of popular, not to say plebeian, terms in its vocabulary; by its occasional outlandish and hardly intelligible phrases and constructions; by the meagre use of the connectives and other particles by which the earlier writers give balance, shading, and point to their periods; by the comparative avoidance or irregular use of the genitive absolute, attraction, and other syntactical devices for securing compactness and gradation in the presentation of thought; and throughout by a style which, though often monotonous, is conspicuous for its directness and simplicity; a style which, while it shows occasionally the digressions and broken or anacoluthic sentences characteristic of colloquial and uneducated utterance, is seldom encumbered with parentheses or protracted and entangled periods; a style obviously the expression of men too simple, self-forgetful, and earnest to pay much heed to literary elegancies or the established rules of the rhetorician.

Before considering in detail the characteristics of this variety of Greek, thus distinctly marked in vocabulary, construction, and style, we must notice briefly its name, its origin, and its history.

(*a*) *Name.*—Some of the names proposed for this peculiar idiom are evidently too restricted in their reference, as respects time or place or both (as, 'the ecclesiastical dialect,' 'the Alexandrian dialect,' 'Palestinian Greek'). Others, like 'Jewish Greek,' 'Jewish-Christian Greek,' though intrinsically appropriate, have failed to gain currency. But the appellation 'Hellenistic Greek,' first suggested apparently by the younger Scaliger, is now almost universally accepted. Protests on the ground that this name not only fails to indicate in what direction the language deviates from ordinary Greek (and consequently is less descriptive than 'Hebraic' or 'Aramaic Greek' would be), but is also inherently tautological or meaningless, because tantamount to 'Greekish Greek,' are powerless to dislodge it. Its adoption has been favoured, doubtless, by the use of Ἑλληνιστής in Ac (6^1 9^{29} 11^{20} *var. lec.*) as the designation of grecizing or Greek-speaking Jews. The application of the term 'dialect' to the Gr. of a particular locality and period is infelicitous, since that term has already been appropriated by the idiom of the several branches of the Greek race.

(*b*) *Origin.*—The literary supremacy of Athens (*c.* B.C. 500–B.C. 300) had caused her dialect, the Attic, gradually to supplant the forms of the language used by the other families of the Gr. race; and the diffusion of Greek was much furthered through the conquest and colonization of the East by Alexander the Great and his successors. In this process of diffusion, however, the Attic dialect itself was modified by the speech and usages of the nations among which it spread, till at length there arose a cosmopolitan type of Greek known as the 'Common Dialect' (ἡ κοινή, *sc.* διάλεκτος), a prominent abode of which for two centuries or more before the Christian era was the empire of the Ptolemies and their capital Alexandria. Here dwelt myriads of expatriated Jews, to whom in time their native or ancestral tongue became so unfamiliar that a Gr. translation of their sacred books was prepared to meet their needs (approximately between B.C. 285 and B.C. 150; see SEPTUAGINT). To this version much of the reverence felt for the Heb. originals was soon transferred, and its common use by all Jews resident outside of Palestine did much to fix and perpetuate the type of Greek it represents. That Greek, after undergoing the modifications resulting inevitably from the use of separated localities and intervening generations, furnished the vehicle by which the revelation of God through Jesus Christ was given to the world.

Its origin discloses its fitness for its providential office. It embodied the lofty conceptions of the Heb. and Christian faith in a language which brought them home to men's business and bosoms. It was an idiom capable of such use as not to forfeit the respect of the cultivated (see, for example, Ac $17^{22ff.}$ $26^{24ff.}$); yet, in substance, it was the language of everyday life, and hence fitted for the dissemination of the gospel by preaching wherever Greek was spoken. It differs evidently from the language of writers like Philo and Josephus, who, though of Heb. extraction, addressed themselves to the educated classes and aspired after idiomatic elegance of expression. It occupies apparently an intermediate position between the vulgarisms of the populace and the studied style of the litterateurs of the period. It affords a striking illustration of the divine policy in putting honour on what man calls 'common.'

(*c*) *History.*—The true nature, however, of this noteworthy idiom was for a time in certain quarters unrecognized. This is surprising in view of the deviations from the classic standard which stare one in the face from every page of the NT. Moreover, the educated man among the apostles frankly confesses his lack of the graces of classic diction (1 Co $2^{1.4}$ 1^{17}, 2 Co 11^6); and competent judges of Greek among the early Christians, such as Origen (*c. Cels.* vii. 59 f., *Philocalia*, iv., ed. Robinson, p. 41 f.) and Chrysostom (*Hom.* 3 on 1 Co 1^{17}), not only are forward to acknowledge the literary inferiority of the biblical language, but find evidence in that fact both of the divine condescension to the lowly and of the surpassing dignity of the contents of revelation in that, though destitute of the charms of polite literature, it could yet command the allegiance of the cultivated. Leading scholars of the Reformation period also (Erasmus, Luther, Melanchthon, Beza) held in the main the same correct opinion. But early in the 17th cent. this opinion encountered emphatic dissent, which led to a discussion (known as the 'Purist Controversy') which was protracted for more than a century, and conducted at times with no little heat. The heat was largely due to the circumstance that those who denied the classic purity of NT Greek were thought by their opponents to dishonour the divine author of the book. But if these over-zealous champions of the divine honour had had their way, they would have disproved the claim of the volume to be the production of Greek-speaking Jews of the 1st cent., and have nullified the philological evidence it affords that, at that epoch, there entered a new and transforming energy into the realm of human thought. We see the foolishness of God to be wiser than men. (A full bibliography of this instructive controversy, with a critical estimate of the arguments advanced on both sides, is given in Schmiedel's *Winer*, § 2).

The peculiarities of the NT language will be most conveniently exhibited in connexion with the several elements entering into its composition, viz.—

I. The later or ‘Common’ spoken Greek.
II. The Hebrew or spoken Aramaic.
III. The Latin and other foreign tongues.
IV. The religious or distinctively Christian element.

To the consideration of these will be subjoined—

V. A summary view of the peculiarities of Individual Writers.
VI. Some of the linguistic Problems in the NT, with the aids to their solution.
VII. A glance at the Bibliography of the subject.

The peculiarities noticed in the first four divisions may be classified as (*A*) Lexical, and (*B*) Grammatical:—The former comprising—**a.** New Words, and **b.** New Meanings; the latter, **a.** Peculiarities of Form, and **b.** Peculiarities of Construction or Syntax.

At the outset it should be noted that not a little uncertainty still exists with regard to many points of detail; and the limits of the present exposition will restrict for the most part the examples and specifications given to a few representative particulars.

I. THE ‘COMMON’ OR SPOKEN GREEK.—(*A*) In its *Lexical* relations:—**a.** New *words.* A few of the NT words commonly reckoned as belonging to later Greek are the following:—

ἀβαρής, ἀγαλλιάομαι, ἀγνόημα, ἀδηλότης, ἄθεσμος, ἀθετέω, ἀκαιρέομαι, ἀκατάλυτος, ἀκατάπαυστος, ἀλεκτοροφωνία, ἀλληγορέω, ἀμετάθετος, ἀμετανόητος, ἀνάδειξις, ἀναθεωρέω, ἀναντίρρητος, ἀναπολόγητος, ἀνάχυσις, ἀντιδιατίθημι, ἀντοφθαλμέω, ἀνυπότακτος, ἀπαράβατος, ἀπελπίζω, ἀπερισπάστως, ἀποθησαυρίζω, ἀποκαραδοκία, ἀποκεφαλίζω, ἀπρόσιτος, ἀστοχέω, ἀτενίζω, βραβεῖον, γογγύζω, γονυπετέω, δεισιδαιμονία, διαγνωρίζω, διαγρηγορέω, διαυγάζω, διαφημίζω, διερμηνεύω, διθάλασσος, διοδεύω, δίψυχος, δουλαγωγέω, δυσερμήνευτος, ἐγγίζω, ἐγκακέω, ἐγχρίω, ἐθνικός, ἐκδαπανάω, ἐκδικέω (etc.), *ἔκθαμβος, ἐκπλήρωσις, ἐκτένεια, ἐξαρτίζω, ἐξισχύω, ἐπιθανάτιος, ἐπισκηνόω, ἐπιχορηγέω, ἑτερόγλωσσος, εὐαρεστέω, εὐδοκέω, εὐθυδρομέω, εὐκαιρέω, εὔκοπος, ἡμιώριον, ἤρεμος, θηριομαχέω, θριαμβεύω, ἱματισμός, ἰσότιμος, καθημερινός, καταβαρέω, καταγωνίζομαι, κατάκριμα, κατάλυμα, καταντάω, καταπονέω, κατοπτρίζομαι, κενοδοξία, κερματιστής, κωμόπολις, μεθερμηνεύω, μεταμορφόω, μετριοπαθέω, νεωτερικός, ὁδηγός, οἰκοδομή, ὀψώνιον, παλινγενεσία, πάντοτε, παραχειμασία, παρείσακτος, παρεισέρχομαι, παρεπίδημος, περιλάμπω, περιοχή, πορισμός, προελπίζω, προσεγγίζω, πρόσκαιρος, προσκληρόω, ῥᾳδιούργημα, σημειόω, σκωληκόβρωτος, στρατολογέω, στρατοπεδάρχης, συνκατάθεσις, συνβασιλεύω, συνμερίζω, συνοδία, συνπνίγω, συνυποκρίνομαι, τελώνιον, τετράδιον, τετράρχης, τρίστεγος, υἱοθεσία, ὑπερπλεονάζω, ὑπογραμμός, ὑπολιμπάνω, ὑποτύπωσις, φίλαυτος, φιλήδονος, χειρόγραφον.* Several verbs in *-όω* (*e.g. ἀνακαινόω, δολιόω, δυναμόω, χαριτόω*), *-ίζω* (*e.g. αἰχμαλωτίζω, ἀναθεματίζω, ἀνεμίζω*), *-εύω* (*e.g. αἰχμαλωτεύω, γυμνιτεύω, μαθητεύω, μεσιτεύω*) are either of later coinage or modifications of earlier endings.

These may serve as specimens of the difference between the vocabulary of the NT and that of the classic writers. But it must be remembered that our imperfect knowledge makes it impossible to say how many such words, apparently late, are merely old words reappearing after a period of disuse—a phenomenon often exemplified in our own vernacular; or how far, again, they may have been long current in colloquial speech, although remaining foreign to the language of literature, as, for example, the swarm of everyday deities catalogued by Augustine in his *de Civitate Dei*, iv. 8, 11, 21, are alien to the Jupiter, Juno, and the rest that make up the literary ‘properties’ of the poets.

But this list of specimen words brings to view certain general characteristics of the NT vocabulary; for example, its employment of terms which in the earlier Greek are distinctly literary and even poetic. To some such already given may be added the following: *ἀγέλη, ἀδάπανος, ἀδημονέω, αἰσθητήριον, ἀλυσιτελής, ἀμάω, ἄμεμπτος, ἀμέριμνος, ἀναθάλλω, ἀνακράζω, ἀνήμερος, ἀπαλλοτριόω, ἀπέραντος, ἀπόδημος, ἀποφθέγγομαι, ἀποτομία* (*-μως*), *ἀποψύχω, ἀσάλευτος, ἀσχήμων, ἄτακτος, ἀτιμάζω, αὐγάζω, αὐθάδης, αὔξω, αὐτόχειρ, αὐχέω, ἄφαντος, ἀφρίζω, βαρέω, βαστάζω, βρέχω, βρώσιμος, γενετή, δέσμιος, διαυγής, διηνεκής, δόλιος, ἔκδηλος, ἐκμάσσω, ἐκτελέω, ἐμβατεύω, ἐμπαίζω, ἐμφανίζω, ἐνάλιος, ἐπαιτέω, ἐπακροάομαι, ἐπικέλλω, ἐπισφαλής, ἐρείδω, ἐριθίζω, ἐσθής, εὐδία, εὐσχημοσύνη, εὐφροσύνη, ἤπιος, ἠχέω* (*ἦχος*), *θανάσιμος, θεοστυγής, θύελλα, θυμομαχέω, ἰκμάς, ἱμείρομαι* (*ὁμ.*), *κακόω, καύχημα, κενόω, κλαυθμός, κλέος, κλύδων, κολλάω, κραταιός, κυρόω, λάμπω, μαγεύω, μαστίζω, μητρολῴας, μόχθος, μυελός, μωμάομαι, νυστάζω, ὀδύνη, οἰκτιρμός, ὅρασις, οὐρανόθεν, πανοικεί, πανπληθεί, παραλογίζομαι* (etc.), *παροτρύνω, πενιχρός, πιάζω, πολυποίκιλος, προπετής, ῥιπίζω, ῥυπαρός, σαπρός, σκορπίζω, συμπαθής, τηλαυγῶς, τρόμος, τρύβλιον, τυρβάζω, ὑπερήφανος, φαντάζω, φέγγος, φιμόω, χειμάζομαι, χειραγωγέω, χλιαρός, ὠδίνω.*

Conspicuous in it also is the later Greek fondness (agreeably to the popular striving after strong expressions) for compounded and sesquipedalian words. Of these the following may serve as additional representatives: *ἀνεκδιήγητος, ἀνεκλάλητος, ἀνεξερεύνητος, ἀνεπαίσχυντος, ἀνταποκρίνομαι, δυσβάστακτος, ἐμπεριπατέω, ἐξαγοράζω, ἐξακολουθέω, ἐξανατέλλω, ἐξομολογέω, ἐπιγαμβρεύω, ζωογονέω, καταβραβεύω, καταδυναστεύω, κατασοφίζομαι, κατισχύω, λιθοβολέω, ματαιολογία, μετοικεσία, οἰκοδεσποτέω, ὀλιγόψυχος, πατροπαράδοτος, προσαναβαίνω, προσαναπληρόω, προσανατίθημι, προσκαρτερέω, προσπορεύομαι, συναναμίγνυμι, συνευωχέομαι, συνκαταψηφίζω, συναντιλαμβάνομαι, συνυποκρίνομαι, συνυπουργέω.*

The biblical writers indulge this partiality still further; as witness such words as the following: *ἀγενεαλόγητος, αἱματεκχυσία, ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος, ἀνεξίκακος, ἀνθρωπάρεσκος, διενθυμέομαι, ἐκζητέω, ἐκμυκτηρίζω, ἐκπειράζω, ἐξαστράπτω, ἐπαναπαύω, ἐπιδιατάσσομαι, ἐπιδιορθόω, ἐπισκευάζω, ἐπισυντρέχω, ἱερουργέω, κατακληροδοτέω, κατακληρονομέω, καταλιθάζω, κατεξουσιάζω, κατεφίστημι, κατοικητήριον, μισθαποδοσία, ὀρθοτομέω, ὁρκωμοσία, ὀχλοποιέω, παραπικραίνω, περιαστράπτω, ποταμοφόρητος, προενάρχομαι, συναιχμάλωτος, ὑπερεκπερισσῶς, ὑπερεντυγχάνω, χρηστολογία, χρυσοδακτύλιος.* Moreover, not a few decomposite words are found in it—as in general in the later Greek—which have been formed by prefixing a preposition (as *ἐπί, διά, παρά, πρό, πρός, σύν, ὑπέρ*) to a word already in use. Conversely, simple verbs are sometimes substituted for their compounds more usual in the classic period; as, *ἐρωτάω* for *ἐπερωτάω* (Mk 8^{5}), *κρύπτω* for *ἀποκρύπτω* (Mt 11^{25}), *ἀθροίζω* for *συναθροίζω* (Lk 24^{33}), *δειγματίζω* for *παραδειγματίζω* (Mt 1^{19}), *ὀχλέω* for *ἐνοχλέω* (Ac 5^{16}), *τρέφω* for *ἀνατρέφω* (Lk 4^{16}).

Another characteristic of NT Greek (as of modern Greek, and indeed of popular speech in general) appears in the disproportionate number of so-called diminutives its vocabulary contains: *ἀρνίον, γυναικάριον, ἐρίφιον, θυγάτριον, ἰχθύδιον, κλινάριον, κλινίδιον, κοράσιον, κυνάριον, ὀνάριον, ὀψάριον,* (*παιδίον*) *παιδάριον, πινακίδιον, πλοιάριον, ποίμνιον, προβάτιον, σανδάλιον, στρουθίον, σχοινίον, φορτίον, ψιχίον, ψωμίον, ὠτάριον, ὠτίον* are among them; and even *βιβλαρίδιον*, a diminutive of a diminutive, occurs. Several of these words have quite lost any diminutive force—if indeed they ever had it (cf. *e.g. θηρίον, κρανίον*, etc.). For *ὠτάριον* (Mk 14^{47}, Jn 18^{10}), *ὠτίον* (Mt 26^{51}), Lk (22^{50}) substitutes *οὖς.*

b. But not merely had later Greek, as it discloses itself in the NT, enlarged its vocabulary by the introduction of new words (or the revival of those long disused), it had also modified more or less the *meaning* of many retained from the classic period. This is exemplified by the meanings subjoined to the following words: *ἀκαταστασία* ‘political disorder,’ *ἀνάκειμαι* and *ἀναπίπτω* ‘recline at table,’ *ἀναλύω* ‘depart (from life),’ *ἀναστρέφομαι* ‘conduct one’s self,’ *ἀντίλημψις* ‘help,’ *ἀποτάσσομαι* ‘bid farewell,’ ‘renounce,’ *ἀφανίζω* ‘render unsightly,’ *γενήματα* ‘fruits of the earth,’ *δῶμα* ‘house-top,' ἔντευξις 'petition,' ἐντροπή 'shame,' ἐρεύγομαι 'speak out,' ἐρωτάω 'request,' εὐσχήμων 'honourable' of rank, εὐχαριστέω 'thank,' ζωοποιέω 'cause to live,' 'quicken,' καταστολή 'apparel,' ξύλον 'a tree,' τὰ περίεργα 'magic,' περισπάομαι 'be distracted' (with cares, etc.), πτῶμα (without adjunct) 'a corpse,' ῥύμη 'a street,' στέλλομαι 'withdraw,' στιγμή 'moment,' συνκρίνω 'compare,' 'interpret,' συνίστημι 'establish,' 'prove,' σχολή 'school,' σώματα (without adjunct) 'slaves,' τρώγω *i.q.* ἐσθίω, φθάνω 'come to,' 'arrive at,' χορτάζω 'feed' (of persons), ὑπάρχω nearly *i.q.* εἰμί, χρηματίζω 'be styled' or 'called.' And when the modification is not so marked as in these cases, there is at times a change in frequency of use which indicates a change at least in connotation. This is illustrated in the use of βλέπω, θεωρέω, and ὁράω to express seeing; of ἔρχομαι, πορεύομαι, and ὑπάγω to denote going; of λαλέω and λέγω in reference to speaking. The caste or social status, so to speak, of words varied in ancient as it does in modern times with age and locality.

Many verbs, moreover, which in the earlier language were commonly transitive, assumed a reflexive or neuter sense; *e.g.* ἀπέχω (Lk 15^{20}), ἀπορίπτω (Ac 27^{43}), αὐξάνω, αὔξω (Mt 6^{28}, Eph 2^{21}), ἐνισχύω (Ac 9^{19}), ἐπιβάλλω (Mk 4^{37}), κλίνω (Lk 9^{12}), παραδίδωμι (perh. Mk 4^{29}), στρέφω (Ac 7^{42}) and its compounds. On the other hand, some neuter verbs came to be used transitively or causatively; as, βλαστάνω (Ja 5^{18}), βλασφημέω (Mt 27^{39}), γονυπετέω (Mt 17^{14}), διψάω and πεινάω (Mt 5^{6}), ἐμπορεύομαι (2 P 2^{3}), εὐδοκέω (Mt 12^{18}), μαθητεύω (Mt 28^{19}). An interesting extension of this usage appears in ὃ γὰρ ἀπέθανεν . . . ὃ δὲ ζῇ (Ro 6^{10}).

(*B*) But this brings to our attention the *Grammatical* peculiarities which the language of the NT exhibits in common with later Greek. Peculiarities of this class, whether relating to form or to construction, are much less numerous than those which, agreeably to the general law of growth in language, affect its vocabulary.

a. The peculiarities of *form* are some of them common to the different dialects of the earlier Greek; as, βούλει, ὄψει, διδόασι, τιθέασι, ἐδαφιοῦσιν, ἠδυνάμην, ἤμελλε, ἠβουλήθην, to the Attic; dat. γήρει, gen. and dat. in -ης, -ῃ, from nouns in -ρᾰ (as μάχαιρα, πρῷρα, πλήμμυρα, σπεῖρα), the presents γίνομαι, γινώσκω, also εἶτεν (εἶτα), after the Ionic; ἀφέωνται (for ἀφεῖνται), ἤτω (for ἔστω), ὄρνιξ (ὄρνις), held to be Doric; ἐδυνάσθην, collat. form of ἠδυνήθην, ἐκάμμυσα (καμμύω), ῥήσσω (ῥάσσω), Epic; ἀποκτέννω (-κτείνω), Æolic. Others may be traced to the popular preference for regularity of inflection: *e.g.* the change of verbs in μι into verbs in ω; the termination -σαι in the 2nd pers. sing., as δύνασαι, καυχᾶσαι; the inflection οἶδα, -δας, -δατε, etc.; the aorists ἔδωσα, ἔζησα, ἡμάρτησα, ἦξα from ἄγω, ἦξα (?) from ἥκω, and the like. There is also a propensity to omit the augment of the pluperfect, and especially to give the 2nd aor. the endings of the first, as εἴδαμεν, -αν, εἶπαν, ἔπεσα, -αν, ἦλθαν, ἐλθάτω, etc.; and in the imperfect of ἔχω we find εἶχαν and εἴχοσαν (so ἐδίδοσαν, ἐδολιοῦσαν), due doubtless to the love of assimilation in form. Sundry nouns have varying genders, as ὁ and ἡ βάτος, ληνός, λιμός; ὁ and τὸ ἔλεος, ζῆλος, ἦχος (?), θεμέλιος -λιον, πλοῦτος, σκότος; ἡ νίκη and τὸ νῖκος; and even a twofold declension, as δεσμός plur. -μοί and -μά, ἔλεος -ου and -ους, σκότος -ου and -ους, also nouns ending in -αρχος, -άρχης (as ἑκατόνταρχος and ἑκατοντάρχης); others show a preference at times for the uncontracted forms, as ὀστέα, ὀστέων. The same tendency to assimilate explains, probably, the fondness for terminal ν:—both in nouns, as ἄρσεναν, μῆναν, ἀσεβήν, ἀσφαλήν, συγγενῆν, χεῖραν; and in verbs, as 3rd pers. plur. of the perfect, γέγοναν, ἔγνωκαν, εἴρηκαν, ἑώρακαν (ἑόρακαν), πέπτωκαν (πέπωκαν). Here it was favoured by the gradual obscuration of the distinction between the perfect and the aorist (see in **b** below), to which cause also may be due the occasional appearance of the ending -κες for -κας in the 2nd pers. sing. of the perfect. The dual number has disappeared, and the word δύο itself tends to become indeclinable. Particles of rest (ποῦ, ὅπου, etc.) have superseded those of motion (ποῖ, ὅποι, etc.); εἷς has encroached largely upon the province of τις, and πότερος (-ρον, except in Jn 7^{17}) has disappeared.

Negligent or variant pronunciation appears in irregularities of spelling; such as the retention of μ in sundry forms and derivatives of λαμβάνω (as λήμψεσθαι, ἀνάλημψις, etc.); the neglect of assimilation in compounds of ἐν and σύν; the doubling or non-doubling of ν, ρ, and some other letters, *e.g.* γένημα; inconsistency respecting ν movable, elision, and the final ς in ἄχρις, μέχρις, οὕτως. The interchange of sundry letters, as in μαστός and μασθός, ζβέννυμι and σβέννυμι, σφυρίς and σπυρίς, οὐθείς and οὐδείς, ποταπός and ποδαπός; and especially in the case of the vowels ει, ε, η, ι, as well as αι, ε, a tendency to that obliteration of distinctions which culminated in itacism and the pronunciation of modern Greek.

Many of these irregularities, and others both of form and pronunciation, have been adopted by the editors of the text of the NT in conformity with the usage of the oldest extant MSS; but how far, in any given case, they are to be set down to the account of the original authors or of later scribes, is a question to be settled only after the other nearly contemporary writings have been edited with equal attention to such details, and in the light of the accumulating testimony of inscriptions, papyri, and other relics.

b. The *Syntactical* peculiarities which the NT shares in common with later and spoken Greek, though less numerous than the formal, are not less noteworthy. They appear particularly in the constructions of the verb. Besides those alluded to in the opening paragraph of this article, may be mentioned:—the general disuse of the optative in dependent sentences; the weakening of constructions with ἵνα (a particle which had nearly supplanted ὅπως), which often have the force merely of the classic infinitive; the interchange of ἐάν and ἄν; the use of ὅταν with the indicative (Rev 8^{1}), and in dependent clauses to denote indefinite frequency; an extended use of ὅτι, and also of the final infin., the genitival infin., and the infin. with ἐν and εἰς; the scanty employment of interrogative particles, and the use of εἰ in direct questions (perhaps a Hebraism); the ordinary substitution of the present participle for the future, and in general a fondness for the present tense (especially λέγει, ἔρχεται, etc.) agreeably to the love of vividness and directness; a lax use of the aorist participle, in fact a tendency to blur the distinction between the aor. tense and the perfect; the use of ὄφελον as a particle of wishing; the prefixing of ἄφες to the hortatory subjunctive, and the pleonastic use of the imperatives of ὁρᾶν, βλέπειν (as ὁρᾶτε βλέπετε ἀπό, etc. Mk 8^{15}); the tendency of μή to encroach on the province of οὐ, especially with infinitives and participles, and to prevent a hiatus; the use of the compound negative οὐ μή; employment of εἰμί with the participle as a periphrasis for the simple verb; and the freq. omission of the copula εἰμί; carelessness in placing particles (*e.g.* ἄρα Lk $11^{20.48}$, γε Lk 11^{8}, τοίνυν He 13^{13}, ὅμως Gal 3^{15}).

The popular striving after emphasis which appears in many of these usages shows itself, further, in the use of the active voice with the reflexive pronoun instead of the middle; of ἴδιος instead of the simple possessive pronoun; of εἷς for the indefinite τις, and, in general, a needless multiplication of pronouns; of devices for strengthening the forms of comparison, *e.g.* ἐλαχιστότερος, μειζότερος, μᾶλλον περισσότερον, and the use of παρά and ὑπέρ with comparatives instead of ἤ (yet ἤ alone is at times used with comparative force, *e.g.* Mt 18^9, Lk 15^7, 1 Co 14^{19}); of prepositions to reinforce the simple cases. The use of the neut. sing. of an adjective with the art. as a substitute for the abstract noun, though not unusual in the classics, is more common in Paul and Hebrews, and in the later Gr. writers became a striking literary mannerism.

II. The Aramaic and Hebrew Element.—It is usual to distribute the Hebraisms of the NT into two classes: 'perfect' or pure Hebraisms, which consist of such words, phrases, and constructions as have no precedent or analogue in extant Gr., and hence are held to be directly transferred to the NT from the mother tongue of the Jews; and 'imperfect' Hebraisms, consisting of Hebraistic expressions to be found, indeed, for substance in Gr., but the use of which by the NT writers is most naturally traced to the influence of their native language. The limits of this latter class, however, our scanty knowledge of the history of the later Gr. language makes it difficult to fix; and for our present purpose it will be more convenient to follow the classification adopted by us hitherto. A just impression, moreover, of this element of the NT language requires that our presentation of facts should be liberal and inclusive, rather than rigorously restricted. For example, the word σπέρμα with the meaning *progeny* may be traced as far back as Æschylus and Pindar; but the more than thirty instances of its use in this sense in the NT fairly entitle it to be enrolled as a Hebraism.

(*A*) *Lexical Hebraisms*:—not all of which, be it remembered, first make their appearance in the NT.

a. New *words*.—Of these, some are (1) Semitic words simply transliterated; as, ἀββά, ἀλληλουιά, ἀμήν, γαββαθά, γολγοθά, κορβάν, πάσχα, ῥαββεί etc., ῥακά, σαβαώθ, σατάν, σίκερα, ταλειθά, χερουβείν; others are (2) Grecized by some slight change, generally of termination; as, βάτος, γέεννα, ζιζάνιον, (and as is commonly thought) κάμηλος, κιννάμωμον (to which may prob. be added the names of several other plants and spices, as well as of precious stones; as, κύμινον, λίβανος, συκάμινος, ὕσσωπος, σάπφειρος), κόρος, μαμωνᾶς, μάννα, σάτον, σάββατον.

b. Far more numerous are the words and phrases, Gr. in form, which under Heb. influence have taken on a new *meaning*; as, ἄγγελος (ἀρχάγγελος), ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος (ἐκεῖνος, ὁ μέλλων), ἀνάθεμα (-τίζειν), γλῶσσα 'a people,' δέειν and λύειν 'to forbid' and 'permit,' ὁ διάβολος, δόξα 'brightness' (τοῦ φωτός, Ac 22^{11}), δύναμις τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (of the stars), ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ 'in the judgment of God,' ἐξομολογεῖσθαι 'give praise,' ἐξορκιστής 'an exorcist,' ἐπισκοπή of the divine visitation, μακροθυμέω 'be long-suffering,' νύμφη 'daughter-in-law,' οἰκοδομεῖν in trop. sense (?), ὄνομα 'authority,' ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός of envy, ὀφειλέτης (-λήματα, in reference to sin), περιπατεῖν and ὁδός in a technical sense, of a course of life, (ποιεῖν νόμον in classic Greek 'to make a law') ποιεῖν τὸν νόμον 'to do, keep, the law,' πορεύεσθαι 'to die,' also π. ὀπίσω τινός to 'become one's follower,' πορνεύειν (-νεία) of idolatry, πρόσωπον θαυμάζειν and λαμβάνειν, also εἰς πρόσωπον βλέπειν, etc., of externals, σκάνδαλον (-λίζειν) in a fig. sense, σπέρμα 'offspring,' φωτίζω of spiritual enlightenment.

Not a few are due to national institutions, usages, historic incidents, and the like; as, ἀκροβυστία, ἀποδεκατόω, ἀποσυνάγωγος (ἀρχισυνάγωγος, etc.), οἱ ἄρτοι τῆς προθέσεως, γραμματεύς, διαθήκη, διασπορά, δωδεκάφυλον, ἐνκαίνια (-νίζω), ἐπιγαμβρεύω, εὐνουχίζω, θυσιαστήριον, τὸ ἱλαστήριον, καθαρίζω and κοινόω levitically, κληρονομέω in its technical use, λατρεία the ritual service, λυτρόω in its theocratic sense, μοσχοποιέω, νομοδιδάσκαλος, ὁλοκαύτωμα, πατριάρχης, πεντηκοστή, πρεσβυτέριον, προσήλυτος, προφήτης, πρωτοκαθεδρία, πρωτοτόκια, σκηνοπηγία, υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (τοῦ θεοῦ), φυλακτήριον. There are indications, however, that some of these terms (*e.g.* καθαρίζω, πρεσβυτέριον, προφήτης) were known to heathen usage in a religious reference (Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, Marburg, 1897).

Others spring from the Oriental love of pictorialness and circumstantiality; as, ἀπερίτμητος τῇ καρδίᾳ, ἐν καρδίᾳ λέγειν, ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν πεπλάτυνται, ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν, ἐν ἡμέραις Ἡρῴδου, ἐνωτίζεσθαι, ἔσκαψε καὶ ἐβάθυνε, ζητεῖν τὴν ψυχήν τινος, καρπὸς τῶν χειλέων, ποτήριον in a fig. application, σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα, σπλαγχνίζεσθαι, στηρίζειν τὸ πρόσωπον, στόμα μαχαίρης, υἱός or τέκνον with the gen. especially of an abstract (*e.g.* εἰρήνης, βροντῆς, φωτός, ὀργῆς, ὑπακοῆς, etc.), χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης.

But some of these phrases may with equal propriety be ranked with—

(*B*) *Grammatical Hebraisms.*—The great dissimilarity in structure between the Heb. and the Gr. operated as a barrier to the free introduction of the characteristic idioms of the former language into the latter. The grammatical influence of their native tongue shows itself in the NT writers rather in their general style of expression; in particular, a marked inaptness in the use of moods (even as compared with contemporary Gr. authors), simplicity of construction, and a coordination of clauses which would have seemed monotonous if not illogical to a Greek. Still, usages are not wanting which distinctly recall the Hebrew. Among them are the following:—An extended use of prepositions; for instance, ἐν (cf. בְּ): not only in construction with verbs, as εὐδοκεῖν, ὀμνύειν, etc., but particularly with instrumental force, as κράζειν ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ (Rev 14^{15}), ποιεῖν κράτος ἐν βραχίονι (Lk 1^{51}), πολεμεῖν ἐν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τοῦ στόματος (Rev 2^{16}).—εἰς (cf. לְ): in such phrases as γίνεσθαι εἰς οὐδέν (Ac 5^{36}), λαμβάνειν εἰς κληρονομίαν (He 11^8), λογίζεσθαι εἰς περιτομήν (Ro 2^{26}); and in general, its insertion before the second accusative after verbs signifying 'make,' 'hold,' etc., as, εἰς προφήτην αὐτὸν εἶχον (Mt 21^{46}).—ἀπό (cf. מִן): as, φεύγειν ἀπό, etc. (Mt 3^7, Jn 10^5).—ἐπί (cf. עַל): as, ἐλπίζειν ἐπί, etc.—μετά (cf. עִם): μεγαλύνειν, ποιεῖν, ἔλεος μετά, etc. (Lk $1^{58.72}$).—Periphrastic expansions of prepositions:—by the use of ὀφθαλμός (cf. בְּעֵינֵי) Mt 21^{42}, Lk 19^{42};—πρόσωπον (cf. לִפְנֵי) Ac 5^{41}, Mk 1^2, Ac 13^{24};—στόμα (cf. בְּפִי) Mt 4^4, Lk 1^{70}, (עַל פִּי) 2 Co 13^1, Mt 18^{16};—χείρ (cf. בְּיַד) Jn 10^{39}, Gal 3^{19}, Ac 2^{23} 7^{35}.—The employment of ἔμπροσθεν (Mt 11^{26} 18^{14}), ἐνώπιον (Ac 6^5), κατενώπιον (Eph 1^4), κατέναντι (Ro 4^{17}), ὀπίσω (Lk 14^{27}), as prepositions.—The pleonastic use of pronouns (see above, I. *B*. **b**, *sub fin.*), especially αὐτός (*e.g.* Rev $2^{7.17}$), which is even added in a relative sentence (Mt 3^{12}, Mk 7^{25}, Rev $7^{2.9}$ etc.).—The use of a limiting genitive to express quality (Lk 18^6, Ja 2^4 1^{25}).—The use of (a superfluous) καὶ ἐγένετο (or ἐγένετο δέ) before a specification of time or occurrence.—An imitation of the Heb. infinite absolute by a cognate dative prefixed to the verb (as ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα Lk 22^{15}, χαρᾷ χαίρει Jn 3^{29}), or (in quotations) by a prefixed participle (as βλέποντες βλέψετε Mt 13^{14}, cf. the pictorial ἀναστάς or πορευθείς before a verb).—εἰ (cf. Heb. אִם) in sentences with suppressed apodosis as a formula of swearing or to express emphatic negation (He $4^{3.5}$, Mk 8^{12}).—A lax use of ἀποκρίνομαι (cf. עָנָה) when no proper question has preceded.—προστίθημι (cf. יָסַף) with an infin. to express repetition (*e.g.* προσέθετο τρίτον πέμψαι Lk $20^{(11)\,12}$).—A superfluous use of ὄνομα (Mt 1^{21}, Lk 2^{21}; found in papyri as early as B.C. 260).—The repetition of a numeral to give it distributive force (*e.g.* δύο δύο Mk 6^7; cf. συμπόσια συμπόσια, πρασιαὶ πρασιαί Mk $6^{39f.}$, (and probably) ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ 2 Co

4[16].—*οὐ . . . πᾶς* equivalent to *οὐδεἰς*.—Such phrases as *τἰ ἐμοὶ καὶ σοἰ* (Mk 1[24], Jn 2[4]), *περὶ ἁμαρτίας, sc. θυσἰα* (Ro 8[3] ?).

The majority of these Hebraistic forms and constructions appear in the LXX also, which as a tr.—in parts servile, and made by persons some of whom evidently had but an imperfect acquaintance with the Gr. language—is far more Hebraistic in its cast than the NT. But it would be a mistake to assume that this tr. in its peculiarities represents a type of Gr. established and in actual currency at the time. Such an assumption would reverse the historical process. While its language reproduces fundamentally, no doubt, the popular Gr. of the Ptolemaic period, its distinctive character is due rather to the translators' exaggerated deference to the Heb. sacred text, and their mechanical reproduction of it. Yet beyond all question the idioms of this Gr. reproduction of the earlier Scriptures, made familiar as they were by the religious use of the version for generations among the Jews of the Dispersion, must have had great influence in forming the type of Gr. current among people of Jewish stock. Indeed, owing to the cosmopolitan relations of that race during the time intervening between the origin of the two bodies of literature, it need not surprise us to encounter idioms having a distinctly Hebraistic flavour even in native Gr. circles. Consequently our classifications here, as elsewhere, are more a matter of convenience than of rigorous historical accuracy. We must not forget the uncertainty arising from our present defective knowledge. We must not interpret the fact of prior occurrence into clear proof either of primary origin on the one hand, or direct derivation on the other. We must not overlook the truth that coincidences of popular expression are to be found in many widely separated and unrelated tongues. But, notwithstanding all uncertainties and abatements, the general influence of the LXX upon NT Greek was indubitably great. (See Schmiedel's *Winer*, § 4. 1*b*. A good Lexicon and Grammar of the LXX are pressing needs of the student of Biblical Greek, and are now made possible by Swete's edition of the text, and Hatch and Redpath's *Concordance*. Help on one minor point may be found in C. W. Votaw's comprehensive lists of *The Use of the Infinitive in Biblical Greek*, pp. 5, 9. Chicago, 1896. See Viteau as mentioned in the Bibliography, VII. below).

But not all the influence on the language of the NT writers came from Hebrew and Aramaic or from the LXX. Other languages foreign to the Gr. had left their traces on that language by the 1st cent. of our era, some of which can with tolerable assurance be pointed out.

III. Other Foreign Elements. — (*A*) The supremacy of Rome, and its multifarious official relations with the populations under its sway, in which relations it naturally employed its vernacular (see Latin Language), would prepare us to expect to find not a few traces of Latin in the popular language of the apostolic period.

a. The *Lexical Latinisms* in NT consist chiefly of judicial and military terms, names of coins, articles of apparel, utensils, etc.; as, *ἀσσάριον, δηνάριον, ἔχω æstimo, κεντυρίων, κῆνσος, κοδράντης, κολωνία, κουστωδία, λεγεών, λέντιον, λιβερτῖνος, λίτρα* (Lat. *libra?*), *μάκελλον, μεμβράνα, μίλιον, μόδιος, ξέστης, πραιτώριον, σικάριος, σιμικίνθιον, σουδάριον, σπεκουλάτωρ, αἱ ταβέρναι, τίτλος, φελόνης, φόρον, φραγέλλιον* (*-λόω*), *χάρτης?, χῶρος*.

More than two score Lat. names of persons and places occur, as well as the technical terms *ὁ Σεβαστός* (*Augustus*), and *Καῖσαρ*.

Latin phrases reappear in *ἐργασίαν δοῦναι* (*operam dare*), *τὸ ἱκανὸν λαμβάνειν* (*satis accipere*), *τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιεῖν* (*satis facere*), *συμβούλιον λαμβάνειν* (*consilium capere*). Notice also *σὺ ὄψῃ* (Mt 27[4] *tu videris*), *ὄψεσθε αὐτοί* (Ac 18[15]).

b. The influence of the Lat. language upon the *Grammar* of NT Gr. is much more difficult to trace with confidence than in the case of the Heb., owing to the closer structural affinity between the Lat. language and the Greek. Traces of that influence, however, may be detected, it is thought, with more or less distinctness in the following constructions:—The preference for *ὅτι* and *ἵνα* over the accusative and infinitive (cf. the growing use of *ut* after impero, rogo, etc., æquum est, mos est, etc.); the encroachment of the subjunctive on the optative after an historic tense; the tendency to obscure the distinction between the perfect and the aorist; the use of *ἀπό* before the genitive after *φυλάσσειν* and other verbs of fearing (cf. cavere ab); the exclusive use of the infinitive (even of the inf. passive) after *κελεύειν*; the use of the accusative after *προέρχεσθαι* (cf. præire aliquem), of the dative after *γαμέω* (cf. nubere alicui), of *ἐκ* after *νικάω* (cf. victoriam ferre ex); the continuative *ὅς* equivalent to *καὶ οὗτος* (cf. qui = et hic) in a co-ordinate clause; the anticipatory position of *ἀπό* and *πρό* in specifications of time and place; the general omission of the interjection (*ὦ*) before the vocative, the use of the preposition *σύν* as tantamount to *καί*.

(*B*) But the current Gr. of our Lord's day had appropriated other foreign elements from the languages spoken in the various provinces of the empire. These, again, were chiefly names of local objects or usages. Among such are reckoned the following:—*βαΐον, βίβλος* (*βύβλος*), *σίναπι, σινδών* (yet cf. Ἰνδός, Sind), recognized as Egyptian; *κράβαττος* (cf. Lat. *grabatus*), *παρεμβολή, ῥύμη?*, as Macedonian; *ἀγγαρεύω* (yet see Æsch. *Agam.* 282), *γάζα, σανδάλιον* (*-δαλον*), as Persian; *ἀρραβών* as Phœnician; *ῥέδη* (*-δα*) as Gallic or Celtic; *βουνός* as Cyrenaic and Sicilian. Several of these words, however, had long before become naturalized in Greek.

IV. But the element which most conspicuously distinguishes the Gr. of the NT is the Religious Element. Here we come to the very centre and soul of our subject. For the NT language is no mere medley of miscellaneous linguistic survivals, no mechanical mingling of diverse ingredients; its vitality resides in the spirit that quickens it. This discloses itself on every page. It ushers a reader into a new realm of thought, and introduces him to a new type of life. Both had their natural effect on the speech of the first believers. Yet just because the essence of the language consists in its new spirit, it escapes anatomical dissection. It is as pervasive as the atmosphere, but as intangible as a perfume. Hence it is most inadequately exhibited by any catalogue of specifications. The few particulars that can here be set down will serve, at the best, as mere suggestions of its character.

(*A*) The religious element in its *Lexical* aspects. Many of the NT words denoting concrete objects or external institutions and relations were inherited from Judaism, and have been illustrated under II. *A*. **a** and **b** above. We will here, therefore, confine ourselves mainly to those of a more internal or spiritual character.

a. The *words* wholly new are, from the nature of the case, comparatively few, and any list of them that may be attempted is subject to doubt and revision by reason of present imperfect knowledge. But among the more distinctive the following may perhaps be mentioned: *ἀγαθοποιΐα, αἰσχροκερδῶς, ἀκατάκριτος, ἀλίσγημα, ἀνακαινόω* (*-καίνωσις*), *ἀντιμισθία, ἀντίχριστος, ἀπέκδυσις, ἀπελεγμός, αὐτοκατάκριτος, ἀφιλάγαθος, ἀφιλάργυρος, βαττολογέω, δαιμονιώδης, δικαιοκρισία, δίλογος, διώκτης, δοκιμή, ἐγκομβόομαι,* *ἐθελοθρησκία, εἰδωλολατρία* etc., *ἐπιούσιος, ἑτεροδιδασκαλέω, εὐαγγελιστής, εὐμετάδοτος, εὐπροσωπέω, θεοδίδακτος, ἰσάγγελος, καλοδιδάσκαλος, καρδιογνώστης, καταθεματίζω, κενοφωνία, λογομαχέω (-χία), ὀλιγόπιστος (-πιστία), ὀρθοποδέω, ὀφθαλμοδουλία, πληροφορία, πολύσπλαγχνος, προσωπολήμπτης (-λημπτέω, -λημψία), πρωτοκαθεδρία, συνζωοποιέω, συνκακοπαθέω, συνκακουχέω, συνσταυρόω, σύνψυχος, φρεναπατάω (-πάτης), φυσιόω (-σίωσις), χρηστεύομαι, ψευδάδελφος, ψευδαπόστολος* (and other compounds of *ψευδο-*).

Incomparably more noteworthy are—

b. The *New Meanings* with which the new faith has freighted the old terms.

A few of these meanings are of a technical or ritual character; as, *ἀδελφός* of fellow-Christians, *τὸ ἀντίτυπον (τύπος), ἀποστολή* (-*λος*, in the official sense), *ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι*, etc. of angels, *βάπτισμα, γλῶσσα* of the 'gift of tongues,' *διάκονος, ἐκκλησία* (cf. *ἐκλεκτοί, κλητοί*), *ἐπίσκοπος, εὐαγγέλιον (-λιστής), ἱερεῖς* of Christians, *παράδεισος* (2 Co 12^4), *ὁ παράκλητος, προφητεύω (-φήτης)* of a Christian function (cf. II. *A*. **b.** above), *ὁ χριστός*.

But the aggregate influence of Christianity is shown in modifying, more or less, the mass of the NT vocabulary. It has elevated, spiritualized, transfigured words previously current. It has set old terms in new relations. It has added lustre to conceptions already radiant. It has made substantial, and clothed with divine majesty, expressions embodying the instinctive judgments and aspirations of men. Its transforming power, being diffused and a matter of degree, cannot (as has been already said) be adequately exhibited in isolated particulars. The attempt, furthermore, to illustrate it would require space not here at command. Only a few terms, therefore, will be set down, the study of which, it is believed, will more than verify the statements just made: such words as *ἀγάπη, εἰρήνη, ζωή, πίστις, συνείδησις, σωτηρία, χάρις* are monuments of its power to raise language to a new level. Words of secular reference like *κόσμος*, of national application like *οἱ ἅγιοι, ὁ λαὸς τοῦ θεοῦ* (He 4^9), *Ἰσραήλ* (Ro 9^6), of everyday life like *ὁδός, παγίς, πρόσκομμα, φορτίον*, even the very component parts of man's being—*σάρξ, ψυχή, πνεῦμα*, take on an ethical significance, of which in this last case the later philosophic use furnishes but a foregleam. A servile word like *ταπεινοφροσύνη* is ennobled; a term like *σταυρός*, suggestive of infamy, is crowned with a halo of glory. The emphasis given to other words has made them the cardinal terms of doctrinal discussion through the Christian centuries: witness *δικαιόω* and its cognates, *ἀπολύτρωσις, ἀπώλεια, ἐπιστρέφεσθαι, ἔργα, θάνατος, μετάνοια*, etc.

(*B*) Even the *Grammatical* influence of the new religious thought bears witness to its fertilizing power. Take as an instance *πιστεύω* with its half a dozen different constructions in the NT (viz. absol.; with the dat.; with *εἰς* and the accus.; with *ἐπί* and the accus. or the dat.; with *ἐν* and the dat.; with an object accus.). *Ἐλπίζειν, ὁμολογεῖν*, and other words experienced a similar enlargement of construction under Christian conceptions (see A. Buttmann, *Gram. of NT Greek*, § 133, 4 sq., Eng. tr. p. 173 ff.); and the wealth of suggestion made to reside in such phrases as *ἐν Χριστῷ, ἐν κυρίῳ*, is full of instruction (cf. G. A. Deissmann, *Die neutest. Formel 'in Christo Jesu' untersucht*, Marburg, 1892).

V. But the circumstance that the NT forms a body of literature having its own distinct linguistic peculiarities, must not make us overlook the fact that it contains within itself considerable diversities of language as well as of style. The uniqueness of the volume, and the practice of using it as the one authoritative source and test of Christian truth, tend to make us isolate it unhistorically from the literature that immediately preceded and followed it, and, on the other hand, to unify it unwarrantably. It is a library comprising the works of, perhaps, ten or more different authors. The statement that 'they all use the same language' requires at once the qualification 'but they do not all use it in the same way.' The first three Gospels, for instance, with all their indications of a common basis, exhibit in their present form indubitable marks of the individuality of their several authors. The frequent use of *τότε* (*ἀπὸ τότε*—some 90 times), *ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν* (some 33 times), *ἵνα (ὅπως) πληρωθῇ (τὸ ῥηθέν*, etc., some 12 times), *ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐν (τοῖς) οὐρανοῖς* or *ὁ οὐράνιος* (20 times), *προσέρχεσθαι* (51 times), *συνάγειν* (24 times), *ἀναχωρεῖν* (10 times), etc., mark distinctly the personality of Matthew. The use of *εὐθύς* (some two score times), of the pictorial participle, of diminutives and Latinisms, and, notwithstanding his terseness, a proneness to emphasize by the repetition of equivalent phrases (*e.g. διαπαντὸς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας*, 5^5; *ἔσωθεν ἐκ τῆς καρδίας*, 7^{21}; *νῦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ*, 10^{30}; *σήμερον ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί*, 14^{30}), etc., are some of the traits that characterize no less distinctly the second Evangelist. A comparison of the sections common to Luke with the other two shows the distinctively literary cast of his phraseology. The identity of topic but throws the difference in language into greater relief. He distinguishes himself from the other Synoptists by his fondness for infinitives (*ἐν τῷ* with the inf. 37 times, *τοῦ* with the inf. 25 times), for *καὶ ἐγένετο* or *ἐγένετο δέ* (43 times), *δὲ καί* (29 times), *καὶ αὐτός* (28 times), *σύν* (25 times), *πορεύομαι* (50 times), *ὑποστρέφειν* (22 times), *ἐνώπιον* (20 times), *ἔμπροσθεν* (10 times). The strikingly Semitic complexion of his first chapter, and the variations between his language in the Gospel and in the Acts, are doubtless attributable in large measure to his sources. The terms *λόγος, σκοτία (σκότος), φῶς, ζωή (αἰώνιος), ἀλήθεια, δόξα, κρίσις, κόσμος, μαρτυρέω (-ρία), γινώσκω, πιστεύω*, the phrases *ἀμὴν ἀμήν, ἁμαρτίαν ἔχειν, γεννηθῆναι ἐκ (τοῦ) θεοῦ* (or *πνεύματος*), *εἶναι ἐκ (τοῦ κόσμου*, etc.), *ἡ ἐσχάτη ἡμέρα, ὁ υἱός, ὁ πατήρ*, etc., are at once recognized as characteristic of John; and not less so are his short and simple sentences and their asyndetic collocation, his co-ordinateness and parallelism of construction (note *ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν*), his verbal reiterations, his Hebraisms (*χαρᾷ χαίρει* 3^{29}, *υἱοὶ φωτός* 12^{36}, *ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας* 17^{12}), his emphatic demonstratives, his combined particles (*καίτοιγε, ὅμως μέντοι*), his weakened *ἵνα*, and especially his recurrent *οὖν*, which often marks mere transition instead of logical sequence.

The distinctive vocabulary of the creative Paul is too salient and well known to be dwelt upon:—his abstracts: *ἀγαθωσύνη, ἁγιωσύνη, ἁγνότης, ἁπλότης, δικαιοκρισία, δικαίωσις, δοκιμή, ἐνέργεια, ἑνότης, ἐξανάστασις, ἐπιπόθησις, εὐσχημοσύνη, ἱκανότης, ἱλαρότης, καινότης, κενοδοξία, μεθοδία, μωρολογία, ὀφθαλμοδουλία, πεποίθησις, πιθανολογία, πιότης, προσαγωγή, σκληρότης, υἱοθεσία*;—his compounds: *ἀκατακάλυπτος, ἀλάλητος, ἀμεταμέλητος, ἀμετανόητος, ἀναπολόγητος, ἀνεκδιήγητος, ἀνεξερεύνητος, ἀνεξιχνίαστος, ἀνθρωπάρεσκος, ἀνταναπληρόω, ἀπαρασκεύαστος, ἀποκαραδοκία, ἀπορφανίζω, ἀποτολμάω, ἐθελοθρησκία, ἐπαναμιμνήσκω, ἑτεροδιδασκαλέω, ἑτεροζυγέω, εὐπροσωπέω, θηριομαχέω, ἰσόψυχος, ὀλιγόψυχος, καταβραβεύω, κατοπτρίζομαι, κενοδοξία, κοσμοκράτωρ, μετασχηματίζω, ὀρθοποδέω, παρεισέρχομαι, προενάρχομαι, προσαναπληρόω, συνυπουργέω, συνυποκρίνομαι, ὑπερεντυγχάνω*;—his particles: *ἀλλὰ μενοῦνγε, ἄρα οὖν, ἐάν τε γάρ, ἐκτὸς εἰ μή, οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀλλὰ καί, τὲ γὰρ . . . ὁμοίως δὲ καί, ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ, ὡσπερεί, ὡς ὅτι*. Not less familiar are the characteristics of his style:—his long and sometimes involved sentences, his participial appendages and amplifications, the irrepressible crowding of his thoughts, his imperial disregard for niceties of construction in his determination to 'wreak his meaning on expression.'

Very different is the studied rhetorical periodicity of the writer to the Hebrews. The nature of his theme, indeed, leads him to use many words and constructions found in the LXX; but the general air of his vocabulary, no less than of his style, is literary. Reminiscences of classic phraseology meet us in his *ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν* and *ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθεν*. His varied use of particles— *δήπου, ἐάνπερ, καθώσπερ, καίπερ, καίτοι, μετέπειτα, τε* (*τε γάρ*), and the affectedly indefinite *που* (2^6, 4^4)—further attests his culture. So do the periphrastic phrases *ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν* (*i.q.* *ἄρχεσθαι*), *πεῖραν λαμβάνειν* (yet cf. *ὑπόμνησιν λ.* 2 Ti 1^5, *λήθην λ.* 2 P 1^9, etc.), and such terms as *αἰσθητήριον, ἀπαύγασμα, ἔγγυος, ἔλεγχος, ἕξις, εἰς τὸ διηνεκές, πρόσφατος, τραχηλίζειν, χαρακτήρ*. Still, he betrays conspicuously the later Gr. fondness for sonorous words (see p. 37 above); as, *ἀγενεαλόγητος, αἱματεκχυσία, ἀκατάλυτος, ἀμετάθετος, ἀνασταυρόω, ἀντικαθίστημι, ἀπαράβατος, ἀφομοιοῦσθαι, δυσερμήνευτος, ἐπεισαγωγή, εὐπερίστατος, καταγωνίζεσθαι, μετριοπαθεῖν, μισθαποδοσία, ὁρκωμοσία, συνεπιμαρτυρεῖν*, etc., bear witness. One of the noteworthy grammatical peculiarities of the Epistle is its use of the perfect tense as nearly tantamount to the aorist (*e.g.* $11^{17.\,28}$; note the co-ordination of the two in the former passage), in accordance with the laxity of the late and less cultivated writers (cf. *e.g.* Rev 5^7, 8^5 etc.).

In some respects the Ep. of James shares the characteristics of that to the Hebrews. In style, to be sure, it is very different: terse, abrupt, vivid, incisive, at times picturesque, not to say poetic. But its vocabulary exhibits a similar variety and amplitude; and in the skilful use of the Gr. language its author is inferior to no NT writer. Peculiar to him are the compounds *ἀδιάκριτος, ἀκατάστατος, ἀνέλεος, ἀπείραστος, ἀποκυέω, ἀφυστερέω, δαιμονιώδης, θανατηφόρος, κακοπαθία, κατιόομαι, νομοθέτης, πολύσπλαγχνος, σητόβρωτος, χρυσοδακτύλιος*, the bookish terms *ἀποσκίασμα, βρύω, ἔμφυτος, ἐνάλιος, κατήφεια, ὄψιμος, παραλλαγή, ῥυπαρία, τροπή, τροχός, τρυφάω*, and the pictorial *ἀνεμίζω, αὐχέω, δίψυχος, εὐπρέπεια, ὀλολύζω, ῥιπίζω, σήπω, φλογίζω, φρίσσω, χαλιναγωγέω*. His Ep. contains some seventy words that are peculiar to him; while the Ep. to the Heb., nearly three times as long, exceeds that number by scarcely one hundred; and 1 P, nearly identical in length with James, falls short by some ten in the number of its peculiar terms. Some of James's words, *e.g.* *πολύσπλαγχνος, χρυσοδακτύλιος*, are thought to be of his own coinage.

Jude, when its diminutive extent is considered, is quite as characteristic as James in its terminology. Such words and phrases as *ἀποδιορίζω, ἄπταιστος, ἐκπορνεύω, ἐπαγωνίζομαι, ἐπαφρίζω, μεμψίμοιρος, παρεισδύω, σπιλάς, φθινοπωρινός, πρὸ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος, θαυμάζοντες πρόσωπα*, sufficiently mark its individuality.

The vocabulary of the Petrine Epistles presents the phenomenon that of the one hundred and twenty-one words found in them and nowhere else in the NT, only one (*ἀπόθεσις*) is common to both Epistles, while each Epistle exhibits about the same number of peculiar terms,—viz. the first some sixty-three, the second fifty-seven, while in length their relation is nearly seven to five.

The Apocalypse, the most distinctly Hebraistic and Oriental specimen of literature in the NT, owes its linguistic individuality not so much to its vocabulary—although such words and phrases as *βασανισμός, δράκων* (of the devil), *ἐγχρίω, ἐνδώμησις, ζηλεύω, ἡμίωρον, ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερος, θειώδης, τὸ ἱππικόν, κατάθεμα, κατήγωρ, κολλούριον, κρυσταλλίζω, ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα, μεσουράνημα, ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ, πελεκίζω, ποταμοφόρητος, τὸ σιρικόν, στρηνιάω, τιμιότης*, are peculiar to it—as to its intrepid disregard of the conventionalities of Gr. grammar, of which *ὁ ἀμήν, ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἀνὰ εἷς ἕκαστος, δὶς μυριάδες, ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου, φωνὴ λέγων, ἡ οὐαί, οὐαί* followed by the accusative (8^{13} 12^{12}), *ἐδόθη μοι κάλαμος . . . λέγων*, etc., are specimens; and to them may be added a propensity to lapse into the use of the nominative, although this case is thus left suspended in mid-air (cf. 1^5 2^{18} 3^{12} 7^4 9^{14} $14^{12.\,14}$ 19^{11}). Its deviations from the ordinary laws of Greek construction are at times so bold and capricious as to start the query whether the work, in parts at least, is not the mechanical reproduction of an Aramaic original.

The undeniable individuality of the several NT writers may put us on our guard against too confidently over-pressing slight variations in phraseology into proof of difference in authorship or of substantial difference of thought. Changes in a writer's vocabulary, even in his style, may be due to the topic treated, or the character and circumstances of the persons addressed; or may be nothing more than those varying mannerisms which temporarily bear sway with all writers except the most practised. For example, it has been noticed (see W. H. Simcox, *The Writers of the New Testament*, p. 37) that Paul to express 'in every thing' uses *ἐν παντί* in the Epistles to the Thess. and Cor. (twelve times), but in the Pastoral Epistles *ἐν πᾶσιν* (six [five] times), while in that to the Philippians (4^{12}) he unites the two: *ἐν παντὶ καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν* (cf. 2 Co 11^6). On the other hand, the similarities, even coincidences, in language to be noted at times in different NT writings (on comparing, for instance, the Pauline Epistles and 1 P, or 1 P and Ja, or the writings of Luke and the Ep. to the Heb.) present a problem which this is not the place to discuss. Suffice it here to say, that they suggest the early growth of a distinctive religious terminology which largely became the common possession of the brotherhood of believers; and remind us also that not all the reciprocal influence of the Christian leaders upon one another was exerted through their writings. Moreover, as well coincidences as differences in vocabulary may admonish us afresh that NT Greek is not an isolated language, but can be correctly appreciated only by being studied in its relation to the written and spoken Greek of the apostolic period.

VI. PROBLEMS.—It has been intimated more than once already in the course of this article that considerable ignorance still exists respecting sundry details belonging to the NT language. This ignorance should not be exaggerated. It is not such as to throw uncertainty over the general tenor of biblical teaching. Nevertheless, the student and the Christian are alike concerned in its removal. The frank recognition of it is an indispensable preliminary to the patient study and research by which alone it can be diminished. Over and above matters clouded in uncertainty by reason of our scanty historical knowledge—such as 'baptism for the dead' (1 Co 15^{29}), 'the gift of tongues' (1 Co 14, etc.), the apostle's 'thorn in the flesh' (2 Co 12^7), etc.—there are points both of lexicography and of grammar respecting which unanimity has not yet been reached by leading expositors, and which consequently appeal invitingly to the enterprising student.

Among the former may be enumerated *ἁρπαγμός* (Ph 2^6; how far, if at all, is the distinction between verbal nouns in *-μα, -μος*, and *-σις* obliterated or obscured in NT Greek?), *τὴν ἀρχήν* (Jn 8^{25}), *ἐμβριμάομαι* (Mk 1^{43}, Jn 11^{38} etc.), *ἐξουσία* (1 Co 11^{10}), *ἐπερώτημα* (1 P 3^{21}), *ἐπιβαλών* (Mk 14^{72}), *ἐπιούσιος* (Mt 6^{11}, Lk 11^3), *εὐπερίστατος* (He 12^1), *κατοπτρίζομαι* (2 Co 3^{18}), *κεφαλιόω* (Mk 12^4), *κοσμικός* (He 9^1), *ὁδὸν ποιεῖν* (or *ὁδοποιεῖν*, Mk 2^{23}), *παραρυῶμεν* (He 2^1), *προεχόμεθα* (Ro 3^{9}), *σπιλάδες* (Jude ^{12}), *συναλίζομαι* (Ac 1^{4} etc.), *συνκρίνοντες* (1 Co 2^{13}), *τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα* (Ja 1^{17}), *τροχὸς γενέσεως* (Ja 3^{6}). Further, what is the distinction, or how far is it regarded by the NT writers, between *ἄλλος* and *ἕτερος* (*e.g.* Gal $1^{6f.}$), *βούλομαι* and *θέλω* (*e.g.* Mt 1^{19}), *εἰμί* and *ὑπάρχω* (*e.g.* Ph 2^{6}), etc.? How far do the uses of *εἰς* and *ἐν* tend to approximate, and the difference in the classics between the several cases after prepositions (*e.g.* *πρός*) grow indistinct? Does *εἰς τό* with the infin. always express purpose? What is the difference between *εἴγε* and *εἴπερ*? Is *διότι* ever equivalent to the simple *for*? Is *ὅτι* ever tantamount to the interrogative *why* (Mk $9^{11. 28}$), or does *εἰ* introduce a direct question? Does Paul use the 1st pers. plur. of himself alone? etc. etc.

Turning to points more strictly grammatical, we may mention—the use and force of the article: how far (if at all) does it deviate from the classic standard?—with *πᾶς* (*e.g.* Eph 2^{21} 3^{8}, Ac 2^{36}, 1 Ti 1^{16}); with *νόμος*; with *πνεῦμα* (*ἅγιον*); in such passages as Ro 5^{7} 3^{30}, 1 Ti 2^{15}. Is the classic law requiring an article before an attributive participle which follows a definite antecedent rigorously observed (cf. 1 P $3^{19. 20}$)? Is there any difference in meaning between *ὁ ὄχλος πολύς* and *ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος* (cf. Jn $12^{9. 12}$ and Mk 12^{37})? What is the difference between *αὐτός* and *ἐκεῖνος* in 2 Ti 2^{26}? Are *αὐτοῦ*, etc., used reflexively? Is *ὅστις* ever a pron. of simple reference (*i.q.* *ὅς*, cf. Mt 22^{2} 18^{23})? What is the force of the genitive in the phrases *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* (cf. Ro 1^{17}), *πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (Ro 3^{22})? Does *ἀκούειν φωνῆς* differ in sense from *φωνὴν ἀκούειν* (cf. Ac $9^{4. 7}$ $22^{7. 9}$ 26^{14}, and see Buttmann, *NT Grammar*, §§ 132, 17; 144, 16)?

The matters above specified are called 'problems,' because difference of opinion about them still exists in reputable commentaries; although it may be questioned whether several of them have not been already disposed of in the judgment of scholars. To them may be added the stock exegetical problems, such as Mt 6^{13}, Lk 12^{49} 18^{7}, Ac $26^{28f.}$, Ja 4^{5}, 2 P 1^{20}; together with more general questions, such as, What effect, if any, had amanuenses on the style of the NT writings? What indications, if any, of the locality of their origin do the NT writings disclose? What influence, if any, had the Heb. parallelism in obliterating for the Jewish-Greek mind the delicate shades of difference between Gr. synonyms? What influence, if any, had the use of Jewish manuals in producing agreement in the form or the employment of OT passages? (Note the agreement in combined quotations, deviating in the same particulars from the LXX, which occur in Ro $9^{32. 33}$ and 1 P 2^{6-8}; cf. Ro 12^{19} with He 10^{30}).

The uncertainties still cleaving to the NT language it is by no means over-sanguine to hope may be gradually, and in the end greatly, reduced. Not a little help towards this result is yet to be drawn from the literary relics of the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era. The more accurate editing and careful study of these relics, which is already engaging the efforts of scholars, is yielding results which both justify and augment expectation. Particulars, individually slight, amount to a considerable gain in the aggregate. Meantime, noteworthy accessions to our knowledge of the language of the Alexand. and Gr.-Roman period have already come from the inscriptions, and especially the papyri (some of them going back to the days of the Ptolemies), which the last few decades have unearthed, and which it may reasonably be hoped are but the first-fruits of a rich harvest of discovery. Resemblances in phraseology are instructive even where the intellectual and religious quality of the conceptions covered may be widely different (cf. *e.g.* *υἱὸς θεοῦ, κύριος, σωτήρ*, as used of the Roman emperors, and in the vocabulary of the Stoics). Moreover, the unalterableness, and in many cases the definite date of many of these sources, lift their testimony above the suspicion of possible clerical modification from which the text of even our best extant NT MSS is not always quite free.

VII. The LITERATURE of our subject requires little space here. Suffice it to refer the reader to Schmiedel's 8th ed. of Winer's *Grammatik*, of which the first part (*Einleit. und Formenlehre*, pp. 194) appeared in 1894, the second in 1897, and where almost no publication of moment is left unmentioned. A careful review of Pt. i. by W. Schmid in the *GGA*, 1895, No. 1, pp. 26–47, deserves also to be consulted. The comparison of the NT language with the later Gr. has been greatly facilitated by the last-named scholar's elaborate work, *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern von Dionysius von Halikarnass bis auf den zweiten Philostratus* (vol. i. 1887, vol. ii. 1889, vol. iii. 1893, vol. iv. 1896, Index 1897), by the treatise of William Schmidt, *de Flavii Josephi elocutione*, etc., in Fleckeisen's 'Jahrbücher für classische Philologie,' 20ter Supplementband (1894, pp. 345–550), by the *Subsidia ad cognoscendum Græcorum sermonem vulgarem e Pentateuchi versione Alexandrina repetita* of H. Anz in 'Dissertationes Philolog. Halenses,' vol. xii. (1894) pp. 261–387, and by G. A. Deissmann's *Bibelstudien* (Marburg, 1895), which contains, pp. 57–168, an instructive study of the Gr. of the LXX in the light of the results furnished by papyri and recently-discovered inscriptions; supplemented in 1897 by *Neue Bibelstudien*; new ed. in Eng. tr. by Grieve, 1900.

Other noteworthy recent works dealing directly with the language of the NT are: Joseph Viteau, *Étude sur le Grec du Nouveau Testament: Le Verbe; Syntaxe des Propositions* (pp. 240, 8°, Paris, 1893), especially convenient owing to the summary of NT peculiarities given at the close of every chapter; particular attention is paid also to the usage of the LXX, which is made still more prominent in his *Étude*, etc.: *Sujet, Complément et Attribut* (pp. 248, Paris, 1896); F. Blass, *Grammatik d. Neutest. Griechisch* (pp. 329, 8°, Gottingen, 1896; Eng. tr. by Thackeray, 1898), which has the exceptional merit of recognizing the characteristics of the several writers, and of frequently noting variant readings from the MSS., and citing parallels from the Apostolic Fathers; E. W. Burton, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in NT Greek*, 2nd ed. pp. 215, 1893; H. A. A. Kennedy, *Sources of NT Greek*, pp. 172, 1895; Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 1898.

Interesting light is thrown on sundry details also by Arnold Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, pp. 176, Leipzig, 1896; and Edward Hicks, *Traces of Gr. Philosophy and Rom. Law in the NT*, pp. 187, Lond. 1896.

The multiplying of manuals of a popular character (Combe, Huddilston, Moulton) indicates a growing interest in the language, and emphasizes the demand for a new work by a master hand which shall combine the excellencies of the standard treatises of Winer and Buttmann, utilize the knowledge of the subject which has accumulated during the last thirty years or more, and furnish a student with a compact yet complete handbook.—[1897]. J. H. THAYER.

LANTERN occurs only in Jn 18^{3} 'with lanterns and torches and weapons,' where it is the tr. of *φανός*, a word which occurs only here in biblical Greek, and is not common elsewhere. That 'torch' would be a more accurate rendering than 'lantern' seems clear from Xenophon's *ὑπὸ φανοῦ πορεύεσθαι* (*Rep. Lac.* v. 7). The word is formed directly from *φαίνω* 'to give light.' The Eng. tr. is from Wyclif, 'with lanternis and brondis and armys,' who thus translates the Vulg. 'cum laternis et facibus et armis,' and all the versions follow with 'lanterns' (except Cov. who has 'with creshettes, with lanternes, and with weapens'). 'Lantern' was formerly used with more freedom than now. Wyc. translates Jn 5^{35} 'Sothli he was a lanterne brennynge and schynynge' (Tind. 'He was a burninge and a shyninge light'; Geneva, 'candle'), and Ps 119^{105} 'Lanterne to my feet thi woord; and light to myn pathis' (1388 'Thi word *is* a lanterne'); so Cov. 'Thy worde is a lanterne unto my fete, and a light unto my pathes,' and this is the form in which the verse is quoted at the time; as, Tind. *Expositions* (Parker Soc.), p. 149; Ridley, *Brefe Declaration*, 96, 'by the lanterne of thy worde'; Knox, *Works*, iii. 301, 'The bryght lantarne to the fete of these that by nature walke in darkenesse'; and Davenant, *Fast Sermon* (Fuller's *Life*, p. 276).

Trench in his *NT Synonyms*, p. 157 ff., endeavours to distinguish the five words *φῶς, φέγγος, φωστήρ, λύχνος*, and *λαμπάς*;

but he seems to have forgotten φανός. Φῶς and φέγγος mean 'light,' the former chiefly the light of the sun, the latter chiefly that of the moon. Φωστήρ is a luminary. Λύχνος, he thinks, should always be translated 'lamp,' and λαμπάς 'torch.' These distinctions are valid, though it is not possible to observe them invariably. How far the RV has done so may be seen from the following list:—

φῶς is everywhere 'light' in AV and RV, except Ja 1^{17} AV and RV 'lights' ('the Father of lights,' τῶν φώτων), Ac 16^{29} RV ('he called for lights,' φῶτα); in Mk 14^{54} AV renders πρὸς τὸ φῶς 'at the fire,' and in the par. passage Lk 22^{56} 'by the fire,' RV both 'in the light of the fire'; in Eph 5^{9} edd. prefer ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ φῶτος for TR τοῦ πνεύματος, whence RV 'the fruit of the light' for AV 'the fruit of the Spirit.'

φωστήρ is 'light,' Rev 21^{11}, and in plu. 'lights,' Ph 2^{15}, in both versions, with RVm 'luminaries.'

φέγγος occurs only in Mt 24^{29}, Mk 13^{24}, Lk 11^{33}, and both versions have 'light.'

λαμπάς is in AV translated 'lamp' in Mt $25^{1.3.4.7.8}$, and RV retains with marg. 'torch,' also in Rev 4^{5}, which RV retains without margin. In Rev 8^{10} RV turns AV 'lamp' into 'torch,' but retains AV 'torch' in Jn 18^{3} and 'light' in Ac 20^{8}.

λύχνος has been translated 'lamp' in RV in all its occurrences, but AV varies between 'candle' in Mt 5^{15}, Mk 4^{21}, Lk 8^{16} $11^{33.36}$ 15^{8}, Rev 18^{23} 22^{5}; and 'light' in Mt 6^{22}, Lk 11^{34} 12^{35}, Jn 5^{35}, 2 P 1^{19}, Rev 21^{23}.

J. HASTINGS.

LAODICEA (Λαοδικία, Tisch. and WH, as appears in ℵ everywhere, and in B Col 2^{1}, Rev 1^{11} 3^{14}: *Laodicia* or *Laudicia* often in Latin Versions. B has Λαοδίκεια in Col $4^{13.15.16}$; so TR everywhere. Λαοδίκεια is certainly the correct Greek form; it is the practically universal form in Greek literature, Strabo, Steph. Byz., Philostratus, etc., also an inscription dated [ἀπὸ Λαοδι]κείας A.D. 129.[*] The good Latin form is *Laodicea*, not *Laodicia*. The early Turkish form *Ladhik*[†] [compare *Ladik*, still used of the Pontic and Lycaonian cities] points to Λαοδίκεια. The forms Λαυδίκεια and Λαδίκεια occur later).—Laodicea, distinguished from other cities of the same name as ἐπὶ τῷ Λύκῳ, or *ad Lycum*, was founded probably by Antiochus II. Theos, B.C. 261–246, and named after his wife Laodike. It was placed on a spur of the low hills fringing the Lycos valley on the south, about 2 miles south from the river. It is close to the station Gonjelli on the Ottoman Railway, and the branch line to Denizli runs up the valley of the little river Asopos, close to the western gates of the city. It was distant only 6 miles from Hierapolis, and 11 from Colossæ (Col $4^{13.16}$). Behind the hills to the south, only a few miles away from the city, rises the great range of Mount Salbakos (Baba Dagh), and to the south-east Mount Kadmos (Khonas Dagh), both reaching to the height of about 8000 ft. above the sea, while the city is only about 800 or 900 ft. above the sea. Before Laodicea was founded, the chief town or village of this part of the valley was certainly situated at Denizli, 6 miles south, close under Salbakos, where the natural water-supply was extraordinarily abundant; and after Laodicea decayed, about the end of the 11th cent., Denizli again took its place as the chief city of the whole valley.[‡] Laodicea was dependent for its water on an aqueduct whose maintenance required more skill and prudence than could be applied in the 12th cent. It has ever since been called Eski-Hissar, 'the Old Fortress,' as distinguished from the modern city Denizli, 'Full of Waters.'

The site of Laodicea is now utterly deserted. The ruins are not conspicuous or imposing; the site has been rifled to build and repair Denizli, and in recent years much injury has thus been done to the old city.

The city Laodicea was founded to be a garrison and centre of Seleucid power in the country, and population was selected and planted there likely to be loyal to the Seleucid kings. Hence there are some traces of a Syrian element in the population.[*] Jews also formed part of the citizens; these may have been brought there by the founder, or been settled there by Antiochus the Great towards B.C. 200, when he sent 2000 Jewish families from Babylonia to the cities of Phrygia and Lydia (Josephus, *Ant.* XII. iii. 4).[†] In B.C. 62 Flaccus, the governor of the province Asia, refused to let the money which was regularly sent to Jerusalem by the Jews go out of the country, because he feared that the loss of specie might be dangerous. At Laodicea, by the governor's orders, 20 pounds weight of gold, which had been collected by the Jews, was seized; and at Apameia 100 pounds weight (Cicero, *pro Flacco*, 68). A letter of the Laodicean magistrates is preserved by Josephus (*Ant.* XIV. x. 20), promising to obey the Roman orders, and grant full religious freedom to the Jews.

Laodicea was a small city until after the Roman period had begun; then it rapidly became great and rich. Destroyed by an earthquake in A.D. 60, it disdained to seek help from the liberality of the Emperors, as many of the greatest cities of Asia had done; *propriis opibus revaluit* (Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 27). Hence its boast, Rev 3^{17} 'I am rich, and have gotten riches, and have need of nothing.' It was renowned for the beautiful glossy black wool of its sheep, and carried on a great trade in garments manufactured from this wool. Owing to its central position at the point where the great trade-route from the East was joined by several branch-roads, and its importance as chief city of the Cibyratic *conventus*, to which, at stated intervals, the people of many cities and a large district flocked, it became a centre of banking and financial transactions; and Cicero intended to cash there his bills of exchange (*Ep. ad Fam.* iii. 5. 4). Hence Rev 3^{18} 'I counsel thee (not to take the gold of thy bankers, but) to buy of me gold refined by fire, and (not the glossy black garments made in the city, but) white garments.'

Laodicea was not far east of the temple of Men Karou, connected with which was a famous school of medicine in the century immediately before and after Christ. There was an article called 'Phrygian Powder,' used to cure weakness of the eyes; it is very probable that this was made at Laodicea.[‡] Hence 'I counsel thee (not to use thy 'Phrygian Powder,' but) to buy of me eyesalve to anoint thine eyes that thou mayst see' (Rev 3^{18}).

Very little is known about the history of Christianity in Laodicea. Timothy, Mark, and above all Epaphras (Col 1^{7}), are likely to have been first instrumental in spreading the new religion in the Lycos valley; after them came Philip the Apostle, and (according to late tradition) John. Archippus, Nymphas (Col 4^{15}), and Diotrephes (3 Jn ^{9}), are named by untrustworthy tradition as the first bishops of Laodicea. Sagaris, a bishop of Laodicea, died a martyr about A.D. 166. Sisinnius, a bishop, and Artemon a presbyter, under Diocletian, are mentioned in the *Acta S. Artemonis* (Oct. 8), a late and poor production.[§] Few Christian inscriptions are known. Laodicea was represented by its bishop Nounechios at the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325; and a council was held in the city about 344–363. It was the leading bishopric of Phrygia throughout the Christian period. The subscription at the end of 1 Ti, ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Λαοδικείας, has no authority, and is certainly false. The Epistle called ἡ ἐκ Λαοδικείας (Col 4^{16}) is perhaps the existing Epistle to the Ephesians (wh. see). The so-called *Epistola ad Laodicenses* is a late and worthless forgery. St. Paul himself had never visited the Lycos valley (Col 2^{1}).

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[*] See quotations *Cities and Bish. of Phr.* i. pp. 32, 37, 38, 44, 47, 54. The form Λαοδικίας occurs chiefly in the genitive case, in which the accent of Λαοδικείας falls on the same syllable as that of Λαοδικίας.

[†] *Op. cit.* p. 26. Ladhík implies an original Λαοδίκεια, not Λαοδικία.

[‡] *Op. cit.* p. 20 f.

[*] *Op. cit.* p. 33.

[†] On the history of the Phrygian Jews (who seem to have been far more numerous in Apameia and Central Phrygia than in Laodicea) see *op. cit.* pt. ii. ch. xv.

[‡] So the famous Polemon of Laodicea was called 'the Phrygian' by his admirer Herodes Atticus, *op. cit.* pp. 44, 52.

[§] Other martyrs at Laodicea, *op. cit.* pt. ii. pp. 494, 512. Add Trophimus and Thallus, *Acta Sanct.*, 11th March.

Laodicea is classified by NT writers under the geographical name Asia. Zahn, however, and Blass consider that St. Luke reckoned it, not under Asia, but under Phrygia (see LYDIA, against this view).

LITERATURE.—Most of what has been learned about Laodicea is collected by Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pt. i. pp. 1–83, 342 f.; pt. ii. pp. 512 ff., 542 ff., 785 f. Anderson in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1897), p. 404 ff., and Weber in *Jahrbüch. des Arch. Instituts* (1898), pt. i., supplement that work. Among the older travellers Hamilton gives the best account; but Smith, Pococke, Chandler, Arundell, Fellows, Texier, are all worth reading. W. M. RAMSAY.

LAODICEANS (Λαοδικεῖς, Latin *Laodicenses*) is the correct term for the people of Laodicea (Col 4^{16}). *Λαοδικεύς* is the invariable form on coins. *Λαοδικηνός* is used in the sense of 'made in, or belonging to, Laodicea'; and in Latin *Laodicenus* also occasionally is used for a man of Laodicea.

W. M. RAMSAY.

LAPPIDOTH (לַפִּידוֹת 'torches,' 'flames,' cf. Ex 20^{18}; B Λαφειδώθ, A Λαφιδώθ).—Husband of Deborah, Jg 4^{4}. For the form of the name, with the fem. plur. ending *-ôth*, cf. Naboth, Meremoth, Meraioth, Jeremoth, Mikloth; prob. an intensive plur. (König, *Syntax d. Heb. Spr.* § 261), perhaps with a figurative meaning (Böttcher, *Lehrbuch*, § 719*a*). Jewish commentators, *e.g.* D. Kimchi, Levi ben-Gershom, identify Lappidoth ('flames') with Barak ('lightning'); so Hilliger, *Das Deborah-lied* p. 11; Wellh., *Composition* p. 223; Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* p. 69. Other Jewish interpretations explain that Deborah was 'a woman of torches,' *i.e.* made wicks for the sanctuary, or, 'a woman of flames,' referring to the fiery or energetic character of her prophesying. These explanations are improbable.

G. A. COOKE.

LAPWING.—See HOOPOE.

LARGE.—Like Lat. *largus*, 'large' formerly expressed abundance rather than bulk. Its meanings in AV are all practically obsolete, and are apt to be missed. **1.** *Spacious, of great extent*, as Jg 18^{10} 'When ye go, ye shall come unto a people secure, and to a large land' (וְהָאָרֶץ רַחֲבַת יָדַיִם, RV 'and the land is large'; lit. 'spacious on both hands'); Neh 4^{19} 'The work is great and large, and we are separated upon the wall, one far from another'; Is 30^{23} 'In that day shall thy cattle feed in large pastures'; Jer 22^{14} 'I will build me a wide house and large chambers' (עֲלִיּוֹת מְרֻוָּחִים, AVm 'through-aired chambers'; RV 'spacious chambers'); Rev 21^{16} 'And the city lieth foursquare, and the length is as large as the breadth' (RV 'as great as the breadth'). Cf. Howell, *Letters*, I. i. 5, 'I pray God bless us both, and send us, after this large Distance, a joyful meeting.' **2.** *Unconfined, free*, as 2 S 22^{20} ‖ Ps 18^{19} 'He brought me forth also into a large place' (מֶרְחָב, tr^{d} 'a large place,' also in Ps 118^{5}, Hos 4^{16}, but in Ps 31^{8} 'a large room,' RV 'a large place'; except in Hos (where see Cheyne's note), it is an expression denoting great prosperity. De Witt translates Ps 18^{19} 'He brought me forth into room unconfined,' and points out that the opposite is the 'calamity,' or 'sore pressure' of the previous verse); 2 Es 1^{13} 'I led you through the sea, and in the beginning gave you a large and safe passage' (plateas vobis in invio munitas exhibui, RV 'where there was no path I made for you highways'). Cf. Mt 7^{13} Rhem., 'Enter ye by the narrow gate, because brode is the gate, and large is the way that leadeth to perdition.' So Hall, *Works*, ii. 2, 'None but a sonne of Aaron might offer incense to God in the temple; and not every sonne of Aaron, and not any one at all seasons: God is a God of order, and hates confusion no lesse than irreligion: albeit he hath not so straitned himselfe under the Gospell, as to tie his service to persons, or places, yet his choice is now no lesse curious because it is more large; he allowes none but the authorised, he authoriseth none but the worthy.' Cf. also Shaks. *As You Like It*, II. vii. 48—

> 'I must have liberty
> Withal, as large a charter as the wind,
> To blow on whom I please';

and *Hamlet*, IV. iv. 36—

> 'Sure, He, that made us with such large discourse,
> Looking before and after, gave us not
> That capability and godlike reason
> To fust in us unused.'

3. *Liberal in giving*, only Mt 28^{12} 'They gave large money unto the soldiers' (Tindale's tr., Gr. ἀργύρια ἱκανά). This meaning was once very common. Thus Shaks. 2 *Henry VI.* I. i. 111—

> 'the poor King Reignier, whose large style
> Agrees not with the leanness of his purse';

and Dryden, *Brit. Red.* i. 86—

> 'Large of his treasures, of a soul so great
> As fills and crowds his universal seat.'

In Gal 6^{11} we have the nearest approximation to the modern use, 'Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand.' The Gr. is πηλίκοις γράμμασιν, which RV translates 'with how large letters,' introducing the modern meaning of 'large' unmistakably. Field (*Otium Norv.* iii. 117), who calls the RV the only possible rendering, says, 'St. Paul was a very indifferent penman, and when he did not employ an amanuensis, was obliged to write in very large and, probably, ill-shaped characters.' He illustrates from Plutarch's *Cato*: 'In describing Cato's method of educating his son, the historian tells us that he wrote histories for him *with his own hand and in large characters*' (ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ καὶ μεγάλοις γράμμασιν). The Eng. word recalls Milton's *Sonnet* 'New Forces of Conscience'—

> 'New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large.'

The phrase 'at large' occurs Wis 19^{9} 'For they went at large like horses' (ἐνεμήθησαν, Vulg. depaverunt [escam]; RV 'they roamed at large'); Sir 47^{12} 'After him [David] rose up a wise son, and for his sake he dwelt at large' (κατέλυσεν ἐν πλατυσμῷ: Bissell explains, 'He was no more full of care for this and that; he gave up all to the management of his wise son.' But Ball [*QPB*], 'Solomon enjoyed ease and freedom for David's sake'); 2 Mac 2^{30} 'To stand upon every point, and go over things at large, and to be curious in particulars, belongeth to the first author of the story' (περὶ πάντων ποιεῖσθαι λόγον, RV 'to indulge in long discussions,' RVm 'to provide a place for discussions.' Fritzsche prefers the reading of codd. A and V περίπατον ποιεῖσθαι λόγων, 'to make the round of matters'). Cf. Rhem. NT, p. 204 (*Argument* to John's Gospel), 'the intent of this evangelist writing after the other three, was, to omit the Actes of Christ in Galilee, because the other three had written them at large; and to reporte his Actes done in Iurie, which they had omitted.'

Largely, in the sense of freely, occurs in 1 Mac 16^{16} 'when Simon and his sons had drunk largely' (ἐμεθύσθη, RV 'had drunk freely'; Ball and Bissell, 'were drunk,' which is the only possible meaning). Cf. North's *Plutarch*, 'Alexander,' p. 687, 'Then did Alexander offer great presents unto the god, and gave money largely to the priests and ministers of the temple.'

Largeness occurs only 1 K 4^{29} 'And God gave Solomon wisdom and understanding exceeding much, and largeness of heart' (רֹחַב לֵב), where the meaning is not, as now understood, a charitable disposition, but breadth of intellectual interest, the difference being due, however, to the difference between the Heb. and Eng. uses of 'heart.' Thus the marg. of the Geneva Bible (copied into the Bishops' Bible) explains the phrase, 'able to comprehend all things,' where the tr. is 'a large heart.' But it is probable that as first used by Wyclif the Eng. phrase meant liberality in giving, as the marg. note to the 1388 ed. has '*largenesse of herte*, to spende in greet worschip.' Cf. Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 104, 'Crœsus, the riche king of Lidia . . . saide on a tyme to Cyrus, when he beholde his liberalitie, that suche largenesse as he used shulde bringe hym in povertie, where, if he lysted, he mought accumulate up treasure incomparable.' J. Hastings.

LASCIVIOUSNESS is the tr. in AV and RV of *ἀσέλγεια* in Mk 7[22], 2 Co 12[21], Gal 5[19], Eph 4[19], 1 P 4[3], Jude [4]. The Gr. word is found also in Ro 13[13], where both versions have 'wantonness,' and three times in 2 P, viz. 2[2] TR *πολλοὶ ἐξακολουθήσουσιν αὐτῶν ταῖς ἀπωλείαις*, AV 'many shall follow their pernicious ways,' but edd. *ἀσελγείαις*, whence RV 'their lascivious doings'; 2[7] *ἐν ἀσελγείᾳ ἀναστροφῇ*, AV 'filthy conversation,' RV 'lascivious life'; and 2[18] *ἀσελγείαις* AV 'through much wantonness,' RV 'by lasciviousness.' In LXX *ἀσέλγεια* occurs only twice, Wis 14[26] AV 'shameless uncleanness,' RV 'wantonness'; and 3 Mac 2[26] 'acts of impiety.'

The etymology of *ἀσέλγεια* has had a curious history. The derivation from *a* priv. and Σέλγη, a Pisidian city, is still mentioned by lexicographers, though it is doubtful if it was for morality or immorality that that city was famous: Thayer-Grimm, 'whose citizens excelled in strictness of morals'; Trench, 'whose inhabitants were infamous for their vices.' The favourite derivation is, however, *a* and *σέλγω*, *i.e.* *θέλγω* to charm. But the use of the word in NT alone is sufficient to fix its meaning and to show that 'lasciviousness' is too restricted and definite to cover it all. The meaning is absence of restraint, indecency; and although that is generally regarded as shown in sensuality, there are passages, as Mk 7[22] and 1 P 4[3], where sensuality is not yet in sight. In the latter passage, as Salmond points out, the writer begins with a general term ('excesses') sufficient to include unbridled conduct of all kinds, and then passes to particulars. Trench thinks 'wantonness' the best rendering, 'standing as it does in a remarkable ethical connexion with *ἀσέλγεια*, and having the same duplicity of meaning,' *i.e.* indecency in general and sensuality in particular. See Trench, *NT Synonyms*[8], p. 54 ff., and Thayer, *NT Greek Lex.*, *s.v.* The leading idea in the word is probably conduct that is shameless. It is thus joined with *πορνεία* and *ἀκαθαρσία* in 2 Co 12[21] and Gal 5[19], where *πορνεία* is a special form of impurity; *ἀκαθαρσία* uncleanness of any kind that may, however, be unseen; *ἀσέλγεια* uncleanness that shocks public decency. See Lightfoot on Gal 5[19] and 1 Th 2[3] (the latter in *Notes on Epp. of St. Paul*, p. 21). It is remarkable that in all the places in which 'lasciviousness' is found it has been introduced by the AV translators. The earlier word is nearly always 'wantonness' (except in Wyc. and Rhem. following the Vulg. too closely and giving 'lechery' or 'impurity' mostly). RV has carried the mistake still further by changing 'wantonness' of 2 P 2[18] into 'lasciviousness.'

J. Hastings.

LASEA (Λάσαια) is never mentioned by any ancient author except St. Luke; but in the 'hundred-citied' Crete it is not strange that an unimportant town should be only once mentioned. Lasaia was near Fair Havens (Ac 27[8]); and as St. Paul's ship lay for some considerable time in the Havens, it would be necessary to purchase stores from the city, on which account it comes to be mentioned by the historian. The ruins of the city were examined in 1856 by the Rev. G. Brown. They are about 5 miles east from the Havens, and 1 mile east from Cape Leonda or Leona; and according to Mr. Brown are still called Λάσαια by the Cretan peasantry. This may probably be the Lisia mentioned in the Peutinger Tables as 16 miles south from Gortyna. In an air line the distance on the map seems hardly more than 12 miles; but in mountainous Crete the road may be 16 miles. Mr. E. Falkener has published an old Venetian description of the island of Crete, which mentions in this neighbourhood a place Lapsea, with a ruined temple (Mr. Brown mentions two temples).

Literature.—Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 3rd ed. p. 295 f.; Falkener in *Museum of Class. Antiq.* (1852), p. 287. W. M. Ramsay.

LASHA (לֶשַׁע, A Δάσα, E and Luc. Λάσα).—Mentioned only in Gn 10[19], as forming the boundary of the Canaanites towards the east. Jerome and Jerus. Targum identify with the famous hot springs of Callirrhoë in the Wâdy Zerḳa Ma'in to the east of the Dead Sea; but this appears to be too far to the north, and, as Dillmann remarks, we rather expect a situation on the west side of the Dead Sea or of the Ghôr. Wellh. (*JBDTh* xxi. 403 f.) would change לֶשַׁע into לֶשָׁה or לֶשֶׁם, *i.e.* Laish (Dan) on the northern boundary of Canaan; but the boundary from north to south seems to have been sufficiently given in the words 'from Zidon . . . to Gaza,' and we expect a boundary now in a new direction, namely, from west to east. One might think of the promontory *el-Lisân* at the south end of the Dead Sea, but if this were intended, the art. would have been found, הַלָּשֹׁן, as in Jos 15[2]. J. A. Selbie.

LASSHARON.—Amongst the kings subdued by Joshua, the MT (followed by AV, RV) includes the king of Lassharon (AVm Sharon). In the *Onomas.* (*s.* 'Saron') the name *Sharon* is applied to the region between Tabor and the Lake of Tiberias, stated to be 'still called Sarona.' The name *Sarôna* is at the present day applied to a ruin on this plateau, which is a possible site for Lassharon (*SWP* vol. i. sheet vi.). Sarona is mentioned on the list of Thothmes III. See Palestine.

The text of Jos 12[18] appears to be in some disorder. While MT has מֶלֶךְ אֲפֵק מֶלֶךְ לַשָּׁרוֹן, B of the LXX has *βασιλέα Ὀφὲκ τῆς Ἀρώκ* (A simply *βασιλέα Ἀφέκ*), where *Ἀρώκ* is doubtless a corruption of *Σαρών*. The Heb. text before B would thus appear to have been מֶלֶךְ אֲפֵק לַשָּׁרוֹן 'king of Aphek in Sharon,' the Sharon being not the plain of that name on the coast, but the district in Galilee above mentioned (so Dillm. on Jos 12[18]; cf. Wellh. *Sam.* p. 55). C. R. Conder.

LASTHENES (*Λασθένης*), an officer of high rank under Demetrius II. Nikator. He bears the honorary titles of 'kinsman' (*συγγενής* 1 Mac 11[31]) and 'father' (*πατήρ* *ib.* 11[32]) of the king, the former not necessarily implying near relationship to Demetrius (cf. 1 Mac 10[89]), and the latter pointing to his superior age, and to the advice (cf. Gn 45[8] of Joseph) and protection which he afforded to the young prince (cf. Rawlinson and Zöckler). Himself a Cretan, he raised a body of Cretan mercenaries, and enabled Demetrius to land in Cilicia, and wrest the throne of Syria from Alexander Balas (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 3, cf. 1 Mac 10[67]). From the new king Lasthenes seems to have received some official position, possibly that of governor of Cœle-

Syria (cf. 1 Mac 10[69]). Hence when Demetrius was endeavouring to make terms with Jonathan the Maccabæan, he wrote to Lasthenes in favour of the Jews, and forwarded a copy of his letter to the Jewish prince (1 Mac 11[29-37], Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 9). It is probable that Lasthenes was the powerful favourite, who, by encouraging the luxury and tyranny of Demetrius, eventually brought about his overthrow by Tryphon (Diod. xxxiii. 4, and Vales. *ad loc.*). H. A. WHITE.

LATCHET (שְׂרוֹךְ, *ἱμάς*).—The word refers to the leather thongs used for tying on sandals. (See DRESS, vol. i. p. 627[a]). In Gn 14[23] Abram tells the king of Sodom that he had taken an oath that he would not accept at his hands 'from a thread to a shoe-latchet' (מִחוּט וְעַד שְׂרוֹךְ־נַעַל), *i.e.* nothing of his most worthless possessions, much less anything of value. In Is 5[27] it is stated that the army to be brought from afar against disobedient Israel would be of such disciplined energy that no loose girdles or broken latchets would be seen in it. John the Baptist indicates his relationship of inferiority by saying that he is unworthy to loose the latchet of the shoes of Christ (Mk 1[7], Lk 3[16], Jn 1[27]). Among Orientals everything connected with the feet and shoes is defiled and debasing, and the stooping to unfasten the dusty latchet is the most insignificant item in such service. G. M. MACKIE.

LATIN.—In Jn 19[20] (Lk 23[38] inferior text) it is stated that the inscription on the tablet placed upon the cross by Pilate 'was written in Hebrew, and in Latin, and in Greek.' There seems to be no clear evidence that the affixing of such a tablet to the cross was a legal requirement, or even the ordinary usage. But a tablet or placard announcing a criminal's offence was often carried before him on his way to execution, or hung about his neck, and sometimes he was preceded by a herald proclaiming his crime (cf. Sueton. *Calig.* 32, *Domit.* 10; Dion Cass. *Octav.* 54. 3. 7; Euseb. *HE* 5. 1. 44; Mishna, *Sanhedr.* 6. 1, 10. 6). Inscriptions and proclamations in two or more languages were not uncommon (see Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 2, 3, xii. 5). The tablets set up in the temple at Jerus. forbidding any foreigner on pain of death to enter the Holy Place, were some in Latin, some in Greek; Jos. *BJ* V. v. 2, VI. ii. 4 (one of the latter, unearthed about twenty-five years ago by M. Clermont-Ganneau, is reproduced and described in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1872, p. 214 ff.; cf. *PEF*, *Twenty-one Years' Work*, p. 167 f.). Although Greek formed a part of the training of every educated Roman, and was the widest medium of communication even in Palestine, yet Latin was especially employed as the legal, official, and military language, and Roman pride was disposed to be tenacious of it in intercourse with provincials (see Val. Max. 2. 2. 2; Dion Cass. 57. 15. 3). The emperor Claudius, for example, who was fond of Greek learning, and an adept in the use of the language (Sueton. *Claud.* 42), deprived a prominent Greek of Roman citizenship for ignorance of Latin (*ibid.* 16). Abundant reff. may be found in Mayor's note on Juvenal, xv. 110.

Respecting the influence of Latin upon the later Greek, see LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. J. H. THAYER.

LATIN VERSIONS, THE OLD.*—Among those witnesses which are of primary importance for determining the text of NT, and, in a modified sense, that of OT also, the early Lat. VSS occupy a foremost place. Hitherto, perhaps, their importance has not been sufficiently recognized. But the rapid developments in the science of textual criticism which this century has seen are bringing more clearly into view their unique value. This consists mainly in their high antiquity, on the one hand, and their extraordinary faithfulness to the text which they tr., on the other. The last-named characteristic has never been disputed. As to the other, there is, at least, a general agreement that, at the latest, a Lat. tr. of the Bible already existed in the middle of the 3rd cent. A.D. But this means much. The oldest Greek MSS which have, as yet, come down to us, cannot be dated further back than the 4th cent. The great majority of them must be placed at a much later date. The early Lat. VSS, therefore, as extant in MSS or biblical quotations in the Fathers, supply us with evidence prior to any contained in Gr. MSS. But this comparison must be made with caution. Otherwise it would only mislead. Our extant Gr. MSS, of course, witness to a text far earlier than the date of their own origin. The evidence of a version is only second-hand. And, besides, it is always more or less local, presenting us with important data for determining one particular type of text, but restricted as to the value of its general bearing. From another point of view, however, this limitation has advantages. The history and character of the version must, of necessity, shed light upon the history of the Church in the definite area over which its influence has spread. And this is pre-eminently true of the Lat. VSS. They are closely bound up with the origin and diffusion of Western Christianity. Through the influence of the Lat. Fathers they have, to a great extent, moulded its theological conceptions and its current theological terms. Finally, to the history of the Lat. language their contributions are invaluable; for they preserve the late Lat. renderings of an extant Gr. original, using many varieties of synonyms, many abnormal constructions, and many strange formations, all of which reveal the tendencies of the later language, and fix with more or less certainty particular dialectical variations.

1. *Name.*—The name Old Latin is used here to denote the Lat. VS or VSS which existed previous to, or independent of, the great revision made by Jerome at the close of the 4th cent.* The designation is derived from the Lat. Fathers themselves, who speak of 'uetus editio,' 'antiqua interpretatio,' 'uetus translatio,' and the like. It seems time now to abandon the misleading term 'Itala,' or even 'uetus Itala,' to denote the pre-Hieronymian type of text. For, as we shall see later, the name 'Itala' is most ambiguous, and forms the central point of one of the keenest controversies which has ever arisen on this complicated subject. The expression 'Old Latin' makes no assumption, but simply states an admitted fact. Under this heading there might fall 'mixed' Lat. texts, in which OL and Vulg. readings are found side by side. As a rule, however, such texts have a Vulg.

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* Abbreviations used in this article :—

OL = Old Latin Version (or Versions).
Archiv. = *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie*, ed. by E. Wölfflin.
CSEL = *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, pub. under auspices of Vienna Academy.
GGA = *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.*
Stud. Bibl. = *Studia Biblica*, by Members of Univ. of Oxford 4 vols.
SK = *Theologische Studien und Kritiken.*
T. u. U. = *Texte und Untersuchungen* (Gebhardt and Harnack).
ZwTh = *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.*

* See Wordsworth, *OL Biblical Texts*, i. p. xxx: 'Old-Latin texts . . . mean all early Latin versions of the Bible which are not Hieronymian, of whatever date the MSS may be which contain them, or in whatever country they were current.' It is surely refining too minutely when Sittl (Bursian-Müller's *Jahresbericht*, vol. lxviii. p. 249) asserts that the term 'pre-Hieronymian' ought to be applied only to the biblical quotations of the older Fathers.

base, and it is only when the OL element in them is of marked importance that they will be noticed below (see VULGATE).

2. We have spoken above of the OL '*Version* or *Versions.*' This brings before us a much-debated question. Was there originally only a single tr. of the Scriptures into Lat., or were there several or many distinct versions? Before discussing the point, let us guard against certain misconceptions. No one has ever argued that one *type* of OL text, whether of OT or NT, presents itself in the Lat. MSS or Fathers from the time of Tertullian onwards. The most casual comparison of our existing authorities disproves this at once. For while, as we shall find, both MSS and Fathers may be, with caution, classified by groups, even within those provisionally separate classes, a considerable amount of variation appears. Still greater and more distinct are the differences which seem to justify us in shading off those groups from one another.[*] That is to say, even those who maintain that one original VS lies at the basis of all subsequent OL texts, are quite willing to admit the existence of various *recensions* of that version, made at different times and in different countries. In addition to this, it would be admitted on all sides that this assumed original tr. was by no means the work of one hand: that separate books were done into Lat. by separate translators, both in OT and in NT, and that some, in all probability, were tr^{d} at a later date than others. But those scholars who adhere to the hypothesis of a *single* original version hold that, admitting many minor differences both in readings and renderings, there appears, through the complexity of variations, one fundamental groundwork. While the various authorities seem to move on different lines through several verses, they return to an agreement sufficiently striking to demand the assumption of a common source.[†] Equally important names can be adduced in support of the opinion that there were, at least, several distinct OL versions.[‡] And certainly, at first sight, there seems much to justify the hypothesis. The same passage often appears in very different forms in the various MSS and Fathers. To gain some impression of these variations, we have only to turn to the formidable array of parallels from MSS and Fathers given in such works as H. Linke's *Studien zur Itala*,[§] or Ziegler's *Die lat. Bibelübersetzungen vor Hieronymus*. How is the question to be decided? Quite naturally, an appeal has been made to the expressed opinions of the Lat. Fathers themselves, more especially Augustine and Jerome. And some passages in their writings seem to have a real connexion with the problem. Thus Aug. *de Doctr. Christ.* ii. 11: 'Qui scripturas ex Hebræa lingua in Græcam uerterunt numerari possunt, Latini autem interpretes nullo modo: ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus uenit codex Græcus et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere uidebatur, ausus est interpretari.' Two chapters further on, in the same treatise, he says: 'quoniam et quæ sit ipsa sententia quam plures interpretes pro sua quisque facultate atque iudicio conantur eloqui, non apparet, nisi in ea lingua inspiciatur, quam interpretantur.'[‖] He also speaks of an 'infinita uarietas Latinorum interpretum,'[¶] and uses many other similar expressions.[*] It is quite evident that Aug. believed in a large number of separate OL versions.[†]

In the writings of Jerome the facts are presented somewhat differently. Thus, for example, in his *Præf. in lib. Paralip.*: 'cum pro uarietate regionum diuersa ferantur exemplaria, et germana illa antiquaque translatio corrupta sit, atque uiolata, nostri arbitrii putas aut e pluribus iudicare quid uerum sit aut nouum opus in ueteri opere cudere.' And again, *Epist. ad Damasum*: 'si enim Latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondeant quibus: tot sunt pæne quot codices.[‡] Sin autem ueritas est quærenda de pluribus, cur non ad Græcam originem reuertentes ea quæ uel a uitiosis interpretibus male edita uel a præsumptoribus imperitis emendata peruersius uel a librariis dormitantibus aut addita sunt aut mutata corrigimus?' See also his *Præf. in lib. Job.* It seems as if, in the passages quoted, Jerome is thinking rather of separate and most corrupt recensions or copies (exemplaria) of the tr^{n} than of several distinct versions. For in the first he contrasts the 'germana antiquaque translatio' with the 'diuersa exemplaria' of it which have arisen through corruption and local variations. And he could scarcely speak of there being almost as many separate tr^{ns} as there were MSS. On the other hand, many passages can be quoted from his writings which give colour to the opposite hypothesis. So, *e.g.*, in his *Præf. in Proverb.* he talks of 'imperiti translatores'; in *Epist.* 18. 21 of 'interpretum uarietatem.'[§] In what way can the apparent confusion of the evidence be harmonized? Perhaps we are not justified in treating these statements of the Fathers as authoritative on the subject. There is much force in the words of Zahn:[‖] 'It is a thoroughly short-sighted attempt to seek in the occasional utterances . . . of a Jerome or an Augustine regarding the Latin Bible an answer to the questions which bear on the date of its origin, the original unity or multiplicity of translators. These men would not have kept back from us a definite tradition regarding the place, the time, the originator of the version or versions, if they had possessed such. . . . What they say has neither in form nor meaning the slightest resemblance to an historical tradition or an ancient report. It is rather the scanty result of a more or less intelligent view of the actual facts which they had before their eyes.' We cannot, at least, be blind to the rhetorical exaggeration in the passages quoted. And it seems quite reasonable to suppose that Jerome and Aug. are simply putting forward their own hypotheses to account for the state of things which they find existing. Probably, they could give no more definite answer to the question before us than that which Jerome gave as to the use of Theodotion's tr. of Daniel by the Church in place of the LXX: 'et hoc cur acciderit nescio' (*Præf. in Dan.*). It is along other lines that the problem must be approached.

It has been already observed that a comparison of the extant OL texts, whether in MSS or Fathers, reveals clearly enough a large number of more or less important variations. These are of different kinds. Sometimes the variant consists in the use of a synonym: sometimes it presupposes a different underlying Gr. text: sometimes it shows another form of construction: sometimes it lies in an addition or omission, while, at times, it is merely an inversion of the order of words in a sentence, or a difference of spelling. One or two examples will make our meaning clear.

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[*] It must be noticed that we are not here separating differences of *reading* from differences of *rendering*. See some important remarks by Sanday, *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. p. xlii.

[†] See, *e.g.*, Reusch, *Tübing. Quartal-Schrift*, 1862, p. 244 ff.; Fritzsche in Herzog, *RE*^{2} viii. p. 433 ff.; Zimmer, *SK*, 1889, ii. p. 331 ff.; Haussleiter in Zahn's *Forschungen*, iv. pp. 72, 73.

[‡] See, *e.g.*, Kaulen, *Gesch. d. Vulg.* p. 107 ff.; L. Ziegler, *Die lat. Bibelübersetzungen*, etc., Munich, 1879, p. 4 ff.; P. Corssen, *Jahrbücher f. protest. Theol.* 1881, p. 507 ff.

[§] Breslau, 1889. It bears only upon the Apocalypse.

[‖] *De Doct. Christ.* ii. 13.

[¶] *Ib.* ii. 11.

[*] See the large collection of quotations bearing on this point, from Aug., in Ziegler, *op. cit.* pp. 6–10.

[†] Wiseman's attempt (*Essays on Various Subjects*, i. p. 24 ff.) to show that 'interpretari' and its cognates can be used, and are used, by Aug., of *recensions* as well as translations, is now discredited even by defenders of the one-version theory, *e.g.* Fritzsche, *op. cit.* p. 435.

[‡] 'Of no passage is this judgment more true than of this actual sentence itself, which is hardly quoted in the same way in any three MSS' (H. J. White in Scrivener's *Introduction*, vol. ii. p. 42. See also Wordsworth and White's *Vulgate*, Fasc. i. p. 2).

[§] See Ziegler, *op. cit.* p. 13.

[‖] *Gesch. d. NT Kanons*, bd. i. p. 33.

MATTHEW 2^{1-4}.

k (Cod. Bobiensis).	*a* (Cod. Vercellensis).	*b* (Cod. Veronensis).	*f* (Cod. Brixianus).
Et cum hī^{s} natus esset in bethlem iudææ in diebus herodis regis ecce magii ab oriente uenerunt hierosolima dicentes ubi est qui natus est rex iudæor̄ uidimus enim stellam . . . Set autem rex herodes turbatus est et tota hierosolima cum eo. Et conuocatis omnibus sacerdotibus et scribit plebis quærit ab eis ubi ✱ nascitur.	Cum ergo natus esset Jesus in bethlem ciuitate iudææ in diebus herodis regis ecce magi ab oriente uenerunt hierosolyma dicentes ubi est qui natus est rex iudæorum uidimus enim stellam eius in orientem et uenimus adorare eum. Audiens autem herodes rex turbatus est et omnis hierosolyma cum ipso. Et [congreg]auit omnes principes sacerdotum et scribas populi et interrogabit ab eis ubi Christus nascitur.	Cum ergo natus esset Jesus in bethlehem ciuitatem iudeæ in diebus herodis regis . . . oriente uenerunt in hierosolyma dicentes ubi est qui natus est rex iudæorum uidimus enim stellam illius in orientem et uenimus adorare eum. Audiens autem rex Herodis turbatus est et omnes hierosolyma cum illo. Et congrega . . . sacerdotum et scribas populi et interrogauit ab eis ubi Christus nasceretur.	Cum ergo natus esset Jesus in bethleem iudeæ in diebus herodis regis ecce magi ab oriente uenerunt hierosolyma dicentes, ubi est qui natus est rex iudæorum uidimus enim stellam eius in orientem et uenimus adorare eum. Audiens autem herodes rex turbatus est et omnis hierosolyma cum illo. Et congregauit omnes principes sacerdotum et scribas populi et requisiuit ab eis ubi Christus nasceretur.

EXODUS 32^{17-20}.

Cod. Wirceburgensis.	Cod. Lugdunensis.
Et audiuit ihs̄ uocem populi clamantium dixit ad Moysen uox pugnæ in castris auditur. Et dixit Moyses non est uox de principum cum uirtute sed nec uox de principum fugæ sed uocem principatus uini ludentium ego audio. Cumque adpropinquasset castræ uidet uitulum et choros populi. Et iratus animo Moyses proiecit de manib suis duas tabulas et comminuit eas sub montem. Et sumens uitulum quem fecerant combussit igni et comminuit eum minutatim et seminauit eum in aqua et potauit filios istrahel.	Et cum audisset Iesus clamorem populi clamantium, dixit ad Moysen: non uox pugnæ in castris auditur. Et dixit Moyses: non est de principibus cum uirtute, sed nec uox de principium fugæ sed uocem principatus uini ego audio. Cumque adpropinquassent castræ uident uitulum et choros populi: et iratus animo Moyses proiecit de manibus suis duas tabulas et comminuit eas sub montem. Et sumens uitulum quem fecerant, combussit eum igni et conteruit eum minutatim et seminauit eum in aqua, et potauit illud filios Istrahel.

The above instances are taken entirely at random to give a general idea of the agreements and differences of the parallel texts. It must be said that in many passages the differences would be found to be far more considerable than in either of those above. Yet, as the total result of numerous comparisons of the various texts with each other, one is bound to admit, at least, the increasing probability of the conclusion that at the basis of all the types of text there is one original version which has determined, in great measure, the character of all the subsequent revisions.* For surely the differences can be reasonably accounted for. In OT we know that at this time the MSS of the LXX were in a state of hopeless confusion—a confusion which had been intensified by the misuse of Origen's critical signs. A proof of the mixture of Gr. texts followed is found on almost every page of the OL versions of OT. The same cause would also be at work in NT. Add to this the carelessness of scribes and the independent efforts at translating the original, either deliberately introduced into the text or gradually gliding into the text from the margin, and we have causes which seem, at least, sufficient to explain the numerous variations.* As an instance of what was possible, the Psalter which Jerome had corrected according to the LXX was so corrupted by scribes in his own life-time that he was compelled to emend it a second time.† But after all, as Burkitt puts it: ‡ 'whether there were one or two independent versions is a comparatively minor question in face of the undoubted fact that the independent versions were few in number.'

3. The problem which is of paramount importance in this subject is, Can we trace the history of the version (or versions)? For the sake of the subsequent discussion we will here subjoin a list of the extant authorities for the OL Bible.§

OLD TESTAMENT.—*HEXATEUCH.*—**1. Cod. Lugdunensis** [6th cent.]. At Lyons (MS 54). Gn 16^{9-16} 17^{1-18} 19^{5-29} 26^{33-35} $27-33^{15}$ $37^{7}-38^{22}$ $42^{36\text{-end}}$, Ex $1-7^{19}$ 21^{9-35} $25^{25}-26^{13}$ $27^{6\text{-end}}$, Lv $1-18^{30}$ $25^{16\text{-end}}$, Nu, Dt, Jos, Jg $1-11^{31}$ (?). Published as far as Dt 11^{4}, by U. Robert, *Pent. Versio Lat. Antiquissima*, etc. Paris, 1881. Remaining part discovered by Delisle in autumn of 1895. See 'Academy,' Nov. 30th, 1895. For the romantic history of the MS, see the 'Avant-Propos' of Robert's work. **2.** Fragments in **Cod. Ottobonianus**, No. 66 [8th cent.]. In Vatican. Fragg. of Gn from chs. 37, 38, 41, 46, 48–50; of Ex from chs. 10, 11, 16, 17, 23–27. Pub. by C. Vercellone in *Variæ lectiones Vulg.* etc. Tom. i. pp. 183 ff. 307 ff., Rome, 1860. **3. Cod. Wirceburgensis** [6th cent. ?]. Univ. Libr. of Würzburg (MS 64a). Gn $36^{2-7.\ 14-24}$ 40^{12-20} 41^{4-5}, Ex 22^{7-28} $25^{30}-26^{12}$ 32^{15-33} 33^{13-27} $35^{13}-36^{1}$ $39^{2}-40^{30}$, Lv $4^{23}-5^{8}$ $5^{10}-6^{1}$ $7^{2-11.\ 16-17.\ 22-27}$ $8^{1-3.\ 6-13}$ $11^{7-9.\ 12-15.\ 22-25.\ 27-47}$ $17^{14}-18^{21}$ $19^{31}-20^{3}$ $20^{12.\ 20}-21^{2}$ 22^{19-29} 23^{5-9}, Dt 28^{42-53} 31^{11-26}. Pub. by E. Ranke, *Par Palimpsest. Wirceburgensium*, Vienna, 1871. **4. Cod. Monacensis** [5th or 6th cent.]. Hof-Bibliothek at Munich (Lat. 6225). Ex $9^{15}-10^{24}$ $12^{28}-14^{4}$ $16^{10}-20^{5}$ $31^{15}-33^{7}$ $36^{13}-40^{32}$, Lv $3^{17}-4^{25}$ $11^{12}-13^{6}$ $14^{17}-15^{10}$ $18^{18}-20^{3}$, Nu $3^{34}-4^{8}$ $4^{31}-5^{8}$ 7^{37-73} $11^{20}-12^{14}$ $29^{6}-30^{3}$ $31^{14}-35^{6}$ 36^{4-13}, Dt $8^{19}-10^{12}$ $22^{7}-23^{4}$ 28^{1-31} $30^{16}-32^{29}$. Pub. by L. Ziegler, *Bruchstücke einer vorhieron. Übersetz. d. Pent.* Munich, 1883. **5. Fragg. of Genesis** ($25^{20}-28^{8}$), from a Lat. VS of the *Quæst.* of

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* There are some books in which two types of text seem far more marked, *e.g.* the Synoptic Gospels and Apoc.; while in others, such as the Pauline Epp., there is a much closer resemblance between all types of text. This suggests one of the most important methods to be followed in investigating the OL Bible—that, namely, of treating each group of books separately.

* See Wellhausen in Bleek's *Einleitung in d. AT*^{4}, p. 595.

† See P. Corssen, *Epist. ad Galatas*, p. 3.

‡ *Old-Lat. and Itala*, p. 5.

§ Books marked with an asterisk the writer has not had the opportunity of seeing.

Philo. Pub. by F. C. Conybeare, *Expositor*, 4th series, vol. iv. pp. 63 ff., 129 ff. **6.** Gn 12^{17}–13^{14} 15^{2-12} in *Palimpsestus Vindobonensis*, pub. by J. Belsheim, 1885.

HISTORICAL BOOKS.—**1.** Ruth. **Cod. Complutensis** [9th cent.]. Univ. Libr. Madrid (MS 31). Pub. by S. Berger, *Textes Lat. inéd. de l'Anc. Test.* Paris, 1893. **2.** Jg 5 fr. Com. of Verecundus in Vercellone. **3.** Fragg. of Jg, also 1, 2 S and 1, 2 K, being notes on margin of **Cod. Gothicus** [10th cent.]. At Leon. Pub. from copy in Vatican by C. Vercellone, *Variæ Lectiones*, Tom. ii. The hitherto unknown Marginalia of Cod. Goth. have been transcribed by Linke from the Vat. copy, though not yet published. See *Archiv*, viii. 2, pp. 311–12. †**4.** 1 S 2^{3-10} from MS No. 2 at Einsiedeln [15th cent.]. Pub. by S. Berger, *op. cit.* **5.** Some verses of 1 and 2 S and 2 K from several Corbey and S. Germain MSS. Pub. by P. Sabatier, *Bibliorum . . . latinæ Versiones*, vol. i. Paris, 1751. **6.** 1 S 9^{1-8} 15^{10-18}, 2 S 2^{29}–3^{5}, 1 K 5^{2-9}. From two leaves at Magdeburg and Quedlinburg. First two Fragg. pub. by W. Schum, *SK*, 1876, p. 121 ff. All four by Weissbrodt, *Index lectt. Brunsbergensis*, p. 11 ff. 1 K 5^{9}–6^{7}. Pub. by A. Düning, *Ein neues Fragm. d. Quedl. Itala-Codex*, 1888. **7.** 2 S 10^{18}–11^{17} 14^{17-30} [7th or 8th cent.]. Parchment leaves at Vienna. Pub. by J. Haupt, **Veteris antehieron. vers. libr. II. Regum fragmenta* . . . Vienna, 1877. **8.** 1 S 1^{14}–2^{15} 3^{10}–4^{18} 6^{3-15} 9^{21}–10^{7} 10^{16}–11^{13} 14^{12-34}, 2 S 4^{10}–5^{25} 10^{13}–11^{18} 13^{13}–14^{4} 17^{12}–18^{9} [5th cent.]. Palimpsest at Vienna. Pub. by J. Belsheim, **Palimpsestus Vindobonensis*, 1885. **9.** (*a*) **Cod. Corbeiensis,** No. 7 (now MS. lat. 11549). At Paris. Book of Esther.‡ Pub. by Sabatier, *op. cit.* (*b*) **Cod. Vallicellanus,** B. vii. Est 1–2. Pub. by Sabatier, by Tommasi, more accurately by Bianchini.§ (*c*) **Cod. Pechianus.** Fragg. of Est 3–end. Sabatier. (*d*) **Cod. Lat. Monacens.,** 6239 [9th cent.) Est. Pub. by J. Belsheim, *Libros Tobiæ, Iudit, Ester . . . ex Cod. Monac.*, Trondhjem, 1893. (*e*) **MS of Lyons, No. 356.** Beginning and conclusion of Est. Pub. by S. Berger, *Notice*, pp. 31–32. This ancient résumé of Esther also found in *Cod. Complutensis, Cod. Casinensis*, No. 35, *Cod. Monac.* 6225, *Cod. Ambrosianus E.* 26 *inferior*, of which second alone has been pub. (*Biblioth. Casin.* T. i. 1873).

POETICAL BOOKS.—**1.** (*a*) **Fragment of Fleury.** Job 40^{3-9}.‖ Pub. by Sabatier, Tom. i. p. 904. See also Berger, *Hist. de la Vulg.* p. 86. (*b*) Fragg. of Job from margin of *Cod. Gothicus* at Leon [10th cent.]. First few lines pub. by Berger, *Notice*, pp. 21–22. **2.** (*a*) **Cod. Veronensis.** At Verona. Book of Psalms. Pub. by Bianchini, *Psalterium duplex cum Canticis*, in his *Vindiciæ Canon. Script.* Rome, 1740. (*b*) **Cod. Sangermanensis.** Lat. MS No. 11947. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. Pub. by Sabatier, *op. cit.* Tom. 2. (*c*) Fragg. of OL Psalter in Palimpsests at Carlsruhe. See F. Mone, **Latein. Messen*, p. 40; also **De libris palimps.* p. 48, Carlsruhe, 1855. (*d*) Considerable extracts from OL Psalter in Mozarabic Liturgy (Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, T. 85). See Kaulen, *Gesch. d. Vulg.* p. 199 ff. Gams, *Kirchengesch. Spaniens*, i. p. 86 ff. Readings, fr. 4 Psaltt: *Carnutense, Corbeiense, Mediolanense, Coislinianum* in Sabatier. See on OL Psalter generally, Lagarde, *Probe einer neuen Ausgabe der latein. Übersetzung des AT*, 1885. See also H. Ehrensberger, *Psalterium Vetus* (Tauberbischofsheim, 1887). **3.** (*a*) Cod. No. 954. Palimps. Imperial Library, Vienna. Pr 2^{1}–4^{23} 19^{7-27}. Pub. by A. Vogel, *Beitr. z. Herstell. d. alt. lat. Bibelübersetzung*, Vienna, 1868. (*b*) Palimps. St. Paul in Lavant-thale, Carinthia. Pr 15^{9-26} 16^{29}–17^{12}. Pub. by F. Mone, **De libr. palimps.* (*c*) Cod. 11 of St. Gall [8th cent.]. Fragg. of Pr, Ec, and Ca. Pub. by S. Berger, *Notice*, p. 23 ff. (*d*) Marginal readings from Pr in MS, Lat. 11553. Biblioth. Nat. Paris. See Berger, *Hist. de la Vulg.* p. 65. (*e*) A few Fragg. of Pr in Sabatier, Tom. 2.† Fragg. of Ec and Ca, disc. by Amelli. Still unpub. See Ziegler, *Latein. Bibelübers.* p. 107, n. 6.

PROPHETICAL BOOKS.—**1.** Fragg. of a Weingarten MS at Fulda, Darmstadt, and Stuttgart [prob. 6th cent.]. Hos 4^{13-14} $5^{4.\ 7}$ 7^{16} $8^{1-6.\ 13-14}$ 9^{1-17} 12, portions of vv.$^{3.\ 7.\ 9.\ 12}$ $13^{1.\ 3}$ 13^{4}–14^{2}, Am 5^{24}–6^{8} 8^{10}–9^{1} 9^{5}–10^{9}, Mic 1^{5}–3^{3} 4^{3}–7^{20}, Jl 1^{1-14} 2^{3-5} $4^{2-4.\ 15-17}$, Jon 1^{14}–4^{8}, ‡Ezk 16^{52}–17^{6} 17^{19}–18^{9} 24^{25}–25^{14} 26^{10}–27^{7} 27^{17-19} 28^{1-17} $42^{5.\ 6.\ 14}$ 43^{22}–44^{5} 44^{19}–45^{2} 46^{9-23} 47^{2-15} 48^{22-30}, Dn 2^{18-33} 9^{25}–10^{11}. Pub. in full, with Appendix, by E. Ranke, *Fragm. Vers. . . . antehieron.* Vienna, 1868. His previous work, *Fragm. Hos. Am. et Mich.* Marburg, 1856, is included in that above named. So also Vogel's *Fragg. of Ezek. from St. Paul in the Lavant-thal.* Additional Fragg. of Prophets. Weingarten MS. Stuttgart. Am 7^{13}–8^{10}, Ezk 18^{9-17} 20^{18-21} 27^{7-17} 33^{26-30} $34^{6.\ 8-12}$, Dn 11^{35-39}. Pub. by E. Ranke, *Fragm. Stutgardiana*, 1888. **2. Cod. Wirceburgensis.** Palimps. [prob. 6th cent.], Univ. Libr. of Würzburg (MS 64a). Hos 1^{1}–2^{13} 4^{13}–7^{1}, Jon 3^{10}–4^{11}, Is 29^{1}–30^{6} 45^{20}–46^{11}, Jer 12^{12}–13^{12} 14^{15-16}. Fragg. of 15, 16, 17, 18^{16}–20^{1} $20^{6-7.\ 9-10.\ 11-14.\ 16-18}$ 21^{1}–23^{39} 35^{15}–37^{11} 38^{23}–40^{5} 41^{1-17}, La 2^{16}–3^{40}, Ezk 24^{4-21} 26^{10}–27^{4} 34^{16}–35^{5} 37^{19-28} 38^{8-20} 40^{3}–42^{18} 45^{1}–46^{9} 48^{28-35}, Dn [Sus]$^{2-10}$ 1^{15}–2^{9} 3^{15-50} (including *Oratio Azariæ*) 8^{5}–9^{10} 10^{3}–11^{4} $11^{20-21.\ 23-25.\ 26-29.\ 31-33.\ 36-42}$ (*Bel et Drac.*). Pub. by E. Ranke, *Par Palimpsest. Wirceburgensium*, Vienna, 1871.§ **3.** Fragg. of Is and Jer discovered in a Bobbio Lectionary at Turin by G. Amelli. Still unpublished. See Ziegler, *Die lat. Bibelübers.* p. 105, n. 2. **4.** Fragg. of Jerem. from **Cod. Sangallensis,** No. 912. Pub. by Tischendorf, *Mon. sacr. et prof.* p. 231. More fully by F. C. Burkitt as Appendix to *Old Latin and the Itala*, p. 81 ff. Camb. 1896. **5.** A few 'Cantica' from the Prophets in Sabatier, Tom. 2.‖ Some 'Cantica' also published by Fleck, *Wissenschaftliche Reise*, Bd. ii. Abt. 3, p. 337 ff. See further, Hamann, *Canticum Moysi*, Jena, 1874, and Bianchini, *Vindiciæ*, etc., who pub. 7 'Cantica' fr. Verona MS of Ps.

APOCRYPHA.—**1.** *Fourth* [*Second*] *Esdras.* Complete text ed. by Bensly and James, Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, iii. 2, 1895. For particulars regarding MSS see the Introduction to the above, and also *The Missing Fragment of the Fourth Book of Ezra*, by R. L. Bensly, Camb. 1875. **2.** *Third* [*First*] *Esdras.* Two OL Texts. Ordinary Vulg. and another contained in MS Lat. 111 of Biblioth. Nat. at Paris (printed in Sabatier); in Mazarine MS 29; Douai 7; Vienna 1191; Madrid E. R. 8. Fragg. of another text in Lagarde, *Septuaginta-Studien*, 1892, Theil 2, fr. Lucca MS. **3.** *Tobit.* OL version found in MSS Biblioth. Nat. lat. 6, 93, 161, 11505, 11553; in Cod. Gothicus at Leon;

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† See Driver, *Notes on Heb. Text of Samuel*, pp. lxxvii–lxxxii; Wellhausen in Bleek's *Einleitung in d. AT*^{4}, p. 571 ff. Schepss, *Zeits. f. Kirchengesch.* xv. pp. 566–8 refers to two MSS with OL readings in 1 and 2 S.

‡ It should be stated that, in the OL Bible, we have not an exact tr^{n}, but only a résumé of Esther. See Berger, *Notice*, p. 31.

§ *Vindiciæ Canon. Script.*, Rome, 1740.

‖ The continuous text of Job, publ. as OL by Sabatier, is not OL at all, but a revision taken from a Vulg. MS and pub. by Martianay in *Hieronym. Opp.* T. 1, whence Sabatier derived it. See Ranke, *Fragmenta . . . Antehieron.*, Fasc. 1, p. 13.

† Berger points out that there are a vast number of variants from the OL in Vulg. MSS of the Sapiential books, *e.g.* Paris MS, 11553, quoted above; Bible of Théodulfe; MS No. 7 at Metz.

‡ See a very important contribution by Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, Proleg. pp. 25–35. Cornill denotes the Weingarten Fragg. by *w*, the Würzburg Palimps. by *h* (=*Herbipolensis*). Two new Fragg. of Weing., Ezk 33^{7-11}, Dn 11^{18-23}, pub. by P. Corssen, *Zwei neue Fragmente*, etc., Berlin, 1899.

§ This includes the Fragg. pub. by Münter, *Fragm. Vers. Antehieron.* etc., Hafn. 1819.

‖ The Fragg. of the Prophets pub. from Lat. glosses in a palimps. at Grotta Ferrata, by J. Cozza, Rome, 1867, are not considered to be genuine OL even by Cozza himself. He supposes that they are a version made partly from the OL, but brought into strictest agreement with the Greek.

Cod. Complutensis at Madrid; Bible of Huesca (Museo Arqueologico of Madrid); MS 6239 at Munich; MS 7 at Metz; E. 26 infer. of Ambrosian Libr.; Cod. Regio-Vaticanus, No. 7. Of these, MSS 93, 11505, 11553 of Bibl. Nat. and Cod. Regio-Vat. have been pub. by Sabatier. Munich MS 6239, pub. by J. Belsheim, *Libros Tobiæ . . .* etc., Trondhjem, 1893. **4.** *Judith.* MSS Biblioth. Nat. lat. 6, 93, 11505, 11549, 11553; Cod. Gothicus at Leon; Cod. Complut.; Bible of Huesca; Auctar. E. infra 2 of Bodleian; Metz 7; Munich, 6239. Of these, 93, 11505, 11549, 11553 of Bibl. Nat. have been pub. by Sabatier. Mun. MS 6239, pub., as above, by J. Belsheim. **5.** *Wisdom of Solomon* passed into Vulg. unrevised. See Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, i. 241–282, Göttingen, 1884. **6.** *Sir* also passed into Vulg. unrevised. See Lagarde, *op. cit.* 283–378. Another version in a Fragm., embracing 21^{20-31} 22^{1-7}, from MS at Toulouse, pub. by C. Douais, *Une ancienne Version latine*, etc., Paris, 1895. **7.** *Baruch.* Also preserved in Vulg. Another OL version in MSS Bibl. Nat. lat. 11, 161, 11951 (pub. by Sabatier); Arsenal 65 and 70; Vallicellanus B. 7 (pub. by Sabatier and also Bianchini, *Vindiciæ*); Cod. Casinensis 35; Reims MS No. 1 (in Sab.). **8.** 1 *and* 2 *Mac.* passed into Vulg. unrevised. Another text containing 1 Mac 1–13, pub. by Sabat. from MS 11553 of Bib. Nat. Text of 2 Mac from MS E 26 infer. of Ambrosian Lib., pub. by A. Peyron, *M. Tull. Cic. Orat. fragm. ined.* Stuttgart, 1824, i. p. 70 ff. Both books complete in Cod. Complut. Extracts from OL version in Cod. 356 of Lyons. See for one or two other Fragg., Berger, *Notice*, p. 38.

Extracts from all OT books except Ru, Ob, and Jon; and from all Apocr. books except 3 and 4 Es in *Liber de diuinis Scripturis siue Speculum*, erroneously ascribed to Augustine [8th or 9th cent]. Pub. from Cod. Sessorianus, No. 58 (now in Biblioteca Vittorio Manuele at Rome), by A. Mai (1) in *Spicilegium Romanum*, ix. 2, pp. 1–88; (2) in *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, i. 2, pp. 1–117, Rome, 1852. Pub. from six MSS by F. Weihrich, vol. 12 of *CSEL*, 1887. See especially Weihrich's dissertation, *Die Bibel-Excerpte de diuin. Script.* etc. Vienna, 1893. This authority quoted as *m.* Lagarde in *Septuaginta-Studien*, 1892, Theil 2, pp. 5–44, pub. some OL Fragg. containing genealogies from the whole Bible. These are partly from a MS in Cathedral of Lucca = M (*c.* A.D. 570); partly from a Bobbio MS at Turin, dependent on M = C. He there states that those Fragg. belong to the CH. OF N.W. AFRICA. Several Fragg. published by Vercellone in *Dissertationi Accademiche*, Rome, 1864; also Gustafson, *Fragm. Vet. Test.*, Helsingfors, 1881.

NEW TESTAMENT.†

GOSPELS.—**a. Cod. Vercellensis** [4th cent. or perh. later]. Cathedral of Vercelli. Four Gospp. Many words and letters mutilated or missing. Wanting in Mt 24^{49}–25^{16}, Mk 1^{22-34} 4^{17-25}; alm. entirely 4^{26}–5^{19}; 15^{15}–16^{7}, Lk 1^{1-12}; 11^{4-11} alm. entirely; 11^{12-26} 12^{38-59}. Pub. by J. Irico, *Sacrosanctus Evangg. Cod. S. Euseb.* etc. Milan, 1748; by Bianchini, *Evangeliarium Quadruplex*, Rome, 1749 (reprinted in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* xii.); also by J. Belsheim, *Cod. Vercellensis*, Christiania, 1894.‡ **a$_2$.** *Fragmenta Curiensia* [5 or 6], Raetisches Museum at Chur. Lk 12^{11-29} 13^{16-34}. Pub. by E. Ranke, *Fragm. Antiquiss. Evang. Luc. Curiensia*, Vienna, 1873; also in *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. Oxf. 1888. Recognized as having the same original as **a.** It is part of the same MS as **n. b. Cod. Veronensis** [5 or 6]. Chapter Libr. Verona. Gospels. Wanting in Mt 1^{1-11} 15^{12-23} 23^{18-27}, Mk $13^{9-19.\ 24}$–16^{20}, Lk 19^{26}–21^{29}, Jn 7^{44}–8^{12} (erased). Pub. in Bianchini's *Evangeliarium*, and Migne, *op. cit.* **c. Cod Colbertinus** [13]. Paris (Lat. 254). Gospels (rest of NT is Vulg.) Pub. by Sabatier, T. iii.; also by Belsheim, *Cod. Colbertinus*, etc. Christiania, 1888. See Ranke, *Fragm. Curiens.* pp. 9–10; Burkitt, *Old Latin and Itala*, p. 35 ff. **d. Latin Version of Cod. Bezæ.**† [6]. Cambridge. See Rendel Harris, *Study of Cod. Bezae*, Camb. 1891, and his *Four Lectures on Western Text of NT*, London, 1894, F. H. Chase, *Syriac Element in Cod. Bezae*, Lond. 1893, and *Syro-Latin Text of Gospels*, Lond. 1895; F. Blass, *Acta Apostolorum*, Prolegomena, Göttingen, 1895;‡ *Acta Apost. sec. Formam . . . Romanam*, Leipz. 1896, *SK*, 1894, pp. 86–120, and *Hermathena*, xxi. p. 121 ff. Especially Sanday in *Guardian*, May 18 and 25, 1892. **e. Cod Palatinus** [prob. 5]. Vienna. (Pal. 1185). Single leaf at Trin. Coll. Dublin. Fragg. of *e* in a copy in Vallicellian Libr. at Rome. Extant: Mt 12^{49}–13^{13} (13^{13-23} in Dublin leaf), 14^{11} ($^{11-21}$ in copy at Rome), ^{22}–24^{49} 28^{2-20}, Jn 1^{1}–$18^{12.\ 25}$–Lk $8^{30.\ 48}$–$11^{4.\ 24}$–24^{53}, Mk 1^{20}–$4^{8.\ 19}$–6^{9} 12^{37-40} $13^{2.\ 3.\ 24-27.\ 33-36}$. (This is usual 'Western' order of Gospp.). Pub. by Tischendorf, *Evangelium Palatinum*, Leipz. 1847. Leaf at Dublin by Abbott in *Par Palimpsest. Dublinens.* Lond. 1880. 14^{11-21} by H. Linke, *Neue Bruchstücke des Ev. Pal.*, Sitz.-Berichte of Munich Acad., 1893, fasc. 2, pp. 281–287. Pub. anew by Belsheim, *Evang. Palat.* etc. Christiania, 1896. **f. Cod. Brixianus** [6]. Chapter Libr. Brescia. Wanting: Mt 8^{16-26}, Mk 12^{5}–13^{32} $14^{53-62.\ 70}$–16^{20}. Pub. by Bianchini, *op. cit.*; Migne, *op. cit.*; also by Wordsworth and White in their *Vulgate*. **ff$_1$. Cod. Corbeiensis** [prob. 10. See Gregory, *Prolegomen.* iii. pars. ult. p. 957]. At St. Petersburg (Ov. 3, D. 326). Belonged to Lib. of Corbey, near Amiens. Matthew. Closely related to Vulg. Pub. by Martianay, *Vulg. Ant. Lat. et Itala*, etc., Paris, 1695; by Bianchini (*op. cit.*); by Sabatier; and by Belsheim, Christiania, 1882. **ff$_2$. Cod. Corb.** ii. [6 or 7]. Paris. (Lat. 17225). Gospels. Wanting: Mt 1^{1}–11^{16}, Jn 17^{15}–18^{9} 20^{22}–21^{8}, Lk 9^{48}–10^{21} 11^{45}–12^{6}. Some vv. wanting in Mt 11, Mk 9, 16. Pub. by Belsheim, Christiania, 1887. Collations pub. by Bianchini, *op. cit.* **g$_1$. Cod. Sangermanensis.** [9]. At Paris. (Lat. 11553). Formerly at S. Germain des Prés. OL only in Mt. Other Gospp. have Vulg. text mixed with OL readings. Collation of readings pub. by Martianay in ed. of **ff**$_1$, and reprinted by Bianchini. Pub. by Bp. Wordsworth, *OL Bibl. Texts*, i. Oxf. 1883. **g$_2$. Cod. Sangerm.** ii. [10]. Paris. (Lat. 13169). Appar. mixed OL (?) and Vulg. text. Berger (*Hist. de la Vulg.* p. 48) considers it to belong to the Irish recension. **h. Cod. Claromontanus** [6 or 7]. Vatican. (Lat. 7223). OL only in Mt. Wanting: Mt 1^{1}–3^{15} 14^{33}–18^{12}. Excerpts in Sabatier. Pub. by Mai, *Scriptor. Vet. Nova Collectio*, iii. p. 257, Rome, 1828. By Belsheim, Christiania, 1892. **i. Cod. Vindobonensis** [6 or 7]. Vienna. (Lat. 1235). Once at Naples. Lk 10^{6}–23^{10}, Mk 2^{17}–3^{29} 4^{4}–$10^{1.\ 33}$–14^{36} 15^{33-40}. Pub. by Alter in *Neues Repertorium*, etc., vol. iii. pp. 115–170 (Mark), Jena, 1791, and in Paulus' *Memorabilia*, vii. pp. 58–95 (Luke), Leipz. 1795. Collation in Bianchini. Also in full, by Belsheim, *Cod. Vindobonensis*, Leipz. 1885. **j. Cod. Saretianus** [5]. Discovered at Sarezzano. Now at monastery of Monte Cassino. Jn 1^{38}–3^{33} 3^{33}–5^{20} $6^{29-49.\ 49-67.\ 68}$–7^{32} 8^{6}–9^{21}. See G. Amelli, **Un Antichissimo Codice biblico Latino purpureo*, Monte Cassino, 1893. **k. Cod. Bobiensis** [prob. 5]. Turin. (G. vii. 15). Mk $8^{8-11.\ 14-16.\ 19}$–16^{8}, Mt 1^{1}–3^{10} 4^{2}–14^{17} 15^{20-36}. Pub. by

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† The NT MSS of the OL are, as a rule, designated by the small letters of the alphabet. This originated with Lachmann in his critical ed. of the NT.

‡ But see review by Gregory, *Theolog. Lit. Zeit.* No. 21, 1894.

† See art. TEXT OF NT.

‡ See also import. review of Blass by Holtzmann, *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* 1896, No. 3, and other notices referred to there. Corssen. *GGA*, 1896, No. 6.

F. Fleck, *Anecdota Sacra*, Leipz. 1837, pp. 1–109; by Tischendorf, *Jahrb. der Literatur, Anzeige-Blatt*, various vols. Vienna, 1847–49; by Wordsworth and Sanday, *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. Oxf. 1886. **l. Cod. Rehdigeranus** [7]. Breslau. Once belonged to T. von Rehdiger. Wanting: Mt 1^{1}–2^{15}, Jn 1^{1-16} 6^{32-61} 11^{56}–12^{10} 13^{34}–14^{23} 15^{3-15} 16^{13}–21^{25}. Mt and Mk pub. by Scheibel, Breslau, 1763. Collation of readings inserted by Scheibel in ed. 3 of Griesbach's NT. Pub. by H. F. Haase *Evangelior. . . . vetus Lat. interpretatio* (in *Index lect. univ. Vratislav.*), Breslau, 1865–6. **m.** Extracts from *Liber de div. Script. sive Speculum*, of which the chief MS is **Cod. Sessorianus**, No. 58 [8 or 9], at Rome. Erroneously ascribed to Aug. Quotations from all NT books except Philem, He, and 3 Jn. See p. 51. **n. Fragmenta Sangallensia** [5 or 6]. St. Gall. (MS 1394). Mt 17^{1}–18^{20} 19^{20}–21^{3} $26^{56-60.\ 69-74}$ 27^{62}–$28^{3.\ 8-20}$, Mk 7^{13-31} 8^{32}–9^{10} 13^{2-20} 15^{22}–16^{13}, Jn 19^{28-42}. Fragg. of Jn 19^{13-27}. Pub. by P. Battifol, Fragm. Sangallensia, *Rev. Archéol.* Paris, 1885, vol. iv. pp. 305–321. (Fragg. last named above in separate 'note,' 1884). Also by H. J. White, *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. Oxf. 1886. Recognized now to belong to same MS as **a**$_2$. **o. St. Gall Frag.** [7]. In same vol. as *n.* Mk 16^{14-20}. Same editors. **p. St. Gall Frag.** [7 or 8]. (MS 1394, vol. 2). Seems to belong to a mass for the dead. Jn 11^{16-44}. Pub. by Forbes, *Arbuthnot Missal*, Burntisland, 1864; by Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., vol. i. Append. G. p. 197, Oxf. 1869; by H. J. White, *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. **q. Cod. Monacensis** [7]. Royal Libr., Munich. (Lat. 6224.) Gospels. Wanting: Mt 3^{15}–4^{23} 5^{25}–$6^{1.\ 28}$–7^{8}, Jn 10^{11}–12^{35} 21^{8-20}, Lk 23^{23-35} 24^{11-39}, Mk 1^{7-21} 15^{5-36}. Pub. by H. J. White, *OL Bibl. Texts* iii. Oxf. 1888. **r. Cod. Usserianus** [6 or 7]. Trin. Coll. Dublin. (A. iv. 15). Wanting: Mt 1^{1}–$15^{16.\ 31}$–$16^{13.}$ 21^{4-21} 28^{16-20}, Jn 1^{1-15}, Mk 14^{58}–$15^{8.\ 29}$–16^{20}. Pub. by T. K. Abbott, *Evangel. versio Antehier.* Dublin, 1884. (A collation of a second Cod. Usser. is given in which the parts of Mt extant are appar. OL, while in the other Gospp. the text is alm. Vulg). **s. Ambrosian Fragg.** [6]. Ambrosian Libr. Milan. (C. 73 inf.). Lk 17^{3-29} 18^{39}–19^{47} 20^{46}–21^{22}. Pub. by A. M. Ceriani, *Mon. Sacr.* i. pp. 1–8, Milan, 1861; also in *OT Bibl. Texts*, ii. **t. Berne Fragg.** [5 or 6]. Berne. (MS 611). Mk 1^{2-23} 2^{22-27} 3^{11-18}. Pub. by H. Hagen, *ZwTh.* xxvii. pp. 470–484; also in *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. **v. Fragmentum Vindobonense** [7]. Vienna. (Lat. 502). Jn 19^{27}–20^{11}. Pub. by H. J. White, *OL Bibl. Texts*, iii. Two leaves of a Gospel MS [6], bound up with Ambrosius 'De fide Catholica,' in Benedictine Libr. of S. Paul in Carinthia. See Von Gebhardt, *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* 1894, No. 17. Perhaps there should also be added the interlinear Lat. tr. of the Cod. Sangallensis (Δ). See Rendel Harris, *Cod. Sangallensis*, Lond. 1891.

Acts.—**d.** As in Gospels. **e.** Lat. version of **Cod. Laudianus** (E) of Acts.† **g. Cod. Gigas Holmiensis** [13]. Stockholm. Ac and Apoc in OL version. This portion pub. by Belsheim, Christiania, 1879. **g**$_2$**. Milan Fragg.** [10 or 11]. Ambrosian Libr. Ac 6^{8}–$7^{2.\ 51}$–8^{4}. Pub. by Ceriani, *Mon. Sacr.* etc. T. i. fasc. 2, pp. 127–128. **h. Palimpsest of Fleury** [6 or 7]. Paris. [Lat. 6400 G]. Ac 3^{2}–4^{18} 5^{23}–$7^{2.\ 42}$–8^{2} 9^{4-23} 14^{5-23} 17^{34}–18^{19} 23^{8-24} 26^{20}–27^{13}, Rev 1^{1}–2^{1} 8^{7}–9^{11} 11^{16}–12^{14} 14^{15}–16^{5}, 1 P 4^{17}–5^{14}, 2 P 1^{1}–2^{6}, 1 Jn 1^{8}–3^{20}. Once at Fleury on the Loire. Fragg. of Ac 3, 4 in Sabat. (iii. p. 507). Further portions pub. by Van Sittart, *Journal of Philol.* (ii. 240–246, iv. 219–222), and by Omont (2 leaves of Apoc) in *Biblioth. de l'École des Chartes* (vol. 44, pp. 445–451). Pub. by Belsheim, *Appendix Epp. Paulin. ex Cod. Sangerm.* Christiania, 1887. Most accurately by S. Berger, *Le Palimpseste de Fleury*, Paris, 1889. **m.** As in Gospels. **s. Cod. Palimps. Bobiensis** [5 or, more probably, 6]. Vienna. [Lat. 16]. Ac 23^{15-23} 24^{6}–$25^{2.\ 23}$–$26^{2.\ 22}$–27^{32} $28^{4-9.\ 16}$ *ad fin.* Mutil. in parts. Partly pub. by Tischdf. *Wiener Jahrb. d. Literat.* Bd. cxx., *Anz. Bl.* pp. 36–42, 1847; by Belsheim, *Fragmenta Vindob.* Christiania, 1886; and by H. J. White, *OL Bibl. Texts*, iv. Oxf. 1897. **Fragm.** of Ac in Vulg. MS of Perpignan. [13]. MS lat. 321 at Paris. Ac 1^{1}–13^{6} 28^{16-31}. Pub. by S. Berger, *Un ancien texte Latin des Actes*, etc. Paris, 1895. Also MS at Wernigerode. See Blass, *SK*, 1896, p. 436. Contains import. readings. Harnack (*Th. Lit. Zeit.* 1898, No. 6, sp. 172) gives sev. vv. of Ac from *Miscellanea Cassinese*, 1897.

Catholic Epistles.—**ff. Cod. Corbienensis** [10]. St. Petersburg. (Qv. i. 39). Ep. of St. James. Pub. by Martianay along with **ff**$_1$; by Belsheim, *Der Brief des Jac.* Christiania, 1883; and by Wordsworth, *Stud. Bibl.* i. pp. 113–150, Oxf. 1885. Reprinted in Commentary on St. James by J. B. Mayor. See a dissertation on it in *Stud. Bibl.* i., by Sanday. (But cf. *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. p. cclv). **h.** See under Acts. **m.** See under Acts. **q.** Munich Frag. Clm. 6436 [6 or 7]. 1 P 1^{8-19} 2^{20}–3^{7} 4^{10}–5^{14}, 2 P 1^{1-4}, 1 Jn 3^{8}–5^{21}. Fragg. of St. Peter, pub. by L. Ziegler, *Bruchstücke einer vorhieron. Übersetz. des Petr. Briefs*, Munich, 1877. Fragm. of St. John also pub. by Ziegler, *Itala-fragmente*, Marburg, 1876. **s.** As in 'Acts.' Ja 1^{1}–$3^{5.\ 13}$–$5^{10.\ 19}$ *ad fin.* 1 P 1^{1-12} 2^{4-10}.

Pauline Epistles.—**d.** Lat. version of **Cod. Claromontanus.** See art. Text of NT. **e.** Lat. version of **Cod. Sangermanensis.** **f.** Lat. version of **Cod. Augiensis.**† **g.** Lat. version of **Cod. Bœrnerianus.** See an elaborate discussion of the double Latin renderings of Cod. Bœrn. by H. Rönsch, *ZwTh*, 1882–1883. **gue. Cod. Guelferbytanus** [6]. Palimps. at Wolfenbüttel. (Weissenb. 64). Ro 11^{33}–12^{5} 12^{17}–13^{6} 14^{9-20} 15^{3-13}, 1 Ti 4^{15}. Pub. with Gothic Fragg. by Knittel, Brunswick, 1762, and also by Tischdf, *Anecdota Sacr.* etc. Leipz. 1855, pp. 153–158. **m.** See under Acts. **r. Freisingen Fragg.** [5 or 6]. Munich. (Clm. 6436). Ro 14^{10}–15^{13}, 1 Co 1^{1}–3^{5} 6^{1}–7^{7} 15^{14-43} 16^{12-27}, 2 Co 1^{1}–2^{10} 3^{17}–5^{1} 7^{10}–8^{12} 9^{10}–11^{20} 12^{14}–13^{10}, Gal $2^{5-14.\ 16}$–3^{5}, Eph 1^{16}–$2^{3.\ 5-16}$ 6^{24}, Ph 1^{1-20}, 1 Ti 1^{12}–2^{15} 5^{18}–6^{13}, He 6^{6}–$7^{5.\ 8}$–8^{1} 9^{27}–11^{7}. Pub. by Ziegler, *Italafragmente*, etc. Marburg, 1876. Two additional leaves containing Gal 3^{5}–4^{3} 6^{5-17}, Eph 1^{1-13}, pub. by E. Wölfflin, *Neue Bruchstücke der Freis. Itala* in S. B. of Munich Academy, Heft 2, pp. 253–280, 1893. **r**^{2}**. Fragm. from Munich.** Clm. 6436 [7]. Ph 4^{11-23}, 1 Th 1^{1-10}. Pub. along with **r.** **r**^{3} **Göttweig Fragg.** [6 or 7]. Ro 5^{16}–$6^{4.\ 6-19}$, Gal $4^{6-19.\ 22}$–5^{2}. Pub. by Rönsch, *ZwTh.* xxiii. pp. 224–238.

Apocalypse.—**g.** See under Acts. **m.** See under Acts. **h.** See under Acts. On Apoc. in general, see H. Linke, *Studien zur Itala*, Breslau, 1889.

Fathers.‡

Alcimus Avitus.—Archbp. of Vienne, *c.* 450–517 (?). Important witness for Gallican type of text. See Berger, *Hist. de la Vulg.* p. 2.

Ambrose.—Bp. of Milan fr. 374 to 397. See Rönsch, *Zeit. f. histor. Theol.* 1869, pp. 434–479; 1870, 91–145.

Ambrosiaster.—Name given to author of Comm. on the thirteen epp. of Paul. Written towards end of 4th cent. See Marold, *ZwTh.* 1883, p. 27 ff.

Arnobius.—African presbyter. Begin. of 4th cent.

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† See art. Text of NT.

† But on whole subj. of Gr.-Lat. MSS see Westcott and Hort, *NT*, vol. ii. pp. 82, 83.

‡ This list gives only those of the Lat. Fathers whose works are of special value, as containing important extracts from OL Version, or shedding some light upon its history. See, on the general value of VSS and Fathers for the NT text, a suggestive essay in *Stud. Bibl.* ii. p. 195 ff. by L. J. Bebb. References made in this list to literature almost entirely concern the *biblical quotations* of the writers.

Auctor Exhortationis de pœnitentia. Erroneously ascribed to Cyprian. See Wunderer, *Bruchstücke einer African. Bibelübersetzung*, Erlangen, 1889.

Auctor libri 'De aleatoribus.'—Harnack would place this treatise at least as early as Cyp. See *T. u. U.* v. 1, 1888. Miodonski, *Anonymus adversus aleatores*, Leipz. 1889, makes the author dependent on Cyp. See also Haussleiter, *Th. Lit. Bl.* 1889, 5, 6, and 25.

Auctor libri 'De Pascha Computus.'—Africa, A.D. 243.

Auctor libri 'De promissionibus.'—Erroneously ascribed to Prosper of Aquitania. Written appar. *c.* 450, perhaps in Campania. Writer has close connexion with Africa. See Corssen, *Der Cyprianische Text der Acta Apost.* Berlin, 1892, p. 5.

Augustine.—Bp. of Hippo, 354–430. See Rönsch, *Zeits. f. histor. Theol.* 1867, pp. 606–634; *CSEL* vol. xxviii. sec. iii. pars 3, ed. by Zycha,[*] Preface, p. v ff.; see also his *Bemerkungen zur Italafrage* in *Eranos Vindobonensis*, 1893, pp. 177–184; Desjacques in *Études Religieuses*, 1878, p. 736 ff.; Weihrich in *Serta Harteliana*, Vienna, 1896; Petschenig, *Berl. Phil. Woch.-Schr.* 1896, 24.

Barnabas.—Lat. version of *Epistle*. Prob. before end of cent. 5. See Gebhardt and Harnack, *Patr. Apost.* Opp. Fasc. 1, pp. xvi, xxix.

Capreolus.—Bp. of Carthage, fl. 431. See L. Ziegler, *Itala-fragmente der paulin. Briefe*, pp. 26–28.

Cassian.—Monk at Marseilles, ob. *c.* 435. See *CSEL* vol. xvii. ed. by Petschenig, Preface, p. lxxviii ff.; Vollmöller, *Roman. Forschungen*, ii. p. 392 ff.

Clement.—Latin version of his *First Ep. ad Corinthios*. See G. Morin, *Anecdota Maredsolana*, ii. Maredsous, 1894.

Commodian.—Perhaps middle of 3rd cent. See Corssen, *GGA*, 1889, i. pp. 311, 312.

Cyprian.—Bp. of Carthage, ob. 258. See Sanday, *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. p. xlii ff.; Rönsch, *Zeitsch. f. histor. Theol.* 1875, p. 85 ff.; Dombart, *ZwTh*, 1878, p. 374; Lagarde, *Symmicta*, i. 74.

Didascalia Apostolorum. — OL Version. See Hauler, *Sitz.-Berichte of Vienna Academy*, Phil.-Hist. Classe, Bd. cxxxiv. Abt. xi.

Fulgentius.—Bp. of Ruspe, *c.* 468–533. See S. Berger, *Le Palimpseste de Fleury*, pp. 16–18.

Gildas.—Of Britain. Perhaps end of 6th cent. See Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., Appendix G.

Hermæ Pastor.—Lat. version. See Haussleiter, *De Versionibus Pastoris H. Latinis*, i., Erlangen, 1884.

Hilary. — Bp. of Poitiers, ob. 368. See A. Zingerle, *Die latein. Bibelcitate bei S. Hilar. von Poitiers*, Innsbrück, 1887.

Irenæus.—Bp. of Lyons, fl. 180. Lat. tr. of his *πρὸς αἱρέσεις*. Date doubtful (Tischdf., Gregory: end of 2nd cent.; WH 4th cent.).[†]

Jerome.—Presbyter, ob. 420. See art. VULGATE.

Lactantius.—African writer, *c.* 260–*c.* 340. See Rönsch, *Zeit. f. histor. Theol.* 1871, p. 531 ff.; Brandt, *Archiv*, v. 2, p. 192.

Lucifer.—Bp. of Cagliari in Sardinia, ob. 371. See Dombart, *Berliner Wochenschrift*, 1888, p. 171.

Maternus, Julius Firmicus, fl. perh. *c.* 345.

Novatian.—Heretical bp. at Rome, fl. 252.

Optatus.—Bp. of Milevis in Numidia, fl. *c.* 368.

Philastrius.—Bp. of Brescia, fl. 380.

Primasius. — Bp. of Adrumetum, N. Africa. Middle of 6th cent. See Haussleiter in *Zahn's Forschungen*, iv. pp. 1–224.

Priscillian.—Bp. of Avila in Spain, fl. end of 4th cent. See Schepss, *CSEL*, vol. xviii. Introduction, and in *Archiv*, iii. 3 u. 4, p. 307 ff.

Salvian.—Of Marseilles, fl. 450. See J. B. Ullrich, *De Salviani scripturæ sacr. versionibus*, Neustadt a. Haardt, 1893.

Tertullian. — Of Carthage, *c.* 150–*c.* 240. See Rönsch, *Das Neue Testament Tertullians*, Leipz, 1871. See also import. criticism of Rönsch by J. N. Ott, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 1874, p. 856 ff.

Tyconius.—African, fl. *c.* 390. See F. C. Burkitt, *Rules of Tyconius*, Camb. 1894; Haussleiter, *Der Urspr. des Donatismus*, *Th. Lit. Bl.* 1884, 13.

Victor.—Bp. of Tunis. Middle of 6th cent.

Victorinus.—Bp. of Pettau in Pannonia, fl. *c.* 300. See Haussleiter, Luthardt's *Zeitsch. f. kirchl. Wissenschaft*, vii. pp. 239–257.

Vigilius.—Bp. of Thapsus (Africa), fl. *c.* 484.

We may add here Fritzsche, *Liber Judicum*, Turici, 1867 (containing quotations in Fathers from Jg).

The above lists of MSS are believed to be fairly complete. For further particulars regarding NT MSS, see H. J. White in Scrivener's *Introduction*^{4}, p. 45 ff.; C. R. Gregory, *Prolegg. to Tischdf.'s NT*^{8}, vol. iii. pars ult. p. 953 ff. Numerous details of importance are to be found in S. Berger's *Hist. de la Vulg.*, Paris, 1893. We have attempted to make the OT list as full as possible, since hitherto there has been no convenient survey of the materials in hand.[*]

The earliest attempt to collect the fragments of the OL version was made by Flaminius Nobilius (assisted by others), *Vetus Test. sec. LXX latine redditum*, Rome, 1588. This consisted of quotations from the Fathers, with the gaps filled up by the editors. It was entirely superseded by the great work of the Benedictine, P. Sabatier, whose *Bibliorum sacrorum latinæ versiones antiquæ seu uetus Italica* appeared at Reims 1739–1749.[†] It is made up, partly of extracts from the Fathers, and partly (to a less extent) of fragments of MSS, chiefly at Paris. It is a monument of painstaking, self-denying work. But it requires to be used with caution, as the critical ideal of that time was necessarily somewhat crude.[‡]

Strangely enough, it remains the only full collection of quotations from and fragments of the OL version of OT and NT, although a rich abundance of material has come to light since Sabatier's day.

A new work, however, on the lines of Sabatier, is being prepared under the auspices of the Munich Academy. It is to deal with OT.[§]

We must return to the problem already stated. Can we trace the *history* of the Latin Bible? It is needful to deal very cautiously with our small group of data, lest our conclusions should go beyond the facts. Much of the discussion has centred round the *origin* of the Latin Version. Was the Bible first trd. into Latin at Rome or in N. Africa, for these were the two great centres of Western Christianity? Or is there any other alternative? Various hypotheses have been put forward with confidence. Some scholars, such as Kaulen,[‖] Reinkens,[¶] and Gams,[**] decide for Rome on the supposition that the lower stratum of members in the Christian Church of the Metropolis would, from the earliest times, require a Lat. tr. of the Scriptures. And yet we know that Greek was the language of the Roman Liturgy, even within the 3rd cent.[*] Since the appearance of Wiseman's *Two Letters on some parts of the controversy concerning* 1 *John* v. 7 (reprinted in *Essays on Various Subjects*, i. pp. 5–70), perhaps the majority of critics have accepted Africa as the birthplace of the Lat. Version. As we shall find, there are several important facts in the history of the OL which give countenance to this hypothesis. The earliest form of the version to which we can assign a definite date, namely, that used by Cyprian, plainly circulated in Africa. The language and style of the trn., taken generally, find their closest parallels in African writers. Indeed it is this latter point which has, in the minds of many, led to a definite decision in favour of Africa. But there are certain cautions which deserve attention. To begin with, *k*, the oldest MS authority for the specially 'African' type of text, is considered by the best palæographers to have been written outside the bounds of Africa,[†] and the same is true of *h*, another leading witness.

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[*] Unfortunately, most unsatisfactory as regards biblical quotations. Z. corrects Aug. according to an arbitrarily chosen text of LXX. See E. Preuschen in *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* 1897, 24.

[†] The Clarendon Press announces *Novum Testamentum S. Irenæi*, containing a full collation of its readings with those of OL authorities, edited by Prof. Sanday. Will be published as one of *OL Bibl. Texts* series.

[*] This was written before the appearance of Nestle's art. in *Herzog*^{3}, iii. 24 ff.

[†] Reprint at Paris, 1757.

[‡] See E. Ranke, *Frag. Vers. . . . Antehieron.* 1868, pp. 7–14.

[§] See Linke, 'Ueber den Plan einer neuen Ausgabe der Itala,' *Archiv*, viii. 2, pp. 311–312. For the various collections of material in addition to Sabatier, see the lists of MSS above, where the works which contain the several fragments are enumerated.

[‖] *Gesch. der Vulg.* p. 109 ff.

[¶] *Hilarius von Poitiers*, p. 336s.

[**] *Kirchengesch. Spaniens*, i. p. 86 sq.

But, further, too much stress must not be laid on the 'Africanism' of OL Bible. It must be borne in mind that the Lat. literature of the 2nd and 3rd centuries which we possess is almost exclusively African. And so we are in danger of labelling with that name a type of diction which may well have prevailed throughout the Latin-speaking provinces of the Rom. Empire. A definite foundation is given to this last hypothesis by the fact that there are numerous points of contact between the OL Bible, the Campanian Petronius, the Church Fathers (chiefly African), the Jurists, Papinian, Ulpian, and Paulus, and the Lat. Inscriptions of Africa.[‡] And the dialect of the Spanish and Gallican Lat. writers, so far as we possess it, cannot be separated by any well-marked boundaries from that of Africa.[§] In short, the current investigation of Late-Latin is more and more tending to reduce the so-called 'Africanisms,' and to establish a wider basis for their occurrence.[‖]

Perhaps it is possible to obtain some light on the origin of the Lat. Bible from a different direction. What other texts are usually found in its company? The answer is not far to seek. A glance at the *apparatus criticus* of any of the larger edd. of NT shows us an almost constant grouping of the OL MSS with D (Cod. Bezæ), some other Gr.-Lat. MSS, and the Syr. VSS. That is to say, the OL MSS form an important branch of the authorities for the so-called 'Western' text of NT.[¶]

Now Hort, whose authority is unrivalled on a question of this kind, in speaking of the term 'Western,' says:[**] 'It has become evident that readings of this class were current in ancient times in the East as well as the West, and probably to a great extent originated there. On the whole, we are disposed to suspect that the "Western" text took its rise in North-Western Syria or Asia Minor, and that it was soon carried to Rome, and thence spread in different directions to N. Africa and most of the countries of Europe.' Already E. Ranke (*Par Palimpsestorum Wirceburgens.* p. 432), in discussing the origin of the Würzburg Palimpsest of OT, had concluded from the use of the word 'legati' for ἡγεμόνες (Gn 36^{15} *et al.*) that its birthplace was to be sought in one of the Imperial provinces which were governed by 'legati.'[*] Now Syria is virtually the only one of those which could well satisfy the requirements of the case. But this assumption has some valid reasons in its favour. It is an undoubted fact that here and there throughout OT the OL agrees in a remarkable way with the Luc. recension of the LXX, a recension intimately connected with Antioch in Syria.[†] Of course this recension was much later than the origin of the OL, but one of the marked elements in Lucian's text is also present here and there in the OL. Kaulen[‡] also had pointed out that the trs. of the OL seemed to have an accurate knowledge of Heb. or Aramaic. This would most easily be accounted for by assuming them to be situated either in or near or in intimate connexion with the Rom. province of Syria, which included Palestine. But, further, there is the extraordinary agreement, even in rare and isolated readings, of the early Syr. VSS with the OL.[§] Accordingly, putting those various threads of evidence together, we had been led to the hypothesis that in Syria, and probably at Antioch, a most important religious and theological centre, we must look for the home of the original Lat. Version as well as of the 'Western' text. Since coming to this conclusion, we find that the same theory is supported by most powerful arguments in a brilliant review of Rendel Harris's *Study of Cod. Bezæ* in the *Guardian* of May 18 and 25, 1892, by Sanday.[‖] Let us give the briefest summary of his main conclusions.

In order to explain the relations of the OL MSS among themselves and to the Syriac VSS,[¶] he believes that the starting-point must have been not a single MS bilingual[**] or other but a *workshop* of MSS—that at the very threshold of the Lat. VSS there must have been several MSS copied in near proximity to each other, and affected by allied, but yet different, Gr. texts. He then asks in what *class* the version was likely to arise, and finds the answer in the 'notarii,' public copyists who had not only to do with copying but with translating. 'And where could this class of copyists congregate most thickly but in the suite of the governor of one of the most important provinces?' Valuable evidence is adduced to show that the OL was the work of some one possessing a special acquaintance with the administrative arrangements of Palestine.[*] Further, it is pointed out that the author or authors of the 'Western' text had a knowledge of Heb. and Aramaic. And finally, the numerous interpolations which appear in this text, as derived either from oral tradition or from some early fragmentary written source, could have no more probable birthplace than the province of Syria. As to the relations of the Syr. VS, Sanday thinks that it 'took its rise in the very midst of the development of the Lat. Version.' Of course this is only theory; but a theory which seems adequate to account for the phenomena in question is the only basis on which successful investigation can be reared.

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[*] See a concise summary of evidence for the prevalence of Greek at Rome in Sanday and Headlam's *Romans*, pp. lii–liv. A masterly and convincing discussion of this subject in Caspari, *Quellen zur Gesch. des Taufsymbols*, Bd. iii. See esp. pp. 286–288, 303 ff.

[†] See Sanday, *Academy*, May 11, 1889, who quotes Maunde Thompson in favour of Italy. Corssen, *GGA*, 1889, i. p. 313, thinks it derives its origin from the 'hohen Norden.'

[‡] See Kübler, *Archiv*, viii. 2, p. 202. Thielmann, *ib.* viii. 2, p. 235 ff. (import. parallels with younger Seneca and Columella, both of Spanish origin).

[§] See Sittl, Bursian-Müller's *Jahresbericht*, lxviii. p. 246. Cf. Note by Mommsen, *Provinces of Rom. Emp.* (Eng. tr.) ii. 343 ff.

[‖] See Sittl, *Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lat. Sprache*, p. 146 ff. *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. Addenda, p. 139. Kroll, *Rhein. Mus.* lii. 569–590.

[¶] See art. NT TEXT.

[**] *Introduction*, p. 103.

[*] This fact is also noted in an article in the *Guardian*, May 25, 1892, by Prof. Sanday.

[†] See Ceriani, *Le recensioni dei LXX e la versione latina detta Itala* (Nota . . . letta al R. Istituto Lombardo . . . 18th Feb. 1886), esp. pp. 4–5.

[‡] *Gesch. der Vulg.* p. 140 ff.

[§] Surely this cannot be accounted for on the supposition of Zahn (*Gesch. des Canons*, i. p. 422), that NT was a gift brought by Tatian to his fellow-countrymen from Rome. It is difficult to imagine that the Christians of Syria, so long the very centre of diffusion for the Faith, had to depend on a chance occurrence for their version of the Scriptures, although, at the same time, the intimate connexion of Tatian with the earliest stages of the Syrian Bible cannot be doubted.

[‖] F. H. Chase comes to the same conclusion regarding the birthplace of the 'Western' text from a totally different point of view, namely, the attempt to prove that behind the 'Western' text there existed certain Gr-Syr. bilingual MSS, in which the Syr. exercised a powerful influence on the Greek. In summing up, he also quotes the review above mentioned in support of his conclusions. See *Syriac Element in Cod. Bezæ*, pp. 132–149; *Syro-Lat. Text of Gospels*, pp. 138–142. The arguments he brings forward do not depend on the validity of his general theory.

[¶] *Guardian*, May 25, 1892, p. 787.

[**] This is the theory of Rendel Harris, *Cod. Bezæ*, p. 226 sq. Resch believes that the archetype of Cod. Bez., Syr., and OL was a redaction of the ecclesiastical Gospel-Canon made about A.D. 140. See 'Aussercanonische Parallel-Texte,' *T. u. U.* x. 1, esp. pp. 35, 47.

We come, however, to actual facts when we make inquiry as to the first certain traces of the OL Version. How far back can it be traced? We can speak with absolute certainty of Cyprian. His works (especially the *Testimonia*) abound in biblical quotations. What is of greater importance, Cyp. usually [perhaps always] adheres to one particular type of text. This provides us with a fixed date and a standard. We can affirm that in the year 250 A.D. a Lat. tr^{n} of the Bible, whose characteristics we are able to determine, circulated at Carthage. But this is virtually identical with the OL Version of the Gospp. preserved in Cod. *k*, with Cod. *h* of Acts, a text used by Aug. in the *Acta cum Felice Manichæo* and *Contra Epist. Manich.*, and that of the *Comment. on the Apocalypse* by Primasius.[†] It stands also in a close relation with Cod. *e*, though a certain distance separates them.[‡] It is found in the biblical quotations of Lactantius, Firmicus Maternus, Optatus, Commodian, Auctor libri *de Promissionibus*, and, to a certain extent, Lucifer.[§] These facts may quite reasonably suggest that in Cyprian's time there was some official, ecclesiastical recognition of a particular type of text.[||] But is it possible to go behind the days of Cyprian? Certainly, in the earlier Father, Tertullian, whom Cyp. called 'magister,'[¶] there are some expressions bearing on this point which have to be reckoned with.

> *Adv. Marc.* v. 4 (Gal 4^{24}): Hæc sunt enim duo testamenta, siue, 'duæ ostensiones,' sicut inuenimus interpretatum. *C. Prax.* 5: ideoque jam in usu est nostrorum, per simplicitatem interpretationis, 'sermonem' dicere in primordio apud deum fuisse cum magis 'rationem' competat antiquiorem haberi. *De Monog.* 11: sciamus plane non sic esse in Græco authentico, quomodo in usum exiit per duarum syllabarum, aut callidam aut simplicem euersionem: 'si autem dormierit uir ejus' (1 Co 7^{39}). *Adv. Marc.* iv. 1: 'alterius instrumenti uel quod magis usui est dicere testamenti.'

These passages seem to show clearly that some definite usage already existed; that there was already some standard of tr^{n} to follow. But there is more marked evidence than this. *E.g.* Gal 3^{26} is thus quoted by Tert.[**] (*Adv. Marc.* v. 3): 'Omnes enim filii estis *fidei*.' Here, plainly, '*fidei*' must be a variant of the Lat. 'dei' and not of Greek θεοῦ. Tert. had a Lat. text before him, and evidently he had not compared it with the Gr. original. Now Tert.'s quotations from the Bible are numerous. What can be said of their relation to the Bible of Cyp.? The most rapid survey of Tert.'s quotations puts us on our guard against hasty inferences. For his method of quoting is most fickle.[*] Often his words are a mere paraphrase; often a more or less distinct reminiscence of the text: while constantly the same passage is cited in the most varying forms. The general impression which his biblical extracts leave is that of a tr^{n} which he uses, but does not regard as in any sense authoritative: which, perhaps, has only been for a short time known in Africa and is only gradually coming into use. This would find an adequate explanation if official sanction only ratified the version either a little before or in the days of Cyp. And yet the existence of such a tr^{n} is almost necessary to explain the richness and fulness of Tert.'s theological vocabulary. We have endeavoured to make a somewhat full collation of Tert.'s quotations with those in the *Testimonia* of Cyp.,[†] using mainly that part of Tert.'s works which has appeared in the *Vienna Corpus* of the Latin Fathers (vol. xx. pars 1), ed. A. Reifferscheid and G. Wissowa, and in addition Rönsch's *Das NT Tertullian's*. The results are rather vague and confusing. Evidently, in the Epp. Tert. and Cyp. use the same Lat. text. For the Gospp. the case is different. There is, indeed, a frequent agreement of Tert. with Cyp. and *k*, and, again, a frequent disagreement. In the latter instance, Tert. coincides pretty often with *a*, *b* against Cyp., *k*.[‡] In OT Tert. has some important points of contact with Cyp.'s text of Psalms. As regards the Pent. and the Prophetic books, it is not easy to speak definitely. In the former (in which the range of our collation has been very narrow), the differences seem mostly to consist in the use of synonyms. In the latter, the quotations come fairly close to each other, except in Dn, where Tert. uses the LXX, while Cyp. usually follows Theodotion.[§]

Even before a thorough investigation of the subject had been made, Hort, with his wonted grasp and insight, had undertaken a classification of the extant NT documents. The earliest group he named *African*, consisting of texts which agreed, on the whole, with the quotations of Tert. and Cyp. To this he assigns *k*, *e*, and *h* of Ac and Apoc. The second class he designates *European*, to embrace a type of text which may be either a revision of the 'African' or a separate tr^{n}, but which circulated at all events in North Italy and the West of Europe generally. Under this heading he would probably place *a*, a_2, *b*, *c*, ff_2, *h*, *i*, *n*, *r*, and *p* of Gospels; *g*, g_2, and *s* of Ac; perhaps *ff* of Ja and *g* of Apoc. The *third* family he names 'Italian.' The name is derived from the famous passage of Aug. (*de Doct. Christ.* ii. 15), in which he recommends a tr^{n} (interpretatio), which he calls '*Itala*,' and which is presumably the text which he usually follows. Now this is found often[||] to be a revision of the 'European' text.

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[*] *Guardian*, May 25, 1892, p. 787.

[†] See Sanday in *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. pp. xlii–cxxviii; Corssen, *Der Cyp. Text der Acta Apost.*, Berlin, 1892. It is of interest to note that the text nearest to *h* of Acts is the *margin* of the Philox. Syr., which has a most intimate relation with the OL. On the text of the *Testimonia*, which is a most important question for the OL Version, see Sanday, *op. cit.* p. 42 ff., and Appendix II. p. 123. Also his essay in *Stud. Bibl.* iii. 'The Cheltenham List,' etc. Dombart, *ZwTh.* 1879, p. 379 ff.

[‡] Cod. *e*, which has certainly an 'African' base, has suffered from the intrusion of other elements. See Sanday, *loc. cit.*

[§] Mr. F. C. Burkitt, however, who has kindly read this article in proof, holds that the biblical quotations in these writers are solely from the *Testimonia*.

[||] See Watson's remarks on Cyprian's low estimate of the OL Version, to which, nevertheless, he rigidly adhered. This suggests that the text he used had some official sanction. *Stud. Bibl.* iv. pp. 194–195.

[¶] Hieron. *de Vir. illustr.* 53.

[**] See Zimmer, *SK*, 1889, ii. p. 339.

[*] An excellent example is his citation of 1 Co 15^{47}, which appears in three of his separate treatises in three distinct forms. One of these is identical with Cyprian's text.

[†] Vol. iii. of *CSEL*, ed. Hartel. The *Vienna Corpus* furnishes by far the most trustworthy texts for the Lat. Fathers, and has been used for this article where available. But see on the text of the *Testimonia* in Hartel's ed. the references under n. † in preceding column.

[‡] Perhaps Tert. *may* have become acquainted with a 'European' form of text at Rome.

[§] For a full discussion of this last point, see F. C. Burkitt, *Old Latin and Itala*, p. 18 sq. Corssen, *Zwei neue Fragmente d. Weing. Propheten-MS*, Berlin, 1899, pp. 45–47, believes that not only did Tert. use various texts, but texts which already had mixed elements.

[||] Not always. The Bible of Aug. is a most variable quantity. See Corssen, *Der Cyp. Text*, etc. p. 25; Zycha, *CSEL*, vol. xxviii. sec. 3, pars 3, pp. v–vii.

To this class he refers *f* and *q* of Gospels; *q* (?), r, r_2, r_3 of the Epp. This enumeration omits many of the texts given in our list, some of which he hesitates to classify, while others, such as the Lat. texts of the bilingual MSS (Cod. Bezæ, Claromont. etc. etc.), he does not regard as strict evidence for OL Bible.[*] Let us briefly examine this classification in the light of recent investigations. As we have already seen, the earliest traces of the OL Bible are found in Africa. Perhaps the tr^n came there by way of Rome, whose connexion with Africa and Carthage at this time was as intimate as can be conceived.[†] Perhaps it travelled westward through Upper Egypt. Indeed, certain phenomena bearing upon the underlying Gr. text might seem to favour this hypothesis, notably a remarkable affinity here and there in OT with the recension of Hesychius, and in both OT and NT with Cod. Alex.[‡] In any case we are quite justified in giving the name '*African*' to the group of texts mentioned above in connexion with Cyp., although this makes no assumption as to their origin.[§] It is at this point that we enter on more uncertain ground. Are the 'European' texts a separate family from the 'African'? We believe that Sanday's suggestion quoted above, that a 'workshop' of MSS existed at the origin of the OL, is the most adequate yet put forward to account for the facts. For this is very much the impression made on an unbiassed mind. There are, assuredly, marked differences between the 'African' and 'European' texts, but they are not separated by any hard-and-fast lines. There are points at which they shade off into each other. Perhaps it may be allowable to regard *a*[||] (in Matthew, at least) as a connecting link between the 'African' and 'European' families. A credible tradition associates it with Eusebius, Bp. of Vercelli, situated between Milan and Turin, a part of Italy to which Gr. influence had not, in any powerful degree, extended, and where a Lat. Bible would be early required. Here, in Italy, it would be quite natural that many of the roughnesses of the original tr^n should be toned down, and that is, indeed, the character of 'European' in so far as it may be distinguished from 'African' Latin.[¶] The vividness of the latter gives place to a certain insipidity; there is a less bold use of compound expressions; some words have a large extension given to their meaning; there is a more normal use of the commoner parts of speech, such as prepositions and pronouns. Accordingly, the so-called 'African' elements in *a* may be merely the more marked traces left of the original tr^n or of one type of it. From a careful collation of the readings of the Lat. tr^n of Irenæus[**] with the leading MS authorities,[††] while *Iren. Lat.* stands constantly alone, there seems to be a more than accidental connexion between his text and that of *a*.[*] Perhaps *d*[†] (Lat. of *Cod. Bezæ*) is not far removed from this stage in the history of the text, and it is not improbable that *Cod. Bezæ* was written in Lyons where Irenæus was bishop. It should also be borne in mind that Irenæus, a native of Asia Minor, was in closest connexion with the East. And, as bearing upon this, the suggestion of Prof. Armitage Robinson must be noted, that already, in A.D. 177, a Lat. VS of the Bible was known to the narrator of the story of the martyrdoms at Vienne and Lyons.[‡] These facts seem to hint at a connexion between the earliest branch of the 'European' family and the South of Gaul.[§] A remarkable clue to the whole history of the version, as well as this special point, would be furnished if Blass'[||] theory of a double recension of Luke's writings were made good. The rough draft first made by Luke is seen, he holds, in the *Cod. Bezæ* especially and its allied documents. The second and more polished copy is the received text. But Luke has always been closely associated with Antioch. This would therefore be another line of evidence pointing to the birthplace of the version.

The most representative text of the 'European' group is the Verona MS *b*, which seems to have a close affinity with all the other members of this family.[¶] And yet here again we are reminded of the danger of sharply distinguished groups. For in some parts of *b* there are, possibly, signs of the 'Italian' revision already to be found,[**] while some markedly 'African' phenomena also reveal themselves.[††] An important subdivision of this group is that embraced by *r*[‡‡] and *p*.[§§] They seem to contain a specially *Irish* or *British* form of text which appears repeatedly in various Vulg. MSS.[||||] They often agree with the quotations of Fastidius and Gildas. And this goes far to suggest a British recension of the OL.[¶¶] It is quite natural that this British type of text should have intimate relations with the 'European' family, seeing that there was an established line of communication between Ireland especially and monasteries such as Bobbio and St. Gall in the North of Italy and Switzerland. Perhaps there is a hint to be gained in this direction bearing upon the whole history of the version. It is possible that every region of importance, ecclesiastically, may have had its own recension.[***] There are certainly traces of this in Spain also. And an important contribution to its history is made by the biblical quotations of Priscillian, whose works have been lately discovered by Dr. G. Schepss, and edited by him in vol. xviii. of *CSEL*. Those quotations, indeed, bear a great resemblance to the 'Late-African' group, which will be glanced at immediately, but they present special points of affinity with typical Spanish MSS, especially those of Leon.[*] Of the other 'European' texts, *g* and g_2 of Ac agree remarkably with that found in the numerous quotations of Lucifer, Bp. of Cagliari[†] (in Sardinia). *ff* of St. James[‡] appears also to be of this family, although there is probably an African colouring in its text. It is of importance to notice that 'European' texts were those most commonly used in Gaul. For this the chief witness is Hilary, Bp. of Poitiers.

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[*] See, for Hort's classification, Westcott and Hort's *NT*, ii. pp. 78-84.

[†] See Caspari, *Quellen z. Gesch. d. Taufsymbols*, iii. p. 456 ff.

[‡] Perhaps this affinity is better explained by later revision.

[§] It ought here to be noticed that P. Thielmann assigns to this class, and with good reason, the Lat. tr^n of Wis and Sir. See *Archiv*, viii. 2, p. 235 ff.; 4, p. 501 ff.

[||] Including a_2. It is interesting to find that the quotations of *Novatian* have a close resemblance to *a*. He was schismatic Bishop at Rome, and a contemporary of Cyprian. See Burkitt, *Old Lat.* etc. p. 16.

[¶] See Thielmann, *Archiv*, ix. 2, p. 247 ff.

[**] Surely there is a great deal of evidence for the earlier date of the Lat. tr^n of Iren. See Harnack, *Altchristl. Literatur*, vol. i. p. 267, ii. p. 667. Lipsius, *Dict. of Christian Biog.* ii. p. 256. Massuet's *Dissertatio*, ii. § 53, as reprinted by Stieren, *Iren. Opp.* Tom. ii. pp. 230-233.

[††] This was made possible by means of the full conspectus of variants printed in *Novum Testamentum S. Irenæi*, ed. by Sanday, and in course of publication by the Clarendon Press. Through Mr. C. H. Turner's great kindness, and the courtesy of the Clarendon Press, the writer has seen the proofs for the four Gospp.

[*] There is a distinctly isolated element in Irenæus. Is this specially 'Gallic'?

[†] See Rendel Harris, *Cod. Bezæ*, p. 160 ff.

[‡] See *Passion of S. Perpetua*, pp. 97–100.

[§] Perhaps there may have been even a 'Gallican' recension of the tr^n. The evidence for this is considerably augmented by biblical quotations from recently discovered *De Mysteriis* of Hilary and *Peregrinatio*. See Bernard, *Proc. of Royal Irish Acad.* 3rd ser. vol. ii. No. 2, p. 155 ff.

[||] See references under *Cod. Bezæ* in list of MSS. But Blass himself would assign the origin of the 'Western' text to Rome. See *Acta Apost. sec. formam Romanam*, 1896, p. 7.

[¶] Perhaps its most intimate connexion is with *q* and *i*.

[**] See *OL Texts*, ii. Append. III. p. 136.

[††] *Ib.* Addenda, p. 139.

[‡‡] In the European group, *r* is said to stand closest to *h*. From collations we have made, it has certainly a great resemblance to *b*.

[§§] See *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. pp. 206–212. Points of contact are shown between *p* and *d*.

[||||] Many readings in the Book of Mulling recall Cod. *r*. See H. J. Lawlor, *Book of Mulling*, Edin. 1897, esp. pp. 55–63, 134, 144. Most thorough discussion of affinities of Irish OL text. Concludes that Irish VS was prob. not indigenous. The VS on which it was founded, and from which its African, Italian, and *d* elements are derived, may have come from the region wh. gave birth to *h*. Another distinctively *Irish* text in Book of Armagh, which seems to have a definite relation to the Spanish texts. See Berger, *Hist. de la Vulg.* pp. 34 ff. 32 ff.

[¶¶] See especially the most important, Append. G in Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils*, etc. vol. i. pp. 170-198.

[***] See Wordsworth, *Academy*, Nov. 13, 1869.

There is a less marked distinction between the 'European' and 'Italian' groups than between the former and the 'African.' For, admittedly, the 'Italian' is a revision of the 'European.' We have already referred to the derivation of the name from Aug.'s celebrated dictum, *de Doct. Chris.* ii. 15: in ipsis autem interpretationibus *Itala* ceteris præferatur, nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ. A keen discussion has centred round the expression 'Itala.' Bentley went the length of proposing to read 'illa . . . quæ' for 'Itala . . . nam.' This proposal has been revived by Corssen,[§] who seeks to show that it fits in with the context. But this is merely to cut the knot. We cannot help believing that the true solution is that suggested by an admirable article in the *Theolog. Review* for 1874 by Kenrick, who proves beyond doubt that Northern Italy by the end of the 3rd cent. was regularly known under the name 'Italia.'[||] But this was the very region in which Aug. had first become acquainted with the Scriptures. And the quotations of Ambrose, his teacher and guide, agree with this 'Italian' type of text. Is it not, at least, probable that this revision was made in N. Italy, and so naturally became known to Augustine?[¶]

Burkitt has recently essayed to prove that Aug. here means nothing else than the Vulg. of Jerome.[**] His main argument is the Gospel quotations in the *De Consensu Evangelistarum* and a passage in the *Contra Felicem*. It cannot be doubted that the text of the Gospp. in the former stands in closest agreement with the Vulg.; while the latter also appears to be Jerome's revision, though it stands side by side with an 'African' text of Acts. Yet it must be remembered that, in the Gospels, texts like *f* and ff_2 are in close agreement with the Vulg., and there would always be the tendency to correct Aug.'s text according to Vulg. readings. This latter hypothesis would quite account for the phenomena in *Contra Felicem*. But, even supposing Aug. did (as he quite well may have done) use the Vulg. in this treatise, how can this be used to prove that he designates it by the name 'Itala' in the celebrated passage quoted? Surely the data are insufficient to justify so wide a generalization.[††]

This 'Italian' revision has regard both to *readings* and *renderings*. It is an attempt to soften the harsher Lat. tr^{n}, while, at the same time, the Lat. text is corrected according to a non-Western and late group of Gr. MSS.[*]

The leading representative is *f*. *q* is also usually assigned to this family; but, as Mr. White[†] has shown, 'if it be Italian in its readings, it is European in its renderings.' Indeed *q* shows a mixture of various elements,[‡] having close relations to *k*, *b*, *f*, g_1, and *a*. The other most important representative of this group is to be found in the Freisingen Fragg. of the Epistles.[§] These exhibit a remarkable resemblance to the quotations of Aug. and Capreolus, Bp. of Carthage. Perhaps we ought to mention here an interesting type of text found chiefly in the Catholic Epp. It is the Late-African of the epoch of the Vandal supremacy.[||] It is found in *h* of Cath. Epp.; apparently in 1 J[¶] of the Freisingen Fragg., and in Fulgentius, Bp. of Ruspe. It was probably derived from the 'Italian' type, but greatly modified by its transference to Africa. The important text of the 'Speculum' (*m*) probably belongs to this group,[**] and, though not entirely of the same type, we may assign to it the Fleury Apocalypse (*h*). Berger would place the text of Priscillian as the transition between the 'Italian' family and this 'Late-African' group.

There still remains a large number of texts which have not been classified. These are the Gr.-Lat. MSS, in which the Gr. text must, of course, have had a powerful influence upon the Latin.[††] There is Cod. Colbertinus (*c*), a MS of Languedoc, which has 'African,' 'European,' and Vulg. elements. g_1[‡‡] seems to be distinctly 'European' in St. Matthew, although 'Italian' and, at times, Vulg. readings appear. *l* has apparently a Vulg. base with numerous OL readings intermixed.[§§] The Lat. interlinear version of Cod. Sangallensis (δ) is shown to contain, at least, a very important OL element, which sometimes goes back to the earlier stages of the 'European' text.[||||] The latest OL text of Acts discovered by Berger in a MS of Perpignan occupies 'a central position in the midst of the various recensions.'[¶¶] It seems to have a Spanish colouring, but yet to belong to the same general family as the Gigas (*g*), *s* (Bobb. Frag.), the Frag. in the Rosas

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[*] See Berger, *Hist. de la Vulg.* pp. 8 ff. (esp. pp. 27–28). The Frag. of Sir, lately published by Douais, belongs to the Spanish family, and Berger's Perpignan Frag. of Acts has apparently a connexion with the Spanish text. It is of some importance to find that the poet Juvencus, prob. a Spaniard by birth, is nearest, in his biblical text, to *a* and *h*.

[†] When Lucifer has an 'African' text, he is usually quoting directly the works of Cyprian.

[‡] In this Ep. the remarkable resemblance between the 'Speculum' (*m*) and Priscillian is very clear.

[§] *Jahrbücher f. prot. Theol.* 1881, pp. 510–512.

[||] See pp. 326–328. [¶] See Ceriani, *Rendiconti*, etc. 1886, pp. 4, 5.

[**] *Old-Latin and Itala*, pp. 55–65. The suggestion had been previously made by Reuss in the 2 and 3 edd. of his *History of the NT*, that the 'Itala' of Aug. might be Jerome's first tr^{n} of the Bible from the LXX. See also C. A. Breyther, *Diss. de vi, quam antiq. Verss. . . . lat. in crisin evang. iv. habeant*, Merseb. 1824.

[††] Would not the fact, which Burkitt adduces, that the Vulg. Gospels were published under the auspices of Pope Damasus, have suggested, almost inevitably, the epithet 'Romana'? But so weighty an authority as Berger is inclined to believe that the solution of the question may be found in the direction indicated by Burkitt. See *Bulletin Critique*, Sept. 5, 1896. So also Zahn in *Theolog. Lit.-Bl.* xvii. No. 31, and Corssen, *Bericht über die latein. Bibelübersetzungen*, p. 5.

[*] 'The "Western" MSS DG (in the Epp.) are usually found on the side of those readings which the "Italian" MSS have rejected.' See Zimmer, *SK*, 1889, ii. p. 354.

[†] *OL Bibl. Texts*, iii. p. xxi. [‡] 'Ein sehr buntes Ding' (Corssen).

[§] Perhaps this text had an official sanction, as is assumed with reason for the version of Cyprian.

[||] See Berger, *Le Palimpseste de Fleury*, pp. 15–18.

[¶] This text seems almost identical with the 'Speculum.'

[**] But see an import. article in *Classical Review*, iv. pp. 414–417, by Sanday, in which he suggests that 'the Speculum was put together somewhere in the circle in which Priscillian moved, and from a copy of the Bible which, if not exactly his, was yet closely related to it' (p. 416). This is certainly borne out by a comparison of OT passages in Priscill. and the 'Speculum.'

[††] But is not Hort's estimate of the value of the Lat. texts too low? (*Introduction*, p. 82). There is a very close agreement in the Epp. between the Lat. of Cod. Clarom. and Cod. Bœrner. and the quotations in Victorinus and Ambrosiaster. On the basis of this, Zimmer has made out, at least, a strong case for three types of text in the Epp. (1) 'Princeps' = text found in Tert. and Cyp. (2) 'Communis' = text of Clarom.—Bœrn.—Victorin.—Ambros^{ter}, being a revision of (1), with closer adherence to Gr. original. (3) Bible of Aug., Freis., and Göttweig Fragg. A typical example of the 'Italian' revision. See *SK*, 1889, ii. p. 331 f. Also, *Der Galater-Brief im alt. latein. Text*, Königsberg, 1887.

[‡‡] Thus, *e.g.*, in Mt 2, a minute collation of authorities shows that *a b q* respectively are closer to g_1 than to each other or any of the remaining Lat. authorities.

[§§] ['Vulg. in Mt and Mk, OL in Lk, mixed (but chiefly Vulg.) in Jn'—Burkitt].

[||||] See Harris, *Cod. Sangall.* p. 19.

[¶¶] See Berger, *Un ancien texte Latin*, pp. 11–18. He asks whether in Acts there is any distinction between 'European' and 'Italian' texts. We are inclined to think that the same question might be relevant as regards the Pauline Epp.

Bible,[*] and Cod. *e* (Laudianus) of 'Acts,' *i.e.* to the 'European' group.

For NT authorities, Hort's learning and judgment have laid a sound basis of classification. In the case of OT MSS such a grouping does not yet exist. And any attempt at furnishing principles of genealogical relationship seems beset on every side with no ordinary difficulties. The reasons are plain. Only in rare instances have we a variety of documents covering the same ground. Even when this is the case, their fragmentary nature renders it unsafe or impossible to generalize. In OT the quotations of the Fathers are, as a rule, specially perplexing, because, by this time, the text of the LXX had reached an almost hopeless state of confusion. It is only when a thorough examination of the principal cursives of the LXX has been made that order can be brought into the chaos. We do not propose, therefore, to attempt a classification. All we can do is to give the results of a more or less minute comparison of the leading witnesses for OT. Let us follow the order in the list of MSS above.

Hexateuch.—We have here our best opportunity for comparing various texts, as there are *four* authorities which cover, to a great extent, the same ground. These are Cod. Lugdunensis, Cod. Wirceburg., Cod. Monacens., and the Fragg. of Cod. Ottobon. A comparison of the four texts reveals, at first sight, some strange phenomena. In *Gn* there is a close agreement between Cod. Ottob. and Cod. Lugd. In *Ex*, Cod. Lugd. and Cod. Wirceb. apparently belong to the same tr., while the Munich MS seems to stand by itself. Cod. Ottob., which appears to have suffered grievously by corruption, has a possible resemblance to the two first-named MSS. In *Lv* there is a good deal of variation between the three chief texts (Ottob. not extant). In *Nu* and *Dt* we find that Cod. Lugd. and Cod. Monac. have, without question, the same source, while the relation to them of Cod. Wirceb. is difficult to determine. When we compare patristic quotations with the texts, it is striking to discover that those of Lucifer have a remarkable resemblance both to Cod. Lugd. and to Cod. Wirceb. What can be said of such complex results? We believe the solution lies in taking into account the underlying Gr. text. Accepting the classifications made by Ceriani[†] and Lagarde[‡] in reference to the Lucianic, Hesychian, and Palestinian recensions of the LXX, we find phenomena such as the following. In a section of *Gn* in which we have compared Cod. Wirceb. with the chief Gr. authorities, the result shows the most extraordinary mixture. On the whole, Cod. Wirceb. comes closest to the 'Cotton' Genesis (D), but the Bodleian E also finds a place. There are distinct traces, in addition, of 'Lucianic' readings, and the Pal. recension is not wanting. A similar collocation in *Ex* confirms the mingling of elements in the text. Here, Cod. Wirceb. shows an intimate relation with AF and Hesychius, but there is also a Lucianic strain throughout. Following the same method with Cod. Lugd. in *Lv*, we reach a like result. From the definite facts already stated, and the total impression left by repeated comparison of texts, we are led to believe that in this group of writings the extant documents probably go back to an original trⁿ of which they are recensions. Only, the extraordinary variety of LXX texts prevalent in the age when the MSS were transcribed caused an unusual amount of correction and mixture of readings in the various documents.[§] This is quite sufficient to account for the manifold differences. And it is to be observed that some portions suffered from this process far more severely than others. Probably, we might not be wrong in placing the above-mentioned MSS parallel to the later 'European' texts[*] of NT, if not to the 'Italian.' They have something in common both with the quotations in Ambrose and those of the 'Speculum' (*m*). The Fragg. of *Gn* pub. by Conybeare come closest to Cod. Lugd. and S. Ambrose.

Historical Books.—According to our list, these consist of Ruth, Fragg. of Samuel and Kings, and Esther. Apparently, the text of *Ru*, which is 'Spanish,' agrees almost exactly with the quotations of Ambrose, and so may be designated 'Italian.'[†] The Fragg. of Samuel and Kings, while having their origin in different countries, are linked together in various ways. They all seem to have an intimate connexion with the recension of Lucian,[‡] while they have the closest resemblance to the quotations of Lucifer, Ambrose, and Claudius of Turin. Accordingly, they may be classed, perhaps, as early 'Italian.'[§] In *Est* much confusion is found among the extant texts, perhaps arising from the fact that only a 'résumé,' as Berger calls it, and not a complete version, existed in the OL Bible. We have compared Sabatier's text, which is from a Corbey MS No. 7 (at Paris), with that of the Munich MS pub. by Belsheim, the Vallicellian text (in Sabatier), and the extracts given by Berger from a Lyons MS. Probably, this last is the best. It resembles closely the Vallicellian text and that of Belsh. (which appear to us to be almost identical), while the Corb. text in Sabat., owing to mutilations and corruptions,[‖] seems a long way inferior to all the others. Here, again, we may perhaps go the length of saying that one trⁿ seems to lie at the foundation, but it has undergone much revision and corruption from a comparison with Gr. texts which had been subject to an exceptional amount of mixture. From an almost entire lack of quotations in the Fathers it is impossible to attempt to localize the text. There are frequent traces of the 'Lucianic' recension.

Poetical Books.—The extant remains of *Job* are so scanty that it is difficult to come to any conclusion regarding the text. Apparently, the Frag. of Fleury, which is found both in the 'Speculum' and Priscillian, belongs to the earliest form of the Lat. VS, following the same type of Gr. text as Cyp. and Lucif., and therefore, perhaps, being entitled to the designation 'African.'

According to Burkitt,[¶] a second type of OL is found in the quotations of Ambrose, based on the leading uncials of the LXX and in intimate connexion with the Greek. The Fragg. which Berger has pub. from the margin of the Leon Cod. also reveal a close attachment to the Greek (esp. Cod. A), and coincide most frequently with the quotations of Ambr. and Aug. Perhaps the two last types of text ought to be called 'Italian.'

For a genuinely 'African' text of Ps our most trustworthy authority is MS L. of Cyprian's *Testimonia*. The Verona and St. Germain Psalters both exhibit a later type of text, although the former has suffered less revision. It would be rash to specify either text definitely as 'European' or 'Italian.' A noteworthy feature is that the Verona MS shows a striking agreement with Aug.'s text of Ps, while decidedly marked is the affinity between the St. Germ. Psalter and the quotations of Cassiodorus the Calabrian. The portions of the OL Psalter found in the Mozarabic Liturgy belong to this latter type of text.[*]

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[*] See Berger, *Hist. de la Vulg.* pp. 24, 25.

[†] See A. M. Ceriani, *Le recens. dei LXX e la vers. lat. detta Itala* (Rendiconti del R. Istituto Lombardo, Feb. 18, 1886), and the numerous references to his other works given there.

[‡] See Lagarde, *Ankündigung einer neuen Ausg. der griech. Uebersetz. des AT*, Götting. 1882, esp. pp. 25-30. Also his *Libr.* [illegible]

[§] See Wellhausen, Bleek's *Einleit. in das AT*⁴, pp. 580-594.

[*] Rendel Harris points out some very curious resemblances in spelling between Cod. *d* and Cod. Lugd., which go to suggest, he thinks, that both were Rhône-valley MSS (*Study of Cod. Bez.* pp. 29, 30).

[†] See Berger, *Notice*, pp. 12, 13.

[‡] See Lagarde, *Septuaginta-Studien*, 1892, i. pp. 71, 72; Driver, *Notes on Heb. Text of Samuel*, pp. lxxvii-lxxxii; Burkitt, *Old-Latin and Itala*, p. 9.

[§] See Berger, *op. cit.* pp. 14, 15.

[‖] Still more defective appears to be the Cod. Pechianus which Sab. gives for the latter part of the book. OL of *Est* is to be pub. by Thielmann.

[¶] *Old-Latin*, etc. pp. 8, 32-34.

Proverbs.—Here we can distinguish two recensions. The one is represented by Vogel's Fragg., which agree with the quotations of Cyp. and Vigilius of Thapsus, having also a close resemblance to the 'Speculum.' It may be designated 'African.' The other is seen in the Fragg. of the St. Gall MS, No. 11. These have their chief parallels in Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine. They therefore belong to the 'Italian' family.

The Fragg. of *Ecclesiastes* and *Canticles* named in our list are of precisely the same character as the second recension in Proverbs. We may here note that for OT it seems even more difficult than in the NT to draw a line between 'European' and 'Italian' texts. Often, indeed, there appears to be none.

Prophetical Books.—In attempting to classify the extant OL texts of the Prophets, we are met, as in the Hexateuch, by the difficulty of conflicting evidence. Fortunately, part of the ground has been cleared by Burkitt in his *Rules of Tyconius.* Much of what follows depends on his important investigations. The extant Fragg. of the Prophets plainly do not belong to the oldest stratum of the OL tr^{n}. It is needful, therefore, to begin as usual with Cyprian; as we have seen, Tertullian's quotations are of doubtful value. Now, Burkitt has clearly proved[†] that Tyconius the Donatist (*c.* A.D. 400) used an OL version of the Prophets (in Isaiah at least[‡]) almost identical with that of Cyp., the only difference being a slight revision of the Latin. How does this writer stand towards our two chief MS authorities, the Weingarten (*w*) and Würzburg (*h*) Fragg.? At many points he is in close agreement with both, but especially, perhaps (*e.g.* in Ezk), with *w*. Now, a comparison of *w* and *h* shows so many agreements in proportion to differences that we cannot help believing that they are copies of the same tr^{n} of the Prophets, whose variation is accounted for by varying elements in the Gr. texts by which they were revised.[§] In *h*, *e.g.* in the midst of a great mixture of types, the Luc. strain is considerably more prominent than in *w*.[‖] Accordingly, we may perhaps call *h* an 'Italian' text;[¶] its coincidences with Ambrose, and to a less extent with Augustine, are noteworthy. *w* is possibly an earlier revision of the same tr^{n}.[**] It is interesting to note that Tyc. has a text essentially the same in the Prophets as another Donatist, Habetdeus, whose quotations can be assigned to the year A.D. 411. And to make the coincidence still more important, it is found that the St. Gall Frag. of Jeremiah has remarkable points of connexion with the biblical text used by a Donatist in the pseudo-Augustinian *Contra Fulgentium Donatistam.* This goes some way to establish a Donatist tradition of the OL version.[*]

A comparison of Tyc. with the 'Speculum' reveals a far greater amount of difference than between the former and Cyprian. But there is so much important resemblance that the variation is probably due to a gradual revision of the language in *m*. This, as Burkitt points out, greatly enhances the value of the 'Speculum,' though a late text, for the criticism of the LXX.[†]

In some passages the 'Spec.' has a very close connexion with *h*, while in others it is entirely different. In comparing the quotations of Tertull. and Cyp., with reference to the Gr., for another purpose, the writer was surprised to find that in the Book of *Daniel*, while Cyp. sometimes used Theodotion's version and at others the LXX, Tert. seemed invariably to follow the latter. The whole subject has been thoroughly investigated by Burkitt,[‡] who proves beyond question, that while Theodotion was followed as early as the 3rd cent. by Auctor *de Pascha Computus*, and thenceforward throughout the Lat. Church (also in *h* and *w* of Prophets), Tertull. adhered to the LXX, as also, to some extent, did Cyp., whose text is mixed.[§] This shows the varying histories of the several books of Scripture, a fact which has been already noticed in regard to NT.

APOCRYPHA. Fourth [*Second*] *Esdras.*—The texts of this book have been accurately studied, with the result that the leading authorities fall into two groups. Two MSS, Cod. Sangermanensis (pub. by Sab.) at Paris (Bibl. nat. lat. 11504–5) and Cod. Ambianensis (Amiens, Bibl. Communale 10) have a 'French' text; the other two, Cod. Complut. (Madrid Univ. 31) and Cod. Mazarinæus (Paris), present a 'Spanish' type of text. The other extant texts are related to these two families.[‖]

Third (*First*) *Esdras.*—Here, again, we possess two types of text, both of which are represented in Sab., and one of which is the Vulg. Both texts are evidently of great antiquity, presenting many of the most typical characteristics of the 'African' group. Probably, Vulg. is an emended form of the other version.

Tobit.—As appears from our list, there are many MSS extant of the OL version of Tobit. So far as we can judge, they all go back to one tr^{n}, though considerable differences exist. A rough comparison leads us to believe that the leading texts are related somewhat as follows: Sabatier's text (derived from MSS lat. 93 and 11505 at Paris) seems closest to the quotations of Lucifer. Slightly different from it are Paris MS lat. 11553 and Munich 6239, which agree closely. Cod. Regio-Vat. No. 7 is more independent of the other texts, and may be, perhaps, a separate translation.[¶] It contains only chs. i.–vi. The rest is Vulgate. The quotations in *Speculum* seem to show a third recension.

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[*] There seems to be a close resemblance in Ps between Priscillian and the 'Speculum.' The Latin Psalter with Anglo-Saxon paraphr. pub. by Thorpe, Oxf. 1835, is almost identical with the so-called 'Roman' Psalter of Jerome, although occasionally it diverges. The text of Cassiod. has also a most intimate connexion with Roman Psalter.

[†] *Rules of Tyconius*, pp. lii–cvii.

[‡] It must be noted that there is a considerable difference between Tyconius' text of Is and of Ezk. See important table on p. cvi of *op. cit.* Burkitt suggests that perhaps there was 'a partial revision of the African Bible anterior to Cyprian,' the result of which is seen in the text of Ezk in Tyc. This point has been already brought forward in connexion with the quotations of Cyprian.

[§] See also Cornill, *Das Buch d. Proph. Ezech.* p. 31 ff. But see Corssen's most important discussion of the two MSS in *Zwei neue Fragmente d. Weing. Propheten-MS*, Berlin, 1899, in which he shows that the variation is largely due to the insertion of glosses in the texts.

[‖] May it be that the infusion of this element into OT texts corresponds to the 'Antiochene' revision of NT? Since this was written, we are interested to see that Sanday is inclined to assign the above-named revision to Lucian (*Oxf. Debate*, p. 29).

[¶] Streane, *Double Text of Jeremiah*, p. 370, shows that for Jer *h* is non-African and prob. Italian. His searching investigation goes to confirm our hypothesis.

[**] Ranke shows that *w* has points of contact with Arnobius, Lucifer, Ambrose, and Hesychius (a Dalmatian bishop). See *Fragmenta . . . Antehieron.* fasc. 2, pp. 122, 123. This would suggest a very wide diffusion. An attempt to trace points of agreement and differences between the two texts (*w* and *h*) and the Fathers has led, on the whole, only to confusing results. Clearly, we have much yet to learn regarding the OL version (or versions) of the Prophets.

[*] Cf. Rendel Harris on the Montanist character of Cod. Bezæ (*Study of Cod. Bez.* p. 148 ff.).

[†] *Rules of Tycon.* p. lxiv.

[‡] *Old Latin and Itala*, pp. 18–31.

[§] This mixed text also found in Lactantius and Firmicus Maternus.

[‖] See *Fourth Book of Ezra*, by Bensly and James, pp. xii–xxii.

[¶] See Fritzsche, *Hdbuch zu. d. Apokryphen*, ii. pp. 5, 11.

Judith.—As in To, the OL of Jth appears in a variety of MSS. While one original lies, apparently, behind all the texts, it appears to us that Mun. MS 6239 has the oldest type of text. A somewhat longer and perhaps later form is found in the text of Sabatier (Paris MSS lat. 93, 11505). The Paris MS 11553 seems to have a mixed text, now agreeing with Mun. MS, now with Sabat. MS lat. 11549 (at Paris), while somewhat mixed, agrees perhaps more often with Mun. MS.[*]

Wisdom of Solomon.—As already pointed out, this is proved to be an 'African' text. It seems to be fully as old as Cyp.[†]

Sirach.—The Vulg. text of this book is also 'African' Latin. Curiously enough, however, chs. 44–50 are shown by Thielmann[‡] to have been tr^{d}. later than chs. 1–43, 51, and they belong to the 'European' type of text. The Prologue is also 'European.' The Frag. ed. by Douais is apparently a 'Spanish' text, being a revision of the primitive 'African' version.

Baruch.—Two main types of text, so far as we can judge from the published MSS, are extant in this book. The one is the Vulg., which agrees with the quotations of Cyp., Vigilius, and, as a rule, Fulgentius. The other, which is not far removed, is represented by Paris MS 11951, Rheims MS No. 1, and Vallicell. B. 7 (all in Sab.). We cannot say much as to patristic evidence, but at times, at least, it is corroborated by the quotations of Hilary and Augustine.[§]

Maccabees.—In 1 Mac two forms of text can be traced. The one is the Vulg. The other, which in many passages is identical with the Vulg. and then disagrees to a great extent, is found in Paris MS lat. 11553, pub. by Sabat. It agrees uniformly with the quotations of Lucifer, which are very numerous in this book. Berger points out that this latter rests on the same tradition as that of Cod. Complut., while there are readings in the Leon Palimpsest (Chapter Lib. No. 15) which seem to lie behind the St. Germain text in Sab.[‖] A mixed text, according to Berger, is found in the Lyons MS No. 356.

In 2 Mac we find several versions more or less distinct. The Vulg. stands by itself. A mixed text is that of Lyons MS 356.[¶] The text of Cod. Complut. is of a different type from the Vulg. We have not been able to see the text from Ambrosian MS E. 26 infer., pub. by A. Peyron.[**] Berger (*Hist. de la Vulg.* p. 138) says of it: 'The version . . . preserved by our MS is not found elsewhere, and is of extreme importance.'[††]

A few words ought to be said, before we conclude this article, upon the Gr. text which underlies the OL version. For, after all, its primary importance consists in the evidence it furnishes for the original Gr. text of both OT and NT. Obviously, the inquiry is very wide in its range. We can only give the barest outline; and even this, in the present condition of the investigation, is incomplete and provisional. Two most important and suggestive statements are made by Hort as to the type of Gr. text circulating at the period with which we are here concerned. 'The text of D presents a truer image of the form in which the Gospels and Acts were most widely read in the 3rd and probably a great part of the 2nd cent. than any other extant Gr. MS.' And again: 'A, both in the Gospels and elsewhere, may serve as a fair example of the MSS that, to judge by patristic quotations, were commonest in the 4th cent.' (*Introd.* pp. 149, 152). These words, in our view, have a very significant bearing on the question before us. For it has become sufficiently clear that the period from the middle of the 2nd cent. to the end of the 4th is the most important for the OL version. Keeping them in mind, let us come to the actual facts, in so far as we are able to present them.

The NT must be our starting-point. What can be said as to the earliest group of texts, presumably the 'African' family? Cod. *k*, which, as we have seen, agrees with Cyp., is the most important witness. Fortunately, Sanday, in the work so often quoted, has a valuable Appendix on 'the Gr. text implied by *k*.'[*] Elaborate lists showing the relation of *k* to the leading Gr. authorities plainly declare that the main elements in its text are the 'Western' (as represented by D) and the 'Neutral' (א B in particular). The 'Western' strain slightly predominates. As regards the kindred Cod. *e*, a collation we have attempted of several long sections from the Gospp. reveals a close relation with B and one almost as intimate with D, א, and A. The one fact which strikes us in comparing the two sets of results is that A has become an important factor in Cod. *e*. When the 'European' group is investigated, it is interesting to note the changing of places by the MSS. We have taken *a* and *b* as typical texts, and the results for both are, on the whole, congruous, except that א seems to have a much more important place in *b* than in *a*. In both, B loses the prominent position which it occupied in the 'African' group. D has, of course, a predominating influence, but it is closely followed by A. Indeed it looks as if, in the Gospp. at least, the influence of A were among the chief forces in differentiating the 'European' from the 'African' group. And this seems to coincide remarkably with Hort's hypothesis of a Syrian recension, perhaps made at Antioch, about the beginning or a little before the beginning of the 4th cent., whose influence spread in all directions. For, in the Gospp., 'A has a fundamentally Syrian text.' In any case, the great increase in the A element is plainly no accidental circumstance, but, as we shall find in the OT, a fact intimately bound up with a certain stage of the OL version.

We have taken *f* as representative of the 'Italian' texts. The facts which a minute examination of long sections in Mt, Mk, and Lk brings out are of the kind we might expect. There is, apparently, a great mixture of elements in the underlying Greek. One of the most noteworthy of these is represented by Cod. L, itself a very mixed text, containing early readings mingled with 'Alexandrian,' 'Western,' and 'Syrian' elements. Cod. C is also prominent, which again is composed of most various forms of text. As invariably, D is still an important factor, while A also appears to have lost little ground. א and B have not regained the place they occupied in the 'African' group. In Ac, as we have seen, we can at least distinguish between the 'African' and

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[*] Scholz in *Comm. über das Buch Judith* (Würzburg, 1896), p. xxiii f., considers that Paris MS 11549 (Cod. Corb. in Sab.) is a private tr^{n}, though closely related to the other. He would also assign importance to Cod. Pechianus (in Sab.), which he believes to be directly transl. from a Greek text with the help of the OL. It stands closest to Paris MS 11553 and agrees with the quotations of Lucifer. The quotations of Fulgentius most resemble the text of Sabat. which is a 'Gallic' text. Perhaps the Munich MS may be 'African.' See also Fritzsche, *Hdbuch.* ii. p. 119, and Thielmann, *Beitr. z. Text-Krit. d. Vulgata*, Speier, 1883. Thielm. is to pub. OL of Tob, Jud, Sap, and Sir.

[†] See Thielmann, *Archiv*, viii. 2, p. 235 ff.

[‡] *Archiv*, ix. 2, p. 247 ff. A most important and valuable article. But see a noteworthy criticism by Geyer in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, xcviii. p. 83.

[§] See also Kneucker, *Das Buch Baruch*, Leipz. 1879.

[‖] See Berger, *Notice*, pp. 33–38.

[¶] Its base is Vulgate.

[**] As an Appendix to his *MT Ciceronis Orationum pro Scauro . . . fragm. inedd.*, Stuttgart, 1824.

[††] On OL of Apocr. see also Schürer's valuable art. 'Apokryphen' in *PRE*^{3}, and the introductions to Kautzsch's 'Die Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen d. AT.'

[*] *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. Append. i. pp. 95–122.

'European' texts, represented most typically by the Fleury Palimpsest (the text of Cyp.) and the Gigas (the text of Lucif.) respectively. From Corssen's investigation[*] it is plain that the former depends on a 'Western' text even more uniform than D. The latter, so far as a rough survey of its readings can reveal, has a very mixed character. D is a prominent factor in it, perhaps the most prominent. Of the other more important uncials, E, and at some distance A and C, seems the best represented.[†] One has the impression of a text belonging to a time of revision. And the phenomena found here appear to justify Berger's query as to whether, in Ac, there is any distinction between 'European' and 'Italian' readings.[‡] Space forbids any further examination of the NT books except that we may point out that the chief of OL versions of the Epistles[§] (except Freis. Fragg.) seem to depend for their text mainly on D and G, whether separate or combined, and often on the group D G K L.[||] The Freis. Fragg. have a far greater mixture of elements, being apparently revised from MSS such as C A ℵ L (while their basis is D G). In the Apoc. the text of Primasius seems[¶] to approach closest to that of Andreas of Cæsarea, and Cod. P; but there remains an important element peculiar to himself.[**]

As regards the Gr. text underlying the OL of the OT, our statements must be even more general and provisional. For the leading uncial MSS of the LXX have never been grouped, and we cannot, with any definiteness, state their mutual relations. And the cursives, which in the LXX are of unique importance, have received little investigation. Hence there are few ascertained data on which to base any reasonable hypothesis. Certainly, the classification into families of texts, and the marking off of stages in their history, would be a difficult task. For this tr$^{\text{n}}$ must have undergone from first to last the most varied treatment. The original Gr. VS, the rival tr$^{\text{ns}}$ of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus, the attempt of Origen to purify the text, the subsequent recensions of Eusebius, Lucian, and Hesychius, all have conspired to produce a chaos in the MSS of the LXX. This has a bewildering effect on the comparison of the OL with the underlying Gr. No doubt we may say that the earliest Lat. VS of the OT must have been made from the pre-hexaplar Gr. text which was in common use.[††] But we know little of its history. It must also have been subjected to various forms of corruption. We cannot identify it with the genuine LXX. We are also unable to state definitely the relation borne to it by the great extant uncials and those groups of cursives which are assumed (with more or less reason) to be particular recensions. Accordingly, the following notes must be somewhat vague and hypothetical.

In the books which apparently preserve a fundamentally '*African*' text, such as *Sirach*, we might expect to find a relatively pure Gr. text at their base. Nor are we, on the whole, disappointed. This OL text shows a close relation to Cod. 248, which is here, perhaps, the best representation of the original Gr. text.[‡‡] But, in the words of Lagarde,[*] 'all the MSS of the Gr. tr$^{\text{n}}$ of the OT are either directly or indirectly the result of an eclectic procedure.' This is the key to the phenomena of the OL version of the OT.[†] When we come to examine the large group of OT texts which we have designated either '*European*' or '*Italian*' (and the boundary between them is, at least, a fluctuating one), the result is most confusing. In the *Hexateuch*, as already observed, there appears an almost indefinite amount of mixture. It is, perhaps, useless to ask to which of the great uncials the leading MSS are most nearly related. For other elements intrude continually. Here and there, indeed, a definite relationship reveals itself, as, *e.g.*, in Exodus where Cod. Wirceb. has a distinct connexion with the group A F. But, as a rule, both in it, in Cod. Lugd., and in Cod. Monac. there are constant traces of Hesychian[‡] and Lucianic readings, as well as relations of an undefinable kind to the leading uncials.

In the *Historical* books it can, at least, be affirmed that the recension of Lucian is one of the prominent elements lying at the basis of the text.[§] This is specially noticeable in the Vienna Fragg. of Samuel and the Leon Fragg. of Kings. Ceriani had observed the agreement of 'Lucianic' MSS with the text of Ambrose and the 'Speculum.' And thus he is led to believe that the 'Italian' revision of OT (which perhaps includes the 'European') had, partly at least, for its standard, some MSS of the same type as those used by Lucian in his recension. At the same time, A and B cannot be ignored. Indeed, as Lagarde has pointed out,[||] Cod. A has a specially close connexion with the OL text of OT which asserts itself here and there.[¶] When the *Prophetic* books are examined, this becomes more evident. In Ezk, *e.g.*, Cornill has shown that the text both of *h* and *w* has close relations with A, although these are sometimes obscured by Hexaplaric omissions and insertions, or confused by later corrections and corruptions.[**] The same holds of other books, *e.g.* the OL of *Job*.[††] It is a noteworthy fact, and suggests a real connexion between the OL of OT and NT at a certain stage, as we have already seen the prominent place A occupies in all but the oldest NT texts. Considerations of space prevent us from lingering on this most important but complicated department of our subject. We cannot do better than close with a quotation from Burkitt's summary of conclusions as to the relation of the OL to the Gr. text in the Prophets.[*] For, in all probability, similar processes and results would appear in the other groups of writings. 'The OL brings us the best independent proof we have that the Hexaplar signs introduced by Origen can be relied on for the reconstruction of the LXX. . . . Together with the Hexaplar text,' it 'often agrees as to omissions with the text of B. . . . Yet the same authorities convict B here and there of interpolations. . . . When we turn from questions of insertion and omission to questions of rendering of the Heb. and the substitution of one Gr. word for another, we find that the OL in the Prophets sometimes supports "Lucianic" readings.' And finally, 'there are renderings found in the OL representing Gr. readings which have disappeared from every known Greek MS, but which, by comparison with the Hebrew, are shown to preserve the genuine text of the LXX from which the readings of our present Greek MSS are corruptions. In these passages the OL is sometimes, but not always, supported by one or both Egyptian versions.'

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[*] *Der Cyp. Text d. Acta Apost.*, Berlin, 1892. See esp. p. 18 ff.

[†] The Fleury text has a very intimate connexion with it, while it shares many readings also with the text of Aug. and with that of the Vulgate.

[‡] *Un ancien texte . . . des Actes*, p. 18.

[§] Codd. Claromont. and Bœrner. and the texts of Victorinus and Ambrosiaster.

[||] In this group they are often joined by Jerome in his Commentaries. See Corssen, *Epist. ad Galatas*, pp. 52, 53.

[¶] This result is provisional, as our investigation only embraced two or three chs. of Apoc. See Bousset, *Textkritische Studien*, pp. 1–44.

[**] See Haussleiter, *Zahn's Forschungen*, iv. pp. 207–224.

[††] Designated by the Fathers 'uulgata editio' and *κοινή*.

[‡‡] See Ryssel in Kautzsch's 'Apokryphen,' pp. 244–249, and Herkenne, *De Vet. Lat. Eccles.* Capp. i.–xliii., Leipz. 1899.

[*] *Anmerkungen zur griech. Uebersetz. der Proverb.* p. 3.

[†] Thus, *e.g.*, Vogel's Fragg. of Proverbs, which are plainly 'African,' agree 18 times with A rather than B, 17 times with B rather than A; they have 18 readings only found in cursives, while 110 are peculiar to themselves.

[‡] Cornill connects Cod. A closely with the Hesychian recension (see *Ezechiel*, p. 67). Silberstein (*ZAW* xiv. p. 26), after an elaborate investigation, comes to the conclusion that the origin of the form of text in A must be referred to the recension of Origen. He agrees, on the whole, with Cornill as to B.

[§] See Vercellone, *Variæ Lectiones*, ii. p. 436. Driver, *Notes on Samuel*, pp. lxxvii–lxxxii. Ceriani, *Recensioni dei LXX*, etc., p. 4. It is now generally admitted that MSS 19, 82, 93, and 108 (in Holmes and Parson's ed. of LXX), agreeing, as they do, with the quotations of Theodoret and Chrysostom, represent the recension of Lucian. See also Lagarde, *Vet. Test. Græce*, Pars Prior, Gött. 1883, Preface.

[||] *Septuaginta-Studien*, i. pp. 71, 72.

[¶] A question which still awaits investigation is the relation of A to Lucian. This would shed much light on the OL. It is of interest to find that the prevailing type of text in quotations from the LXX in the Gospels is that of A and Lucian. B is scarcely observable. See Staerk, *ZwTh*. 1893, i. p. 97 ff.

[**] Cornill would connect A with the recension of Hesychius (*Ezechiel*, pp. 67, 71). Unquestionably, those cursives which contain in all likelihood this latter text are an important element for the criticism of the OL of the Prophets along with the kindred Cod. Marchalianus (Q), which has copious marginal notes from a Hexaplar copy. See Ceriani's most important dissertation, *De Codice Marchaliano Commentatio*, Rome, 1890. He compares the various texts of the LXX from sections of the Prophets, both mutually and in relation to the OL.

[††] See Berger, *Notice*, p. 23.

One subordinate department of our subject has not been touched, as, to a great extent, lying outside the scope of the present article, and also as requiring far more space than could be afforded. We refer to the *Latinity* of the OL versions. It seems advisable, however, to give references to some of the leading authorities.

A large collection of material is to be found in *Itala und Vulgata*, by H. Rönsch, ed. 2, Marburg, 1875. This work deals with peculiarities of formation, inflexion, grammatical structure, and meaning. See a penetrating criticism of it by J. N. Ott (Fleckeisen's *Jahrb. f. Philologie*, etc. 1874, p. 778 ff., 833 ff.). Rönsch also contributed a great number of articles to various journals. See especially his 'Sprachliche Parallelen' and 'Itala-Studien' in *ZwTh.* 1868, 1881–82: 'Zur vulgären und biblischen Latinität,' in *Zeitsch. f. die österreich. Gymnasien*, 1879, No. 11. There are further studies on this subject in his *Semasiologische Beiträge*, 1887–89, and *Collectanea philologa*, 1890. Of great importance is the unfinished work of G. Koffmane, *Geschichte des Kirchenlateins*, Breslau, 1879-81 (only 2 parts of vol. i. have appeared). It devotes special attention to the Christianizing of Late-Latin, and the moulding of it to biblical use. H. Schuchardt's elaborate *Vokalismus des Vulgär-Lateins*, Leipz. 1866–67, contains much that is suggestive for the language of the version. More directly bearing on our subject is K. Sittl's *Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der latein. Sprache*, Erlangen, 1882. It deals largely with 'African' Latin, with special reference to the Bible. The *Handbuch zur Vulgata*, by F. Kaulen, Mainz, 1870, also provides material for study. Valuable collections of linguistic facts are to be found in some of the edd. of the MSS. See, especially, that of the Lyons Pentateuch, by U. Robert, pp. xli-lxxxv, cxxiii-cxxviii, which contain an examination of the grammar and orthography of the text, as well as giving tables of Hellenisms and new words; E. Ranke's *Par Palimpsestorum Wirceburgensium*, pp. 412–427, with copious grammatical notes; and Sanday's dissertation on Cod. *k*, *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. § 14. Perhaps we ought to mention also Rendel Harris's *Study of Cod. Bezæ*, ch. iv. v. xii. xxvi., and Burkitt's *Rules of Tyconius*, pp. lxviii-cv. Sanday has an important appendix in *Studia Biblica*, ii. p. 309 ff., and in vol. iv. of the same series there is a valuable essay on the *Style and Language of S. Cyprian*, by E. W. Watson. See also Ehrlich, *Beiträge z. Lat. der Itala*, 1895. By far the richest storehouse of matter bearing on the Latinity of the OL is the *Archiv fur latein. Lexikographie*, ed. by Wölfflin (pub. at Leipzig). The following articles are of special importance: 'Die ersten Spuren des African. Lateins,' by Wölfflin (Jahrg. VI. Heft i. p. 1 ff.); 'Die Heimath der Appendix Probi,' Sittl (vi. 3, p. 557 ff.); 'Die Sprache Priscillian's,' Schepss (iii. 3, p. 307 ff.); 'Lucifer von Cagliari und sein Latein,' Hartel (iii. 1, p. 1 ff.); 'Lexikographisches aus dem Bibellatein,' Thielmann (i. 1, p. 68 ff.); 'Minucius Felix,' Wölfflin (vii. 4, p. 467 ff.); 'Die latein. Sprache auf. african. Inschriften,' Kübler (viii. 2, p. 161 ff.); 'Spuren gallischen Lateins bei Marcellus Empiricus,' Geyer (viii. 4, p. 469); articles on 'Wisdom of Solomon' and 'Sirach,' by Thielmann, already referred to; 'Die europäischen Bestandtheile des latein. Sirach,' Thielmann (ix. 2, p. 247 ff.). See also the 'Jahresbericht über Vulgär-und Spätlatein,' by K. Sittl in Bursian-Iwan Müller's *Jahresbericht*, lxviii. pp. 226-286, and that on 'Die christlich lateinische Litteratur von 1886-87 bis Ende 1894' in the same series, by C. Weyman, 1896.[*] For further references to the language of particular authors see the list of Fathers. We have omitted mention of the numerous works which deal with the Latin language in general.

This article has dealt only with the early history of the Latin translations of the Bible. Their later developments from the time of Jerome onward are treated under VULGATE.

For the general literature of the subject, see the authorities referred to throughout the article, Nestle's art. in *Herzog*³ (iii. 24 ff.) which appeared while this was in the press, and Corssen's admirable *Bericht über die latein. Bibelübersetzungen* (Bursian's *Jahresb.* Bd. ci.), published only in time to admit of a few footnotes being added from it during final revision.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

LATTER.—The adj. 'late' is now regarded as having two forms for the compar. and superl., later, latest, and latter, last, and a difference in meaning is usually observed. But the distinction is quite recent. In modern editions of AV the only spelling is 'latter,' but the ed. of 1611 had 'later' in four places, Is 47[7], Jer 5[24] 48[47] 49[39], and there is no difference in meaning. Shakespeare has 'later' twice (acc. to Bartlett's *Concordance*), once in ref. to time, 'And she goes down at twelve—I take 't, 'tis later, Sir' (*Macbeth* II. i. 3), once as equivalent to 'latter' as it was then used, *K. John* III. I. 288—

> 'Therefore thy later vows against thy first
> Is in thyself rebellion to thyself.'

He also uses 'latest' for 'last,' as *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. ii. 797,—'At the latest minute of the hour.'

In AV as in Shakespeare 'latter' is always (except when distinctly opposed to 'former') equivalent to 'last.' Thus in AV, Job 19[25] 'For I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth' (RV 'at the last upon the earth'); 2 P 2[20] 'the latter end is worse with them than the beginning' (RV 'the last state is become worse with them than the first'): and in Shaks. *Henry V.* IV. i. 143, 'All those legs and arms and heads, chopped off in a battle, shall join together at the latter day'; and 1 *Henry VI.* II. v. 38—

> 'And in his bosom spend my latter gasp.'

The expressions 'latter end' and 'last end' are thus equivalent, and both old-fashioned redundancies.

For **Latter Rain** see RAIN. J. HASTINGS.

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[*] *Rules of Tyconius*, pp. cxvi, cxvii. See also Streane, *Double Text of Jeremiah*, 369–372.

[*] For later lit. see 'Jahresb. über Vulgär-und Spätlatein' by P. Geyer, Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, xcviii. pp. 33-117.

LATTICE.—See under **Window** in art. HOUSE, vol. ii. p. 435^{b}.

LAUD (taken directly from Lat. *laudare*, to praise) as a synonym for 'praise' seems never to have been very frequently used, either as verb or subst., though the latter was more common than the former. Shaks. has each twice. In AV the subst. does not occur, and the verb was retained only once, Ro 15^{11} 'Praise the Lord, all ye Gentiles; and laud him, all ye people.' The Greek verbs here are different (αἰνέω and ἐπαινέω), and no doubt Tindale, from whom the tr. comes, introduced the variation purposely; but AV seems simply to have accepted it from the immediately preceding versions, for in Ps 117^{1} of which this is a quotation, the Heb. verbs are again different, and Coverdale's tr. was again 'praise' and 'laud,' but the Geneva version, followed by the Bishops, changed 'laud' into 'praise,' and AV has 'O praise the Lord, all ye nations: praise him, all ye people.' RV obliterates the distinction between the Greek verbs in Ro 15^{11} giving 'praise' twice, but restores it in Ps 117^{1}; and in Ps 145^{4} RV again introduces 'laud' for 'praise' to tr. the same Heb. verb. But in Ps 147^{12} RV has taken over the AV tr. 'Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem; praise thy God, O Zion,' though the Heb. shows the same distinction in its verbs. Driver (*Parallel Psalter*, 1898) is more consistent, rendering שִׁבַּח by 'laud' wherever in the Psalter it can be so rendered (63^{3} 117^{1} 145^{4} 147^{12}), and keeping 'praise' for הִלֵּל.

Tindale uses the verb in Lk 19^{37} 'the whole multitude of the disciples began to rejoyce, and to lawde God with a loude voyce'; and the subst. in 1 P 1^{7} 'that youre fayth . . . myght be founde unto lawde, glory, and honoure at the apperinge of Jesus Christ,' and 2^{14} 'for the laude of them that do well.'

It is doubtful if even the verb can be used now without affectation; but if it can, and the Revisers seem to have thought so, it is a pity it was not consistently used for ἐπαινέω (Lk 16^{8}, Ro 15^{11}, 1 Co $11^{2.17.22}$), to distinguish it from the more common αἰνέω, to praise. J. HASTINGS.

LAUGHTER.—The laughter mentioned in the Bible is of three kinds, (1) loud laughter as opposed to demonstrative weeping, (2) wondering or incredulous, and (3) derisive.

(1) Ķoheleth allows that there is a time to laugh as well as a time to weep (Ec 3^{4}), but he reckons sorrow better than laughter (7^{3}), and calls laughter madness (2^{2}). Bildad offers Job the prospect, if he be really upright, of a time when God will fill his mouth with laughter (Job 8^{21}); the returning exiles enjoyed such a time (Ps 126^{2} 'Our mouth was then filled with loud laughter'—De Witt); and Jesus promises it definitely in the Restitution to those who weep now (Lk 6^{21}). In every instance it is the Oriental loud laughter, which is rarely heard, and only upon occasion of the utmost glad surprise. Christ's woe is pronounced on those who laugh now when no such surprise is possible (Lk 6^{25}).

(2) More frequent is the laughter of wonder or incredulity. So Abraham (Gn 17^{17}) and Sarah (18^{12}) laughed when they heard the promise of a son. And even when the promise could not be doubted longer by themselves, they knew that all that heard would laugh at them (21^{6}), they were so old.

RV retains in Gn 21^{6} the AV translation 'all that hear will laugh with me.' But יְצַחֶק־לִי can mean only 'will laugh at me'; cf. Job 5^{22} $39^{7.18.22}$, Ps 59^{8}. Still it is not *derisive* laughter that Sarah fears; she does not *fear* the laughter at all; she only knows that when people hear of it they will laugh, it is so astonishing as to be still almost incredible. 'Laugh with me' is the rendering of the ancient versions and of all the English versions from Wyclif, except Tindale, 'And Sara sayde, God hath made me a laughinge stocke, for all that heare, will laugh at me.' Coverdale has even, 'God hath prepared a joye for me, for who so ever heareth of it, wyll rejoyse with me,' and is followed by the Geneva translators and the Bishops. Kalisch defends the AV tr., on the ground that 'no other sense is adapted here but the smile of surprise and admiration.' But Dillmann, Del., Kautzsch (über mich), Segond (de moi), and most modern commentators translate 'will laugh at me'—meaning, however, to express surprise rather than derision.

(3) But the most frequent occurrence of laughter is in derision. The feeling ranges in expression from the gentle mocking of Daniel (Bel ^{19}) to the judicial laughter of Him that sitteth in the heavens (Ps 2^{4}).

There are three Heb. verbs translated 'laugh,' צָחַק (except Jg 16^{25} Ezk 23^{32}, confined to Pent.), its later form שָׂחַק, and לָעַג. All three are occasionally rendered in AV 'laugh to scorn,' but esp. the last, which does not properly mean to laugh but to scoff at or scorn. In 2 Es 2^{21} *claudum irridere noli* is tr^{d} 'laugh not a lame man to scorn,' and the expression 'laugh to scorn' is found in the Gr. Apocr. as the tr. of καταγελάω, Jth 12^{12}, Sir 7^{11} 20^{17} (cf. also 1 Mac 10^{70} 'I am laughed to scorn for thy sake,' ἐγὼ δὲ ἐγενήθην εἰς καταγέλωτα); ἐκγελάω, Wis 4^{18}; καταμωκάομαι, Sir 13^{7}; and χλευάζω, 2 Mac 7^{27}; cf. also Sir 6^{4} 'Shall make him to be laughed to scorn of his enemies,' ἐπίχαρμα ἐχθρῶν ποιήσει αὐτόν. In NT καταγελάω is so tr^{d} where it occurs (Mt 9^{24} ‖ Mk 5^{40} ‖ Lk 8^{53} at the raising of Jairus' daughter), so that a distinction is maintained between the simple γελάω (only in Lk $6^{21.25}$) and its more emphatic compound. The phrase is due to Tindale in these places, who thus improved on Wyclif 'thei scorneden hym.' Tind. was followed by all the versions.

The phrases 'laugh on' and 'laugh upon' are now obsolete, though we retain the equivalent 'smile upon.' They occur once each, Job 29^{24} 'If I laughed on them, they believed it not' (אֶשְׂחַק אֲלֵיהֶם, RVm 'I smiled on them when they had no confidence'; the AV tr. comes from the Geneva Bible, which explains its meaning by the marg. note, 'That is, thei thoght it not to be a jest, or thei thoght not that I wold condescend unto them'), 1 Es 4^{31} 'if she laughed upon him, he laughed also' (ἐὰν προσγελάσῃ αὐτῷ, γελᾷ).

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LAUNCH is now transitive only. In AV it occurs intransitively and only so. RV has changed the word into 'set sail' (Ac 21^{1}), 'put to sea' (Ac $27^{2.4}$), or simply 'put' (Lk 5^{4}), and once has retained it (Lk 8^{22}). The transitive use must be the older, as the verb is formed from 'lance,' and means primarily to 'hurl a lance,' and then to send (a ship) into the water. Spenser uses it frequently in the simple sense of 'to pierce,' almost as we now use 'lance,' as *FQ* II. iv. 46, 'For since my brest was launcht with lovely dart.' Shakespeare has the word only once, and it is transitive, *Troil. and Cress.* II. ii. 82—

'Why, she is a pearl,
Whose price hath launch'd above a thousand ships.'

The Greek is either (1) the compound form ἐπανάγω, which occurs in NT only thrice, Mt 21^{18} in the sense of returning into a city, and Lk $5^{3.4}$ in the sense of 'put out' (RV) to sea (in 5^{3} AV has 'thrust out,' after Tindale); or (2) the simple ἀνάγομαι, which is found only in the writings of St. Luke (though the active ἀνάγω 'bring up' occurs in Mt 4^{1}, Ro 10^{7}, He 13^{20}, as well as in Lk and Ac), but there it is of frequent occurrence. AV varies in its tr. between 'launch forth' (Lk 8^{22}), 'launch' (Ac 21^{1} $27^{2.4}$), 'loose' (Ac 13^{13} 16^{11} 27^{21}), 'sail' (Ac 18^{21} $20^{3.13}$), 'set forth' (Ac 21^{2}), and 'depart' (Ac 27^{2} $28^{10.11}$). RV has usually 'set sail' (Ac 13^{13} 16^{11} 18^{21} $20^{3.13}$ $21^{1.2}$ 27^{21} 28^{11}), but also 'launch forth' (Lk 8^{22}), 'embark' (Ac 27^{2}), 'put to sea' (Ac $27^{4.12}$), and simply 'sail' (Ac 28^{10}). The idea expressed in the prep. ἀνά is not 'up' to the ship, but up to the high sea from the lower harbour or coast-line; cf. καταβαίνω 'go down' to the coast from the higher land. J. HASTINGS.

LAVER (כִּיּוֹר or כִּיֹּר; LXX λουτήρ).—This is the name given to the ten brazen basins made by Hiram for Solomon's Temple, 1 K $7^{30.38.43}$ (= 2 Ch $4^{6.14}$).* They were raised on high stands, and furnished with wheels. Anything beyond this is difficult to ascertain with certainty. Keil and others make out the *bases* or stands (מְכֹנוֹת) to have been square boxes with ornamented panels. Nowack (*Heb. Arch.* ii. pp. 44–46), following Stade (*ZATW* iii. 159 ff.), corrects the text, which at present is unintelligible in parts, and, further, utilizes for comparison the vessels now known to have been used in Semitic antiquity from the evidence of the Assyrian monuments. He thus arrives at a more probable reconstruction, though he is perhaps over-bold in venturing on a conjectural sketch of a laver as he understands it. In the following description of the details Nowack is followed in the main.

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* In 1 K 7^{40} הַכִּירוֹת should be emended to הַסִּירוֹת (cf. v.^{45} ‖ 2 Ch $4^{11.16}$ and LXX λέβητας).

The *base* or stand was made up of a lower and an upper division. The lower division was a square framework, of which the sides were partly open. If they had been massive plates of metal, each 3 × 4 cubits, the whole would have been too heavy to move. Moreover, the Assyrian examples show a much lighter kind of stand than those used in supporting the Greek amphora. The sides were like an unglazed window-frame, with horizontal *borders* or *panels* (מִסְגְּרוֹת) and vertical *ledges* or crosspieces (שְׁלַבִּים). At the corners were *undersetters* or *shoulders, i.e.* square pillars whose lower extremities were extended to form *feet*, in which were fixed the axles, on which the wheels turned. The wheels, each 1½ cubits high, were thus completely under the body of the base. Thus the lower part of the base being itself 3 cubits high, its top edge was 4½ cubits high. On the top of this lower part was a *pedestal* (1 K 7^{29}) consisting of a *round compass* or ring (v.^{35}) something like the *capital* of a column (v.^{31}). The outside measurement of this ring was 1½ cubits across, and the inside measurement 1 cubit, while it was raised half a cubit above the base proper (v.^{35}). As the diameter of the latter was 4 cubits, the supports (*stays* or *hands*) of the ring must have sloped inwards very considerably. These supports seem to have sprung from a square framework (v.^{31}) resting on the top of the base. As a dome with a central circular window is often built over four square walls and supported by four ribs from the corners sloping inwards, so this open metal frame had a square base and a round opening or ring, into which the basin or *laver* fitted. The *borders* and *stays* were ornamented with lions, oxen, and cherubim, and with embossed wreaths.

It is remarkable that these ten lavers do not reappear in the sketch of the new temple put forth by Ezekiel, or in the temple of Zerubbabel, nor is anything like them found in P's representation of the tabernacle. The last we hear of them is that Ahaz cut off *the borders of the bases* and took the laver off them (1 K 16^{17}). From this the suggestion has been supported that the connecting parts of the framework were, as in some similar constructions of which Semitic archæology has evidence, hollow, or that they were wood inside plated over with brass. As for the discarding of the molten sea and ten movable lavers, which seems to indicate some prejudice against them, it has been conjectured that they had some mythical associations which had now become distasteful. The great molten sea is connected with *the deep* (תְּהוֹם) and the lavers with the clouds. It is observed that Ezekiel, who describes no wheeled lavers ornamented with lions, oxen, and cherubim, yet has a vision (ch. 1) of living creatures, uniting the characteristics of lion, ox, man, and eagle, and of wheels closely associated with them, the whole imagery suggesting the personification of the clouds borne on by the storm blast. The explanation of the Chronicler (2 Ch 4^{6}), that the lavers were used for washing the sacrifices, has nothing to support it in Kings, and it is hard to see how such lofty basins could have been put to practical use. No hint is given in the elaborate description of any means for drawing off water. The symbolical interpretation gives a fine suggestiveness to these vessels. The priest of J″ draws near to Him as Lord of the furthest abyss and of the rolling storm clouds.

Although, as we have seen, the molten sea and ten lavers have no parallel in the account of the tabernacle, yet we find there a single laver. It is mentioned only in passages which are secondary in relation to P^{g} (Ex 30^{17-21} 31^{9} 35^{16} 38^{8} 39^{39} 40^{11}, Lv 8^{11}), and nothing is said as to its size or shape. It consisted of two parts, the basin and its pedestal (כֵּן). The word 'base' (מְכוֹנָה) is not used. In Ex 38^{8} it seems to be stated that it was made of the mirrors of the serving women. Others, with some violence to the Hebrew, render '(provided) with mirrors for the serving women.' Its purpose was definite, viz. that the priests might wash their hands and feet there before entering the tabernacle, by the door of which the laver stood on the inner side of the brazen altar. So in He 10^{22} the imagery is applied to the true worshipper, and in Tit 3^{5} the laver becomes a type of the baptismal font, by which (διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας) believers have access into the Church of the firstborn. In Zerubbabel's and Herod's temples there was, in accordance with P's representation, a single laver.

LITERATURE.—Keil, Nowack, and Benzinger on Bibl. Archæology (only the first translated); Gesenius, *Thes.*; the commentaries on Exodus and 1 Kings.

G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY.

LAW (IN OLD TESTAMENT).—

i. History of the term 'Torah.'
ii. Torah threefold—judicial, ceremonial, moral.
iii. Rise and history of written Torah.
iv. Synonyms of 'law':—
    (1) *Mishpāṭ*; (2) *ḥōḳ, ḥuḳḳāh*; (3) *mizwāh*; (4) *'ēdwōth* or *'ēdōth*; (5) *piḳḳūdīm*.
v. The different codes of Hebrew law:—
    A. JE: (1) the Decalogue; (2) Book of the Covenant—summary of its provisions—the 'Little Book of the Covenant'—age and character of the Book of the Covenant.
    B. Deuteronomy—summary of its provisions—changes in the laws repeated from JE—the new provisions introduced.
    C. The Law of Holiness (H)—summary of its provisions—compared with Book of the Covenant.
    D. The Priests' Code (P)—summary of its provisions—P characterized and compared and contrasted with earlier codes and with institutions of other Semitic peoples—danger of abuse of ceremonial law—pædagogic office of the Law.
Literature.

The Heb. word for 'law' is *tôrāh* (תּוֹרָה), from *hôrāh* (הוֹרָה), *to point out* Gn 46^{28}, or *to direct* Jg 13^{8}, meaning properly, *a pointing out*, or *direction*, and being used specially of *authoritative direction*, given in Jehovah's name—primarily, no doubt, by priests, though it is by no means limited to what is given by them—on points of moral, religious, or ceremonial duty.

The root *yārāh* signifies properly *to throw* or *cast*; and hence it is possible, as has been conjectured (Wellh. *Hist.* 394, cf. *Skizzen*, iii. 167, ed. 2, 143; Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 97; Benzinger, *Arch.* 408), that the primitive meaning of *hôrāh* in this connexion was to *cast* the sacred lot—or arrows used as lots—at a sanctuary, for the purpose of ascertaining the will of the deity on behalf of those who came to consult it (the word is used of *casting* lots Jos 18^{6}, and of *shooting* arrows 1 S 20^{36} *al.*). Comp. the use made by the priest of the Ephod and Urim and Thummim, 1 S $14^{3.18}$ (LXX) ^{41} (esp. LXX) ^{42} etc. *Tôrāh*, if this view be correct, will have denoted originally the 'direction' obtained by means of the sacred lot: it remained a duty of the Isr. priest to teach J″'s *tôrāh*, though this particular method of ascertaining it no doubt fell early into abeyance, and the term acquired a more general sense. Comp. the pr. names 'Terebinth(s) of Moreh,' or 'the teacher' (Gn 12^{6}, Dt 11^{30}), and 'Gibeath-Moreh,' 'Hill of the teacher' (Jg 7^{1}), most probably the seats of ancient Canaanite oracles.

i. The word had a history; and in order to understand it properly, the stages of its history must be briefly noted. (1) One of the earliest passages in which it occurs is Ex $18^{16.20}$ (E), where the decisions given by Moses on disputes 'between a man and his neighbour'—evidently on secular matters—are termed the 'statutes' and 'directions' of God. This passage sets before us Heb. law in its beginnings. 'It is to be remembered that in early Semitic life government was largely administered by means of "Tôrôth," authoritative decisions, delivered by the chief or judge, who gave his verdict upon the basis of custom or precedent. It was the reign of Themis, or of what we might call Consuetudinary Justice.* A picture of such an administration, actually conducted by Moses on such lines, stands before us in the narrative of Ex 18^{13-27}' (Ryle, *Canon of the OT*, p. 32). Decisions given in this way, especially on difficult questions (cf. Ex 18^{26}), would naturally form precedents for future use (cf. *OTJC*^{2} 304); and thus an increasing body of civil and criminal law would gradually grow up. (2) In the prophets the term is used of teaching given in Jehovah's name—sometimes by priests, but more frequently by prophets—on questions of religious or moral duty. Hosea (4^6) attributes the crimes prevalent in Israel (vv.$^{1.2}$) to the priests' forgetfulness of the *Tôrāh* of their God (cf. $8^{1.12}$): this passage is important, as showing that the *priestly* 'tôrāh' included a moral element (cf. Ex 23^{1-9}, Lv 19), and was dependent for its effectiveness upon the 'knowledge' of God. The word is used similarly, of moral and spiritual teaching, in Am 2^4. In Is 1^{10} the '*Tôrāh* of our God' is the exposition which follows (vv.$^{11-17}$) respecting the true character of religious service; Is 5^{24} the *Tôrāh* which Judah has rejected consists of the precepts of civil righteousness and morality, the disregard of which the prophet has been denouncing (vv.$^{8-23}$); Is $8^{16.20}$ it denotes the half-political half-religious advice just given by the prophet (vv.$^{12-15}$); it is used similarly in 30^9 (see v.$^{10f.}$; and cf. v.^{20}, where the prophets are called by the corresponding participle, the 'directors' [teachers] of the people of Jerusalem). In Jer 6^{19} 9^{13} 16^{11} 26^4 32^{23} $44^{10.23}$ the reference may be partly (see 26^4) to the preaching of the prophets, partly (notice the context, and the addition in 9^{13} 26^4 44^{10} of 'which I set before you') to the teaching of Deuteronomy. Other examples of the same general sense of *direction*, though not specially given by prophets, are Ps 78^1 (of a didactic Psalm), Job 22^{22} ('Receive now *direction* from his [God's] mouth'); in the mouth of a mother, Pr 1^8 6^{20}; of a teacher of practical wisdom, Pr 3^1 4^2 6^{23} (cf. RVm) 7^2 13^{14}; of the model woman, 31^{26} ('law,' in all these passages, is a misleading rendering). It is also used of the *guidance*, or *direction*, to be given by J″, or His representative, in the future ideal age: Is 2^3 (=Mic 4^2), Jer 31^{33}, Is 42^4 (of the preaching of J″'s ideal servant), 51^4. (3) Side by side with this broader prophetical application of the term, there was, however, a narrower one, in which it was particularly associated with the priests, and (like the cognate verb *hôrāh*) denoted the *oral direction* given by them in Jehovah's name, especially on matters of ceremonial observance, such as the nature of the different kinds of sacrifice, the cases in which they were respectively to be offered, the criteria of leprosy, the conditions upon which it depended whether a thing was 'clean' or 'unclean,' etc.; the laity came to the priests for instruction on all such points, and the answer given to them was *tôrāh*, 'direction.' Hag 2^{11}, though a late passage, shows what 'tôrāh' was very clearly: the prophet is told to inquire of the priests whether in two particular cases an object becomes 'holy,' or 'unclean,' in the words 'Ask now *direction* of the priests' [not as RV, 'concerning the law': there is no art. in the Heb.], the answer to the inquiries being the 'direction' or *tôrāh* (cf. Mal 2^6 'truthful *direction* was in his mouth'; v.^{7} 'they seek *direction* from his mouth'; v.^{8} 'ye have caused many to stumble by your [false] *direction*'; v.^{9} 'and have respect of persons in *direction*' [not 'in the law']). For earlier instances, partly of the subst., partly of the cognate verb, see Dt 17^{11} (of decisions given by the supreme court of priests and lay-judges on cases of civil or criminal law) 'acc. to the *direction* wherewith they *direct* thee, and acc. to the judgment which they tell thee, thou shalt do,' 24^8 'take heed that thou do according to all that the Levitical priests *direct* you' (in the case of leprosy), 33^{10} 'they *teach* Jacob thy judgments [Ex 21^1], and Israel thy *direction*,' Mic 3^{11} 'her priests *direct* for hire,' Jer 2^8 ('the handlers of the *tôrāh* [תֹּפְשֵׂי הַתּוֹרָה], *i.e.* the priests, know me not'), 18^{18} '*direction* will not perish from his mouth,' *i.e.* the priest and his functions will never come to an end (said by those who disbelieved Jeremiah's predictions of disaster), Zeph 3^4 ('her priests have profaned what is holy, they have done violence to *tôrāh*,'—חָמְסוּ תּוֹרָה), Ezk 7^{26} ('*direction* shall perish from the priest, and counsel from the elder': cf. La 2^9 'without [priestly] direction'), 22^{26} ('her priests have done violence to my *tôrāh*, they have profaned my holy things, they have made no difference between the holy and the common'), 44^{23} (cf. Lv 14^{57}) 'they shall *direct* my people between the holy and the common, and make them to know between the unclean and the clean' (notice in these two passages the connexion of *tôrāh* with ceremonial distinctions), Hab 1^4 'therefore *tôrāh* is numbed' (*i.e.* is paralyzed, ineffectual: the violence and disorder, vv.$^{2.3.4b}$, incapacitates even the priests in the discharge of their duties). These passages show clearly the association of *tôrāh* with the priests (cf. also 2 K $17^{27.28}$, 2 Ch 15^3); they show not less clearly that, although it denoted a simply *oral* direction, this 'direction' was regulated by certain fundamental principles, which might be neglected or violated by unfaithful priests. (4) In process of time, *tôrāh* came further to denote a *body of technical direction* on a given subject: in this sense it occurs frequently in P, esp. in the expression 'this is the *tôrāh* ('law') of the burnt-offering, of the cereal offering, of leprosy, of the Nazirite,' etc., Lv $6^{9.14.25}$ $7^{1.11.37}$ 11^{46} 12^7 13^{59} $14^{2.32.54.57}$ 15^{32} 26^{46}, Nu $5^{29.30}$ $6^{13.21}$ $19^{2.14}$ 31^{21}. As, however, Wellh. has pointed out (*Hist.* 59, 395; cf. Nowack, ii. 98), the more original sense of *tôrāh* even here will have been that of directions given to the laity, not (as in Lv 6–7) rules regulating the priests' own *praxis* at the altar.

In Dt (1^5 $4^{8.44}$ $17^{18.19}$ $27^{3.8.26}$ $28^{58.61}$ $29^{21.29}$ 30^{10} $31^{9.11.12.24.26}$ 32^{46}) the term, esp. in the expression 'this law,' is used somewhat ambiguously: sometimes it denotes more particularly the code of laws embodied in Dt; sometimes it is used more generally of the exposition of an Israelite's duty contained in the book, and consisting partly of the actual laws, partly of the hortatory introductions and comments accompanying them, in other words it denotes the Deuteronomic legislation generally; in the last-named sense it also occurs repeatedly (often in such phrases as 'the book of the law,' 'the law of Moses,' 'the law that Moses commanded,' etc.) in the Deuteronomic sections of Jos and Kings (Jos $1^{7.8}$ $8^{31.32.34}$ 22^5 23^6, 1 K 2^3, 2 K 10^{31} 14^6 $17^{13.34.37}$ 21^8 $22^{8.11}$ $23^{24.25}$).

After the time of Ezra,* when P had been combined with JED, and the Pentateuch had assumed (virtually) its present form, the term is used, yet more generally, of the Pent. as a whole, as 1 Ch 16^{40} (with reference to Ex $29^{38ff.}$ P), 2 Ch 31^3 etc., Ezr 3^2, Neh $8^{1ff.}$ In the Psalms it is used often of the legislative parts of the Pent. in general, as Ps 1^{2} 19^{7} 37^{31} 40^{8} (perhaps here with particular reference to Dt), 94^{12} $119^{1.\ 18}$ etc.

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* Cf. Maine's *Ancient Law*, ch. i.

* The reference in *Malachi* (4^2) is to Deuteronomy: see *OTJC*^{2} p. 425 f.

ii. From the preceding survey of passages, it will be apparent that Hebrew *tôrāh* had a threefold character: it was *judicial*, *ceremonial*, and *moral*. The ceremonial *tôrāh* is most prominent in the OT; but the judicial and moral *tôrāh* was not less a reality, esp. in early times. Nor is it doubted by critics that this *tôrāh*, under all its aspects, originated with Moses. Wellhausen writes (*Hist.* 396, 397 n., 438): 'The priests derived their Torah from Moses: they claimed only to preserve and guard what Moses had left (Dt $33^{4.\ 9f.}$). . . . From the historical tradition [of the Pent.] it is certain that Moses was the founder of the Torah.' * Moses, however, did not create a finished code: he was the founder of a *principle*, and of a *tradition*; he was 'the first to call into activity the actual sense for law and justice, and to begin (Ex 15^{25} 18) the series of oral decisions which were continued after him by the priest.' And Montefiore, after emphasizing the fact that from the beginning J″ was a *moral* God, a God of justice, continues (*Hibb. Lect.* pp. 45, 64 f.), 'Most original and characteristic was the moral influence of Yahveh in the domain of law. Yahveh, to the Israelite, was emphatically the God of right. . . . From the earliest times onward, Yahveh's sanctuary was the depositary of law, and the priest was his spokesman. The oracle of Yahveh, of which the priests were the interpreters, decided suits and quarrels, and probably gave guidance and advice in questions of social difficulty. The *Torah*—or teaching—of the priests, half-judicial half-pædagogic, was a deep moral influence; and there was no element in the religion which was at once more genuinely Hebrew and more closely identified with the national God. There is good reason to believe that this priestly *Torah* is the one religious institution which can be correctly attributed to Moses. . . . Though Moses was not the author of the written law, he was unquestionably the founder of that oral teaching, or *Torah*, which preceded, and became the basis of, the codes of the Pentateuch.' That the priest, in giving judgment, was J″'s spokesman, is evident from the term of Ex $18^{15f.}$ (the people come to Moses to 'inquire of God' for the settlement of civil disputes, and his decisions are 'the statutes and *tôrōth* of God') 21^{6} $22^{8.\ 9}$ (comp. 1 S 2^{25}).† Questions of ceremonial also fell naturally within the priests' province; and their answers on this subject were regarded similarly as the judgments of God. It resulted further, from the ethical character of J″, that the *tôrōth* of Moses and his successors, even on judicial and ceremonial matters, were always permeated by a strong moral element. The decisions framed by Moses and his successors accumulated: they were from the first the expression of the same, or similar, principles: the result was thus a *fixed tradition*, having a definitely marked character, which exerted naturally a regulative influence upon the new decisions which, as time went on, were found necessary for the purpose of meeting new needs.

iii. '*Tôrāh*' was originally *oral*,—handed down orally from one generation of priests to another, and delivered orally by the priest to those who came to seek it of him (cf. Mal $2^{6.\ 7}$; also Job 22^{22}, Pr 31^{26}). The question arises, When was it first committed to writing? An examination of the Pent. shows (1) that the laws contained in it are not homogeneous, but fall into groups, differing from one another in style, in contents, and in scope; and (2) that the different groups cannot be regarded as the product of a single generation, but must spring from different periods of the history. These and other indications make it clear that the process of writing down the oral *Tôrāh* was a gradual one. First of all, small collections of priestly *Tôrōth* on particular subjects were written down: then these were enlarged, or supplemented by others: till the final result was the body of *tôrōth* embedded in our present Pentateuch. These different collections did not often remain in their primitive form: new provisions were introduced into them; they were revised and adjusted to suit the requirements of a later age: in some cases, they were largely expanded by parenetic or other additions. The frequently loose arrangement of subjects in the various groups is a sufficient proof that we no longer possess them in their original form. The process of writing down began, no doubt, at an early date; though we cannot say definitely how early. The Book of the Covenant is an early written collection of such *tôrōth*: it is true, the name is not actually given to it; but the analogy of Ex $18^{16.\ 20}$ shows that it would correctly describe it. The ritual section of this collection (23^{10-19}) appears in a different recension in Ex 34^{10-26}. Other collections of *tôrōth* are those forming the original nucleus of the 'Law of Holiness' (see below). The laws forming the basis of the Deut. code were also doubtless, at least in the great majority of cases, taken by the writer from a written source (or sources). The existence of written *tôrōth* is implied distinctly in Hos 8^{12} RV (where J″ says that, however many 'directions' He writes for Ephraim, His people treat them as something with which they have no concern): the context, however, and 4^{6} (see above) show that the allusion here is not to ritual, but to ethical and religious precepts, especially those relating to civil righteousness.*

There is an interesting, but obscure, passage bearing on this subject, in Jer 8^{8} 'How say ye, We are wise, and J″'s *direction* is with us? Surely falsely hath it wrought, the false pen of the scribes.' The priests here claim that they possess the legitimate tradition, and principles, of J″'s *tôrāh*: Jeremiah replies that the scribes—which must denote here those who committed this *tôrāh* to writing—had dealt falsely, *i.e.* (apparently) had been untrue to the principles which it was their duty to maintain, had in some way perverted or falsified the *tôrāh* of which they were the exponents (cf. 2^{8}, though there is not here any reference to writing). We do not know more precisely what Jeremiah alludes to: perhaps to heathen rites, for which, in the syncretistic fashion of the day, the false priests sought thus to gain the sanction of J″'s name.

Other priestly laws were written down by Ezekiel, in his draft for the worship of the restored community, esp. in chs. 43–45 (cf. *OTJC*² 374–377; Ryle, *Canon*, 73); but the great bulk—those, *viz.*, embraced in what is now generally known as the 'Priests' Code'—were not, it seems, codified till somewhat later, when, the temple having been destroyed, and the worship interrupted, the priests, that the traditions of their order might not be forgotten, reduced to writing and systematized what had hitherto been familiar to them from the daily exercise of their profession (cf. Wellh. *Hist.* 59 f., 404; Ryle, *Canon*, 71–74; Montefiore, *Hibb. Lect.* 234 f.).

iv. *Synonyms of 'Law.'* † — 1. מִשְׁפָּט *mishpāṭ*, 'judgment' (sometimes rendered 'ordinance'), properly a decision given in an individual case, and then established as a precedent for other similar cases. *Mishpāṭ* occurs in this sense in JE, Ex 15^{25} ('there made he for it (Israel) a statute and *ordinance*, and there he proved it,'—

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* Comp. W. R. Smith, *OTJC*² 303, 339.

† Cf. *Il.* i. 238 f., ix. 98 f. (θέμιστες intrusted to the king by Zeus).

* Wellh. *ad loc.*: 'Offenbar Weisungen über die דעת אלהים (4¹), die also damals schon aufgezeichnet vorlagen'; cf. *Hist.* 57; Cheyne or Nowack, *ad loc.*; König, *Offenb.-Begr.* ii. 329; Ryle *Canon of OT*, 33.

† Cf. Briggs, *Higher Crit. of the Hex.*² (1897), p. 242 ff.

a noticeable passage, witnessing, like Ex $18^{16.\,20}$ above, to Moses' work as a framer of laws for his people *), 21^{1} and 24^{3} (of the enactments in the 'Book of the Covenant' prescribing penalties for particular offences, introduced by *if* or *when*, and contained chiefly in 21^{1}–22^{17}); in H (always combined with חֻקּוֹת 'statutes') Lv $18^{4.\,5.\,26}$ 19^{37} 20^{22} 25^{18} $26^{15.\,43.\,46}$ (here חֻקִּים); in Dt, usually with 'statutes' (חֻקִּים, not as in H חֻקּוֹת), of the provisions of the Deut. code (chs. 12–26), $4^{1.\,5.\,8.\,14.\,45}$ $5^{1.\,31}$ $6^{1.\,20}$ $7^{11.\,12}$ 8^{11} $11^{1.\,32}$ 12^{1} $26^{16.\,17}$ 30^{16}; also in the Blessing of Moses, 33^{10} (as pronounced by the priests: ‖ 'direction'); in P rarely, and in the specific sense of Ex 21^{1} 24^{3} only Nu 27^{11} $35^{24.\,29}$, cf. 36^{13}.† The primary sense of the word is an enactment of the civil or criminal law; but it is also (as in H) applied to enactments of the moral or ceremonial law, which might be viewed analogously as Divine 'decisions.' (The word occurs also frequently in other books besides the Pent.) ‡

In Gn 14^{7} Kadesh is called 'En-mishpāṭ,' 'spring of judgment,'—either, it seems, because it was the site of an ancient oracle, at which decisions were given for the settlement of disputes, or (Wellh. *Hist.* 343, 397 n., 430, 439) from its having been the scene of Moses' legislative activity, during what appears to have been Israel's long stay there (Driver, *Deut.* p. 32 f.).

Mishpāṭ also occurs sometimes in the enlarged sense of *right* ('Recht'), as a rule of action in general: it thus becomes virtually equivalent to *religion*, regarded as a system of practical duties; Jer 5^{4} 'they (the poorer classes) know not the way of J″, nor the *mishpāṭ* of their God,' v.^{5} 8^{7}, Is 42^{1} 'he shall bring forth (publish) *right* (*i.e.* religion) to the nations,' vv.$^{3.\,4}$ 51^{4} (‖ *tôrāh*), 58^{2}; cf. 2 K $17^{26.\,27}$ (AV and RV, poorly, 'manner').

2. חֹק, חֻקָּה, *ḥōḳ*, *ḥuḳḳāh*, 'statute,' from חקק *to cut in, inscribe, engrave* (Ezk 23^{14}, Job 19^{23}, Is 10^{1}, Pr 8^{15} [AV and RV 'decree']), and therefore denoting properly something *engraven* on stone, or other durable surface, though applied in usage to any kind of fixed ordinance. It was a common practice in antiquity to engrave laws upon slabs of stone or metal (*στῆλαι*), and to set them up in some public place—and the same custom is presupposed in the use of these two words in Hebrew. Both terms occur frequently in H, Dt, and P. The earliest examples (JE) are Ex 12^{24} 13^{10} $15^{25.\,26}$ $18^{16.\,20}$ (E); cf. (in a different connexion) Gn 47^{26}, also Jos 24^{25}, Jg 11^{39}, 1 S 30^{25}. The combination 'statutes and judgments' is common in H and Dt (see above). For instances in P (often in the expression, 'a statute [RV frequently, 'due'] for ever'), see Ex 27^{21} 28^{43} $29^{9.\,28}$, Lv 3^{17} $6^{18.\,22}$ $16^{29.\,31.\,34}$ etc. §

3. מִצְוָה *miẓwāh*, 'commandment,' a general term, implying something *commanded* (viz. by J″). Most frequent in Dt (43 times), as $4^{2.\,40}$ $5^{29.\,31}$. Rare in the other codes: in JE, Ex 15^{26} 16^{28} 20^{6} (prob. from Dt), 24^{12}; in H, Lv 22^{31} $26^{3.\,14.\,15}$; in P, Lv $4^{2.\,13.\,22.\,27}$ 5^{17} 27^{34}, Nu $15^{22.\,31.\,39.\,40}$ 36^{13}.

4. עֵדְוֹת *'ēdwōth* or *'ēdōth*, 'testimonies': in the Pent. only Dt 4^{45} $6^{17.\,20}$; a theological term, denoting generally moral and religious ordinances, regarded as an *attestation*, or solemn declaration, of the Divine will. In P the sing. *testimony* is used frequently of the Decalogue, as a statement *κατ' ἐξοχήν* of God's will for man, esp. in the expressions 'Ark, tables, or tabernacle, of the testimony,' Ex $25^{16.\,21.\,22}$ 27^{21} 31^{18} 34^{29}, Nu $1^{50.\,53}$, and elsewhere.

5. פִּקּוּדִים *piḳḳūdīm*, 'precepts': only in the Psalms (19^{8} 103^{18} 111^{7}, and 21 times in Ps 119).

v. Hebrew law falls into distinct *Codes*, those viz. of JE, Dt, H, and P, and the characteristics of these must next be examined.*

A. In JE we have (1) the DECALOGUE (wh. see), Ex $20^{2\text{-}17}$, a concise but comprehensive summary of the fundamental duties of the Israelite towards God and man. We have (2) the 'Book of the Covenant' (Ex 20^{20}–23^{33}; in explanation of the name see 24^{7}), the laws contained in which comprise two elements (24^{3}), the 'words' (or commands) and the 'judgments': the 'judgments,' expressed all hypothetically, and relating to the civil and criminal law, being comprised in 21^{1}–$22^{17.\,25\text{-}27}$, and the 'words,' consisting mostly of positive injunctions of the moral or ceremonial law, and introduced by *thou shalt* or *thou shalt not*, being comprised in $20^{23\text{-}26}$ $22^{18\text{-}24.\,28\text{-}31}$ $23^{1\text{-}19}$. With the *form* of the laws, and the parenetic additions which they sometimes exhibit (as $22^{23\text{-}24}$), we are not here concerned: the laws themselves are designed to regulate the life of a community living under simple conditions of society, and chiefly engaged in agriculture. They may be grouped as follows†:—

i. *Enactments relating to civil and criminal law:*
   1. The rights of Hebrew slaves (male and female), $21^{1\text{-}11}$.
   2. Law of murder and manslaughter vv.$^{12\text{-}14}$, of violence to a parent v.^{15}, of man-stealing v.^{16}, of cursing a parent v.^{17}.
   3. Bodily injury caused by men vv.$^{18\text{-}27}$ (bodily injury inflicted in a quarrel v.$^{18\text{f.}}$; beating a slave to death v.$^{20\text{f.}}$; injury done in a quarrel to a pregnant woman v.^{22}, or other bystander vv.$^{23\text{-}25}$; striking out the eye or tooth of a slave v.$^{26\text{f.}}$).
   4. Bodily injury due to animals, or neglect of reasonable precautions vv.$^{28\text{-}36}$ (injury done by an ox to a free man or woman vv.$^{28\text{-}31}$, or to a slave v.^{32}; injury caused by neglect in leaving an open pit v.$^{33\text{f.}}$; injury done by an ox to one belonging to another person v.$^{35\text{f.}}$: in the first and last of these cases, the penalty, where the neglect is culpable, is materially increased).
   5. Theft $22^{1\text{-}4}$ (theft of ox or sheep v.^{1}; burglary vv.$^{2\text{-}4}$).
   6. Compensation for damage v.$^{5\text{f.}}$ (damage done by straying cattle v.^{5}; damage done by fire spreading to another man's field v.^{6}).
   7. Compensation for loss or injury in various cases of deposit or loan vv.$^{7\text{-}15}$ (cases of deposit vv.$^{7\text{-}9.\,10\text{-}13}$; case of injury to a borrowed animal v.$^{14\text{f.}}$).
   8. Compensation for seduction v.$^{16\text{f.}}$.

ii. *Moral, religious, and ceremonial enactments:*
   1. Law relating to altars $20^{24\text{-}26}$ (altars to be of earth or of unhewn stone, and not to be approached by steps).
   2. Sorcery and bestiality to be punished with death $22^{18\text{f.}}$.
   3. Sacrifice to 'other gods' to be punished with the 'ban' 22^{20}.
   4. Humanitarian laws $22^{21\text{-}27}$ (the *gēr*, or resident foreigner, the widow and the orphan, not to be oppressed $22^{21\text{-}24}$; interest not be taken from the poor 22^{25}; a garment taken in pledge to be returned before nightfall $22^{26\text{f.}}$).
   5. God not to be reviled, nor a ruler cursed 22^{28}.
   6. Firstfruits and firstborn males to be given to J″ $22^{29\text{f.}}$ (cf. 13^{12}, where it is added that the firstling of an ass is to be either redeemed with a lamb or killed, and the firstborn of a man is to be redeemed); and flesh torn of beasts not to be eaten 22^{31}.
   7. Veracity and impartiality in giving evidence in a court of law $23^{1\text{-}3}$.
   8. An *enemy's* beast to be preserved from harm $23^{4\text{f.}}$.
   9. Justice to be administered impartially $23^{6\text{-}9}$ (bribes not to be taken: the poor and the *gēr* not to be oppressed).
   10. The seventh year to be a fallow year, and the seventh day a day of rest $23^{10\text{-}12}$ (the motive in each case is a philanthropic one).
   11. God's commands to be honoured, and 'other gods' not to be invoked 23^{13}.
   12. The three annual pilgrimages (of Unleavened Cakes, Harvest, and Weeks) to be observed $23^{14\text{-}17}$ (all males to appear before J″ at each).
   13. Three closing regulations $23^{18.\,19}$ (sacrifice not to be offered with leavened bread, nor its fat to remain un-

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* Cf. Wellh. *Hist.* 343; and Dillm. *ad loc.*

† Cf. Ex $21^{9.\,31}$, Dt 21^{17}, Jer $32^{7.\,8}$, Ezk 16^{38} 23^{45}.

‡ See further Baentsch, *Das Bundesbuch* (1892), 29–34.

§ Both these words are also used sometimes of *laws of nature*: as Jer 31^{36}, Job 28^{26}, Ps 148^{6} (חֹק); Jer 5^{24} 31^{35} 33^{25}, Job 38^{33} (חֻקָּה).

* The *literary* characteristics of the Codes do not fall within the scope of the present article; but it may be remarked in passing that each possesses distinctive literary features of its own, and that even the form of the laws sometimes differs in the different codes: thus, while in Ex 21–23 a law commonly begins in the form וכי יכה איש ($21^{20.\,22.\,26}$ etc.), in P the form אדם כי or נפש כי is frequent (Lv 1^{2} 2^{1} 4^{2} etc.), and in H the form איש איש אשר (Lv $17^{3.\,8.\,10.\,13}$ etc.).

† Comp. Stade, *Gesch.* i. 636; Holzinger, *Einl.* 243. Many of these laws seem to fall into groups of *ten*, which L. B. Paton has endeavoured recently to restore in their (supposed) original completeness; see *JBL*, 1893, p. 79 ff. (an abstract in *LOT*^{6} p. 40); and cf. Briggs, *l.c.* p. 211 ff.

burnt until the following morning; firstfruits to be brought to 'the house of J″'; a kid not to be boiled in its mother's milk).

The ceremonial provisions contained in 23^{10-19} are repeated in 34^{10-26}—a section sometimes called the 'Little Book of the Covenant,' and sometimes also (from 34^{28}) the 'Words of the Covenant'—with changes of order, and slight verbal variations, and with the addition in 34^{12-17} of more specific injunctions against idolatry.*

The 'Book of the Covenant' is the oldest Code of Hebrew law with which we are acquainted—older, no doubt, than the narrative (E) in which it was incorporated; it embodies, to use Cornill's expression, the 'consuetudinary law of the early monarchy,' and embraces (in accordance with the sense of *tôrāh* and *mishpāt*, explained above) the formulated decisions which had accumulated gradually up to that age. That the community for whose use it was designed had made *some* progress in civilization is evident from the many restrictions imposed on the arbitrary action of the individual; on the other hand, that it was still in a relatively archaic condition appears from such regulations as $21^{18f.}$ and 21^{23-25} (the *lex talionis*), or the conception of God as the immediate source of judgment (21^6 $22^{8.9}$; cf. 1 S 2^{25}). The stage of society for which the Code was designed, and the characteristics of the Code itself, are well indicated by W. R. Smith (*OTJC*^{2} 340 ff.). 'The society contemplated in it is of very simple structure. The basis of life is agricultural. Cattle and agricultural produce are the main elements of wealth: and the laws of property deal almost exclusively with them. The principles of criminal and civil justice are those still current among the Arabs of the desert, viz. retaliation and pecuniary compensation. Murder is dealt with by the law of blood revenge; but' the distinction—which in Greece was still not recognized in the age of Homer—is drawn between murder and manslaughter, and 'the innocent man-slayer may seek asylum at God's altar (21^{13}, comp. with v.^{14}: cf. 1 K $2^{28f.}$). With murder are ranked man-stealing, offences against parents, and witchcraft. Other injuries are occasions of self-help, or of private suits to be adjusted at the sanctuary (22^9 [cf. 21^6]). Personal injuries fall under the law of retaliation, just as murder does. Blow for blow is still the law of the Arabs; and in Canaan, no doubt as in the desert, the retaliation was usually sought in the way of self-help. Except in this form, there is no punishment, but only compensation, which in some cases is at the will of the injured party (who has the alternative of direct revenge), but in general is defined by law. Degrading punishments are unknown, and loss of liberty is inflicted only on the thief who cannot pay a fine (22^3). Definite rights are secured for the slave. He recovers his freedom after 7 years, unless he prefers to remain a bondman, and seals solemnly his determination at the door of the sanctuary. His right of blood revenge against his master is, however, limited ($21^{20f.}$); though, instead of the *lex talionis* for minor injuries, he can claim his liberty ($21^{26f.}$). Women do not enjoy full social equality with men. Women slaves were slaves for life, but were often, it may be inferred, married to members or servants of the family ($21^{4.7-9}$). The daughter was her father's property (21^7), who received a price for surrendering her to a husband; and so a daughter's dishonour is compensated by law as a pecuniary loss to her father ($22^{16f.}$).' †

To many of the laws there are interesting parallels in the early codes of other nations (*e.g.* in Solon's Code at Athens): these are pointed out in the commentary of Dillmann. Some of the provisions seem to us harsh (21^{21} 22^{18}), but account must be taken of the age for which they were prescribed; and a humane regard for the unprotected and the helpless is unquestionably the dominant spirit of the Code.

Turning now to the more distinctively moral and religious aspects of the Code, we observe firstly the regard paid to the claims of humanity and justice. An emphatic voice is raised against those crying vices of Oriental government, the maladministration of justice and the oppression of the poor. The *gêr*, or foreigner living in Israel under the protection of a family or a community, has no legal status, but he is not to be oppressed. The Sabbath is enjoined as a day of rest for men and cattle; and the produce of every field or vineyard is to be left to the poor one year in seven. Religious institutions are in a simple, undeveloped stage. He who sacrifices to any god but Jehovah falls under the ban. The only ordinance of ceremonial sanctity is to abstain from the flesh of animals torn by wild beasts. Altars are to be of simple, almost rudimentary, structure. The sacred dues are firstlings and firstfruits; and the former must be presented at a sanctuary on the eighth day. This regulation of itself presupposes a plurality of sanctuaries, which also agrees with the terms of 20^{24b}. The three pilgrimages, at which every male is to appear before J″, mark three periods of the agricultural year—the beginning and the close of harvest, and the end of the vintage. The only points of sacrificial ritual insisted on are abstinence from leaven in connexion with the blood of the sacrifice, and the rule that the fat must be burnt the same night. The only sacrifices named are burnt-offerings and peace- (or thank-) offerings (20^{24}).

B. The next code which has to be considered is that of *Deuteronomy*. From a literary point of view, Deuteronomy (disregarding the few short passages belonging to P, and the two poems in chs. 32. 33) consists of a code of laws accompanied by hortatory introductions and comments. Here we are concerned only with the laws as such. A comparison of the laws embodied in Dt with those of the 'Book of the Covenant' at once shows that they are designed for a community living under more fully developed social conditions. Dt, speaking generally, may be described as a revised and enlarged edition of the Book of the Covenant, adapted to the requirements of a later age. With the exception of the compensations to be paid for various injuries (Ex 21^{18}–22^{15}), nearly all the provisions of Ex 20^{22}–23^{33} are included in it; and there are in addition many entirely new ones. A complete tabular synopsis of the two codes will be found above (vol. i. p. 600 f.); here, therefore, it will be sufficient to give a brief outline of the Deut. Code, and to make some general remarks on the Deuteronomic changes and additions.

Outline of laws in Deuteronomy:—

i. *Religious Observances:*
   1. Law of single sanctuary 12^{1-28} (burnt-offerings, sacrifices [*i.e.* peace-offerings], tithes, 'heave-offerings' [firstfruits, and other offerings from the produce of the soil], vows, freewill offerings, and firstlings, all to be offered at the central sanctuary: blood not to be eaten).
   2. Laws against the worship of 'other gods' 12^{29}–13^{18}.
   3. Sanctity of the laity 14^{1-21} (person not to be disfigured in mourning $14^{1f.}$; law of clean and unclean animals 14^{3-20}; flesh of animals dying of themselves not to be eaten 14^{21}).
   4. Laws tending to ameliorate the condition of the poor 14^{22}–15^{18} (disposition of the charitable tithe 14^{22-29}; relief secured to debtors every seventh year 15^{1-11}; law of slavery 15^{12-18}).
   5. Offerings and festivals (firstling males to be offered to

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* $34^{18}=23^{15a}$; $34^{19-20a}=13^{12.13}$; $34^{20b}=23^{15b}$; $34^{21}=23^{12}$; $34^{22}=23^{16}$; $34^{23}=23^{17}$; $34^{25}=23^{18}$; $34^{26}=23^{19}$ (in most cases, with slight verbal differences). For attempts to recover from these laws a 'Decalogue of J,' see (briefly) *LOT* 37 (^{6} 39), more fully, Briggs, *l.c.* p. 189 ff.

† See, further, art. Crimes and Punishments in vol. i.

J″ 15^{19-23}; regulations respecting the observance of the three annual pilgrimages 16^{1-17}).

ii. *The Office-bearers of the Theocracy*:

1. Judges, 16^{18-20} (to be appointed in all cities; and to be strictly impartial in judgment).

[$16^{21f.}$ asherahs and 'pillars' prohibited; 17^{1} sacrifices to be without blemish; 17^{2-7} an Israelite, convicted of idolatry, to be stoned to death].

2. The supreme central tribunal 17^{8-13}.
3. The king 17^{14-20}.
4. Priests 18^{1-8}.
5. The Prophet 18^{9-22} (v.$^{10f.}$ against different forms of magic and divination).

iii. *Criminal Law*:

1. Manslaughter and murder 19^{1-13} 21^{1-9} (cities of refuge 19^{1-13}; symbolical rite of expiation for an untraced murder 21^{1-9}).
2. Law of the landmark 19^{14}.
3. Law of witness 19^{15-21}.

[Four laws designed to secure self-control and forbearance in the conduct of war, c. 20. 21^{10-14}].

iv. *Miscellaneous Laws, relating chiefly to Civil and Domestic life.*—21^{15}–25: *e.g.* primogeniture 21^{15-17}; treatment of undutiful son 21^{18-21}; lost cattle or other property to be restored to its owner (based on Ex $23^{4f.}$) 22^{1-4}; law of 'tassels' 22^{12}; slander against a newly-married maiden 22^{13-21}; adultery 22^{22}; seduction 22^{23-29}; prohibition of marriage with step-mother 22^{30}; usury (interest) $23^{19.\,20}$; vows 23^{21-23}; divorce 24^{1-4}; man-stealing 24^{7} (based on Ex 21^{16}); leprosy $24^{8.\,9}$; pledges $24^{6.\,10-13}$; family of a criminal not to be punished with him 24^{16}; excessive severity in punishment forbidden 25^{1-3}; Levirate-marriage 25^{5-10}; just weights and measures 25^{13-16}.

Note also the moral and religious duties which form the subject of the imprecations in $27^{15ff.}$ (all with parallels in JE, H, or Dt; see Driver, *Deut*. p. 299).

This outline will suffice to give an idea of the greater variety of subjects included in the Code of Dt as compared with that of JE, as also of the greater detail in which they are mostly treated. The organization of society is more complex; and institutions at once more numerous and more varied are needed to regulate it. The following are the principal *changes* in the laws repeated from JE. In Ex 21^{7} a daughter sold by her father into slavery does not go free in the 7th year: in Dt $15^{12.\,17}$ she does; since the law of Ex was formulated, society has advanced; a father's power over his daughter is less absolute than it once was, and it is no longer usual for a Hebrew girl to be *bought* to be the wife of her master or his son. In Ex 21^{13} the asylum for manslaughter is J‴s altar: in Dt 19 six cities are set apart for the purpose. In Ex $22^{16f.}$ seduction is treated among cases of injury to property; in Dt ($22^{28f.}$) it appears among laws of moral purity. In Ex 22^{30} firstlings are to be offered on the 8th day from birth; in Dt 15^{20} they are to be presented annually—a change rendered necessary by the substitution of a single central place of sacrifice for the local altars. In Ex $23^{10f.}$ the sabbatical year is essentially one of rest for the soil, in Dt 15^{1-6} the institution is so applied as simply to form a check on the power of the creditor.

In other cases, the principle of the older law is merely extended, or fresh definitions are added. Thus Dt 13 and 17^{2-7} may be regarded as expansions, with reference to particular cases, of the brief law against idolatry contained in Ex 22^{20}; 16^{1-17}, as compared with Ex 23^{14-17}, adds fresh regulations for the observance of the three annual Pilgrimages; $18^{10f.}$ (against divination and magic) extends the principle of Ex 22^{18} (sorceress alone) to other analogous cases; 19^{15-21} (the law of witness) is a development, with special provisions, of the general principle of Ex 23^{1}; 22^{1-3} extends the principle of Ex 23^{4} to other cases of lost property as $24^{6.\,10-13}$ (pledges) does that of Ex $22^{26f.}$; 22^{23-29} (seduction) particularizes with greater precision than Ex $22^{16f.}$ the cases which might arise. There are also instances in which the older law is repeated without further modification than that of form, as $16^{19f.}$ (Ex $23^{6.\,8}$), $23^{19f.}$ (Ex 22^{25}), 24^{7} (Ex 21^{16}).

Those provisions of Dt, which are without parallel in JE, relate mostly to conditions which, in the age when the laws of JE were drawn up, were not yet regarded as demanding legislative regulation: the greater variety of subjects included in the Code is evidence both of the growth of civilization in itself, and also of more systematic and maturer reflection upon its needs. A fundamental principle of the Deut. legislation is opposition to the heathen practices of the Canaanites: this is particularly prominent in the parenetic parts of the book, but it also determines several of the laws. The law of the single sanctuary (ch. 12), it cannot be doubted, is largely prompted by the desire to free the worship of J″ from the heathen elements by which it had been contaminated at the local shrines; the essential aim of the law of the king (17^{14-20}) is to guard this most important office against the influence of foreigners or participation in foreign policy; the laws of 12^{29}–13^{18} $14^{1.\,3-20}$ $16^{21.\,22}$ 17^{2-7} $18^{10.\,11}$ 22^{5} $23^{17f.}$, are also, some obviously, others, it is probable, implicitly, directed against heathen observances. Of ritual and ceremonial laws there are but few in Dt, though more than there are in JE. Sacrifices and other dues are to be brought to the central sanctuary (ch. 12), but little (v.^{27}) or nothing is said of the ritual with which they are to be presented. Only blood is not to be eaten ($12^{16.\,23}$ 15^{23}), in accordance with an old practice in Israel (1 S $14^{32.\,34}$), though no provision on the subject occurs in the legislation of JE. The laws regarding firstlings, and the observance of the three Pilgrimages (15^{19-23} 16^{1-17}), are fuller than the corresponding ones in JE. Regulations of a ceremonial character without parallel in JE are those relating to clean and unclean animals (14^{3-20}), tithe (14^{22-29}), the offering of sacrifices without blemish (17^{1}), the dues of the priests (18^{1-8}), the brief note on leprosy ($24^{8f.}$), and the liturgical forms to be used by the Israelite at the central sanctuary, when he presents his first-fruits (26^{1-11}), and after payment of the triennial tithe (26^{12-15}). It need only be added that it would be a serious mistake to suppose that the laws of Dt were the *creation* of the age in which the book was composed. This may be the case with one or two: but the majority are beyond question much older, the aim of Dt being merely to present them in a new literary setting, and to inculcate them with fresh motives.

C. We come next to the *Law of Holiness* (H), Lv 17–26. This consists substantially of an older body of laws, which have been arranged by a later editor in a parenetic setting, the whole thus formed being afterwards incorporated in P, with additions and modifications designed for the purpose of harmonizing it more completely with the system and spirit of P. For details see LEVITICUS, or *LOT*^{6} p. 47 ff.;* here our attention must be confined as far as possible to the older body of laws thus imbedded in this part of Lv.

Outline of the original nucleus of the Law of Holiness:—

$17^{3a.\,4}$ (partly). Domestic animals, when slain for food, to be presented at a sanctuary.

17^{9} (partly). All sacrifices to be offered to J″.

$17^{10.\,13f.}$ (partly). Blood, whether of domestic or wild animals, not to be eaten.

18^{6-23}. Laws of chastity (four pentads of laws: v.$^{6-10}$ kinship of the first degree; vv.$^{11-15}$ kinship of the second degree; vv.$^{16-19}$ relationships through marriage; vv.$^{20-23}$ purity outside the family, and Molech-worship).

$19^{3-4.\,9-20.\,26-36}$. Religious and moral duties: vv.$^{3-4}$ laws parallel with the first Table of the Decalogue; vv.$^{11-12}$ laws parallel with the 8th and 9th Commandments; vv.$^{13-18.\,32-36}$ laws of conduct towards one's neighbour,—justice in judgment, freedom from malice, respect of elders, justice in trade, etc.; vv.$^{26-31}$ nothing to be eaten with the blood, divination and other heathen superstitions not to be practised.

[Vv.$^{5-8}$ on peace-offerings, v.^{19} against dissimilar mixtures, v.^{20} a special case of unchastity, are unrelated to their present context, and probably once stood elsewhere in H. V.$^{9f.}$ (gleanings to be left) is better placed in 23^{22}; and vv.$^{23-25}$ (fruit of newly planted trees not to be eaten till the fifth year) is a ceremonial regulation more akin to ch. 23, or 25^{2-7}, than to the main topic of ch. 19].

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* For chs. 18–20, 21–22, also, the valuable discussions of L. B. Paton, *JBL*, 1897, p. 31 ff.; 1898, p. 149 ff.

20^{2-21}. Penalties for Molech-worship, and necromancy (vv.$^{2-6.\ 27}$), and for different cases of unlawful marriage and unchastity (similar to, and in many cases the same as, those prohibited in ch. 18).

Chs. 21–22 (with the exception of some redactional additions) ceremonial regulations respecting priests and offerings (restrictions in domestic life obligatory upon the priests 21^{1-15}; physical imperfections disqualifying from the priesthood 21^{16-24}; conditions for partaking in 'holy' food 22^{1-16}; animals offered in sacrifice to be free from imperfections 22^{17-25}; three special regulations regarding sacrifices 22^{26-30}).

$23^{10-12.\ 15-17.\ 18-19}$ (partly) ^{20} (mostly) $^{22.\ 39}$ (middle part), $^{40.\ 41a.\ 42}$ (regulations for the observance of the Feasts of Unleavened Cakes, Weeks, and Booths). The rest of the chapter consists of supplemental regulations relating partly to these Feasts, partly to other sacred seasons, incorporated from the point of view of P.

$24^{15b-16a.\ 17-21}$ (laws on blasphemy, and certain cases of injury to man and beast).

25^{2b-7a}, parts of vv.$^{8-55}$, perhaps in particular vv.$^{8-9a.\ 10a.\ 13-15.\ 17-22.\ 24-25.\ 35-40a.\ 43.\ 47.\ 53.\ 55}$. Land to lie fallow in the sabbatical year vv.$^{2b-7}$; land not to be sold beyond the next Jubile v.$^{13-15}$; and four regulations for the relief of the impoverished Israelite v.^{25}, v.$^{35-38}$ (usury not to be exacted of him), vv.$^{39.\ 40a.\ 43}$, vv.$^{47.\ 53.\ 55}$.

$26^{1f.}$ (certain fundamental religious duties).

To the original Law of Holiness belong also, in all probability, Lv $11^{2.\ 7.\ 9-10.\ 13-22.\ 41}$ (animals permitted, and prohibited, for food); cf. 20^{25}.

The nucleus of Ex 31^{13-14a} (on the Sabbath); and of Nu 15^{38} (the law of 'tassels')

The original nucleus of H, when compared with the Book of the Covenant, will be seen to deal very much less fully with civil and criminal law, and more fully with the moral and ceremonial law. The only regulations relating to criminal law are those in 24^{17-21}: those in ch. 25 might be classed as belonging formally to civil law; but they are regarded more properly as expressions of religious or humanitarian principle. In chs. 18–20 the fundamental moral principles underlying the Decalogue and parts of the Book of the Covenant are applied to a much larger number of individual cases than is the case in the earlier legislation. Ceremonial legislation has evidently advanced: the number of regulations relating to priests and sacrifices is noticeable. The only species of sacrifices mentioned are, however, the same as those mentioned in Dt, viz. the burnt- and the peace-offering. The characteristic feature of this group of laws in its present form, viz. their subordination to the principle of *holiness* — partly ceremonial, partly moral—seems not to attach to the laws in their original form, but to be an addition due to the compiler (R^h).

D. The legislation of the *Priests' Code*, properly so called (P), is confined almost entirely (see exceptions in Nu 27^{1-11} 35. 36) to ceremonial observances, especially those relating to sacrifice and purification. The following is an outline of the subjects treated in it (directions for the construction of the tabernacle and its parts omitted):—

Gn 17 Circumcision.
Ex 12^{1-13} the Passover; vv.$^{14-20}$ Feast of Unleavened Cakes; vv.$^{43-49}$ qualifications for partaking in the Passover.
  28 the dress of the priests.
  29^{1-37} ritual for the consecration of the priests.
  29^{38-42} the daily burnt-offering.
  30^{22-38} composition of the anointing oil, and the incense.
  31^{12-17} (expansion of H), 35^{1-3} the Sabbath to be observed under pain of death.
Lv 1 ritual of the burnt-offering.
  2 ,, ,, meal- (or cereal-) offering.
  3 ,, ,, peace- (or thank-) offering.
  4–5^{13} ritual of the sin-offering, and cases in which it is to be offered.
  5^{14}–6^{7} (Heb. 5^{14-26}) cases in which a guilt-offering (אָשָׁם) is prescribed (the *ritual* of the guilt-offering follows in 7^{1-7}).
  6^{8-30} (Heb. 6^{1-23}) 7^{8-38} regulations, in the main ancillary to those in 1–6^{7} (Heb. 1–5), relating to the sacrifices there prescribed:—
  6^{8-13} the dress of the priest who offers the burnt-offering; fire to be always burning on the altar of burnt-offering.
  6^{14-18} the priests' portion of the meal-offering.
Lv 6^{19-23} the high priest's daily meal-offering.
  6^{24-30} disposal of the flesh of the sin-offering.
  7^{8-10} the priests' share of the burnt- and meal-offering.
  7^{11-21} on the *species* of peace-offering, and the conditions under which the flesh is to be eaten.
  7^{22-27} fat and blood not to be eaten.
  7^{28-34} the officiating priest's share of the peace-offering.
  $10^{12f.\ 14f.}$ the priest's share of the meal- and peace-offering (substantially a duplicate of 6^{16} and $7^{33f.}$).
  10^{16-20} the flesh of the people's sin-offering (4^{13-21}) to be eaten by the priest.
  11–16 Laws of Purification and Atonement:—
  11 Clean and unclean animals.
  $11^{1-23.\ 41-47}$ animals clean and unclean as *food* (H's law on the subject, with slight expansions).
  11^{24-40} on uncleanness caused by *contact* with the carcases of certain animals.
  12 purification after child-birth.
  13–14 Leprosy (in man, clothing, and houses; diagnosis of symptoms, and ritual of purification).
  15 Purification after certain natural secretions.
  16 Ceremonial of the annual Day of Atonement.
  17–26 Supplementary additions in various parts (as $19^{21f.}$); redactional additions harmonizing chs. 21–22 with the principles of P; in ch. 23 the parts not assigned above to H (the Day of Atonement, vv.$^{26-32}$; and regulations for the observance of the other sacred seasons, fuller than those of H, but not so minute as those of Nu 28–29); 24^{1-4} the lamps in the tabernacle; 24^{5-9} the shewbread; in ch. 25 additions, partly consisting of more detailed regulations, esp. regarding the redemption of land, and partly extending the benefits of the Jubile from lands to *persons*.
  27 the commutation of vows and tithes.
Nu 5^{1-4} Lepers, and other persons ceremonially unclean, to be excluded from the camp.
  5^{5-8} a supplement to Lv 5^{14}–6^{7} (Heb. 5^{14-26}), prescribing that, in case the defrauded person is dead, and there be no next-of-kin, the compensation is to be paid to the priest offering the guilt-offering.
  5^{9-10} Dedicated things to belong to the priest receiving them.
  5^{11-31} law of ordeal for a woman suspected by her husband of unfaithfulness.
  6^{1-21} the law of the Nazirite.
  6^{22-27} the formula of priestly benediction.
  8^{1-4} instructions for fixing the lamps upon the golden candlestick.
  8^{5-26} the consecration of the Levites, and (v.$^{23ff.}$) their period of service.
  9^{9-14} (a law arising out of the incident, 9^{1-8}) the supplementary or 'Little' Passover (to be observed by those accidentally debarred from keeping the regular Passover).
  15^{1-16} the meal- and drink-offering to accompany every burnt- and peace-offering.
  15^{17-21} a cake of the first dough of each year to be offered to J″.
  15^{22-31} the sin-offering, to be offered by the community, or an individual, for sins of inadvertence (a parallel to Lv $4^{13-21.\ 27-31}$).
  15^{37-41} the law of 'tassels' (expanded from the shorter law of H).
  18^{1-7} the duties, and relative position, of the priests and the Levites.
  18^{8-19} the revenues of the priests.
  18^{20-32} distribution of the tithe between priests and Levites.
  19 the rite of purification, by means of water mingled with the ashes of a red heifer, after defilement with a corpse.
  27^{1-11} the law of the inheritance of daughters, in families in which there is no son.
  28–29. A priestly calendar, prescribing the public sacrifices to be offered at each season. Cf. Lv 23.
  30 the law of vows.
  31^{21-30} the law of the distribution of spoil taken in war (after purification, to be divided equally between the soldiers engaged and the community, — the priests, however, to have $\frac{1}{500}$ of the former, and the Levites $\frac{1}{50}$ of the latter).
  35^{1-8} Forty-eight cities appointed for the residence of the Levites.
  35^{9-34} Law of murder and manslaughter (cities of refuge, with regulations for their use).
  36 Heiresses possessing landed property to marry into their own tribe (supplement to 27^{1-11}).

The highly systematized character of the legislation of P will be apparent from this outline. It centres in the 'tabernacle,' the prototype of the later temple; its aim is to secure the *holiness* of Israel, to maintain a community worthy, both collectively and individually, of the consecrating presence of God in its midst (cf. Ex 29^{44-46}, Nu 5^{3} 35^{34}). The priests, with the Levites as their ministers, serve the sanctuary: they maintain there, on behalf of the community, the suitable sacrifices and rites of atonement and purification; they are also at hand to present the sacrifices, and perform the purifications, obligatory from time to time upon individuals. The sacrifices are numerous; and the details are minutely regulated. P exhibits the idea of a holy people dedicated to God, and realizes it on a large scale. The 'congregation' (עֵדָה) is not a nation, but a *church.* This idea is substantially the same as that which underlies Ezk 40–48; but it is worked out in greater detail. The principles most prominent in the Code are those of atonement (כִּפֶּר) and purification (טִהַר, טִמֵּא); the sacrifices most frequently prescribed are the guilt-offering (אָשָׁם) and, especially, the sin-offering (חַטָּאת), neither of which is mentioned at all in any of the other codes, though both occur in Ezk* (see further SACRIFICE). The great aim of the Code is, in fact, by means of these rites, to remove the sins and defilements which are inconsistent with the presence of J″ in His sanctuary in Israel's midst.

The silence, or the contradiction, of the earlier literature † makes it probable that the Priests' Code, in the form in which we have it, or, in other words, the *completed* Priests' Code, is the work of the age subsequent to Ezk. When, however, this is said, it must not be understood to be implied that all the institutions of P are the *creation* of that age. On the contrary, there are allusions in the earlier literature to many of them (though sometimes with evident variations of detail) which show that, at least in a more rudimentary form, they were already in force.

Examples: Gn 8^{21} (J) 'savour of contentment' (Lv 1^{9}, and often in P); Jg $13^{4.7}$ 'unclean' food; Jg $13^{5.7}$, Am $2^{11f.}$ Nazirites; 1 S 2^{28} 'fire-sacrifices' (Lv 1^{9}, and frequently); 3^{3} the 'lamp of God' (Ex 27^{20}); $6^{3ff.}$ a guilt-offering (אָשָׁם); 21^{6} the shewbread; Am $4^{4.5}$ tithes, thanksgiving offerings, and freewill offerings; 8^{5} (so Hos 2^{11}, Is 1^{15}) observance of the 'new moon' (Nu 28^{11-15}); Is 1^{13} a 'convocation' (Lv $23^{2.3}$ etc.); 2 K 16^{15} (but no *evening* burnt-offering, as in P; cf. Ryle, *Canon,* p. 84 f.). And in Dt, not only the parallels with H,‡ but also tithes (though with regulations very different from those of P), 'heave'-offerings (12^{6} etc.), vows, freewill offerings, ceremonial uncleanness in persons ($12^{15.22}$) as well as in things (14^{3-20}), and produced by particular causes (21^{23} [Nu 35^{34}] $23^{10f.}$ [Lv 15^{16}] 24^{4} [Nu 5^{13}] 26^{14} [Nu $19^{11.14}$; cf. Hos 9^{4}]), the *'aẓéreth*, or 'solemn assembly' (16^{8}; cf. Am 5^{22}, Is 1^{13}), a *tôrāh* for leprosy (24^{8}). Ezk also, esp. in chs. 43–45, alludes to a still larger number of usages of the same kind, and, moreover, employs a priestly phraseology which presents many affinities with that of P (cf. *LOT*^{6} 145 ff.).

A priesthood in itself implies the existence of a ceremonial, more or less developed, as the case may be: the oldest traditions of the Hebrews mention repeatedly an 'Ark' and 'Tent of Meeting' as existing in the Mosaic age; and there are early allusions to Aaron, to a hereditary priesthood descended from him, and to the duties —consisting partly in giving decisions on points of civil and criminal law, partly in the maintenance of ritual observances—discharged by the tribe of Levi (Ex 4^{14} 18^{12}, Dt 10^{6b} 33^{10}; cf. Jg 17^{13}). The simplest and earliest ceremonial regulations are those contained in Ex 20^{24-26} 22^{29-31} 23^{14-19}, and the parallel code of Ex 34^{17-26}: but these are obviously of a rudimentary character; and it is only natural to suppose that, as time went on, fresh definitions and distinctions would be introduced, and more precise rules would be prescribed for the method of sacrifice, the ritual to be observed by the priests, the dues which they were authorized to receive from the people, and other similar matters. After the priesthood had acquired, through the foundation of Solomon's temple, a permanent centre, it is probable that the process of development and systematization advanced more rapidly than before; the allusions in Dt imply the existence of priestly usages beyond those which fall directly within the scope of the book, and Ezekiel, being a priest himself, refers to such usages more distinctly. Although, therefore, there are reasons for concluding that the legislation of P did not assume finally the shape in which we have it until after the age of Ezk, it rests ultimately upon an ancient traditional basis; it exhibits the final development and systematization of elements and principles, which in themselves are of great antiquity; and many of the institutions prominent in it are recognized, in various stages of their growth, by the earlier pre-exilic literature, by Dt, and by Ezk.*

The question is not one of great importance in the present connexion; but it should be added that it is doubtful whether the legislation of P springs throughout from the same age; there are indications that it exhibits sometimes the usage of different periods side by side. Cf. Dillm. *Ex-Lv*, 413 (^{2}455: on Lv 4), *Nu-Dt-Jos*, 84, 181 (on Nu 28-29), 635, 641 f., 643; Kuen. *Hex.* §§ 6. 13–15; 15. 28-30; Holzinger, *Einl.* 418–25, 453 f.; also Ryle, *Canon*, 84–88.

In its *general* features—*i.e.* the *general* principles of sacrifice, tithes, annual festivals, purification, etc.—the ceremonial system of the Hebrews did not differ essentially from the systems prevalent among other Semitic nations, and indeed among ancient peoples generally, as, for instance, the Greeks.† It is not improbable that elements in it were borrowed from the Canaanites. Some of the Heb. sacrificial terms (בלל, מנחה, כליל, שלם, זבח) are found in the Carthaginian inscription, relating to sacrifices, preserved now at Marseilles;‡ and vows are also frequently mentioned in other Phœn. inscriptions. There are analogies for the Sabbath among the Babylonians; and even CIRCUMCISION (which see) was not a rite peculiar to the Hebrews. The Levitical ritual, though its form is late, is based ultimately 'on very ancient tradition, going back to a time when there was no substantial difference, in point of form, between Heb. sacrifices and those of the surrounding nations' (*RS* 198, ^{2}215). Of course, among the Hebrews, these common Semitic institutions received, as time went on, many modifications and special adaptations. But the really distinctive character, which they exhibited in Israel, consists in the new spirit with which they are infused, and the higher principles of which they are made the exponent. The aim of the Heb. legislation was 'not so much to create a new system as to give a new significance to that which had already long existed among Semitic races, and to lay the foundation of a higher symbolism leading to a more spiritual worship' (Ryle, *Canon*, p. 28; cf. Ottley, *Bampt. Lect.* 229).

The most conspicuous feature in the legislation of P is perhaps the multiplication and specialization of ceremonial observances, which has been already touched upon.

Another characteristic, which Wellh. has emphasized, is the *statutory* character of religion in the Priestly Code, as contrasted with its more spontaneous character in the earlier codes. In the earlier codes religious observances arise largely out of the circumstances and incidents of daily life. Sacrifices are the spontaneous outcome of the religious feeling of the worshipper; the feasts are occasions of religious observance fixed by the annually recurring seasons of harvest and vintage; the Sabbath is an institution designed expressly for humanitarian ends. In P this is all different: the observances are systematized; their original significance is obliterated; they are to be regarded simply because J″ has enjoined them; the Sabbath is made not for man, but for God, and the slightest infringement of its sanctity is to be visited with death (Ex 31[14], Nu 15[35]). A system of ceremonial observances of this kind manifestly lies in great danger of being abused; except in persons of more than ordinary spiritual vitality, it tends to stifle and sterilize real spiritual life. Among the later Jews (as allusions in the NT and the Mishna show) it led actually to these consequences, and a religion of excessive formalism was the result. The fundamental conception of the priestly legislation, that of a people ever serving God in holiness and purity, is, in the abstract, a great one; but the means adopted for its realization, viz. a routine of external observances, are not those which, in the long-run, can succeed. The routine degenerates inevitably into externality and formalism. There is also another point to be observed. In the ideas of holiness and purity, ritual and moral distinctions were confused. Exactly the same penalty is imposed for infringements of ritual (Ex 30[33. 38], Lv 17[4. 9. 14] 19[8]) as for grave moral offences (Lv 18[29]). Death is the penalty, alike for murder (Nu 35[31]) and for Sabbath breaking (Ex 31[14] 35[2]). Purification from *sin* is prescribed after purely physical defilement, as through contact with a corpse, and even for a house which has been affected by leprosy (Lv 14[49. 53], Nu 19[12. 13. 19. 20] [the Heb. in these passages for *cleanse, purify* is properly to 'free from sin']). A sin-offering is also sometimes enjoined for merely ceremonial uncleanness (*e.g.* Lv 5[2. 6], Nu 6[9-11]). Mr. Montefiore comments on the indifference to bloodshed, combined with zeal for ritual purity, displayed by the singular—and, we may be sure, ideal—narrative of the war with Midian in Nu 31 (vv.[17. 19f. 24ff.]). The principle of ceremonial cleanness and uncleanness, it may be noticed, was the point on which our Lord broke most decisively with the Mosaic law (cf. p. 75[b]).*

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* Ezk 40^{39} 42^{13} 44^{29} 46^{20}: the חַטָּאת, also, $43^{19.21.22.25}$ 44^{27} $45^{17.19.22.23.25}$. Neither, it is to be observed, appears as a *new* institution in Ezk.

† See *LOT* 129–132 (^{6}136–139). The most noticeable contradictions with Dt relate to the position and revenues of the priestly tribe, the disposal of tithes and firstlings, and the manumission of slaves (*ib.* 77 f., ^{6}82 f.; Driver, *Deut.* xxxviii.–ix., 169–172, 185, 187). In 2 K 12^{16} observe that the guilt- and sin-offerings consist in *money* payments (cf. *RS* 402 f., ^{2}423).

‡ See vol. i. p. 600 f.

* W. R. Smith (*OTJC*^{2} 372 f., 377, 382-4) points also to the evidences of ancient ritual law in the hands of the priests; cf. Stade, *Gesch.* ii. 66 (who instances in particular Lv 1-7. 11-15. 17–26, Nu 5–6. 9. 15. 19, as being for the most part 'Niederschrift vorexilischen Gebrauchs'); Cheyne, *Jewish Rel. Life after the Exile*, 81. There are also many examples of *archaic* ideas and usages embedded in P, not less than in the other codes: see, *e.g.*, Lv 11 ('uncleanness'; cf. *RS* 428 ff., ^{2}447 ff.), $14^{7.53}$ (*ib.* 402, ^{2}422), $16^{21f.}$, 21^{6} *al.* (the 'bread of God'; *ib.* 207, ^{2}224), Nu $5^{11ff.}$ (*ib.* 164 f., ^{2}180 f.), $19^{2ff.}$.

† W. R. Smith, *RS*, Lect. VI. (on sacrifice), and elsewhere; Ryle, *Canon*, p. 27 f. Cf. the 'Sacrificial Calendar from Cos,' published by E. L. Hicks in the *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, ix. (1888) p. 323 ff.

‡ *CIS* I. i. 165; see the transl. in Hogarth's *Archæology and Authority* (1899), p. 77 f.; and cf. *RS* 200, 219 n. (^{2}217, 237 n.).

The priestly legislation, however, though it bulks largely in the Pentateuch, never, it must be remembered, formed the *sole* rule of life for the Israelite. The codes of JE and Dt were not abrogated by it; the warm moral and spiritual teaching of Dt possessed exactly the same authority as the ceremonial of P; and the teaching of Dt was supported by the indirect, but by no means indistinct, testimony of the non-legislative parts of the Pentateuch. The prophets, moreover, remained the eloquent and moving exponents of spiritual religion, and of the paramount claims of the moral law above all ritual observances. The corrective for the ceremonialism of P was thus close at hand, in writings acknowledged by the Jews themselves as authoritative. The Jews were never *exclusively* under the rule of the ceremonial system of P. On its ceremonial side, the 'law' was undoubtedly liable to be misapplied, and to lead to formalism; but even its ceremonial institutions were the expression of profound religious ideas, and furnished an outlet for varied and genuine religious feelings; while, treated as a whole, the 'law,' as the later Psalmists abundantly attest, provided an atmosphere in which a religious spirit—for something, of course, in such matters, depends upon the temper of the worshipper—could breathe freely, and draw in spiritual refreshment. The ceremonial legislation never had a separate existence of its own; and the Jewish 'law,' if it is to be judged properly, must be judged as a whole, and not with exclusive reference to one of its parts.

In the earlier codes the broader duties of humanity, justice, and morality are chiefly and sufficiently insisted on. They were adapted to create a righteous and God-fearing nation. The Israelite who obeyed loyally the precepts of Dt could not deviate widely from the paths of truth and right. As time advanced, a ceremonial system was gradually developed, and this, though the earlier provisions just referred to were not abrogated, became ultimately the more formal and distinctive expression of Israel's faith. And this system played an important function in the religious education of mankind. 'It enforced and deepened the sense of sin. It declared the need of restoration and forgiveness. It expressed in the form of institutions the great principles which regulate man's converse with God. It emphasized the significance of sacrifice under its different aspects, as eucharistic, dedicatory, propitiatory.* It taught more and more distinctly that an atoning rite must precede the acceptance of the worshipper by God. It thus established the principles which in the fulness of time were to receive their supreme and final application in the sacrifice of Christ. In all its stages, the Mosaic law held before the eyes of Israel an ideal of duty to be observed, of laws to be obeyed, of principles to be maintained; it taught them that human nature needed to be restrained; it impressed upon them the necessity of discipline. And in the post-exilic age, when the disintegrating influences of Hellenism might have operated disastrously upon the nation, the institutions of the law bound together the majority of its members in a religious society, strong enough to resist the forces which threatened to dissolve it,'† and able to guard efficiently the spiritual treasures with which it had been intrusted. Through the ordinances of the law, imperfect in themselves though they might be, God thus trained and disciplined His people, till it should be ripe to cast off the yoke of external ordinances, and be ruled by principles operative from within (Jer 31[31ff.]) rather than by commands imposed from without. And this is the sense in which St. Paul speaks of the law as a *παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν* (Gal 3[24]). The *παιδαγωγός* was the 'tutor' (RV), or superior slave, intrusted with the moral education of a child; and the law was similarly an agency for discipline, or moral training, holding the nation in a moral constraint (*ἐφρουρούμεθα*, v.[23]) till it was fit for the freedom of mature age, to be secured by Christ. And the means by which the law acted in this capacity was partly by quickening and disciplining man's moral sense, partly by bringing to light transgression, and so awakening the sense of sin and the need of forgiveness, which in view of man's moral weakness it could not itself provide.

On the view taken of the 'law' in the NT see the following article; and on the law in post-biblical Judaism (the Mishna, etc.), see TORAH.

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* On the sense in which our Lord came to 'fulfil' the law (Mt 5[17]), *i.e.* in so far as it was imperfect, to complete it, especially by disengaging from its limited and temporary forms, and placing in their just light, the ethical and religious truths of which it was the expression, see also Kirkpatrick, *Divine Library of the OT*, 104 f.

* It ought not in this connexion to be forgotten that only *unintentional* sins were atoned for by the sin-offering, not sins committed 'with a high hand' (Nu 15[30f.]), *i.e.* in deliberate defiance of God's will.

† Driver, *Sermons on the OT*, p. 131 f.; cf. Sanday, *BL* 180 ff.; Ottley, *BL* 224 f.

LITERATURE.—Kuenen, *Relig. of Isr.* (1875) ii. 250-286 (on P), *Hibb. Lect.* 1882, 82 ff. (priests and *tôrāh*), 156–167 (the priestly law), *Hex.* § 10. 4 (meaning of *tôrāh*); Wellhausen, *Hist.* *passim*, esp. chs. i.–iii. ix. (see Contents, pp. xi–xvi), x. (the Oral and the Written Torah), and pp. 435–440, *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.* (1894) pp. 134 ff.; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} p. 298 ff. (Tôrāh), 428–430, and Lectures xi. (laws of JE) xii. (Deut. and P); Ryle, *Canon of the OT* (1892), 22–33, 48 f., 57-60, 71–4, 75-91; Montefiore, *Hibb. Lect.* 1892 (see Index, 'Torah' and 'Law'); Smend, *Alttest. Rel.-Gesch.* 1893 (see Index, 'Thorah' and 'Gesetz'); Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. 188 ff. and ch. xviii. (sacred institutions of Israel, acc. to P); Nowack, *Arch.* (1894) ii. *passim* (sacred institutions described according to the different Codes, see Contents); Briggs, *Higher Crit. of the Hex.*^{2} (1897); Bruce, *Apologetics* (1893), pp. 208 ff., 261 ff.; Sanday, *Bampt. Lect.* 1893, Lect. iv. (pp. 168-188); Ottley, *Bampt. Lect.* 1897, Lect. v. (religious ideas and symbolism of P); Cheyne, *Jewish Rel. Life after the Exile*, 1899, p. 72 ff.

S. R. DRIVER.

LAW (IN NEW TESTAMENT).—

Use of term 'Law' in NT.
I. Relation of Jesus to the Law.
  (1) His recognition of its divine origin and authority.
  (2) His critical attitude towards the Law.
II. Attitude of the Early Church to the Law, and especially the practice and teaching of St. Paul.
  A. Practice of the earliest Christian society.
  B. Practice and doctrine of St. Paul.
    (*a*) His practice during his Second Missionary Journey.
    (*b*) His practice during his Third Missionary Journey.
    (*c*) St. Paul's use of the term 'law.'
    (*d*) His teaching in his Four Great Epistles as regards (1) the place of the Law in History; (2) the mode in which it acts in the individual who lives under it; (3) the relation of Law and Gospel, and esp. the relation of Christ's Death to the Law; (4) the relation of the Christian to law.
    (*e*) St. Paul's action on his last visit to Jerusalem.
    (*f*) Teaching of his later Epistles.
III. The Law in the Epistle to the Hebrews.
IV. The Law in the other NT Books.
Literature.

The word law (*νόμος*) is used in the NT of 'any law whatsoever' (Grimm, *Lex. s.v.*), but when 'the law' is spoken of without qualification, it is always the law of God which is meant. This is not a classical meaning or use of the word, and explains the fact that in the NT (with the exception of a quotation from the LXX of Jer 31 (38)^{33} in He 8^{10} 10^{16}) it is always found in the singular. 'The law of God,' or 'the law of Moses,' or 'the law' *simpliciter*, is the style of Scripture; a classical writer would say 'the laws' of Athens or of Solon. But 'the law,' and 'law' without the article, are religious conceptions, and it is as such that they are treated here. The word occurs some 196 times in the NT, but it is not found in Mk, in Th, 2 Co, Col, Tit, 2 Ti, Philem, 1 and 2 P, Jude, the Epp. of John, and Rev. To bring out its significance in the NT it will be convenient to examine (1) the relation of Jesus to the law; (2) the attitude of the early Church to the law, and especially the practice and teaching of St. Paul; (3) the peculiar view of the law taken in the Ep. to the Hebrews; and (4) the indications in other NT books of legal or antinomian tendencies in the first century of the Christian era. The necessary preliminary to the understanding of all these points is a knowledge of the contents of the 'law' of the OT, for which reference may be made to the preceding article.

I. THE RELATION OF JESUS TO THE LAW.—To begin with, the relation of Jesus to the law was passive, like that of every Jew. He was born under the law (Gal 4^{4}); the requirements of the law in regard to circumcision and purification were complied with in His case as in that of any child of Jewish birth (Lk 2$^{21f.}$). He was taken up to the temple when He had completed His twelfth year (Lk 2$^{42ff.}$), and became, like other Jewish youths, בֶּן הַתּוֹרָה (or בַּר מִצְוָה) a son of the law. He would be instructed in it, and its responsibilities would be laid on Him, simply because it was the law of the nation of which He was a member. He must have accepted it as part of the national inheritance to which He was born. The NT gives us no means whatever of judging how the passive unconscious relation to the law was changed into the conscious and responsible one which we see when our Lord entered on His public work. No doubt He grew into that power of judgment and liberty of action which characterize His ministry; but we cannot tell what effort and perplexity, or whether any effort or perplexity, accompanied this growth. When we consider the shortness of His ministry, it seems extremely improbable that we should be able to trace within its narrow limits any 'evolution' or progressive change in His attitude to the law. That attitude was really determined by His character, by the spirit of sonship, of free appreciation of God's will, of unrestrained love to man; and His character was complete when He identified Himself with our sinful race in His baptism, and received there the attestation of the heavenly Father as His beloved Son. No doubt, as one thing in His life led on to another, and as opposition defined His attitude, it became more and more clear what His relation to 'the law,' both as a divine institution and as a divine institution administered and corrupted by man, must be; but in principle this was determined from the beginning. Hence it is not necessary, under the idea that clear self-consciousness is the last result of action, to attempt to trace in detail the practical impulses under which our Lord's attitude to the law was gradually defined, or to assume that *He* was learning His own mind all the time (so practically Holtzmann, *NT Theologie*, i. 130–160); we may take the Synoptics as they stand, and aim at a more systematic view.

(1) Speaking positively, Jesus recognized the law as a whole as a divine institution, and therefore as invested with indefeasible divine authority. He expressed His sense of this authority in the strongest possible language; and, with the idea of the law as embodied in writing present to His mind, declared that 'till heaven and earth should pass, one jot or one tittle should in no wise pass from the law till all should be fulfilled' (Mt 5^{18}, cf. Lk 16^{17}). It has been asserted that Jesus, whose attitude (as we shall see) to certain parts of the law was at least critical, could not have used such language, and that it belongs to the Judaism of the First Gospel. But it is found also in the Third, which is Gentile or Pauline rather than Jewish, and the assertion is pedantic. Jesus certainly believed that the law embodied a revelation of God; it was, in short, God's law; and without considering in what respects it might be subject to modification or expansion, He could say broadly that just because it *was* God's law, not the dot of an *i* or the stroke of a *t* could be abrogated by any power on earth. And when confronted, as He is on both the occasions when He uses this strong language, with the deformed righteousness of the Pharisees (Mt 5^{20}, Lk 16$^{14-17}$), by which the law of God was virtually annulled, we can easily believe that He could and did express Himself thus vehemently. This seems truer, psychologically, than to say with Wellhausen (*Israelitische u. Jüdische Geschichte*^{2}, p. 382) that He found room everywhere for His soul, and was not straitened by what was little in the law, so highly did He exalt the worth of that which was great: the latter one should do, the former not leave undone. It is a more placid and controlled statement of Christ's relation to the law in principle which is found in Mt 5^{17}, the text or theme of the Sermon on the Mount: 'Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil.' The law *and* the prophets is a compendious expression for the

ancient religion as embodied in the OT. To no part of this—neither to the statutory elements in it nor to the elements of promise, neither to its morality nor to its hopes—was Jesus in any sense hostile. There must have been something in His conduct or teaching to raise the question, something which created difficulty for men who identified the law with the current interpretation of it in the Rabbinical schools or in the religious practice of the day; but when it was fairly stated, it created no difficulty for Jesus. In His conscience there was no sense of antagonism or antipathy to the old revelation either of God's will or of His purpose. On the contrary, He had come to identify Himself with that revelation, and to consummate it. The πληρῶσαι in Mt 5^{17} applies to the OT in both its parts. It is true that in the rest of Mt 5 it is the law alone which is taken account of, and this has made it possible to doubt whether πληρῶσαι means 'to show the full meaning of,' or 'to keep perfectly'; but the very absence of the object in v.^{17}, and the disjunctive ἤ (the law *or* the prophets), show that Jesus was thinking of the OT as containing elements at once of requirement and of promise, and asserting that all it meant in both kinds would be brought to its consummation in Him. Hence in principle there is no antagonism between Jesus and the law, between the NT and the OT. For the conscience of Jesus they needed no reconciliation. The New Testament was in Him, and He was thoroughly at home in the Old.

It agrees with this that Jesus refers freely to the law as a religious authority, and as the way to life. 'If thou wouldst enter into life, keep the commandments' (Mt 19^{17}). 'What shall I do to inherit eternal life? Jesus said to him, What is written in the law?' (Lk 10^{26}). 'They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them' (Lk 16^{29}). It agrees further with this, that in the most unsparing denunciation of Pharisaism and hypocrisy, He safeguarded with scrupulous care the sanctity of the law they 'hedged' and abused: 'The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat: all things therefore that they say to you do and observe' (Mt 23^{3}). Like Mt 5^{18} this saying has been impugned on the ground that Jesus could not, in consistency with His real opinion, have spoken thus. This is the criticism of persons who have never spoken to a crowd, and who do not know that the large consistency of leaving a sound and homogeneous impression on the mind is indifferent to the abstract precisian consistency which dictates such doubts. Why should not Jesus say, 'As interpreters of the law of God, show them all due reverence; as keepers of the law of God, beware of following their example'? They were poor interpreters, no doubt, but the function itself was a legitimate one, and all that they did in the exercise of it was, *primâ facie*, entitled to respect. Even if it were not so without qualification (and in part, of course, it was not, as Jesus immediately goes on to show), the qualification could be left to take care of itself; the main interest of the moment was to expose the Pharisaic practice by which the law was so wickedly annulled. That making void (ἀκυροῦν) the law of God (Mt 15^{6} ‖ Mk 7^{13}) which Jesus laid to the charge of the Pharisees was exactly the opposite of the πληρῶσαι, which He used to define His own relation to it. With them, in spite of all the hedges which guarded it, it lost its rights; with Him, in spite of all His freedom, it came to its rights.

(2) Besides this positive attitude of Jesus to the law as a whole, we have to take account in His life of what may be called a more critical attitude. Without any sense of hostility to the law, He was conscious of its imperfection; this is implied even in His having come to fulfil it. Of this there are various indications.

(*a*) He speaks of the old revelation as a whole, as of a thing which has had its day. 'The law and the prophets were until John: from that time the kingdom of heaven is preached'; it is a new era, in which they have no longer the same significance (Lk 16^{16}, Mt $11^{12f.}$). There is a parabolic hint of this also in Mk $2^{21f.}$ and ‖ Mt 9^{17}, Lk 5^{37}.

(*b*) He delights in summaries of the law, in which it is at once comprehended and transcended. 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets' (Mt 7^{12}, cf. Mt 22^{34-40}). Such summaries lift the soul above all that is statutory and positive in the law; in other words, they enable it to conceive of religion as the keeping of law, and yet as without any element of legalism.

(*c*) He presents a positive new standard of life from which legalism has disappeared. Sometimes it is His own example (Jn 13^{15}), interpreted as in Jn 13^{34} into a new commandment of love like His own. Sometimes it is the example of the heavenly Father, whose love, impartial and inexhaustible, is the pattern for His children (Mt 5^{43-48}). It is by this standard of love that all the nations are unconsciously judging themselves now, and will be judged by Him at last (Mt $25^{31ff.}$). Sometimes it is represented as 'the will of my Father who is in heaven' (Mt 7^{21} 12^{50}). All these modes of conceiving the standard of disciple life, though not annulling 'the law' but fulfilling it, are nevertheless indifferent to it, either as a historic document or as a national institution.

(*d*) Jesus distinguishes within the law between its weightier matters—judgment, mercy, and faith; and its more trivial ones—the tithing of mint, anise, and cummin (Mt 23^{23} ‖ Lk 11^{42}). This is not exactly the same as to say that He subordinated the ritual to the moral, though no doubt He did. Nothing could put this more forcibly than Mt $5^{23f.}$. A man is to leave his gift before the altar, to be reconciled to his brother. There is no law except love; no statute that can be pleaded against it, no rite so solemn but must give way to it. The tendency of legalism is to reduce all commandments to a level; they are all parts of a divine law, and it is not for men to pick and choose between them; and the Jewish conscience, to which the law was one law and God's law, could not find itself at home in the division of it into ritual and moral. For it there was a moral obligation to keep what we call the ritual law. But as this distinction of Jesus mastered the mind, the sense of moral proportion came back, and it was felt, by some at least, that there were elements in the law which were waxing old and ready to vanish away.

(*e*) Jesus expressly and formally criticised the law as it was interpreted in the conscience and practice of His countrymen. In Mt 5^{21-48} we have a series of illustrations. The sixth commandment (v.$^{21ff.}$), the seventh (v.$^{27ff.}$), the law of perjury (v.$^{33ff.}$), the *lex talionis* (v.$^{38ff.}$), the law as to the treatment of neighbours and enemies (v.$^{43ff.}$), are discussed in succession. It is not always clear when it is the letter of the OT itself, and when it is only the current legal rendering of it, which is under review; but in either case Jesus adopts a free critical attitude towards it, and exalts it to a new power. On one of the subjects touched in this chapter, in connexion with the seventh commandment, namely, the law of marriage and divorce, Jesus on another occasion tacitly withdrew a permission which He recognized as conceded by the Mosaic law (ἐπέτρεψεν Μωυσῆς), in the interest of the ideal of marriage. 'Because of your hardness of heart Moses allowed you to put away your wives, but from the beginning it was not so' (Mt 19^{8} ‖ Mk). The question was one on which Jewish schools were divided, and Jesus legislates upon it in independence, indeed, of Dt 24^{1}, but in harmony with the law embodied in the creation narrative, Gn 2^{24}. From the point of view of legalism it is impossible to say why the authority of Dt should be relative and that of Gn absolute; and the positiveness with which Christ pronounces marriage indissoluble, except by the sin which, *ipso facto*, annuls it, shows that He has completely transcended the legal standpoint. (See, further, art. MARRIAGE). The same holds of His criticism of the Sabbath law, the subject on which He came most frequently into conflict with His countrymen: cf. Mt 12$^{1-12}$ (the disciples plucking the ears of corn; the healing of the withered hand); Lk 13$^{10-17}$ (the woman with a spirit of infirmity), 14$^{1-6}$ (the dropsical man); Jn 5$^{1-17}$ (the paralytic at Bethesda); Jn 9 (the blind man restored to sight). Cf. Lk 6^{5} (D; the incident of the man working on the Sabbath). Here it is impossible to say that Jesus was hostile to the law of God, or to any ideal of the Sabbath having its roots in the OT. But He was irreconcilably hostile to the accumulation of traditional human precepts into which the prohibition of labour, in the interest of man and beast, had been expanded by the perverse ingenuity of the scribes (cf. Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 470 ff. [*HJP* II. ii. 96 ff.]). He was hostile to the method of interpretation which defeated God's purpose in giving the law, and changed a blessing into a burden. He was especially indignant that on a day which was made for man He should be forbidden to do works of humanity, by exercising His power to heal. As Son of Man, the head of the kingdom in which humanity was to come to its rights, He claimed to be Lord of the Sabbath, and to judge all statutes concerning it according to their agreement or disagreement with its humane intention. It is in connexion with conflicts of this kind that we first read of His enemies plotting His death (Mk 3^{6}): He wounded their pride in their legal holiness too deeply to be forgiven. It is one of the defects of legalism that the less the grounds of the law can be discerned—in other words, the more positive and arbitrary it is—the greater seems the merit of punctually observing it. Hence the numberless prohibitions into which the fourth commandment had been developed had a greater importance for the legally-trained conscience than the weightier matters of the law; and the assumption of freedom toward them, as by Jesus, was regarded as the most daring impiety. How far the teaching and practice of Jesus were immediately grasped by His followers we cannot tell; there are indications in the Gospel (Lk 13^{17}) that there were many prepared to appreciate them. But if in relation to the Sabbath and to the law of marriage we can say that Jesus criticised the legalistic practice of His time by reference to the ideal enshrined in the OT itself, we are on different ground when we come to consider—

(*f*) The attitude of Jesus to what we should call the ritual law—that part of the law and custom of the Jews which was purely positive, and in which there was really no ethical content. As far, indeed, as this was represented by the cultus of the nation, He treated it with at least silent respect. We do not know that He was ever present at a sacrifice, but neither do we hear that He ever denounced sacrifice. He certainly spoke of the temple as His Father's house, and as destined to be a house of prayer for all nations; and in a flame of zeal He drove from it the traders who made it a market-place and a den of robbers (Mt 21^{13} ‖). He paid the temple tribute, not, indeed, because He was bound to do so,—on the contrary, He, and His disciples also, as the king's children, were free from such imposts,—but to avoid offence (Mt 17$^{24-27}$). He did not shrink from touching the leper (Mt 8$^{1-4}$), being raised above the thought of ceremonial pollution; but He told him to go and show himself to the priest, and offer the gift which Moses commanded, for a testimony to them. There is a combination here of inward liberty and indifference, with a formal outward respect determined by circumstances, and necessarily ceasing with them. Cf. also Lk 17^{14}. (In this connexion it may be noted that the idea of *σκάνδαλον* as a thing to be avoided in conduct is part of the new moral ideal of Jesus, dependent on the primacy He gives to love; we are bound to consider others—as He did, for instance, in paying the temple tax—with a consideration which we may not need ourselves; and to deny this consideration, and out of selfishness injure others or lead them into sin, is denounced by Him in the most passionate words, Mt 18$^{6f.}$). But there is one point in which, according to the evangelic tradition, Jesus completely broke not only with the practice of His time, but with the law of Moses itself—the distinction, namely, between clean and unclean foods, and the observance of various ritual purifications by washing, Mk 7$^{1-23}$, Mt 15$^{1-20}$. The discussion here starts from the violation by His disciples of 'the tradition of the elders.' To this, naturally, Jesus could allow no authority; but He went further, and assailed it as a morally malignant thing which practically annulled the law of God. He appealed to Scripture (*e.g.* to the fifth commandment, Mk 7$^{9f.}$) *against* this tradition—to the law of God against the ordinance of man—precisely as the Reformers appealed to the Bible against the Church (Holtzmann, *NT Theol.* i. 141). But in explaining to *the people* ('Hear me, all of you, and understand') the principle on which He acted, He went further still, and, as the evangelist expressly asserts, 'made all meats clean' (*καθαρίζων πάντα τὰ βρώματα*, Mk 7^{19}). In Lk 11^{37} the same subject is treated more from the point of view of indifference; it is only when the dish is filled with the proceeds of rapine that there is anything offensive in insisting on its being outwardly (*i.e.* Levitically) clean; but in Lk 10^{7} (the mission of the Seventy) there may be a reference to the more thorough view. The missionaries are to eat and drink what they are offered, with no needless scruples. This decisive breach with the law was felt to be what it was both by the opponents of Jesus and by Jesus Himself: 'Then came the disciples and said unto him, Knowest thou that the Pharisees were offended when they heard this saying?' . . . 'Let them alone,' He answered; 'they are blind guides; and if the blind guide the blind, both shall fall into a pit' (Mt 15$^{12ff.}$).

It is at this point, where this decisive breach with legalism is accomplished, that Jesus is compelled to leave Palestine (Mt 15^{21} ‖ Mk), to give up the attempt to win the people, and devote Himself to the training of the Twelve. It was only to a select company that His mind could now be unfolded; a great gulf had been fixed between Him and the worshippers of the law, across which no understanding was possible. Nor do the Gospels give us the means of knowing how far He was able to carry the education of the Twelve on this subject. The 'meats and drinks and divers washings' were part of a system; what of the remaining part of it? What of all that element of the law which was identified with the temple and its worship? What of animal sacrifice? What even of the covenant sign, circumcision? As for the temple, He predicted its fall, and with it the collapse of the ritual worship. But was this element in the law to have fulfilment through Him, or was it only to be destroyed? The one hint we have of an answer to this is the fact that Jesus spoke of His own death as the basis of a (new) covenant between God and man—that covenant which Jeremiah foretold ($31^{31ff.}$), which has as its fundamental blessing the forgiveness of sins. To connect the forgiveness of sins with the shedding of blood is in the Bible inevitably to conceive the shedding of blood as sacrificial; only sacrificial blood atones for sin. In the great word spoken at the Supper, therefore, Jesus hints at a fulfilment in His own person of that whole side of the law which has to do with approaching God in worship, Mt 26^{28}. He gives the impulse and the justification to that interpretation of His life and death in relation to the (Levitical) law which we afterwards find in the Ep. to the Hebrews.

On the whole, then, it may be said that the attitude of Jesus to the law was that of entire loyalty to it as the revelation of God's will, entire comprehension of it in its principle and aim, entire subordination of every expression of it to its principle, entire superiority to all human interpretations of it, as designed perhaps for its greater security, but actually making it of no effect; and entire indifference, not indeed to the law as constituting an order for approaching God in worship, but to those elements in the law which, because in themselves without ethical significance, operated to corrupt conscience, and to divide men from one another without moral ground.

II. THE ATTITUDE OF THE EARLY CHURCH TO THE LAW, AND ESPECIALLY THE PRACTICE AND TEACHING OF ST. PAUL.—*A. At first* the law presented no problem to the Christian society. All the members of that society were Jews, and devout Jews. The Ananias who baptized St. Paul is described as *εὐλαβὴς κατὰ τὸν νόμον*, and as having testimony borne to him by all the Jews inhabiting Damascus (Ac 22^{12}), and this character was no doubt typical. The early Christians, in company with the apostles, assiduously frequented the temple (Ac 2^{46} 3^{1} $5^{12.20}$); the observance of the law, so far as it was observed by common people, would be a matter of instinct with them—a part of their nationality, the relation of which to their religion never presented itself to their minds. The charges made against them by the priests have never any reference to the law, and the proofs adduced for the Messiahship of Jesus, which seem to have filled a considerable space in apostolic preaching, were related not to the law, but to prophecy. As far as the Bk. of Acts gives us any indication, difficulty first emerged in connexion with the preaching of St. Stephen. He was charged with speaking 'blasphemous words against Moses and against God'; with incessantly 'speaking words against this Holy Place and against the law'; with saying that 'Jesus of Nazareth will destroy this place, and change the customs which Moses delivered to us' (Ac 6). From these accusations we can only infer that the new wine was beginning to burst the old bottles, and that the enemies of Christianity, with senses sharpened by hatred and fear, saw perhaps sooner than its friends that it was essentially irreconcilable with the established legalism of the Jewish Church. It was divine and human; Judaism was national and traditional; it could not harmonize finally with the traditional and national framework. But in the Christian society itself, so natural was it for Jews to live as Jews, even after they accepted Jesus as the Christ, that the difficulty was not felt.

This difficulty was first forced on the attention of every one by the circumstances attendant on the reception of Cornelius into the Church. While St. Peter, divinely led from Joppa to Cæsarea, was yet preaching the gospel in Cornelius' house, the Holy Spirit fell on all those who heard the word (Ac 10^{44}). The circumcised believers who were there were amazed, but St. Peter saw the significance of the event, and at once had them received into the Church by baptism, and associated familiarly with them (Ac 11^{3}). When his conduct—which really meant that the ceremonial law, as a Jewish national law, separating the Jews as God's people from all others, had ceased to have religious significance—was called in question at Jerusalem (Ac $11^{2ff.}$), he defended it apparently with the full consciousness of what it meant. 'If God gave them the same gift as he gave us also when we believed in the Lord Jesus Christ, who was I that I should obstruct God?' (cf. Ac $15^{7ff.}$). It is implied here that the gift of God—in other words the Holy Ghost—is *the* essential of Christianity, and the only one; where it is found, nothing else counts, and no questions are to be raised; circumcision is nothing and uncircumcision is nothing. But if this is so, then (so far as it is a term of communion and a condition of salvation) does not the law as a whole, to which men were bound by circumcision, cease to have any religious significance? Is it not possible already to define the Church as a society in which there is neither Jew nor Greek?*

This inference, which was involved in St. Peter's conduct, and in his defence of it, was not, however, clearly drawn at once. The exceptional case of Cornelius was regarded as exceptional; one man and his family could not make a Church, and this isolated instance might perplex rather than enlighten the simple-minded. But with the extension of the Church to Antioch, and especially with its extension beyond Antioch through the mission conducted by Paul and Barnabas, the subject was brought up with greater urgency. In the account of the first mission of these apostles, we have a hint of the peculiar Pauline attitude to the law: 'in this man (Jesus) every one who believes is justified from all things from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses,' Ac 13^{39}. It is not in this, however, but in the doctrine of a crucified Messiah, and perhaps in personal jealousy, that an explanation may be found of the opposition offered to the mission *en route*. Not Jewish Christians attached to the law, but Jews who were not Christians at all, resisted the preachers.

When Paul and Barnabas returned, they summed up the result of their mission in the words: 'God has opened the door of faith to the Gentiles,' Ac 14^{28}. But this 'conversion of the Gentiles,' though the news of it caused great joy in Phœnicia and Samaria (Ac 15^{3}), awakened very different feelings even in Christian circles at Jerusalem. Emissaries from Jerusalem insisted on teaching (*ἐδίδασκον*, Ac 15^{2}) the brethren at Antioch—men who had believed in Jesus Christ and received the Holy Ghost—that without circumcision they could not be saved. It was a deliberate challenge not only to the work of Paul and Barnabas, but, as they believed, to the work of God; and as it involved the unity of the Church, it was arranged that Paul and Barnabas with some brethren from Antioch should go to settle it with the apostles and elders at Jerusalem. It was not a question on which the apostles to the Gentiles could compromise; and everything depended, not indeed for the future of Christianity, but for the present peace of the Church, on the conciliatory spirit and insight of the leaders of the Church at Jerusalem. Room was given for discussion (Ac 15^{7}), but the question was settled by the argument of St. Peter—an argument identical in principle with that of ch. 11: 'God who knows the heart bore witness to them (the Gentiles) in that he gave them the Holy Spirit just as he did to us; and he made no distinction between us and them, in that he purified their hearts by faith.' For the Gentiles, at all events, a place in the Church and a part in salvation is in no way dependent on circumcision, or on keeping the law of Moses. This was the principle for which St. Paul contended; and it was in consistency with it that he refused to have Titus circumcised on the occasion of this visit to the Jewish Church (Gal 2^{4}), and that he withstood St. Peter to the face when, during a subsequent visit to Antioch, he yielded to Jewish pressure, and withdrew from fellowship with Gentile believers.

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* We have assumed above that the Cornelius episode is historical, and also in its right place.

The recognition of this principle on both sides does not discredit the decree of Ac 15$^{22ff.}$. The decree is a measure of expediency, necessarily of a temporary character, but one to which (in the interests of peace and of the Church's unity) St. Paul could easily enough agree—once his principle had been recognized. Where Judaism was focused, in Jerusalem for instance, the law would assert itself as inevitably as nationality or patriotism; in purely Gentile Churches no question as to its place in revelation or its religious significance might ever be raised; in places where Jew and Gentile were much in contact there would no doubt be inconsistencies, misunderstandings, and practical compromises and accommodations of various sorts. Of these the decree is a specimen.

B. The centre of interest in the NT is now in *the practice and the doctrine of St. Paul*.—(*a*) In the course of his second mission he visited Europe, and in a few verses of the 1st Ep. to the Corinthians, written to a Church founded in the course of this mission, he gives a clear and precise account of the principles on which he acted. 'Being free from all, I made myself a slave to all, that I might gain the more. And I became to the Jews as a Jew, that I might gain Jews; to those under law, as under law, not being myself under law, that I might gain those under law; to those without law (*i.e.* the Gentiles as 'outlaws' from the Jewish point of view), as without law, not being without law to God, but under law to Christ (ἔννομος because the Christian lives *in* the law, he is not *under* it as one to whom it speaks from without and from above, and whom it oppresses), that I might gain those without law' (on the whole passage 1 Co 9$^{19-23}$ see the masterly note of Edwards, *Comm. ad loc.*). It is in pursuance of this policy that St. Paul at the outset of this journey circumcises Timothy (Ac 16^{3}), and delivers to the Churches on his route the decree of the Jerus. Council (Ac 16^{4}); it is still in pursuance of it that he preaches at Corinth a gospel to which everything is indifferent but Jesus Christ crucified (1 Co 2$^{1f.}$), and declares that circumcision is nothing and uncircumcision nothing (1 Co 7$^{18f.}$).

In these verses in 1 Co it may be assumed that St. Paul is interpreting the principle on which he had acted when at Corinth, and on which he acted everywhere. The man who is called (*i.e.* who becomes a Christian) uncircumcised is not to circumcise himself; the man who is circumcised when the call comes to him is not to undo or disguise the fact: as far as the gospel and membership in the Church are concerned, circumcision and uncircumcision are neither here nor there. It is of this principle and practice that St. Paul says: so I ordain in all the Churches (1 Co 7^{17}). The Jewish opposition to St. Paul at Corinth seems also to have fastened on this aspect of his work: it no longer flowed from personal jealousy, as probably in Galatia. The charge laid against him before Gallio was that he persuaded men to worship God παρὰ τὸν νόμον (Ac 18^{13}), by which is no doubt meant, in violation of the Mosaic law. Judaism was a *religio licita*, and as the teaching of St. Paul was frankly indifferent to the national character in virtue of which the law possessed this public standing, his enemies thought to bring him within the scope of the Roman law as violating it. Yet with all this he was anxious to maintain communion with the mother Church at Jerusalem, and at the close of his journey formally paid his respects to it once more (Ac 18^{22}).

(*b*) To the third mission of St. Paul, which is ordinarily dated as commencing 55 or 56 [Turner, 52] A.D., belong the great controversial Epistles, 1 and 2 Co, Gal, and Ro, in which his doctrine of the law (for he was obliged both by his spiritual experience and by the challenges of his adversaries to have a doctrine) is expounded in all its aspects. Law in a sense is the subject of all, but especially of the two last named. The very frequency with which the word occurs is significant. It is found 32 times in Gal, 76 times in Ro, 8 times in 1 Co; elsewhere in the Epistles ascribed to St. Paul only 6 times. In Gal the reference is mainly to what we should call law in its *ritual* aspect, for the claim made on the Christians of Galatia by the Judaizers was that they should submit to be circumcised; in Ro, on the other hand, it is the *moral* law which is the subject of discussion. Yet this distinction is not one which would be present, at least vividly, to St. Paul's mind. He thinks of the law as one, and as the law of God; and his point is that statutory obedience is not the way of salvation. Much of the difficulty which his opponents had in understanding St. Paul must have been due to the apparently (and inevitably) equivocal attitude which he assumed to the religion of Israel. On the one hand, the gospel was a specifically new thing. It was independent of the law. It did for him what the law could not do (Ro 8^{3}). It had to be defined by contrast with the law; sometimes it seemed as if it could be defined only by opposition to the law, as in 2 Co 3 where they are confronted as γράμμα and πνεῦμα, as ἀποκτέννειν and ζωοποιεῖν, as κατάκρισις and δικαιοσύνη, as τὸ καταργούμενον and τὸ μένον. Even in Ro, which is written in a more conciliatory mood, pains are taken to show that in principle the two religions (the law and faith, works and grace, wages and promise) are mutually exclusive (Ro 4). On the other hand, the connexion of the new religion with the old is as indubitable. The δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ preached in the gospel may be χωρὶς νόμου, yet it is witnessed to by the law and the prophets (Ro 3^{21}, cf. 1$^{2.17}$ 10$^{5f.}$). The last passage referred to is particularly striking, for in it St. Paul applies to the gospel words spoken by Moses about the law, and that for the very purpose of pointing the superiority of the gospel to the law. In other words, he read the OT as a Christian book, and yet proved from it the thesis that the OT religion was not Christianity. But though this inevitable formal difficulty must often have led to misunderstanding in controversy, it is no more than formal, and the apostle's position is intelligible enough. The OT, if regarded as a code, is not Christian, is indeed antichristian, as every religion based on statutes and therefore legal in spirit must be; but as a revelation it has the promise of Christianity in it, and bears witness to the gospel.

(*c*) Before examining St. Paul's doctrine, or the various suggestions of his Epistles, on the law, it is necessary to observe more closely his use of the word. (*a*) He sometimes has it with, sometimes without, the article. The question has been raised whether the meaning is the same in the two cases. If we ask questions which were not present to the mind of the writers whom we are interpreting, we are apt to get unreal and unreliable answers; and in answering this question there has been little agreement among scholars. No doubt when St. Paul says 'the law,' without any qualification, he is thinking of the law of Moses. There was nothing else in the world to describe by that name. The one specimen exhausted the species. Is anything else meant when he speaks of 'law' without so defining it? The answer given by such scholars as Lightfoot and Gifford is that in such cases what St. Paul has in view may indeed be the law of Moses, but it is that law not definitely *as* Mosaic, not as the historical institute with which the Jews were familiar, but indefinitely, and simply in its character as legal. In spite of the objections of Grafe, this view seems thoroughly sound. Even what is regarded as a decisive case on the opposite side (Ro 5^{20} νόμος δὲ παρεισῆλθεν) is much more effective and relevant to the apostle's argument if we render 'Law came in,' instead of 'The Law.' St. Paul is writing of the great spiritual forces which have dominated the history of humanity, Sin, Law, and Grace, and it is in their character as such, not in their historical definiteness, that he is concerned with them. It is only when this is admitted, that what St. Paul says of law has any interest for others than Jews. It was because he could conceive of the law of Moses not as Mosaic, but simply as legal, that he could find an analogue to it among the Gentiles, and preach to them also a gospel (and the same gospel) which meant emancipation from legalism. The Gentiles, he says, in explaining how it is possible for them to be judged by God, though they have no law (in the sense in which Israel had) yet do by nature the things required by the law, and so display 'the work of the law written in their hearts' (Ro $2^{14f.}$). They have the idea of a task to be done, just as the Jews have; and there is a 'natural legality,' to use an expression of Chalmers, in men which disposes them to aim at achieving righteousness in this way. The first thought of man, Jew or Gentile, is that he will do the things that are required of him,—in other words, keep the law,—and on the ground of what he thus achieves claim as of right the approbation of God. This is what St. Paul means by attaining righteousness ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, by works of law. The Mosaic law is included, but it is included not as Mosaic, but as legal, and it does not exhaust the concept. The law may be the form that haunts the mind of the 'natural legalist' the world over; and to all such alike, Jew or Gentile, St. Paul declares that the way they are treading can never lead to acceptance with God. It does not matter what the special content is which is embodied in the legal form; it may be mainly what we call ritual, as in the Ep. to the Galatians, or mainly what we call ethical, as in the Ep. to the Romans; in no case whatever can statutory obedience constitute a claim on God or command His approbation. 'By works of law shall no flesh be justified in his sight' (Ro 3^{20}).

(β) There is another point to be cleared up in St. Paul's use of the word. There are passages in which 'the law' is used with a genitive in a way which suggests to a modern, perhaps especially to an English reader, that the word is used with some approach to the sense it now bears in physical science. Thus 'the law of sin which is in my members' is interpreted as the sinful mode in which 'my members' normally or habitually act (Ro 7^{23}); similarly also 'the law of the spirit of the life in Christ Jesus' (Ro 8^{2}). But the passage most relied on to prove this sense is Ro 7^{21} εὑρίσκω ἄρα τὸν νόμον, τῷ θέλοντι ἐμοὶ ποιεῖν τὸ καλόν, ὅτι ἐμοὶ τὸ κακὸν παράκειται. This is often interpreted to mean, 'I find therefore this regularly recurrent phenomenon,—this "law" in the sense of modern science,—that when I would do good, evil is present with me' (so Winer, ed. Moulton, p. 697, who renders τὸν νόμον *normam*; and cf. Meyer or Sanday and Headlam, *ad loc.*). But the 'law' of modern science belongs to an intellectual world which was not then in being, and there can be little doubt that by εὑρίσκω ἄρα τὸν νόμον St. Paul means to say, 'this is what I find as far as the law is concerned,—I mean well, but am perpetually baffled by the presence of evil.' (So Vaughan). The words τὸν νόμον refer to the law of Moses, under which St. Paul had *his* experience of legal religion; but it is the experience also of every one who has tried legal religion in any shape, Mosaic or another. So in the other passages referred to above, 'the law' is to be conceived as related to a legislator, and not as in modern physics. 'The law of God' (Ro 7^{22}) is the law which God enjoins; the law 'of the mind' (v.^{23}) is the law which the νοῦς or practical reason of the man prescribes, or the law of God as re-enacted in conscience; the law of sin is the mode of life (not in which sin is normally exhibited, but) which Sin, personified as a rival to God, enjoins upon man and compels him to follow; the law of the Spirit of the life in Christ Jesus is the mode of life (not in which spirit acts automatically, and on the analogy of a physical force, but) which the Spirit authoritatively prescribes, and, as being in its essence impulse as well as law, enables man freely to realize.

There are, however, cases in which the genitive with νόμος is of a different kind, and in which νόμος itself seems to be used in a larger sense, almost = 'religion,' as something instituted by God. Thus in Ro 3^{27} St. Paul says boasting is summarily excluded, and asks διὰ ποίου νόμου; through what sort of law? In other words, What sort of character must we suppose Christianity as a divine institution to possess, in order that this result must follow? Is it to be characterized by works, or by faith? The latter, says St. Paul: the genitives in the verse being those of the characterizing quality. In v.^{31} of the same chapter νόμον is ambiguous. It may refer to the OT religion as a whole; and then the answer to the question, Do we annul (the) Law through faith? would be given in ch. 4, where St. Paul shows that the justification of Christians has its prototype in that of Abraham,—in other words, that the old order is confirmed (ἱστάνομεν), not subverted, by the new. But νόμον may be generic, and the question may mean, Do we then annul Law—all that has ever been known as moral order, all that has ever been supposed to safeguard morality whether of Mosaic or other origin—by our faith, *i.e.* by our new Christian religion? In this case, the proof of the assertion that we do not annul but establish Law by Faith—that the Christian religion is the only effective guarantee of morality—is given, not in ch. 4, but in chs. 6–8, where Christianity is shown to involve the possession of the Holy Spirit.

(*d*) We may now proceed to notice more particularly what St. Paul teaches about Law, bearing in mind that it was through the Mosaic law that he obtained the experience out of which he speaks, but that he speaks for the benefit of men who may have had a similar experience although they had never heard of Moses; in other words, that even where he is formally discussing *the* Law, it is Law itself, in all that is characteristic of it as legal, which he is really concerned with.

(1) As regards its place in history, it is an entirely subordinate thing. The great spiritual powers which have had dominance in the life of man are Sin and Grace; in comparison with them, Law is a minor matter. Sin entered the world (εἰσῆλθεν,

Ro 5^{12}), and so did Grace, but Law only *παρεισῆλθεν* = entered as an accessory, or in a subordinate capacity (Ro 5^{20}). To a Jew, the most important figure in religion was Moses; St. Paul argues that the importance of Moses in the spiritual history of humanity is an entirely inferior thing when compared to that of Adam or of Christ. This is the purport also of the argument in Gal $3^{15ff.}$, where he aims at showing that the Promise—*i.e.* the Christian religion as it was announced to Abraham, and in a sense imparted to him—was not conditioned by the Law, which came 400 years afterwards, and that not by the immediate act of God, but 'ordained through angels, by the hand of a mediator.' It is not so clear whether St. Paul regarded Law, or the reign of Law, either in its more statutory form as in Israel, or in its vaguer form as present to conscience among the Gentiles, as a *positive* preparation for the gospel. The figures of the prison-house and the *παιδαγωγός* in Gal $3^{23f.}$ hardly amount to this. As Lightfoot remarks, 'the tempting explanation of *παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν*, "one to conduct us to the school of Christ," ought probably to be abandoned.' *Εἰς Χριστόν* really means 'until Christ came.' During the pre-Christian stage of our life we were 'shut up and kept in ward under the law'; it was our prison and our moral guardian, but St. Paul does not regard it as leading us to Christ. The *παιδαγωγός* was a slave who had to exercise a certain moral restraint over the boy under his charge; the law, too, was servile, an inferior type of religion, and all it could do by itself was to attempt a similar restraint.

(2) On the mode in which Law acts in the individual who lives under it, St. Paul has much to say. (*α*) It brings the knowledge, especially the full knowledge (*ἐπίγνωσις*) of sin, Ro 3^{20} 4^{15}, and esp. $7^{7ff.}$ 'I had not known sin, but through the law,' etc. The description of spiritual experience in Ro 7^{7-25} is not to be mechanically interpreted; it belongs to what may be called 'ideal biography.' It is neither the experience of the regenerate nor of the unregenerate man, but the experience, if one might say so, of the unregenerate man seen through regenerate eyes, interpreted by a regenerate mind; it is individual experience, but universalized; it is not a deposition for a law court, but some kind of essential eternal truth. It contains much of St. Paul's doctrine of the law—a doctrine resting on experience of his own. The starting-point is purely ideal. 'I was alive without the law (*χωρὶς νόμου*) once.' This is not a date which can be fixed in any one's life. There is not really a golden age, a happy time to which we can look back, when we had no conscience, and therefore no bad conscience. It is, however, the assumed starting-point of the spiritual life for St. Paul. It lasts till its peace is invaded by the Law. When the commandment comes, sin wakes up to life, and the man dies. The prohibition of the Law reveals to man his antagonism to it. The Law *comes* to him, from without, and it *is* without: man and the law, the very moment the law appears as such, are discovered to be in some kind of antagonism to each other; conscience first exists as a *bad* conscience.

(*β*) The law not only brings the full consciousness of sin, it also brings its doom. The law works wrath, Ro 4^{15}. There is a 'curse of the law' which comes upon all who violate it. To know that one has broken the law is to know that he is subject to this curse. The doom of death stares him in the face. St. Paul nowhere gives an analysis of *θάνατος*, or *κατάρα*, or *κατάκριμα*, or any of the words he uses in this connexion, and it is merely misleading to introduce such distinctions as physical, spiritual, and eternal death to interpret his meaning. That death which is the doom or curse of the law is one awful indivisible thing, which only a despairing conscience can realize, and which is too overwhelming to be the subject of such distinctions. It includes in every case the feeling that God, whose the Law is, is against those who have broken it.

(*γ*) The Law, according to St. Paul, stimulates sin, and was given for that very purpose. 'The Law came in beside, that the trespass might abound,' Ro 5^{20}. The Law was added *τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν*, Gal 3^{17}: where 'because of transgressions' must be interpreted on the analogy of Ro 5^{20} *ἵνα πλεονάσῃ τὸ παράπτωμα*. Cf. also Ro 7^{13} 'that sin through the commandment,' *i.e.* through the law in one of the injunctions or prohibitions composing it, 'might become exceeding sinful.' This is one of the most daring points in St. Paul's doctrine, yet it rests on the familiar psychological fact that prohibition provokes resistance. When the law—any law whatever—says 'Do not,' there is something in man which is inclined to say 'I will.' The peculiarity is that St. Paul represents God as availing Himself of this characteristic of human nature in order (indirectly) to prepare man for salvation. When he says that the purpose for which Law came in was that the trespass might abound, the purpose is conceived as God's. It is as though God saw that the only way to get man to accept *His* righteousness was to make him despair of his own, and the way to make him despair of his own was to subject him to a discipline under which the sin that was in him would reveal its exceeding sinfulness, its irresistible tyrannical strength, and annihilate all his hopes. It is in this connexion of ideas that St. Paul says the law is the strength of sin, 1 Co 15^{56}. No doubt it was at this point that his doctrine would seem most impious to a pious Jew. The Law, his adversary would naturally assume, was given to be kept. It was given to guide man in the way of life, to be a light to his feet and a lamp to his path. It was a kind of insanity—so it would seem to him—to represent it as given to stimulate sin, to counteract its own nature, defeat its own purpose, and lead to its own supersession by a new religion. But, in reality, Law is used in two different senses by the parties to this controversy. The Jewish interlocutor whom we have supposed is thinking of the whole OT revelation, which is not necessarily legal at all; St. Paul is thinking of it specifically *as* legal, as that system of statutes and traditions to which it had been reduced in the Pharisaic circles in which he had been brought up; and he is interpreting God's purpose in giving the law through his own experience—surely an experience in which the hand and purpose of God could be traced—under those conditions. If experience proved anything, it proved that God could mean nothing by the law (as St. Paul had known it) except to make a full revelation of sin. It was not meant to bring salvation, it was meant to bring despair.

(*δ*) But though the law acts in this paradoxical way, and does so in pursuance of God's purpose, God is not to blame for the sin which is multiplied, nor is the character of the law itself in the least degree compromised. The law is spiritual and holy. Both *πνευματικός* and *ἅγιος* are words which indicate the connexion of the law with God. The commandment, the prohibition or precept in which the law expresses itself, is holy (=divine), just (=answering to the relations which subsist between God and man, or between men themselves), and good (=morally beneficent). The explanation of the disastrous working of the law (disastrous, though God's grace makes it an indirect preparation for the gospel) is to be found in man himself, and especially in his nature as flesh: 'I am *σάρκινος*, a creature of flesh, sold under sin,' Ro 7^{14}.

The law, perhaps, ought to be able to do for us something quite different from what it actually does; but it cannot do that other thing; it is weak 'through the flesh,' Ro 8^{3}. St. Paul nowhere explains how the flesh has come to have this peculiar, native, invincible antipathy to the law, and this is not the place to inquire; it is enough to notice that it is on his conception (which like all his other conceptions is not an abstract but an experimental one) of what the flesh is, that the most characteristic part of his doctrine of the law depends. It is because the flesh is what it is that the law stimulates sin, plunges man into despair, and so prepares him for the gospel, *i.e.* for a divine righteousness to which 'works of law' contribute nothing, though witness is borne to it 'by the law and the prophets.' The flesh and the law together explain the universal need and the universal craving for redemption.

(3) It is necessary, however, to define the relation of law and gospel more closely. It is true that the law contributes nothing to the gospel: no statutory obedience whatsoever enters into the *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* preached by St. Paul to sinners whom the law has brought to despair. But the law is not ignored by the gospel. It is God's law. It is enforced by the most terrible sanctions: its sentence of condemnation, its curse, its doom of death, are awful realities, and cannot simply be passed by. Nor in St. Paul's gospel are they passed by. The very heart of that gospel is Christ's relation to the law—His relation to the law, not merely as a law which issues commandments, but as a law which has pronounced sentence upon man. When Christ is said to be made under law, to redeem them that are under law, it is this which is in view: St. Paul has a gospel to preach to men under the condemnation of the law, because that condemnation has been taken on Himself by Christ. This is the idea which explains all the formulæ the apostle uses in describing the redeeming work of Christ, and which explains above all the fact that the redeeming work of Christ is so constantly identified with His death. Death is the doom of sin, the sanction, the curse, the sentence of the law; and in dying for us Christ recognized without abatement the utmost claims of the law as expressive of the holy will of God. It is in this sense that He is said to have become a curse for us, and to have been made sin for us by God; it is in this sense also that God is said in Him to have condemned sin in the flesh. All these passages (Gal 3^{13} 4$^{4ff.}$, 2 Co 5^{21}, Ro 8^{3}) describe the same thing: the absolute honour paid to the law by Christ in freely submitting to that death in which the law's condemnation of humanity is expressed.

We do not discredit this connexion of ideas by saying that death is merely physical, and that the conception of it as the doom of sin is fantastic or mythological. Nothing that happens to man is merely physical. All that happens to a spiritual being has in the last resort a spiritual meaning; and when death is interpreted (not through its physiological antecedents or conditions, but as it must be by the philosopher, the moralist, and the theologian) through the conscience, it will be hard to find for it any other significance than that which St. Paul accepts. It is the dreadful experience in which conscience sees not the debt of nature, but the wages of sin; and it is as such that Christ is conceived as submitting to it.

The same holds of the more elaborate passage Ro 3$^{21-26}$. Christ is there represented as set forth 'as a propitiation, . . . in his blood, with a view to demonstrate God's righteousness, owing to the passing by of foregone sins in the forbearance of God.' The idea is that God's treatment of sin hitherto—His suspense of judgment—cast a shadow on His righteousness: it might be questioned whether God was really concerned about the difference between right and wrong. But at the cross His righteousness has been cleared from this shadow. How? Because there the doom of sin has fallen upon His own Son. Nothing could show more conclusively that God was inexorable, irreconcilable to sin—that God's law was an inviolable law. There is nothing in the argument of Weiss (*Comm.* on Ro 3^{25}) that punishment and propitiation are alternatives between which God had to choose, but which had nothing to do with each other. God chose to make propitiation for the sin of the world, and He did it, according to St. Paul,—not in this passage only, but in all the others cited above,—in the following way: He sent His Son to take the sin of the world upon Him in all those consequences of it in which His condemnation and the sanctity of His law are expressed, and especially, therefore, in death. Death in Christ's case has propitiatory significance,—in other words, it is the basis of gospel,—because it is the bearing of sin, the full recognition, in their full extent, of the Law's claims upon man. To dissolve the relation between the Death of Christ and the sentence of the Law—to take the curse and condemnation out of the Cross—is to annihilate the gospel as St. Paul understood it. It is essential to a doctrine of atonement that it should in this sense at least 'establish the law.'

(4) But the question remains, What is the relation of the Christian to the Law, or to law in general? Much of the paradox of St. Paul's teaching gathers round this point. In all religion, of course, from the point of view of ethics, there is something paradoxical. It belongs to religion, as such, to transcend the ethical point of view, yet to conserve and promote, indeed to be the only effective means of conserving and promoting, ethical interests. Hence moralists are the most severe, if at times the most inept, critics of religion, and St. Paul's idealism and his paradoxes together provoked and still provoke infinite comment. Yet his position is quite clear. On the one hand, the Christian has nothing more to do with law in any way. 'I through law died to law that I might live to God.' An exhaustive experiment of living under law convinced him that there was neither life nor righteousness to be found that way, and he was done with law for ever. 'I am crucified with Christ; and it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me.' The old end of life is not renounced; his aim is still righteousness; but the old means are renounced. Righteousness is not to be achieved out of his own resources, and brought to God for His approval; it is to be the work of Christ dwelling in him through His Spirit. Law was weak through the flesh, and could not do what was wanted; but the Spirit is stronger than the flesh, and can secure in spite of it what the law failed to secure; in us (Christians), as we walk not after the flesh but after the spirit, 'the just demand (*τὸ δικαίωμα*) of the law' is fulfilled, Ro 8^{4}. Sin has not dominion over us, for we are not under law (the working of which has been explained above under 2 (γ)), but under grace; law only enslaves to sin; but grace gives the quickening spirit and liberates.

Hence in the Christian religion, as St. Paul understood it, nothing statutory could have any place. To give a legal authority to any formal precept, ethical or ritual, is to shut the door of hope, and open again the door of despair. It is to contemn the Spirit, which is Christ's gift, and the cross, by which He won it, and to renounce the liberty with which He has made us free. St. Paul was not an *anti*nomian (for the just demand of the law is to be fulfilled in all Christians), but he was certainly an *a*nomian. He recognizes no law in the Church but the law of the spirit of the life in Christ Jesus, and while that is both law and impulse it is essentially personal, and can never be reduced to statutory form. He can speak of Christianity indeed (to which circumcision is nothing and uncircumcision is nothing) as 'the keeping of the commandments of God,' 1 Co 7^{19}; but all legalism is eliminated when the law is described as having its fulfilment in love, Ro 13^{10}, Gal 5^{14}, and 'the law of Christ' is explained as 'bearing each other's burdens,' Gal 6^{2}. Legalism, in short, and Christianity (life in the Spirit) are to St. Paul mutually exclusive ideas; and though in a formally constituted society, *i.e.* in sense a corporation in the eye of the law, a legal creed and a legal organization might become necessary, the idea that the existence of Christianity depended upon them could only have seemed to him a fatal contradiction of all that Christianity meant.

(*e*) At the close of his third mission, St. Paul came again to Jerusalem. He had with him the collection from the Gentile Churches, and was most eager to maintain brotherly relations between the Gentile and the Jewish sections of Christendom, though he had grave misgivings as to what might happen. Cf. Ac $21^{17\text{ff.}}$, 2 Co 8 and 9, Ro $15^{25\text{ff.}}$. The opposition to his 'lawless' Christianity, which had followed him in all his churches and been combated in his four great Epistles, had been busy in Jerusalem also. The native Christians there were devoted in their attachment to the law in its national aspects (πάντες ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου, Ac 21^{20}). They had been sedulously instructed (κατηχήθησαν) that St. Paul was teaching the Jews who lived abroad to apostatize from the law, neither circumcising their children nor keeping the traditional customs. This was undoubtedly the logic of St. Paul's gospel, though there is no evidence, apart from this unscrupulous assertion, that St. Paul ever sought to denationalize his countrymen; and it is a fair question whether St. James and his elders did not ask him to do something which would leave an essentially false impression when they asked him to associate himself with certain men in a vow, that all might know that none of the things which they had been drilled to believe about him were true, and that he himself also in his conduct was an observer of the law (v.^{24}). Probably, in yielding to this request, St. Paul was carrying to an extreme the conciliatory principles of 1 Co $9^{20\text{ff.}}$; but the tumult which ended in his imprisonment and transference to Rome prevented any further development of the controversy about law between the apostle and the Jewish Christian party.

(*f*) The later Epistles hardly enable us to add anything of importance. In Eph the law as a national institute—the law of commandments contained in ordinances, cf. Col 2^{14}—is regarded as a dividing wall between Jew and Gentile; it has been broken down and annulled by the death of Christ, and with it the enmity which severed the two great branches of the human family; they are now one new man. In Col what St. Paul has to deal with is a movement which in its requirements resembles the ritualistic legalism with which he had been confronted in Galatia; the difference is that in Galatia the legalism attached itself directly to the law of Moses, in Colossæ it seemed to be connected with some philosophical or theosophical system, possibly of Essene affinities, and therefore more exacting in its demands than the letter of Moses' law. Cf. Col $2^{16\text{ff.}}$. St. Paul was equally irreconcilable to it in both cases, and for the same reason. As dead with Christ, the Christian was dead to that whole mode of being, that whole conception of life, which allowed order to be prescribed from without. It was worse, of course, when the multiplied prohibitions, 'Touch not, taste not, handle not,' had no divine sanction (as the Mosaic law had) or even the pretence of it, but were merely a tradition of men. The conscience which has received the Spirit of Christ is shirking its own responsibilities when it allows others to lay down the law for it. To be perfectly free, and to take the whole responsibility of freedom, is the only way to wholesome morality and to Christian sanctification. 'Therefore let no one judge you in eating or drinking, or in respect of a festival or new moon or Sabbath.' All laws and customs as such tend to extinguish the feeling of personal responsibility, to blunt the keenness of individual conscience: hence to bind them on the conscience, in their character as legal and customary, is antichristian. In Ph 3^{1-11} there is a sudden fierce flash, provoked we cannot tell how, of the ideas and temper that belong to the great controversial Epistles. In the Pastoral Epp., which represent a considerably later date, we can see that questions connected with law still engaged attention, though there is nothing indicative either of the passion or the interest in principle which characterize the earlier years of the apostle. Titus (3^{9}) is warned to decline μάχας νομικάς, as though the whole subject were practically settled; and we catch the same half-contemptuous tone in 1 Ti 1^{7}, where persons are referred to, Judaizing no doubt, who wish to be νομοδιδάσκαλοι though they have no idea of the functions of law. It may be questioned whether the two verses following come up to the insight of Ro 7, but they have their own truth, and probably served the writer's purpose. When the battle was practically over, and the victory won, even St. Paul may have expressed himself in this almost indifferent commonplace; perhaps he despaired of gaining access to the general mind for any profounder statement of the truth. The legalism of the persons who forbade to marry and commanded to abstain from meats (1 Ti 4^{3}) cannot have been Mosaic, but must have been of some philosophical type, akin to that found in Colossæ.

III. The Law in the Epistle to the Hebrews.—The Pauline affinities of the Ep. to the Hebrews cannot be denied, but the conception of law in it is very different. Law here is sometimes expressly the law of Moses (7^{28} 9^{19} 10^{28}), but it is regarded not so much as a set of statutes to be punctually obeyed, as a religious constitution under which the nation had to worship. Cf. the use of the verb νομοθετεῖν in 7^{11} 8^{6}. The fundamental idea of the book is that there is one people of God through all ages, though it has stood at different times in different relations to Him. Its relation to God, its nearness or distance, depends on the kind of priesthood it has; and when the priesthood is changed there is necessarily also a change of law: that is, the religious constitution is altered, 7^{12}. The old law—the religious constitution under which the people of God lived when mediation was that of the Levitical priesthood—'made nothing perfect' (7^{19}); there was no absolute or final religion then, no purgation of conscience, no sure immediate joyful access to God. Christianity, on the other hand—the religious constitution under which the people of God live now, when mediation is that of the Melchizedek priest, the Son of God—is the τελείωσις of what was promised of old. The new covenant is legally constituted on the basis of better promises (8^{6}). It has, with the definite outline of reality, the good things of which the law had only a shadow (10^{1}).

There is nothing in St. Paul which exactly corresponds to this: not even in Col 2^{17}, still less in what he says of the promise in Gal 3 or of the promises in 2 Co 1^{20}. In fact, we do not find in St. Paul any conception of Leviticalism as possessing a religious significance, as dealing even in a pathetically disappointing way with spiritual necessities in man, which would find their adequate satisfaction only in Christ. In the Ep. to the Hebrews Christ is still regarded as making propitiation for sins (2^{17}), but His death is not put, so prominently as in St. Paul, in relation to the Law. Yet in $10^{5\text{ff.}}$, where such emphasis is laid on Christ's obedience, it is to be noted (see v.^{10}) that the obedience required of Christ is specifically that of a Redeemer: *i.e. ex hypothesi*, the obedience of One who becomes one with the sinful not only in nature but in experience and in lot (one of the leading thoughts of the Epistle, cf. 2^{10-18}), taking on Himself their flesh and blood, their temptations and discipline, the whole burden, curse, and doom of their sins, and so setting them free. Yet the difference between the conception of Law here and in St. Paul is seen in this, that while St. Paul expresses the result of this redemptive death by δικαιοῦν, in Hebrews it is expressed by ἁγιάζειν. In other words, the result to St. Paul is that there is no condemnation, the claim of the Law against the individual is annulled; to the writer to the Hebrews the result is that worship is made possible; the soul is able now, as it was not before, to draw near to God; true religion is put within its reach. This distinction justifies us, after all, in saying that the distinction between moral and ritual law belongs to the NT. St. Paul does mainly think of law as moral—God's demand for righteousness; Hebrews thinks of it as ritual—the medium through which or the constitution under which we worship. But in both cases the law comes to an end with the gospel. Christ finishes it as a way of attaining righteousness, Ro 10^{4}. Hebrews finishes it also as a mode of worshipping God, $13^{10\text{ff.}}$.

IV. THE LAW IN THE OTHER NT BOOKS.—Among the remaining books of the NT, those which exhibit most indications of the controversy which had raged between Jewish and Gentile Christians are the Apocalypse and the Ep. of James. In the former (2^{20}) the Church in Thyatira is threatened because it tolerates 'the woman Jezebel who . . . teaches and seduces my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things offered to idols,' *i.e.* to violate the compact of Ac $15^{28\text{f.}}$, cf. Rev 2^{24}. There may have been a spurious, antinomian influence at work here, which appealed to St. Paul's name, but it is absurd (with Renan, *Saint Paul*, pp. 303, 367, *L'Antechrist*, p. 363 ff.) to regard this as a denunciation of St. Paul's doctrine. Although, too, the Apocalypse lays great stress on works, it never regards them as having the character of statutory acts of obedience: in other words, they are not legal. They are the works of Jesus (2^{26}), and are co-ordinated in 2^{19} with love, faith, ministry, and patience (Holtzmann, *NT Theol.* i. 465). A favourite expression for the Christian life (the keeping of the commandments of God, 12^{17} 14^{12}, cf. 3^{8}) is probably borrowed, like other things in the Apoc., from St. Paul (1 Co 7^{19}). The conception of a reward (22^{12} 11^{18}) no more proves legalism in the author of this book than in Jesus Himself (Mt 5^{11}). If there *is* a future which is determined according to man's works, and this is the teaching not of Apoc. only but of the whole NT, it is neither legal nor servile, but only sane to let it tell on the present life. In the Gospel of St. John the numerous references to the law, with the exception of 1^{17}, have no religious interest; and there it is contrasted with the gospel as a less perfect revelation, grace and truth (חֶסֶד וֶאֱמֶת) being the essential attributes of God.

The Ep. of James is more difficult. It has often been treated as a document of legal Christianity, the aim of which is to refute the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith apart from works of law. But it is remarkable that the critical passage (2^{14-26}), in which faith and works are discussed in their relation to each other, never once uses the Pauline expression ἔργα νόμου. If the writer is controverting St. Paul, it must be admitted that he has not grasped the Pauline point of view, and that Luther's verdict on his work was justified. His conception of faith is not the same as St. Paul's, and that is why he has to supplement it by works; and the works by which it is supplemented, and in which indeed it is exhibited, are not what St. Paul meant by works of law. They are not acts of obedience to any statutory embodiment of divine will. As illustrated in v.$^{15\text{ff.}}$ they are rather what St. Paul would have called fruits of the Spirit. They are, if we choose to say so, the fulfilment of a law, but the writer takes care that we do not conceive the law legally. It is a law which must be actually obeyed, no doubt, but it is also the law of liberty (1^{25} 2^{12}), which Christians freely and spontaneously fulfil; it is condensed, as in the teaching of Jesus, Mt 22^{40}, into the 'royal law,' Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; and it is perfect. The law, in short, is the same as the word of God, and to St. James this is not external and preceptive. There is a native affinity between man and the word; when he receives it, it becomes an implanted word, a thing that strikes root in his nature and has power to save his soul (1^{21}). With this word God has begotten him; it is in his heart, as Jesus promises, spirit and life (Jn 6^{63}); the law, that is, is impulse as well as law to the Christian, and the keeping of it is perfect freedom. Formally a contradiction of Paulinism, it is at bottom the same kind of experience which is here described. To St. Paul Christianity is a new religious relation to God, which he defines by contrast to legalism; to St. James it is rather a new ethical life, which he describes in terms of law, but of law from which legalism has been eliminated. See, further, JAMES (EPISTLE OF).

The conception of St. James is that from which the phenomena of nascent Catholicism can best be understood, and this is a strong argument for putting the book late. In the other Catholic Epistles Law is not mentioned, but it is clear from Jude, 2 P and 1 Jn, that there were tendencies to antinomianism at work in many places. Such tendencies seem inseparable from every revival of religion, religion, as already remarked, transcending even while it guarantees morality. To counteract them without reintroducing legalism and lapsing from a Christian to a pre-Christian type of religion, was not easy; and the use of νόμος by St. James, the habit of conceiving the OT as a revelation of God's will for the ordering of life, and of regarding Jesus as the Legislator by whom the revelation was made perfect, led inevitably and not slowly to the conception of Christianity itself as a new law. This conception is common to Christian writers from Barnabas onward. The new law might have been, and at first was, akin to 'the law of liberty' in St. James, 'the law of faith,' 'the law of Christ,' 'the law of the spirit of the life in Christ Jesus' in St. Paul; but as the Church became a State, and orthodoxy took the place of inspiration, the new law was correspondingly degraded, and in the early and the mediæval Catholic Church the very idea of spiritual liberty was lost. The religious idealism of St. Paul was far above out of its sight, and it was not till the Church was born again in the 16th cent. that the gospel, which brings a righteousness of God to which works of law contribute nothing, fairly found access into the human mind.

LITERATURE.—The *NT Theologies* of Baur, Weiss, Beyschlag, Holtzmann; Ewald, *HI*, vols. vi. vii. viii. of the Eng. tr.; Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 464 ff. [*HJP* II. ii. 90 ff.]; Wellhausen, *Israelitische u. Jüdische Geschichte*^{2}, pp. 342–356; Weizsäcker, *Das apostolische Zeitalter*, p. 624 ff. and *passim* [Eng. tr. ii. 303 ff.]; M'Giffert, *Hist. of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, see Index, *s.vv.* Law, Liberty; Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, *passim*; Ritschl, *Rechtf. u. Versöhnung*, vol. ii., and *Die Entstehung der altk. Kirche* (2nd ed.); Baur, *Paulus*, vol. ii. pp. 145–183, etc.; Bruce, *The Kingdom of God*, pp. 63–84, and *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*; Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu*, p. 207 ff.; Schürer, *Die Predigt Jesu in ihrem Verhältniss zum AT*; Holsten, *Zum Evgm. des Paulus u. des Petrus*; Grafe, *Die paulinische Lehre vom Gesetz*; Zahn, *Das Gesetz Gottes nach der Lehre u. Erfahrung des Ap. Paulus*; Ménégoz, *Le Péché et la Rédemption d'après S. Paul*; A. Sabatier, *L'apôtre Paul*; Pfleiderer, *Der Paulinismus*, and *Das Urchristenthum*; Jowett, 'Essays and Dissertations' (vol. ii. of his *Comm. on St. Paul's Epp. to Thess. Gal. Rom.*); Gifford on *Romans* (Appendix to Introduction); Mackintosh, *Christ and the Jewish Law*; Clemen, *Die Christliche Lehre von der Sünde*, pp. 20–68.

J. DENNEY.

LAWGIVER occurs six times in AV of OT (Gn 49^{10}, Nu 21^{18}, Dt 33^{21}, Ps 60$^{7\,[\text{Heb. }9]}$=108$^{8\,[\text{Heb. }9]}$, Is 33^{22}) and once in NT (Ja 4^{12}). In the OT it is the tr^{n} of מְחֹקֵק, in NT of *νομοθέτης*. The root חקק means 'to cut in,' 'inscribe,' 'engrave,' and hence, from the practice of inscribing a decree (חֹק, חֻקָּה) upon tablets [see LAW (IN OT) above, p. 67^{a}], 'to enact *or* command.' Thus we find in Jg 5^{9} חוֹקְקֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל = 'the commanders of Israel.' The *Po'el* ptcp. מְחֹקֵק appears to have two distinct senses: (*a*) that of 'leader,' 'commander' ('lawgiver' is too narrow a term, especially as in the mind of the English reader it is associated so closely with the *Mosaic* law). This is the meaning of the word in Dt 33^{21} ('a commander's portion was reserved'), where it is used of the leader of the warlike tribe of Gad; in Jg 5^{14} ('out of Machir came forth leaders' [מְחֹקְקִים ‖ חוֹקְקִים of v.^{9}]); and in Is 33^{22}, where מְחֹקְקֵנוּ 'our lawgiver' (LXX *ἄρχων*) is used in parallelism with שֹׁפְטֵנוּ 'our judge' and מַלְכֵּנוּ 'our king.' (*b*) The other meaning which it appears to be necessary to postulate is that of 'ruler's *or* commander's staff,' which it would bear in Gn 49^{10} (where מְחֹקֵק is parallel with שֵׁבֶט), 'The [royal ?] sceptre shall not depart from Judah nor the ruler's staff from between his feet'; in Nu 21^{18} (‖ מִשְׁעֲנֹת 'staff'), where RV 'with the sceptre' is plainly more appropriate as a rendering of בִּמְחֹקֵק than AV and RVm 'by direction *or* order of the lawgiver' (LXX *ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτῶν*, Vulg. *in datore legis*); and in Ps 60^{7}=108^{8} 'Judah is my sceptre,' although LXX has *βασιλεύς* 'king' (similarly Pesh. and Vulgate).

The most controverted of the above passages is Gn 49^{10}. For וּמְחֹקֵק מִבֵּין רַגְלָיו the LXX has *καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ*, Vulg. *et dux de femore ejus*, Targ. Onk. וספרא מבני בנוהי, all three taking מְחֹקֵק in a personal sense, and understanding מִבֵּין רַגְלָיו to be a promise of an unbroken succession of descendants. But the parallelism between מְחֹקֵק and שֵׁבֶט demands that these two words have similar senses (the LXX is consistent in this respect, rendering שבט by *ἄρχων*); and as there can be little doubt that '(royal ?) sceptre' is the meaning of שֵׁבֶט, 'ruler's staff' seems a very appropriate sense for מְחֹקֵק. Then again the expression מִבֵּין רַגְלָיו, which is parallel to מִיהוּדָה, may mean 'from before him' (cf. בֵּין רַגְלֶיהָ used of Jael in Jg 5^{27}), referring to 'the actual position of the long staff, grasped in the right hand as the chief walks or stands still' (Ball in *SBOT*, *ad loc.*). The mention of the 'feet' rather than the hands Ball explains as due to the fact that it is not a short ornamental sceptre that is in view but a long staff reaching to the ground, and he compares the Egyp. hieroglyph for 'great man,' 'chief,' 'king' (*ura*), which is a figure holding the staff as described above. He notes, further, that similar insignia of authority are still carried by the Bedawin sheikhs and headmen of villages, and considers that the idea of a sitting figure, with the staff held between the feet, as seen in some ancient sculptures, does not harmonize so well with the context which suggests movement. In any case the meaning of the couplet, 'The sceptre shall not depart from Judah nor the ruler's staff from before him,' appears to be that Judah is to retain the hegemony among the tribes of Israel (or probably the royalty [note שֵׁבֶט absolutely]), עד כי יבא שילה, on the meaning of which last words see art. SHILOH, and cf., above all, Driver in *Camb. Journ. of Philology*, xiv. (1885), and in *Expositor*, July 1885, p. 10 ff. See also Dillm. and Spurrell, *ad loc.*

The only NT occurrence of 'lawgiver' is, as we have said, in Ja 4^{12}, where *νομοθέτης* is coupled with *κριτής*, the two terms being used of God as at once the Supreme Lawgiver and Judge. This is the only instance in which *νομοθέτης* is used in the NT, although the verb *νομοθετέω* occurs in He 7^{11} 8^{6} and the noun *νομοθεσία* in Ro 9^{4}, in all these three passages the reference being directly or implicitly to the giving of the law to Israel.

On the work of Moses as the lawgiver of Israel see LAW (IN OT), above, p. 66, and MOSES.

J. A. SELBIE.

LAWYER (*νομικός*).—In the NT the name usually given to the scribes is *γραμματεύς* (man of letters); but *νομικός* ('lawyer') and *νομοδιδάσκαλος* ('doctor of the law') are also occasionally used. Of the two latter terms, the second is found only in Lk 5^{17}, Ac 5^{34}, and 1 Ti 1^{7} (where it is used of would-be teachers of the law in the Christian Church); while the first occurs most frequently in Lk (7^{30} 10^{25} 11$^{45.\,46.\,52}$ 14^{3}), once in Mt (22^{35}), and nowhere else in the NT except in Tit 3^{13}. A comparison of Lk 5^{17} with v.^{21} and Mk 2^{6} Mt 9^{3} shows that the three terms were used synonymously, and did not denote three distinct classes. The scribes were originally simply men of letters, students of Scripture, and the name at first given to them contains in itself no reference to the law; in course of time, however, they devoted themselves mainly, though by no means exclusively, to the study of the law; they became jurists rather than theologians, and received names which of themselves called attention to that fact. Some would doubtless devote themselves more to one branch of activity than to another; but a 'lawyer' might also be a 'doctor'; and the case of Gamaliel shows that a 'doctor' might also be a member of the Sanhedrin (Ac 5^{34}).

Long before the time of our Saviour, the law, written and oral, had become the absolute norm of Jewish life. Every detail of life, civil as well as religious, was regulated in the minutest manner by the law. It was impossible for the ordinary Jew to be fully acquainted with the innumerable statutes referring, *e.g.*, to Levitical purity or the keeping of the Sabbath, and to apply them to the fresh cases that emerged daily; and yet his standing before God depended upon his scrupulous observance of these statutes. It was absolutely necessary, therefore, that a special class of men should devote themselves expressly to the study of the law. These were the 'scribes,' 'lawyers,' or 'doctors of the law.'

(*a*) Their first and main function was to study and expound the law, including the innumerable 'traditions of the fathers'; they had so to explain it as to show its application to the circumstances of the present time; for every new case that occurred they had to find out some pertinent statute or precedent; and, in the absence of such a statute or precedent, they had to deduce some rule from their knowledge of what was legal.

They were thus men whose special calling it was to know what was legal.

(*b*) Their special knowledge of the law naturally qualified them for holding the office of judge; and in all probability the members of the various Sanhedrins throughout the country were chosen, as far as possible, from among their number. From such passages as Mt 16^{21} 20^{18} 21^{15} 27^{41}, Mk 8^{31} 11^{27} $14^{43. 53}$ 15^{1}, Lk 9^{22} 20^{1} 22^{66}, Ac 4^{5}, in which they are named among the supreme Jewish authorities, it is evident that some of them were members of the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem. Though they had no official standing in the synagogues, their knowledge of the Scriptures generally and of the law in particular would lead to their being the principal speakers in religious assemblies (Mk 1^{22}).

(*c*) The teaching of the law was also one of their essential functions. In the time of our Saviour there were special academies (*beth hammidrash*) in various parts of the Jewish world; in Jerusalem certain halls and rooms of the outer court of the temple were set apart for this purpose (cf. Lk 2^{46}). The pupils sat in a semicircle round their teacher, who also sat on a slightly raised bench. The teaching was mostly oral and catechetical; it consisted mainly of a constant repetition of the various 'traditions of the fathers' dealing with all manner of real and imaginary cases; the pupils were encouraged to put questions to their teachers; they also attended the discussions that leading Rabbis held among themselves, and were probably also allowed to be present at meetings of the Sanhedrin.

For their judicial and teaching activity the 'lawyers' or 'doctors' were understood to receive no payment. Some of them would therefore maintain themselves by following a trade (cf. Ac 18^{3}), and doubtless many men of means would adopt a profession which was almost universally held in the very highest esteem. They were not, however, always so unselfish as Jewish sources represent them (cf. Mk 12^{40} = Lk 20^{47}). They were also exceedingly ambitious of honour (Mt 23^{5-11}, Mk $12^{38. 39}$, Lk $11^{43. 45}$ 20^{46}). More especially they demanded, and received, such honour from their pupils. According to the Talmud, one's teacher is to be more reverenced and honoured than one's father, if the latter is not also a man of learning; 'for his father has only brought him into this world, while his teacher, who teaches him wisdom, brings him to life in the future world' (quoted in Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 317). See, further, art. SCRIBES.

LITERATURE.—The article 'Schriftgelehrte' in Herzog's *RE*² by Strack, in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon* by Klöpper, in Riehm's *HWB*² by Schürer; cf. also the latter writer's *GJV*³ ii. 312 ff. [*HJP* II. i. 312 ff.]; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 93 ff.; O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, 151 ff.; H. J. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* i. 36 ff.; Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.*³ 193 ff., and *passim*; Weber, *Jüd. Theologie auf Grund des Talmud*, etc., 1897, p. 105 ff., and *passim*.

D. EATON.

LAY.—An abrupt use of the simple verb to lay is found in Mt 8^{14} 'He saw his wife's mother laid, and sick of a fever.' It is a literal tr. of the Gr. *βεβλημένην καὶ πυρέσσουσαν*; RV gives 'lying sick,' ignoring the *καὶ*. The full form occurs in Mk 7^{30} 'She found the devil gone out, and her daughter laid upon the bed' (*βεβλημένην ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης* (edd. *τὸ παιδίον βεβλημένον ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην*)). Cf. Ac 13^{36} 'David . . . fell on sleep, and was laid unto his fathers' (*προσετέθη πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτοῦ*). Hall, *Works*, ii. 52, says, 'His servant is sick; he doth not drive him out of doores, but layes him at home.'

The simple verb to lay is used in Jon 3^{6} in the sense of 'lay aside,' 'He arose from his throne and he laid his robe from him.' The expression is irregular, and due to the word 'from' following.

To lay means to 'impute' in Job 24^{12} 'God layeth not folly to them' (לֹא־יָשִׂים, RV 'imputeth it not for folly'; cf. 1 S 22^{15} 'Let not the king impute anything unto his servant,' Heb. אַל־יָשֵׂם). So Jonson, *Sejanus*, ii. 1—

> 'So prepare the poison
> As you may lay the subtle operation
> Upon some natural disease of his.'

Some phrases demand attention: **1.** *Lay along*, see ALONG. **2.** *Lay apart*, Ja 1^{21} 'Wherefore lay apart all filthiness' (*ἀποθέμενοι*, RV 'putting away,' a metaphor from the putting off of clothes—Mayor). **3.** *Lay at*, meaning 'strike at,' Job 41^{26} 'The sword of him that layeth at him cannot hold.' Cf. Holland, *Suetonius' Caligula*, c. 25, 'With her perilous fingers shee would not sticke to lay at the face and eyes of other small Children playing together with her.' **4.** *Lay away*, *i.e.* lay aside, Ezk 26^{16} 'Then all the princes of the sea shall come down from their thrones, and lay away their robes'; Ad. Est 14^{2} 'Esther . . . laid away her glorious apparel.' Cf. Spenser, *FQ* I. viii. 49—

> 'Such the sight
> Of fowle Duessa, when her borrowed light
> Is laid away, and counterfesaunce knowne.'

5. *Lay down*, meaning to stake or deposit, Job 17^{3} 'Lay down now (שִׂימָה נָּא, RV 'Give now a pledge'), put me in a surety with thee.' Cf. Is 14^{15}, Cov. 'Yet darre I laye, that thou shalt be brought downe to the depe of hell.' **6.** *Lay hands on.* The verb *κρατέω* 'to gain power over,' 'seize,' is so trᵈ in Mt 18^{28} 21^{46}, and *πιάζω* 'to seize,' 'capture,' in Jn 8^{20}. For *κρατέω* RV prefers the more modern 'lay hold of,' and for *πιάζω* 'take.' **7.** *Lay open*, Pr 13^{16} 'A fool layeth open his folly' (RV 'spreadeth out,' as AVm). Cf. Fuller, *Holy Warre*, v. 2 (p. 231), 'I will lay open my cause, and justice shall be done without any by-respect.' **8.** *Lay out*, 2 K 12^{11} 'And they gave the money, being told, into the hands of them that did the work . . . and they laid it out to the carpenters and builders,' a compromise between the Gen. version 'payed it out' and the literal trⁿ 'brought it forth,' RV 'paid it out.' **9.** *Lay wait* occurs often. The more modern form 'lie in wait' is also found, as well as 'laying await' and 'laying of wait.' See WAIT.

J. HASTINGS.

LAYING ON OF HANDS (*ἐπίθεσις χειρῶν*, Vulg. *impositio manus* or *manuum*), Ac 8^{18}, 1 Ti 4^{14}, 2 Ti 1^{6}, He 6^{2}.—The ceremony thus described is mentioned frequently both in OT and NT, where it appears in connexion with religious acts of widely different character.

i. OLD TESTAMENT.—(*a*) It occurs as a symbol of benediction in Gn $48^{14ff.}$ 'Israel stretched out his right hand and laid it (וַיָּשֶׁת, *ἐπέβαλεν* *) upon Ephraim's head . . . and Joseph said . . . Put (שִׂים, *ἐπίθες*) thy right hand upon his (Manasseh's) head.' In giving the high priestly blessing to the congregation 'Aaron lifted up his hands toward the people' (Lv 9^{22} וַיִּשָּׂא, *ἐξάρας*); but the action, though ritually distinct,† seems to have had in this case the same significance as the imposition of hands upon an individual (cf. Nu 6^{27} *ἐπιθήσουσιν τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ἐγὼ Κύριος εὐλογήσω αὐτούς*). (*b*) The laying on of hands occupies an important place in the sacrificial system of P (Ex $29^{10. 15. 19}$, Lv $1^{4. 11}$ (LXX) $3^{2. 8. 13}$ $4^{4. 24. 29. 33}$ 8^{14-18} 16^{21}; cf. 2 Ch 29^{23}). It is prescribed in the case of (1) the bullock and the rams offered at the consecration of Aaron and his sons; (2) private offerings of quadrupeds on all occasions;‡ (3) sin offerings made on behalf of the whole congregation, in the event of a common ἀγνόημα; (4) the goat 'let go for Azazel.' (*c*) Witnesses laid their hands on the head of a person charged with a capital offence (Lv 24^{14}, Sus^{34}). (*d*) The tribe of Levi at their dedication received imposition of hands from representative members of the other tribes (Nu 8^{10}). (*e*) Moses appointed Joshua to be his successor in the same manner (Nu 27$^{18. 23}$, Dt 34^{9}). In all these cases except (*a*), סמך, LXX ἐπιτιθέναι, is used.

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* *ἐπιβαλεῖν τὰς χεῖρας* usually—in the NT always—implies hostile action.

† Cf. *Dict. Chr. Ant.* i. p. 757 f.

‡ See Dillmann on Lv 1^{4} 7^{2}.

It is not easy to grasp the common idea which underlies the various OT uses of this primitive ceremony. In (*a*) and (*e*) the laying on of hands seems to denote the imparting of a personal gift or function; see Dt, *l.c.* 'Joshua . . . was full of the spirit of wisdom, for Moses had laid his hands upon him.'* But in (*b*), (*c*), (*d*) the prominent thought is that of the devotion to God of the object on which hands are laid, to which must perhaps be added in the case of certain offerings the idea of a transfer of responsibility or guilt to the victim (Lv 16^{21}: cf., however, Schultz, *OT Theology*, Eng. tr. i. p. 391 ff., and W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} p. 422 f.). On the whole, it would appear that the fundamental meaning of the symbol was identification by contact, with the subsidiary idea of transference, whether from man to man, or from man to God. By laying his hands on a child or disciple, the patriarch or prophet signified that he desired to impart to the younger life powers or gifts which had been committed to himself; by laying his hand on an offering, the offerer solemnly identified himself with the victim which he dedicated to the service of God; by laying their hands on the head of a criminal, the witnesses of the crime delivered him over to judgment.

ii. NEW TESTAMENT.—(*a*) This symbol was once employed by our Lord in an act of benediction (Mt 19$^{13. 15}$=Mk 10$^{13. 16}$=Lk 18^{15}): 'then were there brought unto him little children that he should lay his hands on them and pray . . . and he laid his hands on them.' As the desire originated with the friends of the children, it must have had its origin in the custom of the time (cf. Buxtorf, *de Synag.* p. 138). The blessing of the ascending Lord was given to the Eleven in the manner prescribed to Aaron (Lk 24^{50} ἐπάρας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς). (*b*) Our Lord habitually laid His hands on the sick as a sign of healing (Mt 9^{18}= Mk 5^{23}, Mk 6^{5} 7^{32} 8$^{23. 25}$, Lk 4^{40} 13^{13}); we may probably add the passages where ἅπτεσθαι is used in similar contexts with or without ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα (Mt 8^{3}=Mk 1^{41}, Lk 5^{13}, Mt 8^{15} 9^{29} 20^{34}, Mk 7^{33}, Lk 22^{51}).† This practice was continued by the apostles and their followers ('Mk' 16^{18}, Ac 9$^{12. 17}$; cf. Irenæus, *ap.* Eus. *HE* v. 7, τοὺς κάμνοντας διὰ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως ἰῶνται). (*c*) The Apostles used the laying on of hands with prayer in the act of imparting the Holy Spirit to the baptized (Ac 8$^{17. 19}$ 19^{6}). The Lord had breathed upon them when He communicated the Spirit (Jn 20^{22}), and this ἐμφύσησις was peculiarly appropriate (Jn 3^{7}, cf. Gn 2^{7}); but as it symbolized a divine power and a personal relation to the Spirit of God which was incommunicable, no attempt was made to repeat it; when the Apostles passed on to other believers the gifts which they had received, they were guided to the ordinary symbol of benediction. It is to this use of the imposition of hands that reference appears to be made in He 6^{2} βαπτισμῶν διδαχὴν ἐπιθέσεώς τε χειρῶν (cf. v.^{4} φωτισθέντας γευσαμένους τε τῆς δωρεᾶς, κ.τ.λ.). (*d*) The imposition of hands was also used by the Apostolic Church on certain occasions when members of the Church were set apart to a particular office or work (Ac 6^{6} 13^{3}, 1 Ti 4^{14}, 2 Ti 1^{6}). The occasions specified are those of the appointment of the Seven, the sending forth of Barnabas and Saul, and the subsequent sending forth of Timothy to accompany St. Paul (Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 215 f.). Of the use of the rite in the ordination of presbyters and deacons there is no direct evidence, if we except 1 Ti 5^{22} (on which see below); for in Ac 14^{23} χειροτονεῖν doubtless refers to the election of presbyters in the various churches, and not to the ceremony of their admission to office. Nevertheless, as Dr. Hort points out, 'Jewish usage in the case of Rabbis and their disciples* renders it highly probable that (as a matter of fact) laying on of hands was largely practised in the Ecclesiæ of the apostolic age as a rite introductory to ecclesiastical office.' In the post-apostolic Church the rite was practically universal; the exceptions which have been observed admit of an intelligible explanation.† (*e*) The context of 1 Ti 5^{22} (χεῖρας ταχέως μηδενὶ ἐπιτίθει, μηδὲ κοινώνει ἁμαρτίαις ἀλλοτρίαις) has led some eminent expositors (Hammond, Ellicott, Hort) to see in that verse a reference to the use of the imposition of hands in the reconciliation of penitents. The custom was undoubtedly early, if not primitive; cf. Eus. *HE* vii. 2; *Const. Ap.* ii. 41; Cypr. *de laps.* 16, *ep.* 15. On the other hand, the main current of patristic interpretation is against this explanation of St. Paul's words, and it is not impossible to explain them in reference to ordination without doing violence to the context; see, *e.g.* Theod. Mops. *ad loc.*: 'non facile ad ordinationem quemquam producas sine plurima probatione . . . si (inquit) te ut convenit probante ille deliquerit, non est tuum crimen.'

For the post-apostolic history of the ceremony see Morinus, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* (*passim*); Suicer, *Thes. s.vv.* χειροτονέω, χειροθεσία; *Dict. Chr. Ant.* art. 'Imposition of Hands'; Mason, *Relation of Confirmation to Baptism.* H. B. SWETE.

LAZARUS OF BETHANY.—The name Lazarus is an abbreviation of the Heb. Eleazar='God hath helped.' In the LXX we find both Ἐλεαζάρ and Ἐλεάζαρος; in Josephus commonly Ἐλεάζαρος. But Λάζαρος occurs *BJ* v. xiii. 7

All that we know of L. is told us in the Fourth Gospel. He was the brother of Martha and Mary, who are mentioned by both St. John and St. Luke. In Jn 11^{5} the names are probably given in order of age, 'Martha, her sister, and Lazarus.' In both Gospels Martha seems to be the eldest, and the mistress of the house; and the fact that Luke does not mention L. points to his being younger, and perhaps much younger, than his sisters. All three were specially beloved by Christ (Jn 11^{5}). We know that He visited them more than once (Lk 10$^{38-42}$, Jn 11$^{1-53}$), and it is probable that He often did so when He was at or near Jerusalem. They were probably well-off. The number of condoling friends from the city, and the costly ointment used by Mary, point to this. That they had a funeral vault of their own may be true, but is not stated. Luke does not give the name of the village in which they lived, probably because it was not stated in the source which he used; but John tells us that it was Bethany, which is barely two miles from Jerusalem. He calls L. 'a certain man, Lazarus of Bethany, the village of Mary and her sister Martha' (11^{1}). There has never been any doubt about its site, and the modern name is derived from Lazarus—*El-Azerîjeh*, or *Lazarieh.*[*] Here Christ raised Lazarus from the dead. Here Mary anointed His feet. Here He began His triumphal entry into Jerusalem. Here He rested during several of the days before His Passion. And from some spot near to Bethany He ascended into heaven. L. was sitting at meat with Him when Mary anointed His feet, and his presence attracted many of 'the common people of the Jews' to the village, that they might see, not only Jesus, but the man whom He had raised from the dead: and the hierarchy in their plots against Christ 'took counsel that they might put L. also to death, because that by reason of him many of the Jews went away and believed on Jesus' (Jn $12^{2.9-11}$). The multitude that had been present when Jesus called L. out of the tomb were enthusiastic in bearing witness during the triumphal procession, and attracted others from the city to meet Him (Jn $12^{17.18}$).

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* A somewhat different account appears in Nu 27^{18}, 'take thee Joshua . . . *a man in whom is the spirit* [lit. 'there is spirit,' *i.e.* the necessary endowment for the office in view], and lay thine hand upon him.'

† In several of these instances hands were laid upon the part affected and not upon the head. The communication of healing power by contact (Mk 5$^{30f.}$) is probably the thing signified.

* See Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald. et Talm. s.v.* סְמִיכָה; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie*, *s.v.* 'Ordinirung': a Rabbi could make his scholar a Rabbi by the use of a formula which was ordinarily accompanied by imposition of hands.

† On the occasional omission of the ceremony in the ancient Church (Hatch, *Organization*, p. 133 f.) see T. A. Lacey, *L'imposition des mains dans la consécration des évêques*, Paris, 1896.

Here all that we know about L. ends. The chief interest in the brief account of him lies in the miracle of which he was the subject. The raising of L. is commonly regarded as the climax of Christ's miraculous activity; and perhaps no portion even of the Fourth Gospel has been more vigorously assailed by hostile critics. Not only the miracle as a whole, but a large number of the details, have been made the objects of rigorous and minute criticism. It would be hardly too much to say that every objection, reasonable or unreasonable, that ingenuity could devise has been urged. And the reason for this is intelligible. The consequences of the truth of the narrative are so considerable. Spinoza is said to have declared that, if he could be convinced of the truth of the raising of L., he would break up his system and become a Christian (Bayle, *Dict. s.v.*). That is not a logical statement, for the Christian faith depends, not upon the raising of L., but upon the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Yet such a declaration shows that, as at the time when it was wrought, a miracle of this character is capable of exercising a mighty influence upon the intellects and hearts of men. It cannot fail to raise the question, 'What manner of man is this, that even death and the grave obey Him?'

The two most reasonable objections to the narrative as a whole are (1) the silence of the Synoptists, and (2) the amazing character of the miracle. It will be best to take them in this order; for injustice may be done by taking the second to augment the weight of the first. It may be doubted whether any one evangelist was ever induced to record any particular miracle by the thought that it was of a specially surprising character. They give us samples of *all* Christ's mighty works, especially those which had a marked effect upon His disciples and other hearers.

(1) The difficulty respecting the silence of the Synoptic Gospels as to the raising of L. has been seriously exaggerated even by apologists. Thus Trench says, 'It must always remain a mystery why this miracle, transcending as it does all other miracles which the Lord wrought, so memorable in itself, drawing after it the consequences which it did (Jn 11^{53}), should have been passed over by the three earlier evangelists' (*Miracles*^{8}, p. 394). The Synoptic Gospels have been more minutely studied since these words were written (1846), and the fact that in the main they give us one and the same tradition, and that a very fragmentary one, is now much more fully realized. It has been seen that this common fragmentary record has preserved hardly any particulars about the interval between the close of the ministry in Galilee (which is its chief theme) and the last Passover. St. Luke alone has done anything considerable to fill this blank, and the silence of the Synoptists should rather be called 'the silence of St. Luke.' And here again a similar explanation is applicable. 'The great intercalation' in the third Gospel (9^{51}–18^{14}) is itself very fragmentary, and seems to come from more than one source; and there is nothing very astonishing in the fact that St. Luke had no source which mentioned the raising of Lazarus. Indeed there is nothing unreasonable in the conjecture that, if he had used a source which mentioned it, he would still have omitted it; for he had already recorded two instances of Christ performing this miracle. And we misunderstand Jn 11^{53} if we suppose that it was the raising of L. which determined the hierarchy to put Jesus to death. Some time before this His enemies decided to kill Him, and tried to do it, as St. John himself tells us ($7^{1.25.26.44}$ 8^{59} 10^{31}, and even in this very narrative $11^{8.16}$). The raising of L. was the cause, neither of the enthusiasm of the people at the triumphal entry, nor of the deadly hostility of the priests. It merely augmented the one and quickened the activity of the other. Both would have existed and have been efficacious, even if L. had not been raised. None of the evangelists need the story of L. to make the narrative intelligible. John, knowing that the others had omitted it, tells us what he himself had heard and seen. It was of special interest to him, because of its effect in converting some of 'the Jews'; and he had recorded no other instance of Christ's raising the dead.

(2) Is it correct to say that the raising of L. 'transcends all other miracles which the Lord wrought'? It would be safer to affirm that it *seems to us* to transcend them. But is this view correct? In the main it is a modern view. To us raising the dead seems to be a miracle *sui generis*; and raising a man who has been dead four days seems to be a stupendous instance of a stupendous kind of miracle. But to the philosophic believer in miracles all genuine miracles are alike. When natural causes are inadequate and a supernatural cause is admitted, all *degrees of difficulty* are excluded. One who has Omnipotence to aid him cleanses lepers and raises the dead as easily as he heals ordinary diseases. If any miracle is credible, raising a man who has been dead four days is credible. It is illogical to say that the evidence would warrant us in believing a miraculous cure, but does not warrant us in believing in the raising of a dead man.

The objection, that Jn 11^{47-53} is inconsistent with the fact that in accusing Jesus before the Sanhedrin and Pilate no mention is made of the miracle, is not reasonable. It would have paralyzed the Sanhedrin to admit that Jesus had worked such a sign. The dismay of the priests at the miracles, and their silence about it at the trial, are entirely consistent.

Some of the criticisms of the details require notice. Very different views are taken about the 'four days' (see Andrews, *Life of our Lord*, p. 405). Probably L. died the day that Jesus heard of his illness, and was buried almost immediately (2 K 9^{34}, Ac $5^{6.10}$). This would be all the more necessary if he died of some infectious disease. Then, after two days (11^{6}), Jesus set out for Bethany, and was part of two days on the road. But this is unimportant. It is urged that His waiting two days and allowing L. to die, in order to prove the sisters and reveal His own glory more signally, was heartless. So far as we know, He did not act thus. Had He started at once, He would probably have arrived too late to see L. alive. 'But he could have healed him from a distance.' No doubt He could, if it had been God's will. But He ever worked in accordance with the divine plan; and in this plan the raising of L. was to do three things: (*a*) strengthen the disciples' faith; (*b*) convert many of the Jews; (*c*) cause the priests to hasten their movements, so as to be ready when 'his hour had come' ($11^{15.\,45.\,53}$). Healing L. from a distance would have been less efficacious for the first of these, and would have done little towards the other two.

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[*] Schwarz seems to be alone in disputing the site; but many modern travellers are incredulous about the vault at the bottom of 26 steps, *in the middle of the village*, which is shown as the tomb of Lazarus.

The indignation and sorrow attributed to Him ($11^{33.\,35}$) are said to be unworthy of the incarnate Logos. Evidently St. John, the exponent of the Logos doctrine, did not think so. To those who believe in the reality of Christ's humanity there is nothing strange in His being angered by the hypocritical wailings of His enemies, and shedding tears of sympathy with the sisters (11^{33}).

We are told that *ἤδη ὄζει* (11^{39}) expresses, not merely Martha's expectation, but a fact. And are we prepared to maintain that Christ restored a putrid corpse to life? The reply to which is, that we have no right to dogmatize, but that we have full right to believe that God, who had determined that L. should be raised, had preserved his body from corruption.

When the stone was raised, Jesus lifted up His eyes to heaven and said, 'Father, I thank thee that thou didst hear me' (11^{41}). It is maintained that such words on the lips of the God-Man are unreal. Only those who think that the incarnation involves the extinction of the human nature by the divine can so think. Christ here intimates whom they have to thank for the immense mercy that is before them. The Son can do nothing of Himself; His power is from the Father (5^{19-26}). The words are parallel to 'declare how great things *God* hath done for thee' (Lk 8^{39}).

Our intellectual difficulties would not be at an end if we were to admit that no such miracle ever took place. The hypothesis that the story is a fiction is quite incredible. The narrative holds together with the closest consistency (11^{1-16} and $^{17-38}$ with $^{39-44}$); and the story as a whole not only harmonizes with what follows, but explains it section by section ($11^{45-53.\,54-57}$ $12^{1-8.\,9-11.\,12-19}$). The people who take part in it are intensely real, and quite beyond the evangelist's powers of invention. In particular, the characters of the two sisters are not only very true to life, but receive remarkable confirmation from the entirely independent sketch of them by St. Luke (10^{38-42}). There, in utterly different circumstances, the practical Martha and contemplative Mary are as real as in St. John's narrative. The only reasonable explanation of the harmony between the two pictures is that both are taken from life (Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 38; Fairbairn, *Expositor*, 1st series, ix. p. 189).

The narrative with its evidence of the miracle is there, and must be explained. How did the report of such an event arise? We have our choice of various suggestions. (1) The old Rationalism offers us a remarkable coincidence. L. was in a trance, from which he was recovering just as Jesus reached the tomb. When the stone was removed, Jesus perceived that he was not dead, and cried, 'Lazarus, come forth.' (2) Renan sees clearly that something really did take place at Bethany which was looked upon as a resurrection; but he rejects the idea of mere coincidence. The family of devoted disciples arranged that L. should pretend to be dead, in order that Jesus might overwhelm His foes by seeming to restore him to life: and Jesus allowed Himself to take part in this imposture. (3) Keim regards the whole as undoubtedly a fiction, made up largely of Synoptic materials, and composed partly as a great final picture of Christ's powers, partly as an exposition of His saying that Jews who did not listen to Moses and the prophets would not be persuaded though L. rose from the dead (Lk 16^{31}). It is a parable translated into fact. (4) Others take a similar view, but differ as to the central germ. These make the whole story an allegorical illustration of Christ's declaration, 'I am the Resurrection and the Life,' etc. (Jn 11^{25}), which is the one substantial factor in the composition. (5) Strauss falls back on his usual expedient of treating the narrative as a myth. There are many variations in explaining details, but these five are typical of the expedients employed by those who regard a miracle as wholly incredible. Each person must judge for himself whether any of these explanations is more satisfactory than a belief in the reality of the miracle. The first two are revolting even to those who hold that Jesus was only the best man who ever lived, and they entirely fail to explain either 11^{1-16} or $^{17-38}$. The others ascribe to the evangelist a creative power which would be a miracle in the literature of that age. For, even if he got some ideas from the other Gospels or from popular imagination, the form of the narrative, with its impressive reality and vividness, its internal consistency and its harmony with the rest of the Gospel and with St. Luke, is his own. The Apocr. Gospels show us what kind of stories early Christians could invent, when they tried to add to what was known about Christ. 'No narrative of NT bears so completely the stamp of being the very opposite of a later invention' (Meyer, *ad loc.*). 'The Johannine narrative is both unexplained and inexplicable, unless its historical character be accepted' (B. Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, bk. vi. § 6). In particular, the silence of the narrative is as impressive as its contents, and is in marked contrast to fiction. Nothing is told us of the emotions or experiences of Lazarus. No word of his is recorded. Not even his amazement, or joy, or trouble at being restored to life is described; and he makes no revelations about the other world. Would a writer of romance have denied himself this attractive theme? Would he have been thus careful to avoid gratifying unhealthy curiosity? See art. JESUS CHRIST, vol. ii. p. 625.

Various untenable identifications have been made in connexion with the story of Lazarus. Mary has been identified either with Mary Magdalene, or with the sinner in the house of Simon the Pharisee, or with both. Almost certainly they were three different persons. Simon the Pharisee has been identified with Simon the leper, in whose house was the meal at which Martha served, Mary anointed the Lord's feet, while L. was one of those who reclined with Him at table. This also is highly improbable. All these identifications, however, have been suggested by some patristic writers as well as by some moderns. It was reserved for the imagination of a modern scholar to identify L. himself not only with the young ruler who had great possessions (Mt 19^{16}, Mk 10^{17}, Lk 18^{18}), but with the young man with a linen cloth about him, who was near being arrested with Christ (Mk 14^{51}). We do not know that L. was *young*; it is most improbable that he was a *ruler*; and although the family seems to have been well-to-do, there is no evidence that L. *had great possessions*. And were there so few young men in Palestine that wherever we find one mentioned we must assume that he is the same as some other one? To identify the ruler of Lk 18^{18} with the young man of Mk 14^{51}, and both of these with L., is against all probability. The interesting article on Lazarus in Smith's *DB* is an excellent example of spinning ropes of sand.

In various forms of early Christian art the resurrection of Lazarus was a favourite subject. It is found, from the 3rd cent. onwards, very often in paintings and sculptures, and sometimes in mosaics. And there is evidence that it was also woven or embroidered on clothing. In early examples Christ is a large figure and Lazarus a very small one, and the latter is wrapped tightly in grave cloths. Small images of Lazarus were sometimes fastened outside tombs. See the authorities quoted in Trench, *Miracles*, § 29 *sub fin.*; Smith's *Dict. of Chr. Ant.* ii. p. 949; Kraus, ii. p. 286.

Legends about Lazarus are less common than one might expect. The Jews are said to have sent him and his sisters with other disciples to sea in a leaky boat, which took them safely to Marseilles, where he became a bishop. Writers of mediæval romances sometimes made him their mouthpiece in publishing their ideas about the unseen world (T. Wright, *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, p. 167 ff., London, 1844). No trust can be placed in the tradition preserved by Epiphanius that Lazarus was thirty when he was raised, and lived thirty years afterwards (*Hær.* ii. 2. 652). In short, nothing historical can be added to the brief narrative of St. John, which has never ceased to impress the mind of Christendom.

In conclusion, it is worth noting that this narrative contains important evidence respecting Christ's human consciousness. Supernatural knowledge was within His reach (Jn 11$^{4.11.14}$); but when He could acquire the necessary information in the usual way He did not make use of supernatural means (11$^{17.34}$).

A. PLUMMER.

LAZARUS AND DIVES.—In this parable alone is a name given to any of the persons introduced. The name Lazarus may be a later addition, to connect the parable with L. of Bethany, who *did* 'go to them from the dead,' and still they did not repent. More probably, the name suggests the *helplessness* of the man, so far as his fellow-men were concerned. Tertullian argues that the name proves that the story is historical, and that the scene in Hades confirms his view that the soul is corporeal (*de Animâ*, vii.). In this parable also popular usage has given the other chief character a name. In the West 'Dives' has become almost a proper name; and this in spite of the fact that tradition had given the name of Nineuis to the rich man (Euthym. Zig. on Lk 16^{20}).

This parable is the counterpart of the parable of the Unjust Steward. That teaches what good results may be won by a wise use of present advantages. This teaches how calamitous are the results of failing to make a wise use of them. It illustrates also the preceding saying, that what is exalted among men may be an abomination in the sight of God (Lk 16^{15}). It is not 'Ebionitic.' It neither states nor implies that it is wicked to be rich. Dives is condemned, not for having been wealthy, but for having found in wealth his highest good, and for not having used it to win something better. Out of this mammon he might have made L. and others his 'friends,' and through them have secured 'eternal tabernacles.' Both halves of the parable are original, and each is needed to explain the other. It is a grave error to suppose that the scene in Hades is the only part of the parable that is significant, or that its purpose is to teach us the nature of the unseen world. The one thing that it teaches is that our condition there depends upon our conduct here, and that this may produce a complete reversal of human judgments. The details of the picture represent Jewish ideas about Sheol, but they in no way confirm those ideas. In order to enable us to realize the picture, disembodied spirits are described as if they were bodies. The finger, the tongue, the flame, etc., are figurative, for the actual finger and tongue were in the grave.

In both halves of the parable L. (like his namesake in all the scenes at Bethany) is silent; and his silence is instructive. It indicates that, just as Dives is not punished for his wealth, so L. is not rewarded for his poverty. He is rewarded for his patient submission. In life he does not murmur at God's unequal distribution of goods, nor rail at Dives for his neglect of him. In Sheol he does not triumph over Dives, nor protest against the idea of his being at his beck and call. He leaves Abraham (a righteous rich man) to decide everything; and Abraham points out that as the one had had uninterrupted luxury, and the other uninterrupted misery, in life, so there can be no interruption in the reversed conditions of either in Sheol.

The hypothesis that Dives and his five brethren represent six of the Herods (father, sons, and grandsons being called brethren for simplification) is incredible. Those who hold it consistently maintain that the parable is wrongly attributed to Christ, and is a later composition. Christ certainly would not have made a personal attack of this kind on any one, although He did not hesitate to censure Antipas publicly (Lk 13^{32}).

The belief that Lazarus was a leper has produced such words as *lazzaro* for leper and *lazzaretto* or *lazar-house* for leper-hospital. During the Crusades an order of knights of St. Lazarus was founded (1119, 1255), with the special duty of protecting and tending lepers. It lasted till modern times, but is distinct from the much more modern order of Lazarists or Lazarians.

A. PLUMMER.

LEAD (אֹפֶרֶת *'ophereth*) is often named among the spoils from Syria under Tahutmes III.; and it was common enough by B.C. 1200 to be used in Egypt for the sinkers of fishing-nets. This use was familiar to Israelites, as the Song of Moses has 'sank like lead in the mighty waters' (Ex 15^{10}). Lead in the literal sense is mentioned in Nu 31^{22} (P) along with brass, iron, and tin, and along with the same metals is used figuratively of Israel in Ezk 22^{18} (cf. v.^{20}); and it appears in Ezk 27^{12} along with silver, iron, and tin as an article of commerce brought from Tarshish to Tyre. In Job 19^{24} the sufferer exclaims, 'O that with an iron pen and lead [my words] were graven in the rock for ever!' There may be a twofold reference here: (*a*) to the use of a leaden tablet to be written on with an iron pen, (*b*) to the cutting-out of an inscription on a rock, but more probably there is but one figure before the mind's eye of the speaker,—that of pouring molten lead into the letter-forms sunk in the stone. (See Davidson and Dillmann, *ad loc.*). See, further, under MINES, MINING.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

LEAH (לֵאָה, Λεία).—The elder daughter of Laban, and one of Jacob's wives. The ruse by which she was palmed off by her father upon Jacob, who imagined that he was marrying Rachel, is described in Gn 29$^{21ff.}$. As to her personal appearance, we are told that her eyes were רַכּוֹת, which the LXX render by ἀσθενεῖς, and EV by 'tender,' *i.e.* weak or dull. The context and the etymology of the word both favour this meaning rather than that of 'beautiful,' which is attributed to the word by Onk. and Sa'adya, who imagine that the sense intended is, that though Leah had fine eyes she was otherwise not so handsome as Rachel. By her marriage with Jacob, Leah became the mother of six sons, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, and a daughter, Dinah, Gn 29$^{31-35}$ 30$^{18.20.21}$. See JACOB, vol. ii. p. 528. Along with her sister she expressed sympathy with Jacob on account of his treatment by Laban, and agreed to accompany her husband in his flight from her father, 31$^{4.14.33}$. When the meeting between Jacob and Esau was about to take place, Leah and her children were placed in an intermediate position between the handmaids with their children in the front and Rachel with her children in the rear, 33$^{1.2.7}$. Leah is mentioned in 49^{31} as having been buried in the cave of Machpelah, having evidently died prior to Jacob's going down to Egypt. In Ru 4^{11} the women who invoke a blessing on the union of Boaz and Ruth, make honourable mention of Leah and Rachel as having 'built' the house of Israel.

It is clear that the most ancient division of Israel distinguished Leah tribes and Rachel tribes. Wellhausen (*Proleg.* 150; cf. W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 195, 257; Stade, *ZATW* i. 112 ff.) regards *Levi* as a patronymic derived from *Leah*. See LEVI.

The meaning of the name *Leah* is somewhat uncertain. Gray (*Heb. Prop. Names*, 96) accepts the meaning 'wild cow' (so W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, p. 119 ['bovine antelope']; Frd. Delitzsch, *Proleg.* 80, and [doubtfully] Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, 1886, p. 167). Others, as Haupt (*GGN*, 1883, p. 100), compare the Assyrian *li'at* in the sense of 'mistress.' Upon the ground that the narrative in Gn 29^{17} describes the one sister as ugly and the other as beautiful, Ball (in *SBOT*, *ad loc.*) suggests a connexion between לֵאָה (and perhaps לֵוִי) and the Arab. root لوى 'to be ugly,' II. 'to look ugly *or* malignantly.' See Lane, p. 2677. J. A. SELBIE.

LEANNOTH, Ps 88 (title).—See **Mahalath** under art. PSALMS.

LEASING is the Anglo-Saxon *leásung*, 'a lie,' and comes from *leás*, 'false,' which Skeat believes to be the same word as *leás*, loose, so that 'leasing' is literally '*looseness* of statement.' In the Acts of James I. of Scotland, 1424, 'It is ordanyt—that all lesingis makaris and tellaris of thaim, the quhilk may ingener discorde betuix the king and his pepill,—salbe challangit be thaim that power has, and tyne lyff and gudis to the king'—Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, *s.v.* 'Lesing-makare.' And still older, in the Preface to king Alfred's Laws, the 44th article is, Onscûna thû â leásunga = 'Shun thou ever leasings.' Wyclif uses the word often. Thus, Jn 8^{44} 'Whanne he [the deuel] spekith a lesinge, he spekith of his owne thingis; for he is a lyiere, and fadir of it.' He also has the forms 'leasing-maker,' Pr 21^{6}, and 'leasing-monger,' as Sir 20^{27} 'Betere is a theef than the customablenesse of a man, a leesyngmongere' (1382, 'than the besynesse of a man liere'). With Wyclif's translation of Jn 8^{44} cf. Knox, *Historie*, p. 288, 'But who can correct the leasings of such as in all things show them the sons of the Father of all lies'; Elyot, *The Governour*, ii. 217, 'And the devill is called a lyer, and the father of leasinges. Wherfore all thinge, which in visage or apparaunce pretendeth to be any other than verily it is, may be named a leasinge; the execution whereof is fraude, whiche is in effecte but untrouthe, enemie to trouthe, and consequently enemye to god'; and Twysden, *Decem Script.* col. 2650, 'For before that the fende fader of lesynges was lowside, was never this gabbyng contryvede.'

The word occurs three times in AV, Ps 4^{2} 'how long will ye love vanity, and seek after leasing?' (Heb. תְּבַקְשׁוּ כָזָב, Wyc. 'sechen lesing,' Cov. 'seke after lyes,' Gen. 'seking lyes,' Douay 'seeke lying,' Bish. 'seeke after leasing,' RV 'seek after falsehood' [so also Driver, *Parall. Psalter*, with note '*i.e.* probably vain plans (2^{1}) for the ruin of the Psalmist, and false charges or calumnies against him,' to which he adds on p. 487, under *Corrigenda*, 'Or better, perhaps, false and baseless imputations' by impatient and distrustful companions, 'reflecting discredit upon the Psalmist']); 5^{6} 'Thou shalt destroy them that speak leasing' (דֹּבְרֵי כָזָב, Wyc. 'Thou schalt leese alle that speken leesyng,' Cov. 'Thou destroyest the lyers,' Gen. 'Thou shalt destroy them that speake lyes,' Dou. 'Thou wilt destroy al that speake lie,' Bish. 'Thou shalt destroy them that speake leasing,' RV 'Thou shalt destroy them that speak lies'); 2 Es 14^{18} 'For the truth is fled far away, and leasing is hard at hand' (*appropinquabit mendacium*, RV 'For the truth shall withdraw itself further off, and leasing be hard at hand'; the AV is again the tr$^{\text{n}}$ of the Bishops). In Is 59^{3} Cov. has 'leasing' as tr$^{\text{n}}$ of שֶׁקֶר (AV and RV 'lies').

The word, which is frequently used by Spenser in his antiquated English, is found only twice in Shaks. (*Twelfth Night*, I. v. 105, and *Coriolanus*, V. ii. 22), and by the time of Thomas Fuller had dropped out of use. In *Ch. Hist.* III. i. 33, Fuller says, 'Amongst the many simoniacal Prelates that swarmed in the land, Herbert, Bishop of Thetford, must not be forgotten; nicknamed (or fitnamed shall I say?) Losing, that is, the Flatterer; our old English word leasing for lying retains some affinity thereunto, and at this day we call an insinuating fellow a Glozing Companion.' J. HASTINGS.

LEATHER, LEATHERN (עוֹר *'ôr*, *δέρμα*, *δερμάτινος*).—Elijah and John the Baptist wore a girdle of leather (2 K 1^{8} אֵזוֹר עוֹר, Mt 3^{4}, Mk 1^{6} *ζώνη δερματίνη*. In the last passage AV needlessly introduces the variety, 'girdle of *skin*'). Although mentioned in EV only in connexion with girdles, leather must have been used for many purposes. The Heb. and Gr. words properly mean *skin*; and in such passages as Ex 25^{5} ('rams' skins dyed red, and badgers' skins') they clearly refer to tanned skins, and perhaps in Nu 31^{20} ('all that is made of skins') they do the same. Leather was used for thongs, latchets of sandals, etc. Water-bottles and wine-bottles were often made of leather, as at the present day in Syria and Palestine. The Egyptians used it for many purposes besides those mentioned, such as coverings for shields, seats of chairs, etc. (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 185–189); also for writing (*ib.* 183), rolls being made of it like papyrus. See, further, SKIN, TANNER. H. PORTER.

LEAVE.—The verb to leave is often used in AV in the sense of 'desist,' 'leave off,' as Gn 18^{33} 'And the LORD went his way, as soon as he had left communing with Abraham'; Ru 1^{18} 'When she saw that she was stedfastly minded to go with her, then she left speaking unto her'; Ac 21^{32} 'when they saw the chief captain and the soldiers, they left beating of Paul.' Cf. Tind. *Expos.* p. 106, 'He that buildeth a costly house even to the tiling, will not leave there, and lose so great cost for so small a trifle more.' So Latimer, *Serm. of the Plough*, 'If I might see any such inclination in you, that you would leave to be merciless, and begin to be charitable, I would then hope well of you'; and Shaks. *I Henry IV.* V. v. 44—

> 'Let us not leave till all our own be won.'

'Leave off' is also found in AV, as Sir 23^{17} 'All bread is sweet to a whoremonger, he will not leave off till he die'; 47^{22} 'But the Lord will never leave off his mercy.' And it is used both with the *ptcp. in -ing*, and with *to and the infin.*, as Gn 17^{22} 'And he left off talking with him'; 1 K 15^{21} 'he left off building of Ramah'; Gn 11^{8} 'they left off to build the city'; Hos 4^{10} 'they have left off to take heed to the LORD.' In Gn 17^{22} Tindale's *Pent.* of 1530 has 'left of talking,' but the ed. of 1534 'left talking.'

In Ac 18^{18} and 2 Co 2^{13} *ἀποτάσσομαι* is tr$^{\text{d}}$ 'take leave of.' RV retains this tr. and introduces it in Mk 6^{46} for AV 'send away'; but in Lk 9^{61} RV retains 'bid farewell' of AV, and in 14^{33} (the only other occurrence of the Gr. verb in NT) changes AV 'forsake' into 'renounce.' The verb *ἀσπάζομαι* is once (Ac 21^{6}) rendered 'take leave of' in AV, when RV prefers 'bid farewell.'

With the expression in Ac 21^{3} ‘Now when we had discovered Cyprus, we left it on the left hand’: cf. Ac 20^{16} Rhem. ‘Paul had purposed to saile leaving Ephesus’; Nu 34^{12} Tind. ‘And then goo downe at the Iordayne, and leve at the salte sea’; and especially Guylforde, *Pylgrymage*, p. 14, ‘whiche yle we lefte on our lefte hande towardes Grece.’ J. Hastings.

LEAVEN (שְׂאֹר, *ζύμη*, *fermentum*).—The Hebrew word *sĕʼōr* (שְׂאֹר), which probably expresses the idea of fermentation, is found only five times in the OT (Ex 12$^{15.\ 19}$ 13^{7}, Lv 2^{11}, Dt 16^{4}); more commonly we find a word from another root, denoting *to be sour*, and hence *to be leavened* (חָמֵץ *ḥāmēẓ*). Bread, kneaded in a baking trough (מִשְׁאֶרֶת Ex 8^{3} 12^{34}), and leavened, probably by means of a lump of fermented dough, must have been a common article of food among the Israelites; but as time was required to allow the leaven to work (Hos 7^{4}), bread of another kind was used when food was required at short notice. This took the form of unleavened cakes (Gn 19^{3}, Jg 6^{19}, 1 S 28^{24}), called *mazzôth* (מַצּוֹת), either as being sweet, unsoured (מָצַץ=‘to suck,’ so Ges.), or on account of their dry, insipid character (Fleischer in Levy, *NHWB* iii. 315; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. 145). It was, according to Ex 12$^{34.\ 39}$ (JE), unleavened cakes of this kind that the Israelites baked for themselves on their hurried departure from Egypt, since they had not time to leaven their dough.

In early times leavened bread, as a common article of food, probably formed a part of a sacrificial meal, and of the gifts offered to the Deity by the worshipper (cf. 1 S 10^{3}). In the Northern kingdom leaven was an accompaniment of the thank-offering, though Amos seems to refer to the custom in terms of disapproval (Am 4^{5}). Traces of a similar usage are to be found even in P; for the shewbread (Lv 24$^{5\text{-}9}$ [P]) was probably leavened, while leavened cakes, as bread of the first-fruits, formed part of the sacred gifts presented at the Feast of Weeks (Lv 23^{17}, cf. ^{20} [H]), and also accompanied the peace-offering, when offered as a thanksgiving (Lv 7^{13} [P]). In none of these cases, however, was the leavened bread actually placed upon the altar. On the other hand, to eat anything leavened, or even to keep it in the house, was strictly forbidden during the seven days of *mazzôth* (Ex 13$^{3\text{-}7}$ 23^{15} 34^{18} [JE], Dt 16$^{3.\ 4.\ 8}$, Ex 12$^{14\text{-}20}$, Lv 23$^{6\text{-}8}$, Nu 28^{17} [P]), a festival which was originally distinct from the Passover, though Dt shows a tendency to combine the two (Dt 16^{8}, and cf. Driver, *ad loc.*). A historical explanation of the prohibition is given in JE, where, as we saw, the use of unleavened cakes is connected with the events of the exodus (Ex 12$^{34\text{-}39}$), and a connexion between the exodus and *mazzôth* is suggested elsewhere (Ex 13$^{3\text{ff.}}$ 23^{15} 34^{18}). Similarly, in Dt 16^{3} the unleavened cakes of this season are termed ‘the bread of affliction,’ from their association with the Egyptian bondage of the Israelites, and their hurried departure. Probably, however, the feast of *mazzôth* was originally the opening festival of the harvest season (cf. Dt 16^{9}, Lv 23$^{9\text{ff.}}$); in this case the use of leavened cakes may be explained from the use of new corn, hastily prepared for food in the busy time at the beginning of harvest, and from the desire not to mix the first-fruits with the last year's dough (see Wellhausen, *Proleg.*, Eng. tr. pp. 85–87; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. 145 f.). The more general prohibition of leaven in sacrifices was doubtless due to the association of the processes of fermentation and putrefaction. Leaven was regarded as a source of corruption; and accordingly P excludes it from any meal-offering (Lv 2^{11} 6^{17}, and cf. Dillm. *ad loc.*), and lays down the principle that nothing leavened, nor even honey, which might produce fermentation (cf. Pliny, 11, 15), was to be burnt as an offering to J″. The laws in JE (Ex 23^{18} 34^{25}) also forbid the use of leaven in a sacrifice, but in both passages a special reference is made to the Passover, and it is possible that the prohibition was originally confined to this feast (cf. *RS* p. 203 f.).

The association of leaven and corruption is not confined to the OT. Plutarch explains on this ground why the Flamen Dialis was not permitted to eat bread prepared with leaven (*Quæs. Rom.* 109); and *fermentum* is used in Persius for ‘corruption’ (*Sat.* i. 24). In the NT there is, indeed, the parable of the leaven, where its unseen influence and penetrating power is taken as a symbol of the growth of the kingdom of heaven (Mt 13^{33}, Lk 13$^{20\text{f.}}$); but elsewhere our Lord warns His disciples against the ‘leaven’ of the Pharisees and of Herod (Mt 16$^{6\text{-}12}$, Mk 8$^{15\text{ff.}}$, Lk 12^{1}); and St. Paul, emphasizing its secret and expansive working, quotes the proverb, ‘A little leaven leavens the whole lump’ (Gal 5^{9}, 1 Co 5^{6}), to warn his converts against the contagious example of evil-doers, and exhorts them to purge out the old leaven of malice and wickedness (1 Co 5^{8}). Similarly, in Rabbinical writers leaven is used as a symbol of evil: thus R. Alexander prays against ‘the leaven in the dough,’ *i.e.* the evil inclination in the heart, which prevents man from doing the will of God (Talm. *Berachoth*, 17*a*; and cf. Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Mt 16^{6}). H. A. White.

LEBANA (לְבָנָא), Neh 7^{48}, or **LEBANAH** (לְבָנָה), Ezr 2^{45}.—The head of a family of returning exiles, called in 1 Es 5^{29} **Labana.**

LEBANON (in prose with art. הַלְּבָנוֹן, except 2 Ch 2^{8b} [Heb.^{7b}]; in poetry 18 times with art., 20 times without. LXX Λίβανος, generally with art.; Vulg. *Libanus*).*—Derived from root [לָבֵן] ‘to be white,’ either from the snow which covers the summits seven months in the year, or from the light colour of the limestone in its upper ranges.

Lebanon is mentioned in the OT over 60 times, but almost two-thirds of the references occur in poetical passages. It is not mentioned in the NT. While included in the land assigned to the Israelites, Jos 13^{5} (D^{2}), these mountains were never conquered by them (Jg 3$^{1\text{-}3}$), the actual limit of conquest being ‘Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon, under Mount Hermon’ (Jos 11^{17}). This valley of Lebanon was known to the Greeks as Cœle-Syria, and is the modern *Buḳaʻ*. Anti-Libanus proper is mentioned but once in the OT as ‘Lebanon towards the sunrising’ (Jos 13^{5}). The Hivites are said to be inhabitants of the Lebanon (Jg 3^{3}), and the Giblites dwelt at Gebal (the modern *Jebail*, Greek *Byblos*, at the base of the mountains) (Jos 13$^{5.\ 6}$). During the reign of Solomon, the Lebanon appears to have been subject to Hiram king of Tyre, who contracted to bring cedar trees, firs, and almug (algum) trees by sea to Joppa for the temple (1 K 5^{6}, 2 Ch 2^{8}). On the other hand, Solomon appears to have erected buildings in the Lebanon (1 K 9^{19}, 2 Ch 8^{6}). At the rebuilding of the temple, after the restoration, cedar trees were again brought from the Lebanon (Ezr 3^{7}). See, further, art. Cedar.

Mt. Lebanon runs N.N.E.–S.S.W. for 95 miles from *Nahr Ḳasmîyeh*, lat. 33° 20′ (known as the Liṭâny, the classic Leontes, along its upper course), to *Nahr el-Kebîr*, the ancient Eleutherus. The plain of the *Buḳaʻ* separates it from the Anti-Libanus, which, starting from the Barada, runs for 65 miles roughly parallel to the Lebanon.

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* The name appears in Assyr. as *Labnânu*, etc. (see Schrader, *COT*^{2} on 1 K 5^{13}), and in Egyp. perhaps as *Ramannu* (see W. Max Müller, *As. u. Europ.* 198 f., 204).

Strabo (xvi.) represents the two ranges as parallel, but is in error in stating their direction: Lebanon, according to him, beginning at Tripolis, and Anti-Libanus at Sidon, both running towards Damascus. The foot-hills of Lebanon—the western range—rise abruptly from the seashore, except for the narrow strip of plain at Sidon, and for the triangular projections of the promontories of Beyrout and Tripoli. At its southern end the main ridge is divided into two ranges, roughly parallel, by the brook *Zaharâni*, which, after flowing southwards, turns abruptly west and enters the sea south of Sidon. The eastern ridge is known as *Jebel Riḥân*, and the western as *Jebel Taura* (alt. 4500 ft.). Both are more or less wooded. Near the plateau on which stands *Kefr Ḥouni*, these two ridges merge into one, which is separated from the twin peaks *Taumât Niḥa* (alt. 5625 ft. and 5550 ft.) by a notch 600 ft. deep. The ridge now becomes higher and more pronounced, rising to an altitude varying from 5500 to 7000 ft. Its various parts are locally named from the larger villages, as *Jebel Niḥa*, and *Jebel Barûk*. North of the latter the ridge falls to an altitude of 4700 ft., and is crossed by a transverse ridge, *Jebel Kuneiseh* (alt. 6960 ft.). A narrow watershed connects this with *Jebel Ṣannîn*, a triangular-shaped mountain—one face being parallel to the sea, one in the line of the main ridge, and the third or northern one running roughly east and west. Its highest point is on the eastern face. From a distance the top appears to be level, but it is exceedingly rough owing to numerous conical depressions, in which snow may be found late into the summer. For some distance beyond *Ṣannîn* the top of the main ridge is really a broad, rolling plateau, called *Jebel Muneitri*, varying in altitude from 5800 to 6000 ft. North of the village *'Aḳûrah* the altitude increases rapidly, and the western part of this broad mass is broken up by a series of intricate ridges, suddenly breaking down into the great amphitheatre of the *Nahr Ḳadîsha*. This is bounded on the east by the narrowed main ridge, joining on to the huge mass which forms the northern side of the amphitheatre. This is named as a whole *Ḍahr el-Ḳaḍib*, and is surmounted by two series of peaks, roughly parallel, varying in height from 9800 to 10,225 ft. The highest peak is called *Jebel Mukhmal* by Burton, but no local trace of the name appears to have been recovered by later travellers. The western face of this northern mass is a series of sheer cliffs. To the north another great amphitheatre opens out, in which are found the head waters of the northern branch of the *Nahr el-Bârid*. Beyond this rises the *Jebel el-Abiadh* (alt. 7380 ft.), after which the mountain breaks down to the valley of the *Nahr el-Kebîr*, and the low, rolling hills joining the Lebanon to the mountains of the *Nuseirîyeh*.

With very few exceptions all the Lebanon streams rise on the western face. South of Beyrout the main rivers have their sources in high valleys between ridges approximately parallel to the main ridge. Their course is thus first southerly, then westerly, to the sea. They are the *Zaharâni*, the *Awwali* (Bostrenus), and the *Damûr* (the Tamuras of Strabo, and the Damuras of Polybius). North of Beyrout the head waters of the rivers are in wide amphitheatres, separated from each other by narrow watersheds, in places 5000 to 6000 ft. high; and in their course to the sea they break through the spurs of the great hill in narrow gorges. The western face of the Lebanon is thus extremely rugged and varied in contour. The main streams are—*Nahr Beyrout* (the Magoras), with its two branches, rising on the face of Kuneiseh, and between Kuneiseh and Ṣannîn respectively, *Nahr el-Kelb* (Lycus flumen) draining Ṣannîn; *Nahr Ibrahim* (the Adonis) with its main sources at Afḳa and 'Aḳûrah; *Nahr ej-Jauz*; *Nahr Ḳadîsha*, draining the Cedar amphitheatre, and entering the sea at Tripoli; *Nahr el-Bârid*; and, finally, the boundary river, *Nahr el-Kebîr*, which sweeps around the northern end of the mountain. The eastern face of Lebanon presents a very different aspect from the western, as it slopes directly down to the plain of the Buḳa', sometimes with no foot-hills, and unbroken by any important valleys, except at the south end of Kuneiseh and at Zaḥleh, where the Nahr Berdaûni comes out of a wild gorge. There are several large fountains at the base of the main ridge, and the Lake Yammûneh, with its intermittent fountains, lies in a depression between the main ridge and the partly wooded foot-hills, north-west of Baalbek.

A few words as to *geology*. The Lebanon is composed of three conformable series of strata, all of which are sometimes exposed on the sides of the deepest valleys. The lowest is regarded by some authorities as lower cretaceous, by others as upper jurassic. It consists of several thousand feet of hard, thick-layered limestone, containing few fossils, among which are sponges, corals, brachiopods, and, most characteristic, *Cidaris glandaria*, from which the formation has been named the Glandaria limestone. While forming the bottom of the deepest valleys, by foldings it is in places elevated to the height of from 4000 to 5000 ft. It weathers into grand castellated rocks, whose bluish-grey sides are beautifully fluted by the frosts and rains. The second series of strata has been named from a characteristic fossil, *Trigonia syriaca*, the Trigonia zone. It consists of sandstone, soft limestone, and clay, with here and there small quantities of poor bituminous coal and bituminous limestone, with pyrites and efflorescent salts. The sandstone is from fifty to several hundred feet thick, and by its red colour serves readily to distinguish the other series of rocks. Most of the Lebanon pines grow on this sandstone. The limestone and clays of the Trigonia zone may attain a thickness of from 500 to 1000 ft., and are very rich in fossils. The third series has been named the Hippurite limestone, as some of its strata are almost entirely composed of fragments of hippurites, which in places are found well preserved. There are also many nerineas. The hippurite limestone occurs on the sides of Lebanon, where, with the other formations, it is extensively faulted and folded, and it forms the summits of all the highest mountains, where it is in most cases nearly level. Its greatest thickness must be nearly 5000 ft. At low levels near the sea are found chalks, with and without flint, which are the uppermost of the cretaceous rocks, and which appear to have been deposited after the mass of the mountains was well above the sea, since they are in no case found in the centre of the range. In several localities the chalk has yielded numerous finely-preserved fishes. Upon the chalk is found soft miocene limestone, and a porous sandstone of a quarternary date which is largely calcareous.

From the above description it will be seen that the Lebanon presents some magnificent scenery. It is no wonder that the salient features of this border-land to their country seized upon the imagination of the Hebrew poets. The deep and sudden gorges, the sweeping amphitheatres, the variety of colouring in the soil, the towering snow-covered peaks, the gushing fountains,—all unite in producing pictures of almost bewildering variety. Villages are scattered everywhere; some nestle at the mountain base, others cling to the steep sides, while still others are perched on ridges over 4000 ft. above the sea. Many of the bald promontories of rock are crowned by belfried monasteries. The extent of cultivation is extraordinary, and the system of terracing is carried to a height of almost 6000 ft. Wheat, the vine, the olive, the mulberry, and the walnut all abound. The water from the various fountains is carefully stored up and led off in irrigation. A considerable quantity of silk is manufactured. The Lebanon was once well wooded, but the charcoal burners and the browsing goat are now powerful destructive agents. The valley of the Nahr Ibrahim, however, is still thickly wooded with oak and pine, while the stream is shaded with plane trees. Besides the historic grove of the cedars above Besherreh, there are still small groves on the ridge south of Kuneiseh, and a more extensive forest at el-Hadeth, south of the Nahr Ḳadîsha. Jackals abound, but hyænas, wolves, and panthers are fast disappearing.

Of ancient buildings there are very few traces, the principal ones being the ruin at *Deir el-Ḳula'a*, above the Beyrout river; *Ḳula'at el-Fuḳra*, near Ṣannîn; and the temple of Venus at Áfḳa, the source of the Adonis. This was destroyed by Constantine owing to the licentious rites practised there. The site is striking: behind the temple there rises, for 1200 ft., an almost perpendicular cliff, richly coloured, at the base of which is a large cave, from which in the spring-time a volume of water gushes forth, immediately joining the perennial stream, which plunges down in a series of three cascades. The water is said to be at times impregnated with mineral salts, giving a red colour, typifying to the ancients the blood of Adonis. At the mouth of Nahr el-Kelb are inscriptions in Assyrian, Egyptian, and Greek. At the bottom of the wild Ḳadîsha gorge there are many early anchorite caves; in front of some of them convents have been erected—notably *Ḳannubîn*, the traditional seat of the Maronite patriarch.

The feudal system lasted in the Lebanon far into the present century. In consequence of the massacres of 1860 the government of the mountains was reorganized, with a Christian governor under the general protection of the Powers. The population is about half a million, and includes the following sects, which are given as nearly as possible in the order of their numbers, the most numerous being first:—

Maronites.
Greek Orthodox.
Druzes.
Papal Greeks.
Mutawileh.
Mohammedans.
Protestants.
Syriac and Armenian.

In general the Druzes are to be found south of the Beyrout river, while the stronghold of the Maronites is to the north. (For details as to the Maronites, see *PEFSt*, 1892, Bliss). Owing to recent efforts of missionaries, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, the number of schools is very large. The natural abilities of the Lebanese are decidedly above those of the rest of the peasantry in Syria and Palestine.

The Buḳa'.—The Lebanon is divided from the Anti-Libanus by a broad valley known in its southern part as the *Buḳa' el-'Azîz*, and in its northern part as *Sahl-Ba'albek*. It is drained by two rivers, the *Liṭâny* (Leontes), which rises in the neighbourhood of Baalbek and flows south, and by the *'Asi* (Orontes), which rises a short distance farther north, and flows northward. The watershed is almost imperceptible. The *Buḳa'* proper is very fertile, and supports a large population in the villages scattered over it, and especially in the valleys along its sides. The northern end is much less fertile. (For the splendid ruins of *Ba'albek* see reff. at end of this article). At its southern end the plain suddenly contracts into a narrow gorge, through which the Liṭâny flows. Both the plain and Anti-Libanus are subject to the Governor of Damascus.

Anti-Libanus, Jth 1^{7} only (Ἀντιλίβανος. In Dt 1^{7} 3^{25} 11^{24} and Jos 1^{4} 9^{1} the Heb. לְבָנוֹן is rendered by Ἀντιλίβανος).—The southern limit of Anti-Libanus may be conveniently placed at the Barada river and Damascus, leaving the mountains to the south to be considered as part of the system of Mount Hermon. It runs roughly parallel to the Lebanon for 65 miles, terminating rather abruptly at the plain of Hums. The main ridge is separated from the plain of Cœle-Syria by a small plain and ridge at the north end; by a rough mass of low ridges, called *Jebel Ḳusha'a*, in the central part; and by the plain of Zebedâni with ridge in the southern part. At the north the main ridge is narrow, but broken by a series of prominent peaks; the central mass is broader, higher, and rougher; while the southern part is diversified by long wadis leading off to the east, with a single wady (Ḥarîri) leading to the south. To the east of the main ridge there is a descending series of plateaux, gradually dropping to the level of the plain of Damascus, and separated by five ridges which spread out somewhat like a fan, and which, if produced, would meet in the main mass of Hermon.

The highest plateau (alt. 5255 ft.), which is called *'Asal el-Ward*, drains northward, past the towns Yabrûd and Nebk, and is watered by a number of fine fountains. The principal peaks of the Anti-Libanus are: *Ḥalîmat Ḳâbu* (8250), *Ḥalîmat Ḳârah* (8150), and *Ḥalîmat Ḳurraîs* (8150) at the northern end; *Tâla'at Mûsa* (8755) in the central mass; *Abu el-Ḥîn* (8135) and the *Blûdân* ridge (8090) farther south. The only considerable streams of Anti-Libanus are the *Yaḥfûfah*, emptying into the Liṭâny; *Ḥelbûn*, flowing eastward to the Damascus plain; and the *Barada* (Abana of Scripture). This important river has its main upper source in the south end of the plain of Zebedâni, in a beautiful pool fed by many springs, but drains the whole of that plain; the volume of water is much more than doubled by the fountain of *'Ain Fîjeh*, which joins it less than half-way to Damascus.

Literature.—The geographical and geological descriptions are condensed from unpublished notes made by Professor West and Professor Day respectively, both of the Syrian Protestant College, Beyrout. The table of population is taken from the Book of Statistics of the Lebanon, published in Arabic, 1898. The reader may refer further to such works as Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 435 ff., 493; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 45 ff.; Buhl, *GAP* 110; Burton and Drake, *Unexplored Syria*; de Saulcy, *Journey round the Dead Sea*, etc., ii. 558 ff. (especially on the ruins of Baalbek).

F. J. Bliss.

LEBAOTH (לְבָאוֹת perhaps 'lionesses').—A city in S. Judah, Jos 15^{32}. Site unknown. It is called in Jos 19^{6} **Beth-lebaoth,** and in 1 Ch 4^{31} (perhaps by textual error) **Beth-biri** (wh. see).

C. R. Conder.

LEBBAEUS (Λεββαῖος) is the name given to one of the Twelve in AV of Mt 10^{3}, but rejected by RV as without sufficient authority. The reading and the meaning of the name will be fully discussed in art. Thaddæus. See also WH^{2}, *Notes*, pp. 11, 24, 144, and Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, p. 40. The greatest obscurity prevails regarding him, but the view which identifies him with the Thaddæus of Mk 3^{18} and Mt 10^{3} (RV), the Judas of James of Lk 6^{16} and Ac 1^{13}, and the Judas, not Iscariot, of Jn 14^{22}, may be accepted without serious hesitation. There are no references to him in NT except those in the lists of the Twelve and the question recorded by St. John, who carefully distinguishes him from the traitor, and nothing whatever is known of his ultimate career. See, further, art. THADDÆUS. W. MUIR.

LEBONAH (לְבוֹנָה, *Λεβωνά*).—A place near Shiloh on the way to Shechem, Jg 21^{19}. It is the ruin called *Khan el-Lubban*, about 3 miles W.N.W. of *Seilûn* (Shiloh). See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xi.; Robinson, *BRP*^{2} 271 f.; Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. 164 f.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{3}, 217. C. R. CONDER.

LECAH (לֵכָה).—A name occurring in the genealogy of Judah (1 Ch 4^{21}) as the 'son' of Er. Most probably it is the name of a place, although it is impossible to identify it. See GENEALOGY, IV. 2.

LEECH.—See HORSELEECH.

LEEKS.—The word חָצִיר *ḥāẓîr* is usually tr. 'grass' (see GRASS) or 'hay' (see HAY), but in one passage (Nu 11^5) it is tr. 'leeks.' Its occurrence in this passage with the other two alliaceous plants *onions* and *garlic*, and the authority of the LXX *πράσα*, Vulg. *porri*, ancient Syriac and Arab., have caused most interpreters to accept the AV and RV 'leeks.' The plant is *Allium Porrum*, L. It is extensively cultivated in the East. It has an ill-defined bulb, leaves about an inch broad, and a stem about 2 ft. in height. The young stem, enveloped in its leaves, is banked up, as in the case of celery, and plucked up while tender, before the flowering head is developed. It is eaten raw, or made into a salad, or used as a flavouring for cooked dishes. It has a more delicate flavour than onions or garlic. It is known in Arab. by the name *kurrâth*. G. E. POST.

LEES.—This is the trⁿ in AV and RV of Heb. שְׁמָרִים in Is $25^{6\ bis}$, Jer 48^{11}, Zeph 1^{12}; in its only remaining occurrence, Ps 75^9 [Eng.^{8}] it is rendered 'dregs.' The word 'lees' is a plur., formed from Fr. *lie* (the sing. seems never to have been used in Eng.), which is defined in Cotgrave's *Fr. Dict.* as 'the lees, dregs, grounds, thick substance that settles in the bottome of liquor.' The further derivation from Low Lat. *lia*, accepted by Skeat, is rejected by Brachet. In Is $25^{6\ bis}$ the word is used in an apparently good sense, 'a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined'; and that passage, being most frequently quoted, has given 'lees' a somewhat less offensive meaning in mod. Eng. than 'dregs.' But there is no difference between the words, as may be seen from Shaks. *Troil. and Cress.* IV. i. 62—

> 'Drink up
> The lees and dregs of a flat tamed piece.

Macbeth, II. iii. 100—

> 'The wine of life is drawn, and the mere lees
> Is left this vault to brag of.'

And in Is the sense of *shĕmârîm* is the same as elsewhere, the *fæces* or dregs of wine. But wine that, after fermentation, is allowed to stand long on its dregs, gathers strength or body, and when filtered before drinking is superior to recently fermented wine. The figure in Jer and Zeph is of one who has had little trial in life, has been too long at ease, and grown indolent and indifferent. See WINE. J. HASTINGS.

LEFTHANDED (in 1611 two words) is the trⁿ in Jg 3^{15} 20^{16} of אִטֵּר יַד־יְמִין, which is literally 'shut up (or bound) as to the right hand,' as in AVm. The Heb. phrase, which occurs nowhere else, is used first of Ehud and then of '700 chosen men' of Benjamin, who 'could sling stones at an hair breadth, and not miss.' The adj. אִטֵּר is in New Heb. 'lame,' and the AV translation is no doubt right. It comes from the margin of the Geneva Bible at 3^{15}, the text being 'lame of his right hand,' and from the text of the same at 20^{16}. The LXX gives *ἀμφοτεροδέξιος*, 'double handed,' and the Vulg. 'qui utraque manu pro dextera utebatur' (in 20^{16} 'ita sinistra ut dextra præliantes'), whence Wyc. 'the which either hoond uside for the right' (in 20^{16} 'so with the lift as with the right fightynge'). Cov. has 'a man that mighte do nothinge with his righte hande.' The Douay follows the Vulg., 'who used both handes for the right.' J. HASTINGS.

LEG.—**1.** [כְּרַע New Heb. from root כרע 'bow' or 'bend'] The sing. is not found in OT, but the dual fem. כְּרָעַיִם occurs repeatedly in the ritual of P, Ex 12^9 29^{17}, Lv $1^{9.13}$ 4^{11} 8^{21} 9^{14} (chiefly in the collocation 'the inwards and the legs'); in Lv 11^{21} of the long *bending* hinder legs of the saltatorial Orthoptera (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*, and the illustration on p. 84 of Driver's *Joel and Amos*). The only other occurrence of the word is Am 3^{12} (of the shepherd rescuing two legs of a lamb out of the mouth of a lion).

2. רֶגֶל, lit. 'foot.' 1 S 17^6 Goliath had greaves of brass 'upon his legs' (עַל־רַגְלָיו; LXX *ἐπάνω τῶν σκελῶν αὐτοῦ*).

3. שׁוֹק, denoting the upper part of the leg, including, or sometimes synonymous with, the thigh (יָרֵךְ). (*a*) *Of animals.* This word is wrongly translated 'shoulder' by AV (cf. LXX *τὸν βραχίονα*) in Ex $29^{22.27}$, Lv $7^{32.33.34}$ $8^{25.26}$ 9^{21} $10^{14.15}$, Nu 6^{20} 18^{18}, 1 S 9^{24}, in all of which RV correctly renders 'thigh.' The שׁוֹק was a choice piece, and as such is mentioned in 1 S 9^{24} as having been reserved by Samuel for Saul. One of the chief points of difference, in the matter of the priestly revenues, between the Deuteronomic and the Priestly Code, is that in the latter the priest's share of a sacrifice is the breast and right thigh (Lv 7^{32-34}), whereas in the former it is the head, maw, and shoulder (זְרוֹעַ, lit. 'arm,' Dt 18^3). See W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 383 note 3, and Driver, *Deut.* 215. (*b*) *Of men.* In Dt 28^{35} one of the curses threatened on disobedient Israelites is that they will be smitten 'upon the knees and upon the legs with an evil boil,' where the reference is probably (see Driver, *ad loc.*) to a species of elephantiasis.—In Ca 5^{15} the Shulammite compares the legs of her beloved to pillars of marble.—Nebuchadnezzar's image had his legs (Aram. שָׁקוֹהִי) of iron, Dn 2^{33}.—In Pr 26^7 the pointing of the text is somewhat doubtful. The MT has דַּלְיוּ שֹׁקַיִם מִפִּסֵּחַ (AV 'the legs of the lame are not equal' [AVm 'are lifted up'], RV 'the legs of the lame hang loose'). If we adopt RV trⁿ, probably we ought to point דַּלְיוּ (so Ewald, Siegfried-Stade, and [doubtfully] *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*). Delitzsch (*Comm.*), followed by Kamphausen (in Kautzsch's *AT*) and Wildeboer (*Comm.*), points דִּלְוִי, which he takes to be a noun = 'a hanging down.' The trⁿ of the verse would then be, 'as the hanging down of the legs of the lame,' etc. In any case the general sense of the passage is clear, namely that a 'parable' is as useless in the mouth of a fool as are the legs of a lame man.—In Ps 147^{10} 'legs' are a symbol of strength, '(The Lord) delighteth not in the strength of the horse, he taketh no pleasure in the legs of a man.'—For Jg 15^8 'He smote them שׁוֹק עַל־יָרֵךְ,' lit. 'leg upon thigh,' see art. HIP.

4. שֹׁבֶל in Is 47^2 is wrongly translated 'leg' in AV. The correct rendering is 'train.' The proud daughter of Babylon is called upon to assume the guise of a slave, to take the millstones and grind meal, to remove her veil, to strip off her train, to uncover her leg (שׁוֹק 'thigh'), *i.e.* to gird up her garments that she may wade through the rivers.

5. In NT σκέλος—only of the breaking of the legs to hasten death, which was practised on the two crucified robbers but not upon Jesus, Jn $19^{31ff.}$. This practice, known as σκελοκοπία (cf. the *hap. leg.* σκελοκοπεῖν in *Ev. Petr.* 4) or *crurifragium*, is referred to in Aur. Vict. *Cæs.* 41; Plaut. *Asin.* II. iv. 68; Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 20; Seneca, *Ir.* iii. 22, etc. (see full list in Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, Eng. tr. vi. 253 note 3).

J. A. SELBIE.

LEGION.—This word, familiar as it is to us, was not a familiar word to the inhabitants of Palestine in NT times, for the legions were stationed in the frontier provinces, and nothing happened to bring them into Judæa until the outbreak of the Jewish war in A.D. 66 (see AUGUSTUS' BAND). Λεγιών (so spelt in ℵ* B* D; λεγεών usually in AC) occurs in NT only in Mt 26^{53}, Mk $5^{9.15}$, Lk 8^{30}—and even so never in its proper sense of 'a legion of Roman soldiers'; it never occurs in LXX (so Hatch-Redpath); and it is rare (if it occurs at all) in Josephus (τάγμα stands for 'legion' in *BJ* ii. 544, iii. 8, 97, ed. Niese, *et passim*).* Nor, again, is there much evidence that the word in its Semitic form (לגיונא or לגיון, pl. לגיונא or לגיונין or לגיונות) was well known in Palestine early in the Christian era. It is found (S. A. Cook, *Glossary of Aram. Inscr.*) in the Palmyrene Inscriptions (1st–3rd cents. of the Christian era), and at least once in the OT Peshiṭta, Nu 24^{24} 'Legions shall go forth from the land of the Kittim' (similarly Targ. Jer. *ib.*). On the other hand, the word is fairly common in Talmudic and Midrashic literature (from 3rd cent. of the Christian era onwards), and some instances may be quoted in illustration of λεγιών in NT.

(1) It connotes a great number. 'It is easier to feed one legion in Galilee than one sucking child in the land of Israel' (*Genesis Rab.* xx. 6 *fin.*, ed. Wilna, 1878).

(2) Connoting special and severe punishment. The waters of the Flood are compared to a 'cruel legion' (*Gen. Rab.* iv. 6; cf. also v. 6).

(3) Connoting (under certain circumstances) uncleanness. A legion on the march is unclean because skulls to be used as charms are always carried with it (Talm. Bab., *Ḥull.* 123^{a}).

(4) Connoting attendance on a king. God speaks of Israel at the passage of the Red Sea as 'My legions' (*Exod. Rab.* xxiii. 7). The tribe of Levi is the legion which stands in God the King's presence (*Num. Rab.* i. 12). God when He goes forth 'for peace' is attended by multitudes (אוכלוסין) and legions (*Num. Rab.* xi. p. 89, col. *a*, ed. Wilna).

These references illustrate both Mt 26^{53} ('Twelve legions of angels'); cf. (1) (4); and Mk 5^{9} ('legion; for we are many'); cf. (1) (2). The idea of uncleanness is not prominent in the word.

A Roman legion in our Lord's time was an army complete in itself, consisting of both infantry and cavalry, and amounting to upwards of 5000 men; cf. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, ii. p. 430 ff. See also Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 49–51; Swete, *St. Mark* 5^{9} note; Plummer, *St. Luke* 8^{30} note; J. Levy, *NHWB*, *s.v.* לגיון.

W. EMERY BARNES.

LEHABIM (Gn 10^{13}, 1 Ch 1^{11} לְהָבִים, Λαβιείμ, Λαβείν, Vulg. *Laabim*) occurs as the name of a nation descending from Mizraim, *i.e.* nearly related to the Egyptians. Scholars always have noticed the great similarity of the name to that of the **Lubim**, Libyans. Some suppose Lehabim to be merely a corruption for original לוּבִים; others, a double writing of this name, which they suppose to be hidden in the לוּדִים *Ludim* connected with it; others suppose Lehabim and Ludim (Lubim?) to have been different tribes of the same nation, therefore, with similar names. Certainly, the graphic similarity between *h* and *u* is small, only לאבים might form a transition. An insertion of *h* for phonetic reasons is anything but probable; the insertions of *h* in other cases are not sufficiently analogous. Therefore, the origin of the present form remains obscure. On the other hand, it can hardly be doubted that the Libyans are meant (see LUBIM). Strange etymologies such as from לַהַב 'flame,' *i.e.* those living in a flaming hot country (!), or wild guesses such as the translation of Walton's Arabic version, 'the inhabitants of Behnesa' (Middle Egypt, near Oxyrhynchus of the Greek time), deserve no consideration.

W. MAX MÜLLER.

LEHI (לְחִי 'jawbone,' 'cheek'; LXX Λευ(ε)ί, Λεχί, Σιαγών; Luc. Λεχεί; 'Α.Σ.Θ, Jos. *Ant.* V. viii. 8, 9 Σιαγών).—A place in Judah, the scene of Samson's slaughter of the Philistines, Jg 15^{9-19}. In 2 S 23^{11} לֶחֱיָה 'to Lehi' (LXX Luc. ἐπὶ σιαγόνα), is to be read for לַחַיָּה 'to the troop (?).' The site is unknown. Schick (*ZDPV* x. 152 f.) suggests *Khurbet eṣ-Sijjâgh* (σιαγών), 2 m. S.S.E. of Ṣor'ah; but see Smith, *HGHL* 222 n., and Moore, *Judges* 348, where other identifications are quoted. The name 'jawbone' must have been suggested by the formation of a prominent rock; cf. Ὄνου γνάθος, the name of a peninsula on the W. of Cape Malea, the S.E. promontory of the Peloponnese (Strabo, p. 363, ed. Casaub.). Perhaps Beer-lahai-roi (Gn 16^{14}) is to be explained in the same way, לְחִי ראי 'the jawbone of the antelope,' Arab. *'urwiye* 'mountain goat' (Wellh. *Proleg.*^{3} 339 and n.; Ball, 'Genesis' in *SBOT* 66); cf. also the place-name in Arab., *laḥy gamal* 'camel's jawbone.'

The Philistine marauders made Lehi their headquarters for attacks upon the Hebrews of the district; the name of the place was suggestive; and tradition attached to it the story of Samson's exploit with the 'fresh jawbone' (*lĕḥi*) of an ass. Popular etymology explained Ramath-lehi, Jg 15^{17}, 'the height (from *rûm*) of Lehi,' as the place where Samson threw away (*rāmāh*) the jawbone; a hollow basin in the hill-side, shaped like a 'mortar' (*maktēsh* v.^{19}, cf. Zeph 1^{11}, Pr 27^{22}), which held the water of the 'Partridge Spring' (*'ên hakkôrê*, cf. 1 S 26^{20}, Jer 17^{11}), became the spring which God granted when Samson called (*ḳārā'*) for help in his exhaustion (see EN-HAKKORE). Thus the legend was founded upon the popular explanation of these names; indeed the word בִּלְחִי v.^{16} might mean either 'in Lehi' or 'with a jawbone' (Moore, *Judges* 347). It is noteworthy that the exploit of Shammah, one of David's mighty men, also took place at Lehi, 2 S 23^{11} (see above), and bears considerable resemblance to the story of Samson. Cf. also the story of Shamgar, Jg 3^{31}.

G. A. COOKE.

LEMUEL (לְמוּאֵל or לְמוֹאֵל).—The name of a king otherwise unknown, to whom his mother addressed the words recorded in Pr 31^{2-9}. Most moderns understand Pr 30^{1} (see RVm) to imply that Lemuel was 'king of Massa' in Arabia; where lived the descendants of Massa, the son of Ishmael mentioned in Gn 25^{14}, 1 Ch 1^{30}. See AGUR. The name Lemuel may be compared with Jemuel in Gn 46^{10}, or Nemuel 1 Ch 4^{24}; and in meaning with Lael, a man consecrated 'to God,' in Nu 3^{24} (see Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 207).

W. T. DAVISON.

LENDING.—See DEBT.

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* Λεγιών (λεγεών) does not appear in the *Index Voc. Græc.* in Havercamp's ed. of 1726, nor is Josephus cited *s.v.* in Liddell and Scott (ed. viii.), or in Stephanus (ed. Hase-Dindorf), or in Sophocles, *Lexicon* (ed. 1870).

LENTILS (עֲדָשִׁים *'ădâshîm*, *φακός*, *lens*). — The authority of the LXX and Vulg., and the identity of the Arab. *'adas*, make it certain that the grain intended in the four passages where *'ădâshîm* occurs (Gn 25^{34}, 2 S 17^{28} 23^{11}, Ezk 4^{9}) is the *lentil*, *Ervum Lens*, L. It is an annual, of the order *Leguminosæ*, with pinnate, tendril-bearing leaves, of 5–6 pairs of oblong-linear leaflets, 1–4-flowered peduncles, white corolla, and ovate-rhombic, 1–2-seeded pods half an inch long. The seeds are lenticular, with a reddish outer coat. They are cultivated everywhere in the East. They are usually stewed with onions, rice, and oil, or small bits of meat and fat, and seasoned to the taste. This dish, which is known as *mujedderah*, is universal among the poor. It is by no means unpalatable, and is common enough on the tables of the rich also. The colour of it is a darkish-brown. It would seem that it was red in Esau's day (Gn 25^{30}). The term red, however, is a somewhat indefinite one in the East, and applies to a number of shades of red and brown. It was 'pottage' of lentils, similar to if not identical with *mujedderah*, for which Esau sold his birthright (v.^{34}). Lentil flour is still made into bread in Egypt by the very poor, as in ancient times (Ezk 4^{9}).

G. E. Post.

LEOPARD (נָמֵר *nâmêr*, *πάρδαλις*, *pardus*).—A well-known animal, *Felis pardus*, L., still called *nimr* in Arab., a name which, however, it shares with the tiger. It is a fierce carnivorous creature, often attaining a length of 4 ft. from the tip of the nose to the insertion of the tail. It is a type of ferocity (Is 11^{6}). It is exceedingly agile, and swift in its attacks (Hab 1^{8}). A four-winged leopard is used as a type of the Macedonian, or, according to another interpretation, of the Persian Empire (Dn 7^{6}). It is specially noted for the patience with which it waits, extended on the branch of a tree, or a rock near a watering-place, expecting its prey, on which it springs with a deadly precision. Hence 'a leopard shall watch over their cities' (Jer 5^{6}), and 'as a leopard by the way will I observe them' (Hos 13^{7}). The black spots on the yellow ground of its fur (Jer 13^{23}) make it one of the most beautiful of animals. The skins sometimes sell in Syria and Palestine for as much as £10. They are used as rugs and saddle covers. Some dervishes wear a leopard's skin over their back. Leopards are still found in Lebanon (cf. Ca 4^{8}), though rare. One was shot near Kefr Matta, within 15 miles of Beirût, in the winter of 1866–7, after it had killed 60 goats. A young one was taken at Bano, about 15 miles north of Tripoli, the same winter. One was seen at Jisr el-Ḳâdi, about 10 miles from Beirût, a year or two before. They are not rare along the Liṭâny (Leontes), and in the Antilebanon, and the ravines which open into the Jordan Valley. Another species of leopard, *Felis jubata*, Schreb., the *chetah*, or *hunting leopard*, the *fehd* of the Arabs, is found in Galilee and Gilead. It is occasionally domesticated, and used by the Arabs for hunting. Both *Nimr* and *Fehd* are names commonly given to boys, as emblems or presages of strength and valour.

The word *nâmêr*, in its feminine form *nimrah*, and its plural form *nimrîm*, is several times used in the names of places, as 'Nimrah' and 'Beth-nimrah (Nu $32^{3.\,36}$), now *Nahr Nimrîn*, and the 'waters of Nimrim' (Is 15^{6}, Jer 48^{34}), and 'the mountains of the leopards' (*nimrîm*, Ca 4^{8}). The leopard is also alluded to in Sir 28^{23} and Rev 13^{2}.

G. E. Post.

LEPROSY (צָרַעַת or נֶגַע צָרַעַת *ẓâra'ath*, *nega' ẓârá'ath*; LXX and NT *λέπρα*).—A genus of diseases with which, in a special degree, the element of uncleanness was associated. The removal of other maladies is spoken of in NT as *healing*, but the removal of leprosy is called *cleansing* (Mt 8^{3} 10^{8} 11^{5}, Mk 1^{42}, Lk 4^{27} 7^{22} 17^{17}). The only case in which the verb *ἰᾶσθαι* is used in this connexion is in Lk 17^{15} in the case of the Samaritan, whose relation to the ceremonial law would perhaps not be recognized by a Jew: in all other passages it is *καθαρίζειν*. Leprosy also involved exclusion from the community as did no other disease; and the leper was looked upon, not only as defiled himself, but as a source of defilement to his neighbours.

There is an initial difficulty in the identification of these diseases, as the Greek word *λέπρα* is used by the early physicians as the name of a skin disease, now called *psoriasis*, characterized by an eruption of rough, scaly patches. Hippocrates, Polybius, and Paulus Ægineta treat it in general as a curable disease of not very serious import. This skin disease is neither contagious nor dangerous to life, nor, in most cases, productive of much inconvenience or suffering to the individual; and, except for the sense of disgust engendered by the disfigurement which it causes in the rare case of its affecting the face, it is not injurious to the community. And yet the LXX translators and St. Luke must have known of this use of the word which they employ as the equivalent of *ẓâra'ath*. On the other hand, the disease now called leprosy must have been known in Bible times, and could scarcely escape notice. Besides, other diseases of the skin did not produce ceremonial uncleanness, and this group of scaly eruptions which the Greeks called *lepra* was not necessarily associated with dirt or vice, and could scarcely be singled out from allied diseases as divine visitations; also the scaliness which, from the first, is distinctive of these, is not mentioned as a specific character.

The true leprosy has been known in India since the days of Atreya, about B.C. 1400; and it is said to be referred to in Japanese records about 500 years later. In the Egyptian papyrus Ebers, written in the reign of Amen-hotep I., about B.C. 1550, there are over a score of prescriptions for an apparently intractable disease called *ukhedu*, which attacked the head, the limbs, the face, and the body generally; which was attended with the development of bean-like nodules (*ḥunḥun*), open sores, or skin spots, which were liable to ulcerate, and had to be covered with plasters. The singular form of this word was probably *khed*, and in Coptic the derivative *chot* is used for a swelling, and, with the *status constructus* of the verb *er* prefixed (*erchot*), it is used for a sore or an ulcer. There is little doubt that this disease was leprosy. In the Coptic version of Leviticus another cognate word is used, *çeht*, to denote leprosy.

The first classical reference to the disease is in the *Prorrhetica* of Hippocrates (ii.), where, after referring to *lepra*, he mentions the *Phœnician disease* as a far more serious malady. There is also a reference to leprosy, although not by name, in a fragment of Hesiod quoted by Eustathius in his *Comment. in Odyss.* v. p. 1746. Galen mentions it under the name *elephantiasis*, and says that it is common in Alexandria, on account of the coarse food of the people. To this also Lucretius (vi. 1114) refers—

> 'Est elephas morbus qui propter flumina Nili
> Gignitur Ægypto in media neque præterea usquam.'

Some have supposed that the *λειχὴν λευκός* of Æschylus (*Choephoroi*, 281) is leprosy, but it is more probably the scaly *psoriasis*, as is the same word in *Eumenides*, 754. Themison is said by Cælius Aurelianus, iv. 1, to have described it about B.C. 100, but his description is lost. The scantiness of the references in classical literature before the beginning of the Christian era support the statement of Pliny (xxvi.), that it was brought into Europe from Syria by the army of Pompey (B.C. 61). Others of the Greek and Latin physicians of later date describe it under the name *elephantiasis* (Celsus iii. 25, and Soranus, according to Marcellus, xix.). Paulus Ægineta compares it to cancer of the whole body. Aretæus also gives a graphic description of its loathsome later stages. For an account of the characteristics of the advanced stages see Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 530.

The first biblical reference is in the account of the signs given by God to Moses whereby he was to prove to Pharaoh his divine commission (Ex 4^{6} J); but in Ex 7^{10-13} (P), where his interview with Pharaoh is reported, there is no mention of this sign being shown. The reason of this omission is not difficult to understand. This incident may be the foundation of Manetho's story quoted by Josephus (*c. Ap.* i. 31), that Moses was a leper, and was expelled from Heliopolis on this account. Manetho also said that the Jews were driven out of Egypt because they were afflicted with this disease (*ib.* i. 26).

The second historical mention of it is very significant. In Nu 12^{10} the smiting of Miriam with leprosy is recorded. Here we have a graphic reference to the effects of the disease in Aaron's prayer for his sister, when he says, 'Let her not, I pray thee, be as one dead, of whom the flesh is half consumed (eaten away) when he cometh out of his mother's womb' (v.^{12}).

In Lv 13 there are minute instructions given for the recognition of these diseases in their early stages. Here the name is used with *negaʻ* prefixed to indicate that it is regarded as a 'stroke from God' (cf. Vulgate rendering of 'smitten' by *leprosum* in Is 53^{4}). There are here apparently seven varieties of the disease to be distinguished. (1) שְׂאֵת *sĕʾêth*, LXX οὐλή, a rising of the skin or subcutaneous nodule. (2) סַפַּחַת *ṣappaḥath*, LXX σημασία, a scab or cuticular crust. (3) בַּהֶרֶת *bahereth*, LXX τηλαύγημα, a bright or shining spot. These are the earliest appearances, and even at this stage the disease is said to exhibit the two distinctive features of being really subcuticular, and of turning the hairs white. If these diagnostic marks are present when the suspect is brought before the priest, he is to be pronounced unclean at once; but if not, he is to be shut up for seven days, and then again inspected. Should the disease have undergone no change during this period, he is again to be isolated for another week, and again examined.. (4) Another form, or perhaps a later stage of the disease, is that in which 'quick raw flesh,' that is, red granulation tissue, appears in the tumid spot (v.^{10}); this was to be recognized as a sure sign, and the person declared unclean. (5) One of the most singular provisions of the law is that in v.^{13}, referring to the cases in which the white efflorescence becomes universal from head to foot; when this occurs, the person is pronounced *clean*. It is probable that in this case the priest was to consider it as a form of *psoriasis*, and not as a genuine leprosy, which is rarely universal until a late stage, and then is not white. If, however, any sign of the coexistence of leprous ulceration with the whiteness should appear, he is to be declared unclean (v.$^{14\text{f.}}$). To provide for the case in which this redness or sore is only a temporary pustule, such as often occurs in almost any skin disease, the patient is to come again to the priest as soon as the sore is healed, when he is again to be pronounced clean (v.$^{16\text{f.}}$).

In all these cases the diagnosis in the early stages is between leprosy in which the infiltration is dermal and the hairs lose their colour, and *eczema* or *psoriasis* in which the swelling is chiefly epidermal and the hairs do not change. If, during the periods of quarantine, the spot appears to be fading (כֵּהָה *kāhāh*, RV 'dim,' AV 'somewhat dark,' following LXX ἀμαυρά), and not spreading, he is to be pronounced clean, and the disease is said to be only מִסְפַּחַת *mispaḥath*, a scab, *i.e. psoriasis*, unless on further inspection it appeared to be spreading.

(6) Another variety, described in v.^{18}, is that which attacks the cicatrix of an ulcer or a boil, שְׁחִין *shĕḥîn*, in which there is a white rising, *sĕʾêth lĕbhânâh*, that is, a smooth shining spot, red in patches; the description seems to indicate some one of an obscure group of diseases of the skin, called by various names, *cicatricial keloid, scleriasis*, etc. Between all these diseases and leprosy there are many points of resemblance, but there is no evidence that they are contagious. In doubtful cases the priest is to require a week's quarantine in order to decide whether it is true leprosy or only *ẓârebeth hashshĕḥîn* (RV 'the scar of the boil,' AV 'a burning boil'), a temporary swelling from the irritation of the scar, or else only the cicatrix itself (v.^{23}). A similar form of the disease may attack the scar of a burn (v.^{24}), and is to be treated in the same way.

(7) The form of disease affecting the hairy scalp (v.^{30}) is called נֶתֶק *nethek̦* (LXX θραῦσμα, AV 'a dry scall'), and is to be diagnosed by the presence of thin yellow hairs. Every suspicious case is to be inspected, and if there be no black hair in the spot whereby its nature may be tested, the person is to be subjected to a week's quarantine, after which, if the disease is not spreading, all the hair is to be shaven except that on the scall. If, after another week's seclusion, the scall still appears to be spreading, he is to be pronounced unclean, whether there be yellow hair or not. In the Tract *Negaim*, x. 5, it is directed that two hairs should be left in shaving the part, outside the margin of the scall, so as to test its spreading. Yellow thin hair and yellow crusts are characteristic of *favus* or crusted ringworm, which is a very contagious disease, due to the presence of a fungus, *Achorion Schœnleinii*. The presence of black hair in any diseased patch is usually sufficient evidence that no parasitic fungus is present.

In v.$^{38\text{ff.}}$ rules are given for the diagnosis of *behârōth lĕbhânōth*, white shining spots on the skin,—whether another variety of disease or not it is difficult to say. If these are dim or dull in colour, they are only 'freckled spots' (AV, 'tetters' RV). This eruption, which is called בֹּהַק *bōhak̦* (*ẓaḥar* in Jerus. Targ., LXX ἀλφός), is probably the λέπρα of the older Greek physicians, the *vitiligo* of Celsus, and does not render the sufferer unclean. A common eczematous skin disease is called in some places in Arabia by this name still; see Forskål's note to Niebuhr's *Arabia*, 1774, 119. According to Minch, a form of *vitiligo* is prevalent among the Sarts of Turkestan and is called by them *pycz*. Those afflicted with it are segregated from the community along with the lepers, as it is regarded as contagious. Baldness and forehead baldness are distinguished from leprosy in vv.$^{40-41}$, unless they are complicated by the other signs of leprosy, in which case the man is to be pronounced utterly unclean, as the plague is in the head.

The Rabbinic comments on these regulations in *Negaim*, *Siphra*, and *Mechilta* are very prolix, and add nothing to our real knowledge of the disease. R. Chanina recognizes 16 kinds; R. Dosa, 32; and Akiba, 72. In *Jalkut* on Job 28^{25} man is said to be made up half of water and half of blood; if he sin, this balance is disturbed,—either the water becomes excessive and he is dropsical, or the blood increases and he becomes leprous. Many of the later commentators, medical and otherwise, are not much better. See Mason Good, *Study of Medicine*, iv.

For those pronounced unclean there was no further seclusion; but they are to be excluded from the community, to live outside the towns, with rent clothes (in the case of men; women were not to rend their garments, *Sota* ii. 8), and the hair of their head going loose. They are directed to cover their upper lip, and to cry 'unclean.' This exclusion is represented as put in practice when the tabernacle was constructed (Nu 5^{2}, P), and Miriam was one of those temporarily shut out in the early days of the law (Nu 12^{14}, JE). The Deuteronomic code refers to these laws (Dt 24^{8}). The four lepers of 2 K 7^{3} were thus outside Samaria even during the siege. According to *Negaim* xii. 11, if lepers entered into a house, they rendered it unclean (see also *Kelim* i. 4); or, if under a tree, they defiled any one passing beneath its shade. As they could not enter a walled town, they were excluded from synagogue services there; but in unwalled towns there was often a place set apart for them in the synagogue, into which they could enter before the rest of the congregation; but they could not leave until every one else had departed. Any transgression of these rules was punished by 40 stripes (see Otho, *Lex. Rabbin.* 324).

The Jews regarded leprosy as a contagious disease, and recent investigations have confirmed this opinion, although it is not communicated very easily, and seems to have a long incubation period. It is produced by a specific schizomycetous fungus, *Bacillus lepræ*, discovered by Hansen in 1871, which is of very minute size. These organisms retain their vitality for a long time. Köbner found them living in a piece of leprous tissue that had lain forgotten, wrapped in a piece of paper, for ten years. It is a peculiarly human parasite, the result of many experiments showing that it is not communicable to animals by inoculation. The bacillus has been found, though sparingly, in the earth of a pathway frequented by lepers at the Almora Asylum. Cases like that of Damien show that it is communicable to healthy persons. For other instances see Abraham in Allbutt's *System of Medicine*, ii. 41. It is interesting to note that Calmet long ago supposed leprosy to be due to organisms, which he describes as animalculæ that eat the skin from within (*Comm. on Levit.*).

It was probably a fairly common disease among the Jews (Lk 4^{27}), although not many cases are mentioned; but there are more references to it than to any other ailment. It has been supposed, though without any reason, that the kiln-work in Egypt fostered it in the days before the Exodus. Buxtorf, however, says it is not as common among the Jews as among other peoples, and ascribes this to their separateness, and to their abstinence especially from swine's flesh (see Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 4). In the NT there are records of only twelve cases: the ten lepers in Lk 17^{12}, the leper in Mt 8^{2} whom our Lord touched (cf. Mk 1^{40}, Lk 5^{12}), and Simon the leper (Mt 26^{6}, Mk 14^{3}); but these are only specially selected cases, for He commanded His disciples to cleanse the lepers (Mt 10^{8}; see also Mt 11^{5} and Lk 7^{22}).

The course of the disease is slow, especially in the early stages; there are cases on record of persons who lived as lepers for 40 years. Observations in Trinidad gave an average of nearly 9 years as the duration of the disease (Beavan Rake). According to Danielssen, in Norway, and Carter, in Bombay, the average duration of life in the nodular form is about 9 years, and in the form which affects the nerves and causes anæsthesia (the commonest form in the East) it is 18½ years. Cures are rare; the official report for Norway gives 38 cures during the period 1881–85 (the total number of lepers there in 1892 was 500), Simon the leper may have been one of those cured by Christ (for traditions see Ambrose, *Comm. on Lk* 6; Theophylact *in Mt* 26; Nicephorus, *HE* i. 27). In the early stages there are often few symptoms and little discomfort, and sometimes 'the eruption may vanish altogether, giving rise to illusory hopes of cure' (Abraham). It is therefore easy to understand how a great general like Naaman might retain his office although a leper (2 K 5^{1}). (See in this connexion Jos. *Ant.* III. xi. 4). King Robert the Bruce, who according to Ker (ii. 357) died of this disease, was apparently suffering from it when he held the Parliament at Cambuskenneth, and organized his last invasion of England. According to a doubtful tradition the emperor Constantine was a leper; see Zonaras, *Annales*, xiii. c. 3.

The sudden infliction of leprosy as a divine judgment is recorded not only in the case of Miriam, but also in that of Gehazi (2 K 5^{27}), which could not be due to infection, although it is called the leprosy of Naaman, as in all known instances the incubation period is much longer. There is also the example of Uzziah (2 K 15^{5}, 2 Ch 26^{23}). Of him it is said that he lived in a בֵּית הַחָפְשִׁית *beth haḥophshîth*, LXX οἶκος ἀπφουσώθ (or ἀφφουσώθ, or ἀφφουσιών), 'a several house' or (RVm) 'a lazar house.' According to Jos. *Ant.* IX. x. 4, this judgment was accompanied by an earthquake (see Zec 14$^{4.5}$). This author also states that, being a leper, Uzziah was buried in his own garden; but another account is given in Ch. Herodotus says that the Persians believed that a man was afflicted with leprosy for having committed some offence against the sun; that every stranger who had the disease was driven out of the country; and that they even destroyed white pigeons, thinking them to be leprous (i. 138). For other references to leprosy as a judgment see *Erachin* 16; *Baba Bathra* 10. 4; *Midrash Rabba* on Lv 14, etc. Chrysostom says, however, that in his day lepers were not excluded from the cities (*Vidi Dominum*, etc. iv.).

The heredity of leprosy was generally believed in by the Jews; it is referred to in the curse on Joab (2 S 3^{29}), and in the punishment of Gehazi (2 K 5^{27}). The Leprosy Commission in India could discover a history of heredity only in 5 per cent.; and of the 108 cases in the Tarn Taran Asylum only 16 had a leprous parent or grandparent. No treatment is referred to in the Bible; the washing of Naaman was a trial of faith, not a remedy (in connexion with his speech about Abana and Pharpar see Strabo, viii. 3. § 19, concerning the river Alpheus). Jehoram, from his ejaculation in 2 K 5^{7}, evidently thought leprosy beyond human skill to cure.

The date of the spread of the malady to Western Europe is unknown, but it was in Britain before the first Crusade, as the leper house at Canterbury was founded in 1096, the year of the starting of the Crusade. Between that date and the building of the last in 1472, one hundred and twelve such asylums were set apart for lepers in England. In early Christian times there were special rules for lepers. The Council of Ancyra (314) excluded them from the churches, and ordered them to remain outside with demoniacs and those guilty of unnatural crimes, all of whom were called *hiemantes* (χειμαζόμενοι) on this account (Martene, *Coll. Ampliss.* vii. p. 1365). It is supposed that the small skew window often seen in old churches, and commanding a view of the altar, was for the purpose of allowing the *hiemantes* to see the mass, hence these squints are often called *leper windows* or *hagioscopes*. The Third Council of Orleans forbade lepers to wander from one diocese to another; and Gregory II., in his letter to Boniface in A.D. 715, directed the administration of the Eucharist to them by themselves. The bishops were also ordered to supply them with food and raiment out of the Church funds.

There is no reference in the Bible to leprosy as a type of sin; the nearest approach to this is in Ps 51^{7}, where the reference is to the ceremonial cleansing of the leper. Among the Fathers, also, there are few who take note of a similitude so familiar in modern homiletics. Origen (*Hom.* vii. *in Nu*) speaks of heretics outside the Church as having leprosy of mind; and Chrysostom (*Hom.* iv. *in Ti* 2) is one of the earliest writers who directly compares the defilement of sin to leprosy. The one part, indeed, of the Levitical law which is most often noticed, is the cleanness of the man who is all leprous, and this is used to illustrate the most diverse lessons by Tertullian (*de Pudicitia*, xx.), Theodoret (*Quæstiones in Lv* 13), and Origen (*in Levit.* viii. 231). In one of the epistles doubtfully attributed to Jerome, he treats of the various kinds of leprosy (*Ep.* xxxiv.). Leprosy was most commonly regarded as a type of heresy rather than of other sin (Rupertus Tuitiensis, p. 271; Bede, *in loco*, 'Lepra doctrina falsa est'; see also Rabanus Maurus, *Allegoria, s.v.* 'Lepra').

When a leper became cured of his plague, he did not resume his place in the community until he had been ceremonially cleansed. The priest went outside the city to look on him, and if he saw that he was healed (1) he commanded that two living clean birds be brought, with a rod of cedar wood (probably juniper, the wood of *Juniperus oxycedrus* supposed to be incapable of decaying) a cubit long (*Neg.* 14. 6), scarlet (wool), and hyssop ('the humblest plant for a disease generated by pride,' *Midrash Rabba*, *Koheleth* 10. 4). One bird was to be killed, in an earthen vessel, over running water—that is, water from a running stream is to be put into the earthen vessel to keep the blood liquid, and as a type of purification. The living bird and the cedar, to which the hyssop was to be tied with the scarlet woollen band, are to be dipped in the blood, and the leper is to be sprinkled therewith seven times. Some have supposed that, as 'the blood is the life,' this signifies the imparting of a new life to one who has, ceremonially, been dead. He is then declared clean, and therefore permitted to come into the city; and the living bird is set free in the open country—a symbol of the carrying away of the evil (see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ii. 151). (2) The leper is then to wash his clothes, shave off all his hair, and bathe; but must stay outside his house for 7 days; he then repeats the ablutions and shaving, and (3) on the 8th day makes his final offering at the temple. This consists (*a*) of a guilt-offering of a he-lamb, which with a log (about 3 gills) of olive oil was to be waved before the Lord, and the lamb was to be killed. The priest was then to take some of its blood, and to touch with it the right ear, the right thumb, and the right great toe of the cleansed man; the priest was then to pour the consecrated oil into the palm of his left hand, and, dipping his right forefinger in it, he was to sprinkle some of it seven times before the Lord, and then to touch with it the places upon which the blood of the guilt-offering had been put, and the rest of the oil was to be poured on the leper's head. This offering was a reparation to God for the loss of service during the time of his seclusion—the blood and oil typifying atonement and reconsecration. (*b*) A second he-lamb was to be offered as a sin-offering, as an atonement for sin on his re-admission into the congregation, and afterwards (*c*) a ewe-lamb was to be offered as a burnt-offering, and $\frac{3}{10}$ths of an ephah (about $7\frac{1}{2}$ quarts) of flour as a meal-offering. During these ceremonies the man stood in the Nicanor gate between the Court of the women and the Court of Israel, into which he was not free to enter until the purification was accomplished. A poor man was allowed to substitute two doves for the second pair of lambs, one for the sin-offering and one for the burnt-offering, and needed only to bring $\frac{1}{10}$th of an ephah of flour for the meal-offering (Lv 14^{1-32}).

In mediæval times a man who was a leper was formally excluded from the Church by a funeral mass, in which earth was thrown on his feet as a sign of symbolic burial, the priest saying 'sis mortuus mundo, vivens iterum Deo.' The leper then laid aside his garments in the church and put on a black habit. An account of the rituals observed in connexion with lepers is given by Martene (*de Rit. Antiq.* iii. 10). The ceremonies for the readmission of those healed were similar to the penitential and reconciliation ceremonies for the other *hiemantes*.

Opinions are divided as to the nature of Job's disease. The Talmudists called it *hakok* or scratching leprosy (*Baba Kamma* 80*b*). From the description of the symptoms ($2^{7f.}$) and of his isolation (19^{14-21}), it has been supposed to be some form of leprosy * (see MEDICINE). For older opinions on the subject see Wedel, *de Morbo Hiobi*, Jena, 1687.

Leprosy in Garments.—In Lv $13^{47ff.}$ is a description of certain reddish or greenish discolorations in garments, woollen, linen, or leathern, which are called *ẓāra'ath mam'ereth* (v.^{51}), a fretting leprosy, eating a hole in a garment. It is probably the effect of a fungus or mildew, said, but with slight evidence, to be from the use of the wool of dead or diseased sheep (Michaelis, *Com. on Laws of Moses*, iii. 290), or from the skin of a diseased animal; but this would not account for its attacking linen. Whether it is due to a specific parasite (as Formstecher supposed, *Isr. des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1847, No. 32) or not is uncertain, but this is improbable. If after a week's seclusion the stain spreads, the garment is pronounced unclean, and is to be burnt. If it have not spread, the fabric is to be washed and shut up for seven days more, when, if it remain unchanged, it is to be burnt; but if it fade after washing, the spot is to be torn out and burnt, and the rest of the garment is to be washed and pronounced clean. Where garments are worn for a long time, as they often are in the East, fungus growths are not unlikely to occur. It has been supposed that the 'garment spotted by the flesh' of Jude ^{23} refers to this; perhaps also there is a reference in Job 13^{28} and 30^{18}.

Leprosy in the House.—Certain discoloured patches on the inner walls of a house are said to be leprous (Lv $14^{34ff.}$). These are described as hollow strakes, *shĕka'ărûrōth*, that is, depressed spots, coloured greenish or reddish. When discovered, the occupant is to empty the house, lest, if pronounced unclean, all in the house be defiled. The priest is then called to inspect, and he shuts up the house for a week. If it spread in this time, the stones are to be taken out and cast into an unclean place; the plaster is to be scraped off the walls, and the house re-plastered. If no return take place, the house is clean; but if it recur, the whole house is to be destroyed. Before the cleansed house is inhabited, a cleansing ceremony similar to the first part of the cleansing ceremony of the leper is to be performed. It is probable that this disease is the formation of a flocculent mass of calcium nitrate, such as often takes place when the gases set free from decaying animal matter act on the lime of plaster, and is sometimes called mural salt. This, with an accompaniment of mould or other hyphomycetous fungus, produces an appearance like that described (see Blechrodt, *Theoret.-Pract. Abhandl. über die Ursachen der Feuchtigkeit in Gebäuden*, Weimar, 1839, 45). Jerome spiritualizes this plague, 'Arbitror eum in parietibus domus lepra esse referatur, hæreticam perfidiam notari' (*Ep.* xxxiv.).

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* So Davidson, Dillmann, and most modern commentators; cf. Dt 28^{27}.

LITERATURE.—The bibliography of leprosy is immense, but most of the older treatises are of little value. The best are Bartholinus, *de Morbis Biblicis*, Hafniæ, 1671; also the treatises of Dorndorf (Zurich, 1728), Withof (Duisburg, 1758), Eschenbach (Rostock, 1774), Chamseru (*Mém. de la societé d'émulation*, Paris, 1810, iii. 335), Jahn (*Biblische Archæologie*, Wien, 1818, ii. 355), Zensler (*Geschichte des abendländischen Aussatzes*).

For the modern literature the most useful works are Abraham, in Allbutt's *System of Medicine*, ii. 41; *Report of the Leprosy Commission to India*, London, 1893; also *Report of the Commission to the Cape of Good Hope*, 1894–95; Hillis, *Leprosy in British Guiana*, 1881; Carter, *Leprosy and Elephantiasis*, 1874; Rake, *Reports of the Trinidad Asylum*, 1889–1893; Danielssen and Boeck, *Traité de la Spédalskhed*, Paris, 1898; Minch, *Prokaza na Tuge Rossii*, Kiev, 1889; Fox and Farquhar, *Endemic Skin Diseases of India*, London, 1876; Wolters in *Centralblatt für Bakteriologie*, xiii. 1893; Simpson, *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, 1841–42, vols. lvi., lvii.; Thin, *Leprosy*, London, 1893; J. R. Bennett, *Diseases of the Bible*, 1887. For an account of the Knights of St. Lazarus, who had always a leper for their Grand Master, see Hélyot, *Ordres Monast.* 1721; Mochsen, *de med. equit. dignit. ornat.* p. 56.

On the Levitical prescriptions regarding leprosy, see, above all, Dillmann-Ryssel, *Ex-Lv*, p. 553 ff., where further references to the literature of the subject will be found.

A. MACALISTER.

LESHEM (לֶשֶׁם).—A form, occurring only in Jos $19^{47\ bis}$, of the name **Laish** (which see). Wellh. (*de Gentibus*, etc. 47) emends לָשֵׁם, which is admitted by Dillm. to have been 'perhaps' the original pronunciation.

LESSAU (A Λεσσαού, V^{vid} Δεσσαού).—A village (κώμη) where an encounter took place between the Jews and Nicanor, 2 Mac 14^{16}. The site is unknown, and the text is uncertain. *Dessau* of AV may be due to the frequent interchange of Λ and Δ in uncial Greek, or (as Ewald conjectured) it may be another form of *Adasa* (cf. 1 Mac 7^{40}).

LET.—There are two Anglo-Saxon verbs somewhat alike in spelling but directly opposite in meaning, *lǽtan* to permit, and *lettan* to hinder. In middle English *lǽtan* became *leten*, and *lettan* became *letten*, and they were still distinguishable. The double *t* was kept by careful writers in the verb meaning 'to hinder,' or the subst. meaning 'hindrance,' as by Milton in *Areopagitica* (Hales ed. p. 57, l. 1), 'evill hath abounded in the Church by this lett of licencing.' But when it was dropped there was no way, except by the general sense of the passage, of distinguishing two words whose meanings were so different that a mistake was equivalent to the insertion or omission of a *not*. In AV the verb occurs six times with the sense of 'hinder,' and is always spelt in the ed. of 1611 with one *t*, Ex 5^4 'Wherefore do ye, Moses and Aaron, let the people from their works?' (תַּפְרִיעוּ, RV 'loose'); Nu $22^{16\ \text{marg.}}$ 'Be not thou letted from coming unto me' (text, 'Let nothing hinder thee'); Is 43^{13} 'I will work, and who shall let it?' (יְשִׁיבֶנָּה, AVm 'shall turn it back,' RVm 'reverse it'); Wis 7^{22} 'an understanding spirit . . . which cannot be letted' (ἀκώλυτον, RV 'unhindered'); Ro 1^{13} 'oftentimes I purposed to come unto you, (but was let hitherto)' (ἐκωλύθην, RV 'was hindered'); 2 Th 2^7 'only he who now letteth *will let*, until he be taken out of the way' (ὁ κατέχων, RV 'one that restraineth'). The verb occurs also in Pr. Bk., Collect for 4th Sun. in Advent, 'we are sore let and hindered in running the race that is set before us.' In the Pr. Bk. of 1552, 1559, and 1604 (Communion), we read, 'It is an easy matter for a man to say, I will not communicate, because I am otherwise letted with worldly business'; but in 1662 'letted' was changed into 'hindered.' Examples from the earlier versions which have been changed in AV are Job 31^{31} Cov. 'Yet they of myne owne housholde saye: who shal let us, to have oure bely ful of his flesh?' 1 P 3^7 Tind. 'that youre prayers be not let.' Cranmer is fond of the word, frequently using it along with one or more synonyms, as *Works*, i. 82, 'she wrote letters to the Pope, calling upon him in God's behalf to stop and let the said marriage'; p. 85, 'do not interrupt, let, or hinder the said David.'

As a subst. 'let' is found in AV only in the heading to Dt 15, 'It must be no let of lending or giving.' It occurs occasionally in Pr. Bk. In the Preface to the Scotch Liturgy of 1637 we read, 'After many lets and hindrances, the same cometh now to be published, to the good, we trust, of all God's people, and the increase of true piety, and sincere devotion amongst them.' 'In all our promises,' says Tindale (*Expos.* p. 57), 'it is to be added, If God will, and If there be no lawful let.'

J. HASTINGS.

LETHECH occurs in AVm and RVm of Hos 3^2 instead of 'an half homer' which is read in the text of both AV and RV. Both the original reading of the passage and the capacity of the measure (?), called *lethech*, are uncertain. For the MT לֶתֶךְ שְׂעֹרִים the LXX reads νέβελ οἴνου, 'a skin of wine,' which may or may not imply that a different Heb. text from the present lay before the Greek translator (see Nowack, *ad loc.*). According to Jewish tradition, the *lethech* = ½ *homer* = 4 bushels. See art. WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. It has been computed that the whole amount of grain here mentioned would have been equal in value to 15 shekels of silver, so that the price paid by Hosea in money and kind together would be 30 shekels. He thus re-acquired his wife for the cost of a slave (cf. Ex 21^{32}).

J. A. SELBIE.

LETTER.—See EPISTLE.

LETUSHIM (לְטוּשִׁם, Λατουσιείμ) and **LEUMMIM** (לְאֻמִּים, Λοωμ(ι)είμ).—Sons of Dedan, Gn 25^3. The MT gives the names of Dedan's sons as Ashurim, Letushim, and Leummim; but the LXX prefixes to this list Raguel (Ῥαγουήλ) and Nabdeel (Ναβδεήλ). The three given by the MT are pointed as plurals, and hence were regarded by some ancient interpreters as descriptive epithets (so Targ. Onk.); and the third of the names, *Leummim* ('nations' in Heb.), lends itself well to that explanation; some races which the ethnologist chose to classify among Dedanites may have been known as 'nations' or 'hordes,' just as the Berbers are called by the Arabs *Ḳabā'il* or 'tribes,' and their language *Ḳabīlī*. For *Letushim* the Rabbis (Rashi, *ad loc.*) suggest an etymology from the Hebrew verb נָטַשׁ meaning 'scattered'; they can indeed point with justice to the interchange of ל and נ at the beginning of words, but this explanation does not seem satisfactory. The apparent connexion of this word with the verb לָטַשׁ 'to sharpen' is rather in favour of the view (taken by Steiner in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*) that the words represent names of *trades*; and such a classification would bear a curious likeness to that of the S. Arabian Parias, some of whom are called *Ḥā'ik*, 'weavers,' etc. (Maltzan, *Reisen in Arabien*, i. 190, 191). The greater number of authorities, however, regard these words as proper names, and *Letushim* has been compared with לטשו of some Nabatæan inscriptions (Ley, *ZDMG* xiv. 403, 404), while a name resembling *Leummim* has been found in a Sabæan inscription (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*). If they are personal names, the final ם could be more easily explained from Sabæan than from Nabatæan. Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 461) thinks the home of the tribes thus designated is to be sought in the Sinaitic peninsula, but he throws no new light on the name.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

LEVI (לֵוִי, LXX Λευ(ε)ί(ν)).—Son of Jacob and

Leah. The meaning and derivation of the name are uncertain. (1) In Gn 29^{34} (J) *Levi* is interpreted as *joined, i.e.* husband to wife; the root *lavah* is used with this meaning in the reflexive conjugation (Niphal), Is $56^{3.6}$, Ps 83^{8}: in Arab. it = 'turn, bend.' In Nu $18^{2.4}$ (P) there is a word-play; the tribe of *Levi* is *joined to, attendant on*, Aaron. After the establishment of the Levites as subordinate temple ministers, this meaning was read into their name; it does not, of course, represent an etymology in the strict sense. (2) Lagarde, *Orientalia* ii. 20, *Mittheilungen* i. 54 ff., explains *Levites* as those who *attached themselves to, accompanied*, the Israelites at the Exodus from Egypt; like Moses, they were Egyptians. The name might also mean those who were *attached to* the ark. Thus Levi is not a name like the names of the other patriarchs, but an adjective; and it need not have borne the same meaning in the time of Ezra as in the time of Solomon or Moses. (3) Baudissin, *Gesch. AT Priesterthums* 72 n.^{1}, finds in the name an original abstract meaning, *lēv* = 'following, escort,' from which the adj. *lēvi* was formed, in the sense of *one who escorted* the ark. The name was thus first given to the tribe of priestly servants, and from them to the ancestor of the tribe. Against these views see Kautzsch, *SK*, 1890, 771 f., who points out that the manner in which Levi is connected with Simeon by a merely genealogical and political relationship, such as exists in the case of the other sons of Jacob, makes it impossible to see in Levi the special character which the above views presuppose. The name of the tribe was not derived from the name of any official function; the escort of the ark was not the prerogative of the Levites only, for in the older narratives it is the priests who have this charge. Similarly, Stade, *ZATW* i. 1881, 112–116, insists, with reason, that no different origin can be allowed to Levi than is given to the other patriarchs. Against deriving *lēvi* from *lavah*, he urges the form of the noun with *ē*, and the fact that in early times Levi was a purely secular tribe, Gn 49^{5-7}. (4) Hommel, *Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen* 30 f., *Süd-Arab. Chrestom.* 127, *AHT* 278 f., connects *levi* with *lavi'u* (fem. *lavi'at*) = *priest*, on the Minæan inscriptions from el-Ola, N. of Medina; and Mordtmann, *Beiträge z. minäischen Epigraphik*, 1897, 43, and Sayce, *Early Hist. of the Hebs.* 1897, 80, agree with him. The usage of the word in these inscriptions ('a priest of Wadd,' 'his priestess') is, however, very different from the usage of Levi in the OT. Such an expression as 'a Levite of J''' is never found; and the primary meaning of Levite is not 'priest,' but 'a member of the tribe of Levi.' (5) Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*^{3} 146, proposes an etymology which has been widely accepted, and may be considered the most plausible yet put forward: Levi is simply a gentilic form of his mother's name, Leah = 'wild cow' (Arab. *la'ay, la'at*). So Stade, *ZATW* i. 112–116, *GVI* i. 146, 152 f.; Gray, *Hebr. Pr. Names* 96, etc. Nöldeke on the whole accepts this, though not without hesitation, *ZDMG* xl. 1886, 167.* Robertson Smith, who maintains that 'the most ancient division of the Israelites is between Rachel and Leah,' both animal names, detects in this family history the presence of the matriarchal system of reckoning descent, and the custom of calling tribes after the names of animals (totemism); *Kinship and Marriage* 30, 195, 219 f., 257. (6) Two other etymologies may be mentioned. Wellhausen, *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten* iii. 114 n. [the note is omitted in the second edition (1897), p. 119], alludes to the ancient Arabic custom of consuming the flesh of a sacrifice at a family meal. A portion of the flesh was set aside for a guest whom it was desired to treat with special honour (cf. 1 S 9^{23}), and called the *lavijja* (Agh. vii. 76. 6). The *lavijja* would be the priests' portion; hence possibly the origin of the name Levi. In this connexion we can hardly fail to remember the Minæan *lavi'u* = 'priest.' G. H. Skipwith, in the *JQR* xi. 1899, 264, ingeniously connects *levi* with *leviathan*, the root *lavah* describing the coils of the serpent. This suggests that Levi derived his name from a serpent-god, and may explain why the Levite Moses selected the brazen serpent, Nehushtan, as an emblem of the God of Israel!

Early history of Levi.—An incident in the early history of Levi is preserved in Gn 34. The young Canaanite chief, Shechem, had conceived a passion for Dinah, the sister of Simeon and Levi, and had 'humbled' her, to the indignation of the sons of Jacob (vv.$^{2b.3a.5.7}$). The two brothers undertook to avenge the outrage themselves; they assassinated Shechem, and carried off Dinah out of his house (vv.$^{25b.26}$). That the action of Simeon and Levi was treacherous and savage is implied in J, the earlier of the two documents which are combined in Gn 34. Shechem had accepted the terms imposed upon him by the father and brethren of the damsel (vv.$^{11.12.19}$). What the terms were is not stated; possibly the circumcision of the bridegroom before marriage (Wellhausen, *Proleg.*^{3} 355 n., *Composition* 319: cf. Ex 4^{24-26}, and Robertson Smith, *RS* 310), or the grant of a piece of territory to Jacob near Shechem (Cornill, *ZATW*, 1891, 12, cf. Gn $37^{12ff.}$). Whatever the agreement was, Simeon and Levi violated it, and acted independently of their brethren, who took no part in the deed of violence, and of their father, who bitterly resented it. We may notice that Jacob's reproof is prompted by instincts of self-preservation, and not by moral displeasure. The two brothers, however, take up a moral ground in their retort, evidently with the sympathy of the narrator ($34^{30.31}$).*

The story may be understood to describe an episode in the early struggles of Israel in Canaan after the Exodus. The attachment of Shechem, son of Hamor, to Dinah, daughter of Jacob, will then represent an alliance between a branch of the Israelite family and the city of Shechem; and the action of Simeon and Levi may be interpreted either as an attempt to seize by force this important city for themselves, or as a blow struck to free the Israelite element in the city from the danger of being swallowed up by the Canaanite majority. Whatever the motive may have been, the tradition is clear that there was treachery and violence on the Israelite side, and that in consequence Simeon and Levi received a repulse from which they never recovered. Simeon became merged in Judah, with undefined possessions on the S. frontier (cf. Jos 19^{1-9} with $15^{26-32.42}$), though the tribe does not seem to have been so completely shattered as Levi (Jg $1^{3.17}$); while Levi also found shelter in Judah, but for the most part became a homeless wanderer in the territory of the other tribes.

This is the state of things implied in Gn 49^{5-7} 'I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in

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[*] Of the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of Levi, almost half have names with this gentilic ending, *e.g.* Merari, Mahli, Mushi (from Mosheh, Moses), Libni, Shimei, Bukki, Uzzi, Kishi, etc. (Nu 3^{17-21} 26^{58}, 1 Ch 6^{1-48}).

[*] The above follows the earlier narrative, J. In the other account, by some assigned to E (Wellh., Cornill, Holzinger), by others to P (Dillmann, Driver P possibly based on E, Ball P^{2}), Hamor, on behalf of his son, negotiates a general marriage alliance, vv.$^{8.9}$; the circumcision of all males is stipulated and accepted as the condition, vv.$^{14-17.20-24a}$, and all the sons of Jacob wreak their vengeance with wholesale slaughter vv.$^{25ac.27-29}$ (cf. the later narratives of the conquest of Canaan). Perhaps the vengeance was ascribed to all Israel because of the later feeling about mixed marriages, cf. Nu 25^{6-9} 31^{7-11} (P), Ezr 9^{12} 10. If this narrative belongs to E, an editor of the school of P (vv.$^{15b.22b.24}$) has worked over the whole after the combination of J and E. See especially on this ch. Kuenen, *ThT* xiv. 257 = *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* vi.; Wellhausen, *Composition* 312 319; Cornill, *ZATW*, 1891, 1–15.

Israel.' The verses express, in the language of vigorous denunciation, the popular verdict upon the offending tribes. It must have taken shape not long after the deed was done; and as the incident of Gn 34 belongs most probably to the early days of the conquest of Canaan, this will agree very well with the date generally accepted for the Blessing of Jacob, the period of the Judges, Samuel, and David. Neither Simeon nor Levi is mentioned in the Song of Deborah, Jg 5.

Levi and the Priesthood.—The next important evidence for the early history of Levi is furnished by Jg 17 and 18, a most ancient document. Here, for the first time, the Levite is a priest. The following facts are to be gleaned from these chapters. (1) The Levite comes from Judah, the headquarters of the tribe, Jg 17^{7-9}. Both in these chs. and in $19^{1.\,18}$ the Levites are connected with Judah; two of them come from Bethlehem $17^{7.\,8}$.[*] We can detect traces of this connexion in the names of some Levitical families, such as Libni, Hebroni, Ḳorḥi.[†]

(2) But if the Levites had found a home in Judah, their dispersion had already begun; the pressure of circumstances was driving them to seek a maintenance where they could find one, Jg $17^{8.\,9}$.

(3) At this period any one might become a priest. Micah could consecrate one of his sons to the priesthood, 17^{5}. But if a Levite could be found, he was much preferred, as being specially qualified for the office, Jg $17^{10.\,13}$ 18^{10}. The Levite ministered in any private or local sanctuary where his services were paid for, Jg $17^{4.\,10.\,12}$ $18^{4.\,30}$. His special skill lay in consulting and interpreting the sacred oracle ($18^{5f.}$), and in conducting the ritual of the ephod, teraphim, and graven or molten image (17^{5} $18^{18.\,20.\,30}$).

(4) Two points about the family of the Levite (or Levites) in this story call for special notice. In 17^{7} it is said that 'the young man' was 'of the family of Judah'; in 18^{30} that the Levite Jonathan was a grandson of Moses. The former of these statements raises a difficulty: how could a Levite be described as belonging to the family of Judah? It has been suggested (Wellhausen, Moore) that 'Levite' here denotes the office, not the race; the point of importance in early times being not the pedigree but the art of the priest. If this could be established, the difficulty is disposed of. But it is hard to believe that at this early period, which cannot be far removed from the date to which Gn 34 and 49^{5-7} belong, the Levites as a tribe had disappeared, and that their name had been given to a priestly caste which was open to the member of any tribe who might care to enter it (see Wellhausen, *Proleg.*³ 146; Hommel, *AHT* 268). No satisfactory explanation has been given of the words 'of the family of Judah' as they stand. They seem to be omitted by LXX B, and are treated by Kuenen and Kautzsch (*Heil. Schr.*) as a gloss; but a scribe would hardly invent such a statement about a Levite. Budde, *Richter* 116, suggests (after Studer) that the words have been altered out of respect for Moses,[‡] and that the original reading was 'of the family of Levi,' or 'of the family of Moses.' For want of any better explanation, this correction may be provisionally accepted. At the close of the story (18^{30}) it is stated that Micah's Levite, who had been kidnapped by the Danites, became the founder of a line of priests who ministered at the chief sanctuary of Dan until the exile of the ten tribes in 722, or of the N. tribes in 734 (2 K 15^{29}). Jonathan's priesthood was therefore hereditary,[*] and, what is more, his descent is traced back through Gershom to Moses. It is probable that we have here a clue to the obscure problem, How did the Levi of Gn 34 and 49 become the Levi of the sanctuary? Most likely the answer is, Through the influence and position of Moses. Moses was the founder of Israel's religion, the chief minister of the sanctuary; and Moses was a Levite. His own clan supported and followed him (Ex 32^{26-29} E). The sacred lore of the priesthood, the traditions of public worship, the usages of the oracle, were preserved in his family and handed down to his descendants. Thus we find the Mosaic families of Gershom and of the Mushites (probably from Mosheh, Moses) mentioned in the genealogies of P, Nu $3^{17f.\,21.\,33}$ $26^{57f.}$, 1 Ch $6^{1.\,17.\,19}$. The priesthood, however, was not confined to the family or tribe of Moses; but the prestige of his name, the importance of his position in the history of the national religion, induced those priests, who did not necessarily belong to his race, to call themselves Levites, and to justify the title by some kind of genealogical fiction, or by the common Semitic practice of regarding membership of a guild or order as equivalent to sonship.[†] In this way there grew up a priestly tribe of Levi which looked upon Moses as the founder of their order and the ancestor of their race.[‡] The formation of such a tribe was rendered all the easier because there had existed an ancient tribe of Levi, which, although it was broken up in the early days of the occupation of Canaan, nevertheless produced one famous son who became the ancestor of a new Levi with a changed character. When the change began it is impossible to say; it must have come about by degrees. Those who maintain that the Levite of the early period of the Judges (Jg 17. 18) could belong to 'the family of Judah' and at the same time claim to be a grandson of Moses (18^{30}), do not appear to allow sufficient time for the official sense of Levite and the artificial connexion with Moses to have established themselves.

A different account of what may be called the conversion of Levi from the barbarous tribe to the priestly caste is given by van Hoonacker in his work, *La Sacerdoce Lévitique*, 1899, 304–311. His view may be mentioned as representative of those which differ from the account given above. He takes Gn 34 as referring to an incident of the first immigration of the Hebrew clans into Canaan. Gn 49 is also assigned to a pre-Mosaic date, chiefly on the ground that it is unlikely that the tribe to which Moses belonged would be spoken of in the terms of vv.$^{5-7}$ so soon after his death, if the Blessing of Jacob be assigned to the period of the Judges. In the early days of the settlement in Canaan after the Exodus, the tribe of Levi possessed not only the prestige of its connexion with Moses, but the prerogatives of the priesthood which it owed to him. Not much later, in the period of the Judges, we find Levites popularly regarded as priests: the interval is not long enough for the change in the character of the tribe to have taken place. Accordingly, van Hoonacker believes that the 'conversion' of Levi occurred during the sojourn of Israel in Egypt, and supposes that Levi developed not only a capacity for assimilating the culture and civilization of Egypt,* but a special zeal for the national religion. In this way the Levites naturally rallied round Moses in his great religious enterprise, and because of their superior culture became recognized as the spiritual organ of the community. Against the view of van Hoonacker it may be said that the evidence is no more in favour of the conversion of Levi having taken place in Egypt than in the period which followed the struggle for Canaan; while the historical and geographical conditions implied in the Blessing of Jacob are not those of the pre-Mosaic but the post-Mosaic age.

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[*] Two narratives are interwoven in ch. 17. According to one there is a young Levite (הַנַּעַר) residing in Micah's neighbourhood, whom Micah treats as a son, consecrates and makes his priest (vv.$^{7.\,11b.\,12a}$). The other narrative tells how a Levite (הָאִישׁ) from Bethlehem comes, in the course of his wanderings, to Micah's house, and is hired by him as his priest (vv.$^{8-10a.\,12b.\,13}$).

[†] Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jüd. Geschichte*² 191 n. Korah (Ḳoraḥ) seems to have been originally a clan of Judah, 1 Ch 2^{43}.

[‡] The same motive, to avoid connecting the priest of Dan with Moses, instigated the Jewish correction of Moses into Manasseh in 18^{30}. Perhaps this is the reason why LXX B omits the words here.

[*] Similar establishments of hereditary priests are mentioned at Shiloh (Eli) and at Nob (Ahimelech), 1 S $1^{3ff.}$ 21. The priesthood of Shiloh was traced back to the family of Moses (1 S 2^{27}, though this is a post-Dt. passage) through Phinehas, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron (Nu 25^{13} P, 1 S 2^{30}, Jos 24^{33} E). Wellhausen regards Eleazar as = Eliezer, son of Moses (Ex 18^{4}), and so makes the priesthood of Shiloh directly Mosaic, *Proleg.*³ 144.

[†] In the oldest documents the descent is traced back to Moses rather than to Aaron. Moses, not Aaron, is the chief minister of the sanctuary in Ex 33^{7-11} E. The designation of Levites as 'sons of Aaron' belongs to P.

[‡] See Benzinger, *Heb. Archäol.* 416 ff.

It does not fall within the scope of this article to deal with the later developments and organization of the priestly tribe of Levi, which will be fully treated of in art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES. Besides Jg 17 and 18, 19 and 20, the only other places in pre-exilic historical books where Levites are mentioned are 1 S 6^{15}, 2 S 15^{24}, 1 K 8^{4} 12^{31}, and all of these appear to be secondary or Deuteronomic.† One other important passage, however, requires mention, to complete the early account of Levi, Dt 33^{8-11}. The Blessing of Moses 'breathes the bright and happy spirit of the earlier narratives of the Kings,' and may be dated shortly after the separation under Jeroboam I. By this time, then, we find that Levi has become thoroughly established as the priestly tribe, enjoying the priestly rights of administering the divine oracle and instruction (torah), and offering incense and sacrifice; though it appears that the exclusive priesthood of the Levites was not without its opponents even at this period (Dt 33^{11}). The Blessing describes the character of the ideal Levite by an allusion to past history when the fidelity and disinterestedness of the tribe were conspicuously proved. Though Levi is not mentioned in connexion with the events of Massah and Meribah (Ex17^{1-7}, Nu 20^{10-13}), yet it is possible that another version of these incidents was current in which the tribe was in some way tested by Jehovah.‡ The other past event alluded to is that in Ex 32^{27-29}, when the Levites distinguished themselves by remarkable disinterestedness. The reference to this occasion is, however, disputed; for the verbs in Dt 33^{9abc} may be translated as presents and not as pasts, and the statement may be merely a general one. Nevertheless, the allusion to Ex 32 may be implied at the same time.

The principal authorities have been cited above. Besides these may be mentioned Graf, *Geschichte des Stammes Levi* in Merx, *Archiv.* 1867, i. 68–106, 208–236; Edu. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, 1884, i. 377 ff.; Fr. v. Hummelauer, S.J., *Das vormosaische Priesterthum in Israel*, 1899.

G. A. COOKE.

LEVIATHAN (לִוְיָתָן *liwyāthān*).—The description of leviathan (Job 41) clearly points to the *crocodile* (LXX δράκων). Again, the mention of leviathan (LXX δράκοντες, Ps 74^{14}) is in the middle of an allusion to the miracles connected with the Exodus of the Israelites. Leviathan here is to be understood as the crocodile, the emblem of 'Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, the great dragon (*tannîm*) that lieth in the midst of his rivers' (Ezk 29^{3}). 'The people inhabiting the wilderness' (Ps, *l.c.*) are the *wild beasts of the desert*, to which Pharaoh's host became a prey (comp. 'people,' 'folk,' Pr $30^{25.\,26}$). On the other hand, leviathan of the sea (Ps 104^{26}, LXX δράκων) cannot be the crocodile. It is probably the whale. Whales are not rare in the Mediterranean, which is doubtless the 'sea great and wide' (v.^{25}). Parts of skeletons of two rorquals are preserved in the Museum of the Syrian Protestant College at Beirût. One was thrown on shore near Tyre, and the other at Beirût itself. In Job 3^{8} 'leviathan' of RV and AVm (AV 'their mourning') is taken by most modern commentators to refer to the dragon, which in popular mythology was believed to darken or eclipse the sun and moon by 'throwing its folds round them or swallowing them up. Enchanters were supposed to have power to set this dragon in motion' (Davidson, *Job*, p. 20). The same mythological allusion underlies Job 26^{13} (see Dillmann's note) and Is 27^{1} (see Cheyne, *ad loc.*).

G. E. POST.

LEVIRATE LAW.—See MARRIAGE.

LEVIS (A Λευίς, B -εις), 1 Es 9^{14}.—Wrongly taken as a proper name in this book; in Ezr 10^{15} 'Shabbethai the Levite' stands in place of 'Levis and Sabbateus.'

LEVITES.—See LEVI and PRIESTS AND LEVITES.

LEVITICUS (called by the Jews, from its opening word, וַיִּקְרָא; other names found in the Mishna are תּוֹרַת כֹּהֲנִים ('Law of Priests'), סֵפֶר כּ׳ ('Book of Priests'), סֵפֶר קָרְבָּנוֹת ('Book of Offerings'), cf. *Menach.* iii. 4; *Megilla*, iii. 6; *Siphra*, etc.; LXX Λευ(ε)ιτικόν (cf. Philo, Λευιτικὴ βίβλος); Vulg. *Leviticus*).—Leviticus is the third part of the sixfold work now generally known as the Hexateuch. It belongs in its entirety to the Priestly school of writers (P). For the explanation and proof of this statement see art. HEXATEUCH.

As the whole book can be ascribed to a single 'document,' it might seem that the literary problem was a simpler one than in the case of Genesis and Exodus. In fact, however, the questions that demand solution are, though in large measure different from, yet no less complex than, those of the earlier books. The geologist who has settled to what 'formation' the rocks of a district belong, has yet to investigate the composition and relative order of the perhaps dislocated and contorted strata which are comprised under the same general title. In the art. on EXODUS (§ IV.) we have already seen how documents after being separated from others may be again resolved into distinct components. The extent to which this process is carried out below may seem unwarranted, for, though many of the points are fully treated in well-known works like Kuenen's *Hex.* and Driver's *LOT*, it has not been usual to press the analysis so far. It is, however, believed that the main lines are firmly laid on grounds that have proved generally convincing, even though details may be regarded as unsettled.

LITERARY STRUCTURE.—The 27 chapters fall readily apart into four divisions which are successively discussed, *i.e.* (1) the Law of Sacrifice, 1–7; (2) the Consecration of the Priesthood, 8–10; (3) the Law of Clean and Unclean, with appendix on the Day of Atonement, 11–16; (4) the Law of Holiness, with appendix, 17–27.

(*N.B.*—For explanation of abbreviations and signs see EXODUS).

§ 1. 1–7: The Law of Sacrifice.

A. Analytical Summary.

P^{t} denotes material consisting of priestly teaching or *torah*, codified before P^{g}, and subsequently incorporated.

P^{s} marks sections written after P^{g}.

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* Van Hoonacker notices the Egyptian proper names among Levitical families, Phinehas, Putiel (Ex 6^{25}), Moses; and the unique expression about the ancestors of Eli's family, 1 S 2^{27} 'when they were in Egypt, servants (LXX) to the house of Pharaoh.'

† Nowack, *Heb. Archäol.* ii. 91 n.

‡ Driver, *Deuteronomy* 400.

+ in any column shows supplements of the same school and period.

‡ Many similar titles or introductory clauses, added by the compiler, are left to the student to notice.

P^t	P^s	
	$1–6^7$	A Manual for Worshippers.
	1^{1-2a}	R^p Title.‡
1^{2b-9}		Burnt-offering of the herd.
10-13		. . . . of the flock.
+ 14-17		. . . . of fowls.
2^{1-3}		Meal-offering of fine flour.
+ 4-13		. . . . baked, etc.
+ 14-17		. . . . of firstfruits.
3^{1-5}		Peace-offering of the herd.
6-11		. . . . of the flock: sheep.
12-16		. . . . goats.
17		. . . . . . eating fat or blood forbidden.
	4^{1-12}	Sin-offering for anointed priest.
	13-21	. . . for whole congregation.
	22-26	. . . for a ruler.
	27-31	. . . for any person (a goat).
	+ 32-35	. . . . (a lamb).
5^{1-6}		Sin-offering for any person (lamb or goat).
+ 7-10		. . . . (fowls for poor).
+ 11-13		. . . . (meal for poorer).
+ 14-16		Guilt-offering for trespass in holy things.
17-19		. . . . for unknown sins.
+ 6^{1-7}		. . . . for trespass against a neighbour.
	$6^8–7^{38}$	A Manual for Priests.
	6^{8-9a}	R^p Title.
6^{9b-13}		Ritual of Burnt-offering.
14-18		. . Meal-offering.
+ 19-23		. . . . of the priest.
	6^{24-25b}	R^p Title.
25b-29		Ritual of Sin-offering.
	6^{30}	Supplement to above.
7^{1-7}		Ritual of Guilt-offering.
	7^8	Priest to have skin of the burnt-offering.
+ 9		Priest to have meal-offering.
	7^{10}	Sons of Aaron to have all meal-offerings.
11-21		Ritual of Peace-offering.
+ 22-27		Eating fat or blood forbidden.
+ 28-34		Wave breast and heave thigh for priests.
	$7^{35f.}$	Anointing portion of priests.
37f.		Colophon.

B. Critical Notes.

With regard to this division there are two questions to answer. (1) Does it form part of the great Priestly writing (P^g) which contains Ex 25–29? (2) If not, what is its relation to it? Is it, like Ex 35–40, later, or is it in the main earlier? Let the facts decide. The process of exhibiting them will bring out other points requiring special attention in these chapters.

a. The directions in Ex 29 for Aaron's consecration ordered burnt-, sin-, and peace-offerings. Now the ritual there prescribed precisely accords with the requirements of Lv 1–7, which are therefore already assumed in a passage which precedes.

b. After Ex 35–40 (or the shorter account of the erection of the Tabernacle which it has replaced) we expect to hear of the fulfilment of the other command, in Ex 29, to consecrate Aaron. But Lv 1–7 comes in before Lv 8, the account of the consecration. It appears, that is, as an interruption.

c. At the same time, Lv 1–7 is linked with P^g by a practical identity of sacrificial terminology.

d. Certain elements, however, which are often mentioned and constantly presupposed in P^g and P^s, are either absent from these chapters, or appear in clauses which can be readily removed as interpolations, or find place in passages otherwise marked as exceptional. Such are the presuppositions that the people are living in a *camp*, that their sanctuary is *the Tent of Meeting*, and that the only priests are *Aaron and his sons.*

For instance, the *Tent of Meeting* is unmentioned from 1^{10} to 2^{16}; in 1^3 its occurrence is plainly an interpolation, for it interrupts the connexion (for the acceptance of the victim depends, according to 22^{19-25}, on the absence of blemish). Again, in 1–3 *the priest* occurs 11 times, and *Aaron's sons the priests* (or an equivalent phrase) 11 times. The facts, that each paragraph reverts to the singular, that sing. verbs follow plural subjects $1^{5f. 11f.}$ etc., that LXX twice, and Sam. once, correct to pl., all go to prove that *the priest* was the original term, and that the peculiar phrase *Aaron's sons the priests*, $1^{5. 8. 11}$ 2^2 3^2, is an adaptation of the simple term *the priest* by prefixing *Aaron's sons* and altering sing. to pl. Contrast the uniform formula of P^g *Aaron and his sons.*

e. Moreover, the conspectus *A*, given above, on the face of it suggests that 1–7 is not itself homogeneous. It falls apart into two codes, each of which treats the whole round of offerings, but without reference to the other, and with a different aim and plan. Again, the two codes $1–6^7$ and $6^8–7^{38}$ have been themselves subject to revision and enlargement. The nucleus of $1–6^7$ is 1–3, a little code which perhaps never dealt with sin- and guilt-offerings. In any case $5–6^7$ are distinct in form, and much more so 4 (P^s).

A few instances of the clues which have been followed may be given as illustrations of method. 2^{4-16} is marked as supplementary, for (1) it repeats $^{1-3}$, and (2) it uses *thou* and *ye* instead of *he* as in the rest of 1–3.—4 distinguishes *the altar of sweet incense* from *the altar of burnt-offering* (see art. Exodus, IV.), and elaborates ceremonial; it is therefore given to P^s (perhaps better to $P^{g'}$). In Ex 29 P^g and Lv 8 P^s even at the consecration of Aaron the blood of the sin-offering was not as here ($4^{6f.}$, cf. $^{17f.}$) brought into the holy place.—5^{1-6} is older than 4, because of the variety of cases in view, and the absence of ritual direction. It has features that connect it with P^h.—5^{14-16} and 6^{1-7} are not by author of 5^{1-6}, for the guilt-offering, which in ^{6} is confused with the sin-offering, is here clearly assigned to cases of damage done to the interests of Jahweh or a neighbour.—5^{17-19} interrupts the connexion, and completes $^{1-6}$, not $^{14-16}$. In $^{1-6}$ atonement is provided for unconscious offences after discovery; but what if calamity vaguely convicts of unknown guilt? Here is the remedy.

The remaining section 6^8–7 has also been edited afresh with several additions. The original work is easily separated by following the clues given by the introductory formula *This is the law of . . .* , and by the list of subjects given in the colophon 7^{37}, which concludes this little 'Priests' Manual.'

Both the order of subjects (see *A* above), and the framework in which they are set, support the view that this section is not based on $1–6^7$, nor by the same author as 1–3.

f. Except in 4, where the indications point to a later date than P^g, there are no clear signs that any of the sections in 1–7, The Law of Sacrifice, formed part of P^g or were subsequent in date. On the contrary, when a few isolated phrases have been removed, there is an unbroken appearance of independence and priority. (In the Oxf. Analyt. ed. of the *Hex.* the text is printed so as to bring this out clearly). And, as this conclusion agrees with the preceding indications, it is regarded as established that these chapters belong to an earlier series of priestly teachings (*toroth*), and may be designated P^t.

§ 2. 8–10: The Consecration of the Priesthood.

A. Analytical Summary.

P^t	P^g	P^s	P^{s1}	
		8 in the main		Consecration of Aaron and his sons.
			$8^{10b-11. 30}$	Aaron's sons, etc., anointed.
	9^{1-24}			The octave of the consecration.
	10^{1-5}			Death of Nadab and Abihu.
			$10^{6f.}$	Prohibition of mourning to Aaron and surviving sons.
		$10^{8f.}$		Priests on duty not to drink wine.
$10^{10f.}$				Priestly duty as to clean and unclean
12-15r				Priests' dues.
			10^{16-20}	Blame for not eating sin-offering.

B. Critical Notes.

As Ex 35–40 is generally supposed to have taken the place of an earlier and briefer account of the fulfilment of Ex 25–28, so Lv 8 is held to be an expansion of an original short narrative of the consecration of the priesthood as ordered in Ex 29. In view of its laborious reproduction of Ex 29, and a few modifications introduced, it would be rash to assign it to the original draft of P^g.

The anointing of the tent ^{10b}, the altar, etc. ^{11}, and Aaron's sons with his and their garments, ^{30}, is irreconcilable with the absence of such injunction in Ex 29^{7-9}, and marks these verses as glosses, like Ex 28^{41} and part of 29^{21} (*and of the anointing oil*). LXX puts Lv 8^{10b} after ^{11}.

In 9^1 the main thread of the Priestly Law and History Book P^g is resumed from Ex 29, the original brief account of the making and erection of the sanctuary and consecration of the priesthood having probably been displaced by fuller narratives in Ex 35–40 and Lv 8, as suggested above. Note that only one altar is mentioned, and that the blood of the sin-offering is not brought into the Holy Place. That 9 is earlier than 4 is seen from ^{3}, and than 8 from ^{13}.

$10^{6f.}$ is late P^s, for in ^{7} anointing is extended to Aaron's sons (see above).—$10^{8f.}$ is itself a fragment, and to it $^{10f.}$ is loosely attached. The latter betrays affinity with P^h, cf. 20^{24b-26}. Cf. also Dt 14^{3-20} 24^8 33^{10}.—10^{12-15} Except the introductory clause, this par. recalls P^t. In particular, notice the peculiar expression *a holy place* ^{13} (‖ *a clean place* ^{14}), which occurs also in $6^{16. 26f.}$ 7^6. It is defined in ^{12} as *beside the altar*; whereas the clause *in the court of the tent of meeting* is probably a gloss in $6^{16. 26}$ (in 10^{17} it is altered into *the place of the sanctuary*).—In 10^{16-20}, a late supplement, fault is found for contravention of 6^{26} (see further Kuen. *Hex.* § 6 n. 21).

§ 3. 11–16: **The Law of Clean and Unclean.**

With Appendix on the Day of Atonement.

A. Analytical Summary.

P^t		P^s	
(1)	(2)		
11^{1-8}			CLEAN AND UNCLEAN FOOD: land animals.
	11^{9-12}		FOOD THAT IS ABOMINATION: water animals.
	12-19		. . . . . . birds.
	20-23		. . . . . . winged creeping things.
11^{24-28}			UNCLEAN TO TOUCH: land animals.
29-31			. . . . creeping things on earth.
+32-38			. . . . things unclean by contact.
+39f.			. . . . dead clean beasts.
	$11^{41f.}$		FOOD THAT IS ABOMINATION: creeping things on earth.
	43-44a		Conclusion of (2).
11^{44a-45}			Conclusion of (1).
46f.			Colophon to (1) and (2).
	12^{1-7}		Purification after CHILDBIRTH.
	+8		. . . . case of poverty.
13^{1-28}			LEPROSY: detection and discrimination, on the skin.
29-44			. . . . . on the head.
45f.			. . . . . rule for lepers.
+47-59			. in a garment (with colophon)
	14^{1-8a}		LEPROSY CLEANSED BY SPECIAL RITES.
		14^{8b-20}	Leprosy cleansed by regular sacrifices
		+21-32	. . . . case of poverty.
		+33-53	. . . . case of a house.
$14^{54-57f.}$			Colophon to 13^{1-45}, expanded.
	15^{1-33}		SECRETIONS and means of cleansing.

P^g	P^s	$P^{s\prime}$	
16			DAY OF ATONEMENT.
16^{2-28}			Solemn atonement by Aaron for the people.
	$16^{1. 3. 6. 11. 14. 17b}$ etc.		Special atonement for Aaron.
		16^{29-31}	Day of atonement made annual.
	+32f.		This to be repeated by each high priest.
		16^{34a}	Annual day of atonement.
16^{34b}			Statement as to accomplishment by Aaron.

B. Critical Notes.

Like 1–3. 5–6^7 6^8–7, the chapters 11–15 betray that they are substantially earlier than P^g, though subsequently united in their present form with the main Priestly code. In the case of 11 on food and contact, and 13 f. on leprosy, it is possible to discover several layers of legal material.

11: *On eating and touching animals.*—The reasons for the analysis given above lie mainly on the surface. A section $^{2-8}$ on land animals which are clean or unclean is followed by $^{9-23}$ which are in subject a sequel, dealing with water animals, birds, and winged creeping things, but which no longer discriminate animals as *unclean* (cf. Dt 14^{3-20}), but as *an abomination* (שֶׁקֶץ, not תּוֹעֵבָה, as Dt 14^3). These verses, again, are continued in $^{41f.}$ on *creeping things upon the earth* which are *an abomination*; while $^{43-44a}$, which uses the same word as a verb, forms the obvious conclusion of the series. Into this series $^{24-40}$ has been thrust, dealing with the different subject of uncleanness through contact. It is doubtful whether this last passage is included in the colophon $^{46f.}$

Dt 14^{3-20} *compared with* 11. Though interpreters differ, the facts, when taken all together, favour the priority of Dt over Lv. (1) The clean animals' names, given Dt $14^{4f.}$, are omitted in Lv as covered by general law in $^{6f.}$; while names of birds, etc., are retained of necessity. (2) The cases of camel, hare, and coney are expanded in Lv 11^{4-6}. (3) Lv 11^{9-12} is an expansion of Dt $14^{9f.}$ (4) The new term *abomination* is used in Lv. (5) In its present form at least Lv 11 in $^{24-40}$ covers the question of contact, which Dt would hardly have omitted had it been contained in the ordinance quoted. (6) Dt omits mention of *creeping things upon the earth*, Lv $11^{41f.}$ (7) The exceptions in $11^{21f.}$ are wanting in Dt. (8) The prohibition which is absolute in Dt 14^{21a} is relaxed in Lv 11^{39}; cf. 17^{15}.

It is hard to say why the *abomination* series of verses should begin where it does, seeing that the terminology in Dt is uniform over the whole range of cases. Perhaps the compiler had before him two variants of the ordinance quoted in Dt, and found one fuller than the other in dealing with the later cases. The signs of reduplication in $^{9-12}$ confirm this conjecture, by revealing the presence of a 'join' of the two legal threads.

11^{24-40}. This section is distinct from $^{1-23}$, for (1) it deals mainly with touching (eating ^{40a} only), while $^{1-23}$ deals mainly with eating (touching ^{8} and perhaps ^{11}); (2) it enumerates only the *unclean*, and mentions only two classes instead of five; (3) it prescribes means of cleansing; (4) it is doubtful if it is included in the colophon. But $^{24-40}$ is hardly to be reckoned homogeneous. $^{32-38}$ is probably secondary on its own account, for the transition is very abrupt from cases of animals that make persons unclean to cases of things that any of those animals may make unclean. But if $^{39f.}$ originally belonged to $^{24-40}$, then $^{32-38}$ is clearly an addition. $^{39f.}$, however, looks more like a completion of $^{2-8}$, perhaps misplaced by intrusion of the *abomination* passages. $^{24-31}$, on the other hand, at no point presupposes $^{2-23}$, but is complete in itself.

12: *On purification after childbirth.*—This short chapter, whose chief interest lies in the fulfilment of its conditions at the presentation of Christ in the temple, seems in ^{2b} to refer to and depend upon 15, and presents the same features.

The only trace of the *camp* form of legislation characteristic of P^g is found in ^{6b}. V.^{8} is marked as a supplement; for (1) it comes after the colophon ^{7b}, and (2) elsewhere (5^7 14^{21}, cf. 1^{14}) the provision for cases of poverty is seen to be a later addition.

13 f.: *On leprosy.*—The laws in this section present a very complex problem to the student. Dt 24^8 gives no details such as are found about clean and unclean in 14^{3-20}, but refers for the procedure in a case of leprosy to the torah of the priests, presumably oral. The extreme elaboration of treatment detailed in 13 f. may perhaps indicate that the usage was not committed to writing till a late period; but, apart from introductory phrases and an occasional gloss, there are no signs of the

influence of P^g in the sections assigned to P^t. But these relatively older portions are not homogeneous. For while 13 is entirely occupied with the detection and discrimination of leprosy and the regulation of the leper's life, and 14 provides for the cleansing of the recovered leper, each is independent of and distinct from the other. Each, too, contains earlier and later elements, which may be readily separated as in the *analysis* above.

The colophon 14^{54-57} will furnish a good starting-point in indicating the nature of the argument. Originally, it probably consisted only of ^{57b}: *this is the law of leprosy*, in accordance with the usage elsewhere (fifteen times *this is the law of . . .* in P^t), and came after 13^{46}, for even in its expanded form there is no reference to *cleansing*, and 13^{47-59} has its own colophon. Then the reference was made more explicit: *this is the law for* (unique phrase) *all manner of plague of leprosy, and for a scall* ^{54} (referring to 13^{2-28} and $^{29-44}$), *to teach when it is unclean and when it is clean* ^{57a}. The addition of 13^{47-59}, though it has its own colophon, produced the clause *and for the leprosy of a garment* ^{55a}, and similarly there followed (for the Heb. construction is different) *and for an house* ^{55b}, to refer to 14^{33-53}, which was kindred to 13^{47-59}; while ^{56}, which clearly was a gloss to make pointed allusion to 13^{2-28}, providing *for a rising and for a scab and for a bright spot*, has been inserted wrongly, instead of before *and for a scall*.

In 13^{6} etc. *the priest*, after examining a man with a favourable result, *shall pronounce him clean . . . and he shall wash his clothes and be clean*. But in 14, *if the plague be healed*, many ceremonies must be performed before the priest *shall pronounce him clean* ^{7}, and then he has not only to *wash his clothes*, but to *shave off all his hair, and bathe himself* before *he shall be clean* ^{8a}. Yet both the archaic colouring and the alternate vagueness and precision of the ritual directions in 14^{2-8} proclaim that this passage is comparatively early. Was the author of 13 ignorant of this ceremonial, or did he think it superstitious or unintelligible?—14^{9-20} seems to be a description of an independent form of cleansing after the pattern of the latest sacrificial law (perhaps introduced to supersede the old form, or because it was becoming obsolete), which the compiler has combined with 14^{2-8a} by the link ^{8b}. For originally a second shaving ^{9a} could hardly have been required. Moreover, although the present arrangement is meant to suggest that the first cleansing only admitted to the camp, there is no higher grade of sanctity conferred in ^{20}, only *he shall be clean* as before. The clause ^{3a} which leads up to this view contradicts ^{2b}.—14^{21-32} is a supplement, as it has a separate colophon (cf. 12^{8}).—14^{33-52} is a fresh supplement independent of 13^{47-59}, for it combines the mode of cleansing in 14^{2-8} and $^{9-20}$, and has other marks of later origin.

15: *On secretions.*—This chapter by its tedious repetitions suggests a later date than most of P^t. But only twice does a clause recall P^g, *i.e.* in ^{14} and ^{29} *unto the door of the tent of meeting*, and this is a frequent gloss. The sacrificial ritual enjoined does not go beyond the prescriptions of 5, and is omitted in the case of normal secretions. The case of 12 is similar.

In 15^{31a} we catch an echo of P^h; and ^{31b} (RVm: *when they defile my dwelling that is in the midst of them*), which most naturally refers to the gracious inhabitation of the land by its Divine Lord, recalls a time when the visible structure had not been elevated to the place it occupies in P^g, monopolizing the term *dwelling*.

16 (Appendix): **On the Day of Atonement.**—This is not the place to discuss the historical origins of the great Jewish fast. See art. ATONEMENT (DAY OF). It must suffice to support briefly the analysis given above, which takes a middle course between the conservative view that 16 is an early homogeneous whole, and the radical view that no part of it is even as early as P^g. (1) It is possible to disentangle a main thread of ordinance providing for the cleansing of *the holy place, and the tent of meeting, and the altar*, and for a solemn atonement for the sins of the people. This bears the marks of P^g. (2) From this there falls apart a series of verses (see above) providing for a special atonement for Aaron and his sons, which is connected in ^{1} with the death of Nadab and Abihu, but which does not fit in with the context. (3) $^{32f.}$ orders the ceremonial to be repeated by each subsequent high priest. (4) $^{29-31}$ and ^{34a} make it an annual fast day.

(1) The main thread is given to P^g, because it contains nothing inconsistent with the ritual in Ex 29 or Lv 9, and because *the altar* $^{12. 18. 20. 25}$ is used as if only one were known, while the use of *a censer* in $^{12f.}$ seems to exclude the presence of an altar of incense. (2) The atonement for Aaron, being omitted in the summaries in ^{14} and ^{20}, can hardly be original, and the awkwardness of ^{3} and ^{6} justifies their excision as supplements. The sevenfold sprinkling and the heightening of the high priest's dignity are both peculiar to P^s. (3) The absence of any *Aaron* phrases, the substitution of *holy sanctuary* ^{33} for *holy place* $^{16f. 20}$, and of *the priests* ^{33} for *himself and his house* $^{11. 17b}$, and the generality of the terms, confirm the view that $^{33f.}$ is a later addition. (4) Again, if $^{29-31. 34a}$ were original, mention would not be made only of one element, the *atonement for the children of Israel*, while the cleansing of the holy place, the tent of meeting, and the altar, is passed over. ^{34a} would fit better before ^{31}.

§ 4. 17–27: The Law of Holiness.

With Appendix on Vows, etc.

A. Analytical Summary.

P^h		P^g	P^s	
(1)	(2)			
17^{1-7r}				Rule of SACRIFICE.
	$17^{8f.}$			A parallel ordinance.
	10-16			Prohibition to eat blood, or dead carcase.
18^{1-20} 22-30				On SEX RELATIONS.
+21				On Molech-worship.
19^{1-37}				VARIOUS LAWS, on justice, equity, kindness, pure worship, etc.
	20^{1-8}			On Molech-worship.
	+9			On reverence for parents.
	10-24a			On SEX RELATIONS.
20^{24b-26}				On CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.
+27				Against witchcraft.
21^{1-9}				On the PRIESTHOOD: sanctity of priests.
10-15				. . the high priest.
16-24				. . . disqualifying blemishes.
22^{1-9}				. . . rules of clean and unclean.
10-16				. . their food holy.
17-20				On SACRIFICES without blemish: burnt-offering.
	22^{21-25}			. . . peace-offerings.
22^{26-33}				. . . when they are acceptable.
		23^{1-2a}.		A SACRED CALENDAR: introduction.
			23^{2b-3}	. . The Sabbath.
		23^{4-8}		. . Passover and unleav. bread.
$23^{9-11. 12-}$ 13.′14				. . The wave sheaf.
15-18a.18b- 19a′19b-20				. . The Feast of Weeks.
		23^{21}		. . Feast of Weeks.
23^{22}				. . On gleaning.
		23^{23-25}		. . Feast of Trumpets.
			23^{26-32}	. . Day of Atonement.
		$23^{33-38. 44}$		. . Feast of Booths, and conclusion.
23^{39-43r}				. . Feast of Booths.
		24^{1-4}		OIL for, and lighting of, the lamps.
		5-9		Regulations for the SHEWBREAD.
			$24^{10-14. 23}$	Stoning of a BLASPHEMER.
24^{15-22}				Stoning for blasphemy; *lex talionis*, etc. etc.
25^{1-7}				The SABBATICAL YEAR.
8-18 mainly				The year of liberty in 50th year.
			$25^{8b. 9b.}$ 10b. 11a. 12a. 13	The year of JUBILE.
19-22				The sabbatical year (continued).
			25^{23}	Land inalienable.
24-27. 28r				Provision for REDEMPTION OF LAND.
			25^{29-31}	Rule as to HOUSE property.
			+32-34	Houses of Levites inalienable.
$25^{35-40a.}$ 43				Usury, and hired SERVICE.
			25^{40b-42}	Termination of service.
44-46r				Bond servants foreigners only.
47-49. 53. 55b				Service with strangers, with redemption.

P^h		P^g	P^s	
(1)	(2)			
			$25^{50-52.}$ $^{54-55a}$	Redemption of Heb. slave.
$26^{1f.}$				Commands as to worship.
$^{3-45}$				CONCLUDING EXHORTATION.
^{46}				COLOPHON to the Law of Holiness.
			27^{1-25}	On Vows : persons, cattle, houses, fields.
			$+^{26-29}$	Firstlings and devoted things excepted.
			$^{30-33'}$	Appendix on tithes.
			^{34}	Colophon to Leviticus.

B. Critical Notes.

For a general account of the Law of Holiness, and of the criteria which distinguish it from the rest of P, see art. HEXATEUCH. Careful lists of peculiar words and phrases are given in Driver, *LOT*; Holzinger, *Einl. in d. Hex.*; and *Oxf. Anal. Hex.* Here we have to do only with the actual use of the criteria in the analysis, and with the internal structure of P^h itself. Any general remarks under the latter head will be found under § 5. It will be enough to point out in advance that traces of more than one series of parallel laws will be found in the present code.

17^{1-7r} : *The place of sacrifice.*—As it stands, this passage requires that no animal shall be slaughtered except as a sacrifice, and at the door of the tent of meeting. In any case this conflicts with Dt 12, which allows slaughtering at home. But the clauses referring to *the camp* and *the* (*door of the*) *tent of meeting* can be excised without loss, as in many other cases where they ill suit the context. When they are removed, the injunction remains that all slaughtering is to take place at *the altar of J''*, which is only reasonable, on the one hand, if many altars are allowable, as is recognized in E's Covenant Book, Gn 20^{24}, and in the pre-Deuteronomic narratives; or, on the other hand, if a small company of exiles are gathered round the restored temple in Jerusalem after the Exile. The latter alternative is upheld by Baentsch, Addis, etc. The former is maintained by Kittel, Baudissin, W. R. Smith, and Driver.—$17^{8f.}$ is to the same effect, only including *strangers.*—In 17^{10-16} the work of the later editor may be suspected, but cannot be pointed out with precision.

18^{6-19}: *On sex relations.*—This section has a close parallel in 20^{10-21}, but it is not agreed how the two are connected. The latter passage is composed of various elements, not all on the same subject. Its ordinances are in the form of Cases, or *Judgments*, *the man that . . .* , or *if a man . . .* , whereas in 18 we have the older type of *Words*, *Thou shalt not. . . .* Only in 20 are penalties stated. Probably we have in 18, nearly intact, the series which, in an altered form, with *Judgments* instead of *Words*, and with penalties attached, underlies 20^{10-21}, where it is combined with other quoted laws.

19 : *Miscellaneous.*—The contents of this chapter are clearly selected from various sources, many of them early, as is shown by the numerous parallels with the most ancient codes (for refs. see *Oxf. Anal. Hex.*). They illustrate both the diversity of form in which ordinances were cast, and the fondness of Hebrew jurists for sets of 5 or 10. An outline of the 14 sections will show this.

$^{2b-4}$ has 5 *commandments* of the type, *ye shall* (*not*) . . .—$^{5-8}$ is a cultus-section like 21-22 below.—$^{9f.}$ has 5 *words* about gleaning.—$^{11f.}$ has 4 *commandments* and 1 *word*, 5 in all, about honesty and reverence.—$^{13f.}$ has 5 *words*, not quite uniform, on kindness.—$^{15f.}$ has 5 *words*, preceded by a *commandment*, on justice.—$^{17f.}$ has 5 *words* on kindness, clinched by the grand positive *word*, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.*—^{19} has a general *commandment*, and 3 *words* on mixtures, the last altered.—^{20} is a *Judgment* on seduction, with a supplement by P^s $^{21f.}$.—$^{23-25}$ is an ordinance on young fruit trees, like the law on the Sabbath year in $25^{2b-7 \text{ etc.}}$.—$^{26-31}$ has 10 *commandments* against superstition and irreverence, the last 2 in ^{31} being altered, and with supplements using 2nd person sing. in $^{27b. 29}$.—^{32} has 3 *words* on reverence.—$^{33f.}$ contains laws of 3 types on *strangers.*—$^{35-37}$ contains 2 *commandments* on weights and measures, and a general conclusion.

The next chapter, 20, is remarkable for the fact that 4 of its 5 sections have a parallel in P^h elsewhere. Thus $^{1-8}$ ‖ 18^{21}, $^{10-24a}$ ‖ $18^{6-20. 22-30}$, $^{24b-26}$ ‖ 11^{43-47}, ^{27} ‖ 19^{31}. For $^{10-24a}$ see on 18^{6-19}.

21-22 : *On the priesthood and sacrifices.*—These chapters, while presenting many of the features of P^h, have undergone more revision, it would appear, than 18-20, perhaps because their subject was one which occupied more of the attention of later legislators. Differences of form, changes from 3rd to 2nd pers., and the introduction of fresh superscriptions $11^{1. 16}$ $22^{1. 17. 26}$, all point to diversity of source.

21^8, with its *thou shalt*, referring to Israel, may be a fragment from an earlier source.—22^{17-25} appears to be made up of two ordinances, $^{18b-20}$ and $^{21-25}$, with many parallels in detail. Both this section and $22^{29f.}$ have been ascribed to P^t, not P^h, but without sufficient reason. The marks of P^h are not absent, and there is enough difference in the ordinances from those on the same subjects elsewhere (7^{11-18}) to suggest that an earlier stage is reflected here.

23 : *A sacred calendar.*—In this chapter there is prescribed a series of 'holy convocations,' in language largely made up of phrases characteristic of P^g and P^s, with exact dates by numbered days and months. This is ascribed to P^g. But with it is combined another series of holy days, which does not mention 'holy convocations' or use the peculiar phrases of P^g and P^s (except in isolated sentences distinguishable as interpolated), but bears indications of P^h and is marked by a picturesque style. Each of these series has been interpolated or revised.

23^{2b-3} on the Sabbath can hardly be original, for ^{4} is clearly the commencement, and ^{4} also hardly includes the Sabbath under its terms.—$^{9-14}$ has been expanded. The original elements from P^h are clearly seen in $^{10b-11. 14a}$. Here a feast of firstfruits is described which is not referred to elsewhere. *The morrow after the Sabbath*, $^{11. 15f.}$, requires explanation by some context now missing. But probably it is rightly connected with *Unleavened Bread.*—$^{15-21}$ relates to Pentecost, or Feast of Weeks. ^{21} only is preserved from P^g, but in $^{18f.}$ particulars have been incorrectly added from Nu 28^{27-29}. P^h had *ye shall present with the bread two he-lambs of the first year for a sacrifice of peace-offerings.*—^{22} is repeated from $19^{9f.}$.—$^{23-25}$ institutes the Feast of New Year's Day, with trumpet blasts.—$^{26-32}$ is marked P^s, because on 16 we found that the Day of Atonement as a yearly fast was not original in P^g. ^{28} is a briefer title than $^{1f. 23f. 33f.}$.—$^{33-36}$ contains P^g's ordinance as to the Feast of Booths complete, and $^{37f. 44}$ his conclusion of the calendar. But in $^{39-43}$ the editor has introduced from P^h a graphic account of the manner in which it is to be kept. The stress in this is on the mode of keeping the feast, as above in $^{9-20}$, and the date is left indefinite, *when ye have gathered in the fruits of the land*, ^{39a} being a harmonizing addition by the editor, in accordance with later practice. Similarly ^{39c}, which uses the phraseology of P^g, and mentions an 8th day, is foreign to the context, which like Dt 16^{13-15} only knows 7 days for the feast.

24 : *On oil for the lamps* $^{1-4}$, *shewbread* $^{5-9}$, *and blasphemy* $^{10-23}$. $^{1-4}$ is parallel with Ex $27^{20f.}$ and Nu 8^{1-4}, and it is not easy to determine the order of priority. On the whole, the present passage seems most original. Both it and $^{5-9}$ are regarded as fragments of P^g, put here possibly to replace similar ordinances of P^h, even as in 23 a like process has gone on. In each case the phraseology is purely that of P^g.—$^{10-23}$ is a curious paragraph, in which a central core $^{15b-22}$, containing various ordinances on blasphemy $^{15f.}$, murder $^{17. 21b}$, assault $^{19f.}$, killing a beast $^{18. 21a}$, is found surrounded by a narrative envelope, which resembles others found in P^s, while the phraseology supports this ascription. The laws are given to P^h, as they contain

several words and phrases characteristic of that code, and follow the same models. Contrast also ^{11a} and ^{16ab}.

25: *On the Sabbatical and Jubile years.*—$^{2b-7}$ with $^{19-22}$ institutes the Sabbatical year as a general fallow-year for the whole land. The particulars harmonize with the feast regulations of P^{h}, and the phraseology is also that of P^{h}. Its ascription to that code is therefore generally allowed. But it is different with regard to the rest of the chapter, where undoubted marks of P^{g} or P^{s} are found side by side with words and phrases (Baentsch notes 14 such) characteristic of P^{h}. These phenomena point to the intermixture of elements, but how to effect a separation is matter of conjecture. The *Analysis* above adopts the view that the term *jubile* and the clauses or passages in which it occurs are P^{s}. This is thought probable, because—(1) Lv 26, which lays stress on the Sabbath years, does not allude to the jubile; (2) most of these clauses and verses bear other marks of late origin; and (3) general considerations (see art. SABBATICAL AND JUBILE YEARS) support the same conclusion. The linguistic evidence, however, leads to the inference that the main ideas of the institution of the 50th year as a year of release were expressed in legal form by the school of P^{h} and have survived in a modified shape in this chapter.

$^{8-18}$ is full of redundancies, and when the clauses given to P^{s} are removed, the remainder is almost complete as an intelligible whole. ^{9b} mentioning the *day of atonement* as an annual fast must be late, and it is conjectured from Ezk 40^{1} that the 10th day of the 7th month was the old New Year's Day. Thus in the original source the incongruity of the trumpet blasts on the solemn fast day is not found, but has been inserted as an interpretation of ^{9a}. ^{14} shows in Heb. a confusion of sing. and plur. persons, and its last clause seems to be altered to lead up to ^{15}, itself modified by P^{s}, while something which introduced ^{14} is now missing. That $^{8-18}$ breaks the connexion between ^{7} and ^{19} is another proof that it has been the subject of editorial handling.—^{23} is given to P^{s} for linguistic reasons, cf. ^{30}, and from analogy with ^{41}, a jubile piece. It contains, moreover, the final stage of principle, explicitly stated instead of merely implied.—^{24} states the rule of which ^{25} is a particular case. Like ^{23}, however, it may be P^{s}, as the plural is less common in P^{h}.—In $^{26-31}$ the jubile references are so embedded in the material that no analysis is feasible, though an earlier basis is possible. Contrast *and if a man* $^{26. 29}$ with $^{25. 35}$.—$^{29-31}$ providing for city property has the air of later legal refinement.—$^{32-34}$ is the latest addition of all, with its provision for Levites who have not yet been mentioned themselves, much less their cities; cf. Nu 35$^{1-8}$.—For further particulars about this difficult chapter, see the art. referred to above.

26: *Concluding exhortation.*—$^{1-3}$ contains brief laws forbidding false worship and commanding the true.—In $^{3-45}$ is found a long discourse, similar to those found at the end of other codes, Ex 23$^{20ff.}$ E, and Dt 24 D. Already hortatory fragments have appeared in 18$^{2-5. 24-30}$ 19$^{36f.}$ 20$^{22-26}$ 22$^{31-33}$. In all a common phraseology is used, identical expressions frequently occur, the same stress is laid upon the supreme deity of J″, the need for holiness, and the danger of contamination by the Canaanites. There can be no doubt that the last and longest marks the completion of the code known as the Law of Holiness. (See, further, below under § 5).

27: *On vows and tithes.*—$^{1-25}$ deals with the subject of vows, and employs the fully developed terminology of P^{g} and P^{s}. It is assigned above to the latter, because in $^{17-24}$ the year of jubile is so prominent an element.—$^{26-29}$ contains certain supplemental provisions.—$^{30-33}$ is an appendix on tithes which must be pronounced of very late composition. Even in Nu 18$^{21-32}$ tithes seem to be, in accordance with the prescriptions of D, restricted to vegetable produce.

§ 5. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE.—As we have seen, the Book of Leviticus turns out to be made up of many pieces, so distinct from one another in style and contents and tone that they can only be assigned with probability to many writers, none of whom can be identified with Moses. Though, however, we cannot arrive at names of authors, we may approximately reckon up the number of distinct writers whose hands betray themselves in the striking example of well designed literary product, which we call the Book of Leviticus.

a. We begin with that portion of the book which all will admit is the oldest, *i.e.* the Law of Holiness in 17–26.

(1) The *structure* of this section is analogous to that of two other important Hebrew codes, viz. E's combined Words of the Covenant and Judgments in Ex 20^{22}–23, and the Deuteronomic Code in Dt 12–28. In all three cases we have a collection of somewhat miscellaneous enactments, introduced by a law as to sacrifice and the place of worship, and closed by a prophetic discourse. In Lv 26^{46} there is in addition a colophon explicitly marking the termination of a body of Sinaitic legislation.

(2) The *style* and *language* prevailing in these chapters distinguish them from the rest of P. The peculiarities are best seen in 18–20 and in 26. But, after gaining an impression of them there, it is impossible to examine closely 17 or 21–22 or 23–25 without recognizing the presence of the same characteristics. It is true that passages are encountered without these signs, and others in which the phenomena are mixed. But these are sufficiently explained by supposing that the compiler who incorporated P^{h} in P revised and supplemented his original, as was universally the custom with ancient editors. It agrees with this that the portions which have thus received alteration are those which deal with ritual and the priesthood. Considering the shortness of the whole, it is wonderful how many words and phrases are peculiar to it among the Pentateuchal documents. (See the lists already referred to, p. 106^{a}, § 4 *B* line 3). In the legislation the style is far more concise and direct, and far less technical, than in the rest of P, while the rhetorical mould in which the discourse in 26 is cast has left its impress upon a number of shorter hortatory passages recurring amidst the legislation in a manner equally foreign to P as a whole. But the most marked effect of style is produced by the reiteration of phrases expressing the leading ideas of the collection.

(3) These *leading ideas* are few but great, and they dominate every chapter. i. There is a unique sense of the majesty and presence of God, expressed by the constant recurrence of the 'Divine I' in the phrases *I am J″*, etc. If the more diffusely rhetorical style of Dt is like the varied harmonies of organ music, in the Law of Holiness we rather hear the solemn strokes of a great church bell, proclaiming the dwelling of the Most High God amongst men, and calling them to worship and obey. ii. This effect is enhanced by the isolation of one attribute, the *holiness* of God, which carries with it as a corollary the holiness of His people. iii. The negative to these positives is supplied by the awful peril of profanation from the peoples of the land, with their heathen orgies and abominable customs.—No other section of the Pent. shows the explicit combination of the same elements.

(4) The nature of the *contents* makes for the same conclusion. The entire legislative material of the Pent. may be grouped under the following heads:—1. The Family, 2. Persons and Animals, 3. Property, 4. Judgment and Rule, 5. Idolatry and Superstition, 6. Clean and Unclean, 7. Sacrifice, 8–11. Sacred Dues, Seasons, Places, and Persons. The last six classes thus relate to ceremonial and ritual, the first five to religion and morals generally in social life. Now, while E and D are rela-

tively most copious on these five heads, P^h is practically the only part of the large mass of P which deals with these matters at all, except the law of jubile (certain temporary regulations in Nu are not reckoned). 60 per cent. of the ordinances of P^h belong to these five classes and have no parallel in the rest of P, but, with one doubtful exception, may all be matched from E or D. Only 40 per cent. come under heads where parallels with the rest of P are numerous.

(5) The resemblances with *Ezekiel* have long attracted attention. They are indeed so striking as to have led many critics to argue that the prophet was the author of the code. The similar relation between Dt and Jeremiah was indeed often interpreted in the same way. But if in each case it has been found impossible to sustain the hypothesis of identity of authorship, in each case also it has been demonstrated that a close connexion subsisted between the two. And if it cannot be a mere coincidence that Jeremiah is the first writer to betray indebtedness to Dt, so it is natural to conclude that, if P^h had been long in existence as a literary whole, it would not have been left to Ezekiel to show traces of its peculiar phrases and ideas. Some of the most striking of these parallels may now be enumerated for the examination of the student.

Parallels between Lv 17–26 *and Ezekiel.**

1. *The Laws.*

Lv	Ezk
$17^{3.\,8.\,10}$	$14^{4.\,7}$
17^{10}	14^{8}
17^{13}	24^{7}
17^{16}	14^{10} $44^{10.\,12}$
18^{19} $20^{10.\,11.\,12.\,17}$	$22^{10.\,11}$
19^{13}	$18^{7.\,12.\,16}$
19^{15}	18^{8} 33^{15}
19^{26}	33^{25}
19^{36}	45^{10}
20^{9}	22^{7}
21^{1b-3}	44^{25}
21^{5}	44^{20}
21^{14}	44^{22}
22^{8}	44^{31}
22^{15}	22^{26}
25^{18}	28^{26}, cf. $34^{25.\,28}$ $38^{8.\,11.\,14}$ $39^{6.\,26}$
$25^{36f.}$	18^{8}, cf. 13. 17 22^{12}
25^{43}	34^{4}

2. *The Hortatory Passages.*

Lv	Ezk
18^{2b}	$20^{5.\,7.\,19}$, cf. 20 28^{26} $30^{22.\,23}$ (not in Is or Jer)
18^{3}	20^{7}
$18^{3f.\,5.\,26}$ 19^{37} 26^{3}	20^{18-21}, cf. 5^{6} $11^{12.\,20}$ $18^{9.\,17}$ $20^{11.\,13}$ 36^{27}
$18^{24.\,30}$ $20^{22f.}$	$20^{7.\,18}$
$18^{25.\,28}$	36^{17}, cf. 18
18^{26}, cf. 27. 29	8^{6}, cf. 9. 13. 17 9^{4} $18^{13.\,24}$
20^{24} Heb.	35^{10}
20^{25}, cf. 11^{47}	22^{26} 42^{20} 8^{10}
$26^{4.\,5}$	$34^{25.\,28}$ 14^{17}
26^{9} Heb.	$36^{9.\,10}$ 16^{62}
$26^{11.\,12}$	$37^{26.\,27}$ $43^{7.\,9}$
26^{12b}	37^{27} 36^{28} 11^{20} 37^{23}, cf. 14^{11} $34^{24.\,30}$
26^{13}, cf. 19^{36} etc.	$20^{5b.\,6}$ 34^{27} etc.

(6) From the above (taken in connexion with the previous critical notes) certain inferences may be drawn: i. There is a substantial unity in Lv 17–26, but it is the unity of a school and not of an individual. ii. It is difficult to say whether the compiler of the code and author of the closing discourse was before or after Ezk, but on the whole it is more probable that he was later, towards the end of the Exile. iii. But no part of the legislation (occasional glosses excepted) need be later than Ezk. iv. The prophet appeals to and rests upon the collections of laws which underlie the present text. v. In their form (cf. their frequent grouping in 10's and 5's) and in their substance (cf. the Anglo-Saxon *Penitentials*, framed also for a rude age) these laws may well be very ancient. Their antiquity is indeed better established than any theory of their origin. An attractive and plausible conjecture, however, is that they represent J's missing legislation. The sympathy of J with the priesthood is repeatedly shown.

b. Enough has been said above under § **1** *B* and § **3** *B* to justify the inference that there was a second school of priestly canonists (P^t), who set themselves to reduce to writing the current religious praxis of the Jerusalem Temple, all of which was apparently accepted as Mosaic. It may be considered doubtful whether their work had been carried very far, even if it was begun, before the destruction of the Temple rendered it necessary, if the whole tradition was not to be lost. 1–3 and 6^{8}–7 probably represent two collectors, and 11–15 one or more.

c. It may very well have been one of this school who developed its presuppositions yet further, and carried them out more vigorously, embodying them in the great book of History and Law called P^g, of which but little is included in Lv. In it all takes place in and for the camp, and centres round the Tabernacle and its single altar, Aaron the one anointed priest forming with his sons the exclusive priesthood, and the sons of Levi the ministering tribe. The most natural *date* is after the Restoration, as no trace of this system is found till the arrival of Ezra.

d. Last came a long line of scribes (P^s), combining, revising, expanding, and supplementing, until the Pentateuch reached its present form.

§ **6.** HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF LEVITICUS.

a. As thus resolved into its component parts, arranged in chronological order, though not all furnished with definite dates, the book becomes a great witness to the Christian doctrine of evolution. As, under the inspiration and prompting of the Spirit of God, the laws for conduct and worship were shaped and modified, their form largely dependent on historical circumstances, so we who have had committed to us the revelation of absolute truth in Christ may expect to have amongst us a presence of the Spirit adequate to enable us to apply that truth for each age till the end comes.

b. Lv is the literary monument of the Hebrew priesthood. Overshadowed in the earlier history by kings and prophets, represented in the pages of written prophecy by the degenerate members of the order, it is in Lv and Ezk that we see how the priests trained Israel to associate a high standard of morality with a stately form of worship, which, though freely using material means, was, in its essence, and still more as compared with contemporary forms of religion, severely spiritual and rich in symbolical significance.

c. The earlier collections in the one case (P^h) carry us back to the earlier years of the monarchy, and in the other (P^t) preserve probably with accuracy the procedure at the Temple during the period after Josiah's reformation, and no doubt partially reflect the praxis of previous centuries, for the continuity of custom and persistency of ritual where no historical revolution has taken place must be remembered.

d. As a whole, Lv is the mirror of the Second Temple and its system. Whenever it or its several parts were written, it is on all hands admitted that its provisions were never fully executed till the time of Ezra.

§ **7.** RELIGIOUS VALUE OF LEVITICUS.

a. We still need, side by side with the prophetic, the priestly view of religion. (See § **6 b**). For all J″ was Israel's God, but for the one His Righteousness, and for the other His Holiness was the dominant attribute. (The earlier prophetic term 'Holy One of Israel' hardly belongs to the same circle of ideas as Lv.)

b. Amid the labyrinth of connected but frequently conflicting ordinances the watchwords of the *Law of Holiness* enable us to thread the maze securely. There are differences in the way by which it is sought to realize the ideal: the ideal is but one, the Holy God amid a Holy People in a Holy Land.

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* These instances are all taken from the forthcoming *Oxf. Anal. Hex.*, where they will be printed in full in the Introduction, which deals fully with the whole question.

c. The *Law of Sacrifice* reminds us of our human need for something visible and outward in our worship, while its particulars happily illustrate, even if they do not teach, the various parts of Christian devotion. Sacrifices are elements in the visible fabric of religion by which the spiritual service of the Holy God was given a protective shell for its growth: eternal moments in the life energy of the worshipping spirit, visualized in temporary form: signposts pointing to the Perfect Sacrifice: earnests of that Sacrament which replaces sacrifice proper by commemoration and communion.

d. The *Law of the Consecration of the Priesthood*, with the multitude of ordinances on the duties and holiness of the priests, must ever remain solemn reading for all those who believe themselves to have been *made priests* unto their God, and especially for them on whom the great High Priest has laid the awful burden of ministering as His commissioned representatives.

e. Lastly, the *Law of Clean and Unclean* enforces one great lesson alike of the Incarnation itself and of the life of the Incarnate, that the body matters intensely. Health helps not happiness only, but holiness. Cleanliness and godliness have their real and close relations. The study of hygiene, the promotion of public health by helping to make or enforce good sanitary laws and bye-laws, the provision of baths and wash-houses or of a water supply, simple living, good housewifery, the stamping out of infectious diseases, the treatment of the poor and sick,—if Lv only furnished texts for the commendation of these things, could we say that its religious value was insignificant?

LITERATURE.—(See art. HEXATEUCH). Kalisch's *Comm.* is the best in Eng.; cf. also Driver and White in *Polychrome Bible* (brief comments); Kellogg in *Expos. Bible* (for application); *Hexapla in Leviticum*, 1631 (older views fully given); see also arts. PRIESTS AND LEVITES, SACRIFICE, TYPE, UNCLEANNESS.

G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY.

LEWD, LEWDNESS.—The Anglo-Saxon *laéwed* (or *geléwed*) was the past ptcp. of *laéwan*, to enfeeble; in middle Eng. it appeared as *lewed*, which was afterwards contracted to *lewd*. Thus the earliest meaning is 'enfeebled,' 'useless,' as in *Piers Plowman*, ii. 186—

> 'Chastite with-oute charite worth cheynid in helle;
> Hit is as lewede as a lampe that no lyght ys ynne.'

Next we find the meaning of 'ignorant,' which was the usual sense of the word down to Shakespeare. Thus Chaucer, (?) *Romaunt*, Frag. C. l. 6217—

> 'Lered or lewd, lord or lady';

Spenser, *Shepheards Calendar*, ii. 10—

> 'Lewdly complainest thou, laesie ladde,
> Of winters wracke for making thee sadde';

and Ascham, *Scholemaster*, p. 45: 'This lewde and learned, by common experience, know to be most trewe.' From this arose a special use of the word to designate the *laity*, who are the lewd inasmuch as they are the unlearned, and so are distinguished from the 'clergy' or 'clerks,' the learned.* Wyclif (1382) translates 1 S 21^{4} 'And answerynge the preest to David seith to hym, I haue not leeuyd loouys at hoond (1388, 'Y haue not lewid, *that is comyn*, looues at hoond'), but oonli hooli breed.' Again, in the Wycliffite tr. of 1388, Ac 4^{13} is rendered, 'And thei siyen the stidfastnesse of Petre and of Joon, for it was foundun that thei weren men unlettrid, and lewid men, and thei wondriden, and knowen hem that thei weren with Jhesu'; which in 1380 had been 'founden that thei weren men with oute lettris, and idiotis' (Gr. *ἰδιῶται* = private persons, 'laymen'; Vulg. idiotæ; Tind. 'laye people'; Cran. 'laye men'; Rhem. 'of the vulgar sort'). The two meanings of 'ignorant' and 'lay' are closely combined in Ascham, *Works*, (ed. 1815), p. 206, 'Hereby is plainly seen, how learning is robbed of the best wits; first, by the great beating, and after, the ill choosing of scholars to go to the universities: whereof cometh partly that lewd and spiteful proverb, sounding to the just hurt of learning, and shame of learned men, that the greatest clerks be not the wisest men'; and in Sir John Davies, *The Soul*, st. 13—

> 'Thus these great clerks their little wisedome shew,
> While with their doctrines they at hazard play;
> Tossing their light opinions to and fro,
> To mocke the lewde, as learnd in this as they.'

From this developed next the sense of 'wicked' by an easily understood transition. Sir John Davies, *Discoverie of the State of Ireland* (ed. 1613), p. 181, says the followers of the Irish chieftains 'were borne out and countenanced in all their lewde and wicked actions'; North (*Plutarch*, 'Cicero,' p. 862) has 'This Verres had been Praetor of Cicilia, and had committed many lewd parts there'; and this is the meaning in Milton, *PL* iv. 193—

> 'So clomb this first grand thief into God's fold:
> So since into his Church lewd hirelings climb.'

And then, finally, came the meaning of 'lustful,' the special wickedness to which the ignorant were prone, and the only meaning that has remained to the word. This is as old as Chaucer; cf. also Spenser, *FQ* II. i. 10—

> 'O would it so had chaunst,
> That you, most noble Sir, had present beene
> When that lewd ribauld, with vile lust advaunst,
> Laid first his filthy hands on virgin cleene';

Milton, *PL* i. 490—

> 'Belial came last, than whom a Spirit more lewd
> Fell not from Heaven, or more gross to love
> Vice for itself';

and *Comus*, 465—

> 'But, when lust,
> By unchaste looks, loose gestures, and foul talk,
> But most by lewd and lavish act of sin,
> Lets in defilement to the inward parts,
> The soul grows clotted by contagion.'

In AV *lewd*, *lewdly*, and *lewdness* are found in both the meanings last noted, and there is no sharp distinction between them. The special sense of 'lustful,' while usual in OT, does not occur in Apocr. or NT.

The Heb. words are (1) זִמָּה *zimmah*, which is tr^{d} 'lewdness' in Jg 20^{6} (Moore, 'abomination,' which is the Geneva word), Jer 13^{27}, Hos 6^{9} (Cheyne, 'outrages'), and often in Ezk (16$^{43.\,58}$ 22^{9} 23$^{21.\,27.\,29.\,35.\,48\,bis.\,49}$ 24^{13}: see Davidson on 16^{43}). This word has a range of meaning from the colourless 'plan' or 'purpose' (only Job 17^{11}) to the special sin of unchastity. Besides the above, it is rendered in AV 'purpose' (Job 17^{11}), 'thought' (Pr 24^{9}, so RV, but *OHL* 'evil device'), 'wicked device' (Is 32^{7}), 'wickedness' (Lv 18^{17} 19^{29} 20$^{14\,bis}$, RVm 'enormity'), 'mischief' (Ps 26^{10} 119^{150}, Pr 10^{23}, RV in last two 'wickedness'), 'heinous crime' (Job 31^{11}); in Ezk 16^{27} the Heb. 'way of lewdness' is tr^{d} 'lewd way,' so 'women of lewdness' in 23^{44} 'lewd women'; in Pr 21^{27} Heb. 'in lewdness' is 'with a wicked mind,' RVm 'to atone for wickedness'; and in Ezk 22^{11} it is 'lewdly.' (2) The derivative מְזִמָּה is once (Jer 11^{15}) rendered 'lewdness'; and (3) נַבְלוּת *nabhlûth*, in its only occurrence (Hos 2^{10}) is so translated, AVm 'folly or villany,' RVm 'shame.'

In Apocr. the adj. occurs in Ad. Est 16^{4} 'lifted up with the glorious words of lewd persons that were never good' (*τοῖς τῶν ἀπειραγαθῶν κόμποις παρελθόντες*, RV 'lifted up with the boastful words of them that were never good'); 16^{6} 'lewd disposition'

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* Trench and Skeat hold that the sense of 'lay' came first, and that 'ignorant' developed out of it, the laity being seen to be 'the ignorant party.' But the other order seems proved by the examples we have gathered.

(*κακοπιστία*); Sir 30^{13} 'lewd behaviour' (*ἀσχημοσύνη*, RV 'shameless behaviour'); and Sir 16^{heading} 'It is better to have none, than many lewd children'; the adv. in Wis 15^{8} 'employing his labours lewdly' (*κακόμοχθος*, RV 'labouring to an evil end'); and the subst. in To 4^{13} 'in lewdness is decay and great want' (*ἐν τῇ ἀχρειότητι*, RV 'in naughtiness'). In NT the adj. occurs but once, Ac 17^{5} 'certain lewd fellows of the baser sort' (*τῶν ἀγοραίων τινὰς ἄνδρας πονηρούς*, RV 'certain vile fellows of the rabble'); and the subst. once, Ac 18^{14} 'If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness' (*ῥᾳδιούργημα πονηρόν*, RV 'wicked villany').

J. HASTINGS.

LIBANUS (*Λίβανος*, *Libanus*).—The (Greek) form of the (Heb.) name LEBANON (wh. see), 1 Es 4^{48} 5^{55}, 2 Es 15^{20}, Jth 1^{7}, Sir 24^{13} 50^{12} [all].

LIBERTINES.—In Ac 6^{9} we read that 'there arose certain of them that were of the synagogue called (the synagogue) of the Libertines, and of the Cyrenians, and of the Alexandrians, and of them of Cilicia and Asia, disputing with Stephen.' In close relation to the question who the Libertines were, stands the question as to the number of synagogues here indicated. It has been held that only one synagogue is implied (Calvin, Wieseler; cf. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 50); that there were two synagogues—the one consisting of Libertines and Cyrenians and Alexandrians, the other of Cilicians and Asiatics (Winer, Holtzmann, Wendt); that each of the five parties had a separate synagogue (Schürer, Hausrath). The last view is supported by the fact that in Jerus. the synagogues—though they did not number 480, as affirmed in rabbinical traditions—were very numerous, and by the consideration that even if the inhabitants of all the places mentioned could have been accommodated in one synagogue—a supposition which the largeness of the Jewish population in Cyrene and Alexandria renders very improbable—there was no common bond to bring together men from towns or districts so widely separated.

If this view be sound, it helps to determine the question whether by the L. we are to understand the inhabitants of some town or the designation of a class. The association of the Libertines with the Cyrenians, etc., would naturally suggest the inhabitants of some town in Proconsular Africa, and conjectural emendations of the text (*Λιβυστίνων* (Wetstein, Blass) or *Λιβύων τῶν κατὰ Κυρήνην*) based on this assumption have been made (see Blass, *Philology of Gospels*, 69f.). It is argued by Gerdes ('de synagoga Libertinorum,' *Exercit. Acad.* 1738, who at the same time furnishes a complete statement and discussion of other views) that if Luke had meant *Libertini* in the Roman sense, he would have used a Gr., not a Lat. word; that Suidas mentions a town named *Libertum*; and that among those present at the Council of Carthage in 411 was Victor Episcopus *Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Libertinensis*, between whom and the rival Donatist bishop a sharp recrimination took place (Mansi, iv. 91, 92). But the statement of Suidas is probably derived from the passage in Ac; and, moreover, it is altogether improbable that the Jewish contingent from a town so obscure could have maintained a separate synagogue at Jerusalem. Moreover, the addition by Luke of *τῆς λεγομένης* seems intended to guard against the possibility of our misconceiving that the Libertines, like the others mentioned, were inhabitants of a place.

Setting aside the fantastic conjectures that the Libertines were a philosophical sect, or the adherents of the school of one Libertus, and the suggestion of Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb. et Talm.*) that they were Pal. Jews who had been enslaved and subsequently set free, we conclude that the Libertines were *freedmen in the Roman sense of the term.* They were mainly descendants of those Jews who had been taken as prisoners to Rome by Pompey in B.C. 63, and there sold as slaves. We learn from Philo (*Leg. ad Gaium*, c. 23, ii. 568 (Mang.)) that the majority of the Roman Jews belonged to the class of freedmen (cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 85; Suet. *Tib.* c. 36). Their enslaved condition lasted but a short time, and they soon became an important factor in the community. Whether they were manumitted by their masters because their value as slaves was greatly lessened by their tenacious adherence to their national customs (Hausrath), or because their fidelity as slaves suggested to their masters that as freemen they would be of still greater service (Berliner), or whether they were ransomed by their own countrymen (Grätz), we do not know; but the language of Philo seems to indicate that the first-mentioned cause was the most influential. The fear of the Jews expressed by Cicero (*pro Flacco*, c. 28) is no doubt rhetorical; but rhetorically it would have been pointless if the Jews had been a feeble folk (cf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 4. 143). By such of them as returned to settle in Jerus. or were temporarily resident there, a synagogue was built. According to Hausrath the building of a separate synagogue was a necessity, as from a theocratic point of view they were subject to certain disabilities. Among the inscriptions quoted by Schürer (*Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom*, p. 15) is one referring to a synagogue *τῶν Αὐγουστησίων*; and if, as is probable, this refers to freedmen or slaves in the house of Augustus, it seems to show that at Rome was reproduced the type of distinctions that existed in Jerusalem. Like the other Hel. Jews, the Libertines were keenly opposed to the new faith, and the very inferiority of their social and theocratic standing may have caused them to emphasize the distinctiveness of their religious position (cf. Gerdes, *op. cit.*; Schürer, *op. cit.*, *HJP* II. ii. 56 f., 276; Hausrath in Schenkel, *Bibel-Lexicon*; Meyer on Ac 6^{9}; *Expositor*, July, 1895, p. 35).

JOHN PATRICK.

LIBERTY.—The only passage in which this word needs verbal attention is 1 Mac 10^{43} 'And whosoever they be that flee unto the temple at Jerusalem, or be within the liberties thereof, being indebted unto the king, or for any other matter, let them be at liberty, and all that they have in my realm.' The 'liberties' of the temple are its precincts, the parts within which its inmates have liberty of action. The Gr. is *ὅρια*, borders, bounds. Scrivener gives this as one of the colloquialisms peculiar to the Apocr., which the AV translators accepted with slovenliness from the Bishops' Bible. It is also the tr. of Coverdale and the Geneva Bible. Wyclif's word is 'coasts' = boundaries, and so Douay, after Vulg. *fines*.

J. HASTINGS.

LIBERTY.—This idea forms one of the characteristic differences between OT and NT conceptions of religion. In OT the idea is almost entirely absent. 'The fear of the Lord' is the distinctive name for religion (Ps 34^{11} etc.), 'servant' is the distinctive title of the good (Ps 19^{11}, He 3^{5} etc.). God is thought of chiefly as the supreme, universal sovereign and ruler, Is 33^{22}. Obedience is the central virtue of religious character, to which all blessings are promised, 1 S 15^{22}. To illustrate this position fully, it would be necessary to quote a large part of the OT. We do not mean that there are no indications of more intimate relations between God and man. The freer, gentler side of religion is undoubtedly known. The law of love for God and man is promulgated. Many of the psalmists and prophets rise to lofty heights of divine joy and fellowship. But the ground-tone of OT piety is reverential fear. This order of development in revelation was fitting and indeed inevitable. The OT age was the age of childhood in revealed religion, and children are trained for independence by a course of obedience and subjection to authority (Gal $4^{1\mathrm{f.}}$). 'The law hath been our tutor to bring us unto Christ' (Gal 3^{24}). The patriarchal age certainly seems to breathe a freer spirit than the age of the law proper. Still, even then religious thought and feeling can only have been elementary; and this is the impression made by the narrative. Of later days St. Paul uses strong, even harsh, language, 'weak and beggarly rudiments' (Gal 4^{9}). The prevailing spirit was a 'spirit of bondage to fear' (Ro 8^{15}). At the same time the emphasis laid on God's work of redemption must have given rise to thoughts of spiritual freedom (Ex 13^{14}, Dt 7^{8}, 1 Ch 17^{21} etc.), and in Is 61^{1} this truth finds glorious expression. It is perhaps worth while to notice that, while in the political system of Israel there is no trace of the idea of liberty in the modern sense, that system is distinguished from the despotisms of the day by many humane regulations unknown elsewhere, such as those with regard to slavery (Ex 21^{2}) and land (Lv $25^{10.\ 23}$).

Christianity brought, first of all, freedom from the ceremonial restrictions and conditions of OT religion. The Mosaic law is described as 'a yoke which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear' (Ac 15^{10}). To all attempts to continue or reimpose the yoke on Christian believers, St. Paul offered unflinching and successful resistance (Gal 3^{24} $5^{1\mathrm{ff.}}$), and so won the victory of Christian freedom for all time. The teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews throughout supports St. Paul (9^{23} 10^{1}). The NT condemns beforehand all attempts to reduce Christianity to a mere system of ritual. The Lord Jesus, St. Paul, and St. John are at one in their insistence on spiritual religion.

But the chief NT doctrine on this subject is that of inward freedom as the privilege of all believers. Sin brings into bondage (Jn 8^{34}, Ro $6^{16\mathrm{f.}}$); but from this bondage believers are saved both negatively and positively. This is the profound meaning of redemption in the NT sense—deliverance from that sense of guilt and fear and condemnation which oppresses and fetters the soul (Ro 8^{2}, Tit 2^{14} etc.). 'Ye were servants of sin, ye became servants of righteousness' (Ro $6^{17\mathrm{f.}}$). Knowledge of the truth is the means (Jn 8^{32}), Christ Himself the source (Jn 8^{36}, 2 Co 3^{17}), of this highest freedom. The 'spirit of bondage' gives place to the 'spirit of adoption' (Ro 8^{15}, Gal 4^{6}). Sin, death, the world, are conquered enemies (1 Co $15^{55\mathrm{ff.}}$, Ro 8^{37-39}, 1 Jn 5^{4}). The exultant sense of power, of present and future triumph, enjoyed by the believer, is vividly expressed in passages like Ro $5^{2.\ 10}$ $6^{12.\ 22}$ 8^{38}. Spiritual freedom culminates in the relation of children in which believers stand to God. In our Lord's teaching, in St. Paul's and St. John's, this is always represented as the distinctive privilege of the saved, so profound and far-reaching is the NT revelation of the divine Fatherhood in the fullest sense: 'your Father in heaven' (Mt 5^{48} 7^{11}, Jn $1^{12.\ 13}$, Ro 8^{16}, 1 Jn $3^{1\mathrm{f.}}$). St. Paul expressly contrasts the state of the servant and the son: 'Thou art no more a servant, but a son' (Gal 4^{7}). God is thought of as Father, no longer as Ruler merely. The most signal exercise of the liberty of children of God is the boldness with which believers draw near to God (He 4^{16} 10^{19}). Christians are invested with the full privileges of the priesthood (1 P 2^{9}). Liberty is not to pass into licence (Gal 5^{13}, 1 P 2^{16}). St. James speaks of a 'law of liberty' (1^{25} 2^{12}).

On the thorny questions which have arisen in connexion with liberty and necessity, Scripture says nothing, but implies much. By always appealing to man as responsible, by calling upon him to repent and believe, by holding him accountable for the results of his action, it assumes that he is free, and in the most definite way refutes the doctrine of moral fatalism. Man may become the slave of sin, sinking into spiritual paralysis; but it is his own act, and recovery is always possible in this life. Only so far as his action is voluntary, and his slavery self-induced, is he guilty. Pharaoh who hardened his heart repeatedly, Ahab who 'did evil above all that were before him,' Jeroboam 'who made Israel to sin,' are terrible examples of the hardening effects of sin; but their ruin was their own work; they 'sold themselves to work evil' (1 K 21^{20}). Otherwise, they could not have been punished by God as they were. Whatever speculative difficulties may be raised on the ground of the divine omniscience, or the law of heredity, or the principle of cause and effect, they vanish before man's invincible consciousness of moral responsibility and the Scripture declarations of God's righteousness and man's freedom (Gn 18^{25}, Ezk $33^{11\mathrm{f.}}$, Jn 3^{19} 5^{40}).

J. S. BANKS.

LIBNAH (לִבְנָה).—**1.** The third of the 12 stations following Hazeroth, mentioned only in Nu $33^{20.\ 21}$ (see EXODUS, IV.), unless it is the same place that is called in Dt 1^{1} **Laban.** Its position is not known.

2. A city taken by Joshua (Jos $10^{29.\ 30}$), and, from the context, situate between Makkedah and Lachish. The name occurs in the list of con-

	B.	A.	F.	Luc.		
Nu 33^{20}	Λεμωνά	Λεβωνά	as A.	Λεβωνά		
33^{21}	...	Λεβωνά	as A.	...		
Jos 10^{29}	Λεβνά (bis)	Λεβμνά (bis)	def.	Λεβνά		
10^{31}	..	Λαβμνά (bis)	def.	...		
10^{32}	...	...	def.	...		
12^{15}	...	Λεβμνά	def.	...		
15^{42}	Λεμνά	Λεβνά	def.	...		
21^{13}	...	..	def.	...		
2 K 8^{22}	Σεννά	Λομνά	def.	Λοβνά		
19^{8}	Λομνά	Λοβνά	def.	...		
23^{31}	Λημνά	Λοβενά	def.	Λοβεννά		
24^{18}	om.	Λομνά	ℵ		OQ	Q^{mg}
Is 37^{8}	Λοβνάν	Λοβνά	Λομνάν		Λομνά	οἱ γ' Λαβανά
1 Ch 6^{57} [Heb.^{42}]	Λοβνά	Λοβνά	...	Λοβνάν		
2 K 8^{22}=2 Ch 21^{10}	Λομνά	Λοβνά	...	Λοβνά		

quered kings (12^{15}) between Arad and Adullam, in a group of 9 cities of the Shephēlah (15^{42}) and in the lists of priestly cities (21^{13}, 1 Ch 6^{42} [v.^{57} LXX and Eng.]). The MT in Ch describes it as a city of refuge, but the text requires emendation, and the renderings of AV and RV give the probable sense. The city revolted at the same time as Edom from under the hand of Judah in the time of Joram [Jehoram] (2 K 8^{22}, 2 Ch 21^{10}). It appears to have been a stronghold, for the king of Assyria attacked it in the time of Hezekiah (2 K 19^{8}, Is 37^{8}). In the last days of the kingdom of Judah it was inhabited by Jewish families, for Josiah took to wife a daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah (2 K 23^{31} 24^{18}). This is the last biblical notice of the place, and no reference to it occurs in later times. It was probably in the neighbourhood of Beit Jibrin, and a site 4 miles to N.W. has been proposed, and (*PEFSt*, Jan. 1897) another, 10 miles S.E. of Tell el-Hesy.

The LXX renderings are very varied, *Λεβνά* or *Λοβνά* occurring most frequently; for *β* is substituted *μ* in some places, and *λεβμνά* occurs in A. The first vowel is often varied, but generally no vowel is found between *β* and *ν*, and in this respect the renderings are distinguished from those of Libnah (1), which introduce *ω* between *β* and *ν*; *Λεβωνά*, with *μ* for *β* in B. The first syllable of the rendering *Σεννά* in 2 K 8^{22} may be a duplication of the last syllable of the preceding word. On the previous page is a list of the LXX variations.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

LIBNI (לִבְנִי, *Λοβεν(ε)ί*).—The eldest son of Gershon, that is to say, the eponym of a principal family of Gershonite Levites, Ex 6^{17}, Nu 3^{18}, 1 Ch 6$^{17.\ 20}$ [Heb. $^{2.\ 5}$]. In 1 Ch 6^{29} [Heb. ^{14}], perhaps owing to some dislocation of the text, the name appears as that of the eponym of a family of Merarites. The patronymic **Libnites** (הַלִּבְנִי) occurs in Nu 3^{21} 26^{58}.

LIBRARY.—See WRITING.

LIBYA, LIBYANS.—See LUBIM.

LICE (כִּנִּם, כִּנִּים *kinnîm*, כִּנָּם *kinnām*, *σκνίφες*, *κνίπες*, *sciniphes*, *cinifes*).—The usual meaning of *σκνίψ=κνίψ* is *plant-louse*. It is also used for various species of gnats. Some have supposed it to designate a species of worm. Whether it can be understood of the louse also is not clear. The tr. in the text of EV (Ex 8^{16} RVm 'sandflies' or 'fleas,' $^{17.\ 18}$, Ps 105^{31}) 'lice' is based upon the authority of the Talmud; on the fact that the insects alluded to sprang from the *dust*, not from the *water*; that the lice were *in*, not *on* men and beasts, *i.e. in their hair*; that the Targum, Syriac, and Arabic VSS tr. the word by one which appears to mean *lice* rather than *gnats*. Scholars are still divided on the subject (see MEDICINE, p. 330), but the weight of evidence seems to be in favour of *lice* as the third of the plagues of Egypt. Lice swarm on the persons of uncleanly people in the East. The better classes of the ancient Egyptians, however, were scrupulously clean; and Herodotus says that the priests shaved all the hair from their heads and bodies every third day, lest they should harbour any of these unclean insects, and so defile the temples. Such a pest, therefore, would be peculiarly abhorrent to them. See, on the whole subject, Dillm. on Ex 8^{13}.

G. E. POST.

LICENCE is simply 'permission' in all its occurrences in AV, where its spelling is indifferently 'licence' (1 Mac 1^{13}, 2 Mac 4^{9}, Ac 21^{40} 25^{16}), or 'license' (Jth 11^{14}, Sir 15^{20}), and the verb does not occur. RV retains 'licence' (spelling so always), except in 2 Mac 4^{9}, AV 'if he might have licence to set him up a place for exercise' (*ἐὰν συγχωρηθῇ διὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτοῦ*, RV 'if it might be allowed him through the king's authority'); Ac 21^{40} AV 'And when he had given him licence' (*ἐπιτρέψαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ*, RV 'And when he had given him leave'); and 25^{16} AV 'have licence to answer' (*τόπον ἀπολογίας*, RV 'have had opportunity to make his defence'). AV had already changed 'licence' of earlier versions into 'leave,' as Jn 19^{38} Tind. 'And Pylate gave him licence.' The verb was once common in the same sense, as Ac 22 $^{\text{heading}}$ Rhem. 'Being licensed by the Tribune to speake to the people'; Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 294, 'he licenced Plato to departe without damage.' Milton uses both subst. and vb. in their modern meaning in *Areopagitica* (Clar. Press ed. p. 6), 'But lest I should be condemn'd of introducing licence, while I oppose Licencing.'

J. HASTINGS.

LIDEBIR (לִדְבִר).—Proposed in RVm of Jos 13^{26} as alternative rendering to *of Debir* (text). See DEBIR No. 2 and LODEBAR.

LIE, LYING, and the many other words of the group, describe various forms of the sin against truth, and serve to illustrate an important element of the biblical morality.

The principal Heb. and Greek terms are the following:—

1. שָׁקַר 'lie' (*Qal* and *Pi.*). שֶׁקֶר 'falsehood' (Jer 10^{14}), 'a lie' (Ps 119^{69}), frequently preceded by דִּבֶּר, also used adverbially = 'falsely' (2 S 18^{13}).

2. כָּזַב (root meaning quite uncertain) 'to speak falsely,' esp. in *Pi.* (with לְ or בְּ pointing to the person addressed); *Niph.* 'to be found *or* show oneself a liar' (Pr 30^{6}), *Hiph.* 'make *or* make out a liar' (Job 24^{25}). כָּזָב 'a lie'; אִישׁ כָּ׳ 'a liar' (Pr 19^{22}); cf. אַכְזָב Jer 15^{18} (of failing, deceptive brook, cf. vb. in Is 57^{11}), Mic 1^{14}.

3. כָּחַשׁ 'to be lean,' 'become emaciated' (Ps 109^{24}); *Pi.* with לְ or בְּ 'to lie to one' (1 K 13^{18}, Jer 5^{12}); *Niph.* 'to feign obedience' (Dt 33^{29}). כַּחַשׁ 'leanness' (Job 16^{8}), usually 'a lie,' 'a calumny' (Hos 10^{13}). כֶּחָשׁ 'deceitful' (Is 30^{9}). The root meaning is uncertain, possibly that of *failing*.

4. בַּד, only in plur. בַּדִּים (root בדד, *i.e.* ברא 'to invent') 'empty *or* boastful talk' (Job 11^{3}), thence applied to utterers of such, as liars, diviners (Is 44^{25}, Jer 50^{36}).

5. שָׁוְא 'emptiness,' 'vanity' (Ps 60^{11}), thence applied to things of no substance or injurious, as the falsehood, the idol, the wicked or criminal act (Pr 30^{8}, Ps 24^{4} 26^{4}, Job 11^{11}); cf. עֵד שָׁוְא 'a hollow, insincere witness' (Dt 5^{20}) with עֵד שֶׁקֶר 'a false witness' (Ex 20^{16}).

6. In NT the subject is handled by the use of the group of words connected with *ψεύδω*, here used only in the middle voice. *ψεύδεσθαι* is used abs. (Mt 5^{11}, 2 Co 11^{31} etc.); with acc. of person lied to (Ac 5^{3}); with dat. (Ac 5^{4}); *εἴς τινα* (Col 3^{9}); *κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας* (Ja 3^{14}). The list includes *ψεύστης* 'a deceiver' (Jn 8^{44} etc.), 'a false teacher' (1 Jn 2^{22}); *ψευδής* 'false,' 'wicked' (Ac 6^{13}, Rev 21^{8}); *ψεῦδος* 'lying,' 'a lie,' esp. of false religion (Jn 8^{44}, Ro 1^{25}); *ψεῦσμα* 'a falsehood' (Ro 3^{7}); *ἀψευδής* of God 'that cannot lie' (Tit 1^{2}); *ψευδολόγος* 'teaching falsely' (1 Ti 4^{2}); and various compounds descriptive of enemies of the faith, as *ψευδάδελφος* (Gal 2^{4}), *ψευδαπόστολος* (2 Co 11^{13}), *ψευδοπροφήτης* (Mt 7^{15} etc.), *ψευδοδιδάσκαλος* (2 P 2^{1}), *ψευδόχριστος* (Mt 24^{24}, Mk 13^{22}).

1. The biblical writers describe various *types of lying*. In its most general aspect—the saying what we know to be false with intent to deceive—it is clear that it was reprobated by the common conscience of Israel (cf. Pr 19^{22} 30^{6}), and it is expressly condemned in the ancient Law of Holiness (Lv 19$^{11.\ 12}$). Usually, however, in the legislation, including the Decalogue, special cognizance is taken of lying of the criminal kind—consisting either in the perjured testimony which procures an unjust sentence (Dt 19$^{15\text{-}21}$, cf. Ex 20^{16}), or in the false statement which is the instrument of fraudulent dealing (Lv 6$^{1\text{ff.}}$). In the prophetical writings lying is conceived, not merely as a principal kind, but almost as the soul, of wickedness, and so sometimes appears as the symbol of all moral evil (Hos 12^{1}, cf. Is 6^{5}). At a later period 'lie' is a favourite description of the message of the false prophets (Jer 27^{10}), and of the utterances of soothsayers (Is 44^{25}), and the same idea is often expressed in the designation of idols and idolatry.

In NT, in which the duty of truthfulness is strongly insisted on in contrast to Oriental deceitfulness, it is suggested that there are three lies *par excellence*—heathen religion (Ro 1^{25}), the claim of the false apostle (Rev 2^{2}), and the denial 'that Jesus is the Christ' (1 Jn 2^{22}).

2. *The heinousness of lying* appears in various particulars—that it is utterly inconsistent with the holiness which is of the essence of the divine nature, and gives a law to the people (Lv 19^{11}), and more particularly with the commandments of a God who Himself is absolutely true (Ps 89^{35}); and also that it has anti-social effects of a ruinous and far-reaching kind (Prophets, *passim*; cf. Pr 26^{28}). In NT its sinfulness is further emphasized by tracing it to the example and inspiration of Satan (Jn 8^{44}, Ac 5^{3}), or to the old man which is put off in conversion (Col 3^{9}).

3. *The penalties of lying* are set forth in an ascending scale. Various saws in Pr point to the heritage of contempt which is the portion of the habitual liar. The judicial punishment of the false witness is the recoil upon himself of the evil 'he had thought to do unto his brother' (Dt 19^{19}). In the history of Gehazi (2 K 5), and of Ananias and Sapphira (Ac 5), the aggravated lie is punished by a special judgment of appalling severity. In Ps 24^{4} lying is numbered with the sins which disqualify from the worship of, and so exclude from communion with, God. And as a consistent development of this stern judgment we find it in the NT as one of the list of sins by which the essence of character is tested, and which, become habitual, entail the forfeiture of eternal salvation (Rev 21^{27} 22^{15}).

Two problems arising out of the subject may be briefly referred to. The first is connected with the passages which seem to represent God as using deceitful means—esp. 1 K 22^{23}, where He is said to have lured Ahab to destruction by 'putting a lying spirit in the mouth of the prophets,' and in a lesser degree 1 S 16^{2}, where He instructs Samuel to conceal his real purpose from Saul by offering a sacrifice. As regards the first of these cases it may, however, be fairly held, as is indeed required by the general tenor of OT religion, that the sense is satisfied by regarding God, not as the author of sin, but as overruling wickedness to the working out of His righteous purposes. 'All that is meant is that, in carrying out God's decree of condemnation, he (the lying spirit) becomes a means of leading the king on to his doom through the fawning guile of these false prophets' (W. P. Bruce, *Ethics of OT*, p. 269). It should be added that the difficulty of this class of passages is less keenly felt when the mechanical theory of inspiration is abandoned.*

A second problem concerns the attitude of the Bible in its moral teaching towards the casuistical controversy over the lie of exigency. In other words: when we have said of a statement that it is wittingly false, or intended to deceive, is it thereby condemned as having the character of guilt? or does it lose this character if it can be shown that the false statement was required in self-defence, or by the law of love? Of such lies we have examples in the lives of Abraham (Gn 20^{2}) and of David (1 S 21^{13}), although obviously it does not follow, any more than in the case of the graver failings of OT saints, that they are recorded for example and guidance. On the whole, the rigorous doctrine must be judged more in harmony with the spirit of the biblical morality, the common scriptural ground being that it is ours to obey the commands of the moral law, and that God may be trusted for the consequences. For a full discussion of the lie of exigency in the light of Christian principles, see Martensen's *Christian Ethics* (Eng. tr. ^{4}), vol. ii. p. 216 ff., also Newman Smyth's *Christian Ethics*, p. 392 ff.

W. P. PATERSON.

LIE.—The verb to lie was formerly used in the sense of pass the night, lodge, sleep. We find an example of this in Is 14^{18} 'All the kings of the nations, even all of them, lie in glory, every one in his own house' (שָׁכְבוּ; RV 'sleep,' as Gen. Bible): cf. Jos 2^{1} AVm 'and lay there,' for text 'and lodged there' (וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ־שָׁמָּה). So North, *Plutarch*, 'Demetrius,' p. 895, 'For they ordained that the place behind the Temple of Minerva called Parthenon (as who would say, the temple of the Virgin) should be prepared for his house to lye in'; and Bunyan, *PP* (Clar. Press ed. p. 240), 'Then they called for the Master of the House, and he came to them. So they asked if they might lie there that night?' On which Venables remarks, 'To *lie* continued in familiar use till the end of the last century for to *stop the night* at a place. This is the hinge of Walton's witty translation of Sir Henry Wotton's definition of an ambassador—"an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country."'

The following phrases should be noticed: **1.** *Lie along*. See ALONG. **2.** *Lie on* or *Lie upon*. This phrase occurs in the figurative sense of 'oppress,' 'annoy,' as Dt 29^{20} 'all the curses that are written in this book shall lie upon him' (רָבְצָה בּוֹ; Driver remarks that רָבַץ is 'to lie down as an animal' [Gn 49^{9}], and thinks the metaphor forced, preferring the Sept. κολληθήσονται, 'shall cleave to him'); Jg 14^{17} 'and it came to pass on the seventh day that he told her, because she lay sore upon him' (הֱצִיקַתְהוּ, RV 'she pressed him sore,' Moore 'she besieged him'; the same verb is tr^{d} in 16^{16} 'she pressed him,' AV and RV); Ps 88^{7} 'Thy wrath lieth hard upon me' (עָלַי סָמְכָה, Driver 'presseth upon me'); Sir 6^{21} 'She will lie upon him as a mighty stone of trial' (ἰσχυρὸς ἔσται ἐπ' αὐτῷ, RV 'shall she rest upon him'); Ac 27^{20} 'no small tempest lay on us' (χειμῶνος . . . ἐπικειμένου): RV accepts this very literal and old-fashioned tr. here, as well as in 1 Co 9^{16} 'lie upon' for the same verb, but elsewhere ἐπίκειμαι is tr^{d} 'press upon' (Lk 5^{1}), 'be instant' (23^{23}), 'impose on' (He 9^{10}); but where the meaning is literal, 'lie upon' (Jn 11^{38} AV, but RV 'lie against,' with m. 'upon') or 'lie on' (21^{9}) is of course used. Tindale (*Expos.* p. 100) says, 'Covetousness made the Pharisees to lie on Christ, to persecute Him, and falsely to accuse Him'; and again (p. 119), 'Thou wouldest not that men should do thee wrong and oppress thee; thou wouldest not that men should do thee shame and rebuke, lie on thee, kill thee,' where the editor of the Parker Soc. ed. explains '*on* is used for *of* or *against*,' apparently taking 'lie' to mean 'tell lies.' In Jg 19^{20} the phrase has a somewhat milder but very similar meaning, 'let all thy wants lie upon me' (the Heb. is simply 'be all thy wants upon me'). In Nu 21^{15} the meaning is 'touch.' 'And at the stream of the brooks that goeth down to the dwelling of Ar, and lieth upon the border of Moab' (וְנִשְׁעַן, RV as AVm 'leaneth upon'). **3.** *Lie out* = project, Neh $3^{25.\,26.\,27}$ of the tower which projected from the king's palace (RV 'standeth out'). The phrase appears not to be English, but a literal rendering by Coverdale (who in v.^{27} has 'lieth outwarde') of the Heb. הַיּוֹצֵא, LXX ὁ ἐξέχων, Vulg. *quæ prominebat*.

The old past ptcp. *lien* occurs in Gn 26^{10}, Ps 68^{13},

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* Under the same category reference may be made to the passage (Jn $7^{8.\,10.\,14}$) where our Lord said, 'I go not up to this feast'; then 'went he also up, not openly.' But, with the reading of BL (οὐκ . . . οὔπω), or even without it, if the sentence is continued (ὁ ἐμὸς καιρὸς οὔπω πεπλήρωται), the difficulty almost disappears. What is quite certain is that the author of the Fourth Gospel cannot have thought that any unveracity was implied. See Meyer, *in loc.*

Jer 3^{2}, and RV retains (except in Ps 68^{13}, where a different tr. dispenses with it), but Amer. RV changes to 'lain.' Cf. Job 3^{13} Cov. 'Then shulde I now have lyen still, I shulde have slepte, and bene at rest'; Fuller, *Holy Warre*, p. 137, 'And it was good plowing up of that ground which had long lien fallow.' J. HASTINGS.

LIEUTENANT, RV SATRAP, Ezr 8^{36}, Est 3^{12} 8^{9} 9^{3}; also Dn 3$^{2.3.27}$ 6$^{1ff.}$, where AV 'Prince.'—The Heb. אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנִים (*'ăḥashdarpĕnîm*) represents the Pers. *khshatrapâvan* (=protectors of the realm), a title found on Persian inscriptions, *e.g.* that of Behistun (cf. Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.* 68, 14; Spiegel, *Altpers. Keilinsch.* 215). In Gr. the word became *ἐξατράπης* or *σατράπης*; in the LXX we find a considerable variety of rendering, *διοικηταί* Ezr, *οἰκονόμοι* 1 Es 8^{67}, *στρατηγοί*, *ἄρχοντες τῶν σατραπῶν* Est, *σατράπαι* Dn, *ὕπατοι* Dn (Theod.); in Vulg. *satrapes*, *principes*. The satrap was the governor of a whole province (cf. Dn 6^{1} [but see Bevan, *ad loc.*], Herod. iii. 89), and he held the position of a vassal king. His power, however, was checked by the presence of a royal scribe, whose duty it was to report to the 'great king' on the administration of the province. Also, the troops were for the most part under the command of an independent general. Under the satraps were the 'peḥahs,' or governors of smaller districts. In Ezr 8^{36} the term *satrap* seems to be used somewhat loosely, or the historian has unduly extended the scope of Ezra's commission; the only satrap whom it would really concern was the ruler of the district west of the Euphrates, 'the governor beyond the river' (Ezr 5^{3}). H. A. WHITE.

LIFE AND DEATH.—

i. The Terms.
ii. Examination of the Biblical Teaching.
  A. Old Test. teaching: (1) the early narratives of Gn; (2) the Pentateuch; (3) the Prophets; (4) the Poetical books; (5) the Wisdom literature.
  B. Apocryphal and Apocalyptic teaching.
  C. New Test. teaching: (1) the Synoptics; (2) the Johannine writings, (*a*) the Gospel, (*b*) the First Epistle, (*c*) the Apocalypse; (3) the Pauline Epistles; (4) the rest of the New Testament.
iii. Conclusions to be drawn from the Scriptural use of the terms.
    (*a*) Doctrinal.
    (*b*) Ethical.

i. THE TERMS.—(1) In the OT the regular word for 'to live' is חיה from the older root חוה (so Phœn.; Aram. חיא) with the same signification, and similar forms occur in Arab., Syr., and allied tongues. It occurs in the sense of 'having life,' *e.g.* Ex 33^{20} 'man shall not see me and *live*'; Gn 5^{3} etc. 'Adam *lived* an hundred and thirty years'; of 'continuing in life' when death threatens, *e.g.* Gn 20^{7} 'he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt *live*'; or specially of the soul as source of life, as in Gn 12^{13} 'that my soul may *live* because of thee.' It is also used with preps.='to live *upon* or *by*,' as Gn 27^{40} 'by thy sword shalt thou *live*,' Dt 8^{3} 'man doth not *live* by bread only, but by everything that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man *live*.' So the life of man is spoken of as consisting in obedience to the divine statutes (as in Ezk 20^{11} etc. 'if a man do, he shall live in (by) them'). To live is used absolutely in the sense of 'to prosper,' as in 1 S 10^{24} 'Let the king live' (RVm). It also has the signification of returning to life from sickness, weariness, or death, as 2 K 8^{8} 'shall I *recover* of this sickness?' Jg 15^{19} 'his spirit came again, and he *revived*'; Is 26^{19} 'Thy dead shall *live*.' In its causative forms it signifies 'to give life,' 'to preserve alive,' 'to quicken,' 'to restore,' as Job 33^{4} 'the breath of the Almighty giveth me life'; Ezk 13^{18} 'will ye save souls alive?' Is 38^{16} 'make me to live'; 2 K 8^{1} etc. 'whose son he had restored to life.'

The adjective חַי 'living' is used of God as the source of all life, as Jos 3^{10} 'the living God is among you'; and most commonly in the formula of the oath 'as the Lord liveth,' *e.g.* Ru 3^{13}. It is the ordinary word for 'living' of men or animals.

The word for 'life' most generally is a plural emphatic form (חַיִּים) from the same root. This is used to denote not only physical life, but also welfare or happiness, as Pr 16^{15} 'in the light of the king's countenance is life'; Dt 30^{20} 'to love the Lord thy God . . . for he is thy life and the length of thy days'; Ps 30^{5} 'in his favour is life.' Once (in late Hebrew) it is used of *eternal life*, viz. Dn 12^{2} 'many shall awake, some to everlasting life' (חַיֵּי עוֹלָם). It bears also the signification of means of life, sustenance, as in Pr 27^{27} 'maintenance for thy maidens,' though the general word in this latter sense is מִחְיָה. There is also the form חַיָּה, which denotes 'a living being,' 'an animal,' and more particularly 'wild animals,' but it is used occasionally in later poetical writings in the sense of 'life,' as Ps 143^{3} 'he hath smitten my life down to the ground'; Job 33^{18} 'he keepeth back his life from perishing.'

It is noteworthy that the Hebrew name for 'Eve' (חַוָּה) is traced in Gn 3^{20} to this root, though it has been otherwise interpreted (see EVE).

A very important word is נֶפֶשׁ, *lit.* 'breath,' signifying the *soul* as the principle of life. We find it in its literal sense in such passages as Job 41^{13} [Eng.^{21}] 'his breath kindleth coals,' and Is 3^{20}. As *life*, its seat was supposed to be in the blood, cf. Lv 17^{11} 'For the *life* of the flesh is in the blood.' It is a general term for *life* in many senses, as 1 K 2^{23} 'at the peril of his life'; Pr 10^{3} one's life 'hungers.' A special combination is נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה 'living creatures,' as in Gn 1^{24} etc.; so it is used by synecdoche for a 'man,' as Lv 5^{1} etc. 'if any man sin'; Gn 46^{18} 'even sixteen souls, *i.e.* persons' (cf. corresponding Eng. usage), and even for the emphatic personal pronoun, as Is 46^{2} 'themselves are gone into captivity'; Ps 11^{1} 'why say ye to me?' Curiously it is sometimes='a dead body,' cf. Nu 5^{2}. לֵבָב 'the heart' is occasionally used as=נֶפֶשׁ, see Ps 102^{4}, Jer 4^{18}. See, further, art. SOUL.

In the LXX the usual equivalent of חַיִּים is *ζωή*, though once (Pr 31^{12}) *βίος* is used, and the latter frequently has the signification of the *period or course of life* in the NT, *e.g.* Lk 8^{14} 'pleasures of this life'; as also of *resources*, as Mk 12^{44} 'even all her living.' The special NT ideas covered by *ζωή* are discussed below. For נֶפֶשׁ and also לֵב, *ψυχή* is the equivalent; and this word also plays an important part in the language of the NT, as also does its derived adj. *ψυχικός*.

(2) The most ordinary Hebrew verb signifying 'to die' is מות, and this is used in the most general sense of man, beast, and even of trees and land. Cf. Job 14^{8} 'the stock thereof die in the ground,' and Gn 47^{19} 'wherefore should we die, both we and our land?' From this is derived the word מָוֶת 'death,' sometimes personified, as in Ps 49^{14} 'Death shall be their shepherd'; cf. Is 38^{18}. It is used as=the *abode of the dead*, as in Ps 9^{13} 'the gates of death,' and Pr 7^{27} 'the chambers of death' (though these might be understood in the former sense as a person). There is the derived form תְּמוּתָה, only found in the phrase בְּנֵי־ת״, as Ps 79^{11} 'the sons of death'='those that are appointed to death' (EV). (For Sheol and Abaddon, see arts. on these words, and also ESCHATOLOGY OF THE OT in vol. i. p. 740). For death in the special aspect of a destructive plague on men, as Ex 5^{3} 'lest he fall upon us with pestilence,' or on cattle Ex 9^{3}, there is the word דֶּבֶר (LXX *θάνατος*).

The most general word in the LXX as equivalent to the Hebrew terms above noted is *θάνατος*. In the NT it is used in the same signification, and is also found personified, as in 1 Co 15^{55} 'O death, where is thy victory?' Rev 1^{18} 'I have the keys of death and of Hades.' It is frequently used of spiritual death, either during earthly life, as in Ro 7^{13} 'Did then that which is good become death unto me?' 1 Jn 3^{14} 'He that loveth not abideth in death,' or in the world to come, as specially 'the second death' (ὁ δεύτερος θάνατος), as Rev 2^{11} 'he shall not be hurt of the second death.'

For ᾅδης see art. HADES, *sub voc.*, and also ESCHATOLOGY OF THE NT in vol. i. p. 752.

ii. EXAMINATION OF THE BIBLICAL TEACHING ON THESE IDEAS.—A. *OLD TESTAMENT TEACHING.*—(1) *In the Early Narratives of Genesis.*—At the very opening of Scripture, in both accounts of the Creation, we find definite teaching on life and death. God created every living creature. Gn 1^{20} 'And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life.' Again we read in Gn 1^{30} of 'every beast of the earth, and every fowl of the air, and everything that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life.' The second account is more definite in its teaching as to the creation of man; thus Gn 2^{7} describes how 'the LORD God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.' Next we read of the 'tree of life,' which is common to the traditions of other Semitic peoples, and of the punishment attached to the eating of the 'tree of the knowledge of good and evil'; Gn 2^{17} 'in the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die.' The literal and metaphorical senses of the word 'die' constitute the force and subtlety of the serpent's temptation in Gn 3^{4} 'Ye shall not surely die.' To prevent man gaining the gift of immortality he is driven out of the garden, and the tree of life guarded, Gn 3^{22-24}.

(2) *In the Pentateuch.*—The ordinary word for 'life' is נֶפֶשׁ (LXX ψυχή), as in Gn 9^{4} 'but flesh with the life (נֶפֶשׁ) thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat.' This recurs repeatedly throughout the whole of the legal writings, and the narrative that is coloured by the priestly tradition (see, *e.g.*, Lv 17^{11} 24^{18}, Dt 12^{23}). Life is used in the familiar absolute sense in Dt $30^{15f.}$ 'See, I have set before you this day life and good, and death and evil' (cf. Sir 15^{17}).

(3) *In the Prophets.*—The main prophetic teaching on this subject is found in Isaiah and Ezekiel. In a poetical (probably late) passage of the former we read, Is 25^{8} 'He hath swallowed up death for ever' (cf. 2 Ti 1^{10}), and in Is 26^{19} 'Thy dead shall live, thy dead bodies shall arise . . . and the earth shall cast forth the dead (lit. the Rephaim, *i.e.* shades).' In another poetic passage, the psalm of Hezekiah, recorded in Is 38^{10-20}, there is much important material, but it is probably late, and should be classed with the teaching of the poetic books (see below). The passage speaks of 'the gates of Sheol' (v.^{10}). Death is presented as the end of all communion with God and men, 'I shall not see the Lord, even the Lord, in the land of the living: I shall behold man no more with the inhabitants of the world' (v.^{11}). But God speaks to him, and he cries, 'O Lord, by these things men live, and wholly therein is the life of my spirit.' And again, 'Sheol cannot praise thee, death cannot celebrate thee; they that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth. The living, the living he shall praise thee as I do this day' (vv.$^{18.19}$).

In the teaching of Ezekiel there is frequent reference to life in the pregnant sense of enjoying God's favour, and the accompanying earthly prosperity that is its sign. Thus Ezk 33^{10-20}, the teaching of which is summarized in vv.$^{18.19}$ as follows: 'When the righteous turneth from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, he shall even die therein. But if the wicked turn from his wickedness and do that which is lawful and right, he shall live thereby' (cf. 3^{18-20} 18^{24-27} 20^{11}). In the prophetic portion of the Bk. of Daniel there is one reference, though probably of very late date, to 'eternal life' in 12^{2} 'many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life.'

(4) *In the Poetical Books.*—References are much more numerous in the Psalms and in Job. Thus in various passages of the Bk. of Job we have presented the popular conception of the existence of the dead, *e.g.* 3^{12-19}, where the 'wicked cease from troubling, and the weary be at rest,' where 'the prisoners are at ease together, and the servant is free from his master'; or 10^{20-22}, where that world is described as being 'of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness'; yet the writer rises to the vision of something much higher and brighter, as in 14^{13-15}, where he asks, 'If a man die, shall he live again? All the days of my appointed time would I wait till my release should come.' Cf. 33^{28} 'He hath redeemed my soul from going into the pit, and my life shall behold the light.' His 'blood' is used for his wrongful death (see legal idea of identity of the blood and the life, below) in 16^{18} 'O earth, cover not thou my blood, and let my cry have no resting-place' (cf. Gn 4^{10}, Ezk $24^{7.8}$, Is 26^{21}). As to the great passage 19^{23-27}, and in what sense it denotes personal immortality, see A. B. Davidson's commentary on Job, *in loco*, and Appendix.

In the Psalms we read of 'the path of life' in an ethical and spiritual sense as the way of obedience to God (cf. Ps 16^{11}); of God as the 'fountain of life,' Ps 36^{9} (cf. Jer 2^{13}); Ps 30^{5} 'in his favour'; Ps 21^{4} 'he asked life of thee, and thou gavest it him'; Ps 27^{2} 'the Lord is the strength of my life'; Ps 34^{12} 'What man is he that desireth life, and loveth many days, that he may see good?' 42^{8} 'the God of my life'; 66^{9} 'God . . . which holdeth our soul in life.'

Death has all the gloom and disappointment it had in Job, *e.g.* Ps 6^{5} 'In death there is no remembrance of thee: in Sheol who shall give thee thanks?' In 49^{14} death is personified.

(5) *In the Wisdom Literature.*—(*a*) In the Bk. of Proverbs the same poetic figures of life frequently occur, *e.g.* 'the paths of life,' 2^{19} 5^{6}; 'tree of life,' 3^{18} 11^{30} 13^{12}; 'well or fountain of life,' 10^{11} 13^{14} 14^{27}. In the absolute sense the word occurs, *e.g.* 3^{22} 'so shall they be life unto thy soul'; 8^{35} 'whoso findeth me findeth life.' Contrast the use of 'death' in 8^{36} 'all they that hate me love death.'

By a figure 'light and darkness' are used for 'life and death' in Ec $11^{7.8}$.

B. *TEACHING OF THE APOCRYPHA AND THE APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE.*—These words occur most frequently and with most special significance in the two books of the Wisdom Literature in the Apocrypha, viz. those of *Wisdom* and *Sirach*. In the former ζωή occurs in several interesting connexions, cf. Wis 1^{12} 'Court not death in the error of your life' (cf. Pr 8^{36} and 21^{6}); 13^{18} 'for life he beseecheth that which is dead,' where reference is made to idolatry; cf. also 14^{12} 'the invention of them (*i.e.* idols) was the corruption of life'; 16^{13} 'for thou hast authority over life and death, and thou leadest down to the gates of Hades, and leadest up again.'

In the Book of Sirach ζωή occasionally means sustenance, *e.g.* 4^{1} 'My son, deprive not the poor of his living,' 34^{21} 'The bread of the needy is the life of the poor.' The general use is that of the figurative and absolute sense we have found in Pr and elsewhere, *e.g.* 4^{12} 'He that loveth her (*i.e.* Wisdom) loveth life,' cf. Pr 3^{18}: 6^{16} 'a faithful friend is a medicine of life,' 15^{17} 'before men is life and death' (cf. Dt 30^{19}). For the special phrase πηγὴ ζωῆς, see 21^{13} 'The knowledge of a wise man shall be made to abound as a flood, and his counsel as a fountain of life' (cf. Pr 13^{14} and 14^{27}). An instructive contrast is found in 40^{29} 'A man that looketh unto the table of another, his life is not to be counted for a life.' ψυχή has also one or two usages that may be noted here. It is, of course, ordinarily translated soul in the general sense of that word, as in Wis 3^{1} 'the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God,' but frequently comes near to its NT significance, *e.g.* Wis 9^{15} 'a corruptible body weigheth down the soul' (cf. 2 Co 5^{1-4}), cf. 15^{8} 'when he is required to render back the soul (life) which was lent him.' Two verses bring the several terms into close conjunction, Wis $15^{11.\ 12}$ 'He was ignorant of him that inspired into him an active soul (ψυχή), and breathed into him a vital spirit (πνεῦμα ζωτικόν). But he accounted our very life (ζωή) to be a plaything, and our lifetime (βίος) a gainful fair'; cf. also 16^{14}.

In Sirach we may note two passages: 10^{29} 'Who will justify him that sinneth against his own soul (ψυχή)? and who will glorify him that dishonoureth his own life (ζωή)?' and 16^{30} 'the soul of every living thing' (ψυχὴν παντὸς ζῴου).

In 2 *Esdras*, ch. 7, there is a very important passage, mainly contained in the portion recovered by Bensly, a translation of which is to be found in the RV. It is a vision of the last judgment, which is to be preceded by seven days of such silence as was before the Creation; then follows the general resurrection, and the seating of the Most High in majesty as judge. The seer understands how few can stand in the judgment, and exclaims, 'An evil heart hath grown up in us, which hath led us astray from these statutes, and hath brought us into corruption and into the ways of death, hath showed us the paths of perdition, and removed us far from life; and that not a few only, but well-nigh all that have been created' ($7^{[48]}$). Thereafter follows a vision of the various stages through which the wicked and the righteous pass after death. The day of judgment is declared to be 'the end of this time and the beginning of immortality' (though *et initium* is omitted in the Lat. MS) ($7^{43\ [113]}$). Again, in the 8th chapter the Most High declares to the seer, 'Unto you is paradise opened, the tree of life is planted, the time to come is prepared . . . weakness is done away for you, and [death] is hidden; hell and corruption are fled into forgetfulness . . . and in the end is showed the treasure of immortality' ($8^{52.\ 53}$).

In the *Psalms of Solomon* a few passages deal with the resurrection, *e.g.* 3^{16} 'They that fear the Lord shall rise again to life everlasting. And their life shall be in the light of the Lord, and shall fail no more'; 13^{10} 'The life of the righteous is for ever, but sinners shall be taken away for destruction'; $14^{2.\ 6}$ 'The holy of the Lord shall live in him for ever; the paradise of the Lord, the trees of life, are his holy ones. The holy of the Lord shall inherit life in gladness.' For sinners the lot is also appointed in accordance with their deeds; thus 3^{13} 'He fell, because evil was his fall, and he shall not rise again; the destruction of the sinner is for everlasting'; and 15^{13-15} 'Sinners shall perish in the day of the Lord's judgment for ever, when God shall visit the earth in His judgment, to repay sinners for everlasting.'

In the *Book of Enoch* (chs. 38–44) occurs a passage resembling the one quoted above from 2 *Esdras*, in which are seen in vision the celestial abodes prepared for the righteous, where they bless and magnify the Lord for ever and ever. Similar passages on the judgment are found in chs. 51. 61. 92. 103. and 108, from which we learn that the resurrection of the body pertains only to the righteous.

In the *Apocalypse of Baruch* we have the universal resurrection foretold, and the punishment of the wicked, as, *e.g.*, in ch. 30 'And the secret places shall be opened wherein have been kept the souls of the righteous, and they shall come forth . . . but the souls of sinners shall languish the more, for they know that their punishment has come.'

C. *NT Teaching.*—(1) *The Synoptics.*—In the first three Gospels these words are used with considerable fulness and variety of meaning. We have 'life' (ζωή) used absolutely as an equivalent for salvation in its fullest sense, as in Mt 7^{14} 'For narrow is the gate and straitened the way that leadeth unto life, and few be they that find it'; and in the repeated phrase 'to enter into life,' Mt 18^{8} etc., Mk 9^{43} etc.; once (Lk 16^{25}) the word is used of 'lifetime on earth.' 'Eternal life' (ζωὴ αἰώνιος) occurs a few times, cf. Mt $19^{16.\ 29}$, Mk 10^{30}. ψυχή is frequently used for the natural physical life in the body, as in Mt 2^{20} 'the young child's life,' Mt 6^{25} 'Be not anxious for your life.' Yet these are separable, and are commonly spoken of as 'body' and 'soul.' Thus Mt 10^{28} 'Be not afraid of them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in Gehenna.' This double sense of the word, as denoting the higher and lower life,—that inherent in the earthly body, and that which remains when the union is broken,—lends itself to what may be almost called a play upon the word, as in the recurring thought, *e.g.* Mt 10^{39} 'He that findeth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it,' cf. Mt 16^{25} and the parallels. In the same sense is life used in such passages as 'rest unto your lives' (EV 'souls'), Mt 11^{29}; 'In your patience ye shall gain possession of your lives' (EV 'souls'), Lk 21^{19}. In one case ζωή is used with a similar meaning, viz. Lk 12^{15} 'a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.' ψυχή is also used of our Lord's offering of Himself, as in Mk 10^{45} 'to give his life a ransom for many.'

βίος is used of 'living' in the sense of maintenance, and only occurs once outside of Luke, and that in a parallel passage quoting our Lord's own words, viz. 'all her living,' Mk 12^{44}, cf. Lk 21^{4}. See also Lk $15^{12.\ 30}$ and 8^{43}. In one case it denotes the earthly existence, viz. Lk 8^{14} 'cares and riches and pleasures of this life.' θάνατος in the Synoptics denotes death as the termination of this earthly life, as Mt 16^{28} 'shall not taste of death,' Mk 10^{33} 'condemn him to death,' Lk 22^{33} 'I am ready to go to death,' etc.

(2) *The Johannine Writings.*—(*a*) The Gospel.—The idea of life (ζωή) is a favourite one with the writer of the Fourth Gospel, and has a special significance. 'Life' in the absolute sense (with or without the epithet 'eternal') in which he uses it is the special possession of God, of which He makes men sharers when they believe in Him through His Son. Thus Jn 1^{4} 'In him was life, and the life was the light of men'; 3^{15} 'that whosoever believeth may in him have eternal life'; 3^{36} 'he that believeth not the Son shall not see life'; 5^{26} 'as the Father hath life in himself, even so gave he to the Son also to have life in himself'; 17^{3} 'This is life eternal, that they should know thee the only true God, and him whom thou didst send, even Jesus Christ'; 10^{10} 'I came that they may have life,' etc. Specially noteworthy are the phrases Christ uses to describe Himself and His mission. 'The bread of life,' 6^{35}; 'the words that I have spoken unto you are spirit and are life,' 6^{63}; 'he

that followeth me shall have the light of life,' 8^{12}; 'I am the life,' 11^{25} 14^{6}; cf. also 4^{14}.

ψυχή is used in similar senses as above noted, but of special value is the form of our Lord's word in 12^{25} 'He that loveth his life loseth it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal.'

θάνατος in this Gospel forms a distinct contrast to *ζωή*, as above illustrated, *e.g.* 5^{24} 'He that heareth my word and believeth him that sent me . . . hath passed out of death unto life' (cf. Pauline use below); but it is also frequently used in the ordinary signification.

(*b*) The First Epistle.—The special signification of ζωή and θάνατος that we have noted in the Gospel recurs in the first Epistle, and receives new applications. Thus 1 Jn $1^{1.2}$ 'That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard . . . concerning the Word of life (and the life was manifested . . . and we declare unto you the life, the eternal life, which was with the Father)'; 'we know that we have passed out of death into life,' 3^{14}; 'God gave unto us eternal life, and this life is in his Son,' 5^{11}. Special note must be taken of the verses ($5^{16.17}$) that deal with 'sin unto death' (ἁμαρτία πρὸς θάνατον), probably 'tending towards' death (see Westcott's Commentary, *in loco*, and Add. Note, p. 209).

(*c*) The Apocalypse.—This mystical book has many references to life, particularly in figurative phrases, such as 'the tree of life,' 2^{7} 22^{2} (in which return is made to the imagery of the early traditions of Genesis, cf. Ezk 47^{12}); 'the crown of life,' 2^{10}; 'the book of life,' 3^{5} 13^{8}; 'waters of life,' 7^{17} 21^{6} 22^{17}. ψυχή is used of the life separated from the body, hence rendered 'souls' in our version in 6^{9} and 20^{4}. Very Hebraic are its uses in 8^{9} and 16^{3}, being an obvious imitation of the language of Gn 1 (נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה). A striking use is that in 18^{13}, where ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων are reckoned among the merchandise of the traders, probably meaning slaves (cf. Ezk 27^{13}; also Nu $31^{35.40.46}$ [Heb]).

(3) *The Epistles of St. Paul.*—In addition to uses of ψυχή similar to those already given, the following are noteworthy: 'doing the will of God ἐκ ψυχῆς ('from the heart,' EV),' Eph 6^{6}; obviously it means 'putting all the power of one's life into it'; cf. Col 3^{23}. The threefold partition of human nature is given in 1 Th 5^{23} 'may your spirit and soul and body be preserved entire.'

St. Paul's use of ζωή in the absolute sense is very much akin to St. John's. The phrase 'eternal life' is common, cf. Ro 2^{7} 5^{21} 6^{22}, Gal 6^{8}, 1 Ti 1^{16} etc. Illustrations of the use of ζωή as fully expressing the highest possible life are found in Ro 5^{17} 'they . . . reign in life through the one, even Jesus Christ'; Ro 6^{4} 'we also might walk in newness of life'; Ro 7^{10} 'the commandment which was unto life'; Ro 8^{10} 'the Spirit is life because of righteousness'; 2 Co 2^{16} 'a savour from life unto life'; 2 Co 4^{10} 'that the life also of Jesus may be manifested in our body'; 2 Co 5^{4} 'swallowed up of life.' In the same way he frequently uses the verb ζῆν, *e.g.* 2 Co 6^{9} 'as dying, and, behold, we live'; Ph 1^{21} 'to me to live is Christ'; 1 Th 3^{8} 'for now we live if ye stand fast in the Lord.' The Heb. form אֵל חַי, in its LXX equivalent, θεὸς ζῶν, is frequent, not only in direct quotations, but in St. Paul's own writing, *e.g.* Ro 9^{26} (from LXX), 2 Co 3^{3} 6^{16}, 1 Th 1^{9}, 1 Ti 3^{15} 4^{10}.

In the case of the word θάνατος, while frequently used in its common signification, as, *e.g.*, Ro 8^{38}, 1 Co 15^{21}, Ph 2^{8} etc., it bears in the Pauline writings very deep and wide-reaching meanings. Sometimes it is personified (as in the OT), *e.g.* Ro 5^{14} 'Death reigned from Adam until Moses'; 1 Co 15^{26} 'the last enemy that shall be abolished is death.' It is frequently used in a figurative sense to describe the putting away of sin, as in Ro 6^{4-9}, where we read of being 'baptized into Christ's death,' of 'him that hath died' being 'justified from sin,' and so on; or, on the contrary, Ro 7^{10} speaks of the commandment being 'found unto death,' for 'sin, finding occasion through it, slew' Paul. The sinful flesh is called 'this body of death' (Ro 7^{24}). 'The mind of the flesh is death; but the mind of the Spirit is life' (Ro 8^{6}). 'Death' in its figurative sense is further illustrated in 2 Co $1^{9.10}$ 'we ourselves have had the answer of death within ourselves . . . God who delivered us out of so great a death.' The messengers of the Cross are 'in them that are perishing a savour from death unto death' ($2^{15f.}$). The law is 'the ministration of death' (2 Co 3^{7}, cf. 7^{10}). Death as a dissolution is spoken of as a present power in 2 Co $4^{11.12}$ 'we which live are alway delivered unto death for Jesus' sake . . . so then death worketh in us, but life in you.'

In 2 Ti 1^{10} we read of Christ 'who abolished death, and brought life and incorruption to light through the gospel.'

(4) *The Rest of the NT.*—In He 7^{16} we read of 'the power of an endless life (ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου = indissoluble).' In Ja 1^{12} we have the figure of the 'crown of life.' In 1 P 3^{7} we read of 'the grace of life,' and in 2 P 1^{3} of 'all things that pertain unto life,' obviously in the absolute sense. In Jude ^{21} there is the striking phrase 'looking unto the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life.' In 1 P ψυχή is of frequent occurrence in Hebraic senses, and might sometimes be rendered 'life,' as in 4^{19} 'commit their souls in welldoing unto a faithful Creator'; cf. He 10^{39} 12^{3} 13^{17}.

The most important passages on 'death' are in He $2^{9.14.15}$, which tells of 'Jesus, because of the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour; that by the grace of God he should taste death for every man . . . that through death he might bring to nought him that had the power of death, and might deliver all them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage'; and He $9^{15.16}$. See also Ja 1^{15} 'Sin, when it is fullgrown, bringeth forth death'; and 1 P 3^{18} of Christ 'being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the Spirit.'

iii. CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN FROM SCRIPTURAL USE OF THESE WORDS.—(*a*) *Doctrinal.*—God is in Himself the source of all life, physical, moral, and spiritual. He has not only called it into being, but sustains it. Life is God's gift, and can have no other origin. It is therefore a direct offence against God to destroy even physical life. This sentient life is, in the OT, represented as inhering in, and inseparable from, the blood of the animal. Hence blood becomes sacred. It is a symbol of the mystery of life with which it is identified. Blood thus becomes the most sacred and solemn sacrificial offering.

Sin is rebellion against God, and so involves separation from Him, which culminates in death. Thus death is the final punishment of sin. By death, then, can it alone be destroyed. Therefore sacrifice was necessary; and in the sacrifice the victim and offerer become identified, so that the latter's sin is cleansed through the acceptance of the offered life of the victim. Not only so, but this sacrifice must be continual, in order to maintain the fellowship that is being daily broken. Life is possible only through sacrifice. Yet 'death is common to the race.' What then? Death in the OT means a land of gloom and shadow, where intercourse with God is impossible. The inhabitants of that realm can neither pray nor praise. Their life is joyless and colourless. That this could not be the end for all gradually became clear, so there arose a doctrine of a double meaning both in 'life' and 'death.' True life meant conscious and purposed fellowship with God; true death was not the dissolution of body and soul, but the separation of sin persisted in. Thus we find Job and the Psalmists rising to the conception of escape from Hades, and to the assurance of an endless life in God's presence. The way to ensure this is to walk in God's statutes, and love and honour Him with all one's heart. He will vindicate His chosen against all enemies.

Thus, through the more definite teaching on immortality of later Judaism, was paved the way for the doctrine of the New Testament. Our Lord did not have to explain the meaning of 'eternal life' and its opposite, but to show how they were respectively to be avoided and won. Fellowship is once more the prominent and central idea. All words point to it. To 'know,' to 'love,' to 'eat,' to 'drink,' to 'keep words and commandments,' to 'have'—these constitute the language of the eternal life. The intimacy of union with God through Christ becomes its one essential condition; and, on the contrary, the lack of that union entails eternal death.

In the teaching of St. Paul we find that the lower life is purified and transformed into the higher. All that is sensual, sinful, earthly, dies, and only the spiritual elements remain. But life is one and undivided, so that even the body has its spiritual protoplasm (so to say), like the germ within the seed, which develops into the spiritual body, and so gives reality to the resurrection. It is the resurrection that crowns the work of faith, 'if in this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all men most pitiable.' It is no unreal, shadowy, or partial life that lies beyond the grave, but life in all its fulness and perfection—'the life that is life indeed.'

The NT is consistent in presenting Christ as the sole mediator of life. His life inheres in God, and the life He is enabled to communicate to men inheres in Him. Even the life of the physical universe is possible only in Him—'all things have been created through him and unto him' (Col 1^{15-18}, 1 Co 8^{6}). In St. Paul and in St. John we find the fullest presentation of these teachings, but all agree in the primary conceptions. St. John's teaching on the eternal life is very full and varied, and is thus admirably summed up by Dr. Westcott: 'It is a life which, with all its fulness and all its potencies, is *now*: a life which extends beyond the limits of the individual, and preserves, completes, crowns individuality by placing the part in connexion with the whole: a life which satisfies while it quickens aspiration . . . a life which gives unity to the constituent parts and to the complex whole, which brings together heaven and earth, which offers the sum of existence in one thought' (*Comm. on Epp. of John*, pp. 217, 218).

(*b*) *Ethical*.—Because life is God's unique gift, it is held to be sacred. Hence all crimes against life, that lessen its value by maiming the body's physical powers or purity, by rendering life burdensome through oppression, or still more by destroying it altogether in the act of murder, are reckoned as amongst the most heinous. The sacredness of life in all these forms is safeguarded in the commandments of the Decalogue, and in the various elaborate provisions of the Jewish legislation. The ethical value of life is distinctly felt by all the prophets, so that their most severe denunciations are levelled against those who oppress or debauch the poor, and by acts of injustice render life hard and bitter. In this same thought the OT finds its strongest arguments for immortality. Life is too great to be destroyed, therefore God will either save His servants from Sheol altogether, or will rescue them eventually from its thraldom. God is interested that men shall live and not die;—this makes the great basis of Ezekiel's appeal. One of the greatest lessons of the Book of Jonah is to enforce the value of life in the eyes of God. He had pity on the great city of Nineveh because it had within it 'sixscore thousand persons . . . and also much cattle.' Life, even that of animals, is precious in His eyes, and all that is possible must be done to save it.

Life must be guided by moral precepts, and these are clearly set forth as the condition of a long and honoured career, *e.g.* Ps 15, which states the characteristics of the man 'that shall never be moved'; Ps 16, which contains the assurance of fellowship with God, continued after Sheol has been passed through; Ps 91^{14-16} 119, Pr *passim*, but specially 8^{32-36} 10^{16-25} $19^{8.\ 16.\ 20-23}$.

When we turn to the NT we find these ideas much more clearly emphasized and enforced by additional considerations. Jesus in His teaching re-sets the moral law, and renders it more stringent by His interpretation. Murder is no longer confined to an outward act, but is an attitude of the soul; lust is in thought as well as in deed. And these standards are to be the guide of the new life He bestows. A man can live only by obeying these statutes in their spirit. To be an inheritor of the kingdom of God one need only keep the first and second commandments,—love God and love one's neighbour; but their interpretation and outreach is very wide; they are not to be understood in the letter but in the spirit. If His conditions are understood, then His command gives the promise, 'This do, and thou shalt live' (Lk 10^{28}). 'Eternal life' is not only the gift of God, but the condition of maintaining it is to be in constant communion with God. 'He that eateth me, he also shall live because of me,' are Christ's mystical words in Jn 6^{57}. And again, in Jn 10^{10} we read, 'I came that they may have life, and may have it abundantly (καὶ περισσὸν ἔχωσιν).' This links our Lord's teaching closely with that of St. Paul, who is very clear on the ethical side of the doctrine of the divine life. Thus in Ro 5^{10} he argues that 'if we were reconciled to God through the death of his son, much more, being reconciled, shall we be saved by his life.' From this thought springs the whole conception of the new life in Christ, with its powers, privileges, and responsibilities. It is not the man himself who lives, but Christ who lives in him. The controlling force is Christ. 'To me to live is Christ,' says the apostle. A new code of ethical conduct therefore emerges, 'We are debtors, not to the flesh, to live after the flesh; for if ye live after the flesh, ye must die; but if by the spirit ye mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live' (Ro $8^{12.\ 13}$). Hence there is a mortal conflict in the man who is 'alive unto God' between the fleshly law and the spiritual. The tragedy of Calvary is re-enacted in each individual soul, which has both to be crucified with Christ and to rise with Him. The evidence of this new life is in the production of the 'fruits of the Spirit,' of which we have a list, as contrasted with the 'works of the flesh' in Gal 5^{19-24}. Thus the great doctrine of the resurrection becomes the central power in daily Christian living, and affords not only the assurance of a life beyond the grave, but renders possible the advance in 'holiness,' without which no man can see the Lord.

LITERATURE.—Laidlaw, *Bible Doctrine of Man*^{2}, 233 ff.; Delitzsch, *Biblical Psychology*, Eng. tr., Index, *s.vv.*; Cave, *Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice*, 312 f.; Findlay, *Christian Doctrine and Morals* (Fernley Lect.), 180 ff.; Deane, *Pseudepigrapha* (*passim*); Montefiore, *Hibbert Lect.*, Index; E. White, *Life in Christ*; Petavel-Olliff, *Le Problème de l'Immortalité* (Paris, 1891-2); Farrar, *Eternal Hope*, and *Mercy and Judgment*; Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*^{3}, 1897; Beet, *The Last Things*, 142 ff.; Hort, *The Way, the Truth, and the Life*, 1893 (Hulsean Lect. for 1871); Sanday-Headlam, *Com. on Romans* (on 6^{8} 7^{9} 8^{6} 10^{5} 12^{1}); Stevens, *Johannine Theology*,

312 ff.; Hyde, *Social Theology*, 149 ff.; Dahle, *Life after Death*; Macpherson, art. 'The New Test. View of Life' in *Expos.* 1st Ser. v. 72 ff.; Massie, art. 'Two New Test. Words denoting Life' in *Expos.* 2nd Ser. iv. 380 ff.; Matheson, art. 'Pauline View of Death' in *Expos.* 2nd Ser. v. 40 ff. See also the authorities cited under the three articles on Eschatology in vol. i.; the *Oxford Concordance to the LXX*; and the comm. on the books quoted.

G. C. Martin.

LIGHT (Heb. אוֹר, מָאוֹר, the latter of the sun and moon as the abode of light, Gn 1^{14-16}, Gr. φῶς).*—i. With the Jews, as among other Oriental peoples, there was a feeling of sanctity connected with the idea of light. It was, according to Gn 1^{3}, the first thing shaped by God out of chaos, and afterwards located in the sun and moon. In Job 38^{19} the original source of light is a mystery known only to God.

ii. By very natural processes of thought many secondary ideas became attached to the word. (1) In Job 3^{20} it is a synonym of life, contrasted in 3^{16} with the darkness of the womb, and in 10^{22} with the shadow of death. (2) It is associated very frequently with joy and prosperity, as in Est 8^{16}, Job $18^{5.6}$, where the light of the wicked is to be put out, whereas in Job 22^{28} the light shines on the ways of the righteous. In Is 9^{2} the joy of Israel under the government of the 'Prince of Peace' is to be like the shining of a great light in contrast to the preceding misery (cf. 2 S 23^{4}). (3) It is used as a symbol of moral excellence, as in Pr 4^{18}, where progress in goodness is compared with the dawning 'that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.' This use is very frequent in NT, as in Mt $6^{22.23}$ (Lk 11^{34-36}), often with the collateral thought of the influence which the light has upon others, as in Mt 5^{14-16} (Lk 8^{16} 11^{33}); so of Christianity in contrast with the darkness of heathendom, as in Eph $5^{8.13}$, Col $1^{12.13}$, 1 P 2^{9}. In Ro 13^{11-14}, 1 Th 5^{4-8}, in connexion with this thought there is a contrast between the active duty of a soldier's life by day and the debauchery of night. (4) The term is also applied to spiritual knowledge. Thus in Lk 16^{8} the 'sons of light' are contrasted with the 'sons of this world' in point of wisdom. In 2 Co 4^{4-6} the glory of Christ's revelation illumining the hearts of Christians is beautifully compared with the light on Moses' face in Ex 34^{29-35}. See also iii. (3) (*a*) below. (5) In a more intellectual sense the word is used of the occult wisdom of the sage in Dn 2^{22} $5^{11.14}$.

iii. By far the most important uses of the word are those connected more definitely with theology. That the Hebrews, like other Sem. peoples, originally worshipped the sun and moon may perhaps be considered probable, but cannot be proved from OT. In the earliest historical records they appear, on the contrary, as believing in an intensely personal God, as in Gn 3^{8} 8^{21}, Ex 4^{24}. At the same time the idea of God was frequently associated with light. How far such conceptions of the Deity were the expression of definite theological belief, how far they were merely the language of poetic metaphor, cannot always be determined with anything like certainty. In all probability the one passed into the other by imperceptible gradations, the thought of an earlier becoming gradually the poetry of a later age. (1) In Ex 24^{10} the place under God's feet was like 'a paved work of sapphire stone, and as it were the very heaven for clearness.' In Ezk 1^{13} the heavenly beings who bear the throne of J″ are 'like burning coals of fire,' and in 1^{28} 'the appearance of the likeness of the glory of J″' is like 'the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain.' In Ps 104^{2} He is described as at the Creation covering Himself 'with light as with a garment,' and in 1 Ti 6^{16} as dwelling 'in light unapproachable.' In Is 60^{1-5} the presence of J″ when He comes to visit His people is described as a glorious sunrise in contrast to the darkness which covered the earth as a whole; and in $60^{19.20}$ His perpetual presence is as a sun which never sets, so that His people have no need of the sun and moon, cf. Rev 21^{23} 22^{5}. (2) In other passages God is described as Himself Light. In Is 10^{17} He is called the 'light of Israel,' the main thought of the passage being that He who is properly the glory of Israel becomes a consuming fire burning up the ungodly, cf. Hos 6^{5} (RVm). In Is 51^{4}, on the contrary, God's judgment of Israel, in the sense of His *merciful* acts of justice, is a beacon light to the Gentiles, cf. 60^{3}. In the words 'God is light, and in him is no darkness at all' (1 Jn 1^{5}), the intention is to express the 'awful purity' of God, which makes it impossible to have fellowship with God and walk in darkness. (3) In NT the word 'light' is frequently applied to Christ, a usage suggested by such passages as Is $9^{1.2}$, as in Lk 2^{32}, Jn $1^{4.5.9}$ 3^{19} 9^{5} 12^{46}, especially (*a*) with the idea of imparting light, in the sense of spiritual and moral knowledge, to others, as in Jn 1^{9} 3^{19-21}. (*b*) As a source of safety to Himself (Jn $11^{9.10}$) and others (8^{12} $12^{35.36}$), the light making it possible to walk in what would be otherwise darkness, and therefore dangerous. (*c*) On the analogy of ii. (1) it is associated with spiritual life, as in Jn 1^{4} 8^{12}; cf. Eph 5^{14} 'Awake . . . and Christ shall give thee light.' (*d*) Although St. John speaks both of the Father (1 Jn 1^{5}) and of the Son as Light, there is nothing to show that he himself conceived of Light as suggesting the relation of the Son to the Father; on the contrary, Jn $1^{1.18}$ would seem to imply a leaning towards a more anthropomorphic conception of the Divine Persons. But a step in the direction of the Nicene conception of 'Light out of Light' had already been made by the writer of the Wisdom of Solomon, who speaks of wisdom as an *ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς ἀϊδίου, καὶ ἔσοπτρον ἀκηλίδωτον τῆς τ. θεοῦ ἐνεργείας*, 'An effulgence of everlasting Light, and an unspotted mirror of the energy of God' (Wis 7^{26}). The writer of the Ep. to the Heb. boldly applies this thought to Christ, whom he calls the *ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ* (*θεοῦ*), 'the effulgence of (God's) glory, and the impress of his substance' (He 1^{3}), and thus introduces the familiar thought of Catholic theology, made all the more natural and easy by the language of St. John. (4) The word was applied also in a less degree to others: as John the Baptist, who lighted up the way to Christ (Jn $1^{7.8}$ 5^{35}), and St. Paul, who carried out Christ's work among the Gentiles (cf. Lk 2^{32} with Ac 13^{47}).

It is needless, perhaps, to add that the ideas of light derived from the Bible have in all ages been reflected in the prayers and hymns, as well as in the creeds, of Christendom. We have familiar illustrations of them in the collect 'Lighten our darkness,' and the hymn 'Lead, kindly light.'

F. H. Woods.

LIGHT, LIGHTNESS.—The adj. 'light,' the opposite of 'heavy,' was formerly used as we now use *easy*. Thus in Lord Berner's *Froissart*, xxiii., 'who gave light credence to them'; Hall's *Works*, ii. 94, 'the God of mercy is light of hearing, yet He loves a loud and vehement solicitation, not to make Himselfe inclinable to graunt, but to make us capable to receive blessings.' This passed into the meaning of *careless*, which we find, for example, in Tindale's *Pent.* 'Prologe,' p. 12, 'Then marke the grevous fall of Adam and of us all in him, thorow the lightregardinge of the commaundement of god.' From which the step to *worthless* was short. This is the meaning of the word in AV: Nu 21^{5} 'our soul loatheth this light bread' (נַפְשֵׁנוּ קָצָה בַּלֶּחֶם הַקְּלֹקֵל, LXX *ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν προσώχθισεν ἐν τῷ ἄρτῳ τῷ διακένῳ* [*τούτῳ*], Vulg. 'anima nostra jam nauseat super cibo isto levissimo,' Wyc. 'oure soule now wlatith upon this moost light meet,' Tind. 'oure soules lothe this lyghte bred,' Matt. [Rog.] 'oure soules lothe thys lyghte breade' with marg. 'that is so litle worth,' RVm 'this vile bread'); Jg 9^{4} 'Abimelech hired vain and light persons, which followed him' (אֲנָשִׁים רֵיקִים וּפֹחֲזִים; LXX *ἄνδρας κενοὺς καὶ δειλούς* [A *θαμβουμένους*]; Vulg. 'viros inopes et vagos,' Wyc. 'nedi men and vagaunt'; Cov. 'men that were vagabundes and of light condicions'; Gen. 'vaine and light fellowes,' so RV); Zeph 3^{4} 'Her prophets are light and treacherous persons' (פֹּחֲזִים אַנְשֵׁי בֹּגְדוֹת; Cov. 'light personnes and unfaithfull men'). In Sir 7^{26} the meaning is more definite and more disgraceful, 'Hast thou a wife after thy mind? forsake her not: but give not thyself over to a light woman,' *i.e.* 'wanton': the Gr. is *μισουμένῃ*, AVm and RV 'hateful,' RVm 'hated': 'light' here is peculiar to AV, earlier VSS having 'hateful,' and is rather a paraphrase than a translation. For its meaning cf. Shaks. *Meas.* V. i. 280, 'Women are light at midnight.' Shaks. often uses the word in a double sense, as *Merch. of Ven.* II. vi. 42, 'A light wife doth make a heavy husband.'

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* See under art. Lantern.

Lightminded occurs in Sir 19^{4} 'He that is hasty to give credit is lightminded' (*κοῦφος καρδίᾳ*; Vulg. 'levis corde est,' whence Erasmus, *Of the Commune Crede*, fol. 32, 'And a certayne wise man of the Hebrues doth name those persones leves corde, lyghte mynded whiche doo easilye and soon geve credence').

The adv. **lightly** is used in AV with the various meanings of the adj. (1) *Quickly* or *easily*: Gn 26^{10} 'one of the people might lightly have lien with thy wife' (כִּמְעַט, LXX *μικροῦ*, Gen. 'had almost lien'); Is 9^{1} 'at the first he lightly afflicted the land . . . and afterward did more grievously afflict her' (הֵקַל, RV 'he brought into contempt'); Jer 4^{24} 'I beheld the mountains, and, lo, they trembled, and all the hills moved lightly' (הִתְקַלְקָלוּ, RV 'moved to and fro,' RVm as AV); Mk 9^{39} 'for there is no man which shall do a miracle in my name, that can lightly speak evil of me' (*ταχύ*, Vulg. 'cito,' Wyc. 'soone,' Tind. 'lightlyge,' RV 'quickly'). Cf. Tind. *Expos.* p. 61, 'there is none so great an enemy to thee in this world, but thou shalt lightly love him, if thou look well on the love that God showed thee in Christ'; Rhem. NT on Jn 4^{20} 'Afterward the said Schismatikes (which is lightly the end of al Schismes) revolted quite from the Jewes religion, and dedicated their temple in Garizim to Iupiter Olympius, as Calvin's supper and his bread and wine is like at length to come to the sacrifice of Ceres and Bacchus'; and Malory, *Morte d'Arthur*, iii. 336, 'But now goe againe lightly, for thy long tarying putteth me in jeopardie of my life.' (2) *Poorly*, *worthlessly*, always with 'esteem,' Dt 32^{15}, 1 S 2^{30} 18^{23}.

Lightness is frivolity, passing into wantonness. Jer 3^{9} 'And it came to pass, through the lightness of her whoredom, that the land was polluted'; 23^{32} 'that . . . cause my people to err by their lies, and by their lightness' (RV 'vain boasting'); 2 Co 1^{17} 'did I use lightness?' (*ἐλαφρίᾳ*, RV 'fickleness'), cf. Jer 2^{5} Cov. 'What unfaithfulnesse founde youre fathers in me, that they wente so farre awaye fro me, fallinge to lightnesse, and being so vayne?'

The verb to **lighten** means either (1) to *make light*, *unburden*, 1 S 6^{5} 'peradventure he will lighten his hand from off you'; Jon 1^{5}, Ac $27^{18.\,38}$ spoken of ships; or (2) to *give light*, *enlighten*, as Ezr 9^{8} 'that our God may lighten our eyes'; Ps 13^{3} 'lighten mine eyes, lest I sleep the sleep of death,' Bar 1^{12} 'And the Lord will give us strength, and lighten our eyes' (*φωτίσει*). Cf. Is 35^{5} Cov. 'Then shal the eyes of the blinde be lightned'; Bunyan, *Holy Warre*, p. 116, 'Emmanuel also expounded unto them some of those Riddles himself; but, oh! how they were lightened!'

The phrase to **light on** or **upon** means always to *come down upon*, to *hit upon*: Gn 28^{11}, Dt 19^{5}, Ru 2^{3}, 2 S 17^{12}, 2 K 10^{15}, Mt 3^{16}, Rev 7^{16} 'neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat' (*πέσῃ ἐπ' αὐτούς*, RV 'strike upon them'). Cf. Mt 10^{29} Tind. 'Are not two sparrowes solde for a farthinge? And none of them dothe lyght on the grounde with out youre father.' J. HASTINGS.

LIGHTNING is a well-known phenomenon accompanying thunderstorms. It consists of brief, vivid flashes, which are caused by electric discharges passing from one cloud to another, or from a cloud to the earth. In the latter case great damage is usually produced at the point where the discharge strikes the earth. Trees and houses are often shattered, holes made in the ground, and life in the vicinity destroyed.

In EV of OT 'lightning' is usually the rendering of בָּרָק; but as this word sometimes refers to the physical phenomenon and sometimes to other appearances resembling it, it is not always literally translated. LXX usually renders it by *ἀστραπή*, but in Nah 3^{3} *ἐξαστράπτειν* is used, in Ezk $21^{10.\,15}$ *στίλβωσις*, in Ezk 21^{28} *στίλβειν*, in Job 20^{25} *ἄστρον* (a doubtful reading—*ἄστρα*, A *ἄνδρα*), and in Job 38^{35} *κεραυνός*. In AV בָּרָק is rendered 'glitter' or 'glittering' Dt 32^{41}, Job 20^{25}, Ezk $21^{10.\,28}$, Nah 3^{3}, Hab 3^{11}, and 'bright' Ezk 21^{15}. The only places in RV where בָּרָק is not translated 'lightning' are Dt 32^{41} ('glittering' sword), Job 20^{25} ('glittering' point), Nah 3^{3}, Hab 3^{11} ('glittering' spear). The verb בָּרַק occurs once with the cognate noun Ps 144^{6}.

'Lightning' in EV stands once (Job 37^{3}) for אוֹר ('light,' LXX *φῶς*), and once (Ex 20^{18}) for לַפִּיד ('torch,' LXX *λαμπάς*). In Ezk 1^{14} the Heb. is בָּזָק, which is possibly a corruption of בָּרָק (Cornill, Smend). Here LXX (A) has *βεζέκ*, and so Theod.; Symm. has *ἀκτὶς ἀστραπῆς*, and Aq. *ἀπόῤῥοια ἡ ἀστραπή*. In two passages (Job 28^{26} 38^{25}, also RV Zec 10^{1}) 'lightning' is the equivalent of חָזִיז, a word the meaning of which is uncertain, though it is undoubtedly connected with a thunderstorm. Gesenius-Buhl renders it by *Gewitterwolke*, LXX by *τίναγμα* in Job 28^{26}, *κυδοιμός* in Job 38^{25}, and *φαντασία* in Zec 10^{1}, where AV has 'bright clouds.'

ἐξαστράπτειν occurs in LXX as a rendering of other Heb. words, Ezk $1^{4.\,7}$, Dn 10^{6}.

In Apocr. and NT 'lightning' always stands for *ἀστραπή* or *ἀστράπτειν*. These words, however, like בָּרָק, do not always refer to physical lightning, and are not translated quite uniformly. Thus in Wis 11^{18} *ἀστράπτοντες* is 'shooting' (AV) or 'flashing' (RV) sparkles, in Lk 24^{4} *ἀστράπτουσα* is 'shining' (AV) or 'dazzling' (RV), and in Lk 11^{36} *ἀστραπή* is 'bright shining.'

Lightning is mentioned in connexion with thunderstorms, mostly in poetic descriptions, 2 S 22^{15}, Ps 18^{14} 97^{4} 135^{7}, Jer 10^{13} 51^{16}. Its association with thunder is the basis of a comparison in Sir 32^{10}. The Epistle of Jer (v.^{61}) refers to its beauty, and in the LXX Add. to Dn (3^{73}, Song of Three ^{51}) it is summoned along with the rest of nature to praise God. God is generally represented as sending it, and the lack of the power to do so is one proof of the weakness of man (Job 38^{35}). Lightning is associated with theophanies as at Sinai (Ex 19^{16} 20^{18}), in Ezekiel's vision (Ezk $1^{13.\,14}$), and in various stages of the Apocalypse (Rev 4^{5} 8^{5} 11^{19} 16^{18}). It is regarded as an instrument of God's judgment in Ps 144^{6}, Sir 43^{13}. In Zec 9^{14} God's 'arrows' of destruction are compared to lightning, which seems also to be spoken of as His 'sword' in Dt 32^{41}, and as His 'spear' in Hab 3^{11}. The glitter of weapons is frequently described as 'lightning' in Job 20^{25}, Ezk $21^{10.\,15.\,28}$, Nah 3^{3}. Either the speed or the flashing of chariots is compared to lightning in Nah 2^{4}. Lightning is a figure for brightness of countenance Dn 10[6], Mt 28[3], and of raiment Lk 24[4], for the suddenness of the Second Advent Mt 24[27], Lk 17[24], and for the swift completeness of Satan's overthrow Lk 10[18].

In some passages 'fire' evidently refers to lightning, as when 'fire and hail' are mentioned together (Ex 9[23], Ps 105[32] 148[8]), and when 'fire from heaven' is spoken of either as an agency of destruction (2 K 1[10. 12. 14], Job 1[16]) or as a token of God's acceptance of a sacrifice (1 K 18[38], 1 Ch 21[26]). See FIRE, THUNDER. JAMES PATRICK.

LIGN-ALOES.—See ALOES.

LIGURE (לֶשֶׁם *leshem*; *λιγύριον*; *ligurius, ligyrius*).—In Ex 28[19] 39[12], the only places where *leshem* occurs, AV accepts the transliteration of the Vulg. *ligurius*, first introduced by Wyclif (1380 'ligyre,' 1388 'ligurie'). It is one of the stones in the third row of the high priest's breastplate (see BREASTPLATE OF THE HIGH PRIEST, vol. i. p. 319). The Gen. Bible gives 'turkeis'; RV 'jacinth.' See JACINTH and STONES (PRECIOUS).

LIKE, LIKING.—The adj. 'like' is used in AV for modern 'likely,' in Jer 38[9] 'he is like to die for hunger in the place where he is,' and Jon 1[4] 'the ship was like to be broken.' Cf. Bacon, *Essays*, p. 48, 'A Christian boy in Constantinople had like to have been stoned, for gagging, in a waggishnesse, a long Billed Fowle'; and Rutherford, *Letters*, No. xxi. 'It is like the bridegroom will be taken from us, and then we shall mourn.' The obsol. expression 'like as' is common. Thus Jer 23[29] 'Is not my word like as a fire?' Wis 18[11] 'Like as the king, so suffered the common person.' So are the expressions 'like to' or 'like unto,' as 2 K 17[14] 'They . . . hardened their necks, like to the neck of their fathers'; Ex 15[11] 'who is like unto thee, O LORD, among the gods? who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?' Cf. Udall, *Erasmus' Paraphrase*, vol. ii. fol. 278, 'He once purged us frely from al synne, to make us lyke manered unto himselfe, whiche neyther any law nor any mortal man could be hable to do.' 'Like' is often found with the meaning of equivalent; modern usage would be content with the less expressive 'same,' as Ex 30[34] 'of each shall there be a like weight' (Tind. 'of etch like moch'); Wis 7[6] 'all men have one entrance into life, and the like going out'; Ac 14[15] 'men of like passions with you'; 19[25] 'the workmen of like occupation'; 1 P 3[21] 'The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us.' Cf. Preface to AV, 'If we will descend to latter times, we shall finde many the like examples of such kind, or rather unkind acceptance.'

As a subst. 'like' is now only provincial; in AV it occurs a few times: (1) *the like*, 1 K 10[20] ‖ 2 Ch 9[19] 'There was not the like made in any kingdom' (כֵּן, LXX *οὕτως*); 2 Ch 1[12] 'neither shall there any after thee have the like' (כֵּן); Ezk 5[9] 'I will not do any more the like' (כָּמֹהוּ, LXX *ὅμοια*); 18[10] 'If he beget a son that is a robber, a shedder of blood, and that doeth the like to any one of these things' (אָח; RV 'that doeth any one of these things,' RVm 'that doeth to a brother any of these things'; see Davidson's note); 45[25], Jl 2[2] 'there hath not been ever the like' (כָּמֹהוּ); Wis 16[1] 'Therefore by the like were they punished worthily' (*δι' ὁμοίων*); Sir 7[12] (*τὸ ὅμοιον*): (2) *his like*, Job 41[33] 'Upon earth there is not his like' (מָשְׁלוֹ, LXX *ὅμοιον αὐτῷ*); Sir 13[15] 'Every beast loveth his like' (*τὸ ὅμοιον αὐτῷ*): (3) *their like*, Sir 27[9] 'The birds will resort unto their like' (*τὰ ὅμοια αὐτοῖς*): (4) *such like*, Ezk 18[14] (כָּהֵן); Gal 5[21] (*τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις*). Cf. Mk 2[12] Rhem. 'al marveled, and glorified God, saying, That we never saw the like'; Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* I. ii. 315—

> ''Tis meet
> That noble minds keep ever with their likes.'

The verb 'to like' is both trans. and intrans. The trans. verb means either to 'be agreeable to,' 'please'; so Sir 15[17] 'Before man is life and death; and whether him liketh shall be given him' (*ὃ ἐὰν εὐδοκήσῃ*; RV 'whichsoever he liketh'); cf. Erasmus, *Commune Crede*, fol. 4, 'For so it hath pleased god and hath lyked him to geve his benefites and gyftes to one man, by another man'; fol. 38 'The lorde hethe made all thynges, what so ever it hath liked hym, in heven and in earthe'; *Pr. Bk.* 'Of Ceremonies,' 'Some be so new-fangled, that they would innovate all things, and so despise the old, that nothing can like them, but that is new': or else it means to 'be pleased with,' 'approve of,' so 1 Ch 28[4] 'among the sons of my father he liked me to make me king over all Israel' (בִּי רָצָה, RV 'he took pleasure in me'). Usually this trans. verb is used impersonally, Dt 23[16] 'where it liketh him best' (בַּטּוֹב לוֹ, LXX *οὗ ἐὰν ἀρέσῃ αὐτῷ*); Est 8[8] 'as it liketh you' (כַּטּוֹב בְּעֵינֵיכֶם): Am 4[5] 'for this liketh you, O ye children of Israel' (כִּי כֵן אֲהַבְתֶּם, LXX *ὅτι ταῦτα ἠγάπησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ*); Sir 33[13] 'As the clay is in the potter's hand, to fashion it at his pleasure; so man is in the hand of him that made him, to render to them as liketh him best.' Cf. Gn 16[6] Wyc. (1388) 'Lo! thi servauntesse is in thin hond; use thou hir as it likith'; Hall, *Works*, ii. 45, 'It likes thee well, that the Kingdom of heaven should suffer violence.'

The intrans. verb occurs twice, Dt 25[7] 'And if the man like not to take his brother's wife' (לֹא יַחְפֹּץ); and Ro 1[28] 'And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge' (*οὐκ ἐδοκίμασαν*, RV 'they refused').

In 1 Es 4[39] is found the obsolete form 'like of,' 'all men do well like of her works' (*πάντες εὐδοκοῦσι τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῆς*), which is retained in RV. So in Preface to AV, 'Solomon was greater than David. . . . But was that his magnificence liked of by all? We doubt of it'; Melvill's *Diary*, p. 362, 'The King had determined to bring ham the Papist Lords again, and lyked of nan that wald nocht wag as the bus waggit'; Defoe, *Crusoe*, p. 274, 'Upon the Captain's coming to me, I told him my Project for seizing the Ship, which he lik'd of wonderfully well.'

The verb to **liken** is of frequent occurrence, and means to compare, as Is 40[18] 'To whom then will ye liken God?' Cf. Tindale, *Works*, i. 107, 'On this wise Paul also (Ro 5) likeneth Adam and Christ together, saying that Adam was a figure of Christ.'

For **likeness** see IMAGE.

Likewise is sometimes a mere conj., *also*, as Dt 12[30] 'even so will I do likewise' (גַּם, LXX *ποιήσω κἀγώ*), especially in NT as tr. of *καί*. But more frequently it is an adverb, *in the same way*; thus, Jg 7[17] 'Look on me, and do likewise' (כֵּן); Est 4[16] 'I also and my maidens will fast likewise' (כֵּן); Lk 22[20] 'Likewise also the cup after supper' (*ὡσαύτως*); Rev 8[12] (*ὁμοίως*). In Mt 21[24] we have the expression 'in like wise,' but the meaning is simply *also*, 'I in like wise will tell you by what authority I do these things' (*κἀγώ*, RV 'I likewise'). Cf. Jn 5[21] Tind. 'For lykwyse as the father rayseth up the deed'; and Lever, *Sermons*, p. 108, 'Excepte ye spedelye repente and amende, ye shall everye one be lykewyse served.'

The subst. **liking** was at one time in use in the sense of outward appearance, and then such an adj. as 'good' or 'ill' qualified it. It occurs once in AV, Job 39[4] 'Their young ones are in good liking' (יַחְלְמוּ). In the same sense 'liking' is used as an adj. in Dn 1[10] 'why should he see your faces worse liking (זֹעֲפִים) than the children which are of your sort?' Wyclif (1388) uses the subst. in Gn 2^{10} in the sense of delight, 'And a ryver yede out fro the place of likyng to moyste paradis' (1380, 'the place of delice'). For the adj. cf. Ps 92^{13} Pr. Bk. 'They also shall bring forth more fruit in their age, and shall be fat and well-liking' (in 1539, 'well lykenge').[*]

J. HASTINGS.

LIKHI (לִקְחִי, B *Λακεείμ*, A *Λακειά*).—The eponym of a Manassite family, 1 Ch 7^{19}. See GENEALOGY, VII.^{a} 5.

LILITH (לִילִית; LXX *ὀνοκένταυροι*; Symm. *λάμια* [? *λαμία*]; Vulg. *lamia*).—Is 34^{14} RVm (only); AV 'screech owl'; AVm and RV 'night monster'; Cheyne 'night fairy' (in *PB* 'Lilith').' The Heb. word occurs in a description of the scene of desolation among Edom's ruined fortresses, where 'the wild beasts of the desert (צִיִּים) meet with the wolves (אִיִּים), and the satyr (שָׂעִיר) cries to his fellow, and *Lilith* takes up her abode.' The reference is not to an animal, but to a female demon of popular superstition, analogous to the *'alûkah* or vampire of Pr 30^{15}. The Jewish belief in Lilith probably grew up during the Exile; the name was unquestionably borrowed from Babylonia (cf. the Assyr. *lil* and *lilit*). Lilith was a demon (שֵׁדָה) regarded by the Jews as specially hostile to children, although grown-up persons were also in danger from her (cf. the *Ἔμπουσα* of the Greeks, the *Strix* and *Lamia* of the Romans, and the *ghûls* of the Arabs).

The name *Lilith* is generally derived from the root meaning 'night' (Bab.-Semitic *lilâtu*, Eth. *lêlit*, Heb. לַיִל), night being the special season of this demon's power and activity. Baudissin, however (*op. cit.* below), doubts whether this derivation be correct, although it may have been assumed as the basis of some later Jewish conceptions. He quotes Jensen to the effect that the Sumerian *lila* (=Assyr. *lilû*) means 'wind' (cf. Del. *Assyr. HWB*, *s.v.* 'lilû'), and that 'the handmaid of Lila' is brought into relation to 'the house of the wind.' Baudissin suggests that even in Zec 5^{9} there may be a thought of Lilith in the prophet's mind, when he describes the two women with stork-like wings in which was the *wind* (רוּחַ).

The belief in Lilith existed among the Jews of Mesopotamia, where a species of Lilith-worship prevailed as late as the 7th cent. A.D. In the Rabbinical literature Lilith figures largely (see Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm. s.v.*). She was said to have been the first wife of Adam, and to have flown away from him and become a demon. The Targ. on Job 1^{15} apparently identifies the queen of Sheba with Lilith (see Grätz's *Monatschrift*, 1870, pp. 187 ff., cited by Cheyne in commenting on Is 34^{14}).

See, further, arts. DEMON in vol. i. p. 590 f., and NIGHT MONSTER.

LITERATURE.—The commentaries of Cheyne, Delitzsch, and Dillmann, on Isaiah, *ad loc.*; Whitehouse, *COT* ii. 311; Levy in *ZDMG*, ix. 470, 484 f.; Schrader, *JPTh* i. 128; Lenormant, *Chaldæan Magic* [Eng. tr.], p. 38; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii. 413 ff.; W. R. Smith, *RS* 113; Wellhausen, *Reste*^{2}, 148 ff.; Baudissin, art. 'Feldgeister, Feldteufel' in Herzog's *RE*^{3} vi. 5 f.; Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*, 255 ff.; Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, pp. 145 ff.; Hommel, *Vorsemit. Kult.* 367.

J. A. SELBIE.

LILY.—There are three questions to be settled in reference to the lily: (1) What was meant by שׁוּשַׁן *shúshan*, שׁוֹשַׁן *shôshan*, and שׁוֹשַׁנָּה *shôshannāh*? (2) Are *shúshan* and *shôshannāh* the same as κρίνον (Mt $6^{28.\ 29}$)? (3) What is meant by 'lilies of the field'?

(1) The word *shúshan* or *shôshan* is still preserved in *súsan* or *sôsan*, a word of Persian origin, but adopted in this form into the Arabic. It is possible that it entered the Heb. from the same source. The capital of Persia was called in Heb. Shushan (Neh 1^{1}, Est 2^{8} etc., Dn 8^{2}). Athenodorus (xii. 513) says that this name was derived from the abundance of the lilies (*shúshānîm*) in its neighbourhood. *Sûsan* in Arab. is a general term for lily-like flowers, as the lily, iris, pancratium, gladiolus, etc., but more particularly the iris. It is as general as the English term lily, which is applied to flowers of the genera Lilium, Gladiolus, Convallaria, Hemerocallis, of the botanical order *Liliaceæ*, and to Nymphæa, Nuphar, Funkia, etc., not of that order. The Heb. *shúshan* must be taken in the same general sense. This makes it easy to explain all the references to the flower in the OT. Some of the lilies grow in 'the valleys' (Ca 2^{1}, not our 'lily of the valley,' Convallaria, which does not grow in the East), such as several species of Iris; others 'among thorns' (Ca 2^{2}), as other species of Iris; others in pastures, as still other species of Iris and Gladiolus (2^{1} 4^{5} 6^{3}). Its flowers were typical of luxuriance (Hos 14^{5}), as are those of all the Irises, Gladioli, and Pancratia. The comparison of lips to lilies (Ca 5^{13}) may refer to fragrance, not to colour. The allusion to lilies as features of architectural ornament doubtless refers to the recurved leaves of various flowers of the lily type, imitations of which were wrought in stone for capitals of columns (1 K 7^{19}), and bronze for the lip of the molten laver (2 Ch 4^{5}), as they have been in similar works of art in other lands, from ancient times to our day. The meaning of the term *shôshannîm* in the title of Pss 45. 69 (cf. *Shûshan-'ēdúth*. Ps 60, and *Shôshannîm-'ēdúth*, 80) is obscure. See PSALMS.

(2) Is *shûshan* the same as *κρίνον* (Mt $6^{28.\ 29}$)? The Chaldee Targum and most of the Rabbis render it by 'rose.' Kimchi and ben-Melech render it in one place (1 K 7^{19}) 'violet.' The LXX, however, tr. it always by *κρίνον*. This is probably correct for several reasons. (*a*) Wherever there are not urgent reasons to the contrary, a LXX tr. has the preference. (*b*) *Κρίνον* has in Greek the same general application to lily-like plants as *shûshan* in Hebrew and *lily* in English. (*c*) There is no reason for translating *shûshan* differently in different places, as in the above mentioned authorities and in the Judæo-Spanish VS, which tr. *shûshan* in Ca by 'rose,' and in Hos by 'lirio'=Lilium candidum. Admitting, then, the correctness of the LXX tr. *κρίνον*, we may assume that Mt used this Greek word to express the Aramaic word used by our Saviour, which was doubtless a modification of *shûshan*.

(3) What is meant by 'lilies of the field'? It is plain that our Saviour spoke in a way that His hearers would understand. Therefore (*a*) there could not have been included in His allusion any plant unknown to His audience. This would exclude *Lilium Chalcedonicum*, L., and *Lilium Martagon*, L., which have been assumed by some as the species intended, on account of their beauty, but neither of which is found in Palestine. *Lilium candidum*, L., is also not a plant of Palestine, and being white would not suit the comparison with Solomon's royal garments. Furthermore, if this species had been intended, *λείριον*=*white lily*, would probably have been used, instead of *κρίνον*, which is general. (*b*) None of the *water lilies* could have

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[*] In a note on this passage in his edition of the Psalter of 1539 (p. 321), Earle says, 'The old verb *lician* was first impersonal, and in that condition it produced this adjective, and the substantive liking as in the sense of looking well and in good condition, as in Shaks. *I Henry IV.* III. iii. 6—"I'll repent . . . while I am in some liking." When it became personal and transitive, it produced liking=approval, as in *The Epistle Dedicatorie* (1611), "who runne their owne wayes, and give liking unto nothing but what is framed by themselves, and hammered on their Anville."' From the last came the modern meaning, of which there is an example in AV, Wis 16^{21} 'to every man's liking' (*πρὸς ὅ τις ἐβούλετο*, Vulg. ad quod quisquam volebat, RV 'according to every man's choice').

been intended, as the lilies were 'of the field.' (*c*) It is not likely that they were *anemones* or *poppies* or *artichokes*. All these flowers had their own names, and would not have been suggested to the popular mind by the term lily. (*d*) It must therefore have been some plant of the modern order *Liliaceæ*, *Iridaceæ*, or *Amaryllidaceæ*. Any of these would have been called κρίνον, and most would now be called popularly *lilies* in English. (*e*) It was not only a lily-like plant of the field, but had a stem, which, when dried, would be useful as fuel (Mt 6[30]). This would exclude the *crocuses* and *colchicums*, *Anemone Coronaria*, L. (which, however, has the support of Tristram), and other stemless plants. (*f*) It was a flower of rich colours. The plants which realize all these conditions are the various species of *Gladiolus*, which are indigenous in Palestine, *G. Illyricus*, Koch, *G. segetum*, Gawl, *G. atroviolaceus*, Boiss., and *Ixiolirion montanum*, Lab. All these grow among the grain, often overtopping it, and illuminating the broad fields with their various shades of pinkish purple to deep violet-purple and blue, truly royal colours. Any one who has stood among the wheat fields of Galilee, and seen the beautiful racemes of these flowers, peering up in every direction above the standing corn, will see at once the appropriateness of our Saviour's allusion. They all have a reedy stem, which, when dry, would make such fuel as is used in the ovens (Arab. *tannûr*). These stems are constantly plucked up with the other wild plants from among the wheat, to feed cattle or to burn. The beautiful Irises, *I. Sari*, Schott, *I. Palestina*, Baker, *I. Lorteti*, Barb., and *I. Helenæ*, Barb., have gorgeous flowers, and would suit our Saviour's comparison even better than the above. But they are plants of pasture grounds and swamps, seldom found in grain fields. If, however, we understand by 'lilies of the field' simply *wild lilies*, these would also be included in the expression. Our Saviour's comparison would then be like a 'composite photograph,' a reference to all the splendid colours and beautiful shapes of the numerous wild plants comprehended under the name lily. This seems to us the most simple and natural interpretation, and meets every requirement of the passage.

G. E. POST.

LIME (שִׂיד, κονία) is the commonest of the so-called 'alkaline earths,' its basis being the metal calcium. The various forms of limestone, some of which are very abundant in Palestine, are composed of carbonate of lime. When this is strongly heated, it is converted into oxide of lime or 'quicklime,' and becomes soft and crumbling. Quicklime combines readily and even violently with water to form 'slaked lime,' which is one of the chief ingredients of mortar (wh. see). As the mortar 'sets,' the slaked lime absorbs carbonic acid gas from the air, and is reconverted slowly into carbonate of lime.

Lime is mentioned only twice in EV. In Is 33[12] it is predicted that the Assyrian oppressor shall be 'as the burnings of lime' (מִשְׂרְפוֹת שִׂיד)—a figure for destruction. (Similarly in Is 27[9] the stones of idolatrous altars are to be 'as chalkstones [אַבְנֵי־גִר, LXX κονία λεπτή] that are beaten in sunder,' probably after being 'burnt.' See CHALK-STONES). In Am 2[1] the Moabites are denounced because they 'burned the bones of the king of Edom into lime' (see Driver's note). Phosphate of lime is the chief mineral constituent of bones, and is unchanged by burning. Both in their appearance and in their composition, therefore, bone ashes have something in common with calcined limestone, and are naturally described by the same term. Besides these two passages, שִׂיד occurs in Dt 27[2. 4] both as noun and as verb, and is translated 'plaister' (wh. see).

In Mt 23[27] our Lord, in denouncing the scribes and Pharisees for their hypocrisy, compares them to τάφοι κεκονιαμένοι. It was the custom of the Jews to whiten the outside of their tombs with lime every year on the 15th of Adar, the object being to make the tombs conspicuous, that passers-by might avoid defilement (see Meyer, Holtzmann, *in loc.*). In our Lord's saying, the whiteness is viewed chiefly as a deceptive outward embellishment, contrasting with the corruption within. Similarly in Ac 23[3] St. Paul calls Ananias the high priest τοῖχος κεκονιαμένος.

JAMES PATRICK.

LIMIT.—The subst. occurs only in Ezk 43[12] 'Upon the top of the mountain the whole limit thereof shall be most holy,' where it means a region or space within certain limits or bounds (Heb. גְּבוּל, LXX τὰ ὅρια: the Heb. word is common in this sense, but it is usually rendered by 'border' or 'coast': Wyc. [1388] has 'coostes' here, [1382] 'eendis'; Cov. 'corners'; Geneva gives 'limits'). For the Eng. word cf. Shaks. *I Henry IV.* III. i. 73—

> 'The archdeacon hath divided it
> Into three limits very equally.'

The verb occurs twice: In Ps 78[41] it means to set limits to, restrict, 'they turned back and tempted God, and limited the Holy One of Israel' (הִתְווּ, LXX παρώξυναν, RV 'provoked,' RVm 'limited').

The tr. 'limited' comes from the Gen. Bible, which explains its meaning in the marg., 'As thei all do that measure the power of God by their capacitie.' But it is usually taken in another sense: thus in *JQR* iv. 441, Dr. Friedländer says, 'My conception of God is based on the teaching of the Scriptures, God is the Creator and the Ruler of the Universe, and by His decree phenomena appear and events occur which are contrary to human expectation, *i.e.* miracles are wrought by Him. According to the idea of Mr. Montefiore, the Divine Being is bound to act according to certain laws established by human reason. This is by no means a new theory. Asaph in Ps 78[41], speaking of the Israelites in the wilderness, says, Yea, they turned back and tempted God, and limited the Holy One of Israel.' The translation is due to the fact that the same Heb. form occurs in Ezk 9[4] along with the word *tâw* (which is the name of the last letter of the Heb. alphabet, and was originally in the shape of a cross), where it is trd 'set a mark.' But most follow the LXX παρώξυναν, Syr. [illegible], Vulg. *exacerbaverunt*, and Jerome *concitaverunt*, and translate 'grieved,' or as RV 'provoked,' Kautzsch *kränkten*.*

The Amer. RV introduces 'limit' in this sense into Job 15[8]. Cf. Adams, *Works*, i. 26, 'being an infinite and illimited God.'

The other occurrence of the verb is He 4[7] 'Again, he limiteth a certain day,' where the meaning is 'fix as a limit' (ὁρίζει, RV 'defineth'). So Berners' *Froissart*, xxiv. 'It was not long after but that the king came to his palace of Westminster and all his council was commanded to be there at a certain day limited'; Bradford, *Plym. Plant.* p. 82, 'Their time limited them being expired, they returned to the ship.'

J. HASTINGS.

LINE.—1. The word most freq. translated 'line' in AV is קַו *ḳāw* or קָו *ḳaw*. The *ḳaw* is a marking off or measuring line, as it is fully defined in Jer 31[39], but is usually called simply the 'line.' It is especially the builder's measuring line, as Zec 1[16] 'I am returned to Jerusalem with mercies: my house shall be built in it, saith the Lord of hosts, and a line shall be stretched forth upon Jerusalem'; and so it comes to be used of the line that marks off the part that is to be *taken down* and destroyed, as 2 K 21[13] 'And I will stretch over Jerusalem the line of Samaria, and the plummet of the house of Ahab,'

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* Burgess (*Notes on Heb. Pss*) adopts the tr. 'set a mark,' and has the interesting suggestion that the Israelites proposed to put God *to the test*: if He provides flesh in the wilderness, then we shall acknowledge Him; somewhat after the manner of Caliban—'That's a brave god, and bears celestial liquor; I will kneel to him.'

i.e. the line that marked them off for their destruction; Is 28^{17} 'Judgment also will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet' (RV 'And I will make judgement the line'); Is 34^{11} 'the line of confusion.' Then the word comes into use metaphorically for whatever goes by line or measurement, a rule of life: thus in Is 28^{10} the drunkards of Ephraim mock Isaiah's teaching as 'precept upon precept, precept upon precept, line upon line, line upon line, here a little, and there a little,' showing by their use of a series of monosyllables (*ẓaw la-ẓaw, ẓaw la-ẓaw, ḳaw la-ḳaw, ḳaw la-ḳaw, zĕʿêr shām, zĕʿêr shām*) both their drunkenness and their disgust. For the Eng. word here cf. Archbp. Hamilton's *Catechism* (Mitchell's ed. fol. v), 'For as ane biggare [=builder] can nocht make ane evin up wal without direction of his lyne, a mason can nocht heu ane evin aislair staine without directioun of his rewill, ane skyppar can nocht gyde his schip to gud hevin without direction of his compas, sa a man or a woman can nocht ordour or gyd his lyif evin and strecht to the plesour of GOD without direction of his commandis.'

The only passage of difficulty is Ps 19^{4} 'Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.' AVm suggests as alternative translations 'their rule' or 'direction'; RV accepts the tr. of AV (which comes from the Gen.) without margin. The same verb is found with the measuring line in Ezk 47^{3}, and perhaps the majority of mod. expositors accept this tr., the meaning then being that the heavens send out their line to mark off and take possession of the whole earth, an idea suggested by the line of the horizon running round the earth. So Del., Per., De Witt, Kirkp., Kautzsch. But the oldest translators thought of the line as perhaps a bowstring that gives forth a *sound*. So LXX φθέγγος, Symm. ἦχος, Jer. and Vulg. *sonus*, Wyc. 'soun,' Cov. 'sounde,' Dou. 'sound,' Segond *retentissement*, King 'strain.' Practically the same meaning is got by Cheyne and Wellh. in another way. They read קוֹלָם for קַוָּם, and trans. 'their voice.' They are not influenced, as some of the older expositors perhaps were, by Ro 10^{18}, where St. Paul quotes the LXX and applies the words to the world-wide proclamation of the gospel.

The only places in AV where *ḳaw* is not tr^{d} 'line' are Is 44^{13} '[carpenter's] rule,' where, however, RV gives 'line'; and $18^{2.7}$, where the Heb. גּוֹי קַו־קָו is translated in AV 'a nation meted out' (lit. as AVm 'a nation of line line'); the context demands rather the active meaning 'that meteth out,' as RV (which, however, retains AV in marg.). Cheyne (*Expos.* 3rd ser. vi. 455) criticizes AV as impossible and RV as barely possible. His own rendering is 'the strong strong nation' (in *SBOT* 'a nation of sinewy strength'), which is got by changing the MT into קַוְקַו, a subst. formed after Arab. *ḳuwwa*, 'strength'; and with that Skinner agrees. Ges. (*Thes. s.v.*) had suggested a distinct subst. קַו, and tr^{d} '*gens robustissima*, pr. roboris roboris,' after the Arab.; Buhl in the latest ed. (1899) of the *Handwörterbuch* adopts קַוְקַו *sehnige Kraft* with some hesitation.

2. For חֶבֶל, see CORD. In Ps 16^{6} 'The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places,' the reference is to the portion marked off by the line or measuring cord. In Jos 17^{5} the word is tr. 'portions,' 'And there fell ten portions to Manasseh' (RV 'parts,' RVm 'lines'). **3.** חוּט is tr. 'line' only in 1 K 7^{15}, 'a line of twelve cubits did compass either of them [the pillars] about.' See BAND. **4.** For פָּתִיל (only Ezk 40^{3}) see LACE. **5.** תִּקְוָה Jos $2^{18.21}$ the *line* of scarlet thread which Rahab bound in the window. It is Coverdale's word here, who has 'excepte thou knyttest in the wyndowe the lyne of this rose-coloured rope' . . . 'And she knyt the rose coloured lyne in the wyndowe.' **6.** שֶׂרֶד, in Is 44^{13} *sered*, is in AV mistranslated 'line,' RV gives 'pencil,' RVm 'red ochre.' See PENCIL.

In NT we have only 2 Co 10^{16} 'not to boast in another man's line of things made ready to our hand' (ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ κανόνι, AVm 'rule,' RV 'in another's province,' RVm 'Or *limit*, Gr. *measuring rod*'). The AV tr. is from the Gen. Bible, which explains it by saying, 'God gave the whole worlde to the Apostles to preache in, so that Paul here meaneth by the line his porcion of the countre is where he preached.' J. HASTINGS.

LINEAGE.—Lk 2^{4} only, 'he was of the house and lineage of David' (ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατριᾶς, RV 'of the house and family'). Spenser uses the word in the same sense, *FQ* I. i. 5—

> 'So puro and innocent, as that same lambe,
> She was in life and every vertuous lore,
> And by descent from royall lynage came.'

Cf. also *Nut-Brown Maid* (in Skeat's *Specimens*, p. 107)—

> 'Ye shal not nede further to drede, I wyl not disparage
> You, god defende, sith ye descende of so grete a lynage.'

Wyclif uses the word in the wider sense of kindred or tribe, as Ps 72^{17} 'And all the lynagis of earthe schulen be blessid in hym'; $78^{67.68}$ 'he chees not the lynage of Effraym. But he chees the lynage of Juda'; Rev 5^{5} 'a lioun of the lynage of Juda.' J. HASTINGS.

LINEN.—The manufacture of linen is an extremely ancient art. The Egyptians attained proficiency in it at a very early time. To them Pliny ascribes the invention of weaving (vii. 56), and the honour is given by Athenæus to Pathymias the Egyptian (*lib.* ii.). Linen-weaving became a profitable calling, providing occupation for large numbers. Strabo (xvii. 41, p. 813) says that Panopolis, or Chemmis, was inhabited by linen-weavers. Judging by the representations that have been preserved, the implements used must have been comparatively rude; but cloth of very fine quality was produced with them. So delicate indeed were certain fabrics that they were described as 'woven air.' Specimens of Egyptian work in the form of corselets are mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 182, iii. 47), one dedicated by Amasis to Minerva in Lindus, the other sent by him to the Lacedæmonians, 'made of linen, with many figures of animals inwrought and adorned with gold and cotton wool'; and he notes that 'each thread, though very fine, contained 360 threads all distinct.' Egyptian fine linen, yarn, and embroidered work were widely prized, and reckoned superior to those of any other country. Four qualities of Egyptian linen are specified by Pliny (xix. c. 1), viz. Tanitic, Pelusiac, Butine, and Tentyritic. A large export trade was carried on to Arabia and India.

The Egyptian priests wore linen clothes, and according to Herodotus (ii. 37) were not allowed to wear anything else. But Pliny (xix. 8) says that although they used linen they preferred cotton robes; and the Rosetta Stone mentions 'cotton garments' provided for the use of the temples. It is most probable that the undergarments were always of linen, while robes of cotton worn over them would have to be left outside the temples. Linen was regarded as fresh and cool in a hot climate, with a tendency to keep the body clean. This, with the religious prejudice requiring linen only to be worn in the temples, may account for the belief that the priests were prohibited from ever wearing anything else. When the worship of Isis was introduced into Greece and Rome (Plut. *de Is.* v. 3) the same customs as to priestly dress were adopted (Wilk. *Anc. Egyp.* iii. 117).

Great quantities of linen were employed in wrapping the mummies of the dead (Herod. ii. 86). The bandages used for this purpose were invariably of linen. This has been demonstrated by a series of careful microscopic examinations well described by Wilkinson (*Anc. Egyp.* iii. 115, 116). Wool was never used in this way, because of a belief that it tended to breed worms which would destroy the body. The poor might wear cotton garments in life, provided their mummies were wrapped in linen after death. Linen was used for both men and animals, and sometimes the bandages were as much as 1000 yards in length (Wilk. *ib.* iii. 484).

The influence of Egypt on Israel is seen perhaps in the prominence given to linen in the furniture of the tabernacle and in the dress of the priests. The trade with Egypt was maintained (Pr 7^{16}), and the material was highly prized by the neighbouring Tyrians (Ezk 27^{7}). Flax was early cultivated in Palestine (Jos 2^{6}), but the native industry in linen, as in other woven stuffs, was chiefly confined to the women of the household. The finer kinds were brought from abroad.

The terms used for 'linen' in Scripture are—

1. 2. שֵׁשׁ, בַּד. As a mark of distinction Pharaoh clothed Joseph in linen garments (שֵׁשׁ), from which we may infer that linen formed part of the ordinary dress of royal, or at least eminent persons (Gn 41^{42}). *Shēsh* corresponds in form with the Arab *shâsh*, a fine muslin, made of cotton, and much used to guard against mosquitoes and sand-flies. Linen is, however, here intended. *Shēsh* is sometimes used as the equivalent of *bad* (בַּד), about which there is no doubt (cf. Ex 28$^{5.\ 42}$ 39^{28}, Lv 16^{4}). *Shēsh* appears to be the more general term. It is used for the offerings brought by the people (Ex 25^{4}); the materials used in the hangings of the tabernacle (Ex 26$^{1\ \text{etc.}}$ 27$^{9\ \text{etc.}}$ 35. 36. 38); the finery of women (Pr 31^{22}, AV 'silk,' Ezk 16$^{10.\ 13}$) and the cloth of sails (Ezk 27^{7}), as well as for the various garments of the priests (Ex 28$^{5\ \text{etc.}}$ 39$^{2.\ 5\ \text{etc.}}$). In Ezk 16^{13} we have the peculiar form שֶׁשִׁי; this is probably due to proximity to the similarly sounding מֶשִׁי.

בַּד is used exclusively of articles of dress, and principally of the holy garments of the priests (Ex 28^{42} 39^{28}, Lv 6^{10} 16$^{4\ \text{etc.}}$). In 1 S 22^{18} the priests are designated as persons that wear a linen (*bad*) ephod. Samuel, as a child, engaged in religious service, was girded with a linen ephod (1 S 2^{18}). David in his dance before the Lord was similarly girded (2 S 6^{14}, 1 Ch 15^{27}). The man wearing linen garments is chosen for special work (Ezk 9$^{2.\ 3.\ 11}$ 10$^{2.\ 6.\ 7}$); and the great figure in the vision by the river Hiddekel wears similar attire (Dn 10^{5} 12$^{6.\ 7}$). It appears therefore that *bad* is restricted to uses that are of a religious character.

The distinction between *shēsh* and *bad* cannot be indicated with certainty. In the phrase '*bad* of fine twined *shēsh*' (Ex 39^{28}), the latter term evidently means the thread of which the cloth is woven. This suggests that while *bad* is used only for the cloth, *shēsh* is applied indifferently, now to the thread and now to the woven stuff. Abarbanel (on Ex 25) says that *bad* was a single thread, and *shēsh* (Heb. = 6) was formed by twisting together six single threads. But this seems in contradiction to the above.

3. בּוּץ, LXX *βύσσος*, is from the root בּוּץ, to be white, still heard in the Arab *bûṣ* used for native linen. Of Aramæan origin, it was used specially for the Syrian *byssus* (Gesenius). In Ezk 27^{16} it is distinguished from Egyptian *shēsh* (cf. v.^{7}), but elsewhere the distinction is ignored (cf. 2 Ch 3^{14}, Ex 26^{31}). Targum Onkelos gives *bûẓ* as the equivalent of *shēsh*. *Bûẓ* is the name given to linen, in which the house of Ashbea attained eminence as workers (1 Ch 4^{21}, cf. 2 Ch 2^{14}), of which David's robe was made (1 Ch 15^{27}), of which the veil of the temple was woven (2 Ch 3^{14}), and with which the Levite singers in the temple were clothed (2 Ch 5^{12}). Of this were also the cords which fastened the hangings in the king's gardens at Shushan the palace (Est 1^{6}). Mordecai's dress when he went out from the king was of fine linen (*bûẓ*) and purple (Est 8^{15}, cf. Lk 16^{19}). The Syrian trade with Tyre included 'purple and embroidered work and *bûẓ*' (Ezk 27^{16}). Josephus takes *byssus* as the equivalent of both *shēsh* and *bad*, describing the offerings of the Israelites in the wilderness for the tabernacle as *byssus* of flax (*Ant.* vi. 1), the hangings for the tabernacle as sindon of *byssus* (*ib.* 2), and the priests' drawers and vestments as *byssus*. The vestment, he says, was called *chethone* (כְּתֹנֶת), which denotes linen (*ib.* VII. i. 2). This corresponds closely with the Arab *kittân*, the common name for linen stuffs. The presumption of the mystic Babylon is shown by her arraying herself in fine linen (*byssus*), the fitting dress of the Lamb's wife, since it symbolizes 'the righteousness of the saints' (Rev 18^{16} 19^{8}). Such raiment also is congruous with the character of those who follow him who is called the Faithful and True (*ib.* 19^{14}).

4. פִּשְׁתָּה (or פֵּשֶׁת) is a general term; applied to the plant (Jos 2^{6}), to the raw material (Jg 15^{14}, Pr 31^{13}), to heckled flax (Is 19^{9}), to threads in a mixed web (Dt 22^{11}), to cloth (Lv 13$^{47\ \text{etc.}}$), to the prophet's girdle (Jer 13^{1}), to a measuring-line (Ezk 40^{3}), and to the sacred garments of the priests (Ezk 44$^{17.\ 18}$). See FLAX.

5. סָדִין, an article of fine stuff, of domestic manufacture (Pr 31^{24}), and highly esteemed as a luxury (Is 3^{23}). The סְדִינִים of Samson's challenge to the Philistines (Jg 14$^{12.\ 13}$) were wrappers 'worn as an outer garment,' or 'as a night wrapper on the naked body.' They were sometimes used as curtains (Mishna, *Joma* iii. 4), and also as shrouds (Talm. Jerus., *Kilaim* ix. fol. 32^{6}). For these purposes sheets of considerable size would be necessary (Moore, *Judges, in loc.*). With this the Greek *σινδών* corresponds. It is the linen cloth or dress in which the young man wrapped himself (Mk 14^{51}), and again it is a winding-sheet (Mt 27^{59}, Mk 15^{46}, Lk 23^{53}).

6. אֵטוּן (AV 'fine linen,' RV 'yarn,' Pr 7^{16}), by a Syriacism for אֵטוּן from an unused root אָטַן 'to bind together' (Gesenius). With this may be compared the Arab *'uṣun*, 'tent ropes.' The fine *thread* or **yarn** of Egypt was most probably linen. That the ornamentation of coverings or tapestry for which it was used is here intended, is supported by the renderings of LXX and the Vulgate, which are *ἀμφίταποι* and *pictæ tapetes* respectively.

7. *ὀθόνη* (Ac 10^{11} 11^{5}) is the sheet let down from heaven in St. Peter's vision; while *ὀθόνια* (Jn 19^{40} 20$^{5.\ 6.\ 7}$) are the strips of cloth with which the body was bound, after being wrapped in the *σινδών*.

8. A coarse cloth made of unbleached flax, *ὠμόλινον*, was worn by the poorer classes (Sir 40^{4}).

A combination of animal and vegetable products in dress was prohibited to the Israelites. A kind of cloth was sometimes made of which the woof was cotton and the warp linen (Julius Pollux, *Onom.* vii. 17. Quoted by Wilk. *Anc. Egyp.* iii. 118). Such may have been שַׁעַטְנֵז (LXX *κίβδηλον*), a word of obscure origin, but denoting a mixed stuff of wool and linen (Lv 19^{19}, cf. Dt 22^{11}).

Linen Yarn.—מִקְוֵה, מִקְוֵא (1 K 10^{28}, 2 Ch 1^{16}). For *miḳweh* Buxtorf gives *netum filatim quod in Ægypto magni usus et pretii.* He notes, however, that on 1 K 10^{28} *R. Sal. ibi accipit* מִקְוֵה *pro* אסיפה, *collectione, congregatione vectigalis.* RV renders in each case 'drove.' Perhaps the text is corrupt. LXX B has for מִקְוֵה ἐκ Θεκουε, 'from Tekoa,' Luc. ἐκ Κωά, Vulg. *de Coa.* Winckler (*Alttest. Untersuch.* 168 ff., cf. *Altorient. Forsch.* i. 28), followed by Hommel and others, finds here a reference to *Kuë* (*i.e.* Cilicia).

LITERATURE.—Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, iii. 115–128, 484; Herodotus, ii. 36, 86, 182, iii. 47; Josephus, *Ant.* III. vi. 1, vii. 1, 2; Schroeder, *de Vest. Mul.* pp. 339, 361, etc.; Hartmann, *Hebräerin*, ii. p. 346, etc.

W. EWING.

LINTEL.—See House in vol. ii. p. 434^{a}.

LINUS (Λῖνος).—One of the Christians who joined with Eubulus, Pudens, and Claudia in a salutation at the end of 2 Ti. This Epistle was written from Rome, and it is generally allowed that this Linus is identical with one of the first bishops of Rome. The identification goes back to Irenæus (*c. Hær.* III. iii. 3). It is considered that he was, if we omit St. Peter's name, the first bishop of Rome, though Tertullian (*de Præscr.* 32) implies that Clement was the first. Nothing is really known of his life and episcopate, which Eus. (*HE* iii. 13) says lasted twelve years. Many questions have been raised about him: for instance, as to whether he was bishop before St. Peter's death or not, and whether he may not have been contemporary with Clement, and have exercised his office as bishop of the Gentile Christians only, whilst perhaps Clement was bishop of the Jewish Christians. The date of his episcopate has been variously given, the extreme limits being A.D. 56–67 and A.D. 68–80. Harnack, in his latest work, dates the episcopate of Linus A.D. 64–76. It is asserted in the Greek *Menæa* that he was one of the Seventy. Various works are ascribed to him, but without foundation: (1) the acts of St. Peter and St. Paul; (2) an account of St. Peter's controversy with Simon Magus; and (3) certain decrees in which he ordered women to appear in church with covered heads. He is commemorated in the Roman Service books on Sept. 23, where the following account is given of him:—

> 'The pontiff Linus, who was born at Volterra, in Etruria, was the first ruler of the Church after Peter. His faith and holiness were so great that he not only cast out devils, but also restored the dead to life. He wrote the history of St. Peter, and in particular of his opposition to Simon Magus. He ordered that no women should appear in church unveiled. He was beheaded, because of his adherence to the Christian faith, by the order of Saturninus, whose daughter he had set free from demoniacal possession. He was buried in the Vatican, near the Prince of the Apostles, on Sept. 23. He was bishop for eleven years, two months, and twenty-three days, during which he consecrated or ordained (on two occasions in December) fifteen bishops and eighteen priests' (Brev. Rom.).

Literature.—Pearson, *De serie et successione primorum Romæ Episcoporum* (1688); Lightfoot, *St. Clement of Rome* (1890); Harnack, *Die Chronologie der Altchristlichen Litteratur* (1897); Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, i. (1884–86).

H. A. Redpath.

LION.—**1.** The generic name for lion is אֲרִי *'ărî* or אַרְיֵה *'aryēh*, pl. אֲרָיִים *'ărāyîm* and אֲרָיוֹת *'ărāyôth*. This word is used *literally* (Jg $14^{5.\,8}$ etc.), of *figures* (1 K 7^{29} etc.), in *comparison* (Gn 49^{9}, Nu 23^{24} etc.), *metaphorically* (Gn 49^{9}, Nah 2^{12} etc.). **2.** כְּפִיר *kĕphîr*, is the *young lion* (Jg 14^{5} etc.). **3.** גּוּר *gûr*, גּוֹר *gôr*, signifies *whelp* or *cub* in general. It is applied to the young of תַּנִּין *tannîn* (La 4^{3}, AV 'sea monsters,' RV 'jackals'; preferably, in our opinion, *wolves*. See Dragon, 4). It is usually applied to *lions' cubs* (Gn 49^{9}, Ezk $19^{2.\,3}$ etc. In the latter passage the distinction between *gûr* and *kĕphîr* is clearly brought out). It is used *metaphorically*, for the Babylonians (Jer 51^{38}) and the Assyrians (Nah $2^{11.\,12}$), for Judah (Gn 49^{9}), for Dan (Dt 33^{22}), and for the Israelites (Ezk 19^{2} etc.). **4.** לָבִיא *lābî'* and לְבִיָּא *lĕbîyyāh*, cognate with the Arab. *labwah*, *labuäh*, *labiah*, or *labaäh*. They are poetic forms in Heb. (Gn 49^{9} etc.). The masculine ending is paralleled by *'āthôn=she-ass*, *rāḥēl=ewe*, and *'ēz=she-goat*. There are numerous parallels in the Arab. **5.** לַיִשׁ *layîsh*, is a poetical word for the lion, possibly derived from the idea of his courage and strength (Is 30^{6} etc.). Its Arab. equivalent is *laith*, evidently the same as the Aram. לֵית and the Greek λῖς (Hom. *Il.* xi. 239, xv. 275). **6.** שַׁחַל *shaḥal*, is another poetical epithet of the lion, derived from his roaring (Job 4^{10} etc.). **7.** בְּנֵי־שַׁחַץ *bĕnê-shaḥaẓ*, is tr. 'lion's whelps' (Job 28^{8}, RV 'proud beasts,' m. 'sons of pride'). The same word is tr^{d} (RV Job 41^{34}) 'sons [AV 'children'] of pride.' Undoubtedly this is the correct tr., being figurative for the more noble beasts of prey. In the first passage, after the general expression 'sons of pride,' comes the specification of the lion as one of the noble beasts. There are about four hundred words in Arab. for the lion. Most of them are attributives. It is very common to give the name *Asad*='lion' to boys, as a prophecy of their prowess. This name and that of other strong animals, as the *leopard* and the *wolf*, are given to some boys, born after the death of an older brother, in the hope that the strength of the animal will inhere in him, and so his life may be preserved. As there is abundant evidence that lions were common in Greece as late as the times of Xerxes, so we learn from the OT that they were numerous in Palestine in ancient times. They made their dens in the *thickets* (Jer 4^{7} etc.), *forests* (Jer 5^{6} etc.), *mountains* (Ca 4^{8}, Ezk 19^{9}). The 'swelling of the Jordan,' *i.e.* the fringe of thickets between its upper and lower banks, was among the favourite haunts of the lion (Jer 49^{19} 50^{44}, Zec 11^{3}). Reland (*Pal.* i. 274) says that they were found here as late as the end of the 12th cent. They are met with even now in Mesopotamia. The lion of Palestine was probably the one described by Pliny (viii. 18); 'the body is shorter and more compact, and the mane more crisp and curly.' This sort is the same as that found in Persia and Mesopotamia, and figured on the Assyrian monuments. Layard, however, says that he has seen lions in Mesopotamia with long black manes (*Nin. and Bab.* 487). It would seem that the lions of Palestine were less formidable beasts than those of Africa, as shepherds sometimes attacked them single-handed (1 S 17^{34-36}). Samson rent one in twain (Jg 14^{6}). Amos says, 'as the shepherd taketh out of the mouth of the lion two legs or a piece of an ear' (3^{12}). Lions were sometimes sent as a scourge to the people (2 K 17^{25} etc.). They often attacked and devoured men (1 K 13^{24} etc.; cf. Ps 22^{17} (?), where Aquila is now known to have read כָּאֲרִי). They were hunted by driving them with loud shouts into pits or nets (Is 31^{4}, Ezk $19^{4.\,8}$). The passage telling of the exploit of Benaiah (2 S 23^{20}) reads הִכָּה אֵת־שְׁנֵי אֲרִאֵל מוֹאָב. AV text tr. 'slew two lionlike men (m. 'lions of God,' RV [supplying בְּנֵי, after LXX] 'the *two sons* of Ariel') of Moab.' We read also that 'he slew a lion in the midst of a pit in time of snow.' Oriental monarchs had pits of lions (Dn 6^{7}), the animals being used as executioners, but not for combats with other animals or with gladiators, as among the Romans.

The qualities of the lion alluded to in Scripture are (1) his *royal power* and strength (Gn 49^{9}, Pr 30^{30}). In this respect he was the type of Christ, 'the Lion of the Tribe of Judah' (Rev 5^{5}). Lions were sculptured on the temple and king's house (1 K 7^{29-36} $10^{19.\,20}$). The castle of 'Irakel-Amîr in Gilead has lions carved on its face. (2) His *courage* (Pr 28^{1} etc.). (3) His *cruelty* (Ps 22^{13} etc.), compared with the malignity of Satan (1 P 5^{8}).

Four words express the *voice* of the lion. **1.** שָׁאַג *shā'ag* (Jg 14^{5} etc.), the true *roar* of the roaming lion seeking its prey (1 P 5^{8}). This is also used of the thunder (Job 37^{4}). **2.** נָהַם *nāham*, the savage *yell* with which he lays hold of his victim (Is 5^{29}).* **3.** הָגָה *hāgāh*, the angry *growl*, when an attempt is made to dispossess him of his prey (Is 31^{4}). **4.** נָעַר *nā'ar*, the imperfect *roar* or *growl* of the whelps (Jer 51^{38}). This term is used in Syriac to express the *braying* of asses and the *gurgling* of camels.

There are six words employed to denote the attitudes and movements of the lion. **1.** רָבַץ *rābaẓ* = Arab. *rabaḍ*, signifies to *crouch* (Ezk 19^{2}), awaiting his victim. So sin is represented as *lying* (רֹבֵץ) at the door, *i.e. crouching* (as in RV) as a wild beast, ready to spring (Gn 4^{7}). **2. 3. 4.** In Job 38^{40} it is said כִּי־יָשֹׁחוּ בַמְּעוֹנוֹת יֵשְׁבוּ בַסֻּכָּה לְמוֹ־אָרֶב. The three roots שָׁחַח *shāḥah*, יָשַׁב *yāshab*, and אָרַב *'ārab*, may all indicate the same act, the ambush of a beast of prey. But as *wathab*, which is the Arab. cognate of *yāshab*, means to *spring*, as well as to *crouch* or *sit*, perhaps the passage may refer to a habit of the lion, which is to *crouch*, then to *spring*, and, if he fails to reach his prey by one or two bounds, to *crouch* again. *Yāshôḥû* would express the lying in covert, *yēshèbû* the spring, and *'āreb* the disappointed crouch, awaiting another victim. **5.** רָמַשׂ *rāmas* expresses the *prowling* (lit. *creeping*: see CREEPING THINGS) of wild beasts in search of their prey (Ps 104^{20}). **6.** זִנֵּק *zinnēḳ* expresses the *fatal leap* by which the lion bears down his victim (Dt 33^{22} only). G. E. POST.

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* W. R. Smith (*Prophets*^{1}, 129, 243) reckons *shā'ag* the roar at the moment of the spring, *nāham* the growl with which the lion devours his prey.

LIP (שָׂפָה, χεῖλος).—In addition to its literal sense, the word שָׂפָה means ‘language’ (Gn 11^{1}, Ps 81^{5}), ‘bank,’ ‘shore,’ ‘edge,’ ‘side,’ etc. (Gn 41^{3}, Ex 2^{3} 14^{30} etc.). In the Bible, the ‘opening of the lips’ is so constantly used as the equivalent of speech that the lips come to be regarded as an originating independent centre of life and conduct. Thus we have the ‘lip of truth’ Pr 12^{19}, ‘lying lips’ Ps 31^{18}, ‘burning lips’ Pr 26^{23}; and this figurative use of ‘lips’ is associated with other figures belonging to ceremonial and sacrifices, such as ‘uncircumcised lips’ Ex 6$^{12.30}$, ‘unclean lips’ Is 6^{5}, ‘calves of the lips’ Hos 14^{2}. For ‘fruit of the lips’ see FRUIT.

Orientalisms.—In the intolerable and incurable sorrow referred to in Ezk 24$^{17.22}$, the lips are not to be covered as in the time of ordinary bereavement. The word tr^{d} ‘lips’ here means the moustache and beard, that is, the lower part of the face. It is still the Oriental custom in the house of mourning for the bereaved father or husband to put the hand or part of the head-dress or cloak over the mouth, to indicate that he is stricken of God, and has not a word to say.* Also after telling about some hard experience of sickness and privation in the family, often brought on by dirt and indolence, it is customary to lay the hand on the mouth and look up, as much as to say, ‘God's will be done’ (cf. Ps 39^{7}, Is 47^{5}, Mic 3^{7}).

‘Grace is poured *into thy lips*’ (Ps 45^{2}). This is illustrated by the Oriental way of drinking water from the mouth or short spout of the hand-jar without touching it with the lips. The head is thrown back, and the jar held from 6 in. to a foot above the face, while the water is poured gently into the open mouth and swallowed in a continuous stream.

‘This people with their lips do honour me’ (Is 29^{13}, Mt 15^{8}). In addition to the ordinary meaning of empty words, there may be a reference to the Jewish custom of putting the tassel of the *ṭallith* to the lips during worship as a sign that the law is accepted, not merely as a duty of obedience, but as an enthusiastic preference of the heart. Putting the hand to the lips was also an act in astral worship (Job 31^{27}), and is seen in the ordinary form of Oriental salutations.

G. M. MACKIE.

LIST.—To ‘list’ (from Anglo-Sax. *lust* = pleasure) is to desire, to choose. The earliest use was impers., as Piers Plowman, 165—‘With posternes in pryvytie to pasen when hem liste’; so Mt 20^{15} Tind. ‘Ys it not lawfull for me to do as me listeth with myne awne?’ and Tind. *Works*, i. 106, ‘For where riches are, there goeth it after the common proverb, He that hath money hath what him listeth.’ The word is used once in AV as tr. of βούλομαι (Ja 3^{4}), and thrice of θέλω (Mt 17^{12}, Mk 9^{13}, Jn 3^{8}), always personally. Cf. Fuller, *Holy State*, ‘The Good Wife,’ ‘Her children, though many in number, are none in noyse, steering them with a look whither she listeth’; and Knox, *Hist.* 374, ‘You forget your selfe (said one) you are not in the Pulpit. I am in the place (said the other) where I am commanded in my conscience to speake the truth: and therefore the truth I speak, impugne it who so lists.’ The subst. was also in common use till later than 1611. North, *Plutarch*, p. 876 (‘Cicero’), has ‘He would ever be fleering and gibing at those that tooke Pompeys part, though he had no list himselfe to be merrie’; and often in Bunyan, as *HW*, p. 154, ‘for your Cordial I have no list thereto.’ The word still survives in *listless*. J. HASTINGS.

LITTER (צָב Nu 7^{3}, pl. צַבִּים Is 66^{20} [all]).*—This was probably a wooden construction resembling a small ambulance waggon, having, instead of wheels, two shafts projecting at each end, between which a mule was yoked before and behind. The frame was furnished with a mattress and pillows, and four posts at the corners supported an awning with a movable screen around the sides, for protection against the sun and dust. Solomon's chariot (RV ‘palanquin’), Ca 3^{9} (אַפִּרְיוֹן *'appiryōn*, perhaps the Gr. φορεῖον; see Driver, *LOT*^{6} 449), would be of the same form, but with silver pillars supporting the awning of silk or fine linen. The Arabs use a word of Persian origin, *takht-rawân*, meaning a movable bed or couch for the journey. See HORSE-LITTER.

G. M. MACKIE.

LIVELY.—**1.** The mod. meaning *full of life, brisk*, is found in Ex 1^{19}, Ps 38^{19}, Wis 7^{22}. Cf. Adams on 2 P 1^{4} ‘Paul calls it [sin] an old man —Put off the old man, Eph 4^{22}—above 5000 years old, and yet it is not only alive, but lively and lusty to this day’; and Rhem. NT, p. 215, ‘Tertullian also reporteth, that at Rome being cast into a barrel of hote boiling oile he came forth more pure and fresher or livelier, then he went in.’ **2.** But ‘lively’ once was a synonym for ‘living.’ In 1 P 2^{4} Christ is described as ‘a living stone,’ and in the next verse the translators of AV speak of Christians as ‘lively stones,’ the Gr. being the same, carrying out their rule to introduce variety into the language. The occurrences of ‘lively’ = *living* in AV are Ac 7^{38} ‘the lively oracles,’ 1 P 1^{3} ‘a lively hope,’ 2^{5} ‘lively stones.’ The Greek is always the pres. ptcp. of ζάω to live, and RV gives always ‘living.’ Cf. Ja 1^{23} Gen. (1557), ‘he is like unto a man, that beholdeth his lyvely face in a glasse’ (changed in 1560 to ‘his natural face’); He 4^{12} Rhem. ‘The word of God is lively and forcible, and more persing than any two-edged sword’; *XXXIX Articles*, 1571, Art. xii. ‘Albeit that good workes, which are the fruites of fayth, and folowe after iustification, can not put away our sinnes, and endure the severitie of God's iudgement: yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christe, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively fayth, in so muche that by them, a lively fayth may be as evidently knowen, as a tree discerned by the fruit.’ So Knox speaks of Christ as ‘the

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[*] Schwally (*Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 16) thinks that the covering of the beard in mourning was originally a milder substitute for cutting it off.

[*] The etymology of the word צָב, which is found also in the Targ., is uncertain. Six עֶגְלֹת צָב (EV ‘covered waggons’) formed part of the offering of the ‘princes’ (Nu 7^{3}). צַבִּים are named as one of the means of conveyance by which the dispersed Israelites are to be brought back (Is 66^{20}). In the first passage LXX has ἁμάξας λαμπηνικάς, Vulg. *plaustra tecta*; in the second, LXX ἐν λαμπήναις, Vulg. *in lecticis*. Kautzsch translates in Nu by *überdeckte Wagen* (Siegfried-Stade, *Kutschwagen*), and in Is by *Sänfte* (so also Siegfried-Stade).

lively bread' (*Works*, iii. 73, 266), and as 'the fountain of lively water' (iii. 441). Still more clearly, *Judgement of Synode at Dort*, p. 38, 'as for the will, hee infuseth new qualities into it, and maketh it of a dead heart lively, and of an evill good, of a nilling willing, of a stubborne buxome.' Fuller has a surprising example in *Holy Warre*, iii. 19—'About the year 1160, Peter Waldo, a merchant of Lyons, rich in substance and learning (for a lay man), was walking and talking with his friends, when one of them suddenly fell down dead, which lively spectacle of man's mortality so impressed the soul of this Waldo, that instantly he resolved on a strict reformation of his life.'

J. HASTINGS.

LIVER (כָּבֵד *kābēd*, prob. 'the *heavy* organ of the body *par excellence*,' see Gesenius, *Thes. s.v.*; LXX ἧπαρ).—1. In the case of every animal offered in sacrifice a special sacredness attached to certain fatty parts of the viscera, among which we find, in eleven passages of the Priests' Code, 'the *yôthereth* (יֹתֶרֶת, EV 'caul') of (מִן) the liver' or 'which is upon (עַל) the liver' (Ex $29^{13.\ 22}$, Lv $3^{4.\ 10.\ 15}$ 4^{9} etc.). The evident sense of the words prevents us from following the LXX and Josephus (*Ant.* III. ix. 2 [ed. Niese, 228], *σὺν τῷ λοβῷ τοῦ ἥπατος*) in regarding the *yôthereth* as one of the lobes of the liver itself. Etymologically the word denotes 'that which remains over,' 'excess,' hence excrescence or appendage (cf. Kautzsch-Socin's rendering *Anhängsel*). It most probably, therefore, is the technical name for 'the fatty mass at the opening of the liver, which reaches to the kidneys and becomes visible upon the removal of the "lesser omentum" or membrane extending from the fissures of the liver to the curve of the stomach' (Driver and White's *Leviticus*, p. 65, in Haupt's 'Polychrome Bible'; see also illustr. facing p. 4, and cf. the technical exposition by Professor Reichert in Dillmann, *apud* Lv 3^{4}). This peculiar sanctity of the visceral fat is to be explained by the fact that the liver and kidneys, with the fat surrounding them, were regarded by the Semitic races as being, with the blood, the seat of life (for fuller exposition and reff. see art. KIDNEYS, and W. R. Smith, *RS*² 379 f.). Hence to have an arrow pierce the liver (Pr 7^{23}) or the reins (Job 16^{13}), is to receive one's death-wound.

2. Like the kidneys, the liver was also regarded as an important seat of emotion (cf. Assyr. *kabittu*, 'liver,' 'disposition,' 'feeling.' Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*). Hence a Hebrew poet could thus express the bitterness of his sorrow: 'Mine eyes do fail with tears, my bowels are troubled, *my liver* (כְּבֵדִי)[*] *is poured upon the earth*; for the destruction of the daughter of my people' (La 2^{11}).

3. The prophet Ezekiel represents Nebuchadnezzar as standing 'at the parting of the ways' that led to Jerusalem and to 'Rabbah of the children of Ammon,' and having recourse to three forms of divination: 'He shook the arrows to and fro (so RV improving on AV), he consulted the teraphim, he looked in the liver' (Ezk $21^{21\ [\text{Heb. }26]}$).[†] The last-named, the inspection of the liver of the sacrificial victims, was a mode of divination much affected by the Chaldæan seers—by whom a complete set of rules of interpretation was drawn up (see Lenormant, *La Divination, etc., chez les Chaldéens*)—as also by the Greeks of the post-Homeric age (Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiqs.* p. 259) and the Etrurians, from whom the practice passed to the Romans (cf. art. DIVINATION in this Dictionary, vol. i. p. 621^{b}). Another magical use of the liver (in this case that of a fish) is found in the well-known incident in the story of Tobit ($6^{4\text{ff.}}$ 8^{2}).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

LIVING.—In NT βίος means either[*] (1) this present existence, when AV and RV translate by 'life,' or else (2) the means by which this present existence is sustained, when, with one exception, AV and RV translate by 'living.' Thus (1) Lk 8^{14} 'pleasures of this life'; 1 Ti 2^{2} 'that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life' (RV 'a tranquil and quiet life'); 2 Ti 2^{4} 'the affairs of this life'; and 1 Jn 2^{16} 'the pride of life' (RV 'the vainglory of life'). (2) Mk 12^{44} (‖ Lk 21^{4}) 'she of her want did cast in all that she had, even all her living'; Lk 8^{43} 'which had spent all her living upon physicians'; 15^{12} 'he divided unto them his living'; 15^{30} 'which hath devoured thy living with harlots.' The exception is 1 Jn 3^{17} 'whoso hath this world's good' (*τὸν βίον τοῦ κόσμου*, RV 'the world's goods'): see GOOD, vol. ii. p. 229^{a}. Once the subst. 'living' occurs in the Apocr., when it is the tr. of ζωή, Sir 4^{1} 'Defraud not the poor of his living' (*τὴν ζωὴν τοῦ πτωχοῦ μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς*).

For 'living' in the sense of 'livelihood' cf. Pr. Bk. Catechism, 'My duty toward my neighbour is . . . to learn and labour truly to get mine own living'; and Shaks. *As You Like It*, II. iii. 33—

> 'What! wouldst thou have me go and beg my food,
> Or with a base and boisterous sword enforce
> A thievish living on the common road?'

J. HASTINGS.

LIVING CREATURE.—The translation (AV and RV) of חַיָּה *ḥayyah*, in Ezk[†] (chs. 1. 3. 10) and of ζῷον (the LXX equivalent in Ezk) in Rev (chs. 4. 5. 6. 7. 14. 15. 19) according to RV (AV 'beast'). *Ḥayyah* is in LXX most commonly rendered by θηρίον, with emphasis on the wild or the bestial; when it is rendered by ζῷον (never in LXX used of man) the emphasis is on life, but not reasoning life, see ἄλογα, Wis 11^{15}: it is thus, like *animal*, contrasted with man. In NT the same distinctions obtain: Rev 6^{8} 'to kill . . . by means of the beasts' (θηρίων); 13^{1} 'the beast' (θηρίον); He 13^{11} the sacrificial ζῷα, and 2 P 2^{12} (Jude ^{10}) τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα, the unreasoning living creatures.

The *ḥayyah* of Ezk and the ζῷον of Rev are of that composite creature form known as cherubic (Ezk 10^{20}), partly human, partly animal, and always with wings. (See the representations of cherubic forms in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, i. 267, including a hypothetical construction of the Ezekiel cherub-chariot; see also the figures given at the end of the article 'Cherubim' in Kitto's *Biblical Cyclopædia*). Such forms were 'deeply rooted in ancient religious symbolism,' and belong to the 'common cycle of Oriental tradition.' They were conceived as symbols of the divine attributes rather than as representations of actual beings. The idea seems to have been a combination of the intellect of man with the physical force and alertness of the animal for the purpose of bearing up or attending upon deity or guarding what was sacred. (See CHERUBIM). The winged human-headed bulls of the Assyrian monuments may be regarded as the staple of these composite formations; but, whether or not the 'apparent correspondences in non-Semitic mythologies are perhaps deceptive' (Cheyne), it is difficult to class in an entirely different category the sphinxes of Egypt and of Greece and the gryphons of Teutonic fable.

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[*] But the Gr. and Syr. Versions read כְּבֹדִי 'my glory'='my soul' (cf. Ps 16^{9} etc.). Conversely the LXX read כְּבֵדַי τὰ ἥπατά μου for כְּבֹדִי in Gn 49^{6}. They also make David's wife put a goat's liver (reading כָּבֵד for כְּבִיר of MT) in his bed in the incident recorded in 1 S $19^{13\text{ff.}}$!

[†] On this passage see, further, Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heidentums*², 133 f., and W. R. Smith, *Journ. of Philol.* xiii. 278. Wellh. maintains that there are not *three* forms of divination referred to, the meaning of the passage being simply that the king casts lots before the image of a god and couples with this an act of sacrifice. But why the special allusion to the *liver*? Cf. Bertholet and Davidson, *ad loc.*

[*] Omitting with edd. 1 P 4^{3}.

[†] On 'living creature' as the trn of נֶפֶשׁ הַחַיָּה etc., see art. CREATURE, *ad init.*

While the representations of the nature and functions of the 'living creatures' in Ezk and Rev are closely allied, there are marked differences. In Ezk the four creatures have each four heads, looking four different ways, the face of a man being in front, and the faces of animals on the three remaining sides: in Rev three creatures out of the four are like animals, and only one has the face of a man (4^7). In both (whether *μόσχος* must be a calf or may be an ox) the animals are the same, and in both therefore we have the intelligence of the man, the sovereignty of the lion, the strength of the ox, and the swiftness of the eagle. (Cf. Schultz, *OT Theology*, ii. 236). In Ezk each has four wings, in Rev six wings. In Ezk 1 the wheel accompanying each creature and containing its spirit has its felloes full of eyes (1^{18}): in Rev the creatures themselves are full of eyes (as apparently in Ezk 10^{12}, where the wheels and the bodies are confused). In Ezk their function is that of unitedly bearing in one direction or another the firmament and, above that, the throne, with the manifestation of Jehovah upon it: in Rev the throne is immovable, and the function of the four living creatures is that of choregi leading and concluding the various portions of the unceasing hymn of adoration (4^9 $5^{9.14}$); their position being somewhat enigmatically described as *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου* (4^6), 'in the midst of the throne and around the throne,' the first part of which may possibly mean that they supported the throne on each of its sides, or may be some original confusion or early corruption due to the retention or insertion of the simple *καὶ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ* of Ezk 1^5.

The symbolic, imaginary, and variable (cf. Ezk 41^{18} *two* faces) figures of Ezk became, by easy transference, before the date of the Book of Enoch, simply an order of angels, as did the wheels likewise. In that book we read (61^{10}) of the 'host of God, the Cherubim, Seraphim (perhaps = princes), and Ophanim (wheels), and all the angels of power,' etc. At ch. 40 we are introduced to 'four presences' (*i.e.* four angels of the Presence), different from (*i.e.* higher than) those that sleep not (*i.e.* those that unceasingly bless the Lord of spirits, saying 'Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of spirits: He filleth the earth with spirits'): and these four presences, 'angels of the Lord of spirits,' are Michael, the merciful; Raphael, the healer; Gabriel, the mighty; and Phanuel, the spirit of repentance and hope: these 'gave glory before the Lord of glory.' The function of the seraphs, each with six wings, in Is 6^2, is similar: 'One cried to another, Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory.'

We can now see the syncretic character of the nature and functions of the 'living creatures' in Rev. We can see how the composite, symbolic creature-forms of the throne-bearers in Ezk—of which storm and lightning clouds had probably been the prototype—had been assimilated in nature and in function to the seraphs of Isaiah, and to the four angelic 'presences' and 'voices' of Enoch, and had thus finally taken up their position as the highest angels, standing immediately before the throne, and leading the heavenly choir. And so we can understand how, in the later Psalms, He who is said to be 'enthroned upon the cherubim' (Ps 80^1 99^1) can also be spoken of (22^3) as 'enthroned upon the praises of Israel.' If we take note of the diversifications in the symbol as displayed in the history of its use (even by one and the same writer), we shall not be hasty to define rigidly the ideas its several attributes embody. The notion that the living creatures in Rev $4^{6ff.}$ represent 'the quintessence of creation' will scarcely be maintained in face of the fact that in 5^{13} creation is viewed as something quite distinct from them. But if we regard them as standing for the noblest of God's creatures, the most honoured and efficient of His servants, the most devout and constant of His worshippers, then the numerical symbol of all pervasiveness, the human and animal symbols of intelligence, of sovereignty, of strength, and of swiftness, the eyes-symbol of ubiquitous watchfulness and penetration, and the sanctus-symbol of unceasing praise and adoration, will all readily and easily fall into their proper place. For early Christian interpretations see Zahn, *Forsch.* ii. 257 ff.; Swete, *St. Mark*, xxxi ff.

J. MASSIE.

LIZARD (לְטָאָה *lĕṭâ'āh*, *καλαβώτης*, *stellio*).—The word *lizard* occurs but once in AV (Lv 11^{30}). It is one of the following six names of unclean animals (Lv $11^{29.30}$), which we give with their Heb. originals and AV and RV equivalents:—

			AV	RV	
1.	צָב	*ẓâb*	tortoise	great lizard.	See CHAMELEON.
2.	אֲנָקָה	*'ănâḳâh*	ferret	gecko.	,, GECKO.
3.	כֹּחַ	*kōăḥ*	chameleon	land crocodile.	,, CHAMELEON.
4.	לְטָאָה	*lĕṭâ'āh*	lizard	lizard.	
5.	חֹמֶט	*ḥōmeṭ*	snail	sand lizard.	,, SNAIL.
6.	תִּנְשֶׁמֶת	*tinshemeth*	mole	chameleon.	,, CHAMELEON.

It will be seen from this list that the RV regards all these creatures as lizards. In our opinion, 1, 3, 4 are pretty certainly *lizards*, 2 probably so, 5 dubious, and 6 perhaps the *mole-rat*, but possibly the *chameleon*. RVm says of 2, 3, 4, 5, 'words of uncertain meaning, but probably denoting four kinds of lizards.' What species of lizard is intended by *lĕṭâ'āh* we have no means of determining. The commonest species are *Lacerta viridis*, L., the *green lizard*; *Lacerta agilis*, L., the *sand lizard* (RV equivalent of AV *snail*, Heb. *ḥômeṭ*); *Zootica muralis*, Laur.; *Ophiops elegans*, Menetr.; *Gongylus ocellatus*, Forsk.

In Pr 30^{28}, where AV has 'the spider taketh hold with her hands,' RV gives 'the lizard taketh,' etc., RVm 'the lizard thou canst seize with thy hands.' The Heb. word is שְׂמָמִית. The tr$^{\text{n}}$ 'lizard' is supported by the LXX *καλαβώτης*, Vulg. *stellio*, and is adopted by Reuss, Kamphausen, etc., although Delitzsch and some others still defend 'spider.' See further, Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 1084.

G. E. POST.

LOAF.—See BREAD, vol. i. p. 318^{a}.

LO-AMMI (לֹא־עַמִּי 'not my people,' LXX *οὐ λαός μου*).—The second son and third child of Gomer, the wife of the prophet Hosea. Whether or not we infer from Hos $1^{2f.}$ that Lo-ammi was the offspring of an unlawful union, he was recognized by Hosea as his child, and from him received his name. He was born three or four years after his sister Lo-ruhamah, as we may infer from the reference to the weaning of the latter (Hos 1^8), and the fact that weaning took place at two or three years from birth (2 Mac 7^{27}, cf. Gn 21^8, 1 S 1^{23}). The detail is of importance against the purely allegorical interpretation of the chapter, since it is to the point only in a narrative of fact. The *name* is symbolical, embodying Hosea's conviction that Israel had forfeited its claim to J″'s protection: 'call his name Lo-ammi; for ye (the Israelites) are *lō-'ammî*' (*i.e.* 'not my people,' cf. Hos 1^{11} RV), Hos 1^9. For symbolical names given to other actual children, cf. MAHER-SHALAL-HASH-BAZ, SHEAR-JASHUB. Nothing further is known of the person Lo-ammi. The name occurs again in Hos 2^{23} [Heb. ^{25}] RVm, and also in the Hebrew in

2^{1} [Eng. 1^{10}]; but in both these cases the name or phrase refers to the people of Israel. Thus 2^{1} [Eng. 1^{10}] may be translated, 'And instead of that which was said to them, Ye are Lo-ammi (*i.e.* 'not my people'), it shall be said unto them (ye are) sons of the living God'; and similarly 2^{25} [Eng. 2^{23}] 'And I will say unto Lo-ammi, Thou art Ammi (*i.e.* 'my people').' Both these passages in which the name of Hosea's son is actually applied to the people of Israel have been regarded by certain writers as later additions to the Bk. of Hosea; on 1^{10}–2^{1} [Heb. 2$^{1\text{-}3}$] cf. Wellh., Nowack, *ad loc.*, and Cheyne in W. R. Smith's *Prophets*^{2}, p. xviii; and on 2$^{18\text{-}23}$ [Heb. 2$^{20\text{-}25}$] Nowack, *ad loc.* Zec 13^{9} is an interesting and suggestive parallel passage.

G. B. GRAY.

LOAN.—See DEBT, vol. i. p. 579.

LOCK.—See KEY, vol. ii. p. 836.

LOCUST.—The following words in the Heb. refer to various species of the *Orthoptera*, viz.:—

1. אַרְבֶּה *'arbeh.* This is usually the generic name for locusts, and the one most frequently used in the OT (Ex 10$^{4\text{-}15}$ etc.). It is probably derived from רָבָה *râbâh*, signifying to *multiply*, and is highly descriptive of the fecundity of these insects. It is limited by the description (Lv 11^{21}), which makes it one of the 'flying creeping things that go upon all four, which have legs above their feet, to leap withal upon the earth.' It shares these characteristics with the סָלְעָם *sol'âm*, *bald locust*, חַרְגֹּל *ḥargôl*, AV *beetle* (impossible, as the beetle does not leap; it may be, as in RV, 'cricket'), and חָגָב *ḥâgâb*, *grasshopper.* In four places only AV tr. it 'grasshopper' (Jg 6^{5} 7^{12}, Job 39^{20}, Jer 46^{23}). In all these RV has 'locust.' Wherever *'arbeh* is used, reference is made either to its numbers or its destructiveness. It is evident that the word refers to the migratory species, which are such a terrible plague in the East. The two which do the greatest damage are *Œdipoda migratoria* and *Acridium peregrinum.* These species are endemic in the deserts south-east and south of Palestine, and at irregular intervals spread northward and eastward.

2. סָלְעָם *sol'âm*, ἀττάκης, *attacus* (Lv 11^{22}). This is one of the edible leapers defined in the previous verse. The obsolete root signifies to *swallow* or *devour.* The Talmud, which is the authority for the EV *bald locust*, says that it has a smooth head. Tristram suggests the species of *Truxalis*, which are common in Palestine.

3. חַרְגֹּל *ḥargôl*, perhaps 'galloper,' ὀφιομάχης, *ophiomachus* (Lv 11^{22}), tr. AV 'beetle' [quite inedible], RV 'cricket,' is another of the edible species, distinguishable from the others in the list. But, as there is no hint of the qualities of this kind, we must be content to confess our ignorance. The LXX guess of a *serpent killer* has no foundation.

4. חָגָב *ḥâgâb*, perh. 'concealer (*sc.* of the sun),' ἀκρίς, *locusta.* It is evidently one of the devouring species, and is tr. in one place AV and RV 'locust' (2 Ch 7^{13}), while in the others (Lv 11^{22}, Nu 13^{33}, Ec 12^{5}, Is 40^{22}) it is translated 'grasshopper.' What species it is we have no means of knowing. Its occurrence in the list with *'arbeh*, *sol'âm*, and *ḥargôl* makes it sure that it was known to the Israelites, and distinguishable from the other edible insects mentioned.

5. צְלָצַל (pausal form) *ẓĕlâẓal* (Dt 28^{42}), is tr. by the LXX ἐρυσίβη, and Vulg. *rubigo* = *blight* or *mildew.* But it is much more probable that this is a word referring to the *whizzing*, *whirring*, or *rushing* of the wings of the locusts (cf. Is 18^{1}), or the stridulation (of legs against sheath of wing).

6. [גֵּב] *gêb*, only in pl. גֵּבִים (Is 33^{4}); גֹּבַי *gôbai* (Am 7^{1}, AV 'grasshoppers,' m. 'green worms,' RV 'locusts'); גּוֹב *gôb*, גּוֹבַי *gôbai* (Nah 3^{17}), AV 'great grasshoppers,' RV 'swarms of grasshoppers.' The LXX tr. all these ἀκρίς. Some have supposed (see Driver on Am 7^{1}) this word to refer to the larval state of the locust, but there is no certain proof of it.

7. גָּזָם *gāzām*, 'lopper' or 'shearer.' The two lists of four devourers (Jl 1^{4} 2^{25}) have perplexed commentators. *'Arbeh*, which is second in the first list and first in the second, is, as seen above, the most generic name for locust. In the first list it is said that that which the *gāzām*, 'palmerworm,' hath left hath the *'arbeh*, 'locust,' eaten; that which the *'arbeh* hath left hath the *yeleḳ*, 'cankerworm,' eaten; and that which the *yeleḳ* hath left hath the *ḥāṣîl*, 'caterpillar,' eaten. In the second list it is said, 'I will restore to you the years which the *'arbeh* hath eaten, the *yeleḳ*, and the *ḥāṣîl*, and the *gāzām.*' This discrepancy in the order in lists found in successive passages of the same author, creates an insuperable difficulty in determining with certainty the destroyers intended. The attempt to identify them as successive steps in the development of the locust is defeated by the want of accord between the two passages. (See PALMERWORM).

8. יֶלֶק *yeleḳ*, prob. 'lopper,' ἀκρίς, βροῦχος, *bruchus*, *cankerworm*, *caterpillar.* The expression (Nah 3$^{15.\,16}$), 'the sword shall devour thee like the *yeleḳ*; make thyself many as the *yeleḳ*; make thyself many as the *'arbeh* . . . the *yeleḳ* spoileth (m. spreadeth himself) and flieth away,' has been supposed to imply that the *yeleḳ* is the larval stage of the locust up to the time of the evolution of its wings. But as it is said that the *yeleḳ* flies away, the passage is not decisive. The *yeleḳ* is spoken of as coming after the *'arbeh* (Ps 105^{34}), before and after (Jl 1^{4} 2^{25}). In the passage in Ps, AV has 'caterpillar,' RV 'cankerworm.' In Joel both VSS have 'cankerworm.' In Jer 51$^{14.\,27}$ AV has 'caterpillars,' RV 'cankerworm.' In the latter verse the creature is said to be 'rough.'

9. חָסִיל *ḥāṣîl*, 'finisher,' ἀκρίς, βροῦχος, ἐρυσίβη, *rubigo*, *ærugo*, *caterpillar.* This discrepancy of tr. in the VSS makes the meaning of this word uncertain. It occurs after *'arbeh* (1 K 8^{37}, 2 Ch 6^{28}), before it (Ps 78^{46}, Is 33^{4}), after *yeleḳ* (Jl 1^{4} 2^{25}). In all the passages the context seems to point to the destroying locust in some of its forms.

The destructiveness of locusts is often referred to in Scripture. It is compared with that of a mighty army (Jl 2$^{2\text{-}9}$). They are perhaps the most terrible of all the scourges of Bible lands. Their swarms fill the air, darkening the sky, and the noise of their wings resembles the pattering of a heavy rain. They fly with great rapidity, and towards nightfall they light wherever they may happen to be; and such are their numbers that they often break the branches of the trees to which they cling. The flying locust eats comparatively little, but will not disdain any green thing that may be in his way. But as the swarm invariably resumes its flight as soon as the sun has warmed it a little (Nah 3^{17}), and does not return, it has not time to destroy all the vegetation. Often a swarm comes and goes away without having done much harm. But such of the females as are ready to lay their eggs begin as soon as they alight to moisten the spot of earth with a secretion from their tails, and excavate in the softened soil holes in which they deposit the ovisac, which often contains as many as a hundred eggs. The next morning the swarm flies away, and at night other females deposit their eggs at their new resting-places. It is the larvæ of these eggs which work the devastation which makes the locust so great a scourge. When a swarm of locusts appears, the first care of the owners of lands and gardens is to prevent them from alighting on their grounds. For this purpose they beat pans, and shout, and fire guns, and make all manner of noise. The locusts, which are easily frightened, may thus be compelled to seek another resting-place. But finally the vast swarm alights. The people then pour out into the fields and gardens, and catch as many as possible, and place them in sacks, in which they are either pounded to death or drowned. The same hunt is repeated the next morning, before the sun is up, while the locusts, chilled by the night air, and weighted with the dew, are still unable to fly (Nah 3^{17}). As soon as they are gone the search for their eggs begins. The government either enforces a *per capita* contribution of these eggs, or offers a price for them by weight. With all the exertions of many hundreds of persons, however, vast numbers of the eggs escape their search, and in about fifteen to twenty days hatch out. The black larvæ now spread like a pall over the land, eating every green thing, even stripping the bark off the trees. As they cannot fly, they convert the district around which they were hatched into a desert, until, after a month to forty days, their wings are grown, and they fly away to begin in other places their round of devastation. The Arab. name for them is *jerâd*, from a root signifying *to strip*. The march of these destroyers is arrested in various ways. The people dig trenches in their pathway, and, when these are full of the creatures, turn back the earth and bury them, or turn water into the trenches and drown them. They often kindle fires in their pathway, and drive them into the flames. Besides the damage done by locusts in their various stages of development in devouring vegetation, they choke the wells and streams, which are often filled by their innumerable carcases, and so defiled that their waters are no longer drinkable. When driven by strong winds into the sea or rivers, their bodies are piled in prodigious heaps along the shore or bank, and breed pestilence by their intolerable effluvia.

Locusts are unable to fly against the wind. Their wings become entangled, and they are 'tossed up and down' (Ps 109^{23}), and fall to the ground. They are certainly used as food, and were doubtless part of the diet of John the Baptist (Mt 3^4). The writer has seen them toasted and eaten. The Arabs stew them with clarified butter, after tearing off the head, legs, and wings. They are said to be dried and ground to meal in some places.

Locusts are mentioned once in the NT (Rev 9^{3-11}) as monsters, in the likeness of war horses, with hair like women, teeth like lions, breastplates like iron, tails with stings like scorpions, their king being Abaddon or Apollyon, the angel of the abyss.

See on the whole subject of this article the elaborate 'Excursus on Locusts' in Driver's *Joel and Amos*, 82 ff., and the literature there cited.

G. E. POST.

LOD, LYDDA (לֹד; LXX Λόδ in 1 Ch 8^{12} [A; B om.], Ezr 2^{33}, Neh 7^{37}; Λύδδα in Neh 11^{35} [ABא* om.], 1 Mac 11^{34}; NT Λύδδα) is identified as the Arabic *Ludd*, a village in the plain of Sharon about 10 miles S.E. of Joppa on the way to Jerusalem. From a distance its appearance is pleasant and picturesque, occupying a fertile hollow in the great undulating plain, surrounded by gardens of olive and various fruit trees, and situated near a valley that leads into the river 'Aujeh. The village itself is very dilapidated, a haunt of dirt diseases, the effect of modern squalor being intensified by the presence of noble ruins testifying to former prosperity.

1. *Bible references.*—Lod is alluded to in 1 Ch 8^{12} as having been built along with Ono by Shemed of the tribe of Benjamin. The inhabitants of these villages shared in the tribulations of the Babylonian captivity, and a considerable number of them returned under Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah (Ezr 2^{33}, Neh 7^{37} 11^{35}).

The most interesting allusion to Lydda is in the NT, where it is recorded that St. Peter visited the saints there, and healed Æneas, and when there received the urgent request to go to Joppa on behalf of Dorcas (Ac 9^{32-38}).

2. *General history.*—Besides being close to the road from Joppa leading eastward to Jerusalem, Lydda was also on the great caravan route between Babylon and Egypt. Camels laden with rich merchandise from Baghdad, Aleppo, Damascus, and the region beyond Galilee, and protected by armed attendants, were constantly defiling through Shechem, resting at Lydda and Ono, and passing on through Gaza to Egypt. Joseph would be taken by the Ishmaelites along this route. The manufacture and repair of such requisites for the journey as sacks, saddles, and strappings, would create the skilled labour in cloth, leather, wood, and metal that made the neighbouring Ono 'the valley of craftsmen' (Neh 11^{35}). During the Jewish wars of independence, the frequent sieges, change of ownership, and general lawlessness of Jaffa would encourage the transit of goods by land until, under more settled government, commerce naturally chose the cheaper mode of conveyance by sea. In this way, by a peaceful necessity of trade, apart from the devastations of war, Lydda, like Aleppo and other towns of the caravan route, fell into insignificance and silent decay.

3. *Non-biblical references.*—Lydda is mentioned by Josephus as one of the eleven toparchies or chief sections of the kingdom of Judæa over which Jerusalem presided (*BJ* III. iii. 5). Along with Aphærema and Ramathaim it was taken from Samaria and restored to Jerusalem by Demetrius Nikator, B.C. 152 (1 Mac 10^{30} 11^{34}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 9). Its inhabitants were wantonly sold into slavery by Cassius, and restored to freedom by Antony (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xi. 2, xii. 2–5). Cestius Gallus, who inflicted such loss upon Joppa, also burnt Lydda and killed about fifty of its inhabitants, the majority being absent attending the Feast of Tabernacles at Jerusalem (Jos. *BJ* II. xix. 1). Soon afterwards it was rebuilt, and was a town of considerable wealth and importance when it surrendered to Vespasian on his way to the siege of Jerusalem (Jos. *BJ* IV. viii. 1). About this period Lydda was famous as a seat of Rabbinical learning. In the early Christian centuries it was of sufficient importance to be made the seat of a bishop. Its bishop took part in the Council of Nicæa, and, later on, Pelagius appeared before an ecclesiastical assembly there on a charge of heresy, and, amid considerable tumult, was acquitted.

Lydda and St. George.—The celebrated St. George, called by the Moslems *el-Khudr*, 'the ever-green *or* undying,' was born at Lydda in the 3rd cent., and is said to have died there. The beautiful cathedral church of St. George was built over his reputed tomb. On account of its fortress-like appearance, it was destroyed by the Moslems when they invaded the land. After being rebuilt with much magnificence by the Crusaders, it was demolished by Saladin in 1191, after the disaster of Ḳurn Ḥattin, where a disorderly rabble, bearing the name and mission of the Cross, was annihilated on the reputed Mount of Beatitudes.

After so many years of conflict, the church now enjoys a truce of dilapidation, with a mosque in one end of the ruin and a Greek church in the other.

From the 2nd cent. onwards Lydda was called *Diospolis*, but the old name was never quite superseded, and in the Arabic *Ludd* survives to the present day.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP*2 ii. 244–248; Guérin, *Judée*, i. 322 ff.; Thomson, *Land and Book, Southern Pal.* 103–107; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 76 ff.; Schürer, *HJP* (Index, *s.* 'Lydda'); Buhl, *GAP* 197. G. M. MACKIE.

LODDEUS (B *Λααδαῖος* v.^{44}, *Λοδαῖος* v.^{45}, A *Δολδαῖος*; AV Saddeus, Daddeus; 1 Es $8^{45.46}$ [$^{44.45}$ LXX]).—The 'captain in the place of the treasury' (or 'at the place Casiphia,' Ezr 8^{17}), to whom Ezra sent, while encamped on the river Theras, for Levites to accompany him on the return. He is called IDDO in Ezr 8^{17}. The form *Λοδαῖος* appears to have arisen from repeating the ל in אֶל־אִדּוֹ 'to Iddo.' H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

LO-DEBAR (in 2 S $9^{4.5}$ לוֹ דְבָר, B *Λαδαβάρ*, A *Λαβαδαρί*; in 17^{27} לֹא דְבָר, BA *Λωδαβάρ*, Luc. *Λαδαβάρ*).—A place in Gilead, near to, and apparently east from, Mahanaim. It was the retreat of Mephibosheth till he was summoned to court by David, 2 S $9^{4.5}$. It is mentioned also upon the occasion of David's flight to the east of the Jordan, 17^{27}. The site has not been recovered.

Wellhausen and Nowack (in their *Comm. ad loc.*) and Buhl (*GAP* 71), following Grätz, find the proper name Lo-debar also in Am 6^{13}, where EVV (followed by Driver) read and tr. לֹא דָבָר 'a thing of nought.' Lo-debar is perhaps intended in the לִדְבִר of Jos 13^{26}. See DEBIR, No. **2.** J. A. SELBIE.

LODGE.—To lodge is in AV nearly always to spend the night, as Jos 8^{9} 'Joshua lodged that night among the people'; Ru 1^{16} 'where thou lodgest, I will lodge'; Job 31^{32} 'the stranger did not lodge in the street: but I opened my doors to the traveller'; Zeph 2^{14} 'both the cormorant and the bittern shall lodge in the upper lintels of it.' In OT that is always the meaning. The verb is some part of לוּן or לִין, except in Jos 2^{1} 'And they went, and came into an harlot's house, named Rahab, and lodged there' (וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ־שָׁמָּה, RV 'and lay there'); and 4^{8} 'the place where they lodged,' Heb. מָלוֹן, elsewhere translated 'lodging' (2 K 19^{23}, Is 10^{29}), 'lodging place' (Jos 4^{3}, Jer 9^{2}), 'inn,' with RV 'lodging place' (Gn 42^{27} 43^{21}, Ex 4^{24}). In Apocr. and NT we find 'lodge' as the tr. of (1) *αὐλίζομαι*, To $6^{1.10}$ 9^{5}, Sir 14^{26}, Mt 21^{17}; (2) *καταλύω*, Sir $14^{24.25}$, Lk 9^{12}; (3) *κοιμάομαι*, 1 Mac 11^{6}; (4) *κατασκηνόω*, Mt 13^{32}, Mk 4^{32}, Lk 13^{19}. In all these places the meaning of 'lodge' is 'spend the night.' But we also find *ξενίζω* so translated in Ac $10^{6.18.23.32}$ 21^{16} 28^{7}, and *ἐπιξενόομαι* in Sir 29^{27}, and then the meaning is, if trans., 'receive as a guest,' 'entertain,' or if intrans. 'be entertained,' 'be a guest.' Thus the only meanings that the verb to lodge has in AV and RV are (1) pass the night in a place, and (2) entertain one or be entertained by one as a guest. For the meaning 'pass the night' see Shaks. *II Henry VI.* I. i. 80—

> 'Did he so often lodge in open field,
> In winter's cold, and summer's parching heat,
> To conquer France, his true inheritance?'

Rom. and Jul. II. iii. 36—

> 'And where care lodges, sleep will never lie.'

Macbeth, II. ii. 26—

> 'There are two lodged together.
> One cried, "God bless us!" and "Amen" the other.'

And for the sense of 'entertain' or 'be entertained,' He 13^{2} Tind. 'Be not forgetfull to lodge straungers'; *Taming of Shrew*, IV. ii. 107—

> 'And in my house you shall be friendly lodged.'

Lodge as a subst. occurs but twice: (1) Is 1^{8} 'And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers' (מְלוּנָה found elsewhere only Is 24^{20}, AV 'cottage,' RV 'hut'; it is the watch-tower [Mt 21^{33}, Mk 12^{1}] or hut in which the caretaker of the vineyard dwells while the crop is ripening until it is gathered in: see Wetzstein in Delitzsch's *Job*, ii. 74 f., and art. BOOTH, with illustration under CUCUMBER); (2) Jth 3^{3} 'Behold, our houses, and all our places, and all our fields of wheat, and flocks, and herds, and all the lodges of our tents, lie before thy face' (*αἱ μάνδραι τῶν σκηνῶν ἡμῶν*; RV 'the sheepcotes of our tents,' as AV in 2^{26} for the same word; 'lodges' is from the Geneva Bible, which has 'lodge' also in 2^{26}).

Lodging or lodging place is found in both meanings belonging to the verb lodge: (1) a place to spend the night in, as Jer 9^{2} 'Oh that I had in the wilderness a lodging place of wayfaring men' (מָלוֹן); Sir 14^{25} 'He shall lodge in a lodging where good things are' (*κατάλυμα*); (2) a place of entertainment, only Ac 28^{23} and Philem ^{22} (*ξενία*). J. HASTINGS.

LOFT (from the Scand., but the same as Anglo-Saxon *lyft*, the sky) is used twice in AV. In 1 K 17^{19} it means an upper room in a house, 'And he took him out of her bosom, and carried him up into a loft, where he abode, and laid him upon his own bed' (אֶל־הָעֲלִיָּה, RV 'into the chamber'). Elsewhere עֲלִיָּה is tr. 'chamber,' 'upper chamber,' 'parlour,' etc. (but see Moore on Jg 3^{30}). LXX has *ὑπερῷον*, its usual word for עֲלִיָּה; Vulg. cœnaculum, whence Wyc. 1382, 'sowping place,' *i.e.* supper room, but 1388 'soter,' *i.e.* upper room; Dou. 'upper chamber'; 'loft' is the Bishops' word. In Ac 20^{9} it means one of the storeys of a house, 'Eutychus . . . fell down from the third loft' (*ἀπὸ τοῦ τριστέγου*, RV 'from the third storey'; Vulg. de tertio cænaculo; Wyc. 'from the third stage *or souping place*'; Tind. 'from the thyrde lofte,' followed by the rest of the versions). Cf. Gn 6^{16} Tind. 'And the dore of the arcke shalt thou sette in the syde of it: and thou shalt make it with three loftes one above an other.' In Scots a 'lofted' house was a house of more than one storey. Jamieson quotes from Scott, *Waverley*, i. 298, 'Ian nan Chaistel's mansion, a high rude-looking square tower, with the addition of a lofted house, that is, a building of two stories.' J. HASTINGS.

LOFTINESS.—The adj. 'lofty' is used literally as in Is 57^{7} 'upon a lofty and high mountain'; and also metaphorically when it means 'haughty,' as Is 2^{11} 'The lofty looks of man shall be humbled'; so the adv. which occurs only in Ps 73^{8} 'They speak loftily' (מִמָּרוֹם, RVm 'from on high'). Loftiness is only metaphorical, haughtiness, Is 2^{17} 'the loftiness of man shall be bowed down' (גַּבְהוּת הָאָדָם), and Jer 48^{29} 'his loftiness' (גָּבְהוֹ). Cf. Shaks. *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. i. 11—'His humour is lofty, his discourse peremptory'; Sandys, *Sermons*, 107, 'Another exposition is, to make this a proper mean to keep and conserve unity, rather than a way only to diminish loftiness and pride.' J. HASTINGS.

LOG.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

LOGOS (*ὁ λόγος*) signified in classical Greek both Word (*verbum, sermo, oratio*) and Reason (*ratio*), but in biblical Greek is used only in the former sense, except in a few passages where it means 'account' (*e.g.* Mt 18^{23}, Ro 14^{12}, Ac 20^{24}), and a few brief phrases in which the sense of 'reason' more plainly appears (Ac 10^{29} *τίνι λόγῳ*, 'for what reason'; 18^{14} 'reason would' *κατὰ λόγον*; 2 Mac 4^{36}, 3 Mac 7^{8} *παρὰ λόγον*). By the LXX it is used to tr. דָּבָר (*word*) and its poetic synonyms אֹמֶר and מִלָּה. In NT it signifies a verbal utterance, then discourse, speech, instruction, narrative, and, when applied to God, either a specific divine utterance, or revelation in general, or the Scriptures as the communication of God's mind and will. Finally, it is employed by St. John to denominate the Son of God, both before and after His incarnation. This latter use gives the doctrine of the Logos which the present article is to describe.

St. John's peculiar use of Logos is found six times, namely, Gospel 1^{1} (three times) and ^{14}, where we read simply 'the Word,' 1 Jn 1^{1} 'the Word of life,' Rev 19^{13} 'the Word of God.' [1 Jn 5^{7} of TR and AV is spurious]. In Rev 19^{13} the term is applied to the conquering Christ, since His progress is the triumph of the divine revelation, of which He is both agent and substance. The title naturally associates itself with the author's Logos doctrine, either exhibiting an approach to it or an application of it, according to the dates we assign to the Gospel and the Apoc.; for in the Gospel the Logos is identified with the historical Christ (1^{14}), and in the Apoc. Christ is affirmed to be the divine agent of revelation and redemption (*e.g.* $1^{5.6.17}$ 5^{6} 21^{23} 22^{13}). The reference of 1 Jn 1^{1} to the personal Logos is disputed (*e.g.* Westcott, *Comm.*); but the verbs used, the parallelism with the prologue of the Gospel, and the clear reference of v.^{2} to the incarnation, indicate that here also Logos means the personal Word (so Haupt, Schmid, Weiss, etc.), although the subject of the Epistle is not the person of the Logos, but the life which He possesses and has manifested. It is, however, from the prologue of the Gospel that we must derive St. John's doctrine of the Logos. Yet the prologue is illuminated by many passages of both the Gospel and the first Ep.; for, though with historical fidelity St. John does not impute to Christ his own Logos terminology, the latter was evidently meant to be supported by Christ's self-testimony which the Gospel records and the Epistle implies. Nowhere else in NT is the term Logos certainly applied to Christ. He 4^{12} has often been so understood, while others (*e.g.* Köstlin, Bleek, Delitzsch) see in it, at least, an approach to the Johannean usage;[*] but the context and adjectives used have led most commentators to refer the phrase to revelation, written or unwritten. Neither should 1 P 1^{23} nor 2 P 3^{5} be understood of the personal Logos.

We shall first state St. John's doctrine, and then discuss the reason for his peculiar terminology.

I. St. John's Doctrine is that Jesus Christ is the real incarnation of an eternally divine person (elsewhere called by him 'the only-begotten Son' of God, Jn $1^{14.18}$ $3^{16.18}$, 1 Jn 4^{9}; a term which declares His Sonship to be unique; in Jn 1^{18} Tregelles and WH with much force prefer the reading 'only-begotten God'), who has ever been the medium through whom God (called ὁ θεός in antithesis to the Logos, and 'Father' in antithesis to the 'Son') has exercised His activity in relation to the finite universe, and who, as the perfect manifestation of God's nature and will, is called the Word (Logos). In vv.$^{1.2}$ of the prologue the relation of the Logos to God is stated. 'In the beginning' of all finite, temporal existence—a phrase suggested doubtless by Gn 1^{1}—the Logos *was*. He belongs, therefore, to the superfinite category of being, and is an eternal person. His existence is then more specifically defined as to both His personality and essential Deity. 'The Logos was with (πρός, towards) God (τὸν θεόν),' *i.e.* eternally in relation to God, and, therefore, a distinct personality from ὁ θεός, but in intimate communion with Him (πρός). 'The Logos was God (θεός),' *i.e.* in His essential nature He was Deity. The formality of these condensed statements, as well as the emphatic repetition, 'the same was in the beginning with God,' forbid the idea that they are not to be taken literally (against Beyschlag, *Bib. Theol. of NT*). In vv.$^{3-5}$ the activity of the Logos in relation to the universe is stated. 'All things were made (came into existence, ἐγένετο) through him, and without him was not anything made that hath been made'; a phrase which describes the Logos as the medium of the entire creative activity of God, and which excludes, at least by implication, the notion that creation was the formation of the cosmos from existing matter.[*] 'In' the Logos, moreover, 'was life,' *i.e.* He possessed the divine fulness of physical, rational, and ethical energy, with the implication that all the manifestations of life in the universe are due to His activity[†] (cf. Col 1^{17}. Note here also 1 Jn 1^{1-3}). Hence to men, endowed with intelligence, the life possessed by the Logos and manifested in creation was originally the illuminating truth ('the light') by which they apprehended God and duty; but when man became immersed in darkness (by sin), the divine light, though still continuing to shine, was not comprehended. This divine person crowned His manifestation of God by becoming flesh,—an expression which includes the reality and totality of Christ's human nature, the identity of His personality with that of the divine Logos, and, when taken with the context, the voluntariness of the incarnation,—and in the flesh manifested to His disciples, like the Shechinah in the tabernacle, His glory, such as became God's 'only-begotten One,' being 'full of grace and truth.' Attested by the Baptist (vv.$^{6-9.15}$) and the apostles (vv.$^{14.16}$), He surpassed the earlier revelation through Moses (vv.$^{16.17}$), though after, as before, His incarnation He was rejected by the world, and even by the Jews (v.^{11}), and was received only by the true children of God (vv.$^{12.13}$). He, however, is the only, but perfect, medium through whom God is known (v.^{18}).

From this summary it appears (1) that ὁ λόγος is not equivalent to ὁ λέγων, 'he who speaks,' as if the term were used because Christ was the teacher of whom St. John wrote; nor to ὁ λεγόμενος, 'the promised one'; but is a designation of the divine Son in His everlasting function of revealer of God. (2) That Logos means 'Word,' not 'Reason,' since it represents Him as the personal manifestation, not of a part of the Divine Nature, but of the whole of Deity (cf. $14^{9.10}$). (3) That the purpose of the prologue was to summarily express the teaching of the gospel (see 20^{31}) by representing Jesus as the real incarnation of God (cf. 1 Jn $5^{20.21}$), His spoken message (Christianity) as the expression of His inmost and eternal nature, and His historical activity in the flesh as the crown of all other manifestations of God, since these were mediated by the same divine person. For this purpose the term Word was an appropriate means of describing the Son as the perfect medium of God's self-revelation.

II. St. John's Terminology.—In discussing the *historical origin* of St. John's teaching, it is fair to distinguish between the source of the doctrine and of the phraseology in which he clothed it. Writers who regard the doctrine as an offshoot of the Alexandrian philosophy (see, *e.g.*, among more recent writers, Holtzmann, *Einleit. in das N.T.* p. 430, and, still more uncompromisingly, Réville, *La Doct. du Logos dans le quat. Évang. et dans les œuvres de Philon*) fail to do justice to the testimony of the Fourth Gospel itself, to the teaching concerning Christ's person found in earlier apostolic literature, and to the profound differences between Philo's doctrine and St. John's. Thus the Fourth Gospel itself indicates that the historical personality and teaching of Jesus was the primary source from which the writer drew his belief in the Lord's divinity and mediatorial function (see, *e.g.*, Jn 1^{30} $3^{13-21. 35. 36}$ 5^{19-30} $6^{57. 62}$ $7^{28. 29}$ $8^{14. 23. 38. 42. 54. 58}$ 10^{29-38} 12^{44-50} 14^{6-11} $16^{15. 28}$ $17^{2. 5. 8. 21}$ 18^{37} $20^{28. 30. 31}$). As the author appeals to historical testimony (*e.g.* 1^{14} 2^{11} 14^{26} $20^{30. 31}$) for his narrative, so the prologue cannot be separated from the narrative which follows it, but, while evincing the writer's reflection upon the nature of Christ, evidently appeals to Christ Himself for proof of the doctrine. Moreover, St. Paul and the Ep. to the Heb. had already set forth the person of Christ in terms which include every element of St. John's doctrine, though in different phraseology (see esp. Col 1^{13-20} 2^{9}, Ph 2^{5-11}, He 1^{1-4}). The doctrine of Christ's eternal divine Sonship, and His function as revealer of God (note *εἰκών*, *ἀπαύγασμα*, etc.), was therefore, long before St. John wrote, an explicit belief of the Christians, so that there is no need to go beyond the sphere of apostolic testimony and teaching to account for the substance of his doctrine.

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[*] Grimm (*Clavis*: followed by Thayer, *Lex.*) gives this as a solitary instance of the use of Logos in the sense of the divine mind or reason; but for this there is neither necessity in the context nor warrant in NT usages.

[*] Philo's phrase, λόγος δέ ἐστιν εἰκὼν θεοῦ, δι' οὗ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ἐδημιουργεῖτο (*de Monarch.* c. 5), or κατεσκευάσθη (*de Cherub.* c. 35), is quite different from St. John's.

[†] Many MSS and the earliest Fathers and Versions punctuate, 'That which hath been made in him was life,' and WH prefer this; but the perfect would then seem to require 'is,' not 'was,' a reading not sufficiently supported (see Meyer, *Comm. in loc.*).

The difference between St. John and Philo will appear later. St. John's doctrine therefore is not to be regarded as a philosophical speculation, nor may it be rationalized into the idea that intelligence originated the universe, or that Christianity is the realization of God's eternal thought. It is rather the careful and complete statement, in peculiar and significant phraseology, of a belief which already existed in the apostolic Church, and which was based on Christ's own testimony as well as on later revelations and reflections.

But what led St. John to use his peculiar phraseology?

(*a*) Its source has been found by many in the OT and in post-canon. Jewish literature.

In Gn creation is attributed to the command or word of God, and this led to a quasi-personification of the divine word in later poetical descriptions of creation (Ps 33^{6}) and providence (Ps 107^{20} $147^{15. 18}$ 148^{8}). Still more emphatically was revelation called 'the word of the Lord,' and hence such phrases occur as 'the word of the Lord came,' or even 'the word which Isaiah saw' (Is 2^{1}, so Mic 1^{1}, Am 1^{1}), which tended to represent the divine utterance as a separate and continuous object, distinguishable from the spoken and written word. With this are to be joined the OT representations of 'the angel of J″,' or 'of God,' or 'of the covenant' (Gn 16^{7-13} 21^{17} 18^{13} compared with ^{2} 22^{11} 24^{7} $31^{11. 13}$ $32^{24. 30}$ (Hos 12^{3-5}) 48^{16}, Ex 3^{2-6} 14^{19} $23^{20. 23}$ 32^{34}, Jos $5^{14. 15}$ with 6^{2}, Jg 2^{1} 5^{23} $6^{11. 21. 22}$, Zec 1^{12} 3^{1}, Mal 3^{1}), who appears now identical with and now distinguished from God; as well as the apparent personifications of the divine 'name' (Ex 23^{21}, 1 K 8^{29}, Is 30^{27}, Ps 54^{1}, Jer 10^{6}, and perhaps Dt $12^{5. 11. 21}$ etc.) and 'presence' (Ex 33^{14}, Dt 4^{37} [RV], Is 63^{9}) and 'glory' (Ex 33^{18} [cf. v.^{20}] 40^{34}, 1 K 8^{11}). Certainly, some of these passages represent J″ as revealing Himself through a special personal organ, whether that be identified with a divine person or regarded as a created agent employed by such (see Oehler, *OT Theol.* § 60). That Heb. thought tended to conceive of the medium of revelation as personal is also shown by the description of 'wisdom' (חָכְמָה) in some of the later books (Job $28^{12\ 28}$, and especially Pr 8^{22-31}), though it is doubtful if the language amounts to more than poetical personification. Heb. belief in a living God, in immediate relation to the world and to Israel, certainly called for no intermediate being in the interest of philosophy, and the approaches made in OT toward the idea of a second divine person appear chiefly in the special theophanies and other manifestations of God recorded in the history; yet the description of 'wisdom,' even in the canon. books, may fairly be regarded as constituting a phase in the development of the idea. The post-canon. writings carry the tendency further. In Sir (1. 24) wisdom is still more boldly personified and described as premundane, though created, and manifested in the world, especially in Israel and in the law. Other expressions, however ($24^{14. 23}$), show that the description is still partly poetical. The 'Wisdom of Solomon' approaches more nearly to attributing hypostatical existence to wisdom (see 7^{25-27} 'For she is a breath of the power of God and a pure effluence from the glory of the Almighty: therefore no defiled thing falls into her. For she is an outshining of the eternal light (ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς ἀϊδίου), and an unspotted mirror of the efficiency of God and image (εἰκών) of His goodness,' etc., 8^{3-5} $9^{4. 9-11}$), and also speaks of God's Word (Logos) as His agent in creation (9^{1} 'who didst make all things ἐν λόγῳ σου') and in judgment (18^{15} 'Thine almighty word leaped down from heaven from thy royal throne, as a fierce man of war in a land devoted to destruction, bearing thine unfeigned commandment as a sharp sword'). The influence of Alexandrianism on this book is probable, and its conceptions move in a different direction from St. John's; but in the Targums a similar tendency appears in phraseology more akin to the apostle's. This is shown in their frequent use of 'Word' מֵימְרָא in connexion with the name of God to express His agency (*e.g.* Onkelos, Gn 3^{8} וּשְׁמַעוּ יָת־קָל מֵימְרָא־דַיְיָ אֱלֹהִים מְהַלֵּךְ בְּגִנְּתָא 'They heard the voice of the Word of the Lord God walking in the garden'); Targum on Ps 2^{4} מֵימְרָא דַיְיָ יִרְחַךְ לְהוֹן ('The Word of the Lord shall have them in derision'). Other like expressions are also used,—שְׁכִינְתָּא דַיְיָ, יְקָרָא דַיְיָ, דִּבּוּרָא דַיְיָ,—the last of which was commonly applied to the visible presence of J″ in the tabernacle (*e.g.* Onkelos, Ex 25^{8} 'I will make my Shechinah to dwell among them'). The Targums do not appear to have applied these epithets to the Messiah, though the application did not lie far distant (*e.g.* Jerus. Targ. explains Gn 49^{18} of deliverance, 'not through Samson or Gideon, but of the redemption through thy Word'). Their usage perhaps arose from an unwillingness, which the canon. writers did not feel, to bring the *holy* God into immediate contact with men, and, therefore, easily allied itself with the felt need of a Mediator; while the terms employed lent themselves more readily to Johannean doctrine than those of the Wisdom literature did.*

Thus Heb. thought tended to represent God's self-manifestation as mediated by an agent, more or less conceived as personal and yet blending with the divine personality itself. Of the descriptive terms used, one of the commonest, and the one which seemed to rest directly on biblical language, was the 'Word'; and many consider this the probable source of St. John's phraseology. In favour of this may be urged the fact that St. John was a Pal. Jew; that his familiarity with current Jewish religious ideas is abundantly shown in his Gospel; that in Rev 19^{13} the title 'the word of God' is certainly drawn from Jewish, not Alex., habits of thought; that his writings evince loyalty to OT teaching (cf. Jn 1^{17} $3^{10. 14}$ $4^{22. 38}$ $5^{39. 46}$ 10^{35} 12^{38-40} $19^{36. 37}$); and that some expressions in the Gospel indicate his belief that Jesus was the full realization of the typical divine manifestations recorded in Heb. history (1^{14} *ἐσκήνωσεν*, *δόξαν*, ${}^{29. 51}$ 2^{19} 3^{14} $6^{32. 33. 48-50}$ 8^{58}, perhaps $10^{35. 36}$, 12^{41}). The description also of revelation as the word of God, common to Jews and Christians (cf. Jn 10^{35}), together with St. John's view of Christ as the living embodiment of the Truth (cf. 1^{16} 6^{48} 8^{12} 11^{25} 14^{6}, 1 Jn 1^{1-3} etc.), would furnish additional reason for the application of this current term to Him whom he wished to set forth as the personal divine organ through whom God ever has revealed Himself.

(*b*) The other source from which St. John might have derived his phraseology was the Alexandrian philosophy, chiefly represented by Philo. Since the time of Heraclitus, a Logos doctrine had been developing in Greek thought for the purpose of explaining how Deity came into relation with the world. By the Logos, however, in this connexion, the Greeks meant *reason*. With Heraclitus the Logos was merely the universal law in accordance with which the evolution of the universe from primordial fire proceeds. When later thinkers had risen to a clear distinction of mind from matter, and had perceived its formative and pervasive presence in nature, the Logos came to denote the distinctively rational principle manifested in the cosmos. Plato, indeed, commonly employed for this the term *νοῦς*; but he occasionally used *λόγος* as descriptive of the divine force from which the world has arisen (*e.g.* *Tim.* 38 C), and his doctrine of 'ideas' prepared the way for Philo. It was, however, the Stoics who formally developed the Logos idea. Interested mainly in the ethical problems of life, yet reverting to the earlier monism, they saw in the universe a rational principle (the Logos), in one aspect divine and in another finite, at once the divine reason and governor of the cosmos and, as the 'seminal Logos,' distributed in the rational germs from which all separate realities emerge. Finally, in the Jewish philosophy of Alexandria, Judaism united with Platonism and Stoicism for the purpose of showing that the OT taught the true philosophy, and expounded the Scriptures in this interest by allegorical interpretations. Philo adopted, after others, the term Logos, probably because it was familiar to both Judaism and Hellenism, to denote the total manifestation of divine powers and ideas in the universe. God is abstract being, without qualities, but from Him has proceeded the Logos, His rational thought, which first existed, as the ideal world, in the divine mind, and then formed and inhabited the actual cosmos. The Logos is thus the former of the world out of amorphous matter, and the one through whom God may be rationally known. Eternally in God, it has been implanted and made active in the world, and has especially disclosed itself to the Hebrews and in the Scriptures; and Philo describes the Logos in terms which often bear striking resemblance to NT descriptions of Christ.* The influence of this or similar speculation must have been felt among the Christians, and especially in Asia Minor; for the tendency to unite Christianity with philosophy appears as early as the Epistle to the Colossians, and is combated in St. John's first Epistle; Cerinthus, John's contemporary, was probably affected by the Alex. philosophy itself (see Neander, *Ch. Hist.* vol. i. p. 396); and from the middle of the 2nd cent. the influence of Philo can be clearly traced within the Church. Hence it is not improbable that St. John's phraseology was partly determined by the prevalence of this philosophic use of the term.

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* In the Book of Enoch the term 'Word' also occurs, and once (90^{38}) is applied to Messiah; but most critics, after Dillm., consider this latter passage a gloss.

Yet it is clear that Alexandrian philosophy did not enter constructively into St. John's doctrine. Philo's conception of the Logos was radically different from St. John's, as was the philosophy which underlay it. His Logos was the divine Reason, only attaining existence objective to God for the purpose of creation. It cannot be regarded as really personal, though constantly personified, and, if identical with divine thought, was in another aspect identical with the rationality possessed by creation, being the totality of the many *logoi* (ideas) that exist in the world. God, moreover, according to Philo, may be known, by ecstatic intuition, more immediately than through the Logos, and Philo's notion of the whole relation of God and the world was dominated by his abstract conception of Deity and the impossibility of the latter's contact with matter. Philo's Logos, moreover, was not identified with Messiah, nor was there a place in his philosophy for an incarnation, nor in his theology for redemption in the biblical sense.

It is, therefore, perhaps the most probable view that St. John adopted his Logos phraseology because, in *both* Jewish and Gentile circles, the term was familiar. It was a leading term by which religious thought was striving to express the idea, though with much misconception, of an all-comprehensive, all-wise, and directly active revelation of God to the world. Its current uses, among the Jews, rested ultimately on biblical language, and suggested an intimate relation, amounting in some aspects to identity, between the substance and the agent of revelation, as well as between the latter and God Himself. It was, moreover, among Christians as well as Jews, the constant phrase for revelation itself, whether oral or written. Hence, as employed by St. John, it formed a synthesis of several elements of truth. It set forth the Divine Christ as sustaining a central and vital relation to Christianity; the latter being, on the one hand, the didactic statement of the significance for men of His person and mission, and, on the other hand, the participation of the life with God which He possessed and mediated for believers. As Christianity is the revealed Word of God, so He, out of whose being and mission it has emerged (cf. 1 Jn 1^{1-4}), may be called emphatically the Word of God. The term further set forth Christianity as the final and perfect revelation of God to His creatures, since it represents it as the highest manifestation of the same Divine Person who has ever been the medium through whom God has been manifested in the creation and maintenance of the universe. Finally, this term, thus applied to the Divine Son in the whole series of His activities, represented Him as the immediate expression and vehicle of God's mind and will, while the careful statements of the prologue prevent the term from obscuring the Son's essential deity and eternal personality, as well as His true humanity after the incarnation. St. John's doctrine of the Logos therefore may be said to sum up the biblical teaching concerning the person of Christ, and, in doing so, to represent Christianity itself as the final, absolute, and universal religion.

Among post-apost. Christian writers the doctrine of the Logos is prominent, but was often affected by philosophical speculation. Gnosticism was an effort to unite Christianity with philosophy, and indicates a direction which post-apostolic thought and controversy largely took. In the Gnostic systems, however, the Logos terminology is not conspicuous. But, beginning with Justin Martyr, it is constantly met with in the writings of the Church Fathers. In Justin the biblical idea of God struggled with that of Absolute Being, and the Logos, represented as begotten by the Father before creation, unites the biblical conception of Word with the Hellenic one of Reason; a result which further tended to obscure the apostolic doctrine of salvation. In Theophilus of Antioch also the procession of the Logos from God appears as dependent on the Father's will, though his eternal relation to the latter is expressed more clearly than by Justin. With Tatian the Logos was the eternal world-principle, ideal in God and hypostatized at creation. In Athenagoras there appears a firmer grasp of the biblical doctrine which, at the close of the 2nd cent., was still more adequately expounded by Irenæus. The doctrine of the Logos in the post-apost. age was the natural meeting-point of Christianity with the best elements in the old religions. It seemed to many to furnish proof that the new religion was in reality the full expression of truths taught by philosophy. Hence its prominence in the apologists. But it was also easy for them to lose the biblical conception of Word in the Hellenic one of Reason; so that the doctrine became also a point of divergence between different schemes of theology according to the view taken of the term. The subsequent history of the doctrine lies beyond the limits of this article.

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* The Logos is called εἰκὼν θεοῦ (*de Mundi Opif.* c. 8, Mang. i. 6; *de Confus. Ling.* c. 20, Mang. i. 419; *de Profugis*, c. 19, Mang. i. 561; *de Somniis*, c. 41, Mang. i. 656; *de Monarch.* c. 5, Mang. ii. 225); ὁ πρεσβύτερος υἱός, the cosmos being ὁ νεώτερος υἱός (*Quod Deus immut.* c. 6, Mang. i. 277); πρεσβύτατος υἱός and πρωτόγονος (*de Confus. Ling.* c. 14, Mang. i. 414; *ibid.* c. 28, Mang. i. 427; *de Agricult.* c. 12, Mang. i. 305; *de Somniis*, c. 37, Mang. i. 653). God is its Father, and Wisdom its mother; it is the eldest of things that have had birth, and puts on the cosmos as a garment (*de Profug.* c. 20, Mang. i. 562). By it God made the world [*Leg. Allegor.* c. 31, Mang. i. 106; *de Migrat. Abr.* c. 1, Mang. i. 437; especially *de Cherub.* c. 35, Mang. i. 162, where Philo distinguishes God as the cause by which (τὸ αἴτιον ὑφ' οὗ), matter as that from which (ἐξ οὗ), the Logos as that through which (δι' οὗ), and divine goodness as the end on account of which (δι' ὅ), the cosmos originated]. The eternal Logos (ἀΐδιος λόγος) is ὁ χαρακτήρ of God (*de Plantat.* c. 5, Mang. i. 332); ἀρχάγγελος, μεθόριος (intermediary), ἱκέτης (intercessor) (*Quis Rer. Div. Her.* c. 42, Mang. i. 501); ἑρμηνεύς θεοῦ (*Leg. Alleg.* c. 73, Mang. i. 128); the high priest (ἀρχιερεύς) of the universe (*de Somniis*, c. 37, Mang. i. 653), and, as such, free from sins (*de Profug.* c. 20, Mang. i. 562), and probably the human priest's παράκλητος (*de Vita Mos.* c. 14, Mang. ii. 155). It is God's vicegerent (ὕπαρχος, *de Agricul.* c. 12, Mang. i. 308; *de Somniis*, c. 41, Mang. i. 656), and even θεός in a subordinate sense (*Leg. Allegor.* c. 73, Mang. i. 128; *de Somniis*, c. 39, Mang. i. 655). Eusebius (*Præparat. Evang.* vii. 13, Mang. ii. 625) states that Philo called the Logos ὁ δεύτερος θεός. He constantly describes it as ὁ θεῖος λόγος, and, in one place (*de Profugis*, c. 18, Mang. i. 560), ἡ σοφίας πηγή, from which drawing water one may find eternal life instead of death.

LITERATURE.—Out of the large literature bearing on this subject, the following works may be mentioned as useful and representative:—(*A*) On St. John's doctrine, the Comm. of Lücke, Meyer, Meyer-Weiss, Godet, Westcott, and Luthardt; Lightfoot, *Horæ Heb.*, *Exercitatio* on Jn 1; Liddon, *Bampt. Lectt.* (1866) on The Divinity of our Lord, Lect. v.; Watkins, *Bampt. Lectt.* (1890) on Mod. Criticism and the Fourth Gospel, Lect. viii.; Gloag, *Introd. to Johan. Writings* (1891), p. 167 ff.; Stevens, *Johan. Theol.* (1894), ch. iv.; *Bib. Theologies of NT* of Weiss and Beyschlag, as representative of different views; Lias, *Doctrinal Syst. of St. John* (1875).—(*B*) On the Jewish doctrine of the Word, Oehler, *OT Theol.* (1873), §§ 55 ff., 237 ff.; Schultz, *OT Theol.* ii. 165 ff.; Nicolas, *Les Doct. Relig. des Juifs* (1860); Langen, *Das Judenthum in Paläst. fur Zeit Christi* (1866), p. 248 ff.; Weber, *System der Altsynag. Palastin. Theol.* (1880), § 38; Schürer, *HJP* (1885) II. iii. 374 ff.—(*C*) On the history of Gr. philosophy bearing on the growth of the Logos idea, the Histories of Philos. by Zeller, Ueberweg, Ritter; Heinze, *Die Lehre vom Logos in der Gr. Philos.* (1872); Aall, *Gesch. der Logoslehre in der Gr. Philos.* (1896).—(*D*) On Alexandrianism and Philo, P. Allix, *Judgment of the Ancient Jew. Ch. against the Unitarians* (1699); Gfrörer, *Philo und die Alex. Theosophie* (1831); Dähne, *Gesch. Darstel. der Jüd.-Alex. Religions-Philos.* (1834); Siegfried, *Philo von Alex.* (1875); Drummond, *Philo Judæus* (1888); Réville, *La Doct. du Logos dans le quatr. évang. et dans les œuvres de Philon* (1881); Bigg, *Christian Platonists of Alexandria* (1886), ch. i.; Edersheim, art. 'Philo' in Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*—(*E*) On the doctrine of the Logos in the apost. and post-apost. Church, Dorner, *Hist. of Doctr. of Pers. of Christ*, div. I. vol. i.; Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctr.* period i. div. 2; Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* pp. 93–110, 413 ff.; Loofs, *Leitfaden zum Stud. der Dogmengesch.* (1st Hauptteil).

G. T. PURVES.

LOIS (Λωΐς, apparently a Greek name, akin to λῴων, λῷστος; 'die Liebe, Angenehme' [Pape, *Handwörterbuch der griech. Eigennamen*], but not found elsewhere except as the name of an island off the Thessalian coast—Steph. Byz. *s.v.*).—The grandmother of Timothy, and probably mother of Eunice (2 Ti 1^{5}). She was a lady of Lystra (but see Blass on Ac 16^{1}), probably, as the Greek names of all the family suggest, Hellenistic by birth, but a devout and sincere Jewess of 'unfeigned faith,' who trained her family in the Jewish scriptures (2 Ti 3^{15}), and was probably converted to Christianity on St. Paul's first visit to Lystra.

W. LOCK.

LONGSUFFERING.—This fine word is both an adj. and a substantive. As an adj. it is thrice used of God in OT (Ex 34^{6}, Nu 14^{18}, Ps 86^{15}) as the translation of אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם, elsewhere translated 'slow to anger,' and so translated in these passages by RV. In Apocr. the adj. occurs thrice again of God as tr. of μακρόθυμος (Wis 15^{1}, Sir 2^{11} 5^{4}). And in NT it occurs once, 2 P 3^{9} 'The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness; but is longsuffering to us-ward' (μακροθυμεῖ). The adj. μακρόθυμος does not occur in NT, and the adv. μακροθύμως only once, Ac 26^{3}, where it is rendered 'patiently'; but the verb μακροθυμέω occurs often. In 1 Th 5^{14} for AV 'be patient toward all men' (μακροθυμεῖτε πρὸς πάντας) RV prefers 'be longsuffering toward all'; in Lk 18^{7} for AV 'though he bear long with them' (καὶ μακροθυμῶν [edd. μακροθυμεῖ] ἐπ' αὐτοῖς) RV gives 'and he is longsuffering over them' (Amer. RV 'and yet he is,' etc.).

The subst. is found but once in OT, Jer 15^{15} 'take me not away in thy longsuffering' (לְאֶרֶךְ אַפְּךָ, LXX εἰς μακροθυμίαν; Vulg. in patientia tua, whence Wyc. 'in thi pacience'; Cov. 'in thy longe wrath'; Gen. 'in the continuance of thine angre'; Bish. 'in the time of thine anger.' Cheyne interprets, 'suffer not my persecutors to destroy me through the longsuffering which thou displayest towards them'; so Streane; but Orelli translates, 'According to thy longsuffering, carry me not away'). In NT 'longsuffering' is the tr. of μακροθυμία in all its occurrences except two (viz. He 6^{12} and Ja 5^{10}, where AV and RV have 'patience'). The Gr. word is the opposite of ὀξυθυμία = 'quick temper,' 'irascibility': it is distinguished from ὑπομονή, μακ. being the temper which does not hastily avenge a wrong, ὑπ. the temper which does not easily succumb under suffering. See Lightfoot on Col 1^{11} and Ro 2^{4} (in *Notes on Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 259), Sanday-Headlam on Ro 2^{4}, Abbott on Eph 4^{2} and Col 1^{11}, and Trench, *NT Synonyms*, 188, 359. In his 'Prologe' to Exodus, Tindale says, 'Marke the longesoferinge and softe pacience of Moses and how he loveth the people and is ever betwene the wrath of god and them and is readye to lyve and dye with them and to be put out of the boke that god had written for their sakes (as Paule for his brothren Roma. ix.) and how he taketh his awne wronges pacientlie and never avengeth him silf.' Cf. also Tindale's tr. of Nu 14^{18} 'the Lorde is longe yer he be angrye, and full of mercy, and suffereth synne and trespace, and leaveth no man innocent.' See FORBEARANCE, vol. ii. p. 47.

J. HASTINGS.

LOOK.—The simple verb to look was formerly used in the sense of 'look for,' 'expect,' as Hall, *Works*, ii. 107, 'Little did Zacheus looke that Jesus would have cast up his eyes to him'; Rutherford, *Letters*, No. LI., 'Our Lord, that great Master of the feast, send us one hearty and heartsome supper, for I look it shall be the last.' There are three examples in AV, Is 5^{2} 'he looked that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes'; Sir 20^{14} 'he looketh to receive many things for one' (RV 'his eyes are many instead of one'); Ac 28^{6} 'they looked when he should have swollen' (RV 'they expected that he would have swollen').

Driver in his *Parallel Psalter* (p. 448) draws attention to the specially biblical phrase *look on* or *look upon*. This has sometimes a good sense, sometimes a bad, but generally denotes satisfaction, and is occasionally paraphrased by 'see one's desire on.' Thus Ex 5^{21} 'The Lord look upon you, and judge'; Dt 26^{7} 'the Lord heard our voice, and looked on our affliction'; 2 S 9^{8} 'what is thy servant, that thou shouldest look upon such a dead dog as I am?'; 1 Ch 12^{17} 'the God of our fathers look thereon, and rebuke it'; 2 Ch 24^{22} 'The Lord look upon it, and require it'; Lk 1^{25} 'Thus hath the Lord dealt with me in the days when he looked on me, to take away my reproach among men.' But 'look unto' in Dt 9^{27} 'look not unto the stubbornness of this people,' means 'regard'; cf. Lv $19^{4.\,31}$, Dt $31^{18.\,20}$ etc. Driver's examples (in all of which Heb. is ראה ב) are Ps 22^{17} 27^{4} ('gaze upon') ^{13} 37^{34} 50^{23} 54^{7} 59^{10} 91^{16} 92^{12} 106^{5} 112^{8} 118^{7} 128^{5}. The same phrase occurs in line 4 of Mesha's inscription, הֶרְאַנִי בְּכָל־שֹׂנְאַי 'he made me to look upon [*i.e.* let me see my pleasure on] all my enemies.'

The phrase *look upon* is used occasionally in another sense, Gn 24^{16} 'the damsel was very fair to look upon'; 2 S 11^{2} 'the woman was very beautiful to look upon'; Rev 4^{3} 'he that sat was to look upon like a jasper and a sardine stone.' So to *look on*, Est 1^{11} 'she was fair to look on.' And to *look to*, 1 S 16^{12} 'Now he was ruddy, and withal of a beautiful countenance, and goodly to look to'; Ezk 23^{15} 'all of them princes to look to.'

To look to a person or thing in the sense of 'give attention to' it, is also occasionally found, Ex 10^{10} 'look to it; for evil is before you'; Pr 14^{15} 'the prudent man looketh well to his going,' so 31^{27}; Jer 39^{12} 'Take him, and look well to him, and do him no harm,' so 40^{4}; Ac 18^{15} 'But if it be a question of words and names, and of your law, look ye to it.' Cf. Cranmer, *Works*, i. 160, 'My chaplains and divers other learned men have reasoned with him, but no man can bring him in other opinion, but that he, like unto Esau, was created unto damnation; and hath divers times and sundry ways attempted to kill himself, but by diligent looking unto he hath hitherto been preserved.'

In 2 K $14^{8.11}$ occurs the phrase 'to look one another in the face,' of which the meaning is apparently 'to join battle.' The Heb. phrase occurs nowhere else (though 2 K 23^{29} is very like it, 'he slew him at Megiddo, when he had seen him'), and the Eng. is a literal translation. But see Barnes in vol. ii. p. 513^{b}, and in *Expos. Times*, ix. 464, 521.

Look! as an exclamation, having no corresponding word in Heb. or Gr., is common in Coverdale: thus Ru $1^{16.17}$ 'Loke where thou abydest, there wil I abide also . . . Loke where thou diest, there wil I dye.' One example of this 'graphic and picturesque pleonasm,' as Driver calls it, has been introduced by the AV translators (it does not seem to occur in any earlier version) at 1 Mac 4^{54} 'Look, at what time and what day the heathen had profaned it, even in that was it dedicated with songs, and citherns, and harps, and cymbals.' RV omits.

J. HASTINGS.

LOOKING-GLASS.—See GLASS, vol. ii. p. 181^{a}.

LOOPS (לֻלָאֹת, ἀγκύλαι).—Ex $26^{4f.\,10f.}$ $36^{11f.\,17}$ only. The term is used in connexion with the curtains of the Tabernacle, and the arrangement for coupling these together. Full details will be found under art. TABERNACLE.

LORD.—Both AV and RV print this word in three different ways, LORD, Lord, and lord. (1) LORD. This form represents יהוה, the proper name of the God of Israel. It is a substitution adopted by the Hebrews themselves, who shrank from pronouncing a name so sacred, and directed that אֲדֹנָי should be read instead, except in the cases where that word itself precedes the holy name, for which אֱלֹהִים was then substituted. When the vowel points were invented, those belonging to these words were respectively attached to the consonants יהוה.

When this feeling first asserted itself cannot be accurately ascertained. It prevailed before the date of LXX, where Κύριος always represents the divine name. The Jews justify the custom by an appeal to Lv 24^{16}, but this passage is rather an indication of the strength of the feeling than a justification of it. It was a grand opportunity missed when RV followed AV in this practice, especially in such passages as 1 K 18^{39}, where the whole meaning depends on the contrast of the names J″ and Baal. On the other hand, the gradual suppression of the proper name was an undoubted gain to religion. Had it, for instance, appeared in the NT, the spread of Christianity might have been seriously impeded.* The faith that is to embrace the world must have no special name for its God. J″, Molech, Chemosh were divinities of tribes or nations. The God of Christianity is universal, the God of the human race.

(2) Lord. This term in OT is used to translate —**1.** אֲדֹנָי when applied to the Divine Being. The word is in form a *plur. majestatis* (see *e.g.* Gn 39^{20}), with suffix of 1st person with ָי— instead of ַי—, presumably for the sake of distinction (meaning, therefore, properly, '*my* Lord'). It is of infrequent use in the historical books, and in some cases it is uncertain whether it is a divine or a human appellative (Gn 18^{3} 19^{18}). The MT sometimes decides this by a note distinguishing between the word when 'holy' or only 'excellent,' sometimes by a variation in the pointing (ָ, ַ, or ְ). 'Lord' appears in combinations: O Lord my God (Ps 38^{15}), Lord God (Gn $15^{2.8}$), the Lord God (Is 25^{8}). In the two latter 'God' is a substitute for the proper name. **2.** אָדוֹן in its regular forms, when used of the Divine Being (Ex 23^{17}). This rule has not, however, been observed with strict uniformity. In Neh 3^{5} 8^{10} copies of 1611 printed LORD. **3.** מָרֵא, an Aram. word (Dn 2^{47} 5^{23}). The same word is represented by 'lord' (Dn 4^{24}).

In NT, 'Lord' renders Κύριος when it refers directly to God or Christ, or appears in the vocative case. (This rule is more consistently followed in RV than in AV. Comp. them in Mk 2^{28}, Rev 17^{14}). It also renders δεσπότης five times, Lk 2^{29}, Ac 4^{24}, 2 P 2^{1}, Jude ^{4}, Rev 6^{10}. In the last three of these RV prefers 'master.'

(3) lord. This form represents ten Heb. words. The most common of them all is אָדוֹן (Phœn. inscriptions often show אדן. The name *Adonis* is of Phœn. origin.), which is used to denote eminence or superiority in every domain of life, of kings (Jer 22^{18}), governors (Gn 42^{10}), prophets (1 K 18^{7}), fathers (Gn 31^{35}), masters (Gn 45^{9}). In the vocative it is especially frequent. Joseph is so addressed (Gn 42^{10}), Moses (Nu 11^{28}), Elijah (1 K 18^{7}), the theophanic angel (Jos 5^{14}), a captain (2 S 11^{11}), a priest (1 S 1^{15}). In Jg 5^{25} a bowl *fit for lords* is סֵפֶל אַדִּירִים. In Nu 21^{28} (cf. Is 16^{8}) 'the lords of the high places of Arnon' tr. the plural of בַּעַל, which generally appears as 'the Baalim.' Baal means '*master*' or '*owner*.' In Gn $27^{29.37}$ 'lord' tr. גְּבִיר 'a strong man.'

Lords of the Philistines (Jos 13^{3} etc.) no doubt represents some title peculiar to that people. The Heb. is סְרָנִים (const. סַרְנֵי) 'axles,' always applied to the heads of the five chief cities, except in 1 S 18^{30}, where they are called שָׂרִים. In consequence of this, Ewald would connect סֶרֶן with שַׂר. But an Arab. word meaning 'axle' is also used as a designation of a chief, and, till a better origin of the name is found, this analogy cannot be disregarded (see Gesen. *Thes.* under סֶרֶן, and Keil on Jos 13^{3}). The LXX employ σατραπεία or ἄρχων, Vulg. *satrapes* or *princeps*.

In Jer 2^{31} 'we are lords' (AVm 'have dominion') tr. the verb רוּד. RV has 'we are broken loose.' The proper sense of the word is 'to roam at large' (see vol. ii. p. 527^{b} note *). In Ezr 8^{25} שַׂר is more properly by RV tr. 'prince.' In Dn 2^{10} the adjective רַב 'great' is tr. 'lord' (see RVm), and in the same book רַבְרְבָן, LXX μεγιστᾶνες. The word שָׁלִישׁ tr. 'lord' in 2 K $7^{2.16.19}$ (τριστάτης), and Ezk 23^{23} (ἡγεμών, RV 'princes'), apparently means a captain of a chariot or of charioteers.

A. S. AGLEN.

LORD OF HOSTS (יהוה צְבָאוֹת).—This divine title has been explained briefly under GOD (vol. ii. 203^{b}): the object of the present article is to mention a few further particulars respecting it. The usual form of the title is 'J″ of Hosts,'—sometimes with 'the Lord' (אֲדֹנָי Am 9^{5}*, Is 3^{15} 10^{23} *al.*, or הָאָדוֹן † Is 1^{24} 19^{4}) prefixed; there occur however, besides, the forms 'J″, the God of Hosts' (יהוה אלהי צבאות), Am 3^{13}* 4^{13} $5^{14.15.16}$ (followed by אֲדֹנָי) $6^{8.14}$*, Hos $12^{5\,(6)}$*, 2 S 5^{10}, 1 K $19^{10.14}$, Jer 5^{14} 15^{16} 35^{17} 38^{17} 44^{7}, Ps $89^{8\,(9)}$, and with the strange אלהים for אלהי—originally, no doubt (see Cheyne or Baethgen on Ps 59^{6}) a correction, made mechanically, for יהוה, which, however, afterwards regained its place beside it—Ps $59^{5\,(6)}$ $80^{4\,(5).\,19\,(20)}$ $84^{8\,(9)}$; 'the Lord J″, the God of Hosts,' Am 3^{13}*; 'the God of Hosts' (without J″) Am 5^{27}, and, as before, with אלהים for אלהי, Ps $80^{7\,(8).\,14\,(15)}$. So far as usage is concerned, it is preeminently the *prophetical* title of God. It occurs with great frequency in the prophets[*] (except Ob, Joel, Jonah, Dn, and, somewhat remarkably, Ezk; three other prophets, however, use it once only, viz. Hos 12$^{5\,(6)}$, Mic 4^{4}, Hab 2^{13}, and two only twice, Nah 2^{13} 3^{5}, Zeph 2$^{9.\,10}$); in the hist. books it is found only 1 S 1$^{3.\,11}$ 4^{4} 15^{2} 17^{45}, 2 S 5^{10} (=1 Ch 11^{9}) 6$^{2.\,18}$ 7$^{8.\,26}$ (=1 Ch 17$^{7.\,24}$) ^{27}, 1 K 18^{15} 19$^{10.\,14}$, 2 K 3^{14} 19^{31} (=Is 37^{32}), several of these occurrences being in the mouth of prophets: it occurs also in 8 Psalms (24^{10} 46$^{7.\,11}$ 48^{8} 59^{5} 69^{6} 80$^{4.\,7.\,14.\,19}$ 84$^{1.\,3.\,8.\,12}$ 89^{8}), but not in any other part of the Hagiographa (except 1 Ch 11. 17, from 2 S, just quoted).

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* Neither AV nor RV of NT print LORD in quotations, preserving in this way the change made by the LXX.

* הצבאות (with the art.) in these passages.

The fuller and seemingly more original form, 'J″, *the God of hosts*,' used by Amos[†] and Hosea, might suggest—though the inference is not a necessary one—that the expression was in their days of comparatively recent origin. The *origin* of the title is matter of conjecture. צָבָא ('host') is used in Heb. in the sense of an army of men, as in the common expression 'captain of the host': the angels, and stars, were, however, also pictured by the Hebrews as constituting a 'host,' and are spoken of as the 'HOST OF HEAVEN' (which see). The title thus signifies 'J″ of *armies*'; and the question is, What armies are intended? One opinion is that the armies are those of Israel—the supposition upon this view being that the title originally denoted J″ as a warrior, the triumphant leader of Israel's forces against its heathen foes (cf. Ex 15^{3}, Nu 21^{14} [the 'Book of J″'s wars'], Jg 5^{23}, 1 S 17$^{26.\,36.\,45}$ 18^{17} 25^{28}, 2 S 5^{24}, Ps 24^{8} 44^{9} 60^{10}, Dt 23^{14}, Is 13^{4} 31^{4} [where the word for 'fight' is cognate with that for 'hosts'] 42^{13}); but, as it occurs in many passages where a distinctively martial sense would be inappropriate, and as, moreover, it is used often when God is represented as *judging* Israel, that the sense expressed by it was gradually enlarged under the influence of the other applications of the word 'host' just mentioned, so that it came to denote Him as the God who had also other 'hosts,' or agencies, at His command, and could employ, for instance, the armies of heaven (cf. Jg 5^{20}, 2 K 6^{17}) on His people's behalf, and even the powers and forces of nature in general. This is substantially the view of Herder (*Geist der Ebr. Poesie*, ed. 1825, ii. 81 f.); it has been developed most fully by Kautzsch in Herzog's *Real-Encyk.*^{2} *s.v.* 'Zebaoth,' and *ZATW*, 1886, p. 17 ff.; it is also that of G. A. Smith, *XII Proph.* i. 57 f., Riehm, *HWB*, *s.v.* 'Zebaoth,' and Dillm. *AT Theol.* 220 f. In support of it Kautzsch points to the association of the title, in the first passages in which it occurs in the hist. books, with the *ark* (1 S 1$^{3.\,11}$ [the ark was now at Shiloh, 4^{3}] 4^{4}, 2 S 6^{2}), the significance of which in time of war is very evident (Nu 10$^{35\text{f.}}$, Jos 6$^{4\text{ff.}}$, 1 S 4$^{3\text{ff.}}$, 2 S 11^{11}). The larger ideas associated with the title afterwards are apparent from the solemnity and emphasis with which the prophets habitually use it (observe, *e.g.*, the climax in Am 4^{13} 5^{27}, Jer 31^{35}, Is 48^{2} 54^{5}), and from such passages as Am 4^{13}, Is 51^{15} 54^{5}, Jer 10^{16} 31^{35}, where it is applied to J″ as Creator and Ruler of the world; these ideas, it may be noted, appear already in Hos and Am. Another opinion is that the armies intended were originally the hosts of angels. Thus Ewald (*Hist.* iii. 62, *Lehre der Bibel von Gott*, II. i. 339 f.), adopting this view, made the clever and original conjecture that the title may have arisen first on occasion of some victory under the Judges, when it seemed as if J″ descended (cf. Jg 5^{13}) with His celestial hosts to the help of the armies of Israel: 'born' thus 'in the shout of victory,' it fixed itself on the memory of the people, and implying, as it did, that J″ was the commander and organizer of the hosts of heaven (including stars as well as angels), it was suggestive of His omnipotence, and became in the prophets 'the loftiest and most majestic title' of Israel's God. Oehler, *OT Theol.* § 196 *end*, and Schultz, *OT Theol.* ii. 141, also think that the expression was used originally with reference to the hosts of angels. A third view is that of Smend (*AT Rel.-gesch.* 185 ff.), according to whom the title was used probably first by Amos, the 'hosts' intended by him being the forces and elements of nature (cf. 9$^{2\text{ff.}}$). Such a sense is, however, too abstract to stand at the origin of the expression; nor is it borne out by the usage of צבא in independent passages (not even by Gn 2^{1}, Ps 103^{21}, cited by Smend).

Borchert, in *SK*, 1896, p. 619 ff., argues forcibly in support of the view that angels were originally denoted by the expression. He points out, as against the first view mentioned above, (1) that צבאות 'hosts' is hardly used of the armies of Israel except in three Psalms (44^{9} 60^{10}=108^{11}) of uncertain date, and in the late source P (Ex 6^{26} 7^{4} 12$^{17.\,41.\,51}$, Nu 1$^{3.\,52}$ 2$^{3.\,9\text{ff.}}$ 10$^{14\text{ff.}}$ 33^{1}),[*] where it forms part of the unhistorical conception of the nation at the Exodus as consisting of a vast organized army; (2) that the passages in which the title is brought into connexion with the ark are, relatively, few, and that the connexion itself is no specific or distinctive one; and (3) that the books which principally use the title 'J″ of hosts' do not speak of the 'hosts' of Israel (and conversely), and that, in general, it is very rarely used in a connexion which suggests them. On the other hand, passages such as Gn 28^{12}, 1 K 22^{19}, Is 6$^{2\text{f.}}$, Ps 29^{1}, show that J″ was habitually pictured as attended by angels,—the objection that, where angels are intended, 'host' (not 'hosts') 'of heaven' is used, being met by the consideration that such beings are not necessarily conceived as a single definite host, but might, from their numbers, be with equal justice conceived as forming 'hosts': they attend Him naturally as *King*; the title thus gives expression to J″'s *royal state* (cf. Is 6^{5}, Jer 46^{18} 48^{15}, Ps 24^{10}), and consequently, without any change in the meaning of 'hosts,' such as is postulated in the other explanation, it is at once adapted to express those ideas of sovereign majesty and power which are undoubtedly associated with it by the prophets.

Upon the whole, this seems to be the most probable explanation of the title. Though other 'armies' might not be entirely excluded, the idea which would most naturally suggest itself, when the term was used absolutely in connexion with J″, would, it seems, be the armies of heaven. But, whatever uncertainty may rest on the *origin* of the expression, all agree that as used by the prophets it is J″'s most significant and sublimest title: it designates Him, namely, as One who is supreme over untold 'hosts' of spiritual or other agencies, whom He can employ to give effect to His purposes (Ps 103$^{20.\,21}$),—in a word, as the *Omnipotent*. It is accordingly in the LXX often[†] very appropriately represented by κύριος παντοκράτωρ, 'Lord Omnipotent' —or, more exactly (in contrast to the more abstract παντοδύναμος), 'Lord *all-sovereign*' (see Westcott, *The Historic Faith*, p. 21 ff.).[‡] S. R. DRIVER.

LORD'S DAY (ἡ Κυριακὴ ἡμέρα).—This term has from the very earliest times been applied in Greek and Latin Christian literature to the first day of the week in its religious aspect. The scope of this article is necessarily limited; we can here discuss only (i.) the term 'Lord's Day' itself, (ii.) The connexion of the Lord's Day with the Sabbath, (iii.) the origin of the institution, (iv.) the nature of Lord's Day worship in NT times.

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[*] Am 9 t., Is 1-39 (incl. 13$^{4.\,13}$ 24^{23} 25^{6}) 56 t., Is 40-66, 6 t., Jer 82 t., Hag 14 t., Zec 1-8, 44 t., Zec 9-14, 9 t., Mal 24 t.

[†] In LXX also ('the Lord J″, the God of Hosts') in Am 9^{5}.

[*] The isolated passages Dt 20^{9}, 1 K 2^{5}, 1 Ch 27^{3} (even if they are not to be explained, with Borchert, by Ges.-Kautzsch, § 124. 2*b*) do not detract from the force of the remark.

[†] 2 S and Minor Prophets (usually), Jer (12 times). Elsewhere κύριος Σαβαώθ is generally used (so Ro 9^{29}, Ja 5^{4}: see SABAOTH): in Ps, however, and occasionally also in other books, κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων (i.e. of *forces*, *armies*: see the use of δύναμις for צבא in Nu 1. 2. 10$^{14\text{ff.}}$ *passim*, and in other similar passages).

[‡] So in NT, 2 Co 6^{18} (a reminiscence of the usage of the LXX, but not an exact quotation); comp. κ. ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, Rev 1^{8} 4^{8} 11^{17} 15^{3} 16^{7} 19^{6} 21^{22} (as Am 3^{13} 4^{13} *al.*); ὁ θεὸς ὁ π., Rev 16^{14} 19^{15} (as Am 5^{27}).

A title borne by Nebo, 'Overseer *or* ruler (*pakid*) of the multitudes of heaven and earth' (*KAT*^{2} 413, cited by Cheyne, *Orig. of Psalter*, 323, cf. *Isaiah*^{3}, i. p. 13; *KIB* iii. 2, 53; Delitzsch, *Assyr. HWB* 360 f.), is perhaps worth comparing.

i. The scriptural authority for the term 'Lord's Day' is Rev 1^{10} 'I was in the Spirit on the Lord's Day,' ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ. Few will agree with Eichhorn in referring this to Easter Day. The opinion of Wetstein and others, who interpret it of the day of Judgment, seems plausible, but is open to two formidable objections. (1) A writer so impregnated with OT phraseology as is the author of the Apocalypse would surely have used, in this sense, the familiar ἡμέρα τοῦ Κυρίου (κυριακός is not in LXX). (2) Such a use of the term is quite unknown to the Greek Fathers. From the *Didaché* and Ignatius onwards they use ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα, or simply ἡ κυριακή, only in the sense of Sunday. Such an unbroken and unquestioned Church usage must be regarded as decisive on this point. To this may be added that as in v.^{9} Patmos gives the *place* of the vision, so here 'the Lord's Day' naturally seems to fix the *time*. It would, however, be a mistake to conclude that Rev 1^{10} is the origin of the term. It is merely the first extant example of its use (*Didaché* 14, Ignat. *Ep. Magn.* 9 are certainly later). The phrase might have arisen as early as A.D. 57, for in 1 Co 11^{20} we find κυριακὸν δεῖπνον. This is the first occurrence of κυριακός in extant Greek literature. The absolute use of Κύριος, which indicates an identification of Christ with the J" of the OT, naturally led to the formation of a corresponding adjective. However, ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα was not yet in current use, for in this same Epistle (1 Co 16^{2}) St. Paul uses 'the first day of the week,' μία σαββάτου; and a little later, Ac 20^{7}, we find the similar ἡ μία τῶν σαββάτων, St. Luke with his usual historical accuracy using, doubtless, the phrase current at the time of which he was writing. Contrast the inexactness of the Gospel of Peter, where ἡ κυριακή is twice used of the actual day of Christ's resurrection, and betrays at once by the anachronism a 2nd cent. writer. At some time, then, between A.D. 57 and A.D. 96 the term 'Lord's Day' arose, and it was probably first used in Churches which had to contend with Judaism.

ii. It has been reckoned a pious opinion (Bramhall, *Works*, vol. v. pp. 41, 58) that the observance of the Lord's Day was one of 'the things concerning the kingdom of God' of which the risen Lord spoke during the forty days preceding the Ascension. This idea is probably due to the instinctive desire to base on a direct divine sanction an institution so universal and so binding on all Christians. But the assumption is quite unnecessary. Whether the first day of the week was 'blessed and hallowed' by Christ Himself with His own lips, or by the Church, His body, His visible representative, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, in any case the Lord's Day was certainly sanctioned by inspired apostles, and thus confessedly stands on a level with ordination, and perhaps one or two other ordinances, as an institution as much beyond the power of the Church to alter or to abrogate as it would be for her to change the number of the Gospels.

The claim of the Lord's Day to this pre-eminence has been unfortunately prejudiced by controversies on its relation to the Sabbath. This question has been thought to be of much practical interest, especially by that large class of persons who think that they require guidance in details, and who feel that a general direction to keep a day holy is too vague, and leaves too much to their individual responsibility. On the one hand, those who incline to a severe observance of the day identify the Lord's Day with the Sabbath, regarding it as the same institution with a Christian reference added, the change of day being regarded as immaterial. They combine with this assumption a theory of scriptural Sabbath observance, for which there is but slender evidence from ancient or modern Jewish life. On the other hand, some of those who revolt from this rigidity feel constrained to justify themselves by a denial of any relation whatever between the two days; and then, in the default of any divinely ordained rules for its observance, they are in danger of not observing it at all. The truth will be found to lie midway between these two extremes. The Lord's Day is, and is not, the Sabbath, much as John the Baptist was, and was not, Elijah.

When Jesus uttered the cry, 'It is finished,' the Mosaic dispensation virtually passed away. His Resurrection, Ascension, and Outpouring of the Holy Spirit were successive affirmations of the great fact, and the destruction of the temple made it plain to all but the blindest. But in the meantime nothing is more striking than the tender way in which the apostles and Christians of Jewish birth were weaned from the old religion. The dead leaves of Judaism fell off gradually, they were not rudely torn off by man. The new facts, the new dogmas, the new ordinances first established themselves, and then little by little the incompatibility of the old and the new was realized, which necessarily issued in the casting out of the old. The old things of Judaism were made new in Christianity. This, however, was not accomplished by a deliberate substitution of one ordinance for another; but first the old ordinances were simply antiquated, and then experience matured under the influence of the Holy Spirit proved that the positive institutions of the new religion more than fulfilled those of the old. This was realized, first of all, in the case of the sacramental ordinances. Baptism was soon seen to be analogous to circumcision (Col 2^{11}), and also to the legal ablutions (He 10^{22}); while the Eucharist corresponded to the peace-offerings (1 Co 10^{16-21}, He 13^{10}). But the realization of the fulfilment of the Sabbath in the Lord's Day does not find expression in the NT. This silence is especially marked in the Epistle to the Hebrews. In that Epistle the writer is addressing some who were in danger of relapsing into Judaism, who could scarcely bear to forego all the associations of the old religion, its antiquity, authority, splendour, variety. His design therefore is to adduce all that Christianity had analogous to the cherished rites of Judaism. The priesthood, sacrifice, the temple, the solemn services, are all shown to have their more than parallels in the gospel. But when he touches on the Sabbath, it is as a type of the state of salvation on which believers have entered, a Sabbath rest to be consummated in the world to come ($4^{3.\ 11}$). Hessey (*Bampton Lectures*, 1860) proves by copious quotations that up to the end of the 5th century, and even later, the two days were not considered to have any relation to each other. But a believer in the perpetual guidance of the Church by the Holy Spirit will scarcely accept this as conclusive that the Church of later ages was not right in seeing a close analogy between the Lord's Day and the Sabbath; an analogy expressed by the retention of the Fourth Commandment by all Christian Churches, as part of the Decalogue considered as a convenient summary of the Moral Law. Assuming that public worship is a moral duty, it is absolutely necessary that a day of rest from ordinary labours be set apart for that purpose, and for the cognate duties of religious instruction and special private devotion. As regards the proportion of our time which should be given to such duties, we may well follow the apostles in accepting unquestioningly that laid down in the Mosaic Law. This is the moral element in the Fourth Commandment. Experience has shown that the excessive multiplication of holy days regarded as in any degree co-ordinate with the Lord's Day is fatal to the maintenance of those objects for which the Lord's Day was designed. The antiquation of the Sabbath equally with circumcision, etc., was gradually realized as the sequence of events led up to it. The key to a right understanding of the revolution is found in the first description of the public worship of the apostolic Church: 'continuing steadfastly with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread at home' (Ac 2^{46}). To the customary Jewish devotions was added the one distinctive Christian service. The Church professed to be a divine development of Judaism (Ac 24^{14} etc.). All that was eternally true in the Law is with us still, and that which was essentially transitory was tolerated until it became positively hurtful. At Jerusalem an inconsistent allegiance both to the old and the new was maintained probably until the destruction of the temple, but even there we early find traces of the antiquation of the Sabbath. Considering the prominence assigned to it in Pharisaic Judaism, there can be little doubt that it is one of 'the customs which Moses delivered,' the changing of which by Jesus of Nazareth was announced by St. Stephen (Ac 6^{14}, cf. 21^{21}). The falsity of the witnesses lay in the malicious spirit which prompted the accusation rather than in the charge itself. Thirteen years later, Sabbath keeping is not one of the 'necessary things' enjoined on Gentiles by the apostolic council (Ac 15^{29}). This decision amounted to an acknowledgment that the Sabbath as well as circumcision, etc., was no longer binding on Gentiles, though James, as we should expect, seems to contemplate the continuance of the ordinance for Jews (v.^{21}). No valid objection can be drawn from the frequent references in Ac to the apostles preaching in synagogues, or in Jewish places of prayer, on the Sabbath day ($13^{14.\ 42.\ 44}$ 16^{13} 17^{2} 18^{4}). Their mission was to the Jews *first*, and, apart from the natural desire on their own part to join in the only public worship available, common-sense would lead them to go where they could address large bodies of Jews assembled with minds disposed to receive religious truth. About A.D. 58 St. Paul in Gal $4^{9.\ 10}$ reckons 'the observation of days' as one of the 'weak and beggarly rudiments.' Now, as we may gather from 1 Co $16^{1.\ 2}$ that St. Paul had himself bidden the Galatians observe in a certain way the first day of the week, it is plain that he is not here condemning the principle of religious distinction of days; and the fact that in this Epistle he is combating Judaistic teachers forces us to the conclusion that the *compulsory* observance of a specially Jewish day, *i.e.* the Sabbath, is what is meant. On the other hand, in Ro $14^{5.\ 6}$, written a little later, to a Church where the controversy may not have reached such a height, the regarding or not regarding of such days is a matter of indifference. Finally, in Col 2^{16} the Sabbath is distinctly mentioned as one of the ordinances 'which are a shadow of things to come.'

iii. The necessary separation of Christians from Jews, in Jerusalem, for a part of public worship (Ac 2^{46}), naturally led to a total separation elsewhere, as in successive cities the Jews rejected the gospel altogether (Ac 13^{46} $14^{2.\ 3.\ 23}$ 18^{7} 19^{9}). Besides these passages, assemblies consisting exclusively of Christians are implied wherever we find directions for the reading of apostolic epistles (Ac 15^{30}, 1 Th 5^{27}, 2 Th 3^{14}, Col 4^{16}, cf. He 10^{25}). Assemblies of a whole Church, of course, imply fixed days for meeting. The antagonism already marked by different places for worship, coupled with the confessed antiquation of the Sabbath, would naturally find further expression in the observance of a holy day different from that of the Jews. The origin of the Lord's Day must not indeed be traced to mere opposition to Judaism, such as that naïvely confessed in the *Didaché* (8), 'Let not your fastings be with the hypocrites, for they fast on Monday and Thursday; but do ye keep your fast on Wednesday and Friday'; but this motive must have commended the observance of the first day of the week to a considerable number of Christians; and if the argument from silence could be pressed,—an argument especially precarious in the case of an ordinance presumably so much a matter of course,—it would be significant that the distinct notices of the Lord's Day in the NT are in connexion with Churches outside Palestine, *i.e.* Corinth, and by implication, Galatia (1 Co $16^{1.\ 2}$), Troas (Ac 20^{6}), and Asia (Rev 1^{4}), while Κυριακός seems to have been applied to a specially Christian service before it was applied to a specially Christian day. Be that as it may, the first day of the week was certainly selected because the Lord Himself had sanctified it by His resurrection (Mt 28^{1}, Mk $16^{2.\ 19}$, Lk 24^{1}, Jn $20^{1.\ 19}$), and had further emphasized it by a second appearance to the disciples (Jn 20^{26}), and again by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, which that year was also the first day of the week. We cannot cite as instances of the observance of this day the fact that on these three occasions the disciples were assembled together as if for a religious purpose. In those days of fear and excitement they would naturally come together every day. The Lord's Day is therefore, in an especial sense, the feast of life. The resurrection of Jesus Christ was not merely the raising to life of an individual man, but of human nature. On that first Lord's Day our nature entered on a new life: actually, as regards the first-fruits of it; potentially, as regards every Christian in succeeding ages. But besides the life of the individual members, there is also the life of the body, and this sprang into birth on the day of Pentecost. Thus, without having recourse to the more or less fanciful analogies of some of the Fathers, we may, on sure grounds, contrast the remembrance on the Sabbath of the repose of the Creator of the physical world with the commemoration on the Lord's Day of the beginning of the activity of the new spiritual creation.

iv. Much reflex light is thrown on the apostolic Lord's Day worship by the well-known passage (1 *Apol.* c. 67) where Justin Martyr, A.D. 150, describes the Sunday service. It consisted of the reading of the memoirs of the apostles and the writings of the prophets, followed by an exhortation on the lessons read, common prayer, the Eucharist, and a collection for the orphans, etc. This service was probably modelled on that of the synagogue, with the necessary additions, the chief being the Eucharist, as in Ac 2^{46}. If the passage in Ac be rightly understood to mean a daily service, it must be noted that the daily Eucharist of the early Jerusalem Church belongs to the same order of things as its community of goods; an ideal which is practicable only under very special circumstances. It may reasonably be conjectured that experience which speedily led to the abandonment of the experiment in socialism, showed the wisdom of restricting the Eucharist to the Lord's Day. This use, which is distinctly expressed in Justin and Pliny ('stato die,' lib. x. epist. 97), is implied in Ac 20^{7}. The Eucharist is especially connected with the Lord's Day, not only as the perpetual memorial of the great sin-offering (1 Co 11^{26}), but also as a means of renewing in us the divine life communicated in the first instance by the power of Christ's resurrection, and as an anticipation of the consummation of this divine life at His coming (He 10^{25}, Mt 26^{29}, Mk 14^{25}, Lk

22^{18}). Justin does not mention the *agape*. It had probably been temporarily dropped in obedience to the law of Trajan against clubs (Ramsay, *Ch. in the Roman Empire*, p. 219). In 1 Co 11 the *agape* seems to precede the Eucharist, in Ac 20^{11} it follows (γευσάμενος, 'having made a meal'). This change in the order of service was possibly made by St. Paul himself (1 Co 11^{34}). In Ac, as in Justin, the sermon precedes the Eucharist. The preaching of Jesus necessitated the telling of His deeds and words either from personal knowledge or from the written accounts of eye-witnesses, and this must have been from the beginning; on the other hand, the reading of apostolic Epistles, at first occasional, could become constant only after the Canon was closed. The collection mentioned by Justin is founded on 1 Co 16^{2}, where EV 'lay by him in store' conceals the fact that it must have been made at the weekly meeting; otherwise, collections would have been necessary on St. Paul's arrival, the very thing he was anxious to avoid. παρ' ἑαυτῷ τιθέτω θησαυρίζων means 'let him assign a certain sum as he is disposed, and put it into the Church treasury.' In Corinth and elsewhere the exercise of extraordinary gifts formed part of the Sunday service (1 Co 14^{16}), but this soon died out. Contrast the brief list of charismata in Eph 4^{11} with that in 1 Co 12^{28}.

See further, art. CHURCH, vol. i. p. 427^{a}, and SABBATH.

LITERATURE.—Hessey, *Sunday: its origin, history, and present obligation, BL*, 1860, 5th ed. 1889; Beet in *Expositor*, 2nd ser. viii. 338–350; and the Literature under SABBATH.

N. J. D. WHITE.

LORD'S PRAYER.—This prayer is so called, not because the Lord used it, which He could not do, for some of the petitions would be meaningless for Him (and cf. Jn 20^{17}), but because He taught it to His disciples and us. It is given us by two evangelists (Mt 6$^{9-13}$, Lk 11$^{2-5}$), in different forms, and in totally different connexions. The form given by St. Luke is not only much shorter, but differs somewhat in wording; and whereas St. Matthew represents Christ as giving this form of prayer spontaneously in the Sermon on the Mount, St. Luke places the delivery of the prayer after the close of the Galilæan ministry, and in answer to a request from one of His disciples, 'Lord, teach us to pray, even as John also taught his disciples.' But St. Luke gives no note either of time or place, probably because his source gave none. And it is quite possible that the incident which he here records took place very much earlier than the point in Christ's ministry at which he places it.

There can be no doubt that if the prayer was delivered only once, then it is St. Luke who has preserved the true historical occasion. His narrative has every appearance of originality, and one sees no motive for invention, whereas it is quite credible that St. Matthew, in recording Christ's injunctions about prayer, might emphasize and illustrate these by adding to them the form of prayer which He had enjoined. Accordingly, a large number of the best critics (Baumgarten-Crusius, Neander, de Wette, Ewald, Bleek, Holtzmann, Weiss, Godet, Oosterzee, etc.) regard the position of the prayer in Mt as unhistorical. But it must be remembered that there is no proof that the prayer was taught on one occasion only. The argument that, if the prayer was delivered in the Sermon on the Mount, then a disciple cannot afterwards have asked for a form of prayer; and that if he asked for one, then it cannot have been previously delivered, holds good only if we suppose that Christ's followers remained always the same. There is nothing to show that 'one of his disciples' (Lk 11^{1}) means one of the Twelve. Different groups of disciples might at different times require teaching as to a form of prayer; and at one time Christ might give such instruction unasked, at another because He was requested to do so. In either case it is remarkable that the prayer is not directly alluded to elsewhere in the Gospels (cf. Mk 14^{38}), nor in the Acts (cf. 2^{42}), nor in the Epistles (cf. Ro 12^{12}, Col 4^{2}). There may be indirect allusions to the last petition, Jn 17^{15}, 2 Th 3^{3}, and possibly 2 Ti 4^{18}. See Lightfoot on 2 Th 3^{3}.

But if we admit that the prayer was delivered only once, and that St. Luke gives the actual occasion, it by no means follows that he gives the original form of the prayer, as Meyer, Kamphausen, and others suppose. In one sense neither form is original, for the original would be in Aramaic; and it is quite evident that both Mt and Lk used a Gr. source, as the large amount of agreement in wording, and, above all, their common use of the unique word ἐπιούσιος, shows. Their versions cannot be independent tr^{ns} of the same Aram. original. Much more probably they had the same Gr. original; and Mt, although he puts it in the wrong place, yet reproduces it more exactly. Of course, if the prayer was delivered more than once, then both forms may be original, in the sense that both represent in Greek a form which Christ used in His instructions. It is conceivable that one form was suitable for one group of disciples, another for the whole body of them.*

Accepting, however, the hypothesis that Mt more accurately gives us the original form, it may be asked whether the variations in Lk are due to himself or to the source which he used. There are good reasons for believing that some of them are due to himself. This is most apparent in the fourth petition. For δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον (Mt) Lk has δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν. Seeing that τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν occurs in NT in St. Luke's writings only (19^{47}, Ac 17^{11}), we may feel confident that it is he who has changed σήμερον into τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν rather than St. Matthew who has done the reverse. This change of σήμερον into τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν involved the change from the aorist to the present imperative; and thus 'Give us this day' became 'Continually give us day by day.' In Lk the petition is made more comprehensive. That the aorist rather than the present was the original form, is shown by the fact that in all the other petitions the aorist is used. Again, when we find ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα in Mt, and ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας in Lk, we conjecture that it is Lk who has changed the expression in order to make the meaning clearer to Gentile readers. The insertion of παντί with ὀφείλοντι is also very characteristic of St. Luke, and certainly ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀφίομεν is more likely to be a modification of ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν than *vice versâ*; all the more so, as Lk is specially fond of the combination καὶ αὐτός, καὶ αὐτοί, κ.τ.λ.

The differences which are the result of the presence in Mt of clauses that are wanting in the best texts of Lk require more detailed discussion. These clauses are: (1) ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, (2) γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, (3) ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. Tisch., Treg., WH, RV, Alford, Weiss, Godet, Scrivener, Hammond, and many others, reject these passages as insertions in Lk from the text of Mt. 'If one of the Gospels contained the Lord's Prayer in a shorter form than the other, nothing was so likely as that a scribe in perfect innocence would supply what he considered an undoubted defect' (Scriv.

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* F. H. Chase supposes that the disciples themselves adapted the prayer to special occasions, both altering and adding, and that ἐπιούσιος is one of the subsequent changes made for liturgical purposes (*Texts and Studies*, i. 3, Camb. 1891).

Introd. ii. p. 280). The evidence is not quite the same in all three cases, but in all it is conclusive against the clauses.

(1) *For* this clause entire we have ACDPΣΓΔΛΠ and nine inferior uncials, nearly all cursives, b e f l g of Vet. Lat. (a c ff$_2$ i have *sancte* for *noster*), three Syriac Versions (Cur. Pesh. Harcl.), Boheiric, and Ethiopic. *Against* the whole clause, ℵB, 1, 22, 57, 130, 346, nearly all the chief MSS of the Vulg., and the recently discovered Sinaitic Syriac. Against all but ἡμῶν, L and one cursive, one early MS of the Vulg. and the Armenian. Origen expressly states that the words are wanting in Lk. Tertullian and Cyril of Alexandria support the omission.

(2) *For* the clause, ℵACD and many inferior uncials, nearly all cursives, most MSS of Vet. Lat. Syrr. (Pesh. Harcl.), Boh. Eth. *Against* it, BL, 1, 22, 130, 346; ff$_2$ of Vet. Lat., best MSS of Vulg. Syrr. (Cur. Sin.) and Arm. Orig. Tert. and Aug. give express testimony against, and are supported by Cyr. Alex.

(3) *For* the clause, ACD and many inferior uncials, nearly all cursives; Vet. Lat. Syrr. (Cur. Pesh. Harcl.) Boh. Eth. *Against* it, ℵ*BL, 1, 22, 57, and six other cursives, most MSS of Vulg. Syr-Sin. and Arm. Orig. Aug. and Cyr. Alex. give express testimony against, and are supported by Tert.

The evidence for the clauses may look imposing, but the explanation of it given by Scrivener is simple and adequate; whereas neither accident nor intention can explain the early and widespread omission of all three, if they were found in the original text of Lk. In such a case the temptation to insert would be at a maximum, the temptation to omit at a minimum. A scribe might insert the missing words almost mechanically, being so familiar with them.

Convinced, therefore, that the clauses are not genuine in Lk, we return to the question, What can have induced Lk to omit them, if he and Mt had the same Gr. version of the prayer? His verbal alterations in the fourth and fifth petitions are intelligible; but why should he, with his love of completeness, omit? He does sometimes abbreviate; but would he have abbreviated here? The difficulty of finding an adequate motive for his curtailing such words is in favour of the view that Christ Himself on one occasion gave this shorter form to some disciples. To suppose that Lk 'contented himself with words just sufficient to remind his hearers of the fuller form,' is quite inadequate. In that case he would have left out nearly the whole of the prayer. And to point out that the five petitions in Lk correspond to the five fingers, is grotesque.

The sources of the prayer have been often discussed, and rabbinical parallels to the different petitions have been pointed out by John Lightfoot, Schoettgen, Vitringa, Wetstein, and others. *Tota haec oratio ex formulis Hebraeorum concinnata est tam apte, ut omnia contineat quæ a Deo peti possunt* (Wetst. on Mt 6[9]). But the parallels do not carry us very far. The use of 'Father' [אבינו שבשמים is a very common later Jewish title, Dalm. 151 ff.] to designate God, and the petition, 'Hallowed be thy name through our works,' are perhaps the strongest instances [cf. also ויתקדש שמיה and ימליך מלכותיה of the *Kaddish*, Dalm. 305]. Others are similarities of wording rather than of meaning, and some of these are not at all close. And in most cases the date of the Jewish prayers in which these expressions occur is either late or uncertain; so that the borrowing, if there is any, is on the side of the Jews, or may be so. But no borrowing is needed to explain such a petition as 'Forgive us our sins' (Ex 32[32], 1 K 8[34. 36. 39. 50], Dn 9[19]), which is perhaps as common in Jewish as in Christian prayers. Not that there is anything derogatory to Christ in supposing that He took the best Jewish aspirations and combined them in one prayer. He probably took the Messianic title 'Son of man' from the Bk. of Enoch, and applied it to Himself with a fulness of meaning unknown before. He might have done the same in the Lord's Prayer; but He does not appear to have done so. Indeed, the prayer is free from anything that can be called purely Jewish. (1) Its symmetry and progressive development of thought, and (2) its inexhaustible adaptability, are characteristics which do not harmonize well with the hypothesis that it is a compilation (Edersheim, *Life and Times of the Messiah*, i. p. 536. Cf. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, p. 138 ff.). Let us examine these characteristics.

(1) The Lord's Prayer is commonly regarded as consisting of seven petitions.* The frequent occurrence of the number seven in the Apoc. and elsewhere renders this arrangement attractive. But there are really only six; for 'Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one,' should be regarded as the negative and positive expression of one and the same petition.† These six are found to correspond to the Decalogue and the Two Great Commandments (Mt 22[40], Mk 12[31]), in that the first half has reference to God, the second half to man. In the first three petitions we seek the glory of our heavenly Father; in the last three the advantage of ourselves and our fellow-men. But these two are closely connected. What is to God's glory benefits His children; and what is to the advantage of men glorifies their heavenly Father. Thus the first half shows the end which man must have in view—the accomplishment of God's glory, kingdom, and will; the second half shows the means—daily provision, forgiveness, and protection. And the parts correspond with one another in each triplet. The first petition is addressed to God as our Father, the second as our King, the third as our Master. It is to our Father that we look for sustenance; to our King for pardon; to our Master for guidance and guardianship. Moreover, the transition from heaven to earth is beautifully made in the third petition, which raises earth to heaven. And in each of the triplets we can observe progression. The hallowing of God's name leads to the coming of the kingdom; and when the kingdom is come God's will shall be fulfilled on earth as in heaven. In the second half we have first the obtaining of good, and then the removal of evil, past, present, and future. Or, if we take the six petitions consecutively, we shall find that they begin with the glories of heaven, pass on to life on earth, and end with the powers of hell.‡ Such exquisite proportion and development (of which only specimens have been given) are strong evidence that, *if* this marvellous prayer was constructed out of fragments of other prayers, it was composed in the spirit and power of Him who said, 'Behold, I make all things new' (Rev 21[5]).

(2) We are not to suppose that the disciple who asked Christ to teach him and his fellows to pray had never prayed, and did not know how to do so. He had no doubt often performed this duty. But he had just witnessed Christ's devotions; and His manner showed him the difference between Christ's prayers and his own. There was a more excellent way than he knew, and he desired to learn it. Moreover, the Baptist had taught his disciples a distinctive form of prayer; and this suppliant thought that Jesus also should give a similar distinctive mark to His followers. As so often, Christ grants the substance rather than the letter of the request. Just as a Christian mystery is a divine secret revealed to all the world, so the distinctive

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* So Augustine, Luther, Tholuck, Bleek, Hilgenfeld, Keil, Köstlin, Nosgen, Wordsworth, etc.

† This is Tertullian's view (*de Orat.* viii.). In his form of the prayer *fiat voluntas tua in cælis et in terra* preceded *veniat regnum tuum.* Origen, Chrysostom, Calvin, Keim, Weiss, and others, make six petitions. But an allusion to the Trinity is very doubtful. To make the second petition refer to the Son, and the third to the Spirit, is very forced and fanciful.

‡ All this is lost in Lk; and this is strong evidence that, if only one form is original, his form is not the original one.

prayer of a Christian is one which every human being who believes in God can use. There are no other limits to its unique adaptability. Any one, of any race or age or condition, who believes in God, can use the Lord's Prayer, and use it just in proportion to his belief. A peasant child can understand enough of it to make it the expression of his daily needs. The ripest scholar, philosopher, and saint cannot exhaust all its possibilities of meaning. In a few minutes it may be committed to memory; but it is the work of a lifetime to learn it by heart. A Christian's knowledge of the import of it grows with his spiritual experience.

The prayer is at once a form, a summary, and a pattern.

It is a *form* which every one can use, and be certain that in using it he is expressing his needs in a becoming manner. This advantage is possessed by forms of prayer which have been composed by saintly men, and which have been tested in use by generations of Christians. How much more, then, does it belong to a form prescribed by Christ Himself. *Quæ enim potest esse spiritalis oratio quam quæ a Christo nobis data est . . . agnoscat pater filii sui verba, cum precem facimus* (Cypr. *de Domin. Orat.* ii. iii.). Not that one form of words affects God more than another, so long as the language of the heart is according to His will; but that the form of words that we use reacts on our hearts, and if the words are unseemly our hearts may become less subdued. And in prayers that are to be used in common, the effect of the words upon others must be considered. In giving this prayer, Christ has both sanctioned the principle of forms of prayer and has also provided us with a form which is always safe.

The Lord's Prayer is also a *summary* of all other prayers. As Latimer says, 'Like as the law of love is the sum and abridgment of the other laws, so this prayer is the sum and abridgment of all other prayers.' It covers all earthly and spiritual needs and all heavenly aspirations. It is not meant to supersede all other forms of supplication. When Christ gave us this, He did not forbid others. But this one rightly accompanies all other prayers, either following them to sum them up and prevent grave omissions, or preceding them as a guide or model: *præmissa legitima et ordinaria oratione quasi fundamento, accedentium desideriorum jus est superstruendi extrinsecus petitiones* (Tert. *de Orat.*). It is *breviarium totius evangelii* (*ib.* i.).

For the prayer is also a *pattern.* It shows in what manner and spirit our other supplications are to be made. We may pray only for those things which tend to the glory of God and the good of man; and the glory of God comes first. The final end of prayer is not that our will should be done by Him, but that His will may be done in us. In the beautiful image used by Clement of Alexandria, 'Just as men at sea attached to an anchor by a taut rope, when they pull at the anchor, draw not it to themselves, but themselves to the anchor; so in the gnostic life those who (as they mean it) draw God to themselves are unawares bringing themselves towards God' (*Strom.* IV. xxiii. p. 633, ed. Potter).

A consideration of the petitions one by one belongs to commentaries and homiletics rather than to a dictionary; but some notice must here be taken of three details in the prayer, (*a*) the opening address, (*b*) the central word ἐπιούσιος, and (*c*) the last clause.

(*a*) The address Πάτερ ἡμῶν has no parallel in OT. There God is spoken of as the Father of the Jewish nation (Dt 32^{6}, Is 63^{16}, Jer 3$^{4.\ 19}$ 31^{9}, Mal 1^{6} 2^{10}); but He is nowhere called the Father of individuals. This step is taken in the Apocr. (Wis 2^{16} 14^{3}, Sir 23$^{1.\ 4}$ 51^{10}, To 13^{4}, 3 Mac 6^{3}). But it is only in NT that we are told that men have received the '*right* to become children of God' (Jn 1^{12}, cf. Ro 8^{23}, Gal 4^{5}). Every Christian, and indeed every human being, is justified in regarding himself as the offspring of God (Ac 17$^{28.\ 29}$), and in addressing Him with reference to his fellow-men as 'Our Father.' The address is at once a claim to be heard, and to be heard for others as well as for oneself. *Quid enim jam non det filiis petentibus, cum hoc ipsum ante dederit, ut filii essent* (Aug.). See vol. ii. p. 618.

(*b*) It is not likely that we shall ever know with certainty either the origin or the exact meaning of the adjective ἐπιούσιος, the only adjective in the prayer. Nowhere in Gr. literature is the word found until the Gospels gave it currency. To derive it from ἐπεῖναι, ἐπών, or ἐπί and οὐσία, is precarious; for in that case we should expect ἐπούσιος, and not ἐπιούσιος.* Most ancient versions support the derivation from ἐπιέναι, by giving the epithet a temporal rather than a qualitative rendering; *e.g.* 'of to-morrow,' or 'for the coming day,' or 'that cometh,' or 'continual,' or 'daily.' Jerome changed *quotidianum* in Mt to *supersubstantialem,* but made no change in Lk; so that in the West there was a general belief that the two evangelists had used different words. It is possible, as Chase suggests, that there was no epithet in the Aram. original, and that its insertion comes from liturgical use. But that hypothesis, if true, is not decisive as to meaning, although it supports the temporal rather than the qualitative interpretation. For the temporal meaning see Grotius, Wetstein, Fritzsche, Meyer, and, above all, Lightfoot, *On a Fresh Revision of the NT,* App. I. For other views see Suicer, Tholuck, Alford, Wordsworth, and, above all, M'Clellan, *The NT,* i. pp. 632–647. RV retains 'daily' in the text, and puts 'for the coming day' in the margin. The American Committee would add 'needful' in the margin. It is a strange phenomenon that the meaning of this unique word in the model prayer should, almost from the earliest times, have been doubtful. The *Didaché,* which has the earliest quotation of the prayer (viii.), throws no light on this point.

(*c*) Does ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ mean 'Deliver us from (the) evil,' or 'Deliver us from the evil one'? Have we here τὸ πονηρόν, as in Lk 6^{45}, Ro 12^{9}; or ὁ πονηρός, as in Mt 13$^{19.\ 38}$, Eph 6^{16}, 1 Jn 2$^{13.\ 14}$ 3^{12} 5^{18}, and also probably Mt 5$^{37.\ 39}$, Jn 17^{15}, 2 Th 3^{3}, 1 Jn 5^{19}? The latter is almost certainly correct. (α) The references just given show that in *NT itself* there is abundant justification for this meaning. (β) The *context* suggests the masculine, 'Bring us not into temptation, *but* deliver us from *the tempter.*' If evil in general, including pain and sorrow, were meant, we should have '*and* deliver us from evil.' Some Fathers explain Luke's omission of the clause by saying that it is really contained in 'Bring us not into temptation.' (γ) Of the *earliest versions,* 'the Syr. and Sahidic point to the masculine,' the Lat. is as ambiguous as the Greek. (δ) The *liturgies* of St. James, of St. Mark, and of Addæus, which are each of them representatives of a group, all explicitly support the masculine. See Hammond, *Liturgies Eastern and Western,* pp. 47, 48, 188, 189, 279, 280. (ε) The *Greek Fathers,* who in such a matter have great weight, are unanimous for the masculine. (ζ) So also the *earliest Latin Fathers,* Tertullian and Cyprian. See Lightfoot, *On a Fresh Revision,* App. II., from which these six heads are taken; also Lightfoot on 2 Th 3^{3}. Erasmus, Beza, Maldonatus, Fritzsche, Meyer, Ebrard, Wordsworth, support the masculine; Luther, Tholuck, Keil, Nösgen, Alford, M'Clellan, follow Augustine in accepting the neuter. Canon Cook's defence of this view in the *Guardian*, Sept. 1881, should be consulted.

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* But this is not conclusive; for the word may have been coined in contrast to περιούσιος (Ex 19^{5}, Dt 7^{6} 14^{2} 26^{18}); and in that way the ι of the ἐπί might be retained contrary to usage (Jannaris, Tholuck).

That the doxology in St. Matthew is an interpolation due to liturgical use is admitted by all competent critics on the authority of ℵBDZ, five cursives, Latt. Boh. Orig. Tert. Cypr. Aug. Those authorities which contain it vary as to the wording, and as to the addition or omission of 'Amen'; while some have 'Amen' without the doxology. Even Wordsworth surrenders it, although 'with hesitation.' Perhaps its original source is the Heb. of 1 Ch 29^{11}; and not until Chrysostom does its wording become in general stereotyped. But as it is found in the Syr-Cur. and in the Sahidic, it must have been added to the Lord's Prayer in some places as early as the 2nd cent. Comp. 2 Ti 4^{18}, where we have an ascription of glory to Christ, which is erroneously supposed to favour the genuineness of the doxology in Mt 6^{13}.

From Tertullian (*adv. Marcion.* IV. xxvi.), from Gregory of Nyssa (*de Orat. Dom.* p. 60, ed. Krabinger), and from the cursive 604 (Hoskier, 1890), we see that in Lk some texts had a petition for the gift of the Spirit instead of either 'Thy kingdom come' or 'Hallowed be Thy name.' The fullest text of this petition reads thus: Ἐλθέτω τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς. Comp. the ἐφ' ἡμᾶς in D, which has ἁγιασθήτω ὄνομά σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἐλθέτω σου ἡ βασιλεία, *sanctificetur nomen tuum super nos, veniat regnum tuum.* Against all reasonable probability Keim holds this petition for the Spirit to be 'really original in Luke,' and points to 11^{13} as evidence (*Jesus of Nazara*, iii. p. 338 n.).

There is evidence also of an early Latin gloss on *Ne nos inducas in temptationem* which was sometimes admitted into the prayer. Both Cyprian (*de Dom. Orat.* xxv.) and Augustine (*de Serm. Dom.* ix. 30) have *ne* patiaris *induci nos,*—obviously in order to lessen the difficulty of supposing that God brings us into temptation. This difficulty produced another Latin gloss: *ne inducas nos in temptationem* quam ferre non possumus (Jerome, *in Ezek.* xlviii. 16). And these two glosses are sometimes found combined. Each of them is found in writers of different ages and countries, and of liturgies of different families; they must therefore be of early origin. Comp. Hilary, *in Ps.* cxviii.

Literature.—This is very abundant. Among the most important: Origen, περὶ εὐχῆς; Chrysost. *Hom. xix. in Matt.* and *Hom. de inst. secundum Deum vita*; Greg. Nyss. *de Orat.* II.; Tertul. *de Orat.*; Cypr. *de Orat. Dom.*; August. *de Serm. Dom. in Mon.*; Jerome, *Dial. c. Pelagianos*, III. xv.; Luther, *Small Catechism*, and other writings; Gebser, *de Orat. Dom.*, Regiom. 1830; Tholuck, *Bergpredigt*, 1833, 1844 [translation by Brown, Edinburgh, 1869]; Kamphausen, *Das Gebet des Herrn*, 1866; Chase, *Lord's Prayer in Early Church*, 1891; Wünsche, *Erläuterung der Evangg.* p. 84 ff.

A. Plummer.

LORD'S SUPPER.—

- I. Terminology.
- II. OT Types.
  - (*a*) The Manna.
  - (*b*) Melchizedek's gifts to Abraham.
  - (*c*) The Shewbread.
- III. Partial Anticipations.
  - (*a*) The Passover.
  - (*b*) Sacrificial Feasts.
- IV. History of the Christian Rite
  - (*a*) The Institution.
  - (*b*) The Recipients.
  - (*c*) The Minister.
  - (*d*) The Rite.
- V. The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

I. Terminology.—A discussion of the language used in Scripture respecting the Lord's Supper is of necessity confined to the NT. But only once in NT is the Lord's Supper so called, Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον (1 Co xi. 20); for we may safely follow the consensus of ancient and modern commentators in interpreting this unique expression of the Eucharist (see, however, Maldonatus on Mt 26^{26}). The emphasis is on Κυριακόν: 'it is not (possible) to eat a *Lord's* Supper,' for the unseemly conduct turns it into ἰδιωτικὸν δεῖπνον (Chrys.). And we may possibly infer from the use of an adjective rather than a genitive that the name Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον was already in use when St. Paul wrote. Cf. Κυριακὴ ἡμέρα (Rev 1^{10}).

There are, however, other expressions in NT which certainly or possibly mean the Lord's Supper. 'The cup of blessing,' τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας (1 Co 10^{16}), *i.e.* the cup over which the blessing has been pronounced, unquestionably refers to the eucharistic cup, as the context shows. It is that ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν, which we consecrate by εὐλογία, by the expression in words of our εὐχαριστία. We might tr. 'the cup of thanksgiving over which we give thanks,' or 'which we give thanks for' (Crem. *Lex.* p. 767). But the use of εὐλογία rather than εὐχαριστία is evidence that the latter word has not yet gained its special meaning. The expression is borrowed from Judaism, being the name of the most sacred of the cups handed round at the paschal meal, of which cups it is commonly identified with the third (Edersh. *Life and Times*, ii. 511). Nor is there any doubt that ποτήριον Κυρίου (1 Co 10^{21}) and τράπεζα Κυρίου (1 Co 10^{21}, cf. Mal $1^{7.12}$) refer to the eucharistic cup and the eucharistic table with the food thereon. Here we have the genitive and not an adjective; and the context shows that the dominant idea is union between the recipients and Christ, rather than union of the recipients with one another. About ἡ κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου and κλᾶν ἄρτον there is more doubt. In Scripture 'bread' is a common name for any food, and includes drink also. 'Eating bread' (Mk 3^{20}) and 'breaking bread' (Ac 2^{46}) may be the same as 'taking food' (Ac 9^{19} 27^{36}); but 'eating bread' is the common general term, whereas 'breaking bread' is rare (Jer 16^{7}, La 4^{4}; cf. Lv 2^{6}, Is 58^{7}, Xen. *Anab.* VII. iii. 22). St. Luke is the only writer who uses ἡ κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου (24^{35}, Ac 2^{42}). The former passage probably does not refer to the Eucharist; for the meal at Emmaus (Lk 24^{30}) most probably was not such. The context and the imperf. ἐπεδίδου are against it. Nowhere is the imperf. used of the distribution of the Eucharist (Mt 26^{26}, Mk 14^{22}, Lk 22^{19}, 1 Co 11^{23}); whereas it is used of the distribution of ordinary food, *e.g.* at the feeding of the 5000 (Mk 6^{41}, Lk 9^{16}) and of the 4000 (Mk 8^{6}, Mt 15^{36}). But in Ac 2^{42} the context favours the eucharistic interpretation, which the Lat. version of Cod. Bezæ, followed by Vulg., enforces with *in communicatione fractionis panis* (cf. *Clem. Recog.* vi. 15). The four elements of the common Christian life are given in two pairs; and the combination τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς indicates that 'the breaking of the bread' means something more than an ordinary meal; and the context here and in $20^{7.11}$ 27^{35} forbids us to interpret it of distributing food to the poor (Is 58^{7}). Yet even here the explanation must not be confined to the Eucharist. In Scripture there is no trace of the Eucharist being separated from the joint evening meal or ἀγάπη; and 'the breaking of the bread' covers the whole. We must not lose sight of the *family* character of the life of the first Christians. 'The breaking of the bread' took place in their own homes; 'the prayers' may refer to their constant devotions in the temple (Lk 24^{53}, Ac 2^{46} 3^{1}). It is doubtful whether the Eucharist is included in κλῶντες κατ' οἶκον ἄρτον (Ac 2^{46}) * or in κλάσας ἤρξατο ἐσθίειν (27^{35}). The latter is specially improbable; and here the Western interpolation *ἐπιδιδοὺς καὶ ἡμῖν* was added to suggest a Eucharist, an interpretation which Tertullian adopts (*de Orat.* 24). On the other hand, both the Eucharist and the common meal are perhaps indicated in Ac $20^{7.11}$. The mention of the first day of the week points to religious observance: and *γευσάμενος* seems to refer to the common meal after the *κλάσας τὸν ἄρτον* in the Eucharistic rite. Only in 1 Co 14^{16} is it supposed that *ἡ εὐχαριστία* is used in the specific sense of Eucharist rather than in that of thanksgiving generally. Yet it is not probable that St. Paul is here deviating from his use of the word elsewhere (2 Co 4^{15} 9^{11}, Eph 5^{4}, Ph 4^{6}, Col 2^{7} 4^{2}, 1 Th 3^{9}, 1 Ti $4^{3.4}$, and in the plur. 2 Co 9^{12}, 1 Ti 2^{1}), which is also the common use both in NT (Ac 24^{3}, Rev 4^{9} 7^{12}) and in LXX (Wis 16^{28}, Sir 37^{11}, 2 Mac 2^{27}). The use of *εὐχαριστεῖν* in the next two verses ($^{17.18}$) shows that thanksgiving generally is meant. And this is confirmed by the use of *εὐχαριστεῖν* in Clem. Rom. *Cor.* 41. But the use of *εὐχαριστία* in the specific sense begins very early. We find it in the Ignatian Epistles (*Philad.* 4; *Smyrn.* 7) side by side with the general meaning (*Eph.* 13). The same double use is found in Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 64–66, *Try.* 116, 117). The specific sense is common in Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Cyprian. But it is remarkable that neither Justin, nor Cyprian (*Ep.* 63), nor Firmilian in his letter to Cyprian (*Ep.* 65), nor Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* 19, 22, 23), say anything about either the *εὐλογία* or the *κλάσις*, both of which are so prominent in NT. Other terms which in course of time became names for the Lord's Supper are *κοινωνία*, *τῶν μυστηρίων κοινωνία*, *προσφορά*, *λειτουργία*, *μυστήριον συνάξεως*, *μετάληψις ἁγιασμάτων*, *ἁγία μετάληψις*, *communio*, *communicatio*, *perceptio corporis et sanguinis*, etc. Words which originally designated one part of the rite were used to express the whole.

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* If Ac 2^{46} does not refer to the Eucharist, then the supposition that the Eucharist was celebrated daily in the earliest age has no foundation. Ac 20^{7-11} points to Sunday as the usual day.

II. OT Types.—(*a*) We have the authority both of Christ and of St. Paul for regarding the manna as a type of the Eucharist. The great discourse on the Bread of Life, no doubt, covers all those means of grace by which Christ is imparted to believers. But a special reference to the Lord's Supper is clear from the words used about eating the flesh of the Son of Man and drinking His blood, and from the fact that just a year after this discourse Christ instituted the Eucharist. It is incredible that this momentous act in the work of redemption had not yet been thought of by Him when He spoke at Capernaum. The references to the manna in the discourse are frequent, and the correspondence between the language used (Jn $6^{51.53-58}$) and the accounts of the institution cannot be fortuitous. The *πνευματικὸν βρῶμα* of 1 Co 10^{3} refers to the manna regarded as supernatural food. The apostle takes this supernatural food as a type of the Eucharistic bread; and it is possible that the epithet *πνευματικόν* is selected with reference to the Eucharist rather than to the manna. The exact meaning of what is said about the *πνευματικὸν πόμα* is doubtful; but evidently the water supernaturally supplied to the Israelites is regarded by St. Paul as a type of the blood of Christ received in the Eucharistic cup.

(*b*) Patristic writers find types of the Lord's Supper in the gifts made by Melchizedek, in the shewbread, and in other offerings. With regard to Melchizedek, it is remarkable that the author of the Ep. to the Heb., who is the only NT writer who mentions him ($5^{6.10}$ 6^{20} 7^{1-17}), passes over the fact that Melchizedek 'brought forth bread and wine' (Gn 14^{18}). As we are immediately afterwards told that 'he was priest of God most High,' it is not surprising that patristic writers treat this bread and wine as a sacrifice offered by the priest-king, and as a type of the Eucharist: *τὴν ἡγιασμένην τροφὴν εἰς τύπον εὐχαριστίας* (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 25, p. 637, ed. Potter); *imago sacrificii in pane et vino constituta* (Cypr. *Ep.* 63). Jerome goes further, and says that this sacrifice of bread and wine was offered for Abraham (*ad Matt.* 22^{41}). See Westcott on He 7^{1}.

(*c*) It is obvious that, as the Lord's Supper commemorates the sacrifice made by Christ on the Cross, whatever was a type of that sacrifice may be called a type also of the rite which commemorates it; and, where the offering was bread, the inducement to treat it in this way would be the greater. Cyril of Jerusalem thus uses the shewbread (*Catech.* 22). In a similar manner Justin treats Is 33^{16} (*Try.* 70), and Irenæus treats Mal 1^{11} (IV. xvii. 5, 6) as a prediction of the Eucharist.

III. Partial Anticipations.—(*a*) Just as the chief type, viz. the manna, is indicated by Christ Himself, so also is the chief anticipatory rite, viz. the Passover. It appears to have been [but see Jesus Christ, vol. ii. p. 634] while celebrating the paschal supper that He instituted the rite which was to supersede it, and be known as the Lord's Supper. And here a remarkable parallel with the institution of Christian baptism exists. The original rite for admission to Judaism was circumcision. This was supplemented by baptism, which in later times became the only rite of initiation applicable to both sexes. In the original ritual of the Passover, the lamb, unleavened bread, and bitter herbs were the essentials (Ex 12^{8}). The wine and the solemn 'cup of blessing' were later accessories. Just as in the one rite Christ abandoned the circumcision and retained the baptism, so in the other He abandoned the lamb and retained the wine. In both cases the rite was made unbloody and painless; and from the treasure-house were brought forth things new and old. There is a new departure; but also a clear connexion with the past; for Providence, even in its revolutions, is conservative.

(*b*) By speaking of 'my blood of the covenant,' or 'the new covenant in my blood,' Christ seems to have connected this new feast with those sacrificial feasts in which the worshippers, by partaking of the sacrifice, partook of the blessing which the sacrifice was to win. This was an idea with which the disciples were quite familiar. That there was any idea of a death-feast, or of an adoption-feast, is much less probable. We know little about death-feasts among the Jews. And although some Semitic peoples had rites in which the partaking of the tribal animal was supposed to put the blood of the tribe into the partaker's veins (W. R. Smith, *RS* pp. 317, 318), yet there is no trace of this idea in the Lord's Supper. It is by baptism that aliens are admitted to the Christian family.

IV. History of the Christian Rite.—This can be conveniently treated under four heads: (*a*) the Institution, (*b*) the Recipients, (*c*) the Minister, (*d*) the Rite.

(*a*) The *Institution*, according to the universal testimony of Scripture and of tradition, dates from the act and command of Christ at 'the last supper,'—the last meal of which He partook before His death. An attempt has been made to show that He must have instituted the Eucharist earlier in His ministry: (1) because 'St. John in his sixth chapter represents our Lord as using Eucharistic language which would have been absolutely without meaning, if the Eucharist had not been already in common use'; and (2) because 'the two disciples journeying to Emmaus recognized our Lord in the Breaking of Bread (Lk $24^{30.35}$). They had not been present at the Last Supper. The rite, if it was really then instituted for the first time, would have had no significance for them' (Wright, *Synopsis*, p. xiii).

This is very unconvincing. (1) It was Christ's way, even with the disciples, to utter about future events words which they did not, and in some cases could not, understand at the time, but which they did understand when the events had taken place. He knew that the discourse on the Bread of Life would acquire fresh and fuller meaning when the rite which He intended to found was instituted. But it is an exaggeration to say that it was 'absolutely without meaning' and an 'insoluble enigma' until the Eucharist was instituted. Had it no meaning for the large majority of the audience, who, upon any hypothesis, did not know, and never would know, anything of the Eucharistic rite? (2) The two disciples at Emmaus may have been present when Christ broke bread and gave thanks at ordinary meals, or at the feeding of the 4000 and of the 5000. It was something in His way of doing this at Emmaus that enabled them to recognize Him at the supper there, which was probably not a Eucharist. We may safely follow the clear and strong evidence of the Synoptists and of St. Paul, that the Eucharist was instituted at the last supper. St. Paul's reference to it, τὸ Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον, which is older than any of the Gospels, could hardly have been made in this form, if the Lord's Supper, on the night of His betrayal, had not been the time when it originated. See vol. ii. p. 636.

Of the institution we have four accounts; and it will be worth while to place them side by side in two pairs, to facilitate an estimate of their substantial agreement.[*] Brandt's assault on their trustworthiness has been answered by Schultzen, *Das Abendmahl im NT*, 1895, p. 67 ff. They are neither intrinsically incredible, nor inconsistent with other statements in the Gospels, nor contradicted by early evidence outside the NT.

Mt 26$^{26-29}$.	Mk 14$^{22-25}$.
ἐσθιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν **λαβὼν** ὁ Ἰησοῦς **ἄρτον** καὶ **εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν** καὶ δοὺς τοῖς μαθηταῖς εἶπεν, Λάβετε φάγετε. τοῦτό **ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.** καὶ λαβὼν **ποτήριον** καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες, τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν· λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ πίω ἀπ' ἄρτι ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω μεθ' ὑμῶν καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρός μου.	καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν **λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν** καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν Λάβετε, **τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.** καὶ λαβὼν **ποτήριον** εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πίω ἐκ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Lk 22$^{17-20}$.	1 Co 11$^{23-25}$.
καὶ δεξάμενος **ποτήριον** εὐχαριστήσας εἶπεν Λάβετε τοῦτο καὶ διαμερίσατε εἰς ἑαυτούς· λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ πίω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως οὗ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔλθῃ. καὶ **λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν** καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων **Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου** [τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον].	ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδετο **ἔλαβεν ἄρτον** καὶ **εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν** καὶ εἶπεν **Τοῦτό μού ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα** τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ **ποτήριον** μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, ὁσάκις ἐὰν πίνητε, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

There is strong reason for believing that the latter part of the passage in the Third Gospel is not original, but a very early interpolation from 1 Co. D a d ff$_2$ i l omit from τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν to ἐκχυννόμενον, while b e Syr-Cur. omit and put vv.$^{17.\ 18}$ in the place of the omitted passage, so as to harmonize with Mt and Mk and relieve the difficulty of the two cups. Syr-Cur., like Syr-Sin., retains the whole of v.^{19}, b e only the first half. According to this arrangement the verses run $^{16.\ 19.\ 17.\ 18.\ 21.\ 22}$ etc. Syr-Sin. exhibits a more elaborate rearrangement with considerable changes of wording;—$^{16.\ 19.\ 20a.\ 17.\ 20b.\ 18.\ 21.\ 22}$ etc. In *Internat. Crit. Comm. on St. Luke*, pp. 567, 568, these attempts at avoiding difficulties by transposing parts of the text are shown in full. WH consider that there is 'no moral doubt that the words in question were absent from the original text in Lk' (ii. App. p. 64; see Introd. § 240). With this Brandt, Grafe, Grass, Haupt, Schürer, J. Weiss, and Wendt agree. Spitta rejects v.^{20} only, and accepts as original the whole of v.^{19}, the second half of which has the support of Syr-Cur., Syr-Sin., and Justin. Scrivener, Schultzen (*op. cit.* pp. 5–19), R. A. Hoffmann (*Abendmahlsgedanken Jesu Christi*, 1896, pp. 5–25), and others defend the genuineness of the whole passage. But in a discussion of the accounts of the institution the whole passage should be treated as at least doubtful. It does not support the Pauline account, if it is (as is probable) borrowed from it.

The primary account is that given by St. Paul. Those in Mt and Mk are virtually one and the same; an account written later than his and independent of it. Among the features which are found in both Mt and Mk but not in 1 Co are the change from εὐλογήσας of the bread to εὐχαριστήσας of the cup, the Λάβετε of the bread, the λαβὼν εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν of the cup, their all drinking of it, the blood being 'shed for many,' and the declaration about not drinking of the fruit of the vine. This last, and εὐχαριστήσας of the cup, are common to Lk also. The features which are common to all four are the taking bread, giving thanks or blessing, breaking, the words 'This is my body,' and the mention of the cup.

In four points St. Paul differs from the Synoptists. (1) He gives no indication that the meal was a paschal one, and thus seems to agree with St. John: it is the new covenant, rather than the connexion with the old rite, which interests him (Baur, *Ch. Hist.* i. pp. 161, 162). But 1 Co 5^7 must be remembered. (2) While Mt and Mk place the taking of the bread during the meal (ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν), he places the taking of the cup after the supper (μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι). If both are right, there was a considerable interval between the distribution of the bread and the circulation of the cup. Lk gives no intimation. (3) While St. Paul has 'This *cup* is the *new* covenant in my blood,' Mt and Mk have 'This is my blood of the covenant,' where 'new' may have been dropped for the sake of closer resemblance with Ex 24^8. In any case, Rückert's proposal to take μου with διαθήκης—'the blood of my covenant,' and Bousset's to reject the words about the covenant, because Justin omits them, are inadmissible. (4) St. Paul gives twice, Mk and Mt not at all, and Lk probably not at all, the important charge, τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. The explanation perhaps is, that the evangelists treat the repetition as a matter of course, and as involved in the word 'covenant,' which implies permanence: whereas, in order to convince the Corinthians of the enormity of their misconduct, it was necessary to point out that irreverence to either bread or cup was a violation of what Christ Himself had prescribed. It follows from this that the divine injunction to the Church to continue the Eucharistic celebration in memory of its Founder rests solely upon the testimony of St. Paul. Let us admit that this is so. We do not thereby render probable the hypothesis that Jesus gave no such charge. The apostle could not have invented such an injunction, if it had not been in harmony with Christian practice already established. And how could such a rite have been established without the authority of the Twelve, who knew well whether Christ had commanded it or not?

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[*] The elements common to all four are in thick type; those common to the three Gospels are in spaced type. The text followed is that of Westcott and Hort.

Paulus was perhaps the first to deny that Christ said τοῦτο ποιεῖτε. But Briggs, P. Gardner,* Grafe, Immer, Jülicher, Mensinga, Pfleiderer, Spitta, Titius, and Wittichen are disposed to think that the earliest tradition, represented by Mk and Mt, knew nothing of an institution by Jesus, on the night of His betrayal, of a sacrament to be observed continually.† And the earliest Christian observance of the Lord's Supper as a permanent institution is explained by the hypothesis that Christ gave this command after His resurrection (Briggs, *The Messiah of the Gospels*, p. 123).

In what sense is the tradition represented by Mk and Mt 'the earliest'? That given by St. Paul was written earlier, and is the earliest written record of any words of Christ. It had been previously communicated to the Corinthians. And St. Paul had derived it direct from the Lord Himself (1 Co 11^{23}). His words can mean no less. Had he merely been told by apostles, he would have had no stronger claim to be heard than hundreds of other Christians. The silence of Mt and Mk does not warrant us in contradicting such explicit testimony, which would be sufficient, even if it were unsupported, for the unvarying belief of the Church from the earliest ages, that it was on the night in which He was betrayed that Christ instituted the Eucharist and gave the command 'continue to do this (pres. imperat.) in remembrance of me.' The proposal to place the institution of the Eucharist as a permanent rite later than the last supper, is as unnecessary as the proposal to place it earlier. The Pauline account fully explains the connexion of the new rite with the Passover and the Passion. If the command, τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, κ.τ.λ., was given on some other occasion, how did the new rite become so universally connected with these two facts? Any internal or doctrinal connexion between the Lord's Supper and the Passover is denied by Haupt, Hoffmann, Jülicher, Spitta, and others. Their reasons differ; but the fact that the Passover was celebrated only once a year, and the Lord's Supper frequently, is no argument. The Passover celebrated a deliverance effected with blood; and the Lord's Supper celebrated a deliverance effected with blood. This is a real and natural connexion.

But it is possible that there were sources for the conviction that Jesus gave this command on the night of His betrayal which were independent of St. Paul. Justin Martyr states that 'the apostles, in the memoirs produced by them which are called Gospels, related that Jesus, having taken bread and given thanks, thus commanded them and said, *Do this for a remembrance of Me, this is My body*; and that in like manner, having taken the cup and given thanks, He said, *This is My blood*; and distributed to them alone' (*Apol.* i. 66). Although Justin omits the reference to the covenant, yet he regards the τοῦτο ποιεῖτε as part of the evangelistic record.

(*b*) The *Recipients* of the Lord's Supper were required to 'prove themselves,' lest they should 'eat the bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily,' and thus 'be guilty of (profaning) the body and the blood of the Lord. . . . For he that eateth and drinketh without rightly judging (διακρίνων) the body, eateth and drinketh judgment (κρίμα) to himself,'—a judgment which involves the gravest consequences, as the experience of many in Corinth proved. 'But if we were in the habit of rightly judging ourselves (διεκρίνομεν) we should not be judged (οὐκ ἂν ἐκρινόμεθα).' Throughout the passage (1 Co 11^{27-31}) the repeated contrast between διακρίνειν and κρίνειν is to be noted; also the use of κρινόμενοι and κατακριθῶμεν immediately afterwards.

No definition of ἀναξίως is given. The context shows that what is primarily meant is disorderly irreverence in receiving either the bread or the cup (ἤ, not καί). This external irreverence is proof of internal contempt. It could not occur, if the nature of the body were rightly judged; *i.e.* if the partaker devoutly realized that to which his eating and drinking referred, viz. the death of Christ: just as a loyal subject could not insult the king's effigy, if he knew that it was the king's. The context also shows that selfishness and greediness are included in ἀναξίως. Surfeiting at the common meal, while others are made to wait famished, renders a worthy partaking of the Lord's Supper impossible; for love of the brethren is indispensable. This irreverence and selfishness spring from a wrong estimate of one's own condition. Therefore a man must prove himself and acquire a right judgment as to his spiritual state. Reverence towards God, His Church, and His sacraments; charity towards the brethren; a humble estimate of self,—these are among the requirements for a worthy reception of the Lord's Supper. Fasting could not be required so long as the Eucharist was united with the *agape*, which it often followed, as at the last supper, although it sometimes preceded it.

(*c*) The *Minister* in the Eucharist is not determined by Scripture any more than the minister in baptism. The primary charge to continue the rite (1 Co $11^{24.25}$) was made to the apostles, and, on the only occasion when the minister is named, the celebrant is the apostle St. Paul (Ac 20^{11}). Yet, assuming that 'the breaking of the bread,' which habitually took place among the first Christians (Ac 2^{42}), includes the Lord's Supper, we need not suppose that the celebrant was invariably one of the Twelve. But this much may be asserted with confidence. The NT tells us that from the first there was a distinction between clergy and laity, *i.e.* the Church had officers who discharged spiritual functions which were not discharged by ordinary Christians. This distinction appears in various writings from the earliest to the latest (1 Th $5^{12.13}$, 1 Co 12^{28}, Eph 4^{11}, Ph 1^{1}, Past. Epp. *passim*, He 13^{17}, 3 Jn $^{9.10}$), and is abundantly confirmed by evidence outside the NT which is almost if not quite contemporaneous with the last of these (Clem. Rom. and the *Didaché*). These witnesses do not define the functions of the ministers whom they name. But the clergy, whether missionary (as apostles, pro-

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[*] Gardner argues, moreover, that the whole account in 1 Co $11^{23ff.}$ is the record of an *ecstatic* revelation experienced by St. Paul, and has no historical objective foundation. He supposes an influence to have been exerted on St. Paul during his stay at Corinth by the proximity of the Eleusinian mysteries.

[†] The view that Christ gave no command, but merely permission, to continue the ordinance, is found in Luther, who regards ὁσάκις ἐὰν πίνητε as making τοῦτο ποιεῖτε purely permissive (*De capt. Bab. eccles. prœludium*, ed. Pfizer, p. 195). Strauss, Kaiser, and Stephani have urged that Jesus was too humble to give such a command, and have been answered by Hase (*Gesch. Jesu*, p. 691).

phets, and evangelists) or stationary (as bishops or presbyters, and deacons), discharge spiritual duties. They deal with men's souls rather than their bodies; and they have to do with religious service. It is reasonable to suppose that one of the first things that was reserved to the clergy was the right of presiding at the Eucharist. This reservation is found clearly enough in the first half of the 2nd cent. (Ign. *Smyrn.* 8, cf. *Trall.* 2. 7, *Philad.* 7; Tert. *de Bapt.* 17; *Apost. Const.* ii. 27).

(*d*) The *Rite* is nowhere described in Scripture with so much detail as in the accounts of the institution; and the small amount of detail given there is strong evidence of the authenticity of the accounts. A fiction of a later age would have represented Christ as using the ceremonial which was customary in that age, as is seen clearly in the *Apost. Const.* ii. 57, viii. 12. The taking a loaf or cake, giving thanks, breaking and distributing, and then the taking a cup, giving thanks, and distributing, are the external acts of the Founder, accompanied by the words, 'This is my body,' 'This is my blood.' We know too little about the ritual of the Passover at this time to say how much, if any, of the new Eucharistic rite was part of the paschal meal. Later Jewish writers have described how the Passover was celebrated in their time, with four (and sometimes five) cups circulating at intervals, *one* of which *may* have been the Eucharistic cup.[*] But we do not know that this ritual was in existence in the time of Christ. And if it was, we do not know that Christ, in this highly exceptional celebration,—which anticipated (?) that year's Passover in order to supersede it for ever,—followed the existing ritual. In none of the reports is there any mention of the lamb, or of the 'passing over' of the destroying angel, or of a deliverance from bondage; whereas the idea of a covenant, which of necessity is a new covenant, is very conspicuous. It need not be doubted that 'my blood of the covenant' (Mt, Mk) is essentially identical with 'the new covenant in my blood' (1 Co). In either case the blood is treated as the vehicle of the covenant, which the disciples appropriate by partaking of the cup. And this idea of a covenant is not conspicuous in the ritual of the Passover.[†] The three fundamental acts seem to be, (1) the breaking and pouring, (2) the distribution to the disciples, (3) their eating and drinking; which represent (1) the death of Christ, (2) for the disciples' salvation, (3) which they must appropriate.

As regards subsequent Christian usage, we know that in the apostolic age the breaking of the bread was preserved (see above); and we may feel sure that most of the other external acts of the Lord were preserved also. Moreover, the Eucharist, which at the institution was part of the paschal supper, is in the apostolic age always part of the common meal or ἀγάπη (1 Co 11^{17}, Ac $20^{7.11}$), a practice which continued down to the time of Ignatius (see Lightfoot on *Smyrn.* 8). But whether there was as yet any fixed form of words either for the thanksgiving or blessing, or to accompany the distribution, is uncertain. The differences in the four reports of Christ's words seem to show that exactness of wording was not regarded as essential. In the *Didaché* 9, 10 we find three forms of thanksgiving: one for the cup, one for the broken bread, and a third which apparently is to be used after both ἀγάπη and Eucharist are over (μετὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι). But it is expressly stated that 'the prophets' are not tied to these forms (τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν). A similar feature is found in Justin Martyr, who states that the presiding minister (ὁ προεστώς), after general prayer is ended, and bread and wine mixed with water have been brought, offers prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability (ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ), to which the congregation respond with the Amen (*Apol.* i. 67). It would seem, then, that this is the second stage in the development of liturgies. First there was no form, but the minister used what words he pleased. He would, however, be influenced by the words of institution as well as by Jewish forms; and perhaps he commonly included the Lord's Prayer. Basil asks, 'Which of the saints has left us in writing the words of the invocation at the displaying (ἀνάδειξις) of the bread of the Eucharist and the cup of blessing? For *we are not content with what the Apostle or the Gospel has recorded*, but both in preface and conclusion we add other words' (*de Spiritu*, 27). And Gregory the Great seems to have believed that the apostles used the Lord's Prayer, and that only[*] (ix. *Ep.* 12; Migne, lxxvii. 956). But the meaning of the passage is not clear; and Gregory is very late authority for apostolic usage (Maskell, *The Ancient Liturgy of the Ch. of England*, 3rd ed. p. xviii). At the next stage forms were drawn up, but some ministers were allowed discretion as to the use of them. Finally, all ministers were restricted to prescribed forms. In NT we seem to be at the first stage. In the *Didaché* the omissions are remarkable, and power to supplement would seem to be almost necessary. Among the gifts for which thanks are given (ζωή, γνῶσις, πίστις, ἀθανασία, ζωὴ αἰώνιος) there is no mention of ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν. And although these gifts come διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου, there is no mention of the *death* of Christ.

Harnack's theory, that until the 3rd cent. the use of wine in the Eucharist was neither obligatory nor universal, has been opposed by Zahn (*Brot und Wein im Abendmahl der alten Kirche*, Erlangen, 1892) and Jülicher (*Theolog. Abhandlungen*, Freiburg, 1892, pp. 217–231), and need not be discussed here. Christ took the two simplest and most universal representatives of sustaining food, bread that strengtheneth man's heart, and wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and employed them as the universal representatives of spiritual food, of His body broken and His blood poured out. His loyal followers have from the first retained these.

V. The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper.—There are few things more tragic in the history of Christ's Church than the fact that its central act of worship has for centuries been, and still continues to be, a subject for the keenest controversy, and that Christians have cruelly persecuted, and even put to cruel deaths, other Christians, for not holding doctrines respecting the Lord's Supper which cannot be proved, and which are possibly not true. The Sacrament of Love and of Life has been made an instrument of hate and of destruction, because men have insisted upon possessing knowledge which cannot be possessed, and upon explaining what cannot be explained. In the first centuries the Church was content to enjoy and to use without explaining, and it would be our wisdom to do the same.

1. The chief point of controversy has been *the meaning of the 'is'* in 'This is my body' (Mt, Mk, Lk, 1 Co) and 'This is my blood of the covenant' (Mt, Mk), or 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood' ([Lk] 1 Co). The suggestion that at the institution our Lord spoke in Aramaic, and that

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[*] Those who assume that the disputed passage at Lk $22^{19.20}$ is genuine, commonly regard the two cups (vv.$^{17.20}$) as two of the four or five Jewish cups.

[†] But see Trumbull, *Threshold Covenant*, p. 208 ff.

[*] *Orationem dominicam idcirco mox post precem dicimus, quia mos apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem, oblationis hostiam consecrarent.* Cf. Amalarius, *de Eccles. Off.* iv. 26; Migne, cv. 1210. What is the exact meaning of the *ad*?

in Aramaic the 'is' would not be expressed, renders no help. It is not *quite* certain that He spoke in Aramaic then, or that it was in Aramaic that He made the special revelation to St. Paul. But we may assume that He did so. Nevertheless, the 'is' *must* be supplied; and, as soon as it is there, inquiry will arise as to its meaning. Moreover, not in Aramaic, but in Greek, has Christ handed down these words of His to His Church. All four accounts have the ἐστιν of the bread; and, excepting the disputed words in Lk, all have the ἐστιν of the cup. The fact that Christ probably used a language in which the copula was not expressed is no good reason for giving the minimum of meaning to the ἐστιν, which is conspicuous in the Scriptures given to us by Him.

Perhaps the nearest approach to an explanation that can be found in Scripture is that given by St. Paul: 'The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not κοινωνία of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not κοινωνία of the body of Christ?' Here κοινωνία is more than 'a partaking of,' which would be μετοχή or μετάλημψις rather than κοινωνία. The latter is 'fellowship with.' Just as the bread is made up of many particles, gathered together in one loaf, so those who partake of the bread that is broken are gathered together in one body. 'The bread which we break is fellowship with the body of Christ.' [See COMMUNION]. What, then, is the meaning of the 'is'? Probably that common use of the copula which identifies cause and effect is part of the meaning (Hooker, *Ec. Pol.* v. lxvii. 5, 6). J. H. Newman once warned a friend who was visiting Rome for the first time, and in the summer, 'Beware of a chill in Rome. A chill is a fever; and a fever is a shattered constitution for life,' which meant that a chill causes a fever, and that a fever causes a shattered constitution. By the same usage St. Paul may mean that the cup, when drunk, is a cause of fellowship with Christ's blood, and the bread, when eaten, is a cause of fellowship with Christ's body; or (as in the words of institution) this bread is a cause of the body. 'The bread and wine after their benediction or consecration are not indeed changed in their nature, but become, in their use and in their effects, the very body and blood of Christ' (T. S. Evans on 1 Co 10[16]). This meaning is in harmony with the context. The union with the Lord Himself, which those who partake of the Lord's Supper have, is compared with the union which those who partake of a sacrifice have with the deity to whom the altar is devoted;—in the case of the Israelites with God, of the heathen with demons. This idea, that to partake of a sacrifice is to devote one's self to the deity, lies at the root of the ancient idea of worship, whether Jewish or heathen; and St. Paul uses it as being readily understood. In this connexion the symbol is never a mere symbol, but a means of real union; and in the Lord's Supper the symbol is very significant. It is a means of union with Christ in that character which is indicated by the broken body and the shed blood; *i.e.* union with the crucified Redeemer (Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*, ch. vi. p. 240, Eng. tr.).

Those who insist on the literal meaning of the 'is' as expressing identity, must be prepared to accept the literal meaning of the subject also; and this in the case of the cup produces great difficulty. '*This cup* (not its contents) *actually is* (not is an instrument or a symbol of) *the covenant.*'

'The fellowship with the body of Christ' is twofold. It is fellowship of each recipient with Christ by faith, and of all recipients with one another in Christ by love. It is in Christ that the union of all mankind subsists. There is communion in a nature which is common to Him and to them; ὅτι εἷς ἄρτος, ἓν σῶμα οἱ πολλοί ἐσμεν, 'because one bread, one body, we the many are.' The act of eating and drinking together proclaims the union of Christians in Christ. And this union and communion is symbolized in the composite unity of the bread and of the wine. '*As this broken bread* (κλάσμα), *scattered upon the mountains and gathered together became one*, so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom' (*Didaché*, ix. 4).

A Bible Dictionary is not the place in which to discuss late developments of Eucharistic doctrine; but it may point out scriptural tests for judging some of these.

(1) Christ placed the new rite in close connexion with the Passover. Even if He had not done so, the apostles would inevitably have been influenced by Jewish ideas, and especially by paschal observances, in interpreting the new rite. This fact seems to exclude all doctrines which teach that the consecrated elements become or contain the physical body of Christ which was 'born of the Virgin,' with 'bones and nerves and all that pertains to the true idea of a body.'* To partake of the blood of an animal was abomination to a Jew. In the paschal ritual it was expressly provided that the blood should be separated from the flesh that was to be eaten. The idea of eating human flesh and drinking human blood would have inspired the apostles with unspeakable horror; and it is incredible that Christ can have intended to shock them with any such doctrine. He had warned them beforehand (Jn 6[63]) against any such carnal notion—σωματικὴ ἔννοια (Athan. *ad Serapion.* iv. 19). (2) The words εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν exclude a corporal presence; for a memorial of what is bodily present would be meaningless. (3) St. Paul repeatedly calls the consecrated bread, not 'body' or 'flesh,' but 'bread' (1 Co 11[26-28]). Can we believe that the celebrant now distributes more than Christ distributed then; or that what He held in His hands and distributed to His disciples was nothing less than His own Person, Body, Soul, and Godhead? (See Thirlwall, *Charges*, ii. p. 251; Schultzen, *Das Abendmahl*, p. 48.)

2. Another aspect of the Lord's Supper is pointed out by St. Paul; and again it is an explanation of the words of Christ. The Lord said, 'This do ye, for the remembrance of me,' to which the apostle adds, 'For (confirmatory) as often as ye eat this bread (bread thus blessed and broken) and drink the cup, ye *proclaim the Lord's death till he come*' (ἄχρι οὗ ἔλθῃ without ἄν, because the coming is certain). As the Passover was for a memorial of the deliverance wrought by J″, to be kept 'throughout your generations' (Ex 12[14]), so the Eucharist is a memorial of the deliverance wrought by Christ's death, to be kept 'till he come.' Commemoration ceases when He who is commemorated returns. Meanwhile the Eucharist is the Church's consolation for the Lord's withdrawal from sight. It links the second Advent to the first by keeping both in mind. Like the dramatic actions of the Hebrew prophets, it illustrates, and emphasizes, and impresses on the memory a special proof of God's care for His people. It is Christ's last and supreme parable; a parable not merely told but acted by Himself. He sets forth His own death, and shows that those who would profit by it must make it their own by faith and love. As Chrysostom says, 'We do not then offer a different sacrifice, as the high priest formerly did, but always the same: or rather, *we celebrate a*

* Verum Christi Domini Corpus, illud idem, *quod natum ex Virgine*, in cælis sedat ad dexteram Patris, hoc Sacramento contineri (*Catechismus Romanus*, *Pars* II. *cap.* iv. *Quæst.* 22).

Hoc loco etiam explicandum est, non solum veri Christi Corpus, et *quicquid ad veram corporis rationem pertinet*, *veluti, ossa et nervos*, sed etiam totum Christum in hoc Sacramento contineri (*ibid. Quæst.* 27).

memorial of a sacrifice' (on Hebrews, *Hom.* xvii. 3). This leads on to another aspect.

3. Christ's death was a *sacrifice*: and to proclaim His death, and appropriate His body and blood offered in that sacrifice, is to realize the sacrifice and to appropriate its effects. The *ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν* of the body (1 Co) and the *ὑπὲρ* or *περὶ πολλῶν* of the blood (Mk, Mt) point to this. And they mean much the same; for it is unreasonable to restrict *ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν* to the disciples then present. It was in our behalf that the body was broken and the blood shed. The sacrificial idea appears in He 13^{10}, where *θυσιαστήριον* probably refers indirectly to the Eucharist. But the altar on which Christ offered His sacrifice is the Cross; and the altar on which we offer is Christ Himself. The *θυσιαστήριον* is not the holy table. And it may be doubted if there is a sacrificial meaning in the double *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε* (1 Co $11^{24.\ 25}$). For (i.) in LXX the frequent Heb. words which mean 'offer' or 'sacrifice' are not translated by *ποιεῖν*, but by *προσφέρειν, ἀναφέρειν, θύειν, θυσιάζειν*, and the like. (ii.) The ordinary meaning of *ποιεῖν* in LXX, in NT, and elsewhere, is the natural meaning here. (iii.) The Gr. Fathers adopt this ordinary meaning and interpret, 'Perform this action.' (iv.) Syr-Sin. has, '*Thus* do in remembrance of me.' (v.) The ancient liturgies do not use *ποιεῖν* or *facere* of the bread and wine, but *προσφέρειν* or *offerre*. (vi.) The sacrificial meaning might easily have been made clear by the use of *προσφέρειν*. Moreover, we have *τοῦτο*, not *τοῦτον*: not 'Do this *bread*,' but 'Do this *thing*.' (See *Expositor*, 3rd series, vii. p. 441; T. K. Abbott, *Essays on the Texts of the OT and NT*, 1891, p. 110; J. R. Milne, *The Doctrine of the Eucharist*, 1895, p. 19). The use of *ποιεῖν* here is exactly analogous to that in Ex 12^{28} of the Passover: *ἐποίησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ καθὰ ἐνετείλατο Κύριος τῷ Μωσῇ, οὕτως ἐποίησαν*. Comp. *πάντα ὅσα ἐλάλησεν Κύριος ποιήσομεν* (Ex 24^7).

4. In the Lord's Supper we receive *spiritual food*, which continues and strengthens the spiritual life begun in baptism. The soul is nourished by the body and blood of Christ as the body is by the bread and wine. His flesh is meat indeed, and His blood drink indeed (Jn 6^{55}), and to partake of Him who is the Life (Jn 14^6) is to have eternal life (Jn $6^{50.\ 54.\ 58}$). Comp. Ign. *Eph.* 20, *Rom.* 7; Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* ii. 2; Cypr. *de Dom. Orat.* 18.

5. By Christ's example this rite includes an act of *thanksgiving*. In all four accounts we have *εὐχαριστήσας* either of the bread or of the cup; and Mt and Mk have a blessing or thanksgiving with both elements. The very early use of *ἡ εὐχαριστία* as a name for the whole service shows that it was regarded as the highest form of thanksgiving.

With regard to all Eucharistic controversy we may wish, with Hooker, 'that men would more give themselves to meditate with silence what we have by the sacrament, and less to dispute of the manner how.' There have been those who 'because they enjoyed not disputed,' and others who 'disputed not because they enjoyed' (*Ec. Pol.* v. lxvii. 3). *Jam missa, quanto vicinior et similior primæ omnium missæ, quam Christus in cœna fecit, tanto Christianior* (Luther).

LITERATURE.—This is overwhelming. The following works may be selected: Smith, *Dict. of Chr. Biog.* ii. p. 254; Schaff-Herzog, *Encycl.*^{3} ii. p. 1352; Herzog, *RE*^{2} pp. 47, 61; *Encycl. Britan.*^{9} viii. p. 654; *La Grande Encycl.* xvi. p. 721; Schaff, *Ch. Hist., Apos. Christianity*, ii. p. 472. Add to these, for the subject in general, the articles 'Eucharist' in Smith, *Dict. of Chr. Biog.* and 'Communion' in *Dict. of Chr. Ant.*; 'Abendmahl' and 'Altarssacrament' in Hergenröther, *Kirchenlexicon*; comm. on the accounts of the Last Supper, esp. Chrysostom on Mt. 26, *Hom.* 82; Ellicott and T. S. Evans on 1 Co; also Westcott on Jn 6 and 13; Lobstein, *La doctrine de la sainte cène*, Lausanne, 1889; Jülicher in *Theologische Abhandlungen*, Freiburg, i. B. 1892, pp. 215-250; Spitta, *Urchristentum*, Göttingen, 1893; Percy Gardner, *The Origin of the Lord's Supper*, Lond. 1893; Schultzen, *Das Abendmahl im NT*, Göttingen, 1895; R. A. Hoffmann, *Die Abendmahlsgedanken Jesu Christi*, Königsberg, i. Pr. 1896: for the archæology, the art. 'Eucharistie' in Kraus, *Real-Encykl. d. Christ. Altert.*; the art. 'Liturgy' in *Dict. of Chr. Ant.*, with literature quoted, pp. 1036-38: for the philosophical argument respecting Transubstantiation, Gore, *Dissertations*, Murray, 1895.

A. PLUMMER.

LO-RUHAMAH.—See HOSEA, vol. ii. p. 421^a, and LO-AMMI.

LOT (לוֹט; *Λωτ*).—The son of Haran, the brother of Abraham, and consequently Abraham's nephew (Gn $11^{27.\ 31}$ [both P]). Particulars of his life are found in parts of Gn 11–14. 19: the circumstantial narrative belongs to J (except ch. 14, which comes from an independent source), P giving only a brief summary ($11^{27.\ 31\text{-}32}$ $12^{4b\text{-}5}$ $13^{6.\ 11b\text{-}12a}$ [to *Plain*] 19^{29}). Lot's father Haran died before the migration of Abraham into Canaan—according to J, in 'the land of his nativity' (*i.e.* Haran in Mesopotamia), according to P, in 'Ur of the Kasdim'; and when Abraham left Ḥaran for Canaan, he took Lot with him (12^{4a} J; $12^{4b\text{-}5}$ P). Lot, it may be inferred, was with his uncle when he rested at Shechem, and again on the mountain between Bethel and Ai, as well as afterwards, when he journeyed through the Negeb, or 'South' of Judah ($12^{6.\ 8.\ 9}$). Whether, in the view of the narrator, Lot accompanied Abraham into Egypt ($12^{10\text{-}20}$), is less certain: the complete silence respecting him in the somewhat circumstantial narrative of $12^{10\text{-}20}$ is noticeable; and it is possible that the words 'and Lot with him' in 13^1 are a gloss (see, further, Dillm. 226, 229). However that may be, Lot is with Abraham when he revisits the hill between Bethel and Ai, which now becomes the scene of Lot's memorable choice ($13^{1\text{-}13}$). Both Abraham and Lot, we are told, had numerous herds: the land 'was not able to bear them, that they might dwell together, for their substance was great' (P: cf. 36^7), *i.e.* it could not supply pasture for both of them; strifes arose between their respective herdmen (J), viz. about wells and watering-places (cf. 21^{25} $26^{20\text{f.}}$), which appear to Abraham to be unseemly between 'brethren,' *i.e.* relatives (cf. 14^{16} 24^{27} 29^{15}), and he proposed accordingly a separation. Though the elder, he generously offers his nephew the first choice: 'is not the whole land before thee? . . . if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou take the right hand, then I will go to the left.' The soil about Bethel is stony and bare; but a little to the S.E. there is 'a conspicuous hill; its topmost summit resting, as it were, on the rocky slopes below, and distinguished from them by the olive-grove which clusters over its broad surface above' (*S. and P.* 218); and here, it seems, the narrator must have pictured Lot and Abraham as standing. 'To the east there rises in the foreground the jagged range of the hills above Jericho; in the distance the dark wall of Moab; between them lies the wide valley of the Jordan, its course marked by the track of tropical forest growth [the 'pride of Jordan' of Jer 12^5 $49^{19}=50^{44}$, Zec 11^3] in which its rushing stream is enveloped; and down to this valley runs a long and deep ravine,' through which, it seems, parts of the plain across the river can be descried, with long lines of verdure fringing the numerous streams which descend from the mountains beyond into the Jordan: on the S. and W. appear the bleak hills of Judah. The 'Kikkar,'—the 'round,' or 'oval,' of Jordan, *i.e.* (cf. Buhl, *Geogr.* 112) the middle, broader part of the Jordan Valley beginning about 25 miles N. of the Dead Sea, and including (probably) the Dead Sea itself, and the small plain at its S. end,—though in parts the soil, once a sea-bottom, is desolate and barren, is in other parts extremely fertile, and produces an exuberant vegetation (see *HGHL* 483 f., 487, 489); and the writer, it seems, pictured it as having been yet more fertile, before Sodom and Gomorrah * had been destroyed—'well-watered everywhere,' like the garden of Eden, or the valley of the Nile. A region so blessed by nature proved to Lot an irresistible temptation: heedless of his uncle, heedless of the wickedness of its inhabitants—significantly emphasized by the narrator in v.^{13}—he made his choice; he left his uncle on the bare hills of Bethel, while he himself descended into the fertile valley, 'and moved his tent (ויאהל) as far as Sodom.' 'By thus voluntarily quitting Canaan, Lot resigns his claims to it, and the later territorial relations of Moab and Ammon [see below], and of Israel, are prefigured' (Dillm.).

The next incident in Lot's life which is mentioned is his rescue by his uncle after he had been taken captive by the expedition headed by Chedorlaomer (Gn 14). After the defeat of the king of Sodom and his allies in the 'Vale of Siddim,' Lot, who now 'dwelt in Sodom,' is, amongst others (v.^{16}), taken prisoner by the victorious kings from the East, and carried off by them. Abraham, who was now at Hebron, hears of what has happened, and immediately, with 318 followers, starts in pursuit. All through Canaan, as far as Dan, near the foot of Hermon, he follows the retreating hosts: there he surprises them by a night attack, pursues them as far as Hobah, probably some 80 miles N. of Damascus, recovers Lot and his possessions, and brings him back (it is implied) to Sodom (vv.$^{12-16}$).

The next time that we hear of Lot is in the familiar narrative of Gn 19. The two angels, whose mission it is to destroy the guilty cities of the 'Kikkār,' arrive at Sodom at even. Lot, sitting in the gateway of the city,—the common place of resort in the East, whether for conversation or business (cf. Ru 4^{1}),—rises up, with the same ready courtesy which Abraham had shown before (18$^{2-6}$), and which is still usual among the Arabs, to offer them hospitality: at first, wishing, it may be, to test his sincerity, they decline the invitation, but being pressed by him they yield, and are entertained by him sumptuously, at a 'feast' (משתה; cf. 21^{8} 26^{30} 29^{22}). Lot's hospitality on this occasion is alluded to (probably), in conjunction with that of Abraham (ch. 18), in the well-known words (He 13^{2}), which have passed into a proverb, 'Be not forgetful to entertain strangers (*τῆς φιλοξενίας μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθε*); for some have thereby entertained angels unawares.' The character of the men of Sodom soon discloses itself (cf. Is 3^{9}); and Lot, obliged to act quickly in a trying situation, made the mistake of placing his duties as a host (which, as is well known, are regarded in the East as peculiarly sacred) above his duties as a father. 'The words of Lot ('I have two daughters,' etc.) have been much canvassed in all times. St. Chrysostom thought it virtuous in him not to spare his own daughters, rather than sacrifice the duties of hospitality, and expose his guests to the wickedness of the men of Sodom (*Hom. xxiii. in Gen.*). So St. Ambrose (*de Abrah.* i. 6), speaking as if a smaller sin were to be preferred to a greater. But St. Augustine justly observes, that we should open the way for sin to reign far and wide if we allowed ourselves to commit smaller sins, lest others should commit greater (*Lib. contr. Mend.* c. 9. See also *Quæst. in Gen.* 42). We see in all this conduct of Lot the same mixed character. He intended to do rightly, but did it timidly and imperfectly.' In fact, Lot 'brought his troubles upon himself by the home he had chosen. He was bound to defend his guests at the risk of his own life, but not by the sacrifice of his daughters' (*Speaker's Comm.* on v.^{8}). The profligate multitude, resenting Lot's interference, and the assumption of moral superiority which it implied, essay to lay hands upon him; and are only prevented from carrying out their purpose by the intervention of the two angels, who forcibly bring Lot into the house, and strike his would-be assailants with a dazzling (סַנְוֵרִים, only besides 2 K 6^{18}), preventing them from being able to find the door. The angels, satisfied now that even 'ten' righteous men (18^{32}) are not to be found in Sodom, urge Lot to quit betimes the doomed city, taking with him all those belonging to him. But his 'sons-in-law' mocked at his warnings; and even Lot himself, though hastened by the angels as soon as morning broke (v.^{15}), 'lingered' (v.^{16}), reluctant to leave his 'house' (v.^{3} etc.), and the city which he had made his home. But the angels are tender to his weakness, J″ being desirous to 'spare' him; they accordingly take hold of his hand, and lead him, together with his wife and daughters, outside the city. There they bid him escape for his life, neither looking behind him—whether to be tempted back, or to watch with curious eye the fate of the city—nor tarrying even for a moment in any part of the coveted (13^{10}) 'Kikkār': 'escape to the mountain,'—or 'mountainous country,' viz. of the later Moab (v.^{30} 14^{10}),—'lest thou be swept away' (v.^{17}). But the mountains are too distant for Lot's faith, or strength of purpose: fearing he will not be able to reach them in time, he asks to be allowed to take refuge in a city nearer at hand, which, being a 'little one,' might have been less guilty than the other cities, and more easily spared. His request is granted, and he escapes to Zoar. The aim of this part of the narrative is evidently to explain the origin of this name. Zoar is in all probability the *Zōara*, or *Zoōr*, of Josephus, and the *Ẓughar* of the Arab. geographers;* and this, as Wetzstein has shown (in Del. *Gen.*^{4} 564 ff.), lay in the plain at the S.E. extremity of the Dead Sea, now called the Ghôr eṣ-Ṣâfieh,† which, in striking contrast to the salt and marshy plain opposite (S.W. of the Sea), at the foot of the Jebel Usdum (see p. 152), is well-watered, and 'covered with shrubs and verdure, like the Plain of Jericho' (Grove in Smith, *DB* iii. 1182; *HGHL* 508 n.). Lot reached Zoar soon after sunrise (v.^{23}); and the destruction of the other cities of the 'Kikkār' then took place. His wife, disregarding the injunction of v.^{17}, looked back from behind him, and became 'a pillar of salt' (v.^{26}).‡

After these events, Lot, dreading lest, after all, a similar fate should overtake Zoar, 'went up' out of it into the 'mountain,' *i.e.*, as in vv.$^{17, 19}$, the hill-country on the E. of the Dead Sea; and dwelt there 'in a cave' (19^{30}), according to a custom which appears still to prevail in this neighbourhood.§ The only other incident in his life which is mentioned is the story which now follows (19$^{31-38}$) of the origin of the nations of Moab and Ammon from his incestuous intercourse with his two daughters. Naturally, this narrative is not to be understood as a record of actual fact. The story is based in part upon a popular etymology of the two names; but this does not explain it entirely. There was much rivalry and hostility between Israel and its trans-Jordanic neighbours, Moab and Ammon; it is also, as Dillm. has remarked, a probable inference from the present narrative, that incestuous marriages, such as were viewed in

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* On the difficult question of the site of these cities, see *HGHL* 505 ff., and App. 678. To the present writer, the arguments in favour of a site at the S. end of the Dead Sea appear to preponderate: cf. the note below on Zoar. It is not necessary to suppose that Lot saw the exact part of the Kikkār in which the cities were; in any case, the word 'all' in Gn 13^{10} must be an exaggeration.

* See *HGHL* 506–7 n.

† So also Keil, Del., Dillm., Socin (*ZDPV*, 1880, p. 81), Buhl (*Geogr.* 271 f.), Blanckenhorn (*ZDPV* xix. 1896, 53 f.).

‡ V.^{29} is a summary account, from P, of what has been described at length, in vv.$^{1-28}$, by J.

§ Buckingham, *Travels in Syria* (1825), pp. 61–3, 87.

Israel with abhorrence, were not uncommon among these two nations; and these feelings are reflected in the discreditable story of their origin, which the narrator has here preserved. 'It was the coarse humour of the people which put into words its aversion to Moab and Ammon by means of this narrative' (Dillm.).

The only other mention of Lot in the OT is in the expression 'children of Lot,' applied to Moab in Dt 2^{9}, and to the Ammonites in Dt 2^{19}; and to both peoples indiscriminately in Ps 83^{8}.

Lot is in character a strong contrast to Abraham. He is selfish, weak, and worldly: he thinks of himself before his uncle, and chooses, for the sake of luxury and ease, to dwell in the midst of temptation. Relatively, indeed, he was 'righteous' (2 P 2$^{7.8}$); his personal character was without reproach; and he was deemed worthy by God of a special deliverance.* His 'righteous soul' was, moreover, 'vexed (*ἐβασανίζετο*) from day to day' by the 'lawless deeds' which he saw around him; but he had not strength of purpose to quit his evil surroundings, and even betrothed his daughters to natives of the sinful city. When ultimately he left Sodom, it was with manifest reluctance, and only after his daughters had become (if we may follow the representation of the narrator) depraved by contact with vice. He brought temptations, and also troubles, upon himself,—and the man who once was rich in 'flocks and herds and tents' (13^{5}) was, as the result of his own actions, stripped of his possessions, and reduced to living penuriously in a cave. Lot is one of the many *τύποι ἡμῶν* in the OT; and his history is a lesson of the danger of thinking too exclusively of worldly advantage and present ease.

The historical character of Lot must be judged by the same principles as that of Ishmael and Jacob (vol. ii. 533 f.): no doubt tribal relations and characteristics are, to a certain degree, reflected in him. Cf. Dillm. *AT Theol.* p. 79. On Jewish traditions about Lot, see the *B'reshith Rabbā* (tr. Wünsche), and the *Pirḳê R. Eliezer*, c. 25 (where his wife is called עִרית *Edith*, and one of his daughters פלוטית *Pelotith*). In Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr. VT*, i. 428–431, there is a Greek legend of a tree planted by him, which afterwards provided wood for the cross. Irenæus (iv. 31; 33. 9) interprets typically some of the incidents of his history. In the Qor'an, Lot is often alluded to as a preacher of righteousness to the people among whom he dwelt, Qor. 7$^{78-82}$ 11$^{72-84}$ 15$^{58ff.}$ 21$^{74-75}$ 22^{43} 26$^{160-175}$ 27$^{55-59}$ 29$^{27-34}$ 54$^{33-38}$: in these passages (as well as elsewhere) the men of Sodom are called the 'people of Lot,' as the Dead Sea is still called by the Arabs *Baḥr Lûṭ*, the 'Sea of Lot.'

Lot's Wife.—Gn 19^{26} 'But his wife looked back from behind him, and she became a pillar of salt.' At the S.W. end of the Dead Sea is the singular formation called *Jebel Usdum*, 'the mountain of Sodom,' a range of cliffs, some 6 miles long and 600 ft. high, consisting of crystallized rock-salt—once part of the bed of the ancient Salt Sea—'covered with a capping of chalky limestone and gypsum. . . . It has a strangely dislocated, shattered look, and is all furrowed and worn into huge angular buttresses and ridges, from the face of which great fragments are occasionally detached by the action of the rains, and appear as "pillars of salt" advanced in front of the general mass. At the foot the ground is strewed with lumps and masses of salt.'† Such pillars, or pinnacles, of salt have been often noticed by travellers. Lieut. Lynch, for instance,‡ describes one which was about 40 ft. high, cylindrical in form, and rested on a kind of oval pedestal, some 50 ft. above the level of the sea. It is probable that some such pillar, conspicuous in antiquity, gave rise to the story. Writers of a later age often felt satisfied that they could identify the pillar in question. In Wis 10^{7} mention is made of a *στήλη ἁλός*, near the Dead Sea, standing as a *μνημεῖον ἀπιστούσης ψυχῆς*. Josephus (*Ant.* I. xi. 4) says, *ἱστόρησα δ' αὐτήν· ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν διαμένει.* Clem. Rom. (1 *Cor.* 11^{2}), Irenæus (*Hær.* iv. 31. 3), and the unknown author of a poem on Sodom (*ap.* Tertull., ed. Oehler, ii. 771 ff., l. 121 f.), speak of it, though not apparently from personal knowledge, as still remaining. Whether, however, the pillar referred to by all these writers is the same one, must remain uncertain; as Robinson (ii. 108) remarks, during the rainy season such pillars are constantly in the process of formation and destruction, so that it is doubtful how far any particular one would be permanent (cf. Grove in Smith, *DB*^{1} ii. 145^{a}).

Lot's wife 'looked back' with regretful longings for the possessions and enjoyments which she was leaving behind her, and so proved herself unworthy of the salvation offered to her. Our Lord (Lk 17^{32}) refers accordingly to the narrative about her, when inculcating indifference to all worldly interests, as the attitude with which the advent of the Son of man should be met. 'Note that Christ says, "Remember," not "Behold." *Nothing that is in existence is appealed to, but only what has been told*' (Plummer, *ad loc.*, in the 'International Crit. Comm.'). S. R. Driver.

LOTAN (לוֹטָן, *Λωτάν*).—The eponym of a Horite clan, Gn 36$^{20.22.29}$=1 Ch 1$^{38.39}$. Ewald (*Gesch.*^{3} i. 448 [Eng. tr. i. 313]), followed by Dillmann (*Genesis*, *ad loc.*), identifies with Lot, the father of Moab-Ammon, who appears in Gn 19^{30} as a חוֹרִי 'cave dweller.' See Lot.

LOTHASUBUS (*Λωθάσουβος*), 1 Es 9^{44}.—A corruption of Hashum in Neh 8^{4}; וחשם was perhaps read לותשב.

LOTS (גּוֹרָל. In Est 3^{7} 9$^{24.26}$ we have the problematic word פּוּר, the plur. of which is tr^{d} by LXX in 9^{26} *φρουραί* [see Purim, Feast of]. The ordinary rendering in LXX for גּוֹרָל is *κλῆρος*, which is the NT term also).—The lot was employed in ancient Israel as a mode of deciding important issues in cases when they were not decided by other mechanical modes, or were not left to the expressed arbitrament of a priest, prophet, elder, judge (שׁוֹפֵט), or king. The use of lots was governed by the presupposition that divine influence controlled their employment, and that the result coincided with God's will. We have, in fact, here only one of a large cycle of modes of divination practised by Israel and other nations of antiquity. Some of these, as Urim and Thummim, were sanctioned by the Jewish Torah as legitimate (see art. Urim and Thummim), and were at all events tolerated (as the use of the ephod) in pre-exilian Israel (see art. Ephod, No. 2). Others, on the contrary, were regarded as illegitimate, as the pieces of stick (*ῥαβδομαντία*, Hos 4^{12}) or arrows (*βελομαντία*, Ezk 21^{26} [Heb.]). See Davidson on Ezk 21^{21} in *Camb. Bible for Schools*; and for the usage among ancient Arabs, Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heidentums*^{2} p. 132. For Assyr. parallels see Lehmann, *Aberglaube u. Zauberei*, p. 40.

The religious aspect in the employment of lots is expressed in the phrase לִפְנֵי יהוה (Jos 18$^{6.8}$), and still more explicitly in Pr 16^{33}—

> 'The lot is cast into the lap,
> But all its decision cometh from Jehovah.'

The verb used here for casting the lot is the *Hiph.* of טול. In Jos 18^{8} it is הִשְׁלִיךְ, in v.^{6} it is יָרָה. In Jl 3^{3}, Ob ^{11}, and Nah 3^{10} the verb יָדַד is employed, while in Jon 1^{7} and many other passages we have הִפִּיל. When the word for 'lot' stands as subject, the intransitive verb עָלָה (Lv 16^{9}) or יָצָא (Nu 33^{54}, Jos 19$^{1f.}$) is employed. To *take* by lot is לָכַד.

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* Cf. Clem. Rom. *Ep.* 1 *ad Cor.* xi. 1, *διὰ φιλοξενίαν καὶ εὐσέβειαν Λὼτ ἐσώθη, κ.τ.λ.*

† Sir G. Grove in Smith, *DB* iii. 1180; see also Rob. *BR* ii. 107–9; Hull, *Mount Seir, Sinai, and W. Pal.* (1889) 129–132.

‡ *Narrative of U.S. Exped. to the Jordan and Dead Sea*, ed. 1849, p. 307 f. (with a view), ed. 1852 (condensed), p. 201 f.

The occasions on which decisions were determined by lot may be classified as follows:—

(1) In *criminal* cases, in order to discover the culprit. The earliest recorded instance is that of Achan (Jos 7^{14}). Next comes that of Jonathan (1 S 14^{42}). In Jon 1^{7} we read that the lot was used as a means of fixing on the guilty source of the continued stormy weather. This example is instructive, as it exhibits the common and identical tradition as existing among ancient Hebrews and the Phœnician sailors, as we may assume them to have been, who accompanied Jonah (cf. Josephus, *BJ* III. viii. 7).

(2) In *appointing* to office, *e.g.* to that of king (1 S 10$^{20ff.}$, where the choice of Saul as the first king of Israel is recorded). We have another example in the NT, when the vacancy occasioned by the death of Judas is supplied by the election by lot of Matthias (Ac 1^{26}). Similarly, priestly functions in the temple-worship were apportioned among the sixteen sons of Eleazar and eight sons of Ithamar (1 Ch 24$^{4.5}$; cf. Lk 1^{9}); so also in the service of song (1 Ch 25$^{8ff.}$) and in the delivery of wood for the altar (Neh 10^{35}; cf. 11^{1}).

(3) In the *division of property*. The most notable instance of this is in the assignment of territory among the tribes of Israel (Nu 26$^{55ff.}$ 33^{54} 34^{13} 36^{2}, Jos 13^{6} 14^{2} 16^{1} etc., Ps 105^{3}, Ac 13^{19}). Thus by a natural transition the land itself, when divided, came to be designated by this word גּוֹרָל (Jos 15^{1} 17$^{14ff.}$, Jg 1^{3}, Is 57^{6}). Hence we frequently find this term metaphorically applied to express the destiny which is awarded by God, whether favourable or the reverse (Ps 16^{5}, Is 17^{14} 34^{17}, Jer 13^{25}, Dn 12^{13}). The division of the booty taken in war, or of the property of prisoners or criminals, was often carried out by means of the lot (Jl 3^{3}, Nah 3^{10}, Ob ^{11}, Ps 22^{18}, Mt 27^{35}, Jn 19^{24}).

(4) The lot was also employed on the great Day of Atonement in the selection of the he-goat for Jehovah and for Azazel respectively (Lv 16$^{7-10}$). See arts. AZAZEL and ATONEMENT (DAY OF). According to the Mishna Tractate *Joma* (iii. 9) these lots were made at first of boxwood and afterwards of gold, and shaken in an urn.

We have no clear indications as to the actual nature of the lots used by ancient Israel. Probably they were small tablets of stone or wood, and were inscribed with the name of the person or tribe; or, in cases of criminal trial, they may have been of different colours, one (to express guilt) differing from all the others. Probably in many cases (as in the assignments of property) there was a second vessel containing lots inscribed with the name of the property (as land or slaves). But it is not necessary to suppose this. The name of the property might be called out and a lot containing the name of the tribe or person would be drawn from the vessel, or *vice versâ*. All this belongs to the uncertain realm of conjecture. We do know, however, that the lots were sometimes held in the fold of the outer garment (Pr 16^{33}).

Another point which is obscure is whether the function of deciding by lot was predominantly exercised by priests or not. From Neh 11^{1} we are led to infer that, unlike the use of the ephod and Urim and Thummim in pre-exilian times, the employment of the lot, in the times both before and after the Exile, was open equally to priests and laity.

Last of all, we have to consider the obscure derivation of the name of the feast of Purim from the supposed Persian word *pûr*, meaning 'lot' (Est 9$^{24.26}$; cf. 3^{7}). Lagarde has shown that no such Persian word exists. Pers. *pâre*='portion,' not 'lot.' Zimmern's combination of the name with the Babyl. *puḫru*, 'assembly' (*ZATW*, 1890, p. 158 ff.), is far more probable. Comp. the Mand. פוחרא, Syr. ܦܘܚܪܐ 'meal,' 'feast.' The interesting Babylonian parallels with the Esther narrative, suggested by him and by Jensen, will be found in Nowack's *Heb. Archäol.* ii. pp. 194–200, and in Wildeboer's 'Esther' in the *Kurzer Hand-Commentar*, p. 172 ff. See, further, PURIM (FEAST OF).

On the use of the lot in classical antiquity consult Warre Cornish's *Concise Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities, sub voce* 'Sortes.'

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

LOVE (אַהֲבָה, *ἀγάπη*).—Love to God and love to man are primary principles of the NT religion. But Jesus declares that on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets (Mt 22^{40}; cf. 7^{12}, Mk 12$^{21-34}$). They are therefore primary principles of the OT religion as well. They are not, however, independent or co-ordinate, but are so related that the second springs from, or is conditioned by, the first. The love to man, in the biblical sense, springs from a heart renewed, and possessed with the love of God (1 Jn 4^{21}; cf. 2$^{7-11}$ 3^{10} 4$^{11.12}$); for only by such a heart will the view be taken of man's essential worth and dignity, of the true ends of his life, and of the possibilities of his recovery from sin, that makes love possible (cf. Lk 15^{10}); only in such a heart is the egoistic impulse conquered which leads us to regard other men as rivals to ourselves, to seek our own good in preference to theirs, to use them as means to our own ends, to treat them with indifference and neglect, or, if they come into collision with our interests, with envy, irritation, and resentment; only in such a heart is there the disposition and a sufficiently powerful motive, to a sustained, holy, spiritual, ungrudging, truly disinterested love to our fellow-men, even to those who have no claims upon us, or who may have injured us, or may be personally unworthy (Mt 5$^{43-48}$, Ro 12$^{19-21}$, 1 Jn 3$^{16.17}$ 4^{11}).[*] On the other hand, it is vain for us to profess to love God if we do not love our brethren (1 Jn 2$^{9-11}$ 3^{10} 4^{20}). But this love to God, again, which is the spring of love to man, has its source in the knowledge we have of the love which God has to us (1 Jn 4$^{7.19}$). It is the loving character of God as revealed in His words and acts to men (Ps 114^{1} etc.), peculiarly in His grace in Christ, culminating in the sacrifice of the Cross (Eph 5$^{1.2}$, 1 Jn 4$^{9.10}$ etc.), in conjunction with the love which Christ Himself has manifested to us (Jn 13^{34} 15^{12}, Gal 2^{20}, Eph 5^{25} etc.), which begets responsive love, and leads to the entire surrender of ourselves to the service of God, and of our fellow-men for God's sake. Alike in OT and in NT, love to God and love to man lead up as their last source to love in God Himself, and it is from this highest point of view, accordingly, that our proper study of the subject must begin.

i. LOVE OF GOD.—(*A*) *The OT Doctrine.*—Love, generally, is that principle which leads one moral being to desire and delight in another, and reaches its highest form in that personal fellowship in which each lives in the life of the other, and finds his joy in imparting himself to the other, and in receiving back the outflow of that other's affection into himself. The quality and degree of love vary with the relation in which the persons loving and loved stand to each other, the highest examples of human love—those, therefore, which are peculiarly taken as the images of the divine in its tenderest relations (Is 54^5, Ezk 23, Hos 11^1)—being the love of husband to wife, and of parent to child. Love, therefore, in God, is in general that principle which leads Him to desire and seek the good of all His moral creatures; to impart benefits to them in every scale and degree of blessing; to establish relations of fellowship with them, that He may bless them more fully; to recover and restore them when they have turned aside from their true end, and lost themselves through sin (Hos 13^9); highest of all, to admit them to participation in His own holy, blessed life (1 Jn 1^3), in which He and they become one, as the Father and Son are one (Jn 17^{21}). As the central principle of the divine character—for 'God is love' (1 Jn 4^8)—every other attribute stands in relation and subordination to this, though they are not on this account (as by Ritschl and others) to be immediately identified with it. 'All the divine attributes are combined in love, as in their centre and vital principle. Wisdom is its intelligence; might its productivity; the entire natural creation and the entire revelation of righteousness in history are means by which it attains its teleological aims' (Martensen). (For an exhaustive examination of the idea of the divine love in its theological and ethical relations, see Dorner's *System of Christian Ethics*, pp. 58–96, 374–382).

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[*] Trench accordingly remarks that *ἀγάπη* 'is a word born within the bosom of revealed religion. It occurs in the LXX, but there is no example of its use in any heathen writer whatever; the utmost they attained to here was *φιλανθρωπία* and *φιλαδελφία*, and the last, indeed, never in any sense but as the love between brethren in blood' (Trench, *Synonyms*, p. 42). It has, indeed, been argued by Deissmann (but his grounds are very weak) that *ἀγάπη* was a word in use in the Egyptian vernacular, from which it was adopted both by Jews and Christians. See *Expos. Times*, ix. (1898) pp. 272, 501, 567.

When, with this general conception of love as an attribute of God, we turn to the OT, we are apt to feel disappointment. Holiness is in the foreground; love seems in the background. The term 'love' (vb. אָהֵב, noun אַהֲבָה), used of God's love to His people, is not found, if Dt be late, till the time of the prophets. Hosea is the first who develops the idea (under the images of marriage and sonship, Hos 3^1 11^1 14^4). In Dt, Is, Jer, etc., it occurs repeatedly (Dt 4^{37} 7^{13} 10^{15} etc., Is 48^{14} 63^9, Jer 31^3, Zeph 3^{17}). Moreover, the love thus spoken of is a love only to the covenant people. 'The particular word love,' says Schultz, 'is hardly ever applied to God; and where it does occur in a late writer (Mal 1^2), it denotes God's special covenant love for Israel; and the reverse side of this is, of course, hatred of the hostile peoples' (*Alttest. Theol.* p. 547). This first impression, however, regarding the OT religion, gives way to a different one on narrower inspection. As respects the mere word, we shall find that a quite analogous phenomenon meets us in the NT. Singular as it may appear, it is the case that the terms ἀγάπη and ἀγαπᾷν are never once applied to God in the Synoptic Gospels. The nearest approach is ἀγαπητός as a designation of the well-beloved Son (Mt 3^{17} 12^{18} etc.). The Synoptics are full of a Father who loves, yet the word is never once used. In the Acts the words ἀγάπη and ἀγαπᾷν never once occur as applied either to God or man. In the Gospel of St. John, apart from the (evangelist's) statement, 'God so loved the world' (Jn 3^{16}), it is, as in the Synoptics, the Son who is primarily the object of the Father's love (Jn 3^{35} 17^{26}); and this love of the Father is extended to the disciples in union with Him (Jn 14^{21} $17^{23.\,26}$). But after the earthly manifestation of Christ had been summed up in His death and resurrection, and reflection had begun on the completed revelation, there was no difficulty in speaking of the love of God (Ro $5^{5.\,8}$ $8^{35.\,39}$, 2 Co 13^{14}, 1 Jn 3^1 $4^{8\text{-}12}$ etc.). In a similar way God's acts of love in OT precede the use of the term. As Dillmann remarks of the term 'righteousness' (צֶדֶק), which likewise is not found in the Mosaic books, 'The ethical norm, the will of God, must first be revealed according to its content, before there could be mention of an agreement of the acts of God with this norm' (*Alttest. Theol.* p. 271; see his whole excellent treatment of the love of God, pp. 258–283).

When Dt and the prophets speak of the love of God, they carry back that love to the beginning of God's dealings with Israel as a nation, and find the proof of it in His acts towards that people, and the covenant He made with them (Hos 11^1, Is 63^9, Ezk 16). Dt carries the love further back still, to the time of the patriarchs, for whose sake this kindness was shown to their descendants (Dt 4^{37}, cf. Is 51^1). And the biblical history has only to be studied in its entirety to see that it is a revelation of the love of God to Israel throughout. The word itself may not be employed,—in the psalms we find it used with such objects as 'righteousness,' 'judgment,' 'Zion,' 'the gates of Zion,' etc. (Ps 11^7 33^5 78^{68} 82^2),—but there is a rich vocabulary of terms to denote the particular manifestations of love: as חֶסֶד, mercy, loving-kindness; חֵן, grace, favour; טוֹב, טוּב, goodness, long-suffering, etc., and these are constantly in use. The wrath of God also is not a blind impulse, but springs from an ethical ground, and is tempered and restrained by His long-suffering and mercy (Ex 34^6, Nu 14^{18}, Is 48^9, Jer 15^{15}, Nah $1^{3.\,7}$, Ps 78^{38} etc.). It is no doubt true, as alleged, that the special object of this love of God is the covenant people Israel—a fact which has again its exact analogue in the use of ἀγάπη in NT (see below); but it is to be borne in mind that this particularism is with a view to an ultimate wider blessing (Gn $12^{1\text{-}3}$, Ps 67. 87 RV); and the term 'hate' in Mal 1^3 is not to be more rigidly interpreted than Christ's own use of the same term (Lk 14^{26}). Schultz observes, 'Passages like Gn 29^{31} and Pr 30^{23} show that the expression "hatred" is taken from the idioms of polygamy, and denotes, not hostility, but neglect' (*Alttest. Theol.* p. 547). As against the idea that the love of God was that of the narrow partiality of a tribal deity for his *protégés* many facts speak. The original creation was evidently an outcome of goodness (Ps $136^{1\text{-}9}$), and God 'blesses' the original representatives of mankind, and richly dowers them with dominion over the creatures (Gn $1^{27\text{-}29}$). The patience of God bears with the antediluvian world (Gn 6^3); and after the flood His covenant is made with Noah for all flesh (Gn $9^{8\text{-}17}$). The Abrahamic covenant has, as shown, an aspect of blessing to the world. It is repeatedly declared that the whole earth is full of God's goodness, and that His mercies are over all His works (Ps 33^5 119^{64} $145^{7\text{-}9}$ etc.). When it is declared that God desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he turn from his wickedness and live (Ezk 18^{32} 33^{11}), this cannot be held to apply exclusively to Israel; and the Bk. of Jonah furnishes a proof that the pity of God extends to heathen nations as well as to His own people (Jon $4^{10.\,11}$). The classical passage on the divine character in OT is that in the Mosaic history in which J″ proclaims His name, 'The Lord, the Lord, a God full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger,' etc. (Ex $34^{6.\,7}$); and it is also that in which the graciousness of this character is brought to fullest expression. If the sins of the fathers are visited on the third and fourth generation of those that hate Him, mercy is kept for thousands of those that love Him (cf. Ex $20^{5.\,6}$).

It is, however, doubtless, in the special relation of God to Israel that, in OT, His love is distinctively manifested, for this people He has bound in covenant with Himself, and set them apart, that He might be glorified through them. This relation of love is already implied in the term 'son' which He applies to the nation (Ex $4^{22.\,23}$); but comes out with peculiar distinctness in the glowing language in which the covenant is proposed to the people at Sinai (Ex $19^{3\text{-}6}$). This relation springs in no sense from desert, but is a result of God's free electing grace (Dt 7^7); and, so far from placing Israel in a position of favouritism in which their offences are lightly condoned, it lays on them an increased responsibility and subjects them to special chastisements in case of unfaithfulness (Am 3^{2}). But the same love secures that God will not cast His people off, but will work on them by judgment and mercy till He has finally subdued them to Himself (Hos 2, 14 etc.).

An interesting point of inquiry relates to the relation of this 'love' of God in OT to His other ethical attributes of 'righteousness,' 'truth,' 'zeal,' 'wrath,' holiness,' etc. On the relation to 'wrath' (with 'zeal,' 'holiness'), see ANGER; but a word may be here said on the relation to 'righteousness' (with 'truth,' 'faithfulness,' etc.). These two ('righteousness' and 'love') are not to be identified (as with Ritschl, etc.), yet they stand in the closest relation, and God's 'righteousness' is manifest in His saving acts (Ps 31^{1} $48^{10.11}$ $103^{6.7}$, Hos 2^{19} etc.). Righteousness, with Ritschl, is identical with grace; it is the consistency of God in carrying out the ends of His love (*Recht. und Ver.* ii. pp. 102–113). But ethical norms are implied alike in the determination of these ends, and in the choice of the means by which they are accomplished, and it is these ethical norms with which 'righteousness' has to do. 'Righteousness' is that which answers to the ethically right norm or standard. So far as 'love' is involved in ethical perfection, or is demanded by that, it falls under the category of 'righteousness,' and, so far as God has bound Himself by covenant obligations to His people, His 'righteousness' requires that He be faithful to His pledges (cf. 1 Jn 1^{9}). 'Righteousness' thus interposes for their salvation, help, protection, etc. But it has other and more general functions in the upholding of the moral order and judgment of the world, and the punishment of the obstinately wicked (*e.g.* Ps 94. 96^{13} 98^{9}). Its highest satisfaction, nevertheless, is not the infliction of judgment, but the conversion and salvation of the sinner and the production of righteousness in the earth (Ezk 33^{11}, Ps 11^{7}, Is 45^{8} 61^{11} etc. Dorner has an original investigation of the relation of love to righteousness in his *System of Christian Ethics*, pp. 68–93). We may add that it is of the essence of love in God as in man that it does not remain a mere self-enclosed or inoperative principle, but reveals itself in *acts* for the benefit of the beloved object. It is impossible to believe in a God of love who, as Carlyle said, 'does nothing.' The religion of the Old Testament, therefore, and of the New as well, is pre-eminently that of a God who reveals His gracious purposes in history, and acts for man's salvation (Ps $103^{6.7}$, Ro 5^{8} etc.).

(*B*) *The NT Doctrine* of the love of God presupposes that of OT, and stands in no essential contradiction with it (as Marcion supposed), but perfects and completes it in the full revelation of the character of God in His Son, and in the discovery of His plan of love for man's salvation,—in the gospel. It is certainly a striking fact—especially for those who would have us find the whole revelation of Christ in the Synoptics—that, as remarked above, Jesus in no single saying in these Gospels speaks directly of the 'love' (ἀγάπη) of the Father, or uses the corresponding verb (ἀγαπᾶν). The impartial beneficence of the Father is indeed urged as an example (Mt 5^{45}); and the Father is set before us as rewarding, hearing prayer, giving good gifts, forgiving trespasses, caring for His children, as for the lilies and the fowls, revealing Himself to babes, avenging injuries to His little ones, etc. (*e.g.*, Mt $6^{1-4.6.8.25-32}$ 10^{29-31} 11^{25} $18^{6.10.14}$). But perhaps even these determinations do not carry us essentially beyond the bounds of OT. Yet there is a new significance in the very name 'Father,' the depth and tenderness of which are revealed in the relation of the Father to the 'beloved' Son (ἀγαπητός); and the whole spirit, character, and gracious words and deeds of Jesus are a revelation of the *meaning* of love in God which is altogether new. It is in the Gospel of St. John that we have the assurances that those who are in union with the Son are loved with the same infinite and tender love with which the Son Himself is loved by the Father (Jn $14^{21.23}$ $17^{23.26}$). In Ac the word 'love' is not used of God's attitude to men, though God's acts of grace (χάρις frequently) in the sending of His Son, raising Him from the dead, exalting Him to heaven, sending the Spirit, granting forgiveness of sins, salvation, and healing through His name, are abundantly extolled (Ac 2. 3. 4^{1-12} 10^{34-43} 13^{23-39} etc.). It is, however, in the Pauline and Johannine Epistles that this doctrine of the marvellous love of God, as revealed in the gift, incarnation, life, death, resurrection, and glorification of the Son, and in the salvation and eternal life that have come to men through Him, with unspeakable spiritual blessings and privileges here, and everlasting glory hereafter, is discovered in its full-orbed splendour (Ro $5^{5.8}$ 8^{35-39}, 1 Jn 3^{1} 4^{8-12} etc.). In so far as God desires the salvation of all (1 Ti 1^{15} 2^{4} 4^{10}), and has provided in the mission and sacrifice of His Son for the salvation of all (1 Ti 2^{6}, 1 Jn 2^{2} 4^{10}), His love embraces the whole world (Jn 3^{16}),—this extension of the blessings of salvation to the Gentiles on equal terms with the Jews being the peculiar 'mystery' of God, which had been hid from earlier ages, and which St. Paul was commissioned to reveal (Eph 3^{1-11}; in this sense the NT doctrine is a transcending of the 'particularism' of the OT, Gal 5^{6}, Col 3^{11} etc.). Nevertheless, the love of God is not in NT, any more than in OT, a vaguely diffusive, indiscriminating affection, but has for its peculiar objects those in union with Christ, who, as chosen in Him (*the* elect one, Is 42^{1}, Mt 12^{18}) before the foundation of the world, and foreordained to the adoption of children, and all spiritual blessings, according to the good pleasure (εὐδοκία) of His will — 'the purpose of Him who worketh all things after the counsel of His will' (Eph 1^{4-12}) —are conducted by God ('foreknown,' 'foreordained,' 'called,' 'justified,' 'glorified') to the glory destined for them (Ro 8^{28-39}, cf. Jn 6^{37-40} etc.). The highest form of love, alike in God and man, is not a matter of vague impulse, but involves intelligent choice (*diligo*), the grounds of choice lying sometimes in the objects loved, but in the case of God, in dealing with the unworthy, lying solely in His own good, wise, and holy will (χάρις, Eph 2^{8} etc.). The exponent of this love of God to us is Jesus Christ, whose own love is joined with God's as part of the same manifestation of the divine character (Jn 10^{7-18}, Ro 5^{9-11}, Eph 3^{19} 5^{2}, 1 Jn 4^{10}, Rev 1^{5} etc.). In the compassion, tenderness, devotion, grace of Jesus in His earthly life; in His hope for the vilest, and yearning desire to bring them back to God; in His self-sacrifice and surrender of Himself for His sheep (Jn $10^{11.14}$), we have the 'interpretation' (ἐξηγήσατο, Jn 1^{18}) of the Father's heart to us. Love, as thus exhibited, is not simply complacency in the good; it unites itself also with the bad, yearns over them with inexpressible tenderness and sorrow (Mt 23^{37}), identifies itself so closely with them that their sin and shame and sorrow are felt and shared as if they belonged to the loving One Himself,—love, in other words, becomes *substitutionary*, and in the case of Christ *propitiatory* (Mt 8^{17} 9^{36}, Lk 15, Jn 10^{10-18}, 1 Jn 4^{9-14}). The last and all-comprehensive word on this subject is spoken by the Apostle of Love when he sums up the whole significance of the gospel revelation in the saying — 'GOD IS LOVE' (1 Jn 4^{8}).

It lies beyond our province to discuss the more properly theological questions which arise out of this scriptural doctrine of the love of God—its bearings, *e.g.*, on the doctrine of the Trinity (cf. Sartorius, *Doctrine of the Divine Love*, p. 8 ff., Eng. tr.); or its relation to Creation, and the supreme ethical end (cf. Ritschl, *Recht. und Ver.* iii.^{3} pp. 263–266). It is a tempting, and not baseless, speculation, that, as love in its essential nature has relation to another, and involves, in its fulness, surrender and self-communication to another, so, if love and fatherhood are to be predicated eternally of God, there must be self-distinction and sonship also *within* the divine essence (for the world and human spirits, as non-eternal, contingent, and finite, cannot be adequate objects of this eternally complete, and infinite, and active love of God). It is a speculation, however, which lies, *in this form*, beyond Scripture, though the NT doctrine of the Trinity throws back light on it, and it has a point of relation to the recognition of the Son in the Gospels as the peculiar object of the Father's knowledge and love (Mt 3^{17} 11^{27} 12^{18}, Jn 5^{20} etc.).

ii. LOVE IN MAN.—The primary and unalterable duty of man, in both OT and NT, is to love God with all his mind, and heart, and soul, and strength (Dt 6^5, Mt $22^{37.38}$, Mk 12^{29-33}). This obligation is based in part on the natural relation of man to God as created and dependent (Dt $8^{17.18}$, Ps $95^{6.7}$ 100^3, Is 1^3); but specially on the morally perfect character of God (Mt 5^{48}, Mk 10^{18}); and, above all, on the fact that God is Himself a Being of Love—this, too, not simply in a general respect, but as having manifested His love in gracious relations to ourselves. 'Thou shalt love the Lord *thy God*,' etc. (Dt 6^5). In OT it is the superabounding grace of God in His relations to Israel in the covenant (Dt 4^{1-14} $^{32-40}$ $11^{1.13.22}$ 19^9 32^{1-14}, Ps 5^{11} 31^{23} 116^1, Is 54, Hos 11^{1-4} 14, etc.); in NT it is the love of God in Christ (Ro $8^{35.39}$ 12^1, 1 Co 2^9, Eph 2^{4-10}, 1 Jn 4^{19}) which is the ground of obligation. It is evident how far we are here from the abstract grounds of natural theology. This love, moreover, is no mere sentiment, or excitement of feeling, but is connected in both OT and NT with an obedient will and the keeping of God's commandments (Dt 6, Jos 22^5, Is 1^{10-18}, Mt 7^{21-23}, Jn 14^{15} 15^{9-14} etc.). 'This is the love of God,' St. John says emphatically, 'that we keep his commandments' (1 Jn 5^3). The scriptural love to God is thus entirely practical, it is also intelligent, and fed through growing knowledge ('thy mind'; cf. Eph $1^{17.18}$ $3^{17.18}$ etc.). It will specially manifest itself in the intelligent adoption of the ends of God's kingdom as our own (Mt 6^{33}). The love of God thus enspheres the being of the true child of God; it is shed abroad in the heart (Ro 5^5); the soul dwells in love, *i.e.* dwells in God and God in it (1 Jn 4^{16}). But this feeling and enlargement of the heart in love *to* God, and experience of the love *of* God, cannot remain self-contained. It spontaneously overflows in love to others, and yearns with the desire to bring them within the same circle of blessing. Specially will it feel a peculiar delight in those who are within the same sphere of love as itself. The love of God thus necessarily issues in love to our brother; and so imperative is this connexion, that where the latter does not exist, we are warranted in declaring that the former is absent also (1 Jn 3^{14-17} $4^{7.8}$).

Love to man has thus its spring and principle in love to God, and here a wider and a narrower sphere is recognized—the one, the entire human family; the other, the peculiar brotherhood in Christ (Gal 6^{10}, 1 P 2^{10}). The grounds on which this duty of love is based are entirely different from those of philosophical ethics. The stoical ideal of a brotherhood of reason remained an unrealized dream. The ethics of Jesus laid the foundations of a true love to man in spiritual relation to God, and the destination to sonship in His kingdom. A brotherhood arises out of the Fatherhood. If we inquire more narrowly into the biblical development of this great duty of the gospel, we find the principle in which the whole is involved already enunciated in OT, though its full scope and bearing were not apparent under the Old Covenant. It is from Leviticus (19^{18}) that Jesus quotes the precept, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' as one of the two 'great' commandments on which hang all the law and the prophets (Mt $22^{39.40}$, Mk 12^{31}); even as He declares of His enunciation of 'The Golden Rule'—'for this is the law and the prophets.' The question was as to the breadth of the signification of the term 'neighbour'; and while here also the correct principle was already involved in the doctrine of the oneness of the human family as made in the image of God (Gn 1^{27}), and in the truth of one God of the spirits of all flesh (Nu 16^{22}), it was alien to the modes of thought of antiquity, and perhaps was impossible to the Hebrews under the peculiar limitations of their national economy, to give to this pregnant term 'neighbour' a universal application. (How few do so even now under Christian teaching!) It is certain in any case that they did not give it this wider scope; and it was reserved for Jesus to correct 'particularism' here also, and, in the light of His broad, universal doctrine of God and man, to lift this duty to its proper level of unlimited obligation. Our 'neighbour,' He teaches in the parable of the Good Samaritan, is *every* man without distinction of nationality (Lk 10^{29-37}); and the obligation of love is extended to embrace even enemies (Mt 5^{43-48}), the pattern in this case being the example of the Father in heaven. (The germ is found here also in OT both in precept and example, Lv $19^{17.18}$, 1 S 24. 26, Ps 7^5). This principle, then, becomes in Christian morality the single principle in which all duty to our fellow-men is summed up, for it requires, comprehensively, that we do our neighbour no injury (Ro 13^{10}), but do him all the good we can; it requires even that we overlook his wrongs to us, and strive to overcome his evil with our good (Ro 12^{19-21}); and it furnishes the only, but all-powerful motive, through which this discharge of duty can be accomplished. He who loves his neighbour as himself will not, *e.g.*, kill him, will not steal from him, will not bear false witness against him, will not covet his possessions (Ro 13^9). But this love will further change these negative precepts into positive ones, and lead him to seek his neighbour's highest well-being in soul and body. In this one word, therefore, as it is repeatedly said, the whole law is fulfilled (Ro $13^{8.10}$, Gal 5^{14}, Ja 2^8). The example of Jesus in His earthly life is again the interpretation to us of the depth and range of this precept, alike in its practical beneficence, its compassion for the lost, its forgiveness of injuries, and its voluntary self-sacrifice, even unto death, for others (Ac 10^{38}, Ro 15^3, He $12^{2.3}$, 1 P 2^{21-24}, 1 Jn 4^{16} etc.). How high and wide-reaching the spiritual requirements of this law of love are—how love is patient and kind; excludes envy; is humble; not easily provoked; does not impute motives; mourns over iniquity, and rejoices in truth; endures wrong; believes the best; where it cannot believe, hopes; where it cannot even hope, suffers—is magnificently brought out in that incomparable hymn of love chanted by St. Paul in 1 Co 13. In this principle of love, as we are further taught by Christ's example, and by apostolic teaching, there lies, not only the fulfilling of the law, but a great, nay, the chiefest, part of practical religion (Ja 1^{27} 2^{14-18}, 1 Jn 4^{14-17}). And we are reminded that it is precisely these deeds of love which the King is represented as inquiring into at the great last day of account, and it is by their presence or absence that men's everlasting destinies are adjudged (Mt 25^{34-46}).

LITERATURE.—*OT Theologies* of Oehler, Schultz, Dillmann; Sartorius, *The Doctrine of Divine Love*; Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu*, vol. ii.; Weiss, *NT Theology*; Ritschl, *Recht. und Versohnung*, vols. ii. iii.; *Christian Ethics* of Martensen (vol. i.) and Dorner.
J. ORR.

LOVE (BROTHERLY).—See BROTHERLY LOVE.

LOVE, LOVELY, LOVER.—In 1 Es 4^{24} we find 'love' used in the concrete, one that is loved, 'when he hath stolen, spoiled, and robbed, he bringeth it to his love' (*τῇ ἐρωμένῃ*; Vulg. amabili suae; Wyc. 'leef' [=loved one]; Cov. 'his love'). Cf. Shaks. *Venus and Adonis*, 867—

> 'She hears no tidings of her love.'

The adj. **lovely** has come to be used somewhat carelessly, and now means scarcely more than attractive; but in AV it always carries a distinct sense of its origin. It has two meanings, however. **1.** *Worthy of being loved*, Ezk 33^{32} 'thou art unto them as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice' (שִׁיר עֲגָבִים, lit. as AVm 'a song of loves,' RVm 'a love song'); Ca 5^{16} 'he is altogether lovely' (כֻּלּוֹ מַחֲמַדִּים, lit. 'all of him is loveablenesses'); Ph 4^{8} 'whatsoever things are lovely' (*ὅσα προσφιλῆ*). Cf. Preface to AV, 'A man may be counted . . . a comely man and lovely, though he have some warts upon his hand'; Tindale, *Expositions*, p. 26, 'If thou believe in Christ, that he is thy Saviour, that faith will lead thee in immediately, and show thee God with a lovely and amiable countenance'; Fletcher, *Wildgoose Chase*, i. 3—

> '*Mir.* Can you love a man?
> *Lil.* Yes, if the man be lovely,
> That is, be honest, modest.'

Milton, *PL* ix. 232—

> 'Nothing lovelier can be found
> In woman than to study household good.'

2. *Loving*, 2 S 1^{23} 'Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives' (הַנֶּאֱהָבִים, lit. 'the loved,' LXX *οἱ ἠγαπημένοι*). Cf. Chaucer, *Miller's Tale*, i. 156—

> 'Many a lovely look on hem he caste.'

Shaks. *Taming of Shrew*, III. ii. 125—

> 'I should bid good-morrow to my bride,
> And seal the title with a lovely kiss.'

Lover has become restricted in meaning. Its wider application formerly may be seen in Tindale's tr. of Lk 6^{32} 'For the very synners love their lovers'; 15^{9} 'And when she hath founde it she calleth her lovers and her neighbours'; 15^{29} 'and yet gavest thou me never soo moche as a kyd to make mery with my lovers'; 3 Jn ^{14} 'The lovers salute the. Grete the lovers by name.' So in AV, 1 K 5^{1} 'Hiram was ever a lover of David'; Ps 38^{11} 'My lovers and my friends stand aloof from my sore.' But if it was wider, it was also darker in meaning sometimes and definite enough, as in Hos 2^{5} 'For their mother hath played the harlot: she that conceived them hath done shamefully; for she said, I will go after my lovers.' Cf. Knox, *Works*, iii. 196, 'And Jeremie lykewyse in mokage of thame, sayis, Lat thy loveris delyver thee; call upon thame, and lat tham heir thee! Thow hast committed fornicatioun with thame, and hes committit huredome with stoke and stone.'
J. HASTINGS.

LOVE-FEASTS (*ἀγάπαι*, Jude ^{12} and some MSS of 2 P 2^{13}; *δοχή*, *Apost. Const.* ii. 28; *ὑποδοχή* or *διακονία τραπεζῶν*, Julian, *Frag. Epist.* p. 305 [ed. Spanheim, 1696]; *δημώδης ἑστίασις*, Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* II. i. 12; cf. *συνευωχεῖσθαι*, Jude, 2 P, *ll.cc.*; Latin, *epulæ*, Jude ^{12}, Vulg. *convivium*, 2 P 2^{13} *ib.*, but, technically, *agape* from the 2nd cent. onwards [cf. Tert. *Apol.* 39, 'cœna nostra . . . id vocatur quod dilectio apud Græcos est'; *Acta Perpet. et Fel.* 17; Aug. *c. Faustum*, xx. 20]; Eng. RV 'feasts of charity').—These feasts sprang out of the common meals of the early Christian Church, in which all the members of the local church shared, and which served at once as a token of brotherhood (Ac 2^{46}) and as a method of helping the poor (Ac $6^{1.2}$; cf. Chrys. *ad* 1 Co 11^{17} *καὶ γὰρ ἀγάπης ὑπόθεσις ἦν καὶ πενίας παραμυθία καὶ πλούτου σωφρονισμὸς καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἀφορμὴ τῆς μεγίστης καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης διδασκαλία*). They probably originated in an imitation of the private meal of a Jewish household, widened out by the Christian conception of brotherhood, and consciously reproducing the last Supper which the Lord had kept at Jerusalem; but their wide dissemination among the Gentile Christians would have been facilitated by the similar common meals which were usual in the pagan religious brotherhoods (Hatch, *BL* ii. p. 31 note). The fullest account of a love-feast in the NT is to be found in 1 Co 11^{17-34}; in subsequent writers, in Tert. *Apol.* 39.

The feast was an afternoon meal at which rich and poor met together in one common building. Formal prayers of benediction, based upon the Jewish benedictions, were said over the food; the prayers preserved in *Didaché*, c. 9, are possibly specimens of those used at the Agape. The 'Kiss of Charity' (*φίλημα ἀγάπης*, 1 P 5^{14}) perhaps concluded the meal. After the meal, hands were washed, lights were lit (cf. Ac 20^{7}), and there followed singing and prayer under the leadership of a prophet (*Did.* c. 14) or some other minister. The Agape stood in close connexion with the Eucharist, which possibly preceded it (so Chrys. *loc. cit.*), but more probably followed it; and hence the phrase *ἀγάπην ποιεῖν* seems to include the Eucharist in Ign. *ad Smyrn.* c. 8 (where see Lightfoot), and *εὐχαριστία* is applied to Christian meals in Clement of Alexandria (*Pæd.* ii. 10).

But the NT itself bears witness to the dangers which such a meal ran of degenerating into licence. St. Paul had to check this at Corinth, and perhaps also at Ephesus (Eph $5^{18.19}$). St. Peter mentions the presence of immoral men degrading the feast into a banquet (*συνευωχούμενοι*). The heathen were not slow to exaggerate this, and to accuse the Christians of wild licence and immorality. Hence in the course of the 2nd cent., throughout many parts of the Christian Church, the Agape was separated from the Eucharist, the former being celebrated in the evening, the latter in the morning. This was already the case in Bithynia at the time of Pliny's letter to Trajan (*Ep.* 96), and the Agape was dropped there owing to Trajan's edict against *sodalitates*. Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 67) describes the Eucharist without any reference to the Agape; Tertullian (*Apol.* 39) describes the Agape without any reference to the Eucharist, and speaks of the Eucharist as celebrated before daylight (*de Corona*, c. 3). At Alexandria the connexion of the two, at any rate on some occasions, is found much later (cf. Socrates, *HE* v. 22), and the Agape took two forms there: either it retained the old idea of a common meal in the church, and tended at Alexandria to become an elaborate banquet; or it took the form of a dinner for the poor given by a richer brother at his own house, and apparently it was then called *δοχή* rather than Agape (Bigg, *Christian Platonists*, pp. 102–105). By the time of St. Augustine it was little more than a dole for the poor (*c. Faustum*, xx. 20; cf. *Canons* of Hippolytus, xxxi.–xxxv.). The changes in the observance of the Agape may be compared with those in the Roman 'sportula.' For the later history in which the meal was first banished from the churches and then entirely disused, the reader is referred to Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities.* The institution has left its permanent mark in two ways upon the Christian Church: first, in all acts of charity that take the form of entertainment of the poor; and, secondly, in certain points of ritual connected with the Eucharist, such as the offertory, the washing of hands, the kiss of peace, and in the Oriental Church the distribution among the poor of bread which had been blessed but not consecrated. The Methodist 'Love-feasts' were a deliberate attempt on Wesley's part to revive the apostolic practice.

LITERATURE.—Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, i. 52 note, 400 ff., ii. 87, 227, 312, 313, iii. 457 f.; S. Chrysostom on 1 Co 11; Suicer, *Thesaurus, s.v.*; Bingham, *Christian Antiquities*, xv. 7; Bp. John Wordsworth, *The Holy Communion*, pp. 44–46, 57–60; Uhlhorn, *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*; Spitta, *Zur Geschichte u. Litt. des Urchristenthums*, i. (Göttingen, 1893); Zahn in Herzog's *RE*³, *s.v.* 'Agapen'; Brightman, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western.* W. LOCK.

LOVINGKINDNESS.—We owe this beautiful word to Coverdale. His use of it is somewhat capricious, and in that respect he has been imitated by all subsequent versions until we come to the American Revised Version. The Heb. word so translated (חֶסֶד *ḥeṣed*) is used of God's love to man, and less frequently of man's love to man. It is disputed whether it also denotes man's love to God. The passages relied on for the last meaning are Jer 2^{2}, Hos $6^{4.6}$, together with Is 57^{1} men of piety, and 2 Ch 32^{32} 35^{26}, Neh 13^{11} pious acts. The *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* favours the sense of piety to God in all these places. It is only when the word means God's love to man that it was translated by Coverdale (followed by AV) 'lovingkindness,' and that was well, for, as Driver says, that term is too strong to be used generally of men. But unfortunately it is only some of the passages with that meaning that have been so translated, chiefly in the Psalter, the other renderings in AV being 'mercy' (Gn 19^{19} 24^{27} 32^{10}, Ex 15^{13} 20^{6} 34^{7}, Nu 14^{18}, Dt 5^{10} $7^{9.12}$, 2 S 7^{15} 22^{51}, 1 K 8^{23}, 1 Ch $16^{34.41}$ 17^{13}, 2 Ch 5^{13} $6^{14.42}$ $7^{3.6}$ 20^{21}, Ezr 3^{11} 7^{28} 9^{9}, Neh 1^{5} 9^{32} 13^{22}, Ps 5^{7} 6^{4} 13^{5} 18^{50} 21^{7} 23^{6} $25^{7.10}$ $31^{7.16}$ 32^{10} $33^{5.18.22}$ 36^{5} 44^{26} 52^{8} $57^{3.10}$ $59^{10.16.17}$ 61^{7} 62^{12} 66^{20} 69^{13} 77^{8} $85^{7.10}$ $86^{5.13.15}$ $89^{1.2.14.24.28}$ 90^{14} 94^{18} 98^{3} 100^{5} 101^{1} $103^{8.11.17}$ $106^{1.7.45}$ 107^{1} 108^{4} $109^{21.26}$ 115^{1} $118^{1.2.3.4.29}$ $119^{41.64.124}$ 130^{7} $136^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8.9.10.11.12.13.14.15.16.17.18.19.20.21.22.23.24.25.26}$ 138^{8} 143^{12} 145^{8} 147^{11}, Pr 16^{6}, Is 55^{3}, Jer 33^{11}, La $3^{22.32}$, Dn 9^{4}, Mic $7^{18.20}$); 'goodness' (Ex 34^{6}, Ps 33^{5} 52^{1} $107^{8.15.21.31}$ 144^{2}); 'kindness' (Ps 31^{21}, Jon 4^{2}); 'merciful kindness' (Ps 117^{2} 119^{76}). The RV has made but few changes. It has preferred 'lovingkindness' to 'mercy' in 2 S 22^{51}, Ps 5^{7} 6^{4} 18^{50} 21^{7} $25^{7.10}$ 31^{16} 36^{5} 44^{26} 61^{7} 143^{12}, to 'goodness' in Ps 33^{5}, to 'kindness' in Ps 31^{21}, to 'merciful kindness' in Ps 119^{76}, and once it goes the other way, changing 'lovingkindnesses' in Ps 89^{49} into 'mercies.' But the Amer. Revisers have chosen 'lovingkindness' for all the passages in which the meaning is God's love to man, and for these only. See their note on this word under 'Classes of Passages' in the Appendix to the English RV.

The best statement of the meanings of *ḥeṣed* in the OT will be found in the *Oxf. Heb. Lexicon.* Cheyne has much to say of the word, see esp. his *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 378 (where he happily distinguishes אַהֲבָה from חֶסֶד in reference to man, the former being 'right feeling towards J" as the root of right action,' the latter 'right action as the flower of right feeling'); see also W. R. Smith, *Prophets*², pp. 160 f., 408 f.; Driver on Dt 7^{9}; Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, i. 220; Girdlestone, *Synonyms of OT*², p. 111 f.; and the art. HASIDÆANS. The English word is purely biblical.

J. HASTINGS.

LOW COUNTRY.—See SHEPHELAH.

LOZON (Λοζών), 1 Es 5^{33} = Darkon, Ezr 2^{56}, Neh 7^{58}.

LUBIM (לוּבִים, in Dn 11^{43} לֻבִים, Λίβυες LXX, *Libyes* Vulg.).—They are mentioned as auxiliaries and neighbours of the Egyptians: 2 Ch 12^{3} as the chief auxiliaries of Shishak, 16^{8} with the Ethiopian Zerah, Nah 3^{9} as helpers of Thebes at the side of Put, Dn 11^{43} together with the Ethiopians as neighbours of Egypt. Most probably the Lehabim of Gn 10^{13}, 1 Ch 1^{11} are the same nation (see LEHABIM); the identification with the LUDIM (which see), attempted by some, has many difficulties to contend against. The name appears in Arabic as Lûbî لُوبِيّ = the singular לובי (occurring in the Talmud) 'Libyan' (on the Egyptian form, see below).

The Greeks first used **Libya** of the whole country W. of Egypt which was reckoned as a part of Asia; consequently Libya was equivalent to Africa. Later, Libya was used only of the part between Egypt and the Roman province of Africa, consisting of Marmarica in the E. (*Libya Inferior* as a Roman province) and Cyrenaïca (*Libya Superior*, modern Barka) in the W. (*Libya Interior* was S. of both). The Libyan Nomos (*i.e.* country) of Egypt extended from Marea to Apis (W.) and, along the frontier of Egypt, to Memphis (S.), a strip of borderland always visited by Libyans with their flocks.

The **Libyans** appear on Egyptian monuments from the earliest period, but more frequently from about B.C. 1600. They are depicted (earliest example in Newberry, *Benihasan*, I. pl. 45, 47) as tall, well-built, of whiter complexion even than the Syrians and Europeans, with blue eyes, blond hair and beard. These pictures agree closely with the type of the modern Kabyles in Algeria, in whom many travellers have sought descendants of strayed Germans, *e.g.* Vandals (very erroneously, as the Egyptian pictures show). Their hair, ornamented with ostrich feathers, was worn tied in a long pig-tail hanging over the ear, while it was cut half-length at the back part of the head; the beard was pointed. Blue tatoo-marks, varying according to the tribe, ornamented the body. The dress consisted of a girdle and a long mantle. They were chiefly a pastoral people, wandering with their leather-tents and their flocks of goats and sheep over their sandy country. Frequently they appeared at the W. frontier of Egypt as invaders, especially under the 19th and 20th dynasties, *i.e.* after 1350. Seti I., Ramses II. and III. record invasions warded off with great difficulty. Merenptah, the successor of Ramses II., defeated an army of Libyans allied with pirates from Asia Minor and Europe, after they had nearly reached Memphis, slaying almost 10,000 of them. They fought with arrows and long swords, the chiefs from chariots. Being very brave, they were employed as mercenaries by the Pharaohs, more and more frequently after B.C. 1100. Finally they became the privileged soldiers of Egypt; and their leaders, as Egyptian generals, grew so influential that several dynasties of Egyptian princes, as well as the great Bubastide (22) and Saïtic (24, 26) dynasties, which include most of the Pharaohs mentioned by name in the Bible, were of Libyan descent. *E.g.* Shishak (more correctly *Shoshak* for *Shoshanḳ*) is a name of Libyan etymology. In their own country the Libyans assumed a few elements of Egyptian culture, *e.g.* the worship of the god Am(m)on (whose principal temple was in the oasis of Amon, now Siwah), circumcision, etc., but always remained at a low stage of civilization. Their strange and rude system of writing, still employed by the desert tribes S. of Algeria, and now called *Tifinaghen*, was borrowed from Southern Arabia, it would appear, about the Persian period. Also the introduction of the camel, and several customs, possibly also elements of their language, point to later connexions with this country—a strange fact, and not yet sufficiently understood. Their difficult language is, however, witnessed to by Egyptian monuments from about 1400, so that only a small part of the people can have consisted of immigrating Easterners. Under Greek (in Cyrene) and Carthaginian influence, and still more under Roman dominion, the Libyans were only superficially civilized in the cities; a large part of them, especially in the interior, always remained barbarous shepherds. They extended from Egypt to Timbuctoo and the Senegal river until the invasion of the Arabs; the subsequent adoption of Arab religion made a great part of them give up their language and nationality. Their language (the Tamasheg), which recently has been studied very zealously (in England especially by the late Prof. Newman), is at present much mixed with Arabic. Grammatically, however, it shows the purest Hamitic type. It is not so closely related to ancient Egyptian as we should expect, and betrays more affinity with the Hamitic languages on the coast of the Red Sea. The national name of this great race (at present pronounced Imushagh, Imuhag, etc.) is of obscure etymology. The Egyptians called them *Themḥeu* (plural, perhaps the same word), later *Phaiat*, and the easternmost part *Theḥnu* (or *Theḥnyu*, plural) and distinguished various tribes. Of these the Mashauasha (Μάξυες of Herodotus?) and *Lob* (written *Ra-bu*, plur. *Ra-bu-y*) were most prominent in the wars of Dyn. 19 and 20 (minor tribes Kahak, Qaiqasha, Shaïtep, etc.), and we can observe how the name *Lob* gradually became general, as we find it among the Greeks and all Semites. It is probable that in Gn 10 it already includes the whole of the white Africans W. of Egypt, although the Egyptians (and through these the Hebrews) hardly knew any tribes W. of Cyrene; the dominion of the conquering Pharaohs did not extend even so far. W. MAX MÜLLER.

LUCAS, Philem ^{24} (AV only) for LUKE (wh. see).

LUCIFER (הֵילֵל 'shining one,' *i.e.* the morning star, as explained by the following words בֶּן־שָׁחַר 'son of dawn,' Is 14^{12}).—The word is applied by the writer of the prophecy to the king of Babylon, partly in reference to the astrology for which Chaldæa was famous in ancient times, partly to the prevailing belief in the deification of heroes. The king of Babylon had complacently looked forward to the time when he would ascend into heaven and exalt his throne above the stars of God. But in reality his dead body would be treated with the utmost contempt, 'a carcase trodden under foot'; while his soul would descend into Sheol, and there receive but an empty honour from the shades, astounded that the great and mighty king could become like one of themselves.

From a supposed reference to this passage in our Lord's words, 'I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven' (Lk 10^{18}), in connexion with Rev 9^{1-11} (the language of 9^{1} being in part probably derived from this passage), Lucifer came in the Middle Ages to be a common appellation of Satan. The star of Rev 9^{1-11} is a fallen angel who has given to him the key of the abyss, from which he sets loose upon the earth horribly formed locusts with scorpions' tails, who have, however, power to hurt only such men as have not the seal of God on their foreheads. But this angel is not actually identified with Satan by the writer of the Apocalypse. The imagery in Is was no doubt suggested by a meteor, and possibly it was so in Rev also.

F. H. WOODS.

LUCIUS (Λεύκιος) is described in 1 Mac $15^{16\text{ff.}}$ as the 'consul of the Romans' (ὕπατος Ῥωμαίων), who, in consequence of the embassy sent to Rome by the high-priest Simon, wrote to Ptolemy VII. Euergetes, king of Egypt, to inform him that the Jews were under the protection of Rome. He sent copies of the same decree to other Eastern sovereigns, and to several small independent states. The title of this decree of the Senate is clearly imperfect, and it is not certain who is intended by this consul, whose prænomen is alone given. His date is approximately determined by the fact that Numenius and his fellow-ambassadors returned to Palestine in B.C. 139–138 (1 Mac 15^{10-15}). Three possible identifications may be mentioned.

1. Lucius Cæcilius Metellus Calvus was consul in B.C. 142. This, however, seems too early, though the historian places the despatch of the embassy to Rome before the decree of the Jews in favour of Simon, made on the 18th Elul, B.C. 141 (1 Mac 14^{24-28}).

2. Josephus mentions a decree of the Senate, passed under similar circumstances, and couched in similar terms, which he assigns to the 9th year of Hyrcanus II. (*Ant.* XIV. viii. 5). Most moderns, however, except Mommsen, consider that Josephus is in error with regard to the date, and identify this *senatus-consultum* with that passed in the time of Simon. In Josephus the prætor Lucius Valerius is named as presiding in the Senate; it is possible that he is the 'consul Lucius' of 1 Mac 15^{16} (cf. Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 266 ff.).

3. Most probably the reference is to L. Calpurnius Piso, who was consul B.C. 139. His prænomen is often given as Cneius, but Lucius is the best authenticated reading in Valerius Maximus i. 3. 2 (see Westcott in *Smith's DB* 'Lucius'; Schürer, *l.c.*). H. A. WHITE.

LUCIUS (Λούκιος).—**1.** Of Cyrene (ὁ Κυρηναῖος). In Ac 13^{1} we are told that certain prophets and teachers were at Antioch, and amongst them is mentioned Lucius of Cyrene. He comes third in the list, and is supposed to have been one of the prophets. Nothing further is known about him. The suggestion that he was the same as St. Luke (Λουκᾶς) has nothing in its favour. Such evidence as there is points the other way. For the difference between the descriptions of scenes at Antioch and those at places which the author of Acts must have visited is striking, and makes it clear that the writer had no intimate knowledge of the place, and doubtful if he had ever been there. It is probable, however, that it was this mistaken identification which first caused the tradition that St. Luke was an Antiochene by birth, which appears in Eus. *HE* iii. 4, and in many subsequent writers, and which is also without foundation.

2. In Ro 16^{21} a certain Lucius is introduced as sending greetings with Timothy and others. Whether he was the same person as Lucius of Cyrene we have no means of judging.

A. C. HEADLAM.

LUCRE (from Lat. *lucrum* through Fr. *lucre*, gain) had not always the bad sense which belongs to it in AV and in modern use. Erasmus, *On the Crede* (1533), fol. 70, says 'God is very greatlye to be thanked, whose goodness hath tourned the malyce and wickednes of other men unto his servauntes, into the lucre and encreace of godlynesse.' In 1 S 8^3 בֶּצַע, which means gain obtained by violent or dishonest means, is rendered 'lucre,' 'And his sons walked not in his ways, but turned aside after lucre, and took bribes, and perverted judgment' (LXX ἐξέκλιναν ὀπίσω τῆς συντελείας, Vulg. declinaverunt post avariciam, Wyc. 'bowedon aside after averyce,' Cov. 'enclyned unto covetousnes,' Gen. 'turned aside after lucre'). The word is not again used in OT, but occurs five times in NT, always qualified by the adj. 'filthy.' In 1 Ti $3^{3.8}$, Tit 1^7 the adj. αἰσχροκερδής is tr^{d} 'greedy of filthy lucre' (RV after edd. omits from 1 Ti 3^3); in 1 P 5^2 the adv. αἰσχροκερδῶς is translated 'for filthy lucre'; and in Tit 1^{11} the phrase αἰσχροῦ κέρδους χάριν is rendered 'for filthy lucre's sake.' All these expressions we owe to Tindale. Except in language coloured by biblical recollection the word is no longer used. Bacon (*Essays*, 'Of Superstition,' Gold. Treas. ed. p. 69) shows the ordinary use in his day: 'The Strategems of Prelates for their owne Ambition and Lucre.' Shaks. uses the word twice (*I Henry VI.* V. iv. 141, *Cymb.* IV. ii. 324), both in the same sense.

J. HASTINGS.

LUD, LUDIM (לוּד, plur. לוּדִים, לוּדִיִּים, Λούδ, Λουδιείμ, *Lud, Ludim*).—In Gn 10^{22} Lud appears as fourth 'son' of Shem, in Gn 10^{13} we are told that Mizraim 'begat' Ludim. Here two very different races are indicated, a Semitic Lud and an Egyptian Ludim. Both names are, however, used by the prophets in such a way as to prevent any distinction between the words Lud and Ludim. In 1 Ch 1^{17} and 1^{11} the statements of Genesis are simply repeated. In Is 66^{19} Lud is named with Tarshish, Pul (which is generally considered to be an error for Put, *i.e.* Phut), as among the far-off nations. In Jer 46^9 the Ludim are mentioned with Cush and Phut as auxiliaries of Egypt. In Ezk 27^{10} Lud appears with Persia and Phut as soldiers of Tyre; and in 30^5 Lud occurs with Cush, Phut, and others as allies of Egypt.

The many difficulties that arise from these references are due to two causes—the difficulty of recognizing the people referred to, and doubts as to the integrity of the text. Since the time of Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 4) a prevailing opinion has been that the Semitic Lud denotes the **Lydians** of Asia Minor; and would then correspond with their mythical ancestor Lydus, mentioned by Herodotus, i. 7. Herodotus (*l.c.*) also describes their first king Agron as a descendant of Ninus and Belos, which may be taken to imply an Assyrian (or Babylonian?) origin. To support this opinion, the many affinities of Lydian worship with Syrian, and the marked similarity of their art to Assyrian types, have been pressed. Against the Semitic origin of the Lydians is the evidence of the remains of their language embodied in place names and preserved in native personal names. It is not too much to say that in the earliest times of which we have evidence Lydia was not Semitic, but peopled by a race that everywhere preceded the Greeks and spread wide into Europe. Lydia admitted several successive overlying strata of population, Greeks and Persians, not to mention Kimmerians and Scythians. These were not Semitic. It is difficult to see in what sense the classical Lydia was ever Semitic. That Josephus meant that country seems certain, not only from his own words, but from the fact that Lydia was known by name to the Jews (1 Mac 8^8). To the author of Gn 10^{22} Lud may not, however, have meant Lydia at all, but some more southerly folk. The direction of the geographical distribution of the sons of Shem runs from S.E. to N.W., then apparently W. and no farther S. than Aram. Stress cannot be laid on this till we are sure which way Arphaxad lay from Asshur. But as the genius of Winckler has compelled us to admit the Syrian land of Muṣri in passages where Egypt had always been seen before (see *Expos. Times*, vii. p. 405 f.), and as even Cush may be the land *Kusu* in the same horse-producing Cilician direction, so it may be that cuneiform evidence will yet locate a Lud in some North Syrian land. To the early Greeks Lydia was unknown by that name, they called it *Mæonia*; its later name does not appear till the 7th cent. B.C. What if the founder of the Lydian name were, after all, a Semitic Lydus bringing with him Assyrian culture? He need not have made Lydia Semitic, but he might have left a Semitic Lud behind him. When Gyges, king of Lydia (about B.C. 660), sent an embassy to Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, to seek alliance against the Kimmerians, it is stated that the Lydian tongue was not understood by the king's interpreters, and that only with difficulty was an interpreter found (G. Smith's *Assurbanipal*, p. 79). This seems decisive against Lydian being then a Semitic tongue. We are further told that the name *Lu-ud-di* had not been known before in Assyria (*KIB* ii. p. 172). Whether this means that no intercourse had ever taken place between the countries is open to question; perhaps it only means that the name was fresh. The mere absence of any Assyrian mention of a Semitic Lud may be pressed too far.

On the other hand, the theory of a widespread Semitic nation, Lud, including (according to Knobel) Amalek, the Amorites, the Philistines, the Egyptian Ludim, and the Lydians of Asia Minor, seems out of the question.

If it is difficult as yet to locate a Semitic Lud, the Egyptian Ludim are quite as difficult to locate. No satisfactory identification from native Egyptian sources has yet been given. The *Rutu* or *Retu*, suggested by some, appear not to be a nation at all; the word even is now read *Romet* (see Dillm. on Gn 10^{13}). It has been suggested to read *Lybians*,* which is simply cutting the knot. Movers would identify with the great Berber tribe of the Lewâta, inhabiting the shores of the Syrtes; but these people do not appear in history till the 6th cent. A.D.

According to the direction of the geographical distribution of Mizraim's offspring, perhaps we should find them W. of Phut, and so somewhere S. or even W. of the Syrtes. This can hardly be separated from the localization of Phut near Egypt.

When we turn to the prophetical passages, we find some marked characteristics. The Ludim are warriors and bowmen. Nowhere in antiquity do we find the Lydians famous as warriors or bowmen. This, however, is not of much weight against the fact that the Carians and Ionians were mercenaries of Egypt from the time of Psammetichus I. (B.C. 663–610). The biblical Ludim may cover these. Winckler has pointed out that in an inscription of the 37th year of Nebuchadnezzar, a fragmentary account of his wars with Amasis, king of Egypt, we have mention of the people *Put-Iaman*. As *Iaman* (Ionians) is the regular Assyrian term for Greeks, we are forced to conclude that Puṭ, the biblical Phut, was, if not exactly Greek in race and language, at least indistinguishable from them for political purposes in Egypt. The prophets may have had better knowledge of the racial affinities of these Egyptian mercenaries, and kept the term *Phut* for one, *Ludim* for another.

The versions, whether influenced by Josephus and Herodotus or independently preserving a historical tradition, frequently render Ludim by *Lydians*. The various commentators on the books of the OT resort to all kinds of devices to bring the text into accord with the facts known to them.

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* For instance, by Stade (*Javan*, 5 f.), who proposes to read in Gn 10^{13} and Jer 46^9 לוּבִים (Libyans) for לוּדִים.

Many of these difficulties will doubtless disappear with greater knowledge of the ancient inhabitants of Egypt and Syria. They cannot be discussed here. See also art. LYDIA.

LITERATURE.—Dillmann and Holzinger on *Genesis*; Cheyne on *Isaiah*; Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache*, p. 284 f. (for Lydian race, Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, must also be taken into account); Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, series i. p. 513; Frd. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 257, 310; Schrader, *KAT*² 114 [*COT* ii. 98 ff.]; Movers, *Phönizier*, ii. 1, 377 ff.; Ebers, *Ægypten u. die Bücher Mose's*, i. 96 ff.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

LUHITH (מַעֲלֵה הַלּוּחִית Is 15^5, מַעֲלֵה הַלֻּחוֹת Jer 48^5 [*Kethîbh*]; LXX in Is Λουειθ, in Jer B Ἀλώθ, A Ἀλαώθ).—A place which practically is only once mentioned in OT. It occurs, as 'the ascent of' or 'to Luhith,' in Is 15^5 and in the corresponding section of Jer (48 [LXX 31]^5). The refugees from ruined Moab are there represented as fleeing to Zoar, by the ascent of L. and in the way of Horonaim, names which may be selected as local asylum sanctuaries where fugitives would be secure, or as merely different roads for escape out of the wasted country. The 'ascent' may then mean either the hill on which the sanctuary stood (cf. מַעֲלֵה הַזֵּיתִים = mount of olives, 2 S 15^{30}), or the pass which led to safety (cf. מַעֲלֵה עַקְרַבִּים = the scorpion ascent, Nu 34^4).

The derivation of the name must at present remain uncertain. Gesenius (*Thes.*) translates it 'made of boards, *i.e.* probably having houses made of boards'; but this derivation ignores the fact that Luhith must be a more or less exact transliteration into Heb. of an originally Moabite word. In that connexion the variation between Is and Jer (*Kethîbh*) is noteworthy.

Eusebius still knew a village which bore the name. The *Onomasticon* (*s.v.* Luith, Λουίθ) states 'there is to-day a village between Areopolis (*i.e.* Rabbath-moab) and Zoar which is named Luitha.' See, further, RABBAH and ZOAR.

A. C. WELCH.

LUKE, THE EVANGELIST.—The *name* Λουκᾶς does not seem to occur before the time of the NT (Zahn, *Einl.* ii. 336). As a Greek name, it is found without any variation in spelling, unless Λουκουᾶς (Eus. *HE* iv. 2) is to be regarded as such. It is, no doubt, a contracted form of Lucanus, a Latin name which occurs frequently in inscriptions (Lightfoot on Col 4^{14}), and is found in one Vulgate MS at the head of St. Luke's Gospel (as well as in *b f g*² *i*), the other MSS quoted by Wordsworth and White giving only a Latinized form of the Greek name, '*secundum Lucan* or *Lucam*.' The identification of the *name* with Λούκιος or Λούκειος (Ac 13^1, Ro 16^{21}) is not philologically impossible, but is unlikely. As to the *person*, see LUCIUS and below.

A person of this name is mentioned three times in the NT, viz. Col 4^{14}, 2 Ti 4^{11}, Philem ^{24}. From these passages we infer that he was with St. Paul at Rome when these Epistles were written, and was alone with him at the date of the latest. In the first passage he is spoken of as ὁ ἰατρὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός,* and as he sends a greeting to the Colossians, he must have been known to that Church. He is, in this passage, distinguished from οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς (Col 4^{11}), and so was a Gentile by birth. This makes the identification with Λούκιος of Ro 16^{21} (see Orig. *ad. loc.*) impossible,—for the latter was a kinsman of St. Paul,—and disproves the view of Tiele and others that St. Luke was a Jew. Jerome (*Quæst. in Gen.*) refers to a tradition that he was a proselyte (and as such ignorant of Hebrew), but it is more probable that he became a Christian without becoming a Jew, and the Western reading of Ac 11^{28} (D) would require that his conversion to Christianity took place before St. Paul met him (but cf. Tert. *c. Marc.* iv. 2). In the other passage, Philem ^{24}, St. Luke sends greeting to Philemon, and is spoken of as one of St. Paul's συνεργοί. We know then that he was with St. Paul in *both* his imprisonments at Rome, but, from our finding no mention of him in Ph, Lightfoot (*Phil.* p. 35) argues that he was not there continuously. If we may assume (see ACTS for the arguments to justify this assumption) that St. Luke was the writer of the Acts, and refers to himself in the 'we-sections,' then we may note the connexion with Antioch in Syria,* implied by the Western reading of Ac 11^{28}, mentioned by Eus. (*HE* iii. 4) and others, but perhaps based on a supposed identification with Lucius of Ac 13^1 (Wetstein, Bengel). More certain is the inference that he joined St. Paul at Troas (Ac 16^{10}) about the year 50 A.D. (see CHRONOLOGY OF NT, vol. i. p. 422), and was with him until his arrival at Rome about A.D. 59, except during the period which elapsed between St. Paul's departure from Philippi on the Second Missionary Journey (17^1), and his arrival again there on the Third (Ac 20^5). If we may anticipate here the proofs (given in next art.) that St. Luke was the writer of the third Gospel, then, from the preface to that book, we may add that he did not belong to those who could claim to be οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται. The references to St. Luke in NT may be completed by a mention of the tradition, first found in Orig. (*Hom.* i. *in Luc.*), that he is the 'brother whose praise is in the Churches' (2 Co 8^{18}), sent by St. Paul with Titus to carry the letter. He is also mentioned in the subscription to that Epistle as one of the bearers.†

When we pass outside the NT we find a number of assertions made about him, some of which are contradicted by the statements already noticed in the NT. Thus the late tradition that he was one of the Seventy (Epiphanius), or the unnamed companion of Cleophas, mentioned in Lk $24^{13ff.}$ (Theophyl.; *Gr. Menol.* etc.), are both untenable in face of Lk 1^2. The tradition that he was a painter is also late, though not so late as it used to be thought.‡ What its origin was we cannot say. It is first mentioned by Theodore the Reader, whose date may be assigned to the 6th century. Zahn suggests (*Einl.* ii. 337) that the tradition may be due to a misinterpretation placed on the word καθιστορεῖν in Theodore's statement as to τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς θεοτόκου, ἣν ὁ ἀπόστολος Λουκᾶς καθιστόρησεν. A much earlier authority—the *Præfatio Lucæ*, given in Wordsworth's Vulgate, p. 269, and ascribed by Harnack (*Chronologie*, p. 653) to the 3rd cent. at latest—gives us many additional facts about St. Luke: 'Luke, by nation a Syrian of Antioch, a disciple of the apostles, and afterwards a follower of St. Paul, served his Master blamelessly till his confession. For having neither wife nor children he died in Bithynia at the age of seventy-four, filled with the Holy Ghost.' To Eusebius (*HE* iii. 4) we are indebted for some facts, and he has been followed by Jerome (*de Vir. Illustr.* 7). Probably, though not certainly, Eusebius' words—τὸ μὲν γένος ὢν τῶν ἀπ' Ἀντιοχείας—imply that St. Luke came himself from Antioch,§ though some scholars regard this belief as resting on nothing more substantial than the identification of St. Luke with Λούκιος of Ac 13^1 mentioned above. His special sphere of work is said to have been

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* See next art. under 'Style.'

* Not Antioch in Pisidia, as Rendall argues on the ground of the ἡμᾶς in Ac 14^{23}.

† For the various forms of the tradition connecting him with the Epistle to the Hebrews, see HEBREWS in vol. ii. p. 338^a.

‡ Plummer, *Commentary on St. Luke*, pp. xxi, xxii.

§ Ramsay (*St. Paul the Trav.* 200 ff., 389 f.) regards St. Luke as a Macedonian, who 'belonged to a family that had a connexion with Antioch,' and thinks Eusebius' phrase was intended to preclude the belief that St. Luke himself belonged to Antioch.

Achaia, but (*Const. Apost.* vii. 46) another tradition connects him with Alexandria, where he is said to have consecrated the second bishop. In Achaia or in Bithynia (*Rom. Martyr.*, etc.) he died. As to the mode of his death there are two traditions, one of which (*Menol. Basil.*) says that he died a peaceful death, the other (Greg. Naz., *ap.* Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xxxv. 589) that he was martyred under Domitian. His bones are said to have been carried from Achaia to Constantinople, and buried there in the twentieth year of Constantius.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the patristic references given above, see Zahn, *Einleitung in das NT* ii. 333 ff.; Plummer, *Commentary on St. Luke*; Nilles, *Calend. Utr. Eccles.*; Baring Gould, *Lives of the Saints*; *Acta Sanctorum*.

LL. J. M. BEBB.

LUKE, GOSPEL OF.—

1. Authorship and Canonicity.
2. Date and Place of Writing.
3. Transmission of the Text.
4. Sources used.
5. St. Luke and St. Paul.
6. St. Luke and Josephus.
7. St. Luke and Marcion.
8. St. Luke's Style.
9. St. Luke's Preface.
10. Purpose and Arrangement of the Gospel.
11. General Characteristics of the Gospel.

1. AUTHORSHIP AND CANONICITY.—(*a*) *Authorship.*—The proof that St. Luke was the writer of the Third Gospel depends partly on internal, partly on external, evidence.

The *internal* evidence consists in the connexion between the Gospel and the Acts which is seen in the style, and also in the common dedication of the two books to Theophilus, and the reference in Ac 1^1 to a 'former treatise,' which was no doubt the Gospel. It is here assumed (see ACTS for the arguments to support this view) that St. Luke was the writer of the Acts, and on this assumption it is impossible not to accept the Lucan authorship of the third Gospel. The argument from style (see below) is quite conclusive. Again, there are many points of connexion between the Gospel and Acts other than those of style, as, for instance, the reference to the Holy Spirit as 'the promise of the Father' (Ac 1^4; cf. Lk 24^{49}), the idea of apostolic 'witness' (Lk 24^{48}, Ac *passim*), the common explanation of Simon as ὁ ζηλωτής in Lk 6^{15} and Ac 1^{13}, but not in the other lists.

The *external* evidence * is to be found in the references which mention St. Luke by name as the writer of one of the four Gospels. It is well known that the earliest allusions to the Gospels do not give the names of the writers, but so soon as this mode of reference begins we find St. Luke's name connected with one of the Gospels. The earliest of these is in the Muratorian Fragment, which opens with the words *tertio evangelii librum secundum Lucan Lucas . . . conscripsit.* Irenæus repeatedly refers to St. Luke by name, the strongest passage being perhaps *Hær.* III. xiv. 3, where he mentions *multa quæ inveniri possunt a solo Luca dicta esse, quibus et Marcion et Valentinus utuntur*, and earlier in the same section a rejection of St. Luke is spoken of as tantamount to a rejection of 'the Gospel of which he claims to be a disciple.' In very many other passages Irenæus definitely quotes St. Luke (*e.g.* 3^1 3^{22} etc.), and nowhere is his authorship called in question. Another passage which gives unquestionable support to St. Luke's authorship is to be found in Tert. *c. Marc.* iv. 2—cf. *ib.* iv. 5, *id evangelium quod Lucæ refertur penes nos.* So Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* i. 21) quotes the Gospel often as by St. Luke.

It is unnecessary to multiply the evidence of later authorities, for the passages quoted show that writers of a comparatively early date and coming from all parts of the Christian Church unhesitatingly ascribe the authorship of one of the Gospels to St. Luke. 'It is manifest that in all parts of the Christian world the third Gospel . . . was universally believed to be the work of St. Luke. No one speaks doubtfully on this point' (Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. 16).

(*b*) *Canonicity.*—Though the references which connect Luke by name with the Gospel are, from the nature of the case, comparatively late, those which prove its use as an authoritative writing carry us back very much further. We find, it is true, no certain trace of its use in the Apostolic Fathers. 'We must be content to leave it doubtful whether Clement of Rome knew our Gospel according to Luke, and the same must be said of Polycarp and of Ignatius' (Plummer, *l.c.* p. xxv); but when we come on to Justin Martyr and to Tatian, the evidence of a use of this Gospel is abundant and unquestionable. Justin refers to a number of details which are found only in this Gospel: thus he mentions particulars given only in Lk 1. 2, such as the message of Gabriel (1^{35}) and the journey to Bethlehem in consequence of the enrolment; he also alludes to other incidents from later chapters, such as our Lord's being sent to Herod (23^7), or the last word from the Cross (23^{46}), or the explanation of the Scriptures to the disciples on the way to Emmaus (24^{45}). The use of St. Luke's Gospel by Tatian, who was a scholar of Justin, is equally clear from the *Diatessaron*, the second section of which (as given by Hemphill) contains Lk 1$^{5-80}$.

These writers sufficiently prove the use of the Gospel within the Church, but perhaps more striking testimony is to be found in the fact of its use by those outside the Church. Thus it formed the basis of the narrative which Marcion drew up (see below), it was used by the Valentinians in their system of chronology (Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 57), and was the subject of a commentary by Heracleon (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 9).

It was then, from the first, fully recognized and used in the Church, and is omitted in no lists of the canonical books.

Its *position in the New Testament Canon* among the Gospels varies. It must be remembered that the order in which the books succeed each other would not tend to be fixed until the Codex began to take the place of the Roll, that is, in the beginning of the 3rd century. Origen (*ap.* Eus. *HE* vi. 25) mentions as traditional that order with which we are familiar, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, and this order is found in most of our authorities, beginning with the Muratori Canon. After this the order most frequently found is the so-called Western order, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. The object of this—which is met with in D, many MSS of the Old Latin, the Gothic version, and elsewhere—was, no doubt, to bring together the two apostles and place them first, and afterwards the 'apostolic men.' The Curetonian Syriac puts St. Luke's Gospel last, *k* and X (a Munich MS of the 9th cent.) have the order John, Luke, Mark, Matthew, while in two cursives the order is John, Luke, Matthew. The order in which the Gospels come in the MSS *may* have been affected, moreover, by their supposed chronological order, or by the symbols assigned to them. We may perhaps notice here Blass's view (*Philol. of the Gosp.* p. 77) that there is evidence in the spelling adopted by D of 'a time when there was a closer connexion between Luke's first and second parts than between Luke's Gospel and the other Gospels.'

2. DATE AND PLACE OF WRITING.—(*a*) *Date.*—Various dates have been assigned to the Gospel,

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* The title κατὰ Λουκᾶν cannot be taken to prove much, though the forms *cata Lucam*, etc., in MSS of the old Latin, in Cyprian, and elsewhere, show that the *Greek* MSS on which they were based had the titles in 2nd or 3rd cent. (Zahn, *Einl.* ii. 178).

ranging from A.D. 56–60 (Blass, *Philol. of Gospels*, pp. 53, 54) to some date after A.D. 130. The main argument in favour of the latest date, which was that accepted by Baur, Zeller, and others, was the supposed dependence of the Gospel on that of Marcion; but this argument has been proved to be valueless by the almost universal agreement of critics that Marcion is really dependent on St. Luke. A comparatively late date for the Gospel has also been urged on the ground of a similar dependence on Josephus. This, if proved, would make the date about A.D. 100; but here, again, the hypothesis must be regarded as unproven. Nor can any definite and certain conclusion be reached by comparing St. Luke's Gospel with those of St. Matthew and St. Mark, for the dates of these two books are uncertain. It is true we have a tradition which Clement of Alexandria received from *οἱ ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβύτεροι* (Eus. *HE* vi. 14) that the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke —*τὰ περιέχοντα τὰς γενεαλογίας*—were the first written. The statement of Irenæus (iii. 1. 1) need not be taken as giving the chronological order of the Gospels (as Zahn, *Einl.* ii. 181), for the *ἔπειτα*, on which Zahn lays stress to prove this, only implies that St. John's Gospel was written later than the other three, and though dates are by him assigned to St. Matthew and St. Mark, none is given for St. Luke. External evidence of any value as to the relative dates of the three Synoptic Gospels is therefore not forthcoming; nor does a comparison of them show very clear results, as will be seen below.

The first definite piece of evidence to be considered is that afforded by Ac 1^1, where reference is made to a *πρῶτος λόγος*, which, on the assumption that the Acts and the Gospel were both St. Luke's writings, is the Gospel, the date of which we are discussing. The Gospel is therefore prior to the Acts, but the date of the latter book cannot be regarded as fixed; and the question is further complicated, if we attach any weight to Blass's view that there were two separate editions of the Gospel and the Acts. In any case the date of the Gospel must depend on that of the Acts, and from a careful comparison of the style of these two books Sir John Hawkins (*Horæ Synopticæ*, pp. 143–146) draws the conclusion that 'a considerable time must have elapsed between the writing of the two books,' and that there is 'some internal evidence in favour of placing the Gospel at a considerably earlier date than Acts.'

Another class of arguments is concerned with data afforded by the Gospel itself. (1) Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 387) argues that St. Luke's dating of Tiberius' reign in 3^1 requires us to reckon it from the time when he was associated by Augustus in the empire. Such a method of reckoning, he implies, is so unusual, that 'there can be hardly any other reason' for it 'than that the calculation was made under an emperor whose years were reckoned from his association as colleague.' This was the case with Titus, who began to reign in association with his father in A.D. 71, and therefore Ramsay dates the writing of St. Luke's Gospel about that time, the 'finishing touches' being given while Titus was reigning as sole emperor, A.D. 79–81. This argument, as the writer allows, 'taken by itself would be insufficient.'

(2) The preface to the Gospel (1^{1-4}) states that there had been 'many' previous attempts to draw up a narrative of our Lord's life, and this requires us to assume the lapse of some time after our Lord's death. The length of the interval will depend on whether St. Luke's words are taken to imply *written* narratives. 'The process described in the preface implies a longer period than would fall within the year A.D. 63: it is probable that the common basis of our three Synoptic Gospels was not committed to writing so early' (Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 278).

(3) It is argued that we find in St. Luke's Gospel language so definite and precise in regard to the circumstances of the destruction of Jerusalem, as to suggest to us to date the writing of the Gospel after that event. The three chief passages adduced are $19^{43.44}$ 21^{20} 21^{24}. The first of these passages occurs in the account of our Lord's triumphal entry, on His first coming in sight of the city of Jerusalem. The words are *ἥξουσιν ἡμέραι ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ παρεμβαλοῦσιν οἱ ἐχθροί σου χάρακά σοι καὶ περικυκλώσουσίν σε, καὶ συνέξουσίν σε πάντοθεν καὶ ἐδαφιοῦσίν σε καὶ τὰ τέκνα σου ἐν σοί, ἀνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἔγνως τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου.* Here the concluding words imply that the whole passage is a comment on the verse which precedes, and which contains a statement of our Lord's grief over Jerusalem for her failure to forecast the consequences of her conduct. The whole incident is recorded by St. Luke only, which is a sufficient explanation as to why the words in question should not be found in Mt or Mk, and they form an integral part of the incident. Nor is there anything suspiciously definite in the words, for if our Lord could foretell (Mt 24^2, Mk 13^2, Lk 21^6) such a destruction of Jerusalem that 'not one stone should be left on another,' there is nothing so precise in the words quoted above—which refer to the process by which that destruction was to be effected—as to require that St. Luke has inserted these words—and not only these words, but the whole incident of which they form a part—after the event. In the next passage, 21^{20}, the reference made by St. Matthew and St. Mark to Dn 9^{27} has been dropped, and, instead of the words *ὅταν οὖν ἴδητε τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, κ.τ.λ.*, we find the phrase *ὅταν ἴδητε κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων Ἰερουσαλήμ, κ.τ.λ.* The fact of our having here a *substitution* for words found in St. Matthew and St. Mark, and not, as in the last case, an *addition*, is at first sight more suspicious. But one very reasonable view is that St. Luke is giving here an explanation of the words quoted from Daniel, the exact meaning of which is uncertain even now, while they would probably have been quite unintelligible to St. Luke's Gentile readers. Some support is to be found for this view in St. Luke's use of the word *ἐρήμωσις* at the end of the verse, which may be an allusion to the words *τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως.* Another equally possible explanation of St. Luke's divergence from St. Matthew and St. Mark here is that he is drawing from a different source from that used by the other two Gospels, and this is borne out by numerous other passages in this chapter, where St. Luke's independence is clear. The suggestion, therefore, that the words were inserted after the destruction of Jerusalem is only one of three possible explanations of the facts, and is not required by the words themselves, which, like those in $19^{43.44}$, are not, after all, particularly definite. The last passage mentioned above, viz. 21^{24}, is also peculiar to St. Luke—*πεσοῦνται στόματι μαχαίρης καὶ αἰχμαλωτισθήσονται εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πάντα, καὶ Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἔσται πατουμένη ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν, ἄχρι οὗ πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ ἐθνῶν.* But these words only state the destruction of Jerusalem by the Gentiles, and the further thought of a *terminus ad quem* for the punishment of the Jews is found in Ro 11^{25}, an Epistle earlier than the earliest date assigned to the Gospel.

Not one of the passages just examined seems to the writer to contain anything incompatible with the reference of the Gospel to an early date, and all the arguments appear to rest on a very precarious basis. Another passage ($21^{31.32}$) has been thought to imply that, by leaving out the words *ἐπὶ θύραις* found in the parallel passages of St. Matthew and St. Mark,—*ὅταν ἴδητε ταῦτα γιγνόμενα, γινώσκετε ὅτι ἔγγυς ἐστιν ἐπὶ θύραις*,—St. Luke has emphasized a distinction between the fall of Jerusalem and the end of the world which they have not, and is therefore later. The next verse, stating that 'this generation shall not pass away till all these things be fulfilled,' has, on the other hand, been used (*e.g.* by Weiss, *Introduction to the NT*, ii. 313) as a proof that because it is implied that the 'second coming of Christ was still expected by the first generation of Christians,' therefore the words would not have been allowed to stand in this form after about A.D. 80.

More weight may perhaps be attached to the evidence afforded by the theological terms used in this Gospel—as, for example, the expression *ὁ κύριος* of our Lord (cf. *Ev. Pet.*—some of which point to a date later than that of St. Matthew or St. Mark. Another proof of a similar kind is to be found in the points of contact which have been noticed between this Gospel and that of St. John (see below, p. 167).

These arguments, and that based on the lapse of time required by the circumstances presupposed in the preface, seem to preclude a very early date, and there is little or no evidence to require a late date. We may accept, perhaps, some date about the year 80, that is, the beginning rather than the end of the period (A.D. 78–93) within which it is placed by Harnack (*Chronologie*, p. 246 ff.).

(*b*) *Place.*—In regard to the place at which the Gospel was written, the data are too vague or too late to give a certain conclusion. We have seen above (p. 162) that St. Luke's sphere of preaching was associated with Greece, and so Jerome tells us that '*in Achaiæ Bœothiæque* (*var. lec.* Bithyniæ) *partibus volumen condidit*' (Vulgate, ed. Wordsworth, i. p. 12), and within this district Godet selects Corinth. Another tradition connects St. Luke with Egypt, and accordingly a catalogue of NT books ascribed to Ebed Jesu (14th cent.) assigns the writing of the Gospel to Alexandria. The address to Theophilus, and the mention of St. Luke as St. Paul's companion at Rome, have led Keim, Holtzmann, and others to place it at Rome, but we have no evidence to prove this. Other scholars (as Michaelis, Thiersch, and Blass) have fixed on Cæsarea, others again (*e.g.* Hilgenfeld) have suggested Asia Minor. Many of these places and also others will be found mentioned in the subscriptions to the Gospel found in MSS of the Greek and of the versions (Tischendorf, *NT*, i. 738). We cannot attempt, in the absence of data, to decide finally between the many various alternative suggestions just mentioned, and may agree with Weiss (*Introduction*, Eng. tr. ii. 314) that 'all conjectures as to the place of composition are quite visionary, and have no value whatever.'

3. TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT.—It is necessary to devote a separate section to this point, because of the questions suggested by the 'Western' readings in St. Luke's Gospel. Blass began by basing on the 'Western' readings in the Acts (which see) a theory that they preserve for us another and earlier edition than that with which we are familiar, and in his *Acta Apostolorum secundum formam quæ videtur Romanam* (Leipzig, 1896) he attempted a reproduction of this. Since then he has extended his theory to the Gospel (Leipzig, 1897), but with this important difference, that while the Western text of the Acts gives us the *earlier* of the two editions, the same text of the Gospel is in his opinion the *later* and revised edition. Some explanation is necessary of the difference between the characteristics of the Western text in the two books, for in the Acts these consist largely of additions to the ordinary text, while in the Gospel they are, for the most part, omissions, and Blass's view (*Philol. of the Gospels*, pp. 103, 104) is that the second edition would in each case be shorter, for the author would be naturally 'disposed to omit many unessential circumstances and details.' This is one of several '*a priori* arguments,' as Blass himself calls them (*l.c.* p. 102), for a theory, which is an extension of a view tenable and accepted by many in regard to the Acts, but in the Gospel not established by the facts.

As far as the Acts is concerned, the theory of two editions goes back to J. le Clerc (Clericus), *i.e.* to the middle of the 17th cent. Lightfoot (*Fresh Revision*, p. 29) seems not unfavourable to the view that in the Gospel also 'the evangelist may have issued two separate editions.' It is only within the last few years, however, that this theory has seriously challenged the attention of textual critics. What, then, are the facts as far as the Gospel is concerned? The most striking are the series of omissions which we meet with chiefly in the later, but also more sparsely in the earlier, chapters. In these cases the omissions are made by the same authorities for the most part, sometimes with the support of a MS or version not necessarily 'Western.' As illustrations of such omissions may be quoted, the leaving out in 24^{36} of the words *καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν*, in 24^{40} of the words *καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας*, and in 24^{51} of the words *καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*. From other parts of the Gospel we may quote 10^{41}, where *μεριμνᾷς καὶ θορυβάζῃ περὶ πολλά* is shortened into *θορυβάζῃ*, and the first part of the next verse is omitted, or 12^{19} where (in the parable of the Rich Fool) the words *ἔχεις πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ κείμενα εἰς ἔτη πολλά, ἀναπαύου, φάγε, πίε, εὐφραίνου*, are reduced to *ἔχεις πολλὰ ἀγαθά, ἀναπαύου*. These passages sufficiently illustrate the nature of the omissions. We find also some *additions*, but they are very few. As an instance may be quoted the long addition in regard to the man working on the Sabbath day, which we find in D after 6^4. Of course Blass has to give some explanation as to why in a second draft these omissions or additions were made. Thus, of the insertion at 6^4, he says (*l.c.* p. 154) that it was probably omitted by St. Luke as likely to give offence to Christian or other Jews who would form a 'considerable part' of the Oriental congregations. Of the omission of the account of the Ascension in 24^{51} the explanation given is that it was (*l.c.* p. 140) 'to fit the close of the Gospel (Western text) to the beginning of the Acts (Western text),' or that it 'might be not without some degree of probability ascribed to some reader of Luke who was offended by the repetition in Ac 1' (*l.c.* p. 142). These will illustrate the explanations by which the position is maintained, and in regard to the last it will be noticed that the theory of revision by St. Luke is so far modified that it is referred to 'some reader.'

What are we to say in regard to this theory as an explanation of the facts? We may admit that this Gospel, as having been addressed firstly to an individual, and afterwards to a wider circle, may have had a different textual history from the others, and we may make all allowance for the greater difficulty of establishing the theory in the Gospel than in the Acts, because the Western text in the Gospel differs almost entirely by its omissions, and because the early history of the Synoptic text must be obscure. Further, we may allow that the term 'Western non-interpolations' given to these omitted passages by Westcott and Hort is not applicable, inasmuch as there is, as a rule, little besides the suggestion of 'assimilation' to show that they are interpolations. And yet we must demand further proof before we can accept Blass's view, for the arguments on which it rests are inconclusive.

In the first place, the distribution of the phenomena is at once too wide and too narrow. Similar omissions are found in the same group of authorities, or in some members of the group, in the other Gospels, and elsewhere in the NT. We might quote, for example, the omission of all reference to the Pharisees in Mk 10^2 and other similar instances, but two illustrations from Mt 19^9 and 19^{29} will serve to show not only that the omissions are widely distributed, but also that they are capable of being explained by a divergence in the oral tradition. In the first passage, a number of Western authorities (here with ℵ and other Greek MSS) omit the words *καὶ ὁ ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσας μοιχᾶται*, and in the second many of the same authorities (here with B) omit the words *ἢ γυναῖκα*. The distribution of the instances of omission in Western texts is therefore too wide. It is also too narrow, for the most important of the cases come in the last few chapters of the Gospel, and are sufficiently explained by 'the natural variations between the reports given by two different hearers of a story orally delivered in the presence of both' (Salmon, *Text. Criticism*, p. 148).

Again, it may reasonably be objected that 'if there had been a definite Western written text we should have been able to reproduce it in a way we cannot now' (Salmon, *l.c.* p. 148). There is certainly very early support for many of the readings, so that we may well believe that many of them 'express the form in which the Gospel was read in the Church of Rome in apostolic or sub-apostolic times,' yet still the distribution of the support can not be regarded as indicating two editions, one Eastern and one Western, and to meet this difficulty Blass has to fall back upon the position that in none of our authorities have we 'the Western text while still in its pure form.' Blass, indeed, states that 'besides conflations with the other Gospels, which began at a very early date, conflations [of the Western] with the Oriental text must have been more inevitable than in the case of the Acts.' As instances of such 'conflation,' by which we suppose he means corruption of the Western text by the Eastern, he would, presumably, regard cases where the authorities on which he relies are divided, as, for example, the insertion of *δευτεροπρώτῳ* (6^1), or the word from the Cross (23^{34}). We cannot deny the very early and varied character of the attestation which is found for the Western readings, when we meet with them in Justin, Tatian, and Marcion. We can say that the evidence of these authorities does not allow us to rest on their evidence an edition such as that of Blass.

Again, it is urged by Corssen, whose view is endorsed by Bousset (*Theol. Rundschau*, July 1898), that the language of the Western text, as Blass has constructed it, often shows an absence of marked characteristics of St. Luke's style, and therefore is not the work of St. Luke himself, but 'a revision by another hand.'

Finally, it has to be urged, if not against the theory as a whole, at any rate against Blass's presentation of it, that the selection of one reading in preference to another is often very arbitrary, and that readings are adopted which have only very slight support, or may be shown to be inferior to the ordinary text, and less original. Some of these are collected by Zahn (*Einl.* ii. 354 ff.).

The theory, then, of two editions has been rejected by most scholars, even by those who have accepted it in regard to the Acts, and we must say that it is at any rate unproved. The phenomena on which it rests point at most (Harnack, *Chronologie*, p. 700 n.) to a correction of St. Luke's Gospel, not to two editions of it; they are not peculiar to the third Gospel, and, though they often preserve an original reading, they are far from representing always the best text, and they are sufficiently explained by a consideration of the circumstances under which the Gospels were first circulated and took written shape.

4. THE SOURCES OF THE GOSPEL.—The determination of the sources used by St. Luke must depend partly upon external, partly upon internal, evidence. Under the first head fall the assertions of the preface, and the statements made by early writers as to St. Luke's connexion with St. Paul. Both these are dealt with below. Under internal evidence will be included arguments based on points of style, subject-matter, and arrangement, which involve the question of St. Luke's relation to the other Gospels, and bring us face to face with the Synoptic problem. This problem, which is one of 'extraordinary difficulty and complexity' (Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 281), need be discussed here only so far as it concerns St. Luke.

The first point to consider is the amount of matter which is peculiar to St. Luke, and this may be estimated in different ways.[*]

'According to one calculation, if the contents of the Synoptic Gospels are divided into 172 sections, of these 172 Luke has 127, Matthew 114, and Mark 84: and of these 172 Luke has 48 which are peculiar to himself, Matthew has 22, and Mark has 5. According to another calculation [that of Reuss], if the total be divided into 124 sections, of these Luke has 93, Matthew 78, and Mark 67, and of these 124 Luke has 38 peculiar to himself, Matthew 17, and Mark 2' (Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. xxxv).—Or we may consider the kind, as well as the quantity, of peculiar matter, and then we find that of the recorded miracles 6 are peculiar to St. Luke, 3 to St. Matthew, and 2 to St. Mark; while of the parables, 18 are peculiar to St. Luke, 10 to St. Matthew, and 1 to St. Mark. Or we may take the more mechanical method of reckoning by the number of verses, and we find that St. Matthew (RV) has 1068 verses, of which 337 are not found in St. Mark or St. Luke; St. Mark (RV) has 674, of which 50 are peculiar to this Gospel; while St. Luke (RV) has 1149, of which 612 are only found there. These figures show roughly the state of the case, and we may say that the peculiar matter in St. Luke is rather more than half of the whole Gospel. The following is a list of the more important longer sections found only in St. Luke:—

1–2.
3^{10-14} the questions asked of John the Baptist by 'the multitudes,' 'publicans,' and soldiers.
3^{23-38} the genealogy of our Lord.
4^{16-30} at Nazareth in the synagogue [this may be the narrative of Mt $13^{54\text{ff.}}$ and Mk $6^{1\text{ff.}}$, but is quite independent].
5^{1-11} the miraculous draught of fishes, and call of the disciples.
6^{24-26} the denunciations on the rich, and on those well spoken of.
7^{11-17} the raising of the widow's son at Nain.
7^{36-50} the anointing by the sinner, and parable of the Two Debtors.
8^{1-3} the attendant women, the wife of Chuza.
9^{51-56} the rejection at the Samaritan village.
$9^{61.\ 62}$ a would-be follower.
10^1 the mission of the Seventy [our Lord's address has much in common with the address to the Twelve, Mt $10^{1\text{ff.}}$, Mk $6^{7\text{ff.}}$].
10^{17-20} the return of the Seventy—Satan fallen from heaven.
10^{28-42} parable of the Good Samaritan.

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[*] See, *e.g.*, Westcott, *Introduction to Study of Gospels*^{5}, p. 191 ff.; Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. xxxv ff.; Reuss, *Hist. of Scr.*, Eng. tr. p. 176 ff.; Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ* (from which the calculation by verses is taken).

11^{5-8} parable of the Importunate Friend.
$11^{27.\ 28}$ the comment of the woman on our Lord's teaching.
12^{13-21} the avaricious brother, leading to the parable of the Rich Fool.
12^{47-50}.
13^{1-17} the Galilæans slain by Pilate, the falling of the tower in Siloam, the parable of the Barren Fig-tree, healing of the woman with the spirit of infirmity.
13^{31-33} the message to Herod Antipas.
14^{1-14} healing of the man with the dropsy.
14^{15-24} parable of the Supper [cf. Mt 22^{2}].
14^{28-33} conditions of discipleship—the man building a tower—the king going to war.
15^{8-32} parables of Lost Piece of Silver, and Prodigal Son.
16^{1-12} parable of Unjust Steward.
$16^{14.\ 15}$ the Pharisees' comment, and our Lord's rebuke.
16^{19-31} parable of Rich Man and Lazarus.
17^{7-19} the nature of service—the Healing of the Ten Lepers.
$17^{28.\ 29.\ 32}$ references to Lot.
18^{1-14} the Unrighteous Judge—the Pharisee and the Publican.
19^{1-10} Zacchæus.
19^{11-27} the parable of the Pounds [but cf. Mt $25^{14\text{ff.}}$, the parable of the Talents].
19^{39-44} the Lament over Jerusalem.
$22^{15.\ 27-32.\ 35-38}$ at the Last Supper.
23^{7-12} Jesus sent to Herod.
23^{27-31} the daughters of Jerusalem.
23^{39-43} the penitent thief.
23^{46} the word from the Cross.
24^{13-53} the walk to Emmaus; the appearance to the Eleven, and final instructions; the Ascension (?).

Besides these longer sections there are a number of shorter passages of varying length and importance, which are peculiar to St. Luke, but are embedded in material common to St. Luke and one or both of the other Synoptic narratives. These amount to about 113 verses out of the 612 mentioned above as peculiar to St. Luke, and will be found collected in Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, p. 158 ff. In his 'tentative and to a large extent speculative attempt' Sir John Hawkins classifies these variations as follows:—(1) Cases where Luke may have retained while Matthew omits the occasions of sayings, which they drew from a common source, *e.g.* 11^{1} $13^{22.\ 23}$ etc.; (2) cases where Luke may have retained while Matthew, after his manner, shortens, *e.g.* 7^{4-6}; (3) later insertions from other sources, *e.g.* $22^{43.\ 44}$; (4) independent traditions, or variants of traditions, preserved also elsewhere, *e.g.* 12^{35-38} [cf. Mt 25^{6}, Mk 13^{34}]; (5) additions which may be editorial, bringing out the prayerfulness of Jesus, *e.g.* 6^{12b}, or the right use of wealth, *e.g.* $6^{33.\ 34}$, or heightening the effect of the narrative, *e.g.* 3^{18} 9^{43}; (6) Pauline expressions, *e.g.* 21^{34}; (7) other various additions, probably editorial.

Finally, we have to mention cases where the general agreement of St. Luke with the other Synoptic narratives is clear, but where we find changes of expression or of order made by him in going over common ground. Such will be in part editorial and due to preference for a particular word or to the need of explanation, in part due no doubt to oral transmission. Special mention must also be made of the evidence afforded by 'doublets,' *i.e.* passages of similar content occurring in two different places in the same Gospel, and possibly introduced from different 'sources.' These are carefully examined in Hawkins (*Hor. Syn.* p. 64 ff.), who sums up the evidence as pointing in three directions—(1) to a use of two sources, probably Marcan and Logian; (2) to a freedom of the editors in using their own phraseology; (3) to divergencies between Matthew and Luke which may perhaps imply the use of a special source by the latter.

Such are the data we have to discuss, and in dealing with them in relation to St. Luke's sources two general considerations are clear—(1) that St. Luke must have had some source or sources not used by St. Matthew and St. Mark, and that, as the above references show, not merely for one part of our Lord's ministry, but affecting the whole of it. It is clear also that this source preserved both narrative and teaching: (2) that 'both St. Matthew and St. Luke, and especially St. Luke, have so "worked over" the sources they employed that they frequently represent to us the substance rather than the words of the original documents' (Hawkins, *l.c.* p. 92). This fact obviously increases the difficulty of tracing the sources.

It will only be possible here to state, in a very summary way, the relation of St. Luke (*a*) to St. Mark, (*b*) to St. Matthew, (*c*) to St. John, and then (*d*) to consider this special source or sources.

(*a*) *St. Mark and St. Luke* are mentioned as at Rome together (Col 4^{10-14}, Philem ^{24}, cf. 2 Ti 4^{11}), and, moreover, it is generally agreed that St. Mark's Gospel represents, in the main, the earliest form of the Gospel narrative, and may, therefore, have existed in substance before St. Luke. Weiss, in his *Markus-Evangelium*, established the fact of a relationship between them; and now 'it is unnecessary to prove anew that Luke used Mark' (Harnack, *Chronologie*, p. 652), for 'the use of Mark as one of Luke's sources is a generally-established fact of Gospel criticism' (Feine, *Eine vorcanonische Ueberlieferung*, etc. p. 4). At the same time, the following points require explanation. Things are omitted by St. Matthew and St. Luke which are recorded by St. Mark, *e.g.* Mk $4^{26\text{ff.}}$ $8^{22\text{ff.}}$, or omitted by St. Luke which are recorded by St. Matthew and St. Mark, *e.g.* $6^{45\text{ff.}}$, and we ask, why, if St. Mark was used by St. Luke, were these omitted? Again, we find instances in which St. Matthew and St. Luke agree against St. Mark, and frequent cases where St. Mark and St. Luke are independent in regard to details. A sufficient explanation of these facts would be that St. Luke used not St. Mark as we have it, but the source which underlies St. Mark, an *Ur-markus*, which, by additions and alterations made after St. Luke used it, became our canonical St. Mark. Weiss, however, maintains strongly that it was our St. Mark which St. Luke used, and Sir J. Hawkins explains away the difficulties which have just been urged (1) by showing that many of the omissions from St. Mark, which St. Matthew and St. Luke make (generally independently), may well have been made by them with St. Mark before them, and that 'the results are largely in favour of the view that the Petrine source used by the two later Synoptists was not an *Ur-markus*, but St. Mark's Gospel almost as we have it now' (*l.c.* p. 122); (2) by suggesting that the agreements of St. Matthew and St. Luke against St. Mark, so far as they imply a common source, were first made in one of these two later Gospels, and then were carried across, intentionally or unconsciously, to the other, either by scribes or more probably in the course of oral transmission (*l.c.* p. 176).

(*b*) *St. Matthew and St. Luke* have a great deal in common which is not found in St. Mark, and of this very much is occupied with our Lord's discourses. This general resemblance in material not found in St. Mark may be explained on the hypothesis of Simons, Holtzmann, Wendt, and others, that St. Luke used the Gospel of St. Matthew, or by supposing that both used a common written source, such as the *Λόγια* might have been, or a common oral tradition. It is difficult to believe that St. Luke had St. Matthew's Gospel before him, when we consider their great independence, amounting sometimes to divergence, as in regard to chs. 1 and 2, and the genealogy, or in reference to details of fact as in 18^{35} 24^{4}. We may accept Weiss' statement (*Introduction to the NT*, ii. 294) that 'Luke's acquaintance with and use of the apostolic source of the first Gospel is just as certain as his want of acquaintance with the Gospel itself.' Zahn, indeed, maintains (*Einl.* ii. 402 ff.) not only that St. Luke did not use St.

Matthew, but also that their resemblances in parts where they are not both dependent on St. Mark are sufficiently explained by the use of a common oral tradition. But such close verbal agreement as we find in Mt 6^{24}=Lk 16^{13} and Mt 6^{27}=Lk 12^{25} seems to require the use of a common written Greek source (Feine, *l.c.* pp. 10, 11) and not (as Resch) different Greek translations of an Aramaic original. It is probable that they had collections of our Lord's sayings in several forms and in different connexions. The use of some such sources will explain on the one hand how it is that the peculiarities of St. Luke's style are most rare in reports of discourses common to him and St. Matthew, showing the fidelity with which he has reproduced them, while on the other hand it will explain the differences both in expression and context which exist in the two Gospels. We see how it may have been possible for St. Matthew to bring together all the sayings, as in the Sermon on the Mount, which St. Luke has scattered over many parts of his Gospel. We get also on this hypothesis an explanation of the 'doublets,' and see why 'the original form is preserved sometimes in the first, sometimes in the third Gospel' (Weiss), while the original context also seems to be kept sometimes in St. Luke, sometimes in St. Matthew (Weiss, *l.c.* p. 292 ff.).

(*c*) *St. Luke and St. John.*—We have already noticed (above, p. 164) that St. Luke has more points in common with St. John than either St. Matthew or St. Mark has, but they are not enough to establish any literary relation. Among such points of contact may be noted the allusions to a ministry in Judæa (4^{44} 13^{34}); the Galilæan journey before the death of John the Baptist (wh. see), implied by the term *ὑπέστρεψεν* (4^{14}), 22^{50} (=Jn 18^{10} *τὸ δεξιόν*); the visit of Peter to the sepulchre, 24^{12} (=Jn 20^{3}). Others may be seen by a reference to the ninth of the groups marked in the Ammonian sections, or in Weiss (*l.c.* p. 297 n.) or in Holtzmann (*Joh. Evang.* p. 6 ff.). The result of a comparison does not 'establish a literary relation,' but indicates some common points in the oral tradition used by both.

(*d*) *St. Luke's special source or sources.*—In face of the large amount (see above, p. 165) peculiar to St. Luke, we are justified in *assuming* that St. Luke had access to some source or sources not used by St. Matthew or St. Mark. Our object here must be to try and determine the extent and nature of these sources. This we might expect to do, partly from the *style*, partly from the *subject-matter*. (1) In regard to the first we do not get much help, because St. Luke has so worked over the sources that they are permeated by his own style; nor do the Hebraisms really help us much, if at all, because on one theory (see below, p. 169) they are artificially distributed by St. Luke to suit his subject-matter, while according to another, and, as it seems to the present writer, much truer, view they are not due to the sources but are characteristic of St. Luke's style, and therefore appear in the connecting links between the narratives. It is possible that in such summaries of history or teaching as we get in $4^{14.\,15}$ 4^{44} etc., we may find, as in Ac, the marks of the beginning or end of documents used. Other expressions, like *εἶπεν δέ* (4^{24} 6^{39} etc.) or *ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*, may point in the same direction, but they occur too frequently to be safely used in this way.

(2) The subject-matter has to be considered under the two main divisions of *narrative* and *discourse*. The additions in the narrative begin with the first two chapters, and are scattered over the whole Gospel. Some of these are sufficiently explained by oral tradition, such as the additional references which St. Luke makes to Herod (*e.g.* 3^{1} 9^{9} 13^{31} 23^{7}), which it is not fanciful to connect with Chuza. To the same sort of tradition may be due the additions which we find in the narratives of the Passion and Resurrection (*e.g.* $22^{24\text{ff.}\,51}$ $23^{4\text{-}12.\,27\text{-}31}$ etc.), or the little differences of detail either by way of addition or correction which we find in the material which St. Luke has in common with the other Gospels (see p. 165). This would explain also points of difference in the order in which the material is arranged (*e.g.* $22^{33.\,34}$). We have also, finally, to take into account cases where a narrative is preserved in St. Luke, but in a form quite independent of the other Gospels, *e.g.* those of $4^{16\text{ff.}}$ $5^{1\text{ff.}}$ 7^{36}.

In regard to the discourses we find very puzzling phenomena. A large amount of them is common to St. Matthew and St. Luke and not found in St. Mark. These are no doubt due to some such source as the *Λόγια*, and Sir J. Hawkins (*l.c.* pp. 88, 89) in a 'tentative' list ascribes some 72 passages to this source, apart from the passages derived through St. Mark. These amount to some 185 verses, or about one-sixth of the whole Gospel. The special point which requires notice is that more than two-thirds of this material appears in quite a different connexion in St. Matthew and St. Luke. There is nothing impossible in the supposition that some of this teaching was repeated by our Lord on more than one occasion, and so preserved in both places. Thus the teaching about anxiety occurs in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 6^{25}) and also as a corollary to the parable of the Rich Fool (Lk 12^{22}). The warning against serving two masters occurs in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 6^{24}) and also as an addition to the parable of the Unjust Steward (Lk 16^{13}). As a rule, St. Matthew has collected together (*e.g.* ch. 10) what St. Luke has preserved in connexion with separate incidents; but sometimes the reverse has happened, as in the passage beginning Lk 12^{22}. The 'doublets' already referred to (see p. 166), which occur chiefly in the discourses, are another perplexing factor. These have been most fully dealt with by Sir J. Hawkins (*l.c.* pp. 64–92), and his conclusions have been already given.

These differences in regard to the discourses may or may not have been due to the use of a special source by St. Luke. There can be no doubt as to some special source for a large part of the material found in the long section from 9^{51} onwards, most of which is recorded with only the vaguest references to time and place, and some of which seems obviously out of place, *e.g.* the lament over Jerusalem 13^{34}, while in other places there are marks of a grouping which regards the subject dealt with, such as prayer or the responsibility of riches.

The most elaborate attempt to reproduce the special source used by St. Luke is that of Feine. He regards this special source as an enlarged edition of the collection of discourses common to St. Luke with St. Matthew. To this had been added (1) a number of discourses and parables, (2) a series of narratives. Following Lipsius, he regards it as a Jewish-Christian source, perhaps (*l.c.* p. 154) originating from the Jerusalem community, written in Greek, not after A.D. 70, and later than the common groundwork of the Synoptic Gospels.

A summary of the results of this section would show that the sources which St. Luke used were as follows:—*Firstly*, he follows, over a large part of the narrative, the Gospel of St. Mark, and that probably in the form in which we have it, and not merely some underlying document.—*Secondly*, the matter common to St. Luke and St. Matthew, not found in St. Mark, implies a common written source, and that requirement is to be satisfied by the hypothesis, not of a direct use of St. Matthew by St. Luke, but by the supposition that both have used some one collection, or more, of our Lord's discourses.—*Besides these*, St. Luke seems to have had access to oral tradition, by which he corrects, or supplements, the narratives common to him and the others.—*Lastly*, he used, especially for chs. 1 and 2 and the section beginning with 9^{51}, some special written sources, which do not supply much information as to Galilee, and may have been connected in origin with Jerusalem. This would suit Feine's view that the special source of St. Luke is that used in Ac 1–12, and would explain the points of contact with St. John noticed above. There is nothing to warrant the view that this source was Ebionitic in character, or prejudiced in favour of any peculiar and one-sided presentation of the history and teaching of our Lord.

5. St. Luke and St. Paul.—The passages already quoted (Col 4^{14}, 2 Ti 4^{11}, Philem ^{24}) are evidence of a close connexion of St. Luke with St. Paul at Rome, and if we add to these the 'we-sections' of Ac, St. Luke will be seen to have been with St. Paul for long periods together between the date of Ac 16^{10} and that of 2 Ti 4^{11}. To describe this intimate relationship many different expressions are used by early writers. The Muratorian Fragment (as emended by Westcott) says: *Lucas iste medicus post ascensum Christi cum eum Paulus quasi ut juris studiosum secundum adsumsisset nomine suo ex opinione conscripsit*; Irenæus (*Hær.* iii. 1) says: ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατέθετο, and more generally describes St. Luke (*Hær.* iii. 10. 1, 14. 12) as *sectator et discipulus apostolorum*, and *inseparabilis a Paulo et cooperarius eius in evangelio*; Tertullian (*c. Marc.* iv. 2) describes St. Paul as St. Luke's *illuminator*, and (*ib.* iv. 5) says: *Lucæ digestum Paulo adscribere solent.* Jerome (*de Vir. Illustr.* § 7) says St. Luke was *sectator apostoli Pauli.* None of these terms seems to imply as close a relationship as that between St. Peter and St. Mark in regard to the writing of the Gospel. They do not support the view mentioned by Origen (*ap.* Eus. *HE* iii. 4, vi. 25) that the expression 'according to my Gospel' (Ro 2^{16} 16^{25}, 2 Ti 2^{8}) refers to that of St. Luke. Nor do they lead us to believe that St. Luke derived all or most of his information from St. Paul, for that would be contrary to his own words in his preface. Nor is there any reason, apart from the 'strong personal affection and enthusiastic admiration for Paul' manifest in Ac, to regard the third Gospel as Pauline, in the sense of its being a polemic in favour of Pauline doctrine, or a 'revision of a hypothetical one-sided Pauline primitive Luke, written with a conciliatory aim' (Baur, Scholten, etc.). On the other hand, it is difficult to maintain (as Jüngst, *SK*, 1896, p. 215 ff.) that there are no traces of Pauline influence. The points in which this influence are indicated are firstly in the actual Greek words and expressions used, secondly in the mode in which the teaching is presented. Thus, in regard to the first point, while the vocabularies of the Gospels give 32 words found only in St. Mt and St. Paul, 22 found only in St. Mark and St. Paul, and 21 found only in St. John and St. Paul, we get as many as 101 found only in St. Luke and St. Paul. Again, of the 'characteristic words and phrases' which mark the three Synoptists, the proportion common to St. Paul and St. Matthew is rather above, and to St. Paul and St. Mark rather below one-half, while nearly two-thirds are common to St. Luke's Gospel and St. Paul. These details are taken from Hawkins (*l.c.* p. 154 ff.), but the points of language common to St. Paul and St. Luke have been often collected, and are clearly and most fully tabulated in Plummer (*Commentary on St. Luke*, p. liv ff.). In regard to the actual teaching conveyed in the Gospel, there is evidence that many leading ideas of St. Paul's are to be found in St. Luke. Thus both agree in laying stress on the *universality* of the Gospel, on the need of πίστις, on the χάρις shown by God to men, on the importance of the work of the Holy Spirit. Thus there are many points of contact between St. Luke and St. Paul, both in the language they use and in the teaching which they emphasize. Many passages have been set side by side to show the close relation of St. Luke to St. Paul (Resch, *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte*, p. 121; Plummer, *l.c.* p. xliv; Weiss, *l.c.* p. 312); from among them the following may be selected, 1 Th 5^{6}=Lk 21^{34}, 1 Co 11^{23-26}=Lk $22^{19ff.}$, 1 Co 15^{5}=Lk 24^{34}, 1 Ti 5^{18}=Lk 10^{7}, 1 Co 10^{27}=Lk 10^{8}, Eph 6^{14}=Lk 12^{35}.

6. St. Luke and Josephus.—The relation of St. Luke to Josephus has been discussed in regard to Acts (see vol. i. p. 30), and for the Gospel it is equally true that the differences 'are only conceivable on the supposition of independence.' Belser, in two articles in the *Theologische Quartalschrift* for 1895 and 1896, shows that the arguments of Krenkel (*Josephus und Lucas*, Leipzig, 1894) to establish a connexion, are based partly on resemblances which prove nothing, such as the use of words like πορεύεσθαι and αὐξάνειν, partly on expressions used certainly by both writers, but in different senses. The literary points in common are sufficiently explained in other ways, as, for instance, by the influence of the LXX on both, while many of the alleged instances are 'the common material of various Greek writers.' When we pass from the language used to the facts referred to by the two authors, their connexion is equally unproved. Zahn (*Einl.* ii. 394 ff.) shows this in regard to their references to the Census. Both writers mention it, but the area which it concerned is limited in Josephus to the territory of Archelaus (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 1, ii. 1; *BJ* VII. viii. 1), or at most extends to Syria (*Ant.* XVII. xiii. 5), and is not, as in Lk 2^{1-3}, an event of world-wide importance. Again, Josephus seems to know nothing of the official position of Quirinius in Syria, or at most only vaguely implies it. 'No single historical fact of Luke finds its explanation by means of the hypothesis that he has read Josephus. On the contrary, he often shows a knowledge clearly independent of Josephus in regard to historical events of the time, and in regard to persons more or less prominent' (Zahn, *l.c.* p. 397). As instances may be quoted the facts mentioned in Lk 8^{3} 13^{1} 23^{12}. These, however, only show that, independently of Josephus, St. Luke had detailed information; they do not disprove a use of Josephus. The arguments dealing with the question are summed up by Clemen in his *Chronologie d. Paul. Briefe*, Halle, 1893. We must suppose (with Schürer) either that St. Luke did not use Josephus at all, or that if he did he forthwith forgot what he had learnt from him. As maintaining a connexion between the two writers may be quoted Holtzmann, Krenkel, Keim, Hausrath, and others; while their independence is upheld by such authorities as Schürer, Harnack, and Zahn. In the words of the last-named we need not use further argument to support the view that 'Luke could have followed Josephus as an authority neither in historical matters nor in his Greek style' (*l.c.* p. 397).

7. St. Luke and Marcion.—It is generally admitted by all scholars at the present day that the Gospel of St. Luke was the foundation of Marcion's Gospel, and that Marcion's work was not enlarged so as to become our third Gospel. Such was the unanimous opinion of early and independent witnesses. Thus Irenæus (*Hær.* I. xxvii. 2) speaks of Marcion as *circumcidens id quod est secundum Lucam evangelium*, and (*ib.* III. xii. 12) describes Marcion and others as *decurtantes secun-*

dum Lucam evangelium; Tertullian (*c. Marc.* i. 10. 1) speaks of Marcion as one *qui evangelia corrosit.* The same is true of Epiphanius. It is only in quite recent times, and partly on grounds of textual criticism, that it has been maintained, as by Baur and Ritschl, that Marcion's was the earlier form; but subsequent investigations have established, beyond a possibility of doubt, that the statements of Irenæus, quoted above, give the true state of the case. It is possible to reconstruct, almost in its entirety, from the quotations of Tertullian and others, the form of Marcion's Gospel. This has been done most recently by Zahn (*Geschichte des Kanons*, i. 674 ff., ii. 409 ff.). Omitting all the first three chapters except the chronological data in 3^{1}, Marcion begins with 4^{14}, and, except for one or two small omissions, *e.g.* 7^{29-35}, goes on to 11^{28}. Then, 11^{29-32} (the reference to Jonah), 11^{49-51} (ref. to OT history), 13^{1-9} (the massacre of the Galilæans), 13^{29-35} 15^{11-32} (prodigal son), 17^{5-10} 18^{31-34} (announcement of the Passion), 19^{29-48} (triumphal entry), 20^{9-18} (wicked husbandmen), $20^{37.\ 38}$ (refs. to OT), $21^{1-4.\ 18.\ 21.\ 22}$ $22^{16-18.\ 28-30.\ 35-38.\ 49-51}$ 24^{47-53}, are all omitted. It is to be noticed that Marcion's Gospel differs from that of St. Luke almost entirely by omission, and that many of the omissions are sufficiently explained by Marcion's dogmatic views. Such minor changes as 'all the righteous' for 'Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the prophets' (13^{28}) are also explicable in the same way. The omissions amount in all to some 309 verses. Another point to notice is that St. Luke's Gospel and Marcion's agree so closely that not only has Marcion preserved almost all the sections peculiar to St. Luke, but he has kept the same order. In settling the question which of the two documents was prior, the question of style is decisive. This has been carefully worked out by Sanday (*Gospels in the Second Century*, ch. viii.), and he comes to the conclusion that there is a unity of style, both in regard to words and syntax, so that 'the verified peculiarities of St. Luke's style are found in the portions omitted by Marcion in a proportion of more than one to each verse' (*l.c.* p. 229).

But while there can be no doubt that Marcion's work is only an abridgment of St. Luke's Gospel, made with a doctrinal object, the text preserved in it often contains readings of great interest, which cannot be regarded as arbitrary changes, for they are supported by other early authorities. The assertions of Epiphanius (*Hær.* xlii.) and Tertullian, that Marcion altered the text of his authorities to suit his views, must be qualified by the fact that, in many of the instances mentioned, Marcion's reading finds other support, and represents (according to Blass) one of the two early recensions of St. Luke's Gospel (see above), though not always 'in its pure form.' Blass, in his edition of St. Luke (see p. xliii ff.) has collected together the passages where Marcion departs from D and other authorities. On the ground of the readings they contain, the fragments of Marcion may have an importance; but they throw no suspicion on the integrity of St. Luke's Gospel, from which they are extracted.

8. ST. LUKE'S STYLE.—The verdict of Jerome (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* xxiv. 100) in regard to St. Luke's style is *sermo comptior est et secularem redolet eloquentiam*, and Renan (*Les Évangiles*, ch. xiii.) says of it that St. Luke's 'is the most literary of the Gospels.' The opening verses, 1^{1-4}, arrest our attention at once on account of their classical character, and offer a strong contrast to the verses which follow, which are marked by a number of Hebraisms. This combination of characteristics is traceable in varying degrees throughout the Gospel, but it seems a little fanciful to suggest that St. Luke 'has in places allowed his style to be Hebraistic because he felt that such a style was appropriate to the subject-matter.' It will be necessary to say something as to St. Luke's characteristics of style in regard to vocabulary and syntax, and then to notice some points connected with the Hebraistic usages.

(*a*) An examination of St. Luke's *vocabulary* shows that he uses a very large number of words not found in any other NT writer. Sir John Hawkins* (*l.c.* p. 162 ff.) gives the number of words peculiar to the Gospel as 261, which number is increased by 471 if we add words used only in the Gospel and the Acts. If we further analyze the character of these peculiar words, we find that not quite three-fourths of them occur in the LXX, St. Luke showing himself more familiar with the vocabulary of the LXX than St. Matthew or St. Mark. Out of the same total of peculiar words 38 are marked as non-classical, *i.e.* 'not occurring in Greek writers earlier than the Christian era'; the proportion of non-classical words is therefore about one-seventh, which is the same as that in St. Matthew, and very much smaller than that in St. Mark. But these figures do not adequately represent the classical colouring of St. Luke's style, which may be illustrated in almost every narrative which he has in common with St. Matthew and St. Mark, by his rejection of a non-classical word or expression in favour of one which is classical. Thus, to take a few illustrations, κατακείμενοι ἦσαν (5^{29}) is preferred to the συνανέκειντο of Mt 9^{10} and Mk 2^{15}: twice (4^{33} 8^{27}) a more classical expression is adopted for St. Mark's expression ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ; St. Luke avoids (with St. Matthew) the unclassical word κράβββατος (Mk $2^{4.\ 11}$); παραλελυμμένος is preferred to παραλυτικός. Other instances will be found in Plummer (*l.c.* p. li) or Zahn (*l.c.* ii. 419). A very striking, because obviously unpremeditated, illustration of the classical character of St. Luke's vocabulary will be found by examining in a concordance the distribution of the use of τε in the books of the NT. Besides the greater purity in choice of words, as compared with those used by St. Matthew and St. Mark, another characteristic of St. Luke's vocabulary is his use of medical terms. This point has been carefully examined by Hobart (*The Medical Language of St. Luke*, London, 1882), who has made a long list of words which in the NT occur chiefly or solely in St. Luke, and are also found in Greek medical writers. Plummer (*l.c.* p. lxiv) points out that a very large proportion of these words occur in the LXX, and may have come to St. Luke through that channel, while he allows a large *residuum*, which, taken together, point to a familiarity with medical terms which would be natural in 'the beloved physician.' As illustrations may be quoted συνεχομένη πυρετῷ μεγαλῷ, 4^{38}; ἡμιθανής, 10^{30}; ἔστη ἡ ῥύσις τοῦ αἵματος, 8^{44}; κραιπάλη, 21^{34}. Another point in regard to St. Luke's vocabulary is the amount common to him and St. Paul, which has been alluded to above (see p. 168). The last characteristic which need here be noticed is St. Luke's fondness for compound words, *e.g.* προσαναβαίνειν, ἐπεισέρχεσθαι, etc.

(*b*) In regard to St. Luke's *syntax*, a number of usages recur so frequently that they may be regarded as characteristic. Thus πρός with the accusative is preferred to the simple dative after verbs of saying. This construction occurs 151 times in the Gospel and Acts, and 25 times in the rest of the NT. Another noteworthy usage is that of γίνομαι followed by καί, a finite verb, or an infinitive; these are almost confined to St. Luke, in whose writings they are found more than 50 times. His use of the optative, a mood comparatively rare in the NT, is also remarkable. In regard to conjunctions, his fondness for τε, especially in Ac, has been already noticed; he shares with St. Paul a fondness for the expression δὲ καί. These may be taken as illustrations of points in St. Luke's syntax. Complete lists will be found in Plummer's *Commentary*, which is particularly good and full on the linguistic side, and in the work of Sir John Hawkins already quoted, as well as in the older books of Gersdorf, Vogel, and Holtzmann.

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* Plummer (*l.c.* p. lii), following Thayer's *Lexicon*, p. 703, gives the number rather differently.

(*c*) The *Hebraisms* have attracted especial attention in St. Luke because of the purity of his own style. Their distribution is not altogether explained by saying that St. Luke has preserved them as he found them in his sources, for if they had offended his ear he would no doubt have removed them, with the same freedom which he has shown generally in regard to the use of his authorities. It is pointed out by Zahn (*l.c.* ii. 400) that these Hebraistic turns of expression are used in the editorial links between the narratives, and in these places must be due to St. Luke himself. This is especially true of the expression καὶ ἐγένετο καί . . . or ἐγένετο δέ. This seems to indicate that, though St. Luke, no doubt, did preserve the Aramaic expressions of his sources, or may even (as in the first two chapters) have directly imitated the style of the LXX, yet his Hebraisms are in the main to be attributed to the fact that he was thoroughly imbued with the style of the LXX, and not only (as we have already seen) with its vocabulary. Whatever the cause, the number of Hebraistic usages is very large in St. Luke, and they are scattered over the whole Gospel. Besides the uses of γίνομαι, already mentioned, we may notice his periphrastic use of the participle, his use of ἰδού and καὶ ἰδού, such genitives as ὁ κριτὴς τῆς ἀδικίας (18^6), or ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς ἀδικίας (16^8), and circumlocutions by means of words like πρόσωπον, χείρ, στόμα, etc., as in the expression πρὸ προσώπου (7^{27} 9^{52}).

9. St. Luke's Preface.—This is so unique in character as to claim separate special notice. Lagarde, in his *Psalterium iuxta Hebræos Hieronymi*, tried to show that St. Luke's is modelled on that of Dioscorides in his *Materia Medica*. There does not seem, however, to be much more resemblance than would be natural in two cases where the writers were referring to the work of their predecessors in the same field, and therefore used a number of similar words. The dedication, though unique in form, as far as the NT is concerned, is in itself only an instance, as Zahn tells us, of a custom which prevailed widely at that time among Greeks and Romans.

What is of more importance for us is the evidence afforded by the preface in regard to the early narratives of our Lord's life, in reference to St. Luke's use of his materials, and other similar questions. The exact meaning of each of the more important words has been closely investigated, as well as the inferences which may be drawn from them. This has been done most recently by Blass in his *Philology of the Gospels*. The following points deserve attention: (1) Many had before St. Luke attempted to 'restore from memory' (Blass) a continuous narrative, not necessarily written (διήγησις, see Liddell and Scott). The word ἐπεχείρησαν does not necessarily imply (as Origen) an unfavourable criticism of these 'attempts,' and in the καὶ ἐμοί of v.^{3} St. Luke puts himself on the same footing as these predecessors. (2) These accounts were all second-hand, and handed down orally (so Zahn argues from παρέδοσαν), but based on the evidence of those who had been eye-witnesses from the beginning (*i.e.* of our Lord's public ministry). Are we precluded by these words from supposing that amongst the διηγήσεις of v.^{1} was any apostolic narrative? (3) St. Luke, inasmuch as he had at some earlier date carefully investigated all the facts to the very beginning (ἄνωθεν perhaps goes further back than ἀπ' ἀρχῆς), ventures to write, and that (4) καθεξῆς, *i.e.* either a continuous narrative in contrast with a number of narratives of separate events, or a complete account in contrast with accounts marked by omissions. The word does not necessarily, or probably, imply an order of time. (5) St. Luke's purpose in writing was to supply Theophilus, as yet, perhaps, not a Christian, with a convincing account of the things in which he had been instructed.

The exact meaning of almost every word has been pressed in one direction or another, and correspondingly divergent inferences have been made.

10. Purpose and Arrangement of the Gospel.—The primary *purpose* of the Gospel (as well as of the Acts) is stated in the preface, namely, that Theophilus may have *full* knowledge in regard to the truth of the accounts given to him in the teaching which had been imparted orally—ἵνα ἐπιγνῷς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. What was intended for a single person was adapted for others in similar circumstances, and so St. Luke may have sent out the Gospel in a second form (as Blass holds), though it has been said above that this is unlikely, and not required by the facts of the case, so far as the Gospel is concerned. The principle of *arrangement* is also stated in the preface, in the word καθεξῆς, but the interpretation to be put upon the word is doubtful, and has to be gathered from the Gospel itself.

(*a*) *Purpose.*—The first point which may be regarded as significant of St. Luke's purpose is the way in which the facts are definitely brought into connexion with secular history. He alone among the NT writers mentions a Roman emperor by name (2^1 3^1, Ac 11^{28} 18^2), and in Ac other Roman officials, whose names would fix the dates, to some extent at any rate. Another point which would help to carry conviction (Zahn, *l.c.* ii. 375, 391) is the relatively large number of personal names, not only of prominent actors, but also of those of secondary importance (*e.g.* $2^{1.2}$ $3^{1.2}$ 7^{40} 8^3 19^1 24^{18}). Again, it is a noteworthy characteristic of St. Luke that, while St. Matthew seems to collect our Lord's teaching together, he keeps the sayings in what must have been their original setting, and emphasizes the circumstances which called them forth. This may best be illustrated from the way in which the Sermon on the Mount in St. Matthew is scattered over St. Luke's Gospel. This greater definiteness of circumstance could not fail to impress Theophilus, and from the point of view of conviction is more important than definiteness of place or time, which St. Luke, in the Gospel, as in the Acts, often cannot give. In these ways Theophilus would see the work of 'the critic who has had diligent inquiry made in regard to the external facts of the history, and the historian who makes every effort to bring his figures out of the gloom of vague tradition into the clear light of reality.' Another point which St. Luke emphasizes is the impression which our Lord's teaching and acts made on those who were present; and just as St. John, in order to instil 'the belief that Jesus was the Christ the Son of God,' is careful to record the impression made by our Lord's work, so St. Luke lays stress on the way in which our Lord's hearers were affected (*e.g.* 4^{15} 9^{43} 18^{43} 19^{37} etc.), where these points are not mentioned by St. Matthew and St. Mark. Again, there can be no doubt that St. Luke, all through the Gospel, has in mind the points on which a Gentile reader would want further information or would feel greater or less interest, or would be more or less impressed, and so we meet with explanations, we find teaching of special Jewish interest ignored or curtailed, and methods of argument such as appeal to the OT dropped. These are all illustrated in the next section of this article.

We see, then, how the expressed purpose of the Gospel seems to be carried out as the narrative proceeds, and we may add that probably St. Luke endeavoured to make his work as complete as possible, and did not omit facts or sayings as irrelevant to his immediate object of convincing Theophilus.

Other objects have been assigned to St. Luke of a polemical or conciliatory character, but the features of the Gospel referred to below show that it will be difficult to make a completely consistent theory on these hypotheses.

(*b*) In considering St. Luke's *arrangement* of his Gospel, we may suppose him to have followed in the main the sources which he used, unless he had any occasion to think these were incorrect, or unless his special purpose required him to deviate from them for the sake of clearness. And so we find that over large stretches of the narrative the order of events follows exactly that of St. Mark. (1) After the first two chapters comes the narrative of our Lord's baptism and temptation. Here St. Luke's independence of arrangement is seen in the way in which he finishes the history of John the Baptist before beginning the account of our Lord's ministry. The most important deviation at this period of the narrative is to be found in the previous journey through Galilee, implied in the word ὑπέστρεψεν, 4^{14}. The next point to notice is the visit to Nazareth, 4^{16-30}. In this account the reference to miracles at Capernaum (4^{23}) seems to indicate that it is inserted out of chronological order, unless we suppose these miracles to have happened on the circuit in Galilee just mentioned. In 4^{31} Capernaum is introduced as if it had not been mentioned before, which supports what has just been said. (2) 4^{31}–6^{19}—St. Luke's order follows St. Mark's (1^{21}–3^{19}) exactly, save for the section 5^{1-11} which records the call of the disciples and the miraculous draught of fishes. But there are marks of independence: thus St. Luke assigns no time or place to the healing of the paralytic ($5^{17\text{ff.}}$), unless the connexion with the call of Levi (5^{27}) fixes it. St. Mark and St. Matthew definitely fix it at Capernaum. Again, the two cases which touch Sabbath observance (6^1 and 6^6) St. Luke assigns definitely to two different Sabbaths, St. Mark apparently to the same. (3) 6^{20}–8^3—the record seems to agree generally with St. Matthew. Thus in both the discourse on the Mount (or Plain), 6^{20-49} is followed by, and in both definitely connected with, the healing of the centurion's servant (omitted by St. Mark). St. Luke adds the incident at Nain on the next day (? ; *var. lec.* 7^{11}), and then in both St. Luke and St. Matthew the message of John the Baptist follows, but with no reference as to time. The incident at the house of Simon the Pharisee follows (7^{36}), but with no note of time. The section closes (8^{1-3}) with a circuit of Galilee, ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς. (4) 8^4–9^{17}—St. Luke and St. Mark (4^1–6^{44}) agree, but St. Luke leaves out Mk 3^{20-27}, and inserts later Mk 3^{28-30}. Here St. Matthew seems to support St. Luke's order. As to Mk 3^{31-35}, the visit of our Lord's mother, St. Matthew and St. Luke put it on the same day as the parable of the Sower, but St. Matthew records it before, St. Luke after, the parable. They all agree in inserting here the parable of the Sower, but St. Matthew records the 'other parables' and the private explanation to His disciples, which are only mentioned in St. Mark ($4^{33.\,34}$). The narratives here diverge, because the crossing of the lake, the storm, the events in Gadara are put much earlier in St. Matthew ($8^{18\text{ff.}}$), in connexion perhaps with the *first* visit to Capernaum. St. Mark, however, connects these definitely (4^{35}) with the parable, while St. Luke, perhaps having St. Mark and also the order of St. Matthew before him, records this in the same place as St. Mark, but (8^{22}) with a vague reference to 'one of the days.' It is possible that St. Luke has acted in exactly the same way with regard to the events which follow in St. Matthew (the healing of the paralytic, the call of Levi, the discourse on fasting, Mt 9^{1-17}) after the return from Gadara, but are in St. Luke and St. Mark given earlier. Here, again (5^{17}), St. Luke avoids the need of reconciling the accounts by taking refuge in the phrase 'on one of the days.' The narratives then proceed together (but St. Matthew 8^{18} definitely adheres to his order, for he connects what follows with the call of Levi), but St. Matthew adds to the healing of Jairus' daughter and of the woman with the issue of blood two miracles, 9^{27-34}, which he assigns to the same day. Then follows a departure from Capernaum (Mk 6^{1-6}) to Nazareth, and a circular journey through Galilee mentioned by St. Matthew and St. Mark, though the reason for it is to be found in the miracle recorded only by St. Matthew (9^{31}) requiring his withdrawal. In this connexion (though St. Luke does not state the time) occurs the mission of the Twelve, followed by Herod's comments on the result of that mission. St. Luke omits the account of John's death (which St. Matthew and St. Mark here insert). With the withdrawal to Bethsaida (which St. Matthew attributes to the news of John the Baptist's death) and the feeding of the five thousand this section closes (9^{17}). (5) Here St. Matthew and St. Mark give in general agreement a long section (Mt 14^{22}–16^{12}, Mk 6^{45}-8^{26}), narrating a return to Gennesaret, a visit to Phœnicia, a return through Decapolis to the Sea of Galilee, the feeding of the four thousand, a crossing by ship and back, and (Mk only) a visit to Bethsaida. *All this is practically omitted by St. Luke*, except for one or two sayings which he records in another connexion. (6) At 9^{18-50} the three narratives proceed together in recording, exactly in the same order, the confession of St. Peter (the scene of which St. Luke does not mention), the announcement of the Passion, the Transfiguration, the lunatic boy, another announcement of His death, and the dispute as to who should be greatest (the scene of which St. Luke again does not mention). With this St. Matthew and St. Mark connect a discussion as to offences which St. Luke puts much later, and distributes ($17^{1.\,2}$ 14^{34} 15^{3-7}). (7) The section beginning with 9^{51} is independent of the other accounts, as far as 18^{14}. All the narratives (Mt 19^1, Mk 10^1, Lk 9^{51}) agree in making our Lord leave Galilee at this stage, and St. Matthew and St. Mark add 'for Peræa.' St. Luke mentions a journeying to Jerusalem several times during the section, *e.g.* $9^{51.\,53}$ $13^{22.\,23}$ 17^{11}, and St. John (7^2 10^{40} $11^{7.\,54}$) tells us of visits to Jerusalem and its neighbourhood and withdrawals again; and so some, *e.g.* Wieseler and Ellicott, have supposed that St. Luke here gives us the narrative of three definite journeys to Jerusalem. But St. Luke in this section impresses upon us so often his uncertainty as to time and place, that a chronological sequence seems out of the question; and in certain chapters it is obvious that the subject of prayer, or riches, or something similar, is the link which holds the narrative together. The proposal of Mr. Halcombe (*The Displaced Section of St. Luke*, Cambridge, 1886) to remove bodily a small part of this section, namely 11^{14}–13^{21}, and to insert it after 8^{22}, involves an impossible act of violence to textual evidence with a very slight improvement from the point of view of harmonizing the narratives. (8) At 17^{15} the narratives unite again, and go on to the end of 18^{43}; but St. Matthew and St. Mark are independent in details, and St. Luke adds the incident of Zacchæus, and the parable of the Pounds (19^{1-28}). (9) At 19^{29} the account of the triumphal entry begins, and from here on to the end of the Gospel the question of arrangement does not need to be considered, though even in the events of the last week we may notice (*e.g.* 20^{1}) the same indefiniteness as to time, and resort to summaries (*e.g.* 19^{47} 21^{37}). The main facts recorded are the same in all, though there are, of course, additions and omissions in St. Luke's account as in the others. Blass (*Philology of the Gospels*) and Reuss assume that a different source has been used here also, and certainly St. Luke is independent of St. Matthew and St. Mark in the form in which he gives the eschatological discourses. The general order of events is, however, the same, as must necessarily have been the case. Here and there St. Luke seems to have intentionally put together events separate in time and place. Thus St. Peter's denials are placed together in order 'to add force to the episode' (Lightfoot), and in the account of the appearances after the resurrection St. Luke seems to have summarized and put them all on the day of the resurrection, though he cannot from his acquaintance with St. Paul have been ignorant of the events of 1 Co 15^{5-7}.

We have seen that in the main St. Luke follows the order of the framework found in St. Mark.

Are we in a position now to say, looking back over the Gospel, what St. Luke meant when he purposed to write καθεξῆς? Various theories as to St. Luke's principle of arrangement have been put forward. Plummer (*l.c.* p. xxxvi ff.) says, 'we may assert with some confidence that Luke generally aims at chronological order.' Weiss (*l.c.* p. 301) says the evangelist 'has attempted to divide Jesus' public ministry into work in Galilee, outside Galilee, and in Jerusalem.' Another aspect is represented by Godet and Westcott. The former (*Biblical Studies*, p. 43) regards the Gospel as giving an account of the 'organic growth of the person and of the work,' and Westcott (*Introd. to the Study of the Gospels*, ch. vii. note G) gives an elaborate analysis based on a general development of ideas such as 'marks of the future Church,' 'the universal Church,' etc. Zahn (*l.c.* ii. 366) thinks that 'the chronological exactness is not a clearly marked principle in the representation,' but that, 'in contrast with the disconnected narratives of single incidents,' St. Luke's object is to give Theophilus 'a continuous representation of the history, in which the earlier prepares the way for the later, and makes it intelligible.'

11. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GOSPEL.—These must depend in this, as in any other work, partly on the nature and extent of the sources to which the writer alludes in his preface and the use he makes of them, partly on his consideration of the readers for whom the Gospel was intended, partly on his own personality. It is not always easy to say to which of these causes the different characteristics are to be assigned: thus the selection of particular incidents may be due to the personal interest of St. Luke, or to consideration for the readers he wished to interest, or it may be explained by the fact of his finding them in the sources he used. The following are among the most important characteristics which have attracted attention in the Gospel. Some of them have been alluded to already.

That *St. Luke wrote for Gentiles* is clear. A number of technical terms are explained. Thus we find νομικός (7^{30} 10^{25} etc.) instead of γραμματεύς, ἐπιστάτης where the other evangelists have some other word (*e.g.* 8^{24}). Hebrew names are translated: *e.g.* Γολγοθά (23^{33}) and Καναναῖος (6^{15}). The position of places, especially in Palestine, is often defined, *e.g.* 4^{31} 8^{26} 23^{51}. Expressions which might be misunderstood by Gentile readers are modified or added to: thus (9^{29}) in the account of the Transfiguration μετεμορφώθη (Mt, Mk) becomes ἐγένετο . . . ἕτερον. The appeals to the OT are very few, and the quotations from it are found for the most part in the sayings of our Lord (*e.g.* $4^{4.\,8}$ 7^{27} etc.), which are reproduced by St. Luke from his authorities, or are reminiscences of the LXX, with which, as we have seen, he was very familiar. There are only five references to prophecy, and of these only one (3^{4}) occurs in the narrative of St. Luke. Points in our Lord's teaching which would have no interest for Gentile readers are altogether passed over or curtailed. Thus the teaching, in the Sermon on the Mount, as to the relation of the new to the old Law is omitted; so also is the denunciation of the Jews for observing the 'tradition' at the expense of the Law (Mt 15^{1}, Mk 7^{1}); the rebuke of the scribes and Pharisees (Mt $23^{1\text{ff.}}$) is very much shortened. The frequent allusions to the *universality of the Gospel* are to be explained by the same reference to Gentile readers. St. Luke alone quotes in full ($3^{5.\,6}$) the prophecy of Is 40^{3}—'All flesh shall see the salvation of God'—a prophecy which all the evangelists connect with John the Baptist. Our Lord's first recorded teaching ($4^{24\text{ff.}}$) emphasizes the admission of Gentiles to privileges at the hands of Elijah and Elisha, while His last explanation of the Scriptures at Emmaus (24^{47}) showed that 'repentance and forgiveness of sins were to be preached to all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.' Between these limits a number of passages and incidents might be quoted to establish this characteristic of the Gospel, *e.g.* $10^{25\text{ff.}}$ 13^{29} etc. In accordance with this, we find a 'marked antipathy to exclusiveness and intolerance' (Plummer), and stress laid on those qualifications for entrance to the kingdom, which it is open to all without distinction of birth to attain. On the other hand, the Gospel *is not anti-Jewish*, though the Jews are strongly condemned directly or indirectly, and that in parts of the Gospel peculiar to St. Luke, *e.g.* $10^{31.\,32}$ 16^{15} etc. Jewish expressions are often kept in parables or teaching found only in St. Luke, and the regard for temple worship and observance of the law is not depreciated. All the rites of the law are fulfilled in our Lord's case (2^{21} etc.): He is the 'Son of David' (18^{38} etc.): The commands of the Jewish law are to be observed (5^{14} 17^{14} etc.), and are of lasting importance (16^{29} 18^{20} etc.). In all these and similar cases St. Luke may have been preserving only the language of his sources, but, if his purpose had been to depreciate Judaism, he would no doubt have acted as Marcion did towards the allusions to the OT which he found in St. Luke's Gospel, and removed them.

In regard to the way in which he uses his sources, it has been suggested that St. Luke '*avoids duplicates on principle*' (Weiss, *Introduction*, Eng. tr. ii. 300), and thus gives no account of the cursing of the barren fig tree (Mk 11^{13}, Mt 21^{18}) because he has already narrated a similar event in $13^{6\text{ff.}}$, does not mention the anointing of Mk 14^{3}, Mt 26^{6} because of the narrative of $7^{36\text{ff.}}$, and so on. But this supposed characteristic of 'Sparsamkeit' (as Storr calls it), which may be illustrated by many other omissions of St. Luke (such as the passing over of the miracle of the 4000), has to be taken in connexion with the numerous cases where St. Luke does not show this tendency. Thus we have a twofold dispute as to who should be the greatest 9^{46} 22^{24}; in regard to the miracles and parables we find similar cases of repetition;

and the so-called 'doublets' (*e.g.* $8^{16} = 11^{33}$; $14^{11} = 18^{14}$) show that not only in the narratives, but in our Lord's words, the same characteristic of repetition is found. Other instances may be found in Plummer, *l.c.* p. xxviii, and Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, pp. 64 ff. Another characteristic of the Gospel is *a vagueness as to time and place*, even in cases where the other narratives are more definite. This vagueness may be illustrated from $5^{12.17}$ etc., is perhaps most marked in the section $9^{51ff.}$, and extends even to the account of the passion, *e.g.* 20^{1}. On the other hand, it must be noted that St. Luke very frequently *connects sayings of our Lord with the occasion which called them forth*, which in the other Gospels are collected together with no such reference, as for instance in the Sermon on the Mount, *e.g.* $12^{22ff.}$ $14^{25ff.}$. Mention has already been made of *the stress St. Luke lays on the effect of our Lord's words*, of his *preference for more literary Greek*, of his *fondness for medical expressions*, of his *close connexion in thought, and often in language, with St. Paul.*

In the account of Jesus' life and teaching the symbol of the ox (with which this Gospel is almost universally associated) may perhaps, as the sacrificial animal, represent St. Luke's Gospel as especially that which emphasizes *our Lord's 'gentleness' to the sinner and the outcast.* This may be illustrated from the parables peculiar to St. Luke, *e.g.* the Prodigal Son; or from such incidents as that of the sinner in the house of Simon ($7^{36ff.}$), or that of the penitent robber ($23^{39ff.}$). Most marked, again, are the repeated references to *prayer*, both in the narrative of our Lord's life—in which he records many instances of our Lord praying which are not found in the other narratives (*e.g.* 3^{21} 5^{16} 6^{12} etc.)—and also in parables which he alone records (*e.g.* 11^{5} 18^{1-14}). Again, it is noticeable how much of the teaching preserved for us only by St. Luke deals with *the use of riches.* This is to be regarded rather as proclaiming him as the 'Evangelist of Philanthropy' (Herder), than as proving that St. Luke made use of an Ebionitic source. This characteristic appears in much of our Lord's teaching as recorded by St. Luke, as well as in a large number of the parables peculiar to him, *e.g.* those of Dives and Lazarus, the Rich Fool, the Unjust Steward. It may have had a special appropriateness for a rich man like Theophilus (Zahn, *l.c.* ii. 379), or may have been the outcome of St. Luke's 'great sympathy with the suffering poor, and a great horror of the temptations which beset all the rich.' It does not (as Weiss, *Introd.*, Eng. tr. ii. 309) 'rest on the idea that wealth is pernicious in itself and poverty salutary in itself.' There is no sufficient evidence of St. Luke's *use of an Ebionitic source or sympathy with Ebionitism*, for many of the expressions on which this theory is based are found in the other Gospels; and the latter contain many things not found in St. Luke which have as good a claim to be regarded as Ebionitic: thus they (Mt 13^{22}, Mk 4^{19}), and they alone, speak of 'the *deceitfulness* of riches,' where St. Luke simply says 'riches.' 'There is no evidence that the protest against worldliness is due to some particular source from which he drew and from which the others did not draw' (Plummer).

For a discussion of many difficulties connected with special points in St. Luke, such as the Genealogy, Census, etc., readers are referred to the articles GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST, JESUS CHRIST, vol. ii. p. 645 f., and QUIRINIUS. The present article has aimed at dealing with the main headings of the general topics connected with the Gospel, and giving sufficient illustrations to explain the allusions. The literature given below will enable students to follow out the points more in detail.

LITERATURE.—Besides general books of Introduction to the New Testament, and works on the Canon, the following may be mentioned: (*A*) Commentaries.—A list of these, complete for all practical purposes, may be found in Plummer's volume on the Gospel in the *International Critical Commentary.* This may itself be recommended as the best English Commentary, especially on the linguistic side, in regard to which it is very full and scholarly. Besides these, reference may be made to Schanz, *Das Evangelium des heiligen Lucas*; Godet, *Commentaire sur l'Évangile de St. Luc*; Knabenbauer (in the *Cursus Scripturæ Sacræ*); Meyer, *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar* (last edition of St. Luke by B. and J. Weiss).

(*B*) St. Luke and Josephus.—Clemen, *Die Chronologie der Paul. Briefe*, p. 66 ff., discusses the literature of the question, etc.; see also Zahn, *Einl.* ii. 394, 414. A connexion between St. Luke and Josephus is maintained by Krenkel (*Josephus und Lucas*), Keim (*Aus dem Urchristenthum*), and others, and is denied by Nösgen (*SK*, 1879), Belser (*Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1895, 1896), etc.

(*C*) St. Luke's Style. — Besides grammars of the NT, like Winer, Schmiedel, and Blass, books on NT writers like that of Simcox, and lexicons like that of Thayer (in which a list of words peculiar to St. Luke is given), may be mentioned especially Plummer, Holtzmann, Gersdorf (*Beiträge zur Sprachcharacteristik, etc.*), Vogel (*Zur Characteristik des Lucas nach Sprache und Stil*).

(*D*) St. Luke and Marcion.—The most recent discussion of Marcion's Gospel is in Zahn, *Geschichte des Kanons*, i. 680 ff., ii. 411 ff.; see also Sanday, *Gospels in the Second Century*, ch. viii.; Westcott, *The Canon*, p. 314 ff.

(*E*) The Text of St. Luke's Gospel, with reference to the readings in the later chapters, has been examined by Graefe in articles in *SK*, 1888, 1896, 1898. The theory of a double edition is stated by Blass in his edition of St. Luke's Gospel, and also in his *Philology of the Gospels.*

Amongst other more recent literature of importance for the study of points connected with St. Luke may also be included Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*; Resch, *Das Kindheits-evangelium nach Lucas und Matthäus* ('Texte und Untersuchungen,' x. 5); and Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?*

LL. J. M. BEBB.

LUNATICK.—The Greek vb. σεληνιάζομαι (from σελήνη, the moon) occurs in Mt 4^{24} 17^{15} and nowhere else in class. or bibl. Greek. Its lit. meaning is 'to be moonstruck'; the Vulg. has *lunaticus* and (17^{15}) *lunaticus est*, and Wyc. followed with 'is lunatik.' The other versions chose the same expression (except Tindale's 'is franticke' in 17^{15}),* which also means literally 'is moonstruck.' RV prefers 'is epileptic,' for which it is taken to task by Beckett (*Revised NT*, p. 99). See MEDICINE.

J. HASTINGS.

LUST (Anglo-Sax. *lust* = Ger. *Lust*, 'pleasure,' 'delight') is now restricted to sexual desire, and that special meaning is found also in AV. But the word has a wider application in most passages, and signifies any gross appetite. Thus Ex 15^{9} 'The enemy said, I will pursue . . . my lust shall be satisfied upon them' (נַפְשִׁי, lit. 'my soul,' Amer. RV 'my desire'); Ps 78^{18} 'And they tempted God in their heart by asking meat for their lust' (לְנַפְשָׁם); 78^{30} 'They were not estranged from their lust' (מִתַּאֲוָתָם); 81^{12} 'So I gave them up unto their own hearts' lust' (בִּשְׁרִירוּת לִבָּם). These are all the examples of the subst. in OT. In NT the word most frequently tr. 'lust' is ἐπιθυμία, 'strong desire' of any kind, the special kind being sometimes designated by an adj., 'worldly' Tit 2^{12}, 'fleshly' 1 P 2^{11}. In 1 Th 4^{5} we have the still more general word πάθος; in Ro 1^{27} ὄρεξις, a strong word, but capable of a good or a bad sense; and in Ja 4^{1-3} ἡδονή, in itself no more than 'pleasure.'

In his Com. on 2 P 1^{4}, Thomas Adams says, 'Lust, concupiscence in itself, as it is a faculty of the soul, and gift of God, is not sin; but may be the hand of virtue, or the instrument whereby she works. Keep her at home, and set her on work, to light the candle, and sweep the house; let her be under the correction of grace, and she may prove a chaste virgin, fit to meet the Bridegroom at his coming. Lust is in itself as they write of the planet Mercury in the horoscope of man's nativity; if it be joined with a good planet it makes it better; if with a bad one, it makes it worse. There is a lusting of the Spirit; for "the Spirit lusteth against the flesh," Gal 5^{17}. But it is most commonly taken in the worse sense.' And he proceeds to say that, taken in the worse sense, it may be either 'a particular effect of that grand beldam concupiscence,' *i.e.* uncleanness; or stand 'for the whole general corruption of our nature, prone to all sin.' And on the same verse he comments: 'Ambrose saith of Samson, he could choke a lion, not his lust. Another of Hercules—

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* Sir John Cheke, however (1550), in his preference for Saxon words, chose 'is moond.'

> Lenam non potuit, potuit superare leænam;
> Quem fera non valuit vincere, vicit Hera,

He found the lioness weaker than his lust, and no beast so savage as his harlot.' Whittingham's *New Test.* of 1557 is distinguished from all other versions by translating Jn 1^{13} 'Which are borne not of bloud, nor of the lust of the fleshe, nor of the lust of man, but of God.' The word is no doubt used in the indifferent sense of desire. Cf. Tindale's renderings of Gn 3^{16} 'And thy lustes shall pertayne unto thy husbond, and he shall rule the'; 19^{5} 'Bringe them out unto us that we may do oure lust with them'; 27^{46} 'Yf Iacob take a wife of the doughters of Heth, soch one as these are, or of the doughters of the lande, what lust shuld I have to lyve.' But the difference between the old and the new use of the word is more clearly seen in his tr. of Nu 14^{8} 'Yf the Lorde have lust to us, he will bring us in to this londe'; or of He 10^{6} 'In sacrifices and synneofferynges thou hast no lust'; or in Coverdale's tr. of Is 53^{2} 'When we loke upon him, there shal be no fayrnesse: we shal have no lust unto him.' Again, in his 'Parable of the Wicked Mammon' (*Works*, i. 115) Tindale translates Mt 5^{6} 'Blessed are they which hunger and thirst for righteousness' sake (that is, to fulfil the law), for their lust shall be fulfilled'; and still more striking is the use in *Expositions*, p. 168, 'God hath no rod in his hand, nor looketh sour, but merrily, that it is a lust to behold his cheerful countenance.'

The verb to 'lust' or 'lust after' has the same meanings as the subst., to desire or crave in general, as 1 Co 10^{6} 'Now these things were our examples, to the intent we should not lust after evil things (*εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἐπιθυμητὰς κακῶν*), as they also lusted' (*ἐπεθύμησαν*); passing into the special sense of sexual desire, in Mt 5^{28} 'Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart' (*πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτὴν* [*αὐτῆς*]). Tindale has the verb in a distinctly bad sense in Dt 5^{21} 'Thou shalt not luste after thi neighbours wife,' though not in the sense of sexual desire; it is more colourless in Mt 17^{12} 'but have done unto him what soever they lusted' (so most VSS until AV 'listed,' Gr. *ὅσα ἠθέλησαν*, Rhem. 'whatsoever they would'); and the better meaning is clearly seen in Tindale, *Works*, i. 103, 'For if we were of God we should cleave to God, and lust after the will of God.' Cf. Archbp. Hamilton, *Catechism*, 'The tabil'—'That the special faith suld be loiffit and lustit for mony excellent operations, quhilk it workis in Christen men and wemen'; and Rutherford, *Letters*, No. ccxxvi. 'What heaven can be there liker to hell, than to lust, and green, and dwine, and fall a swoon for Christ's love, and to want it?'

Lusty, meaning stout and vigorous, is perhaps still in good use. It occurs in AV but once, Jg 3^{29} 'all lusty, and all men of valour.' Heb. שָׁמֵן is originally 'fat,' as AVm, and some take the meaning here to be 'wealthy,' but AV is better.[*] Cf. Ps 73^{4} 103^{5} [Pr. Bk.] and *As You Like It*, II. iii. 47—

> 'Though I look old, yet am I strong and lusty;
> For in my youth I never did apply
> Hot and rebellious liquors in my blood.'

J. HASTINGS.

LUSTRATION.—See PURIFICATION.

LUTE.—See MUSIC.

LUZ (לוּז 'almond' or 'bone'; *Οὐλαμμαύς* Gn 28^{19}, *Λοῦζα* 35^{6} etc.; Sam. לוזה, *Luzah* Gn 28^{19} 48^{3}).—**1.** An old Canaanite city, afterwards known as Bethel, Gn 28^{19} 35^{6} 48^{3}, Jos 18^{13} (P or R), Jos 16^{2} (E), Jg 1^{23}. See art. BETHEL. **2.** A place in 'the land of the Hittites,' founded by a man of Bethel, Jg 1^{26}. The mention of the ancient name of Bethel in P is in accordance with the writer's fondness for such archæological details; cf. Gn 23^{2} 35^{27}, Jos 15^{54} 21^{11} (Kiriath-arba), Gn 35^{19} 48^{7} (Ephrath). The meaning of Luz is 'almond,' Gn 30^{37}, as in Arabic; hence in the Talmud the mystical characteristics of the almond are ascribed to Luz, see art. BETHEL, vol. i. p. 277 and n. Another meaning is 'bone'; in particular, a bone of the spine. So in the Midrash *Beresh. Rabba*, § 28, fol. 31b, *lûz* is the bone of the spine out of which man is to be re-fashioned in the world to come; similarly *Meẓora'*, § 18, fol. 14b, Midrash *Ḳoheleth*, fol. 24a. Levy, *NHWB*, *s.v.*, takes this meaning as secondary, 'a bone shaped like an almond'; but Lagarde (*Bildung d. Nomina*, p. 157 f. n.) prefers 'bone' as the original meaning, and supposes that the place was called *Luz* from its resemblance to a backbone. Identifications have been suggested for the Luz in 'the land of the Hittites,' *e.g.* Lizan in Kurdistan (see Neubauer, *Géogr. du Talmud*, p. 394), and Shaizar (לוז=שיזרא=שוזרא, see refs. to Midrash above) in Cœle-Syria on the Orontes (Lagarde, *l.c.*); but these identifications are very doubtful. The place must have been outside Israelite territory and in the north, somewhere in Cœle-Syria or the Lebanon.

G. A. COOKE.

LYCAONIA (Λυκαονία), the land of the Lycaones, was a large country in the centre and south of the great plateau of Asia Minor. It is almost entirely a vast level plain, in the centre of which, like an island in the sea, the lofty Kara-Dagh has been thrown up by volcanic action. On the edge of Kara-Dagh are the remarkable ruins called Bin-Bir-Kilisse (Thousand and One Churches), probably the site of the ancient Barata. The great Lycaonian plain is merged on the north and east in the plains of Galatia and Cappadocia; on the west and south it is limited by hills. The soil has little value except for pasturage; but the immense flocks which grazed on it were a source of revenue to king Amyntas (Strabo, p. 568), and are still a feature that strikes the travellers. Many of the wells supply a brackish water, unfit for human use, but said to have a good effect on the wool of sheep, which drink it freely.

Lycaonia was bounded on the north by Galatia proper, on the west by Phrygia and Pisidia, on the south by the mountainous country that stretches back to the great ridge of Mount Taurus (a country generally summed up in earlier time as Cilicia Tracheia, of which Isauria was part, and in later time as Isauria in its wider acceptation), and on the east by Cappadocia. The exact boundaries varied at different times. On the north a large district, which had originally been part of Lycaonia, was at some uncertain date (perhaps about B.C. 164, see GALATIA, vol. ii. p. 83; *Stud. Bibl.* iv. p. 46 ff.) transferred to Galatia as one of the twelve tetrarchies into which that state was divided (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 95); this district contained fourteen cities, of which Iconium was politically the capital (though ethnographically and in the feeling of its inhabitants it was a Phrygian city).[*] The fact that Iconium was the last city of Phrygia towards Lycaonia (Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 19), and that the frontier must have been in the hill-ridge fringing the vale of Lystra on the north, gives a fixed point in earlier time; but politically and in the estimation of external nations Iconium regularly, and even Laodicea Combusta, and sometimes Tyriaion, were reckoned to Lycaonia. The hilly country west of Iconium was added to Lycaonia when it was constituted a province of the Empire in A.D. 372; but previously that country was Pisidian. The southern boundary ran through the hilly country between Lystra and Isaura (Zengibar Kalessi) and south of Laranda (Karaman). On the east the limit passed near the lake Ak Göl, west of Kybistra (Eregli), and touched Karadja Dagh, thus making Hyde (Kara Bunar, probably) the frontier city of Lycaonia towards Cappadocia on the east and the enlarged Galatia on the north.*

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[*] RV adds Is 59^{10} 'among them that are lusty we are as dead men,' for AV 'we are in desolate places as dead men.' The passage is difficult, perhaps corrupt.

[*] To the authorities quoted under ICONIUM add the words in *Vita S. Artemii* (ascribed to *Joan. Damasc.*), *διελθὼν τοίνυν ἁπᾶσαν τὴν Φρυγίαν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐσχάτην αὐτῆς πόλιν τὸ καλούμενον*

Lycaonia was part of the great Seleucid Empire until B.C. 190. Thereafter it was assigned to the Pergamenian kingdom (Livy, xxxvii.); it was so remote that there is little probability that the sovereignty could ever have been made a reality.† The northern part was probably seized by the Gauls. The southern part, after being probably disputed between native and Galatian chiefs, was given by Aquillius to Cappadocia in 129, temporarily overrun by Pontus in 74, and finally set free by Pompey's victories over Mithridates. At the settlement of the East by Pompey in 64, Lycaonia seems to have been divided into three parts: the north was added to Galatia (Ptol. v. 4, 10); the south-east to Cappadocia, forming an eleventh *strategia* of that country;‡ the west was attached to the Roman Empire, and administered by the governor of Cilicia. The Romans evidently retained a right of way through eastern Lycaonia, for the only practicable road for an army between Iconium the Lycaonian capital and Tarsus the Cilician metropolis passed across it by Kybistra and the Cilician Gates; and Cicero's movements during his governorship of Cilicia show that he could go back and forward at will, and yet that Kybistra was part of Cappadocia. Thus Cicero was brought into close and friendly relations with the Cappadocian royal family, which was practically dependent on Rome, and half subject to it.

The eastern part of Lycaonia long continued subject, at least in name, to the weak Cappadocian rule; but Antipater of Derbe, a friend of Cicero, profited by the troubles of the Civil Wars to make himself an independent chief; and Laranda also was perhaps subject to him (see DERBE). Antony gave the western part (certainly including Lystra and Iconium) § to king Polemon in B.C. 39; but in 36 it was transferred to Amyntas, king of Pisidia, who also received all Galatia proper. Amyntas conquered also Derbe and Laranda, which then were incorporated in the Roman Empire, when Amyntas' kingdom was made into the province Galatia in B.C. 25. Roman soldiers from Laranda were serving in the seventh legion not long after this (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* iii. 2709, 2818). In A.D. 37 eastern Lycaonia was placed under Antiochus of Commagene along with most of Cilicia Tracheia, and acquired the name Lycaonia Antiochiana or (χώρα) Ἀντιοχιανή, which is applied to it by Ptolemy, v. 6. 17, in a Latin inscription, *Corpus*, x. 8660, and probably in a Greek inscription.* In 41 Claudius confirmed this arrangement. It is probable that Laranda was at this time reunited to eastern Lycaonia, for the policy of Antiochus (a far more active king than the Cappadocian monarchs) was carried out along lines of road radiating from Laranda;† and his coins reading ΛΥΚΑΟΝΕC were certainly struck at an important city, and Laranda is the only important Lycaonian city that could be within his kingdom. Ptolemy, indeed, mentions even Derbe in Antiochiana; but the name Claudio-Derbe (like Claud-Iconium) proves that it was in the province under Claudius (A.D. 41–54), and Ptolemy has probably fallen into error owing to the fact that Derbe had been originally attached to the eastern or Cappadocian half of Lycaonia at the settlement of Pompey in B.C. 64.

Under Claudius and Nero, when St. Paul visited the churches of South Galatia, Lycaonia included the two parts, the Roman and the Antiochian. The former contained two cities, Lystra and Derbe, and a number of villages and small towns, chiefly towards the north-east, and it is correctly described (Ac 14^{6}) as 'the cities of Lycaonia, Lystra and Derbe, and the region round about'; in other words, the apostles, when driven out of Iconium, crossed the frontier of Phrygia into Roman Lycaonia. Moreover, the regions of which the vast province Galatia was composed (see vol. ii. p. 87) were called χῶραι, 'Territories'; and, as we have seen, the part of Lycaonia not governed by the Romans was called the Antiochian Territory, or Lycaonia Antiochiana.‡ In distinction therefrom the Roman part would naturally be called by an adjective derived from the provincial name (for a country became part of the Roman Empire in virtue of being included in a province), *i.e.* it would be styled either the Galatic Territory (Ac 18^{23}) or Lycaonia Galatica, a name which does not occur, but is proved by the similar names Galatic Pontus (as distinguished from Polemoniac Pontus, ruled by king Polemon) and Galatic Phrygia (as distinguished from Asian Phrygia in the province Asia). In place of the bare title Λυκαονίαν τὴν Γαλατικήν, the more descriptive and complete appellation τὰς πόλεις τῆς Λυκαονίας, Λύστραν καὶ Δέρβην, καὶ τὴν περίχωρον is used in Ac 14^{6}; and this is practically equivalent to τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν τῆς Λυκαονίας, ἔχουσαν τὰς πόλεις Λύστραν καὶ Δέρβην καὶ περικειμένας κώμας. In Ac 16$^{1-4}$ this Territory is not formally named, but merely its two cities are mentioned in succession. In Ac 18^{23} the expression τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν is explained by Asterius § (bishop of Amaseia in Pontus in A.D. 401) as τὴν Λυκαονίαν καὶ τὰς τῆς Φρυγίας πόλεις.

Both parts of Lycaonia were included in the united province of Cappadocia-Galatia under the Flavian emperors. When they were again divided about 106 by Trajan, it is probable that eastern Lycaonia continued to be connected with Cappadocia. But about A.D. 137 a new province was formed, commonly called the Triple Eparchy, con-

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'Ικόνιον καταντήσας. The other thirteen cities of the Tetrarchy were Savatra or Soatra, and the towns on the west side of Lake Tatta, probably Laodicea and Lystra, but not Derbe (which was in the eleventh Strategia, attached to Cappadocia; see below and Strab. p. 569).

* Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 95, *Ipsius Lycaoniæ . . . Hyde in confinio Galatiæ atque Cappadociæ.*

† Especially as Pisidian Antioch was free (see ANTIOCH).

‡ See Strabo, pp. 535, 537, 569; Ramsay, *Histor. Geogr. of Asia Min.* pp. 336 f., 310 n., 369. It included Derbe (Strabo, p. 569), but certainly not Lystra.

§ Lycaonia is not formally mentioned in this transaction; but it is evidently summed up at this time under the general title of Cilicia, for Strabo, p. 568, mentions that Iconium was ruled by Polemon, while Polemon's kingdom is described simply as μέρος τι Κιλικίας by Appian, *Bell. Civ.* v. 75, and it was owing to this connexion that Iconium is several times called a city of Cilicia (see ICONIUM).

* Fränkel, *Inschriften Pergam.* ii. 451, about A.D. 90, Φρυγίας [Λυκαονίας Ἀντι]οχίας, where Fränkel wrongly restores [Πισιδίας Ἀντι]οχίας, understanding that the district round Pisidian Antioch was under a special administration. But that was not so, and Antioch is included in the preceding term Φρυγίας. Ἀντιοχίας is here equivalent to Ἀντιοχιανῆς (χώρας).

† On his foundations see Ramsay in *Revue Numismat.* 1894, p. 169 ff.

‡ *Lycaonia ipsa* in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 95.

§ *Homil.* viii. (Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* tom. xl.).

sisting of Cilicia, Lycaonia, and Isauria. The Lycaonian cities were formed into a union called Κοινὸν Λυκαονίας, meeting in the worship of the Emperors: the cities composing it struck coins in the name of the Koinon. If Ptolemy is correct, neither Lystra nor Iconium was included in the Triple Eparchy, but both continued to be in Galatia; and, certainly, neither struck coins as member of the Koinon. Derbe, on the other hand, was a member of the Koinon and included in the Triple Eparchy.

The name of the Lycaonians (Λυκάονες) is not used in the Bible, but the adverb Λυκαονιστί, 'in the speech of the Lycaonians,' occurs in Ac 14^{11} (see Lystra). While the villages and small towns probably retained the native language and manners of Lycaonia, the cities such as Iconium and Derbe were likely to have been Grecized between A.D. 334 and 190, and probably had a Seleucid tone in municipal law and customs (see Ramsay, *Historical Comm. on Galatians*, 1899).

A Jewish element was likely to spread in Lycaonia while it formed part of the Seleucid Empire (see Laodicea); on the traces of it see Galatia, vol. ii. p. 88, and Iconium. A strong Christian influence is perceptible in the epigraphy of Western and Northern Lycaonia (*v. ibidem*).

Another people called the Inner Lycaones (Λυκάονες πρὸς ἔνδον), who lived in Phrygia, must be distinguished. It was probably this Phrygian people to whom Bartholomew went as an apostle. Their country was probably Cutchuk Sitchanli Ova, north from Sandykli Ova. Their history is treated in *Cities and Bishops of Phrygia*, pt. ii. pp. 664, 693 ff.

Literature.—Lycaonia is treated by Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, pp. 330-346, 350, 355, 357–360 (in that work, sect. 17 on Castabala should be deleted; there was no Castabala north of Taurus), and better in *Hist. Com. on Galatians*. Many Lycaonian inscriptions are given by Sterrett (who discovered Lystra, and approximately located Derbe) in his *Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*. See also the admirable Hamilton and other travellers.

W. M. Ramsay.

LYCIA (Λυκία) was the country that occupied the south-eastern part of Asia Minor. Though it is a land that presents great interest, as regards antiquities, and history, and physical features, yet it is of singularly little importance in the story of early Christianity.

The country consists to a great extent of lofty mountain masses, rising in many parts, especially in the eastern half, almost direct from the seashore. But in the fertile valleys of the Xanthos and other smaller streams, which break the mountains, or at their mouths, were situated many great cities, such as Patara, Ac 21^1 (a famous seat of the worship of Apollo), and Myra of Lycia, Ac 27^5 * (whose important harbour was a common starting-point or finish of the run across sea between Alexandria and the Asia Minor coast). The number of separate glens, by which Lycia is broken up, prevented it from ever becoming a powerful country. It derived its unity only from foreign conquest. It was ruled by the Persians, and conquered by Alexander the Great; it formed part of the Seleucid Empire, and was disputed between the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kings; it was taken from Antiochus the Great by the Romans in B.C. 188 and given at first to Rhodes, but soon afterwards in 168 it was set free, and for many years it was very prosperous. It is mentioned as one of the self-governing states to which the Romans sent letters in favour of the Jews in B.C. 138–7, 1 Mac 15^{23} (see Caria, Delos). This implies that there were Jewish residents; and the ships carrying pilgrims to and from Jerusalem would touch at Lycian harbours. The numerous cities of Lycia were united in an association called τὸ Λυκιακὸν Σύστημα. Nearly 100 places in Lycia are known to have struck coins, and Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 28, says there were formerly 70 cities, and in his time only 36; but only 23 had votes in the Assembly, called τὸ κοινὸν συνέδριον (six cities of the first rank had three votes each, those of the second class two votes, of the third one). In reward for their fidelity to Rome in the Mithridatic war, the freedom of the Lycians was confirmed by Sulla. They suffered exactions occasionally, especially from Cassius in B.C. 43; but their freedom was again confirmed by Antony. Lycia was formed into a Roman province by Claudius in A.D. 43 on account of the dissensions between the cities; and in 74 was formed into a double province along with Pamphylia (see Mommsen on *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* III. *Suppl.* No. 6737). From 43 onwards the governor was a prætorian *legatus Augusti pro prætore*; and the old *Systema* was transformed into a union called Κοινὸν Λυκίων, meeting in the worship of the Emperors under the presidency of a Lykiarch.

Christianity does not appear to have spread very rapidly in Lycia; and perhaps to this is due the petition against the Christians addressed by the joint province to the Emperor Maximin in A.D. 312 (similar to many petitions from cities of the Empire, replies to which were returned in identical terms, quoted by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* ix. 7). Part of the petition, with a scrap of Maximin's reply, has been found at Arykanda, and is published by Mommsen in *Arch. Epigr. Mittheil. aus Œst.* 1893, p. 93 ff.

An important Jewish inscription of Tlos in Lycia is published in *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 99.

Literature.—See the series of Austrian publications, the result of numerous recent Austrian explorations and excavations, especially Benndorf-Niemann, *Lykia*, in two folio vols., Heberdey, *Opramoas*, etc.; also Pinder-Friedländer, *Beiträge zur ält. Münzkunde*, i. 93–122; Hill, *Catalogue of the Coins of Lycia*, etc.; Fougéres, *de communi Lyciorum*; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsalt.* i. 375 ff.; and the older travellers, especially Fellows and Spratt.

W. M. Ramsay.

LYDDA.—See Lod.

LYDIA (Λυδία).—A purple-seller from Thyatira (Ac 16$^{14. 15. 40}$). It is probable that Lydia was her proper name, as we know that it was a name commonly borne by women (Hor. *Od.* i. 8, iii. 9, vi. 20); but (see p. 177^b) it may have been a designation derived from the district of Lydia, in which Thyatira was situated. The account of Lydia's occupation is confirmed by what we learn from other sources of the purple dyes of this district (cf. Hom. *Il.* iv. 141; Claud. *Rapt. Proserp.* i. 270); and the whole incident in Acts points to her having been a woman of some position and means (cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 214). She had made her home apparently at Philippi, and, having become a Jewish proselyte, was in the habit of resorting to a place of prayer which was located by a riverside, according to a common practice among the Jews for the facility of the frequent ablutions which their worship required (Farrar, *St. Paul*, i. p. 487). There she was found along with certain other women by St. Paul and his companions on their first Sabbath in Philippi; and in her, at any rate, the apostle found a ready listener. The Lord opened her heart, and along with her 'household' she was baptized, the first Christian convert, so far as we know, whom St. Paul made in Europe. (For the significance of her conversion, taken in connexion with those subsequently mentioned in this chap., see Lightfoot, *Philipp.* p. 52 ff.). Lydia's gratitude showed itself in the eager desire (παρεβιάσατο, v.^{15}, cf. Lk 24^{29}) that the apostle and his companions should take up their abode in her house; and it was thither that they again returned after their imprisonment (v.^{40}). To the Church which grew out of this little company St. Paul afterwards addressed the most jubilant of all his Epistles; though the fact that Lydia herself is not mentioned in it by name makes it probable that she had either died or left Philippi in the interval. G. MILLIGAN.

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* Myra is mentioned also in the Bezan text of Ac 21^1.

LYDIA (Λυδία).—A large country on the west of Asia Minor, bounded on the north by Mysia (called in later times Hellespontus), on the east by Phrygia, on the south by Caria, and on the west by the Ægean Sea. It contained the valleys of the Cayster, the lower Hermus with its tributary the Cogamos, and the Caicus, also as much of the lower Mæander valley as lay north of that river. Several of the great Ionian cities, Smyrna, Colophon, Ephesus, etc., were situated on its western coast. The ancient Lydian kingdom, once great and powerful, was conquered by the Persians about 546.* It passed under the rule of Alexander the Great in 334; and it was disputed by his successors after his death, especially between the Pergamenian and Seleucid kings, until the victory of the allied Roman and Pergamenian armies in B.C. 190 near Magnesia, in the Hermus valley, brought it entirely into the Pergamenian kingdom of Eumenes (as is mentioned in 1 Mac 8^{8}). In B.C. 133 Lydia, according to the will of Attalus III., the last Pergamenian king, passed into the Roman Empire, and formed part of the province Asia. The name Lydia henceforth had no political, but only a geographical, ethnological, and antiquarian existence. The generic name Asia alone was employed by the Romans; and Lydia was merged in that great province, which embraced also Caria, Mysia, and Phrygia. Geographers and historians wrote about Lydia; coins (*e.g.* of Tralleis and Kidramos) and inscriptions (*e.g.* *CIG* 5852, 5984, 6855*d*) mention facts of old Lydian religion or mythology; but those who had regard to existing facts of society and government had no reason to use the name.

The avoidance of the name Lydia in the NT to designate the country, though the action often lies in its cities, is due to the fact that the early Church accepted from the first the Roman political divisions (*i.e.* the provinces), and classified accordingly. St. Paul, St. John, and St. Peter always speak of the Roman provinces Achaia, Macedonia, Illyricum, Asia, etc.† So does St. Luke, except that he sometimes uses the Greek instead of the Roman name for each province in the cases where there was a difference, as Hellas for Achaia, Ac 20^{1}. Hence Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardis, etc., are summed up, not as 'cities of Lydia,' but as 'cities of Asia.'

It has, however, been maintained recently by Blass (*Acta Apostolor.* p. 176) and Zahn (*Einleitung in d. NT*, i. p. 132) that Luke uses the name Asia to indicate only the western part of the province. According to Zahn, Luke's Asia is restricted to Lydia, excluding Caria,‡ Phrygia, and Mysia (which were all included in the Roman province Asia). Blass maintains that Luke's Asia included Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, and excluded only Phrygia: the province had that extent from 133 to 84 B.C., and Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 150, wrongly admitted that sense in Ac 2^{9}. But there is no example of the name Asia being used in either of these senses at this time.* Towards A.D. 295 the province Asia was restricted to the country Lydia, and thereafter Asia bore the meaning which Zahn attributes to it in Luke's writings. But in earlier writers Asia has only two senses: (1) the entire continent, (2) the Roman province distinguished by Ptolemy as *ἡ Ἀσία ἰδίως λεγομένη*. Some Greek antiquaries, indeed, maintained that Lydia had once, in very early times, been called Asia; but this was a mere theory; not a single example can be quoted in its favour; and, according to Strabo (p. 627), these antiquaries qualified their theory with a 'perhaps' (*τάχα γὰρ ἡ Μηονία Ἀσία ἐλέγετο*). There appears in Aristides about A.D. 150 a single example (to which no parallel is known) of a third sense, in which, by popular conversational usage, the name Asia is restricted to the greatest and most civilized part of the province, *i.e.* Asia *par excellence*; but even in this narrow sense it includes a considerable part of Phrygia, the Mæander valley from its source, with the rich and important cities, Apameia, Eumeneia, Laodicea, Hierapolis (*λέγω δὲ* (1) *οὐχὶ τὴν μέχρι Μαιάνδρου πηγῶν* [Asia *par excellence*],† (2) *οὐδ' ὅσην ὁ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ὑμῶν κλῆρος ὁρίζεται* [province], (3) *ἀλλ' ἣν ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἱ Ἕλληνες προσεῖπον Ἀσίαν* [continent], xxii. p. 475 C, Dind. vol. i. p. 441), so that it justifies neither Zahn nor Blass. Moreover, it would be unjustifiable to suppose that Luke uses the term in a sense which is not found before Aristides, and is in him indicated as a mere conversational expression. Again, in the letter of the Church of Lugudunum, addressed *τοῖς ἐπ' Ἀσίας καὶ Φρυγίας ἀδελφοῖς* (imitated by Tertullian, *adv. Prax.* 1, *ecclesiis Asiæ et Phrygiæ*), we are not to understand a formal distinction between Asia and Phrygia, as two mutually exclusive divisions. Phrygia was divided between the provinces Asia and Galatia; and Galatic Phrygia, with the Churches of Iconium, Antioch, Apollonia, etc., was closely connected with Asian Phrygia, and is classed along with it as a recipient of the Lugudunensian letter. The name *Ἀσία* occurs very often in inscriptions and coins, both within and beyond the province: usually it means the province, sometimes it has a wider sense (*e.g.* *CIG* 5127, 5913, a coin of Nicomedia boasting itself *πρώτη Ἀσίας*), never a narrower sense. It is used in many inscriptions of Phrygia to include that country, in such cities as Apameia, Laodicea, Eumeneia, etc. (*Cit. and Bish. of Phr.*, No. 8, 292; *CIG* 3957, 3902*b*, etc.). The ordinary usage of the word *Ἀσία* in the province is beyond doubt.

The feminine of the adj. **Lydian** (Λυδία) probably occurs in Ac 16$^{14, 40}$. The Thyatiran hostess of the apostle in Philippi was familiarly known in the town by the ethnic that showed her origin. To every one who considers how common the custom was of using a familiar name (a nickname even) in place of the formal name, this opinion will seem practically certain. Even in honorary inscriptions, and on the bases of statues, the familiar name is often added to the formal name, and is sometimes even expressed in a line by itself and in larger letters,‡ to bring home to the minds of citizens their peculiar and intimate relations to the person honoured. But apparently Paul, who is more formal and distantly courteous than Luke in his allusions to individuals, uses the formal personal name (possibly either Euodias or Syntyche, Ph 4^2), just as he speaks of Silvanus (whom Luke calls Silas), and once of Prisca (Ro 16^3, though he elsewhere, like Luke, employs the familiar diminutive Priscilla; see Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 151 f.).

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* Lydia in Ezk 30^{5} AV is corrected to Lud in RV. See LUD.

† Scholars who hold the North-Galatian theory maintain that in the single case of Galatia St. Paul made an exception to his usual practice, and used that name to indicate, not the Roman province, but the country inhabited by the Asiatic Gauls.

‡ He does not state his view about Caria explicitly; some of his words would place the Carian coast-lands in Asia, and exclude upper Caria; others would exclude all Caria.

* Blass quotes Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* v. xxviii. 102) as an example of the sense which he advocates for Asia, but the passage does not justify him, see *Studia Biblica*, iv. p. 45 f. Zahn quotes it as supporting himself, equally unjustifiably.

† This is much the same as *ἡ κάτω Ἀσία* (Pausan. I. iv. 6; Irenæus, *ap.* Euseb. *HE* v. xx. 5), *i.e.* lower Asia as distinguished from upper Asia (compare *ἡ ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου Ἀσία*, Cis-Tauran Asia, as distinguished from Trans-Tauran, a common phrase); but such expressions imply one part taken out of the whole.

‡ See Marquardt, *Röm. Privatalt.* p. 27; Borghesi, *Œuvres*, iii. p. 503 ff.; Orelli-Henzen, No. 6252; Examples in Asia Minor, Sterrett, *Wolfe Exped.* No. 419 (where read gen. or dat., not accus.); Ramsay, *Amer. Journ. Arch.* 1888, p. 283.

The wealth, the ancient renown, and the high civilization of Lydia (including the central Ionian cities), gave it a specially important influence on the development of Christianity during the first three centuries. The evangelization of Lydia dates from the long residence of St. Paul at Ephesus, Ac 19$^{1ff.}$. The apostle had aimed at evangelizing Asia on his second journey, but was forbidden to preach the word there. Accordingly, he did not touch Lydian soil till he landed at Ephesus while going back to Jerusalem from his second journey (Ac 18^{20}), when he made a promise to return shortly. On this subject see the special articles PERGAMUS, SMYRNA, EPHESUS, SARDIS, THYATIRA, PHILADELPHIA. W. M. RAMSAY.

LYE (Jer 2^{22} RV).—See NITRE.

LYING.—See LIE.

LYSANIAS.—The L. mentioned in Lk 3^1 as being tetrarch of Abilene at the beginning of John the Baptist's ministry is not expressly mentioned elsewhere. Jos. (*Ant.* XV. iv. 1, and *BJ* I. xiii. 1) relates that Lysanias succeeded to the government on the death of his father Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus, and was killed by Antony at the instigation of Cleopatra, on the charge of being in league with the Parthians. This was about B.C. 34. In A.D. 42 (Jos. *BJ* II. xi. 5) the emperor Claudius bestowed on Agrippa, besides the territories given by Augustus to Herod, another kingdom, called that of L. (see also *BJ* II. xii. 8). In *Ant.* XIX. v. 1, Abila of Lysanias is said to have been given by Claudius to Agrippa, and in *Ant.* XX. vii. 1 occur the words Ἀβίλᾳ, Λυσανίᾳ δὲ αὕτη γεγόνει τετραρχία. St. Luke has been accused of inaccuracy in stating that the victim of Antony was tetrarch of Abilene some sixty years after his death. The facts may, however, be set forth as follows:—On the murder of L. the son of Ptolemy, his 'house' (*Ant.* XV. x. 1), was farmed by Zenodorus, and after the latter's death was given by Augustus to Herod (*Ant.* XV. x. 3) B.C. 23. Abila is not mentioned among the districts that passed to the latter, and is, in fact, expressly distinguished from the possessions of Herod (*Ant.* XIX. v. 1). It may well be that Augustus gave this town, with its neighbouring district Abilene, to Lysanias, a descendant of the former possessor. He is known to have acted in a similar way, in at least one instance, when Jamblichus was restored to his father's dominion of Emesa in Parthia, the latter having been killed by Antony. Abila was afterwards called A. of L., and was given by the emperor Claudius to Herod Agrippa I. The title A. of L. seems to point to a restoration of a part of the kingdom of L. to a namesake (probably a descendant) of the original ruler under the name of tetrarch. In defence of this view it may be noticed that the original L. only reigned about five years, scarcely long enough for his name to attach to the district in perpetuity. Again, a medal was found by Pococke in the 17th cent., alluding to a L., both tetrarch and high priest, who could not have been identical with the king. Two inscriptions, also, of the time of Tiberius prove that there was a tetrarch L., a freedman of whom executed some work to which one inscription refers, while the other implies from the mention of L.'s sons that the tetrarch was a descendant of the king. L. was, no doubt, a family name attached to the district of Abilene. The L. mentioned in Lk 3^1 was probably a descendant, possibly a son of the L. killed by Antony, and may have been identical with, or the father of, the L. in the time of Claudius.

LITERATURE.—Godet on Lk 3^1; S. Davidson, *Introd. to NT*, i. 214–220; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 335–339, and literature there referred to. C. H. PRICHARD.

LYSIAS (Λυσίας).—**1.** A Syrian general. After the victory of Judas Maccabæus at Bethhoron (B.C. 166), Antiochus Epiphanes, in departing for Persia, appointed 'Lysias, an honourable man, and one of the seed royal, to be over the affairs of the king from the river Euphrates unto the borders of Egypt, and to bring up his son Antiochus until he came again' (1 Mac 3$^{32f.}$).* His orders were to carry on a war of extermination against the Jews (v.$^{35f.}$). In fulfilment of this commission, Lysias assembled a great army, which was placed under the command of three generals, Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias. Gorgias (or, according to 2 Mac 8$^{23ff.}$, Nicanor) was defeated by Judas at Emmaus (1 Mac 4$^{14ff.}$), and Lysias himself sustained a crushing defeat the following year (B.C. 165) at Bethsura (v.$^{34ff.}$, Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 5). Upon the death of Epiphanes (B.C. 164) Lysias as regent-guardian of the youthful Antiochus Eupator (wh. see) prosecuted the war against the Jews, captured Bethsura, and was besieging Jerusalem, when he had to turn his attention to a rival in the person of Philip, another of the generals of Epiphanes, to whom the latter, before his death, had transferred the care of his son (1 Mac 6$^{14ff.}$). Although he defeated Philip (1 Mac 6^{63}), he was unable to maintain the cause of the youthful king against another claimant to the throne, a nephew of Epiphanes, who afterwards reigned under the title of Demetrius Soter (wh. see). Both Lysias and Eupator, having fallen into the hands of the latter (B.C. 162), were by his orders put to death (1 Mac 7$^{2-4}$, 2 Mac 14^2, Jos. *Ant.* XII. x. 1).

2. See CLAUDIUS LYSIAS. J. A. SELBIE.

LYSIMACHUS (Λυσίμαχος).—**1.** L., the son of Ptolemy, of Jerus., is named in the subscription to the Greek edition of Esther (Ad. Est 11^1) as the translator of that book into Greek. This statement may imply that the additional sections, for which no Heb. original existed, are also to be ascribed to Lysimachus. We are told that the tr. was brought to Egypt in the 4th year of Ptolemy and Cleopatra; but as four Ptolemies had wives named Cleopatra, this information gives hardly any clue to the date.

2. The brother of the high-priest Menelaus, whom he left as his deputy (διάδοχος) in Jerus. when summoned to appear before Antiochus (2 Mac 4^{29}). L. excited the hatred of the populace by his systematic plundering of the temple treasures; and seeing that an insurrection was imminent, he took the precaution of arming 3000 men, and letting them loose upon the people. Many were injured in the riot which took place, and L. himself was killed beside the treasury (*ib.* 4$^{39-42}$).

H. A. WHITE.

LYSTRA was founded as a Roman Colony by Augustus, probably about B.C. 6, when an effort was made to tame and regulate the mountain tribes on the southern frontier of the province Galatia by a system of military roads and garrison cities (Antioch, Lystra, Parlais, Cremna, Comama, Olbasa). These colonies all used the Latin language officially, a rare and noteworthy fact in the eastern provinces, where, as a rule, Rome acquiesced in the use of Greek, and made no attempt to naturalize Latin. The use of the Roman tongue implies that these colonies felt a special pride in their Roman character. Lystra was about 18 miles S.S.W. from Iconium, and a frontier line passed between them (see ICONIUM, LYCAONIA). It was situated in a vale at the northern extremity of the hills which fringe the Lycaonian plain on the south, and which grow higher and higher as one proceeds south, till they rise to the main mass of Mount Taurus. A stream, which flows eastward between gentle hills through the smiling vale, about a mile in breadth, loses itself after some miles in the great plain. On the north of the stream, about a mile north-west from the village of Khatyn Serai, is situated a hillock of considerable extent, on which stood the fortified Colonia; but the buildings of the city certainly extended to east and south, over the lower ground at least, where a large basis bearing an inscription in honour of Augustus stands probably in its original position, and perhaps indicates the site of a sacred place, *Augusteum*, dedicated to the worship of the Emperor and of Rome. The city stood about 3780 ft. above sea-level, and about 430 ft. above Iconium.

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* Cf. 2 Mac 10^{11} 11$^{1ff.}$, where, however, the order of events is less correctly given, the appointment of Lysias to be 'chancellor' and his defeat at Bethsura being placed under Eupator instead of Epiphanes.

The history of Lystra is quite unknown; and even the fact that it was a ;Roman colony was unknown until 1885, when the inscription just mentioned was discovered by the American Sterrett, and Waddington published a coin with Latin legend of COLONIA · IULIA · FELIX · GEMINA · LUSTRA (the Latin form Lustra, instead of the Grecizing Lystra, is usual on coins and inscriptions). Leake guessed the site in 1820; Sterrett proved it in 1885, after intermediate travellers had rejected Leake's view.

Hardly any remains of the old city are now visible above ground. There is an Ayasma (as the Turks call a fountain held sacred by Christians, *ἀγίασμα*) in the low ground south of the hill. Not a trace has been found of the temple of Zeus Propoleos, Ac 14^{13}; but it is possible that the Augusteum was in the precinct of the temple; it was very common to unite the worship of the Emperor to that of the chief god of a city. The Bezan reading, *τοῦ ὄντος Διὸς πρὸ πόλεως*, is perhaps the original Lukan text, and is certainly excellent. The epithet Propoleos was a sort of technical term, often given to gods whose temple stood outside the city; and it is characteristic of Luke's style to use the participle *ὤν* (much in the same way as *καλούμενος*) before a name or technical term; compare Ac 5^{17} 13^{1} 28^{17}. No inscription has yet been found relating to the worship of this god; but the analogy of other great native *hiera* in Asia Minor[*] makes it practically certain that there was a college of priests attached to it; hence the Bezan text *ἱερεῖς* is true to fact, though this reading is rejected by all editors, even including Blass, the special champion of the Western text.

The sacrifice to Paul and Barnabas, in celebration of the Epiphany of the gods, Ac 14^{13}, was probably made at the entrance to the sacred precinct (*πυλών*), and the apostles hearing of it as they were teaching in a public place in the city, ran forth and stopped it.

Lystra, standing in a retired situation some miles away from the high road, was not likely to participate strongly in the diffusion of Greek civilization, when Lycaonia was ruled by the Seleucid kings; but its neighbourhood to Iconium, the capital, would give it some opportunity of sharing in the Grecizing tendency which was such a powerful influence in the Seleucid and Pergamenian cities of Asia Minor. A town doubtless existed there before the Roman colony was founded; but it was only through that event that Lystra became important. The population of the colony would consist of (1) the Latin-speaking colonists, a local aristocracy of soldiers; (2) the native population (*incolæ*), some of whom were doubtless educated in Greek, and strong supporters of the Roman imperial policy; while the majority were evidently uneducated, not well acquainted with Greek, but more naturally expressing themselves in the Lycaonian tongue, and much under the influence of the native superstition, Ac $14^{13\text{ff.}}$.

While the presence of Jewish residents in Lystra is clear, Ac 16^{1}, no synagogue is mentioned there; and the general tone of Ac 14^{8-19} suggests surroundings more thoroughly pagan and less permeated by Jewish influence than in Iconium and Pisidian Antioch. That is natural, for the Jews would be found most in cities which lay on the main trade road, and which had been important in Seleucid times (when the large settlements of Jews were formed).

When Paul at Lystra healed the lame man, in whom he discerned the signs of a capacity for faith, the multitude concluded that the two apostles were the gods Hermes and Zeus, who had visited the abodes of men according to a widespread ancient belief. The same two gods are mentioned in a legend, localized[*] in these regions, as visiting the old couple, Philemon and Baucis, who lived on the Phrygian hills. But afterwards, when hostile Jews from Iconium and Pisidian Antioch came to Lystra (probably in pursuance of the trade which must have existed between those cities and Lystra), they exerted such influence on the weak and changeable superstition of the people that a riot was aroused, and Paul was stoned and thrown out of the city for dead. From 2 Ti $3^{10.11}$ it is clear that Timothy, son of a Jewess Eunice, wife of a Greek, and brought up in the Jewish faith by his mother and his grandmother Lois, saw this occurrence. Certainly he was converted at this time, and doubtless helped to consolidate the newly founded Church in Lystra, which Paul revisited three times, Ac 14^{21} 16^{1} 18^{23}.

In Ac 14^{6} Lystra is named before Derbe, in 16^{1} after it, corresponding to the geographical order necessitated by the direction of the journey in each case.

The connexion between Colonia Lustra and its Roman metropolis Antioch, the military centre of Southern Galatia (which is well illustrated by the dedication of a statue of Concord at Antioch by Lystra, Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition in Asia Minor*, p. 219), was maintained by an imperial road, which is called in the *Acta Pauli et Theclæ* *βασιλικὴ ὁδός*, 'the road made by the *βασιλεύς*,' *i.e.* the Roman emperor. According to that document (which goes back to a very early original, though much corrupted by interpolation), Paul, when expelled from Antioch, Ac 13^{50}, went along the 'royal road' that leads south to Lystra until he came to a place where a cross-road diverged eastwards to Iconium: here Onesiphorus of Iconium was waiting for him, being warned in a vision, and induced him to go to Iconium with him.[†]

Little is known about the post-biblical history of Christianity in Lystra. Artemas, one of the Seventy disciples, is said to have been bishop there according to a late and untrustworthy tradition. Eustochius of Vasada settled at Lystra and was arrested there and carried to Ancyra, where he was executed. The tradition may be good, for it preserves the memory that Lystra was under Ancyra, the metropolis of the province Galatia, until about A.D. 295. Tiberius was bishop of Lystra in A.D. 325 (for a list of later bishops see Gams, *Series episcoporum*, p. 45). See also Lycaonia, Antioch, Iconium. W. M. Ramsay.

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[*] Good examples are found in inscriptions of Pessinus (Körte in *Athen. Mittheil.* 1897, pp. 16, 39) and of the Milyadic Zeus-Sabazios (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pt. i. p. 288).

[*] The name is corrupted in Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 719, our only authority. MSS. have trineius, fineius, thineyus, Ocineius, chineius, tirinthius, tyreneus, thyrneius, etc. These point to Tyrieius or Tyriaius, belonging to Tyriaion, though the editors almost all give the impossible Tyaneius. Tyana was not in Phrygia, and could not give an adj. of this form.

[†] The term royal road, denoting imperial highways as distinguished from common country roads, occurs also in an inscription of Termessos, Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens*, ii. p. 203, and *regalis via* is mentioned at Colonia Comama, *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* iii. *Suppl.* No. 6974.

M

MAACAH (מַעֲכָה 'oppression').—**1.** Father of Achish, king of Gath in the beginning of Solomon's reign, 1 K 2^{39}. It is just possible that he is identical with Maoch מָעוֹךְ of 1 S 27^{2}; but as there is an interval of about fifty years between the events recorded in these two references, we may suppose that Maacah was grandson of Maoch. Jerome (*Qu. Heb.* on 2 S 10^{2}) maintains the identity, but says that M. was *mother* of Achish. **2.** One of David's wives, daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur, and mother of Absalom (2 S 3^{3}, 1 Ch 3^{2}). Jerome (*Qu. Heb.* on 2 S 13^{37}) quotes a Jewish tradition that she had been captured in war by David, who used to raid the Geshurites while he was at Ziklag (1 S 27^{8}). Possibly David's marriage with M. was the ratification of a treaty with her father. **3.** Favourite wife of Rehoboam and mother of Abijam or Abijah (2 Ch 11^{20}). Probably she was named after No. **2.** In 1 K 15$^{2.10}$ she is called the daughter of Abishalom (Absalom, 2 Ch 11$^{20.21}$). But Absalom's only daughter was Tamar; accordingly the LXX of 2 S 14^{27} adds of Tamar that 'she became wife of Rehoboam' (*γίνεται γυνὴ τῷ Ῥοβοάμ*). This is followed by Josephus twice (*Ant.* VII. viii. 5, VII. x. 3). However, in 2 Ch 13^{2} she appears as '**Micaiah**, the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah' (LXX and Syriac, Maacah). It is commonly supposed that Uriel married Tamar, and so Maacah was really Absalom's granddaughter (so Josephus once, *Ant.* VIII. x. 1). 'Daughter' is sometimes used in this way, *e.g.* 2 K 8^{26}. Jerome, however (*Qu. Heb.*), distinguishes her father from David's son. M. retained the position of queen-mother (*gĕbîrah*, *ἡγουμένη*) until the reign of her grandson Asa. He in his reforming zeal deposed her 'because she had made an abominable image (*simulacrum Priapi*) for an Asherah' (1 K 15^{13}, 2 Ch 15^{16}). She was apparently shielded from the extreme penalties resolved on by the people according to 2 Ch 15^{13}. **4.** Son of Nahor by his concubine Reumah (Gn 22^{24}). **5.** One of the concubines of Caleb, son of Hezron (1 Ch 2^{48}). **6.** Wife of Machir, daughter of Benjamin, and whole sister of Huppim and Shuppim (1 Ch 7$^{15.16}$). RVm supposes another Maacah, sister of Machir. The text is corrupt according to *QPB*. **7.** Wife of Jeiel the father of Gibeon (1 Ch 8^{29} 9^{35}). **8.** Father of Hanan, who was one of David's heroes (1 Ch 11^{43}). **9.** Father of Shephatiah, who was captain of the tribe of Simeon in David's reign (1 Ch 27^{16}).

N. J. D. White.

MAACAH.—A small Aramæan kingdom in Gaulanitis, the modern *Jaulân*, east of the Sea of Galilee (G. A. Smith, *HGHL* p. 553; Ewald, *HI* ii. 302). In Dt 3^{14}, Jos 12^{5} the territory in Bashan assigned to Manasseh extends 'unto the border of the Geshurites and the Maacathites.' But in Jos 13^{11} 'the border' of these peoples is included in Manasseh. The discrepancy is explained by the fact that they maintained their independence (Jos 13^{13}, 1 Ch 2^{23}). Accordingly in 2 S 10^{6} the Ammonites hire 'the king of Maacah' (B Ἀμαλήκ) to aid them against David. Here and in v.^{8} Maacah and Tob seem to be distinguished from the other mercenaries, who were Syrians, but in the account of the battle all are alike called Syrians. This is confirmed by the parallel narrative (1 Ch 19^{6}), where their country is called Aram-maacah. It is evident that they were a small community, from a comparison of the numbers furnished by the other allies. Abel-beth-maacah in Naphtali (2 S 20$^{14.15}$, 1 K 15^{20}, 2 K 15^{29}) was probably a colony that went north-west. The names of some **Maacathites** are recorded. Eshtemoa (1 Ch 4^{19}), who occurs in the genealogy of Judah; Ahasbai, father of Eliphelet, one of David's heroes (see *QPB* on 2 S 23^{34} and 1 Ch 11$^{35.36}$, where MT, perh. by textual error, has **Mecherathite**); and Hoshaiah, father of Jezaniah, who was one of the captains of the forces who joined Gedaliah (Jer 40^{8} 42^{1}). See, further, Dillm. on Gn 22^{24}, Dt 3^{14}, Jos 13^{13}, and Driver on Dt 3^{14}.

N. J. D. White.

MAACATHITE.—See preceding article.

MAADAI (מַעֲדַי; B *Μοδεδειά*, A *Μοοδειά*, Luc. *Μοουδειά*).—One of the sons of Bani, who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{34}; called in 1 Es 9^{34} **Momdis.**

MAADIAH (מַעַדְיָה; A *Μααδιάς*, Luc. *Μαασιάς*, B om.).—A priestly family which returned with Zerubbabel, Neh 12^{5}; called in v.^{17} **Moadiah** (מוֹעַדְיָה, A *ἐν καιροῖς* [apparently through a confusion with מוֹעֲדִים 'sacred seasons'], Luc. *Μασαί*).

MAAI (מָעַי; A *Μααί*, Luc. *Μαιά*, B om.).—One of the sons of Asaph who took part in the ceremony of the dedication of the walls, Neh 12^{36}.

MAALEH-ACRABBIM.—Jos 15^{3} AV ('ascent of Akrabbim,' RV). See Akrabbim, and Dead Sea in vol. i. p. 575^{b}.

MAANI (A *Μαανί*, B *Μανεί*, AV Meani), 1 Es 5^{31} = Meunim, Esr 2^{50}, Neh 7^{52}.

MAARATH (מַעֲרָת; B *Μαγαρώθ*, A *Μαρώθ*, Luc. *Μααρώθ*).—A town of Judah, in the mountains, noticed with Beth-anoth, Jos 15^{59}. The site is uncertain. Possibly the name survives corrupted at Beit 'Ummâr, in the Hebron hills west of Tekoa. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxi.

C. R. Conder.

MAAREH-GEBA (מַעֲרֵה גָבַע; B *Μαρααγάβε*, A *δυσμῶν τῆς Γαβαά* [cf. Vulg. *ab occidentali urbis parte*]; AV 'the meadows of Gibeah,' RVm 'the meadow of Geba').—The place from which the men placed in ambush rushed forth to attack the Benjamites (Jg 20^{33}). There can be little doubt that Bertheau, upon the authority of LXX (A) and Vulg., rightly emends MT to מִמַּעֲרַב לְגָבַע '*to the west of* Geba' (better *Gibeah*; see Gibeah, No. **2**). This is accepted by Moore (who, however, reads *Gibeah*), Budde, etc. Studer, following the Peshitta, reads מִמְּעָרַת ג׳ '*from the cave* which is in Gibeah.' J. A. SELBIE.

MAASAI (מַעְשַׂי; B Μαασαιά, A Μασαί, Luc. Μaασεl).—The name of a priestly family, 1 Ch 9[12].

MAASEAS (Μaασaίας). — The grandfather of Baruch (Bar 1[1]) = MAHSEIAH (which see) of Jer 32[12] 51[59].

MAASEIAH (מַעֲשֵׂיָה and מַעֲשֵׂיָהוּ 'work of J″'; on the distribution of this name in different periods of Israel's history and the inferences to be drawn therefrom, see Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, 181, 293).—**1.** A priest of the sons of Jeshua, who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10[18], called in 1 Es 9[19] **Mathelas. 2.** A priest, of the sons of Harim, who had committed the same offence, Ezr 10[21]. Foreign wives had been taken also by **3, 4.** a priest, of the sons of Pashhur, Ezr 10[22], called in 1 Es 9[22] **Massias,** and a layman, of the sons of Pahath-moab, v.[30]. **5.** The father of Azariah who helped to rebuild the wall, Neh 3[23]. **6.** One of those who stood upon the right hand of Ezra at the reading of the law, Neh 8[4], called in 1 Es 9[43] **Baalsamus. 7.** One of those who expounded the law to the people, Neh 8[7], called in 1 Es 9[48] **Maiannas.** He is perhaps the same as the preceding. **8.** One of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10[25]. **9.** A Judahite family name, Neh 11[5], in 1 Ch 9[5] **Asaiah. 10.** A Benjamite family name, Neh 11[7]. **11, 12.** Two priests (B om.), Neh 12[41f.]. **13.** A priest in the time of Zedekiah, Jer 21[1] 29[25] 35[4] 37[3]. **14.** The father of the false prophet Zedekiah, Jer 29[21]. **15.** A Levitical singer mentioned upon the occasion of David's bringing up the ark from the house of Obed-edom, 1 Ch 15[18. 20]. **16.** One of the captains who assisted Jehoiada in the overthrow of Athaliah, 2 Ch 23[1]. **17.** An officer (שֹׁטֵר) of Uzziah, 2 Ch 26[11]. **18.** A son of Ahaz slain by Zichri the Ephraimite, 2 Ch 28[7]. **19.** Governor of Jerusalem under Josiah, 2 Ch 34[8]. **20.** In 1 Ch 6[40] **Baaseiah** (בַּעֲשֵׂיָה) appears to be a textual error for Maaseiah (מַעֲשֵׂיָה), by a not infrequent confusion between ב and מ. J. A. SELBIE.

MAASMAS (Μaασμᾶς, AV Masman), 1 Es 8[43].—Corresponds to SHEMAIAH, Ezr 8[16]. But the text is corrupt, Σaμaίας the Gr. equivalent of *Shemaiah* being inserted later in the verse.

MAATH (Μaάθ).—An ancestor of Jesus, Lk 3[26].

MAAZ (מַעַץ, Μaάς).—A Jewish family name, 1 Ch 2[27].

MAAZIAH (מַעַזְיָה, מַעַזְיָהוּ).—The name of a priestly family which constituted the 24th course, Neh 10[8] (B Νaδειά, A Μaaζειά), 1 Ch 24[18] (B Μaaσaί).

MACALON (οἱ ἐκ Μaκaλῶν), 1 Es 5[21].—The same as MICHMASH; cf. Ezr 2[27] (Μaχμάς). The second syllable is perhaps due to reading M as ΛΛ.

MACCABÆUS (Μaκκaβaῖος).—The surname of Judas, the third son of Mattathias (1 Mac 2[4] 3[1] etc., 2 Mac 5[27] etc.). See next article.

MACCABEES, THE (οἱ Μaκκaβaῖοι).—

i. THE NATIONAL RISING UNDER MATTATHIAS. In B.C. 175 Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes) began to reign over Syria. It was the ill-starred attempt of this monarch to Hellenize the Jews by force that caused the Maccabæan revolt. At the time of his accession to the throne the Greek influences which everywhere followed in the wake of the conquests of Alexander the Great were fast penetrating the life of Palestine; the more aristocratic section of the population were, in particular, affected by them. The advance of Hellenism was, indeed, partially checkmated by the organized resistance of the Hasidæans (Heb. *Ḥăsîdîm* = the 'pious'), who were the champions of the law. But only partially. The leader of the Hellenistic faction in Judæa was Joshua, a younger brother of the noble-minded high priest Onias III. He Grecized his own name into *Jason*, and apparently imagined that the name Jahweh might similarly be converted into Zeus. At Antioch he bargained with Epiphanes that the priesthood should be transferred from Onias to himself, and that he should be authorized to start an active pagan propaganda in Judæa. A gymnasium was accordingly built at Jerusalem, and Greek sports were practised quite close to the temple; even the priests forsook the altar to join in the games (2 Mac 4[11-14]). After holding office for three years (174–171), Jason was supplanted by Menelaus, a Hellenistic Benjamite, who became a complete renegade from Judaism, and obtained the help of Syrian troops against the unyielding Jason. An unfounded rumour that Antiochus had died in Egypt led Jason to attack Jerusalem, and Menelaus had to secure himself in the fortress. The Syrian despot viewed these disturbances as a Jewish rebellion (2 Mac 5[11]), and his arrival at Jerus. in 170 was signalized not only by the flight of Jason, but also by the profanation and robbery of the temple, and by the slaughter of many of the inhabitants. At this time Philip the Phrygian, a man of low *morale*, seems to have been appointed governor of Jerus. so as to assist Menelaus in the task of reducing the Jewish people to a proper degree of subserviency to the king.

Two years later, the Holy City was laid waste by Antiochus' general Apollonius, and Syrian soldiers were placed in the Acra, a stronghold overlooking the temple. The tyrant next gave orders that Jewish rites should cease and heathen customs be observed, under pain of death. An idol altar ('*the abomination of desolation*' [see art. ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION], Dn 9[27]) was set up in the temple, and sacrifices offered to Jupiter; copies of the law were searched for and destroyed; women with the babes they had circumcised were hurled headlong from the city wall. But Antiochus had overshot the mark. Hitherto under the Ptolemies as well as the Seleucidæ religious freedom had been expressly guaranteed to the Jews, and, before the province could be completely Hellenized, the stolid conservatism with which they clung to the observances of the Mosaic law required to be overcome. Experience showed that it could not be overcome. The extreme measures of Antiochus alienated many whose sympathies were largely with the Greek party. In consequence of his avowed intention to extirpate the Jewish religion the whole situation in Palestine was changed, and an invincible spirit of earnest religious patriotism was evoked. Many saved their lives by acquiescing in the king's measures, but others chose rather to die. It soon became clear that nothing would induce Israel to abandon her ancestral worship, and the moral force of her leaders enabled her to withstand the oppressive cruelty of the Syrians, and to achieve what might well have been considered impossible.

The ruthless policy of Epiphanes, adopted at the instigation of some apostate Jews who assured him that the whole country could be Hellenized, speedily brought matters to a crisis. Every village in Palestine was required to set up its heathen altar, and imperial officers were told off to see that heathen sacrifices were duly offered by all the citizens. A brave stand was made by **Mattathias,** an aged priest whom the persecution had driven to live at Modin, a little country town between Joppa and Jerusalem. When ordered to offer the first heathen sacrifice, he refused; and when a base Jew was about to do the unholy deed, Mattathias slew both him and the king's commissioner (Apelles), and pulled down the altar. Calling on all the faithful to follow him, he then with his five sons—John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan—fled into the mountains and raised the standard of rebellion. Many who shared his feelings took refuge in the wilderness, but were pursued by the Syrian officers, who bade them yield or die. Rather than profane the Sabbath by fighting, 1000 fugitives allowed themselves to be slaughtered. But after this, to avoid extermination, Mattathias and his friends resolved to defend themselves from attack even upon the Sabbath. Approving of this spirited policy, a large army of Jews who loved their country and their religion now came forward in their support, and openly began to put down heathenism throughout the land. Mattathias died in B.C. 166 after blessing his sons and solemnly charging them to be zealous for the law, and to give their lives for the covenant of their fathers. The leadership he bequeathed to Judas, who was (? even then, cf. 1 Mac 2^{66}, or only afterwards) surnamed *Maccabaeus*, and whose followers consequently came to be known as the *Maccabees*.

ii. THE NAME MACCABEE.—As already indicated, **Maccabæus** (Gr. Μακκαβαῖος, ? Heb. מַקַּבִּי) is properly the distinctive surname of Judas, third son of Mattathias, and after him leader of the heroic struggle against the Seleucidæ (1 Mac 2^{66} 3^{1} etc.). For long it was held that *Maccabee* was formed from the initials of the opening words of Ex 15^{11}: *mî kh*āmōkhah *b*ā'ēlîm *J*ahweh ('who is like thee among the gods, Jahweh?'), which were further conjectured to have been inscribed by the party upon their banners. But (1) the custom of forming new words in this fashion, although common among the Jews at a later date, does not appear to have as yet come into vogue; (2) the Gr. form as written with κκ cannot upon this theory be accounted for; (3) this interpretation of the name is too vague to fit in with the facts of the history, for in the first instance it was not the watchword of the party, but the individual surname of Judas (ὁ Μακκαβαῖος). In a treatise upon *The Name Machabee* (Leipzig, 1876), S. J. Curtiss contends that the word is derived from *kābāh* and means 'the extinguisher' (of his enemies), after Is 43^{17}; but this derivation also rests on precarious grounds. The original Heb. form having been lost, it is impossible to say with certainty whether it was written with *k* (כ) or with *ḳ* (ק), and in fact the Rabbinical texts use both letters indifferently. Curtiss argues that Jerome's spelling of the word (*Machabaeus*) points to his acquaintance with a Heb. form מכבי, whereas he probably adopted the Latin orthography current in his time. But as the Old Latin version is derived from the Gr. text of 1 Mac, we are thrown back upon the Gr. form of the name as the nearest indication of the original, and this leaves the matter uncertain, as Μακκαβαῖος might come either from a word with *k* or from one with *ḳ*. There remains what must be regarded as the most probable derivation, viz., that from *maḳḳābāh* (מַקָּבָה) = 'hammer.' If, as Ewald supposes, the surnames of the sons of Mattathias were intended merely as distinctive titles, that of 'hammerer' appears to be natural enough; while, on the theory that they were symbolical, the idea conveyed will be that of 'vigorous, sharp-beating warrior,' or 'chivalrous hero.' The case of Charles *Martel* is not strictly analogous, as he derived the title directly from his battle-axe. A better parallel is afforded by the designation of Edward I. as 'Scotorum *malleus*.' Curtiss may be right in his assertion that in the OT (Jg 4^{21}, 1 K 6^{7}, Is 44^{12}, Jer 10^{4}) *maḳḳābāh* denotes an ordinary hammer, and not the heavy sledge-hammer which would more adequately symbolize the impetuosity of Judas; but this circumstance can scarcely be considered decisive. See, further, Kautzsch (*Apocr. u. Pseudepigr. d. AT*, 24, where the interpretation 'hammerer' is adopted).

The name *Maccabee* was gradually widened in scope so as to embrace not only the brothers of Judas and all who were his blood relations, but also all his followers and coadjutors in the desperate struggle against the tyranny of the Syrian kings. It became in a special manner connected with the seven martyred brethren whose story is (rhetorically) told in 2 Mac 6^{18}–7^{42}, and whose moral bravery is reckoned worthy to stand alongside of that shown by those who fell in battle for the same sacred cause. Ultimately the name came to have a purely ideal significance, as, *e.g.*, in the titles of the so-called Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees. At present, however, it is used to designate only the sons and descendants of Mattathias. Although even in this limited sense the term *Maccabees* has established itself in general usage, the proper name of the family is that of **Hasmonæans** (or Asmonæans), derived from *Ḥashmon* (*i.e.* 'fat,' 'rich' = *magnate*; cf. Ps $68^{31\,[32]}$), Gr. Ἀσαμωναῖος (Jos. *Ant.* XII. vi. 1), the great-grandfather of Mattathias. Jewish writers accordingly use this name in preference to that of Maccabees, and among the Jews 1 and 2 Mac are known as 'Books of the Hasmonæans' (ספרי החשמונאים; see Winer, *Realwörterb.* under 'Makkabäer').

iii. THE JEWISH WAR OF INDEPENDENCE LED BY THE MACCABEES.

(i.) **Campaigns of Judas Maccabæus** (166–161).—The prescience of Mattathias in nominating Judas as his successor was fully justified by events. Judas soon proved himself a born general. He united in his own person the faith of Abraham, the zeal of Elijah, the stature of Saul, and the courage of David. He was at once the terror of his enemies and the pride of his nation. 'He angered many kings, and made Jacob glad with his acts, and his memorial is blessed for ever' (1 Mac 3^{7}). In the very first year of his leadership he rose to fame by defeating the Syrian generals Apollonius and Seron: 'Every nation told of the battles of Judas' (1 Mac 3^{26}). Enraged at the defeat of his forces, Antiochus sent his kinsman Lysias with half of his whole army to root out the Jewish nation and divide their land among strangers, while he himself with the rest of the troops crossed the Euphrates to exact tribute and collect money. Lysias at once sent against Judæa a large army under three trusted generals, Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias. The Syrians made so sure of victory that they had arranged for the attendance of slave-dealers to buy up Israelitish prisoners, but Judas and his brethren met them fearlessly. Gathering at Mizpeh, they observed a day of fasting and prayer, and further prepared for battle by organizing their troops into a regular army. With a detachment of 6000 men Gorgias planned a night attack on the Jewish camp; but Judas cleverly removed his forces, smote the main army under Nicanor, set fire to the Syrian camp, and waited for the disappointed Gorgias, whose troops fled on sighting the smoke of the burning tents. Thus 'Israel had a great deliverance that day' (1 Mac 4^{25}). The next year (165–164) Lysias himself led a still larger army against Judæa, but was heavily defeated by Judas at Bethzur, between Hebron and Jerusalem. He then retired to Antioch with the view of enlisting the services of mercenary troops to suppress the rebellion in Judæa. Meanwhile Judas took occasion to restore the temple worship. The shrubs that were growing wild in the courts were cleared away; the idol-altar was destroyed, and a new altar erected; and in general the sacred furniture which had been removed by Antiochus Epiphanes was replaced. On the 25th Chislev (Dec.) 165, just three years after its first defilement, the temple was purified by the offering of the legal sacrifice upon the new altar, and the Feast of the Dedication or Renewal (Jn 10[22]), which continued to be observed until the destruction of the temple by the Romans, was joyfully celebrated for eight days (1 Mac 4[56]). Thereafter Judas went on to fortify the temple mount and the city of Bethzur. These measures conclude the first stage in the history of the wars of the Maccabees. As yet they had never experienced defeat.

The brilliant exploits of Judas and his brethren excited the latent hostility of the neighbouring heathen tribes, who formed a fresh coalition against 'the race of Jacob' (1 Mac 5[2]). Among other and less known parties to the league, Edom and Ammon, both old hereditary enemies of Israel, were routed by Judas. In response to appeals made to them, the Maccabees then busied themselves for a time in delivering from their enemies and lodging safely in Jerus. many Jews who were shut up in the fortresses of Gilead and Galilee. No fewer than 11,000 men were employed in these expeditions—3000 in Galilee under Simon, and the rest in Gilead under Judas and Jonathan. At the fortress of Ephron, which lay in a deep and narrow pass W. of Irbid, the inhabitants tried to obstruct the Jewish caravan, with the result that a way was forced over their dead bodies and through the ruins of their city. In the meantime Joseph and Azarias, who had been left in command at Jerus., foolishly risked an engagement with Gorgias, and were repulsed with the loss of 2000 men. This disaster, however, was counterbalanced by some fresh successes of Judas against the Edomites and Philistines.

No longer under the immediate necessity of defending the Jewish religion, the Maccabees had now begun to act upon the aggressive, and even to aim at the restoration of Jewish independence. Their ambition in this direction must have been stimulated by the unexpected tidings that Antiochus Epiphanes had died in the far East (164). He had appointed Philip, one of his 'Friends,' to act as regent and guardian to the minor Antiochus V., but Lysias had the latter crowned as king with the surname of Eupator. In the year following, by making a determined attack upon the citadel of Jerus. (Acra), Judas forced the Syrian garrison to seek help from Antioch. With a great army, including 32 fighting elephants, Lysias laid siege to Bethzur, and Judas pitched his camp at Bethzacharias, 8 miles nearer Jerusalem. Although in the battle that followed 600 Syrians were slain, the Jews were defeated. This first check to the victorious career of Judas was aggravated by the loss of his brother Eleazar, who, seeing a superbly caparisoned elephant on which he supposed the king to be riding, stabbed the animal from beneath, but was himself crushed by its fall. The Syrians had already got possession of Bethzur, and were on the point of taking the temple mount—it was a Sabbatic year, and the Jews were scarce of food—when Lysias was obliged to hasten to Antioch, where Philip, who had returned from the East, was trying to assert his title to the regency. Lysias therefore quickly made peace with the Jews, and granted them by treaty the religious liberty for which they had fought so well (1 Mac 6[60]). As the formal abandonment of the attempt to abolish the Jewish religion by force, this concession marks the second important stage in the Maccabæan struggle. Hitherto it had been a war for religious freedom; henceforth it became a war for political independence.

Lysias soon got the better of Philip, but was himself, along with his ward, put to death by Demetrius I., the rightful heir to the Syrian throne, who had until now been kept as a hostage at Rome. The Greek party in Judæa induced Demetrius to send an army under Bacchides to install the ungodly Alcimus as high priest. Content to have 'a priest of the seed of Aaron,' the Hasidæans no longer opposed the Syrian rule, but sixty of them were treacherously slain in one day. After Bacchides had returned to Antioch without being able to entrap Judas, the latter speedily got the upper hand in Judæa, and Alcimus had once more to solicit help from Syria. In consequence, Judas again met Nicanor in battle. The Syrian general was beaten, and fell back upon Mount Zion, where he insulted the priests and threatened to burn the temple. But in a further battle at Adasa (161), near the pass of Beth-horon, he was himself slain, whereupon his army fled. The head and hand of the insolent blasphemer were hung up in front of one of the temple gates (Gorionides, iii. 22. 12; cf. 2 Mac 15[31ff.]), and the 13th Adar—the day of the battle—was afterwards kept as 'Nicanor's day' (1 Mac 7[49]). At this stage Judas, despairing of being long able to continue the unequal contest with the imperial armies, sent ambassadors to the Roman Senate to invoke their protection against the Syrians. But although a treaty was concluded, nothing came of it beyond a warning to Demetrius that further interference with the Jews would mean war with Rome. Before the Roman rescript could have reached Antioch, the contingency dreaded by Judas had actually occurred. About six weeks after the defeat of Nicanor, Demetrius sent a fresh army into Judæa under Bacchides. Only 3000 men were with Judas at Elasa, and most of these deserted him on seeing the vastly superior strength of the Syrian host. Even the noble 800 who stood by him vainly tried to dissuade him from risking a battle, and Elasa became 'the Jewish Thermopylæ.' In spite of all they could do, Judas and his little band were overcome by sheer weight of numbers. 'Judas fell, and the rest fled' (1 Mac 9[18]). His body was carried off by his brothers and laid in the sepulchre of his fathers at Modin (161).

In the long roll of Israelitish worthies we meet with no more striking personality than that of Judas Maccabæus. His piety was manifest to all; his motives were pure and unselfish; he fought for God's glory and his country's good. His unselfish devotion was equalled by his military genius. For seven years, with an enthusiasm that never flagged, and a generalship which has never been surpassed, he led the Jews to victory, and died only when even the noblest heroism could not conquer.

(ii.) **The leadership and high-priesthood of Jonathan** (161–143).—The friends of Judas, now openly persecuted by the Hellenizers, chose as their leader his brother Jonathan, surnamed *Apphus* (Gr. *’Απφοῦς*, *’Αφφοῦς*, *Σαπφοῦς*, *Σαφφοῦς*; Syr. *Ḥappūs* =? *cunning*), who filled the post with much shrewdness and success. Wishing as yet to avoid Bacchides, Jonathan withdrew to the wilderness of Tekoah, and sent his eldest brother John to deposit the baggage with the friendly Nabathæans. But his plans miscarried, and John fell a prey to a robber clan at Medaba. Jonathan crossed the Jordan and avenged his brother's death, but meanwhile Bacchides seized the fords and lay in wait for him. The Jews thus found themselves in a situation of extreme peril; they saved their lives, however, by swimming across the river. The return of Bacchides to Antioch on the death of Alcimus (160) so strengthened the Maccabæan party, that within two years their opponents had once more to call in his aid. Although they had given Bacchides the assurance that Jonathan should be made his prisoner, the vigilance of the Maccabees made them cognizant of the plot, and, after slaying about fifty of the conspirators, Jonathan and his followers entrenched themselves at Bethbasi. This stronghold Bacchides could not reduce; he was repulsed with loss by Simon, while Jonathan at the head of a detached squadron overran the adjacent territory. Stung by these reverses, Bacchides slew many of the Hellenizers, accepted Jonathan's proposals for peace, and departed into Syria vowing that nevermore would he interfere in Judæa (*c.* 156). 'And the sword ceased from Israel' (1 Mac 9^{73}). For four years Jonathan dwelt at Michmash, 'judging' the people and restraining the Hellenizers.

Unbroken peace prevailed until Alexander Balas entered upon a contest with Demetrius I. for the Syrian crown (153). Happily for Jonathan, who coveted the power and prestige belonging to the high-priesthood, the office was vacant, and this dispute over the succession to the throne of Syria paved the way for his appointment. The rival claimants looked upon him as a valuable ally, and he knew how to exploit them. While availing himself of certain privileges granted in a letter from Demetrius, he unhesitatingly threw in his lot with Alexander Balas, who appointed him high priest, invested him with the order of 'King's Friend,' and sent him a purple robe and a diadem, the emblems of royalty. The same year, at the Feast of Tabernacles, Jonathan assumed the sacred vestments, and showed himself zealous in support of the pretender Balas. Demetrius now, in turn, offered the most tempting inducements (including the abolition of taxes, the cession of Acra, the release of Jewish prisoners, the enlargement of Judæan territory, the payment of Jewish soldiers, and liberal allowances for the temple and the building of the city walls) by way of outbidding his rival; but Jonathan, sceptical as to the sincerity of Demetrius, and aware that the claims of Balas were favoured at Rome, wisely adhered to his former choice. In a pitched battle which ensued, Demetrius was defeated and slain. By the distinguished reception given to Jonathan at Ptolemais, where in B.C. 150 Alexander Balas married the Egyptian princess Cleopatra, and the rebuff given to certain apostates from Mosaism who would fain have impeached him in the royal presence, the triumphant Balas showed his gratitude to his Jewish ally. He also 'wrote him among his Chief Friends, and made him a captain and governor of a province' (1 Mac 10^{65}). Subject to the suzerainty of Syria, this gave him both the civil and military command in addition to his spiritual supremacy as high priest. When, three years later, Demetrius II. came from Crete as the avenger of his father, his cause was espoused by Apollonius, governor of Cœle-Syria. But though Balas had proved a worthless king, and had forfeited the esteem of his subjects, Jonathan stood loyally by him. Taking the field against Apollonius, he captured Joppa, won a battle at Ashdod (where he destroyed the temple of Dagon), and received the submission of Ascalon. In gratitude for these services Alexander presented Jonathan with the gold buckle worn by princes of the blood, and with the city of Ekron. But no effort on the part of Jonathan could save Balas from ruin after his father-in-law Ptolemy Philometor turned against him. In a pitched battle Balas suffered defeat, and fled into Arabia; but a sheikh of that country 'took off Alexander's head and sent it to Ptolemy' (1 Mac 11^{17}). Within three days thereafter the latter died of wounds received in the battle, and Demetrius II. became king (145).

At this juncture Jonathan boldly laid siege to the Acra, and as boldly appeared to answer for himself before the king at Ptolemais. The result was a triumph of diplomacy. He carried costly gifts to the king; and the latter, instead of treating him as a rebel, 'gave him pre-eminence among his Chief Friends' (1 Mac 11^{27}), besides confirming him in the high-priesthood, and conceding to the Jews several of the benefits vainly offered by his father as the price of their adherence. Shortly afterwards Jonathan rendered useful service by sending 3000 men to Antioch to aid in putting down an insurrection which had broken out there against Demetrius. The latter promised on his part to withdraw the Syrian garrisons from Jewish strongholds, but as he failed to keep this promise Jonathan went over to the side of Tryphon, a former officer of Alexander Balas, who took advantage of the unpopularity of Demetrius to bring forward Antiochus, the son of Balas, as a claimant for the throne, and who was careful to confirm Jonathan in all his dignities. Jonathan lost no time in bringing the entire territory between Gaza and Damascus into subjection. Proceeding to Galilee he met the generals of Demetrius, whom, after a threatened reverse, he routed on the plain of Hazor (*c.* 144). At Hamath the Syrians rallied once more with a view to invade Palestine, but Jonathan marched beyond Lebanon and dispersed them.* He afterwards subdued the Arab tribe of the Zabadæans on the Antilibanus, returned home by way of Damascus, and set himself, in concert with the elders, to strengthen the defences of the country. The walls of Jerus. were heightened, and an effort made to isolate the Acra. Meanwhile Simon had not been idle in his new capacity of commander (στρατηγός) of the Palestinian seaboard (1 Mac 11^{59}). Besides capturing Bethzur, he reduced and garrisoned Joppa, and fortified Adida.

Tryphon now began to distrust the Maccabees, who had certainly not been unmindful of their own interests while 'they fought for one king against the other, and in the name of the Syrians drove the Syrians out of Judæa and the adjacent regions.' Surmising that the Jewish high priest would probably oppose his plans for usurping the throne, he suddenly marched into Palestine and encamped at Bethshan (Scythopolis), where Jonathan prepared to give him battle. But by dint of artful flattery Tryphon induced even this wary Jewish prince to walk into a trap. Having entered Ptolemais, accompanied by only 1000 men, Jonathan found himself a prisoner and had his escort slain. Thus ended his period of active service. Although a high priest of Israel, he was in no sense a religious man; it was merely as a ladder to power that the priest's office had attractions for him. He was essentially a worldly ecclesiastic. And if he was less disinterested in his aims than his brother Judas, he was also less scrupulous in his methods of realizing them. But few men in his circumstances could have achieved more, either for themselves or for their party. By the adroitness with which he turned to account the mistakes of his enemies, he more than made up for the lack of strength in his adherents.

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* According to 1 Mac $12^{1\text{-}23}$ Jonathan at this juncture sent ambassadors to Rome, Sparta, etc., to conclude or renew friendly treaties, and they were favourably received by the Romans. Nothing is said regarding their reception at Sparta, but the writer gives what purports to be a 'copy' of Jonathan's letter, and also—apparently as a precedent—one of a letter formerly written by the Spartan king Arius I. to the Jewish high priest Onias I. (B.C. 323–300). Wellhausen (*IJG*³ p. 266, n. 3) rejects the whole passage as unhistorical. Unquestionably, it interrupts the main narrative in a very awkward manner; but if Jonathan, who was at the time a Syrian officer, *did* send such an embassy, it must have been because he had no faith in the stability of the Syrian kingdom.

(iii.) **The administration of Simon, ethnarch and high priest** (143–135).—Simon (Gr. *Συμεών*, *Σίμων*), surnamed Thassi (*i.e.*, probably, 'the zealous'), the sole surviving son of Mattathias, now gallantly stepped into the breach and was chosen leader (*ἡγούμενος*) at a public assembly in Jerusalem. He had already justified the epithet, 'man of counsel' (*ἀνὴρ βουλῆς*, 1 Mac 2^{65}), and had also distinguished himself as commander of the Mediterranean coast from Tyre to Egypt. Tryphon soon marched against Judæa, but found himself intercepted by Simon at Adida. He thereupon offered to release Jonathan for 100 talents of silver and the custody of two of his sons as hostages; but although Simon judged it best to accede to these terms, Tryphon neither set Jonathan at liberty nor relaxed his hostile attitude. All his efforts to reach Jerus., however, were rendered futile by the sleepless vigilance of Simon. Even a projected night expedition with supplies for the famished garrison in the Acra was wrecked by a heavy fall of snow. Soured and baffled, he marched into Gilead and gave vent to his spleen by putting Jonathan to death at Bascama (143). The body of Jonathan was afterwards interred at Modin, where Simon erected a magnificent family monument, which appears to have been a landmark for sailors on the Levant (1 Mac 13^{29}). See MODIN.

Now that the war was over, Simon applied himself with increased vigour to the task of strengthening the defences of Judæa. Having made Joppa a Jewish port, he laid siege to the fortress of Gazara, and expelled the heathen inhabitants. Shortly afterwards he appointed his son John commander-in-chief of his forces, with a residence at Gazara. He achieved another noteworthy triumph in the reduction of the Acra, the garrison being at length starved into surrender, and instituted an annual festival in commemoration of the day of his entry into this last outpost of the Syrians—the 23rd Iyyar (May) 142. Meanwhile Tryphon had murdered the puppet-king Antiochus VI. and seized the Syrian crown. Demetrius II. was also embroiled in difficulties with the Parthians, who were invading his north-eastern provinces, and Simon took occasion to demand complete exemption from taxes. This Demetrius consented to grant, along with an amnesty for all political offences. Thus was 'the yoke of the heathen' removed, and the wished-for goal of Jewish independence actually reached (1 Mac 13^{41}).

Simon was the founder of the high-priestly dynasty of the Hasmonæans. In B.C. 141, in recognition of his great services to the nation, he was formally appointed leader, high priest, and governor (*ἐθνάρχης*); and these offices were declared to be hereditary in his family until 'a faithful prophet' should otherwise direct (1 Mac 14^{41}). The popular decree embodying these honours was engraven on a memorial tablet placed in the temple. The first year of Simon's reign was made the beginning of a new era, according to which Jewish legal documents were dated. He also renewed the friendship and treaty with Rome and Sparta, and struck his own coins like any other independent sovereign. The beautiful picture of 1 Mac 14^{4-15} shows how well Simon utilized the years of peace that followed, in building up the prosperity of Judæa. In peace he was even greater than in war. He possessed the administrative genius. Under his wise and beneficent sway the country enjoyed a period of moral and material well-being for which there is no post-exilic parallel. He was the patron of trade and agriculture; the friend of liberty, justice, and religion; a brave soldier, a worthy priest, and a gifted statesman.

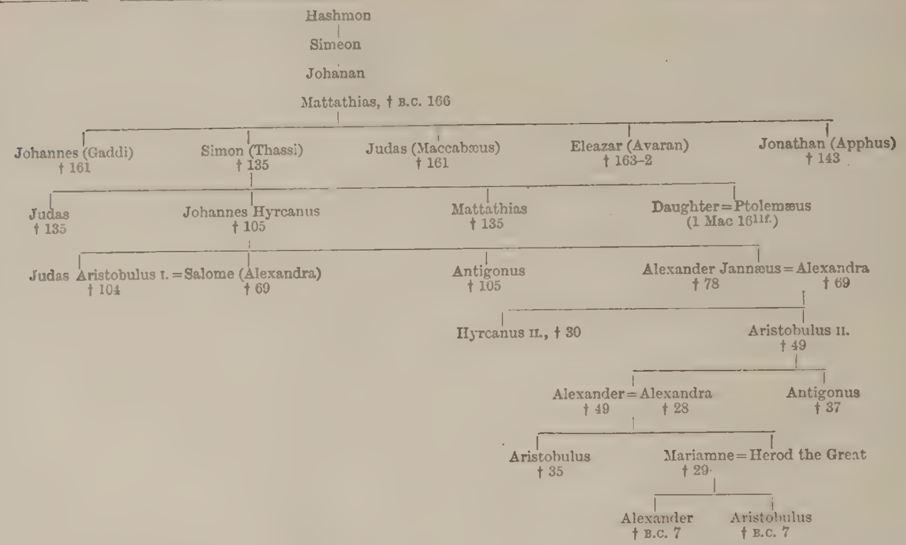
After four or five years, during which 'Israel rejoiced with great joy' (1 Mac 14^{11}), Simon was once more caught in the meshes of Syrian politics. Although Demetrius II. was a prisoner in Parthia, his younger brother Antiochus VII. (Sidetes) took up arms against Tryphon, and wrote to solicit the friendship of Simon. But after defeating Tryphon he reversed his policy. While he was besieging his rival in Dor, Simon sent him gifts and auxiliaries. These were haughtily declined, and a demand made for 1000 talents, failing the surrender of Joppa, Gazara, and the Acra. This was equivalent to a declaration of war, and very soon the Syrian general Cendebæus invaded Judæa. Now an old man, Simon left his two sons Judas and John to prosecute the campaign. Near Modin they gained a decisive victory.

For two or three years more Simon laboured at his favourite task of developing the internal resources of his kingdom. Then came the tragic end. In the castle of Dôk, near Jericho, at a banquet ostensibly held in their honour, he and two of his sons fell victims to the murderous ambition of his son-in-law Ptolemy, the son of Abubus, who aimed at the supreme power (135). Ptolemy's designs were frustrated, however, owing to the miscarriage of his plans for the assassination of Simon's third son, John, governor of Gazara. The latter, warned in time, slew the emissaries of Ptolemy, and forthwith assumed the government and the high-priesthood.

More than thirty years had passed since Mattathias openly resisted the religious persecution of his nation. In the faithful and skilful hands of his sons the crusade inaugurated by him had been singularly successful. One by one they had fallen in the sacred cause which he had committed to them (1 Mac 6^{46} 9^{18} $9^{36, 42}$ 13^{23} 16^{16}). But they had not shed their blood in vain. The valour of the Maccabees had rehabilitated the Jewish nation. Not only was the old spirit of independence thoroughly aroused, but there was also developed a new consciousness of the worth of their revealed religion. As the most thrilling epoch in Jewish history, and that which shaped the last phases of Jewish belief prior to the advent of our Lord, the age of the Maccabees has a peculiar interest for the student of Christianity.

iv. THE HASMONÆAN DYNASTY.—The relationship of the various scions of the Hasmonæan house is exhibited in the subjoined genealogical table.

The reign of **John Hyrcanus** (135–105) was bright and prosperous. After the flight of Ptolemy, his brother-in-law, he encountered the hostility of Antiochus VII. (Sidetes), to whom he agreed to pay tribute. But in B.C. 128 Antiochus met his death in fighting against the Parthians, and Hyrcanus availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the dispute which arose about the succession to the throne of Syria to make the Jewish kingdom territorially as extensive as it had ever been. The country E. of the Jordan, Samaria, and Edom were in turn brought under his sway, and no further tribute was paid to the Syrian kings. He further added to the defences of the country, and during his reign the old fortress of Baris (later Antonia) was rebuilt. Hyrcanus also concluded a treaty with the Romans, and was the first Jewish prince whose name was inscribed on the coins. Men liked to flatter themselves that the prophetic gift had been restored in his person (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. x. 7). Outwardly brilliant, however, as his reign was, it was marked by a strong development of internal discord. It was at this time that the sects of the Pharisees and Sadducees first took definite shape



as political and religious parties. The Maccabæan party was originally Pharisaic, but Hyrcanus now went over to the Sadducees, who attached more value to political supremacy.

Of the five sons left by Hyrcanus, three rose to power. Their names were originally Judas, Mattathias, and Jonathan, but in accordance with their father's new-born Hellenistic proclivities they were now designated Aristobulus, Antigonus, and Alexander Jannæus.

Hyrcanus bequeathed the civil power to his wife, and the high-priesthood to his eldest son **Aristobulus.** But the latter shut up all his relatives in prison except **Antigonus,** and openly assumed the title *King of the Jews*, 'a name previously unknown to Heb. history, but destined to carry with it a sacred and enduring significance' (Mt 27¹¹, Mk 15² etc.). Antigonus also fell a victim to his jealousy, owing to suspicions awakened in him by 'his evil spirit' Salome Alexandra. In other respects he appears to have deserved well of his country, whose boundaries he enlarged by the subjugation of the Ituræans; but remorse for the murder of his brother is said to have brought on his death, which occurred in B.C. 104, after a reign of only one year.

The next king was **Alexander Jannæus** (104–78), the eldest surviving brother of Aristobulus. Of warlike disposition, he set himself to complete the conquest of Palestine, which his father had begun, and after varying fortunes succeeded in bringing under his sway most of the important towns on the Philistine coast, as well as the regions E. of the Jordan. But Jannæus had other battles to fight. His reign was marked by civil dissension and internal revolt. A supporter of Hellenism, and a dissolute high priest whose hands reeked with blood, he came into acute collision with the Pharisees, and took the most savage revenge on his opponents.

Before his death Jannæus handed over the government to his wife **Salome Alexandra,** who soon proved her fitness to rule. Shrewdly enough, she at once threw herself into the arms of the Pharisaic party, allowing them practically to regulate the inner life of the nation, but reserving to herself the control of external affairs. Her elder son Hyrcanus II., as a pliable weakling, was invested with the office of high priest, while her younger son Aristobulus, who had energy and ability enough to render him dangerous, was kept strictly aloof from public affairs. The latter, who disliked the Pharisees and the docility with which his mother gave effect to their wishes, particularly as regards an ill-advised attempt to take vengeance on those who had counselled the crucifixion of 800 rebels during the reign of his father Jannæus, ultimately seized several fortresses, and contrived to raise an army, with which he bore down upon Jerusalem. At this stage Alexandra, who had on the whole ruled happily and with discretion, died after reigning for nine years (69).

Aristobulus soon got the better of Hyrcanus II., who agreed to retire in his favour and reside in Jerusalem as a private citizen. But the abdication of Hyrcanus was distasteful to some, and especially to one whose name we now meet with for the first time—the Idumæan **Antipater,** father of Herod the Great. Working upon the fears of Hyrcanus, this man persuaded him to flee for protection against his brother to the Arabian king Aretas, from whom he extracted a promise to re-establish Hyrcanus in his dominions, provided the latter gave up all claim to twelve cities unjustly wrested from the Arabians by Alexander Jannæus. Defeated in battle, and deserted by many of his troops, Aristobulus retreated to the temple mount, where he was besieged by a coalition army of Arabs and Pharisees.

At this juncture (B.C. 65) the shadow of Rome first fell upon the land. Scaurus, the legate of Pompey in Syria, having been appealed to by both parties, went to Jerusalem and decided in favour of Aristobulus. Aretas had accordingly to withdraw. But in the spring of 63 ambassadors from both parties appeared before Pompey himself at Damascus, while the representatives of a neutral party pled for the abolition of the monarchy and the re-establishment of the ancient constitution. Pompey delayed his decision, and Aristobulus, feeling insecure, at once occupied the stronghold of Alexandrium. Pompey advanced to attack him, whereupon Aristobulus surrendered all the fortresses, but fell back upon Jerus. and prepared for resistance. His vacillating policy was further illustrated when Pompey approached the city. Aristobulus sued for peace, and offered to open the gates and make a money payment; but when Gabinius was sent for the money, the gates were closed against him, and Pompey advanced against Jerusalem. The party of Hyrcanus, to which fear of the Romans brought many accessions, opened the city gates, but the supporters of Aristobulus entrenched themselves in the temple mount. After a three months' siege, however, the walls were scaled, and 12,000 Jews were slain. Apparently from curiosity, and to the lasting horror of the Jews, Pompey entered the Holy of Holies, but subsequently ordered the sanctuary to be purified, and the usual sacrifices to be continued. The ringleaders in the war were executed; Aristobulus and his family he took with him as prisoners; Hyrcanus was designated high priest and ethnarch, but not king. The boundaries of Judæa were also greatly contracted, and Jerus. was garrisoned by the Romans. Not even yet had the Jews learned to avoid calling in the interference of foreigners, but Rome knew how to profit by their internal strifes and factions.

As the star of the Hasmonæan dynasty set, that of the Herodian rose. Hyrcanus was only a puppet in the hands of Antipater and the Romans. The division of Palestine by Gabinius into five districts (*συνέδρια*) did not, as was hoped, weaken the feeling of national unity. The Hasmonæans made several abortive efforts to regain power. Revolts were led in the year 57 by Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, in 56 by Aristobulus himself and his son Antigonus, and again in 55 by Alexander. Once more, in B.C. 54, after the defeat of the Romans at Carrhæ, the Jews rose in rebellion, but were routed by Cassius. These attempts would have succeeded as against Antipater, but they could not do so as against Antipater and the Romans, who always came to his aid. In B.C. 49 Cæsar set Aristobulus at liberty in order to send him with an army against Antipater; but while he was yet in Rome Aristobulus was poisoned by the adherents of Pompey, who also contrived to have Alexander put to death at Antioch.

While Antipater continued to curry favour with the Romans, the Jews became jealous of his growing power. This feeling was intensified through the appointment of his eldest son Phasael as governor of Jerus., and of his second son **Herod** as governor of Galilee. The latter soon felt himself strong enough to defy the Sanhedrin, and even to menace Jerusalem. In spite of the accusations of the Sadducæan dignitaries, the two brothers secured the friendship of Antony. Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus II., made yet another desperate effort to obtain the kingdom. Although defeated by Herod, he was actually set up as king by the Parthians, and Herod's fortunes sank to the lowest ebb. Phasael made away with himself in prison, and Herod escaped to Rome, where he was recognized as king of Judæa (B.C. 40). A year later Herod landed at Ptolemais, and, after a war extending over two years, he at length, with the help of the legions of Sosius, captured Jerus. and mercilessly slaughtered his opponents. Antigonus was carried a prisoner to Antioch and there put to death. Herod now assumed the kingdom, and the Hasmonæan dynasty was at an end. Shortly before Jerus. fell into his hands he had married Mariamne, who, as granddaughter to both Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, represented the two opposing sections of the Hasmonæan house. But within the first decade of his reign this brilliant and resourceful but cruelly jealous man murdered all its still surviving members, to make sure that none of them should ever supplant him in the government. So perished in succession the youthful high priest Aristobulus, the aged Hyrcanus II., Herod's own wife Mariamne, and last of all Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus II. For these crimes Herod was to suffer a poetic retribution. In his closing years the murderer of the Hasmonæans became the murderer of his own sons, having about the year B.C. 7 ordered Alexander and Aristobulus to be done to death at Sebaste, where their mother Mariamne had become his bride. With them the history of the Maccabees comes to a close.

LITERATURE.—The chief sources for the Maccabæan history are 1 and 2 Mac (see next article), and Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 1 onwards. Several Psalms, notably 44. 74. 79. and 83 are probably Maccabæan; some scholars, *e.g.* Reuss and Cheyne, ascribe many more to this period, but their conclusions are to be accepted with caution. For passing references in Greek and Roman authors, see Schürer, *HJP* I. i. p. 110 ff. Of modern works, besides shorter articles in the best Bible Dictionaries, the student may consult Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, 1867; Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, vol. v. [Eng. tr.] 1874; Stanley, *Jewish Church*, vol. iii. 1876; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881; Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1888; Schürer, *HJP* (Index); Wellhausen, *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, 1894 (^{3}1898); Fairweather, *From the Exile to the Advent*, 1895; H. Weiss, *Judas Makkabaeus*, 1897; Streane, *The Age of the Maccabees*, 1898.

W. FAIRWEATHER.

MACCABEES, BOOKS OF (Μακκαβαίων, α', β', etc.).—Some important MSS of the LXX contain four books so entitled.* Of these the first two were incorporated in the Vulgate from the Old Latin translation, and accepted as canonical by the Council of Trent (1546). The Churches of the Reformation, on the other hand, adhering more strictly to the Heb. Canon, placed them among the OT Apocrypha, which were originally included in the Geneva Bible (1560) and in all the English Versions. The remaining books, which are only very remotely connected with the story of the Maccabees, have found, as they deserve, much less recognition in the Church. The order in which these books exist in the MSS, while not chronological as regards their subject-matter, accurately reflects the date of their composition as well as their comparative worth.

A. I MACCABEES.
  1. Contents and Style.
  2. Unity.
  3. Language of the original book.
  4. Author.
  5. Date.
  6. Sources.
  7. Historicity.
  8. Religious character.
  9. Use in the Christian Church.
  10. The MSS.
  11. Versions.
B. II MACCABEES.
  1. Contents and Historicity.
  2. Author.
  3. Language.
  4. Sources and Date.
  5. Relation to 1 Mac.
  6. Religious character.
  7. Use by Jews and Christians.
  8. MSS and Versions.
C. III MACCABEES.
  1. Contents.
  2. Historicity.
  3. Integrity.
  4. Language.
  5. Use by Jews and Christians.
  6. MSS and Versions.
D. IV MACCABEES.
  1. Contents.
  2. Language and Style.
  3. Authorship.
  4. Aim and Standpoint.
  5. MSS and Versions.
E. V MACCABEES.
  Literature.

A. I MACCABEES is the main source we possess for the history of the period with which it deals. This period covers the forty years (B.C. 175–135) from the accession of the Syrian king Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes) to the death of Simon.

1. *Contents and Style.*—After a brief introductory allusion to the conquests of Alexander the Great and the partition of his empire among his

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* A and Cod. Venetus contain all four books, ℵ contains (apart from *lacunæ*) the first and the fourth. (See below).

successors, by way of tracing back to its commencement the history of the Greek supremacy in Judæa (1^{1-9}), the author goes on to give a detailed description of the attempt made by Epiphanes, in concert with a Hellenizing party among the Jews themselves, forcibly to introduce into Palestine foreign customs and pagan rites, and to destroy the Jewish religion root and branch (1^{10-64}). He then narrates the action taken by Mattathias the priest, who in his native town of Modin openly resisted the persecuting measures of Antiochus, and placed himself at the head of a band of faithful Israelites who first betook themselves to the mountains, but who, as their numbers increased, began to traverse the land and enforce the observance of Jewish rites (ch. 2). Almost before the movement had been well started, Mattathias died (2^{69}), and the remainder of the book deals with the splendid struggle for faith and freedom under the leadership of his sons, who ultimately succeeded in securing for their country, not only the religious liberty for which they first took up arms (6^{60}), but civil independence as well (13^{41}). After graphically describing the course of events under the successive leadership of the three brothers Judas (3^{1}–9^{22}), Jonathan (9^{23}–12^{53}), and Simon (13^{1}–16^{18}), the book closes with the record of the escape of Simon's son, John Hyrcanus, from the fate which overtook his father and his two brothers, and with a reassuring reference to the chronicles of his high-priesthood (16^{19-24}).

The hero of the book is undoubtedly Judas Maccabæus, and its most detailed section is naturally that which narrates his achievements and fortunes. It is written for the most part in the simple narrative style of the OT historical books, and in the phraseology it is easy to detect many reminiscences of both the prose and the poetry of the older canonical writings ($1^{28.\ 37}$ $9^{21.\ 23}$ 14^{9} etc.). At times the language throbs with passion (1^{25-28}), becomes eloquently descriptive (14^{8-15}), or rises into poetry (3^{3-9}). But the work is in no sense that of a skilful literary artist who groups his facts with a view to scenic effect. The writer is a plain and honest chronicler who sets down the facts in their historical sequence, with scarcely an attempt to theorize upon them or to point out their significance.

2. *Unity.*—Previous to the 19th cent. no attempt was made to impugn the unity of the book. In view of the striking absence of the Divine Name from first to last, the careful chronology of the work as a whole, and the uniformity of the style throughout, there has been a very general disposition to ascribe the entire composition to a single author. Some modern scholars, however (*e.g.* Whiston, Destinon, and Wellhausen), regard chs. 14–16 as a later addition unknown to Josephus. The singularly brief manner in which that historian deals with the reign of Simon may perhaps lend some colour to this theory, but can scarcely be said to prove it. At the opposite pole from this view, and still more improbable, is that of Ewald, who thinks these concluding chapters are the main portion of the book, to which chs. 1–13 are merely introductory.

3. *The Language of the Original Book.*—The Greek text of 1 Mac is beyond doubt a translation; the work was written originally in Hebrew. On this point we have the express testimony of Origen and Jerome. The former, at the close of his list of the canonical books (in Euseb. *HE* vi. 25) says, 'But outside the number of these is the Maccabæan history (*τὰ Μακκαβαϊκά*), entitled *Sarbeth Sabanaiel*' (*Σαρβὴθ Σαβαναιέλ*). The work here referred to as known to Origen in its Heb. form is unquestionably the First Book of Maccabees.* Jerome († 420) states explicitly: 'The first book of Maccabees I found in Hebrew; the second is Greek, as can be proved from its very style' (*Prol. Gal. ad lib. Reg.*). The *internal* evidence for a Heb. original is also sufficiently conclusive. Although the book has many points of resemblance to the LXX, upon which its Greek seems to be largely modelled, and from which it even directly quotes (cf. 7^{17} with Ps $79^{2.\ 3}$), the constant use of Heb. idioms and OT phrases (1^{29} 2^{48} etc.), as well as the whole structure of the sentences, precludes the idea of its having been written originally in Greek. There are also in the Greek text many obscurities, due in all probability to mistaken renderings from the Hebrew (2^{8} 6^{1} 11^{8} 14^{5}). Moreover, at this period no Palestinian Jew seems to have written in Greek. A more plausible case might be made out in favour of an Aramaic original, although it is practically certain that the author wrote in classical Hebrew, which was still the language of the learned, and above all of sacred literature.

4. *The Author.*—The name of the author is unknown. It is, however, quite clear from his warm sympathy with the Maccabæan movement, as well as from his minute knowledge of Palestine, that he was an orthodox Jew of that country. Nor can we tell who was the translator. In spite of its Hebraistic character, his Greek is not difficult to read, and is marked even by a certain fluency. His translation was probably executed somewhere about the middle of the 1st cent. B.C., and certainly not later than the time of Josephus, who seems to have been acquainted with it.

5. *The Date.*—As to the date of the original work, it is clear from $16^{23f.}$ that it was not composed until after the death of John Hyrcanus (B.C. 105). Ewald's opinion, however, that our author wrote *immediately* thereafter, is not borne out by the nature of the reference to the annals of that prince as an already well-known work. On the other hand, in view of the writer's friendly tone towards the Romans (ch. 8), the time of composition cannot have been later than B.C. 64, the year prior to Pompey's entrance into Jerusalem. At some point between these two limits the work must have been produced, but the exact year cannot be determined. The likelihood is, however, that it belongs to the first or second decade of the 1st cent. B.C., for as there is no allusion to anything later than the death of Hyrcanus, it seems best not to separate the composition of the book by too long an interval from that event.

6. *Sources.*—There can be little doubt that the author drew to a certain extent upon existing written sources. Even if an old man at the beginning of the 1st cent. B.C., his own recollections could extend to only a part of the period with which he deals. There is, of course, to be kept in mind the possibility of his having gathered information from older men, as well as the fact that he had doubtless at command a body of tradition singularly fresh, living, and distinct. But the narrative is so well informed, includes such a mass of detail, and is in general so accurate and precise, that we must suppose him to have had access to certain written notices of the Maccabæan struggle, and of the three brothers with whose names it is specially identified. Otherwise, no one living in the second generation after could

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* The meaning of the Semitic title given by Origen has been much disputed. Most of the conjectures advanced (see Grimm, *Kurzgef. Exeget. Handb.* p. xvii; Keil, *Comm.* p. 22; Bissell in Lange-Schaff's *Comm.* p. 475) are based upon the reading *Sarbeth Sarbane El* (Σαρβὴθ Σαρβανὲ Ἔλ), adopted by Stephanus, and accepted even by Fritzsche (Schenkel's *Bib.-Lex.* under 'Makkabäer'), although by far the best attested reading, and according to Schürer (*HJP* II. iii. 9) 'the only reading that can claim to be recognized,' is that given above. It may possibly be transcribed שַׂר בֵּית שֶׁבָּנָה אֵל (*sar bayith shebbānāh el*), *i.e.* 'the prince of the house which God hath built up.' In any case the title is Semitic, and points to a Heb. original of our book.

have produced such a work. The use of written sources seems to be implied in 9^{22}, but the passage throws no light upon their origin or nature.

Some of the official documents which, as in the Book of Ezra, are incorporated with the narrative, the author states to be 'copies' (8^{22} $12^{5.\ 19}$ $14^{20.\ 27}$), and these may perhaps for the most part be accepted as genuine,—or at least as fairly accurate Heb. translations,—as may also some of the letters from the Syrian kings. Yet in not a few cases (cf. esp. 10^{51} $12^{20\text{ff.}}$ $14^{20\text{-}23}$ $15^{16\text{ff.}}$) we have probably only an attempt on the part of the writer or his authority to give a free version of the lost originals.* He evidently did not hesitate to deal in a free and easy manner with such documentary materials as lay to his hand. In substance, however, these ostensibly official records are quite apposite to the historical relations of the period.

7. *Historicity.*—In spite of the clever attempt made by the brothers E. F. and G. Wernsdorf about the middle of the 18th cent. to discredit 1 Mac as a historical work, there is but one verdict among modern critics with regard to its general trustworthiness. The writer's habit of dating the chief events according to a fixed era (the Seleucid era of B.C. 312), the general agreement of his chronology with that of Greek and Roman authors, and with the data furnished by extant coins of the period, the frankness and self-restraint shown by him in chronicling victory or defeat on the part of the Jews, and in speaking of their adversaries, the absence from his pages of tawdry ornamentation and weak supernaturalism,—all combine to give to his work the stamp of authentic history. Occasional errors occur, as in 1^6, which represents Alexander the Great as dividing his kingdom among his generals; in 8^6, where the author overstates the number of elephants employed at the battle of Magnesia (cf. Livy, xxxvii. 39); in $8^{1\text{ff.}}$, where mistakes are made in several particulars regarding the Romans; in 12^6, where he speaks of the Spartans as racially akin to the Jews; and in 14^1, where he is at variance with other writers as to the time when Tryphon murdered Antiochus VI. But these are mostly blemishes due to his limited knowledge of the world outside of Judæa, and do not seriously affect the value of the book as a contribution to Jewish history. The one criticism which may with justice be offered in this connexion is that the writer sometimes undoubtedly exaggerates in point of numbers (5^{54} $6^{30.\ 37}$ 11^{47}), but even this fault is to some extent condoned by the prevailing custom of that age.

8. *Religious Character.*—The religious character of the book corresponds to its trustworthiness as history. It breathes a spirit of genuine piety. The standpoint of the author is that of orthodox devotion to 'the law and the ordinances' (2^{21}), and unqualified abhorrence of heathen presumption (1^{25}), blasphemies (7^{38}), and enormities ($1^{55\text{f.}}$). In presence of the direst disasters he retains his faith in an overruling Providence (1^{64}), and does not forget that a righteous cause is more essential than a great army (2^{61} 3^{18}). But, in spite of the intense theocratic feeling that underlies the book, there is a remarkable reserve shown in the expression of it. The Maccabees are pious ($4^{8\text{ff.}}$ 12^{15} 16^3) and devoted men ($2^{21\text{f.}}$ $3^{59\text{f.}}$ etc.), but their triumphs are represented as due to their soldierly skill and diplomatic wisdom, and not to any special intervention of God. In this we detect a deviation from the mode of statement adopted in the older canonical histories. Yet the religious spirit of the book is such that Luther felt it might with advantage have been included in the Canon of Scripture, and altogether it stands on a higher plane than the other 'Books of Maccabees.' Devout Israelite as he is, however, the writer avoids the mention of the Divine Name, which (according to the true text) does not once occur in his narrative. Prayer is directed to the remote heaven, not to a present encompassing Jehovah (3^{50} 4^{10}). Except in the diluted form of a pathetic forward look towards 'a faithful prophet' who should announce the divine will with regard to pressing problems in Church and State (4^{46} 14^{41}), the Messianic hope is absent from the book. Nor is there any reference to the doctrine of the resurrection.

9. *Use in the Christian Church.*—Although not extensively, 1 Mac would seem to have been used in the Christian Church from an early date. Tertullian († 220), *adv. Judæos*, c. 4, says: 'Nam et temporibus Maccabæorum sabbatis pugnando fortiter fecerunt' (cf. 1 Mac $2^{41\text{ff.}}$); Cyprian (*c.* A.D. 250) quotes the book in his *Testimonia* (iii. 4. 15, 53), each time with the formula *in Machabaeis*; Clement of Alexandria († 220) speaks of *τὸ (βιβλίον) τῶν Μακκαβαϊκῶν*, and also of *ἡ τῶν Μακκαβαϊκῶν ἐπιτομή*, *Strom.* i. 123, v. 98; Hippolytus († 235) in his *Comm. in Daniel*, chs. 31–32, draws largely on 1 Mac, quoting almost *verbatim* $2^{33\text{ff.}}$; Origen († 254) also, in his *Com. in Ep. ad Rom.* (bk. viii. ch. i.), says: 'Sicut Mattathias, de quo in primo libro Machabæorum scriptum est quia "zelatus est in lege Dei,"' etc. (1 Mac 2^{24}). References to our book as the First Book of Maccabees also occur in the *Demonstr. Evang.* of Eusebius († 338), and in the writings of Augustine († 430). On the other hand, the Maccabæan books are placed outside the Canon by Origen, and omitted from the lists of OT Scriptures given by Athanasius († 373), Gregory of Nazianzus († 390), and Cyril of Jerusalem († 386), and until the Council of Trent enjoyed only 'ecclesiastical,' not canonical rank.

10. *The MSS.* — The Greek Text of 1 Mac, although not contained in the Codex Vaticanus (B), has a place in both the Codex Sinaiticus (א) and the Codex Alexandrinus (A)—MSS dating respectively from the 4th and 5th centuries. Next to these in age and importance comes the (8th or 9th cent.) Codex Venetus (V.). All the other (16) MSS are later than the 11th century. The best modern editions are those of Fritzsche (*Lib. Apoc. Vet. Test. Græce*, 1871) and Swete (*Old Test. in Greek*, Cambridge, 1894, 2nd ed. 1899).

11. *Versions.*—Only two old versions of 1 Mac are extant: (1) The Latin, which exists in two recensions, (*a*) the common text embodied in the Vulgate, and (*b*) another containing chs. 1–13, printed in Sabatier's *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinæ Versiones Antiquæ*, ii. p. 1017 ff., and more recently discovered in a complete form in a MS now at Madrid. The latter appears to be the older recension. (2) The Syriac. This version, like the Latin, was evidently derived from the Greek. The translator's mode of giving the names of places, however, seems to point to his acquaintance with them in their Semitic form, and this circumstance, while rendering the version exegetically serviceable, is also a testimony to its antiquity.

B. II MACCABEES covers the history from the close of the reign of the Syrian king Seleucus IV. Philopator (B.C. 176) to the death of Nicanor (B.C. 161), a period of little more than 15 years. This takes us back one year further than 1 Mac does; but, on the other hand, the narrative stops short by a quarter of a century of the point reached in that work. Except that it deals with a relatively smaller section of the history, the Second Book thus virtually runs parallel with the First. For the opening year (or rather more) of the period which it covers, *i.e.* for the events narrated from 3^{1}—where, properly speaking, the book begins—to 4^{6}, it remains the chief authority, but for the rest of this period it ranks only as an independent supplement to the First Book.

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* Fritzsche accepts as genuine all the documents called 'copies,' and regards all the rest as free reproductions by the author. But this seems too artistic.

1. *Contents and Historicity.*—In its present form 2 Mac begins with two letters in which the Palestinian Jews urgently invite their kinsmen in Egypt to take part in the Feast of the Dedication (1–2^{18}), whether in Egypt or in Jerusalem is not quite clear, although the latter supposition has the greater probability. Then follows the writer's own preface, in which he remarks upon the source, scope, and design of his work ($2^{19\text{-}32}$). After this comes the main narrative (3–15), which is an abridgment (ἐπιτομή, $2^{26.\ 28}$) of a larger history in five books by one Jason of Cyrene, a Hellenistic Jew. The first part of the abridgment (3^{1}–4^{6}) tells of a futile attempt by Heliodorus, prime minister of Seleucus IV., to rob the temple, and of the traitorous and slanderous policy pursued by a certain Simon against the good high-priest Onias. From 4^{7}–7^{42} the narrative is practically an expanded version of 1 Mac $1^{10\text{-}64}$, setting forth with great fulness of detail the religious persecution under Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes), and exhibiting at once the lamentable apostasy of one section of the Jews and the immovable faithfulness of others, even to the point of martyrdom. The remainder of the work (8–15) corresponds broadly to 1 Mac 3–7, and describes the rise and progress of the Maccabæan insurrection down to the crushing defeat of the Syrian general Nicanor by Judas.* The epitomizer concludes with some characteristic remarks regarding his own work ($15^{37\text{-}39}$).

The first letter ($1^{1\text{-}9}$), which is dated from the year 188 of the Seleucid era (B.C. 124), refers to a letter written by the Palestinian Jews to their brethren in Egypt during 'the tribulation and extremity' induced by the apostasy of Jason the high priest under Demetrius II., and asks them to repeat the sympathy apparently shown to them then by keeping 'the feast of tabernacles of the month Chislev' (*i.e.* the Feast of the Dedication) now that the temple service was happily restored. The second letter (1^{10}–2^{18}), which bears no date, purports to be addressed by the Jews of Palestine, the senate (γερουσία), and Judas to the priest Aristobulus, king Ptolemy's teacher (διδάσκαλος), and to the Egyptian Jews. After telling how their oppressor Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes) had perished while attempting to rob the temple of Nanæa ($1^{11\text{-}17}$), and intimating their intention of celebrating the Feast of the Dedication and commemorating the recovery of the sacred fire under Nehemiah, they invite their kinsmen in Egypt to take part in the festival (1^{18}). There follow legendary stories of the manner in which the holy fire was preserved and found again ($1^{19\text{-}36}$), and of the hiding by the prophet Jeremiah, in a cave-dwelling, of the tabernacle, the ark, and the altar of incense until God should again smile upon His people ($2^{1\text{-}8}$). A miracle similar to that associated with Nehemiah had already taken place at the dedication of the temple by Solomon, who 'kept the eight days' ($2^{9\text{-}12}$). Judas Maccabæus is also represented as having meritoriously followed the example of Nehemiah in making a collection of national records and sacred books ($2^{13\text{-}15}$). The letter closes with another invitation to keep the feast, and with the hope that God may speedily gather the dispersed Israelites into the holy land ($2^{16\text{-}18}$).

The two letters prefixed to the book have in reality no connexion either with it or with one another, except in so far as they both aim at commending to the Egyptian Jews the Feast of the Dedication. The particle (δέ) by which they are linked on to the 'epitome' does not necessarily imply any prior narrative. Schürer correctly holds that 'they are evidently originally independent pieces of writing, afterwards combined by a later hand, but not that of the epitomizer, with this Second Book of Maccabees' (*HJP* II. iii. p. 213). The glaring contradictions of 1^{7}, which represents the climax of affliction as having been experienced under Demetrius II. Nikator, and 15^{37} which states that from the time of Nicanor's death (B.C. 161) the Holy City had been held by the Hebrews, and of $1^{11\text{-}16}$ and ch. 9 with respect to the death of Epiphanes, render impossible the view that these letters were indited by the epitomizer. Besides, they are written in a simpler and less rhetorical style than the main narrative, their proper chronological position in which would be after $10^{1\text{-}9}$.* Both letters are palpable forgeries. In B.C. 144, when the first was written, 'the extremity' (1^{7}) was certainly past, and it seems incredible that the second, which, among other blunders, ascribes to Nehemiah the rebuilding of the temple and the altar (1^{18}), should have emanated from the Jewish senate. Such blemishes unmistakably stamp both epistles as apocryphal products of a later time.

Of Jason or of his history nothing is known beyond what is conveyed in 2 Mac. That he was identical with the ambassador of 1 Mac 8^{17} is a pure conjecture. Although a Jew 'of Cyrene' he shows more acquaintance with Syria than with Egypt and Palestine. In all that relates to the former kingdom his knowledge is extensive and minute. The names and rank of Syrian officers (4^{27} 5^{24} 12^{2} 14^{12}), as well as the identity of minor personages (4^{30} 8^{32} 10^{32}), are familiar to him. On the other hand, his knowledge of Palestine and even of Egypt is geographically defective, and is limited to outstanding events and personages. All this points, perhaps, to his having been no longer resident at Cyrene when his work was written.

2. *Author.*—The personality of the epitomizer is unknown. He was perhaps an Alexandrian Jew, although his work bears no trace of the Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy of religion, and contains nothing alien to the orthodox Palestinian Judaism of the period. His relation to Jason's history is made quite clear by himself ($2^{19\text{-}32}$); he expressly informs us that his work is only a condensed version of Jason's. From the 'painful labour' involved, it is natural to suppose that his epitome covers the whole of the ground embraced in the five books of Jason. The latter was probably also the sole literary source from which he drew. It is unwarrantable to infer from the fact that in his general digest of the contents of Jason's work he fails to mention that it included events within the reigns of both Seleucus IV. and Demetrius I., that it was therefore confined to the period during which Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes) and his son Eupator held the throne, and that he must have used other sources for those parts of his narrative which deal with events prior and subsequent to that period. According to Grotius only chs. 3–11, according to Bertholdt only chs. 4–11, are based upon Jason's history. But it was enough that in his summary of contents the epitomizer should name the two kings with whom the narrative is chiefly concerned. Moreover, the way in which he disclaims originality and even responsibility for the historical accuracy of the facts embodied in his work (2^{28}) seems to

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* Some prefer to divide the book into five sections, of which the respective endings (3^{40} 7^{42} 10^{9} 13^{26} 15^{37}) are supposed to be coincident with the close of the several volumes of Jason.

* Fritzsche (in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*), while agreeing that the epitomizer did not write these letters, thinks that he prefixed them to the book because they were consonant to his purpose. But even this is to rate his intelligence very low.

imply that had he made use of any other documentary material he would certainly have specified it. No doubt he has given a certain colouring of his own to the book as we possess it. The exaggerations and florid rhetoric which characterize it are probably due to him, but 'the manifestations that came from heaven' on behalf of Judaism are mentioned as being treated of in the original work, to which also are undoubtedly to be attributed not a few of the inconsistencies found in the 'epitome' (cf. 9^{29} with 13^{23} etc.). And it is to be remembered that the latter is probably quite as much of a *selection* from the original as a digest of it. To judge from the sample of ability and literary taste exhibited in the epitomizer's prefatory and closing words, his share in the subject-matter must in any case have been slight.

3. *Language.* — Both Jason and his epitomizer must have originally written in Greek. As a Jew of Cyrene, Jason would naturally make use of that language. That he did so is also suggested by the remarkably pure Greek of the epitome. The Hebraisms which might have been looked for in a translation from Hebrew or Aramaic are in general conspicuous by their absence. Jerusalem is always written Ἰεροσόλυμα according to the Greek, never Ἰερουσαλήμ according to the Heb. form. That the Greek text of the epitome is the original can be proved, as Jerome says, from its very style: 'Secundus (Machabæorum) Græcus est, quod ex ipsa quoque φράσει probari potest.' In this remark we have at once external evidence for a Gr. original, and the recognition of internal evidence pointing in the same direction. The style of the present work, although at times bald and rough (as *e.g.* in 13^{19-26}), is on the whole fluent and unrestrained, and not seldom highly ornate. There is a certain straining after rare words and expressions, as: *φιλοφρονεῖν εἴς τι*, 2^{25}; *ἀλλοφυλισμός*, 4^{13} 6^{24}; *διεμπίμπλημι*, 4^{40}; *θωρακισμός*, 5^{3}; *ὁπλολογεῖν τινά*, $8^{27.\,31}$; *κατευθικτεῖν*, 14^{43}. Some words are employed in an unusual sense, *e.g.* *εἰσκυκλεῖσθαι*, 2^{24}; *φροντίζειν τί*, 2^{25}; *ψυχικῶς*, 4^{37} 14^{24}; *δευτερολογεῖν*, 13^{22}. Several *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* appear also to occur, *e.g.* *δυσπέτημα*, 5^{20}; *ἀπευθανατίζειν*, 6^{28}; *δοξικός*, 8^{35}; *πολεμοτροφεῖν*, $10^{14.\,15}$; *διάσταλσις*, 13^{25}. The writer is fond of the alliterative use of words from the same root, *e.g.* *ἄγειν ἀγῶνα*, 4^{18}; *ἀποδεχθεὶς . . . εἰσεδέχθη*, 4^{22}; *δεξιασθεὶς . . . δεξιάν*, 4^{34}; *εὐημερίαν δυσημερίαν*, 5^{6}; *ἀποξενώσας ἐπὶ ξένης*, 5^{9} etc. He is also partial to the use of *ποιεῖσθαι* with the accusative of the substantive necessary to complete the verbal idea, as in 2^{30} etc. Clearly he had a large vocabulary at command, and could write the Greek language with ease and mastery.

4. *Sources and Date.*—If, as is probable, Jason based his narrative on the oral accounts of contemporaries who recited from memory the stirring events of those fifteen years, he must have written soon after B.C. 160. The mythical strain of chs. 6–7, which relate the martyrdom of Eleazar and the seven brethren, and of other parts of the narrative, does not preclude this view, as such myths require no long time for their formation, especially at some distance from the theatre of events. But the exact date of writing cannot be determined. The same is the case as regards the epitome. The curious statement of 15^{37} might seem to suggest the period immediately subsequent to Nicanor, but this is clearly out of the question. All that can be said with safety is that the work must have been written before the destruction of Jerus. in A.D. 70, since the existence of the city and the temple worship are presupposed. This is further apparent from the fact that 4 Mac, which is based on 2 Mac, was written prior to that event. That our book was composed later than 1 Mac may be inferred from the changed tone of the references to the Romans. If 2 Mac was known to Philo (see below), this would fix the inferior limit of its composition at about A.D. 40.

5. *Relation to 1 Mac.*—2 Mac contains much that is special to itself, but where it evidently covers the same ground as 1 Mac it does so with many divergences of detail. It is not, of course, surprising that between two independent narratives dealing with the same events there should be many points of difference. Our two books are, however, so different in genius, form, and contents, that strict comparison is impossible. In historical credibility and value 2 Mac is admittedly inferior to the First Book, the authority of which must therefore be preferred in the case of irreconcilable discrepancies. Of such it may suffice to enumerate the following:—(1) The campaign of Lysias, ascribed in 1 Mac 4^{26-35} to the year before the death of Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes), is transferred in 2 Mac 11 to the reign of Antiochus V. (Eupator); (2) the Jewish raids on neighbouring tribes, and campaigns in Gilead and Galilee, represented in 1 Mac 5 as carried on in rapid succession between the rededication of the altar and the concession of religious liberty, are separately placed in different historical settings (8^{30} 10^{15-38} 12^{2-45}); (3) the account given in ch. 9 differs in several particulars from that of 1 Mac 6 regarding the death of Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes), who it is falsely declared wrote a letter to the Jews; (4) the statement in 9^{29} that after the death of Antiochus, Philip fled to Egypt, is at variance with that of 1 Mac $6^{55.\,63}$; (5) in 14^{1} Demetrius I. is said to have landed in Syria 'with a mighty host and a fleet,' in 1 Mac 7^{1} 'with a few men'; (6) Nicanor's personal liking for Judas, 14^{24}, is an incredible circumstance, and contrary to the whole trend of 1 Mac; (7) according to 15^{37} the Acra was in the possession of the Jews at the time of Nicanor's death, whereas according to 1 Mac 13^{51} it was captured by Simon only in B.C. 142. Other blemishes disfigure the work, *e.g.* the absurd exaggerations in the numbers of the slain ($8^{24.\,30}$ $10^{23.\,31}$ 11^{11}); the highly coloured picture of the martyrdoms in 6^{18}–7^{42}, and the representation that Epiphanes witnessed them in person; the erroneous particulars as to the place and manner of death of that monarch (9); and the extraordinary details respecting the suicide of Razis ($14^{37\text{ff.}}$). Yet with all its defects 2 Mac is by no means historically worthless. The earlier portion of the narrative (3^{1}–4^{2}) is of the greatest value, and there is no reason to doubt its substantial truthfulness. There are indeed many important particulars in which the book agrees with 1 Mac (cf. 4–6^{10} with 1 Mac 1^{10-64}). It is also in accord with Josephus, who was unacquainted with it, in regard to several events about which 1 Mac is silent (cf. 4. 6^{2} 13^{3-8} 14^{1} with Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 1, v. 5, ix. 7, x. 1). Vain attempts have been made to reconcile discrepancies between 1 and 2 Mac on the theory that the writers followed a different chronology. In all probability both adopted the Seleucid era, which began in Oct. B.C. 312. On the relation of this era to dates B.C., see Schürer, *HJP* I. i. p. 36 ff., I. ii. Appendix v. p. 393.

6. *Religious Character.* — As to its religious character, 2 Mac presents a strong contrast to the First Book. In 1 Mac the name of God remains unuttered, in 2 Mac it is freely used; in the former frequent reference is made to the OT, here it is but seldom alluded to (7^{6} 8^{19} 15^{22}); in the one, great reserve is shown in the expression of theocratic feeling, in the other the reverse is the case. Again, instead of a simple objective narrative in which the facts are allowed to make their own impression, we have a highly coloured rhetorical composition with a running commentary upon the

events recorded ($4^{16f.}$ $5^{9f.\ 17f.}$ $6^{12f.}$ $9^{6.\ 18}$ etc.). The writer aims at the glorification of Judaism, and selects and modifies his historical material with a view to homiletic ends. In particular, it seems to have been the chief design of the compilation in its present form — and in this respect the two introductory letters are certainly significant—to magnify the temple (2^{19} 3^{2} 9^{16} 13^{23}), to exalt the importance of the two national festivals connected with the re-establishment of the legal worship and the death of Nicanor, and to encourage, admonish, and edify the Jews of the Dispersion. The work can scarcely be termed a history in the ordinary sense, its whole material being grouped around the temple and the two great festivals, without regard to strict chronological sequence. *E.g.* the institution of the Feast of the Dedication is placed *after* the account of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (cf. $10^{6ff.}$ with 1 Mac 4^{56}) for the sake of effect, and the circumstances connected with the death of Judas are passed over, apparently in order that the previous engagement in which Nicanor lost his life, and its commemorative festival, might stand out in bolder relief. Owing perhaps to an inclination on the part of the Egyptian Jews to set increasing store by their own temple at Leontopolis, the writer seems to represent the temple at Jerus. as the only legitimate sanctuary. It is the headquarters of the Jewish worship (2^{19} 5^{15} 14^{31} etc.), and honoured even by heathen kings (3^{2} 13^{23}). The Almighty had often interposed to protect it, and had severely punished its desecrators (3^{24} $13^{6\text{-}8}$ 14^{32} 15^{32}). There are constant references to heavenly manifestations (*ἐπιφάνειαι*, 2^{21}) on behalf of the defenders of Judaism ($3^{24ff.}$ $10^{29f.}$ $11^{6ff.}$ 12^{22}). The history is only seen as it were through a coloured spectrum of portents (5^{4}), dreams (15^{11}), and visions (3^{33}). The Lord is conceived as the wonder-worker (*τερατοποιός*) who in answer to prayer sends 'a good angel to save Israel' (11^{6} $15^{21ff.}$).

Israel is 'God's people' (1^{26}), His 'portion' (*ἡ μερὶς αὐτοῦ*, 14^{15}); their calamities are His loving chastisement for their sins (5^{18} 6^{12}); and from them He will never withdraw His mercy (6^{16}). The heathen, on the other hand, are allowed to fill up their cup of iniquity prior to their destruction (6^{14}). Foreign kings and their Jewish supporters are the unconscious instruments of the divine punitive righteousness with respect to Israel, but their insolence does not go unpunished (7^{36}), and their punishment exactly corresponds to their guilt (4^{38} 5^{9} 13^{8} $15^{32f.}$). The view taken of providential rewards and punishments is thus distinctly mechanical and external. 'Providence appears no longer as God's providence, but man's shaped by his wishes and governed by his caprices.'* God will one day gather the dispersed Israelites into Palestine (2^{18}); than this there is no nearer approach to the Messianic hope. The doctrine of the resurrection, on the other hand, finds the clearest expression (7^{36}), and the offering of prayers for the dead seems to have the sanction of $12^{42ff.}$.

According to Geiger, 1 and 2 Mac are partisan writings, the work, respectively, of a Sadducee who espoused the cause of the Hasmonæan house, and of a Pharisee who bore it a distinct grudge. As regards 2 Mac at all events, his theory seems to have much in its favour. Of the genealogy of the Maccabees, the death of Judas, the family sepulchre, no account is taken in the narrative. The priestly order, as represented by Jason and Menelaus, appears in the darkest light. Among the martyrs spoken of there is no priest, whereas one of 'the principal scribes' ($6^{18ff.}$) was the first to defy imperial cruelty. The Pharisaic bias of the work is seen also from its rigid Sabbatarianism (5^{25} 6^{11} etc.), its partiality for wonders and visions, and its teaching concerning the resurrection (7). Even the action of Judas himself is ascribed to his mindfulness of the resurrection (12^{43}).

7. *Use by Jews and Christians.*—Among the Jews 2 Mac was never received as canonical. In the Rabbinical writings, however, some use is made of it, and in Philo's treatise, *Quod omnis probus liber* (Mang. ii. 459), the descriptions of tyrannical persecutions of the pious appear to be based upon it. The earliest *Christian* reference to it is supposed to be in the Ep. to the Heb. (cf. He $11^{35ff.}$ with 2 Mac $6^{19.\ 28}$). The first *quotation* from the book is found in the writings of Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* v. 14. 97). Frequent reference is made to it by Origen (*Exhortatio ad martyrium*, c. 22–27, *de Oratione*, c. 11, *contra Celsum*, viii. 46, etc.). The history of the Maccabæan martyrs was a favourite subject with the early Fathers generally (Cyprian, *Test.* iii. 17; Jerome, *Prol. Galeat.*; Augustine, *de Doctr. Christ.* ii. 8, *de Civitate Dei*, xviii. 36). That the estimation in which the Books of the Maccabees were held by Augustine exceeded that accorded to them by Jerome, who recognized them as ecclesiastical but not as canonical, appears from the passage last referred to: 'Maccabæorum libri, quos non Judæi, sed ecclesia pro canonica habet propter quorundam martyrum passiones.'

8. *MSS and Versions.*—What has been said above on 1 Mac with reference to MSS and versions applies for the most part to 2 Mac also. But (1) 2 Mac is omitted in ℵ; (2) besides the Old Lat. version which is adopted in the Vulg., and which is not, as in the case of 1 Mac, supplemented in Sabatier by an older text, there is a Cod. Ambrosianus published by Peyron in 1824. The Syriac version is very inexact.

C. III MACCABEES.—1. *Contents.*—This book relates how Ptolemy IV. Philopator, after defeating Antiochus the Great at Raphia (B.C. 217), visited Jerusalem, and 'conceived the purpose of entering the sanctuary' (1^{10}). Everything was done to dissuade him from this act of desecration, but in vain. Great excitement consequently arose among the Jews, who were with difficulty prevented from taking to arms ($1^{11\text{-}29}$). At the critical moment the calm and reverend figure of Simon the high priest was seen kneeling in front of the temple, and in answer to his earnest prayers God smote the king with paralysis, and he was borne helpless from the sacred precincts ($2^{1\text{-}24}$). On coming to himself Ptolemy returned to Egypt, but vowing vengeance. This took the form of subjecting the Jews of Alexandria to certain religious disabilities, depriving them of the equal civic rights which they enjoyed with the Macedonian founders of the city, and branding them with an ivy-leaf as worshippers of Bacchus. Only those who voluntarily embraced the worship of this deity were to retain their privileges ($2^{25\text{-}30}$). Enraged at the steadfastness with which the great majority adhered to their ancestral faith, the king commanded the entire Jewish population of the country to be brought in chains to Alexandria (2^{31}–3^{1}). In spite of attempts made to represent them as disloyal citizens, the Jews had so won the good opinion of all, that some of their Gentile associates interested themselves on their behalf ($3^{2\text{-}10}$). Notwithstanding the stringent terms of the royal edict,—which caused as much grief to the Jews as it did joy among the heathen,—and the equally harsh manner in which it was carried out, the majority succeeded in evading arrest (3^{11}–4^{10}). As a preliminary to the intended massacre, the names of all were ordered to be taken down. But, at the end of forty days' continuous work, the clerks reported that, owing to the vast number of Jews to be dealt with, their writing materials were exhausted ($4^{14\text{-}21}$). Ptolemy next commanded that 500 elephants should be intoxicated with wine and incense and let loose upon the Jews in the racecourse. Although all was in readiness for it, the execution of the order was delayed for another day because the king had slept until it was past the hour fixed for his principal daily meal (5^{1-22}). Next morning, however, Ptolemy was providentially made to forget the orders he had given, and recollected nothing but the loyalty of the Jews to himself and his ancestors (5^{23-25}). Yet the same evening he summoned the keeper of the elephants and renewed his order for the destruction of the Jews; and in reply to the higher officials, who expressed amazement at his instability of purpose, he swore that he would send the Jews to Hades, and that he would invade Judæa and destroy the temple (5^{36-43}). When, accordingly, on the third day at dawn an enormous crowd had collected, and the king rushed forth to see his commands executed, the Jews called upon the Lord to show them mercy (5^{44-50}). At the prayer of the venerable priest Eleazar, 'two angels, glorious and terrible,' appeared from heaven, to the consternation of the king and his army. The elephants also turned upon and trampled down the royal forces (6^{1-22}). The king now directed his wrath against his counsellors, ordered the Jews to be released from their fetters, and feasted them for seven days at the imperial expense. They resolved on their part to observe these days in all time coming as a festival to commemorate their deliverance. The king also provided them with a letter to the provincial authorities securing them against injury and reproach (6^{23}–7^{9}). They were further empowered to put to death more than 300 of their kinsmen who had apostatized from the law of God, and, after duly availing themselves of this concession, they joyfully set out for their homes. At Ptolemais they celebrated their deliverance for another seven days, and erected a house of prayer. On arriving at their several destinations they had all their property restored to them, and were held in higher esteem than ever by the Egyptians (7^{10-23}).

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* Bissell, p. 555.

2. *Historicity.*—That the narrative has to some extent a historical background is clear from the opening sketch of the war between Philopator and Antiochus. The details given agree broadly with the statements of Livy, Justin, and Polybius. At Raphia the scale was turned in favour of Philopator, through the appeal made to the soldiers by his sister Arsinoe ($1^{1.4}$), whom, however, Livy (xxxvii. 4) names Cleopatra, and Justin (xxx. 1. 7) Eurydice. According to Polybius (v. 87), Philopator remained for three months in Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia. His Bacchanalian proclivities ($2^{25f.}$) are also mentioned by Justin (xxx. 1) and Strabo (xvii. 796). Theodotus (1^{2}) is a historical personage; Polybius (v. 40, etc.) speaks of him as an Ætolian who was Ptolemy's commander-in-chief over Cœle-Syria, but who in B.C. 219 went over to the side of Antiochus. Grimm (*Introd.* § 3) further regards the observance of the two annual festivals (6^{36} 7^{19}), and the existence of the synagogue at Ptolemais (7^{20}), when the author wrote, as the witness of tradition to some great deliverance; but there is force in the remark of Fritzsche ('Makkabäer' in Schenkel's *Bib.-Lex.*), that among the Jewish writers of that period it had become an almost stereotyped custom to link on a festival to every event of importance.

Certainly, in spite of the historical allusions which it contains, and the manifest intention that it should pass for real history, the work must be regarded as a fiction, and that not of the highest order. It abounds in incredible situations (4^{20}, cf. with 5^{5} $6^{1.30}$ 7^{18}) and psychological absurdities ($5^{27ff.}$); it is characterized by false statements (5^{2} 7^{2}) and inconsistencies (4^{18}); it shows, too, great zest in the interpretation of providence (4^{21} 5^{30} etc.). In short, it bears every mark of being a mythical tale founded perhaps on some no longer definitely ascertainable historical occurrence. There is nowhere else any mention of Philopator having either visited Jerus. or persecuted the Jews. But in Jos. (*c. Ap.* ii. 5) there is a story of a somewhat similar character connected with the reign of Ptolemy VII. Physcon. That monarch, it is said, punished the Alexandrian Jews for their loyalty to Cleopatra by putting them in fetters and throwing them to intoxicated elephants. As the animals, however, turned against Physcon's friends and killed many of them, and as the king saw a terrible visage which forbade him to injure the Jews, he abandoned his intention, and the Jews kept a feast in commemoration of the event. This appears to be the older as it is also a simpler version of the same floating tradition, which may have been based upon an actual but unsuccessful attempt on the part of some monarch to enter the temple at Jerus. by force—an attempt which was followed up by an effort to be avenged on the Jews. But in 3 Mac, which was apparently unknown to Josephus, the reference of the story to an earlier king of Egypt, and the addition of other embellishments, already mark a deviation from the older tradition. According to many scholars (Ewald, Reuss, etc.), the legend is founded upon the attempt of the emperor Caligula to erect his statue in the temple at Jerus. (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. viii. 2), and his subsequent persecution of the Jews, the transference of the event to the reign of Ptolemy IV. Philopator being due to prudential reasons. But there is nothing in the work which definitely points to Caligula's time, and our author does not represent Ptolemy as aspiring to the honours of deity. The one significant parallel to the times of Caligula is the circumstance, vouched for by Philo, that the Roman governor Flaccus Avillius deprived the Jews of the rights of citizenship. On the other hand, if the work be referred to this period (*c.* A.D. 40), the confinement of the Jews in the hippodrome of Alexandria ($4^{11ff.}$) might have been suggested by Herod's command that his leading opponents should be so dealt with at Jericho (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. vi. 5; *BJ* I. xxxiii. 6). But the exact date of writing remains uncertain. The Greek additions to Daniel are known to the author, who cannot therefore have written earlier than the 1st cent. B.C., but he very possibly lived as late as the 1st cent. A.D. His design was evidently to cheer and console his co-religionists in a time of persecution at Alexandria.

3. *Integrity.*—In its present form 3 Mac appears to be incomplete. It begins abruptly (ὁ δὲ Φιλοπάτωρ); in 1^{2} there is a reference to 'the plot' (τὴν ἐπιβουλήν) of which no previous mention has been made; and in 2^{25} allusion is made to the king's 'before-mentioned' companions, although the foregoing part of the work is silent regarding them. But it is unnecessary (with Dähne, Ewald, Fritzsche) to suppose that it is a mere fragment; the loss of an introductory chapter would explain all (Grimm). Fritzsche thinks the title of the book indicates that we have in the extant fragment a sort of *prolegomena* to a complete history of the Maccabees. Certainly 'Book of Maccabees' is a misnomer as applied to the existing work, which professes to deal with a situation considerably anterior to the Maccabæan rising.

4. *Language.*—Our book bears every evidence of having been written in Greek by an Alexandrian Jew. The vocabulary is exceptionally rich. Hebraisms are comparatively rare, and never harsh (*e.g.* 'thy glorious name,' 2^{14}; 'the heaven of heavens,' 2^{15} etc.). The style, however, is 'bom-

bastic and involved,' and even further removed from the category of ordinary prose narrative than is that of 2 Mac, with which it has many points of affinity, such as, *e.g.*, the use of *τόπος* to designate the temple at Jerus., and of *ἐπιφάνεια* to denote the special miraculous interposition of God, and the love of rhetorical word-painting ($1^{16ff.}$ $4^{3ff.}$ $5^{48f.}$). It exceeds that work, however, in obscure expressions ($1^{9.\,14.\,17}$ 2^{31} 4^{11}), and in straining after poetic effect (1^{18} 4^{6} 5^{26} $6^{4.\,8}$). The opening words of 5^{31} (*ὅσοι γονεῖς παρῆσαν ἢ παίδων γόνοι*) form an iambic trimeter, and seem to be a quotation from some Greek dramatist. Some words bear an unusual meaning, *e.g.* *διάγειν* (1^{3}), *ἀπρόπτωτος* (3^{14}), *καταχρᾶσθαι* (4^{5}); others do not occur elsewhere, *e.g.* *ἀνεπιστρέπτως* (1^{20}), *λαογραφία* (2^{28}), *προσυστέλλεσθαι* (2^{29}), *χαρτηρία* (4^{20}); and others are very rare, or are used only in late Gr. writings, *e.g.* *ἔνθεσμος* (2^{21}), *φρικασμός* (3^{17}), *ἀλογιστία* (5^{42}), *μεγαλομερῶ* (6^{33}). The work appears to be more or less coloured by the influence of the Alexandrian philosophy; compare in this connexion the names (*μέγιστος*, $1^{9.\,16}$ 4^{16} 7^{22}; *ὕψιστος*, 6^{2} 7^{9}) applied to the Supreme Being, and the distinction made between God and His glory ($2^{9ff.}$).

5. *Use by Jews and Christians.*—The book seems to have been practically neglected by the Jews, while the first *Christian* reference to it occurs in the *Canones Apostolorum*, c. 85 (Μακκαβαίων τρία). It is mentioned (*ad* Dan. 11^{7}) by Theodoret of Antioch (†c. A.D. 457); in the catalogue of Nicephorus (Μακκαβαϊκὰ γ′), and in the *Synopsis Athanasii* apparently as Πτολεμαϊκά.* The work found no acceptance with the Latin Church, and is not included in the Vulg.; but in the Syrian Church it met with considerable favour, as is shown by the existence of an ancient Syriac version, by the respectful allusions of Theodoret, and by the fact that in all probability the catalogue of Nicephorus had its origin in the Syrian Church.

6. *MSS and Versions.*—3 Mac is found in most MSS and editions of the LXX. A Latin translation was first made for the Complutensian Polyglott, and has since been followed by several others. Many German versions also now exist, among which may be mentioned those of the *Züricher Bibel*, *Berlenburger Bibel*, Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, and Kautzsch's *Apocryphen u. Pseudepigraphen*. According to Cotton (*The Five Books of Maccabees in English*, Oxford, 1832, *Introd.* p. xx), the first English version (by Walter Lynne) appeared in 1550, and was with some modifications embodied in a folio Bible issued by John Daye in 1551.

D. IV MACCABEES.—1. *Contents.*—This, as a philosophical treatise, occupies a unique position among apocryphal books. The writer's theme is 'the supremacy of pious reason (=religious principle) over the passions,'† and the Judaism which he advocates is distinctly coloured by the Stoic philosophy. Although the composition takes the form of a discourse in which the direct mode of address is adopted ($1^{1.\,7}$ 2^{14} 13^{19} 18^{1}), we are not therefore warranted in supposing (with Freudenthal) that we have here an actual specimen of a Jewish sermon. The style is too abstruse for an ordinary congregation, and it never became the habit to base discourses upon philosophical propositions instead of Scripture texts. At the same time, the work is not a mere academical thesis. If it suggests an artificial spirituality rather than the natural outflow of a heart deeply under the power of religion (Grimm), the writer undoubtedly handles his subject with vigour, moral earnestness, and a desire to edify his readers (or hearers). These were apparently confined to his co-religionists (18^{1} *Ὦ τῶν Ἀβραμιαίων σπερμάτων ἀπόγονοι παῖδες Ἰσραηλεῖται*), whom he assures that in order to lead a pious life they have only to follow the dictates of 'pious reason.'

After an introduction ($1^{1\text{-}12}$), the author lays down his thesis that pious reason is perfect master of the passions, and expounds this proposition not without dialectic skill. Reason he defines as 'intelligence combined with an upright life, and holding in honour the word of wisdom' (1^{15}),* and wisdom as 'the knowledge of affairs divine and human, and of their causes' (1^{16}). Wisdom is attained through 'the instruction of the law' (1^{17}), and is manifested in four cardinal virtues, viz. *φρόνησις, δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρεία,*† *σωφροσύνη* (1^{18}). A description and classification of the affections, with special reference to the antagonism offered by them to the four cardinal virtues, is also given, and it is shown by examples taken from Jewish history that pious reason is lord of all the affections except forgetfulness (*λήθη*) and ignorance (*ἄγνοια*). With this ends the first and more strictly philosophical part of the book (1^{13}–3^{18}). In the second part (3^{19}–18^{2}), after a historical review of the tyrannical treatment of the Jews under the Syrian king Seleucus and his son (*sic*) Antiochus Epiphanes (3^{19}–4^{26}), the conquering power of reason is further represented as most brilliantly illustrated in the martyrdom of Eleazar (5–7) and of the seven brethren (8–14^{10}) and their mother (14^{11}–16^{25}). The writer accompanies his account of the martyrdom of these heroic defenders of the faith with frequent and copious remarks of a religious and edifying nature, and introduces occasionally philosophical reflexions (*e.g.* $5^{23ff.}$) which would have been more in place in the first part of his work. In 17–18^{2} the author sets down his final impressions regarding the character and significance of the martyrdoms described by him. The closing section ($18^{3\text{-}23}$) appears to be an appendix by a later hand, but the nature of it indicates that it must have been added at no great interval from the composition of the book itself. Fritzsche and Freudenthal regard the spurious addition as limited to $18^{6\text{-}19}$.

4 Mac possesses no value as history. The writer merely appropriates certain incidents from 2 Mac 6^{18}–7^{42} by way of illustrating his fundamental proposition regarding the supremacy of pious reason. His delineation of the tortures to which the 'Maccabæan martyrs' were subjected is even more gruesomely realistic than that of 2 Mac, although the detailed description of the inhumanity of the persecutors serves, of course, to bring out more emphatically the steadfast patience of their victims. He may have had sources of information other than 2 Mac, but there is no evidence that he used as an authority the five books of Jason of Cyrene (2 Mac 2^{23}). While the work does not aim at being a history, it has nevertheless an importance of its own as a unique example of the way in which Jewish history was turned to account for didactic and homiletic purposes.

2. *Language and Style.*—The Greek of 4 Mac, although rather laboured, is not so involved or so rhetorical as that of 3 Mac. Owing to the uniformity of the style, which is clear, correct, and genuinely Greek, the work has more of real individuality about it than either 2 or 3 Mac. Lavish use is made of metaphor and declamation, yet the writer can deftly change his style to

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* The text reads *Μακκαβαϊκὰ βιβλία δ′ Πτολεμαϊκά*, but Credner is probably right in substituting *καὶ* for *δ′*.

† 1^{1} *εἰ αὐτοδέσποτός ἐστιν τῶν παθῶν ὁ εὐσεβὴς λογισμός*; 1^{13} *εἰ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐστὶν τῶν παθῶν ὁ λογισμός*; 18^{1} *τῶν παθῶν δεσπότης ἐστὶν ὁ εὐσεβὴς λογισμός.*

* So the Alexandrian MSS. ℵ and V read: 'intelligence accompanied by accurate insight (and) choosing the life of wisdom.'

† A has the later form *ἀνδρία*.

suit his subject. Considerable fondness is shown for words and expressions of a rare, novel, or poetical description. Frequent use is also made of prepositional compounds, *e.g.* *ἐπιρωγολογεῖσθαι* (2^{9}), *ἀντιπολιτεύομαι* (4^{1}), *ἐξευμενίζειν* (4^{11}); and compounds with *πᾶν*, *e.g.* *πάνσοφος* (1^{12}), *πανγέωργος* (1^{29}), *πάνδεινος* (3^{15}), *πανάγιος* (7^{4} 14^{7}). Short as it is, quite a number of words seem to be peculiar to the book, *e.g.* *αὐτοδέσποτος* (1^{1}), *μονοφαγία* (1^{27}), *ἀρχιερᾶσθαι* (4^{18}), *ἀποξαίνειν* (6^{6}), *ἐμπυριστής* (7^{11}), *μισάρετος* (11^{4}), *κηρογονία* (14^{19}), *ἐπταμήτωρ* (16^{24}). With the exception of Jerusalem (Ἱεροσόλυμα) and Eleazar (Ἐλεάζαρος), the proper names are written according to the Heb. form, although Hebraistic expressions scarcely occur (cf., however, 1^{12} *δόξαν διδόναι*). Only in a very few passages ($2^{5.\,19}$ 17^{19}) is use made of the LXX.

3. *Authorship and Date.*—Eusebius (*HE* III. x. 6) refers to our book under the title *περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ*, and ascribes it to Josephus. In this he is followed by Jerome (*de Viris Illustr.* c. xiii., *c. Pelag.* ii. 6), Suidas (*Lex. s.v.* Ἰώσηπος), and others; and indeed for long it seems to have been regarded as settled that Josephus was the author. In the editions of his works it occupies the last place, and is inscribed *Φλαβ. Ἰωσήπου εἰς Μακκαβαίους λόγος ἢ περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ.* But it exists also in important Scripture MSS of the LXX, and both A and ℵ call it simply 'the fourth of Maccabees' (*Μακκαβαίων δ'*). Gregory of Nazianzus quotes from it without naming Josephus or any one as the author. Its ascription to the Jewish historian must either have been a pure guess, or the result of confusion between him and some other Ἰώσηπος, whom tradition named as its author, for the testimony of Eusebius is quite overborne by the internal evidence. The language and style are utterly different from those of Josephus; the latter was unacquainted with 2 Mac, while 4 Mac is almost wholly based upon it; the grossly unhistorical statements of $4^{15.\,26}$ 5^{1} $17^{23f.}$ are inexplicable on the hypothesis that the work was penned by Josephus; finally, there is about it a flavour of Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy, and an enthusiasm for the heroic, which we do not naturally associate with that writer.

While the exact *date* of the book cannot be determined, it seems certain that it must have been written after 2 Mac, from which it borrows, and before the destruction of Jerus., of which it makes no mention. Grimm would infer from the statement of 4^{1} that Onias was holding the priesthood for life (*διὰ βίου*) that the author wrote after the overthrow of the Hasmonæan dynasty, when the life-tenure had been abolished, and from the horror-stricken concern of the Egyptian Jews on hearing of the sufferings endured by the Maccabæan martyrs (14^{9}) that the former were themselves at the time exempt from persecution. This would point to a date prior to their experiences under Caligula (A.D. 40). Schürer (*HJP* II. iii. 246), on the other hand, accepts as the date of composition the first century after Christ.

4. *Aim and Standpoint.*—The aim of 4 Mac is by demonstrating the supremacy of pious reason to exhort the Jews steadfastly to adhere to the Mosaic law, and not allow themselves in any particular to depart from it (18^{1}), either through fear of sufferings or through the subtle attractions of Hellenistic culture. As an educated Jew acquainted with the exacting demands of philosophic paganism, the writer seeks to show his countrymen how to maintain their Judaism intact. Taunts about the fatuity of their ceremonial law were levelled at the Jews by the persecutor ($5^{6ff.}$), and doubtless by the philosopher as well; but our author reminds his co-religionists of the essential reasonableness of the law even in regard to ritual commands ($5^{25f.}$), and seeks to show that only through obedience to its precepts can the Stoic ideal of humanity be realized. In the concrete examples of endurance unto death furnished by the Maccabæan martyrs he sees the perfection of piety (12^{14} 15^{17}), and a conclusive proof that in virtue's cause the Hebrews alone are invincible (9^{18}).

The writer's own *standpoint* is formally influenced by Greek philosophy, especially by Stoicism, which placed the passions under the sovereignty of reason, so providing him with his central idea, as well as with the postulate of four cardinal virtues. In his division and description of the affections, however, he does not so much adopt the position of any of the current Greek philosophies as give to his own treatment a philosophic cast. And if he writes from the standpoint of Stoicism, he is none the less true to that of legal Judaism. Wisdom, of which the four cardinal virtues are forms (*ἰδέαι*), cannot be attained apart from the Mosaic law ($1^{16ff.}$). It is not reason as such, but pious reason (*ὁ εὐσεβὴς λογισμός*), *i.e.* reason regulating itself by the divine law ($1^{15ff.}$), that he exalts as ruler over the passions. So literal, indeed, is his conception of the Mosaic law, that some* on this account maintain the Palestinian origin of the book. His philosophy certainly resembles Pharisaism in its advocacy of rigorous legalism, and of carrying piety into every relation of life (18^{1}). In his doctrine of the resurrection, however, it is not the Pharisaic but the Alexandrian position that is reflected. The writer believes, not in a bodily resurrection confined to the Jews, but in the immortality of all souls, the pious entering into blessedness (9^{8} 17^{18}), and the wicked into torment (9^{9} 12^{12} etc.), upon the death of the body. It is also noticeable that he regards the sufferings of the martyrs as a vicarious atonement for the sins of the people (6^{29} 17^{22}), and that a Pelagianistic spirit underlies the book in so far as no account is taken of the influence of divine grace upon human reason.

5. *MSS and Versions.*—The Gr. text has come down (1) in some Scripture MSS, including A and ℵ; (2) in MSS of Josephus; and has been printed under both categories. The best recensions are those of Fritzsche in his edition of the *Libri Apoc. Vet. Test. Græce*, 1871, and Swete in the *Camb. Septuagint*, 1894, 2nd ed. 1899. There is an old Syriac version, published by Ceriani in his photo-lithographed facsimile of the Milan Peshiṭta manuscript of the OT (1876–83). An English translation by Cotton (*The Five Books of Maccabees in English*) was published at Oxford in 1832.

Another Fourth Book of Maccabees is mentioned by Sixtus Senensis (*Bibliotheca Sancta*, i. p. 39) as still extant in manuscript when he wrote (1566). He himself saw it at Lyons, in the library of Santes Pagninus, which soon afterwards perished by fire. It was written in Hebraistic Greek, and began with the words, 'After the murder of Simon, John his son became high priest in his stead.' Sixtus thinks it may have been a Greek translation of the 'chronicles' of the reign of John Hyrcanus referred to in 1 Mac 16^{24}; but, in view of the statement he makes as to its contents, it is more likely that the book was 'simply a reproduction of Josephus, the style being changed perhaps for a purpose' (Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. p. 14).

E. V MACCABEES.—This is the title given to an Arabic 'Book of Maccabees' printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts, the Arabic text being in both cases accompanied by the Latin translation of Gabriel Sionita. Cotton's English version is a literal rendering of the Latin. The book purports to be a history of the Jews from the time of Heliodorus (B.C. 186) to the last years of Herod

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* Langen, *Judenthum in Palästina*, p. 80.

(B.C. 6–4?). It is merely a Hellenistic compilation, not always accurate, from 1 and 2 Mac and the writings of Josephus, and is in no sense an independent history. In ch. 12, the only passage which does not directly depend upon these works, the author shows himself singularly ill-informed with regard to certain well-known facts of Roman history. He evidently wrote after the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70 (cf. 9^5 21^{30} 22^9 53^8). In point of language the book is decidedly Hebraistic, even after being twice translated, although this does not prove that it was originally written in Hebrew. The religious standpoint of the compiler merely reflects that of his authorities.

There is also another so-called 'Fifth Book of Maccabees' in the great Ambrosian Peshiṭta, but it is nothing else than a translation of the sixth book of Josephus' *de Bello Judaico*.

LITERATURE.—The principal authorities upon points of literary and textual criticism have been named in the body of the article. Among older commentaries may be mentioned those of Drusius on 1 Mac, and of Grotius on 1, 2, and 3 Mac in *Critici Sacri*; and that of Michaelis on 1 Mac (*Uebersetzung der 1 Macc.-B.'s mit Anmerk.*, Götting. u. Leipz. 1778). The most complete modern comm. is that of Grimm on 1, 2, 3, and 4 Mac in the *Kurzgef. Exeget. Handb.* series, 1853–57. Since that date there have appeared commentaries by Keil on 1 and 2 Mac, 1875; Bissell on 1, 2, and 3 Mac in *Lange-Schaff's Commentary*, 1880; Rawlinson on 1 and 2 Mac in the *Speaker's Comm.* 1888; Zöckler on 1, 2, and 3 Mac in his *Die Apokryphen des Alten Testaments*, 1891; Fairweather and Black on 1 Mac in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, 1897; Kautzsch on 1 and 3 Mac, and Kamphausen on 2 Mac in *Die Apokr. u. Pseudepigr. des AT*, 1898.

W. FAIRWEATHER.

MACEDONIA (Μακεδονία = the land of the Μακεδόνες, who, themselves akin to the Doric branch of the Greeks, formed the core of a mixed nationality, to which Illyrian, Pæonian, and Thracian elements contributed along with numerous Greek colonies) was in antiquity the common name for a region in the centre of the Balkan peninsula, separated for the most part by natural boundaries of mountain-ranges from Thessaly on the south, Illyria on the west, Mœsia on the north, and Thrace on the east. It contained the river-basins of the Haliacmon (*Vistritza*), the Axius (*Vardar*), the Strymon (*Struma*), and the Nestus (*Kara-su*); and it presented along its Ægean shore the three prongs of the great Chalcidian peninsula between the Thermaic and Strymonic gulfs (now named from *Saloniki* and *Rendina*). This region, with its mountainous interior rearing a hardy population, its well-watered and fertile plains, and its extensive fringe of seaboard encouraging colonization and commerce, obtained a political significance and exercised a paramount influence for two centuries over the fortunes of the ancient world, such as could hardly be expected from its earlier history or from its size and apparent resources. The steps of this development, the growth and unifying of its military power—the aggressive policy and gradual ascendency of Philip over the Greek republics—the supremacy of Alexander, whose world-empire reached from the Adriatic to the Indus—its partition after his early death among his leading generals, out of which sprang the Seleucid empire in Syria, the rule of the Ptolemies in Egypt, and a series of violent changes in the occupancy of the throne of the Macedonian motherland—and the final struggles, which, culminating in the battles of Cynoscephalæ (B.C. 197) and Pydna (B.C. 168), brought Macedonia under the power of Rome—hardly fall within the province of this article, except in so far as they helped to shape the Macedonia which confronts us as an Oriental power at the outset of the Maccabæan history, and as a Roman province in NT.

The history of the conflict with Epiphanes and his successors opens (1 Mac $1^{1\text{-}9}$) with a striking description of the achievements of Alexander the Great, and of the division of his dominions upon his death. There (1^1) he is said to come forth from the land of Chittim (Χεττιείμ), and at 6^2 to have been the first reigning as king over the Greeks; while at 8^5, in the account of the power of the Romans whereof Judas had heard, there is mention of their having discomfited and overcome Philip (V.), and Perseus who is called king of the Chittim (Κιτιέων, see KITTIM). At 2 Mac 8^{20} the term Macedonians seems applied to the Syro-Macedonian warriors in the service of the Seleucid kings. On the application of the epithet to Haman in the LXX Ad. Est 16^{10}, and its use in 16^{14}, see HAMAN.

The Macedonia of NT is the Roman province of that name. For a time after the Roman victory at Pydna (B.C. 168) it was allowed to retain some measure of independence and self-government; but its unity was broken up. It was divided into four districts, in which republican federative leagues were modelled on the system of the Greek confederacies. The first embraced the region between the Strymon and Nestus; the second, that between the Strymon and Axius with the Chalcidian peninsula; the third, that from the Axius to the Thessalian Peneius; and the fourth, the mountain lands towards the north-west. Their capitals were, respectively, Amphipolis, Thessalonica, Pella, and Pelagonia. [For details of the arrangement, see Liv. xlv. 29, 32; Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, ii. p. 508 f.]. But in B.C. 146 dependence was exchanged for subjection; the country received a definitive provincial organization; and from that date began the Macedonian era, henceforth used on inscriptions and coins. The new province included portions of Illyria and Thessaly, and Thessalonica became the headquarters of the Roman government, although it and some other towns retained local autonomy. It was administered by a proprætor with the title of proconsul; and there was usually associated with it the province of Achaia or Greece, which was administered by a legate [on the relation of Greece as a Roman province to Macedonia, see Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, iii. p. 271, note]. On several occasions in NT we find them mentioned together; but Macedonia takes precedence (Ac 19^{21}, Ro 15^{26}, 2 Co 9^2, 1 Th $1^{7.8}$). It was traversed by the great Roman military road, the *Via Egnatia*, and afforded a fruitful soil for the missionary labours of St. Paul,* who amidst no small opposition and with various success sowed the seeds of the gospel, and founded Churches in some of its chief towns, Philippi, Thessalonica, Berœa (Ac 16^8–17^{15}), and subsequently revisited them on his way to and from Greece (Ac 19^{21} $20^{1\text{-}4}$), when several of his Macedonian converts accompanied him to Troas (Ac 20^5). His warm interest in the Churches which he had planted bore fruit in the Epistles addressed to Thessalonica and Philippi; and their readiness to receive the word, to love the brethren, and to minister to his personal needs, are heartily acknowledged and commended (1 Th $1^{3.8}$ 3^6 4^9, 2 Th $1^{3.4}$, Ph $4^{10.15.16}$).

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

MACHAERUS (Μαχαιροῦς, Grecized from מְכָוֵר, *Tamid* iii. 8, sometimes מכבא and מכבר) is confidently identified (originally by Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien*, ii. 330, iv. 378) with *Mkawr* (but see Jastrow, *s.v.*), an extensive collection of ruins on the spur of a hill overlooking the Dead Sea from the east. It was first fortified by Alexander Jannæus (Jos. *Wars*, VII. vi. 2), but was taken from his grandson by Gabinius and demolished (*ib.* I. viii. 5; *Ant.* XIV. v. 4). Herod the Great fortified it (Jos. *Wars*, VII. vi. 1, 2), and used it as one of his principal residences. On his death it became the property of Antipas, being situated in his tetrarchy. When Antipas divorced his wife, the daughter of Aretas, king of the Nabatæans, she desired to be sent to Machaerus, which is inconsistently described (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 1) as on the borders of the dominions of the two kings, and as subject to Aretas. The inscriptions do not reveal the exact frontier at the time; but there is no evidence in support of the latter statement of Josephus. He is probably in error, especially as the context implies that the queen chose her place of retreat with a view to avail herself of its proximity to her father's dominions for the purpose of escape. Shortly afterwards John the Baptist was imprisoned and put to death in the dungeons of Machaerus (*ib.* XVIII. v. 2; Mk 6^{21} is not against this, as Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, iv. 218, note 1, shows). The fortress, of whose importance Pliny speaks (*Hist. Nat.* v. 16, 72), was garrisoned by the Romans until A.D. 66 (Jos. *Wars*, II. xviii. 6), when they withdrew to avoid its investment. But six years later it was recovered (*ib.* VII. vi. 4), and finally demolished by Lucilius Bassus.

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* Ramsay (*St. Paul the Trav.* p. 203) suggests that the 'man of Macedonia' who was seen by Paul in a vision (Ac 16^9) is to be identified with Luke himself, who meets the apostle at Troas.

LITERATURE.—Tristram, *Land of Moab*^{2} (1874), 253 ff.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.* 317; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* 569 f.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. i. 577 f.; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 250 f.; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, Eng. tr. ii. 329 ff.; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, i. 120, 658 ff.

R. W. MOSS.

MACHBANNAI (מַכְבַּנַּי; B *Μελχαβανναί*, A *Μαχαβαναί*).—A Gadite who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^{13}.

MACHBENA (מַכְבֵּנָה, van d. H. מַכְבֵּנָא; B *Μαχαβηνά*, A *Μαχαμηνά*, Luc. *Μαχβανά*).—Named in the genealogical list of Judah (see GENEALOGY, IV. 34) as the 'son' of Sheva, 1 Ch 2^{49}. It is clear that a place and not a person is intended. Machbena is probably the same as **Cabbon** (כַּבּוֹן) of Jos 15^{40}, which may perhaps be identified with *el-Kubeibeh*, situated about 3 miles south of *Beit Jibrin* (see Dillm. on Jos 15^{40}).

J. A. SELBIE.

MACHI (מָכִי [derivation and meaning uncertain: if the vocalization implied in *Μακχί* is correct, the word comes from the Hiph. of נכה, and means 'striking']; LXX *Μακχί*, *Μαχί*, *Μακοσί*: F has the more familiar form *Μαχείρ*, in which it agrees with the Peshitta ܡܟܝܪ).—The name occurs only once, in Nu 13^{15}, where P mentions Machi as the father of Geuel, who acted on behalf of the tribe of Gad as one of the twelve men sent to spy out the land of Canaan.

J. TAYLOR.

MACHIR (מָכִיר).—**1.** Son of Manasseh (the son of Joseph), Gn 50^{23},—the eldest son, according to J (Jos 17^{1b-2}), the only son, according to P (Nu 26^{29}). Machir has, however, really a tribal significance: he, or his 'sons,' represent the leading branch of the tribe of Manasseh,—usually that warlike part of the tribe (Jos 17^{1b} 'for he was a man of war, and had Gilead and Bashan') which, after Moses had assigned inheritances on the E. of Jordan to Reuben and Gad (Nu 32), went and took possession of (the N. half of) Gilead (v.^{39}; cf. v.^{40}, Dt 3^{15}), to which other passages add Bashan (N. and N.E. of Gilead) as well (Jos 13^{31} 17^{1b}): in Deborah's song, however (Jg 5^{14} 'from Machir came down commanders' [Moore, 'truncheon-bearers'; Heb. מחקקים]), it seems that Machir must denote that part of Manasseh which was settled on the W. of Jordan (so practically all commentators). On account, partly, of this localization of Machir in Deborah's time W. of Jordan, it has been supposed by many modern scholars that the conquest of Gilead was in reality effected, not at the time when Israel first invaded the lands E. of Jordan in the days of Moses, but subsequently, later even than the time of Deborah, by Manassites invading it from W. Palestine (cf. MANASSEH). From the connexion subsisting between Machir and Gilead, he is habitually spoken of as the 'father'* of Gilead, Jos 17^1 אבי הגלעד (where the art. shows distinctly that 'Gilead' is the name of a locality), 1 Ch $2^{21.23}$ 7^{14} (cf. Nu 26^{29} P, where it is said that Machir 'begat' Gilead); and, conversely, Gilead is called the 'son' of Machir, Nu 27^1 36^1, Jos 17^3 (all P), 1 Ch 7^{17} (cf. GILEAD **1**, above, vol. ii. p. 174). In Nu 26^{29} (P) mention is made of the family of the **Machirites**, who traced their descent from 'Machir.' See, further, MANASSEH, where the genealogies in which Machir is included are printed in tabular form, and where the inferences which seem to be suggested by the differences between them are more fully stated.

2. See next article.

S. R. DRIVER.

MACHIR (מָכִיר, *Μαχείρ*).—The son of Ammiel, described as living at Lo-debar, on the E. of Jordan. The site of this spot is uncertain, but it probably lay on the N. border of Gilead, and is to be identified with Lidebir (Jos 13^{26} RVm). We gather from the biblical narrative that Machir, who was evidently a wealthy and powerful landowner, had remained faithful to the house of Saul during the struggle between David and Ishbaal (or Ishbosheth), and after the latter's death had extended his protection to Meribbaal (or Mephibosheth), the lame son of Jonathan, until assured of the friendly intentions of the reigning monarch (2 S $9^{1ff.}$). His friendly support doubtless contributed in no small measure to Meribbaal's escape from the subsequent destruction of his father's house at the hands of the Gibeonites (21^{1-14}), an event which chronologically must have preceded $9^{1f.}$. At a later date Machir, together with Barzillai of Gilead, and Shobi, an Ammonite prince, came to the assistance of David and his army at Mahanaim when they were pursued by the rebellious Absalom, and furnished them with ample supplies of food and drink (17^{27-29}). According to Josephus (*Ant.* VII. ix. 8), Machir was the principal man of the country of Gilead.

J. F. STENNING.

MACHNADEBAI (מַכְנַדְבַי; B *Μαχαδναβού*, *Μαχναδααβού*, ℵ *Ἀχαδναβού*, Luc. *καὶ Ναδαβού*).—One of the sons of Bani, who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{40}. G. Buchanan Gray (*Expos. Times*, Feb. 1899, p. 232 f.), partly upon the strength of the above readings in B and ℵ, argues that the latter element in the word is the divine name *Nebo*. He thus obtains the form מכדנבו, which he would further change (ד and ר being often confused) into מכרנבו = 'possession of Nebo.' In the same article, which is well worthy of study, Mr. Gray argues that the same species of compound is found in the name *Barnabas*, which would thus be = 'son of Nebo.'

J. A. SELBIE.

MACHPELAH (הַמַּכְפֵּלָה, always with the article).—The name of the spot where was the piece of ground and cave bought by Abraham for a burying-place. The name is not met with outside Genesis; but though the meaning is uncertain, authorities generally concur in one rendering. Gesenius (*Lex.*) gives 'a doubling.' The LXX, Vulgate, Targum of Onkelos, and Pseudo-Jonathan, render it 'double.' The place is mentioned twice (Gn 23^9 25^9) as 'the cave of Machpelah' (מְעָרַת הַמ'), once (23^{19}) as the 'cave of the field of Machpelah' (מְעָרַת שְׂדֵה הַמ'), once (50^{13}) as 'the field of Machpelah' (שְׂדֵה הַמ'), once (49^{30}) as 'the cave which is in the field of Machpelah' (הַמְּעָרָה אֲשֶׁר בִּשְׂדֵה הַמ'), and once (23^{17}) as 'the field of Ephron, which was in Machpelah' (שְׂדֵה עֶפְרוֹן אֲשֶׁר בַּמ'). In this latter case the LXX render 'Machpelah' as the 'double cave,' and in Gn 49^{30} render ‘in the cave which is in the field of Machpelah’ by *ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ τῷ διπλῷ*, thus leaving out ‘field’; this takes place again in Gn 50^{13}. The Syriac in Gn 50^{13}, on the other hand, leaves out ‘cave,’ and renders the passage as the ‘double field.’ It may be noted that all the passages in Genesis belong to P.

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* Cf., on the expression, above, vol. ii. p. 535^a, n. ‡.

Stanley (*Lectures on the Jewish Church*, p. 488) considers the name ‘*the* Machpelah’ to have belonged to the whole district or property, though applied sometimes to the cave and sometimes to the field, and that the ancient versions used it almost always as if applied to the cave. The matter is of some interest, because the traditional cave is supposed to be in two parts. Dillmann on Genesis says, ‘We learn from him [A, *i.e.* P] that [Machpelah] was the name of a locality in Hebron in which lay Ephron’s land with the cave in it. It and Ephron’s field lay *on the front side*, *i.e.* east of Mamre. Mamre was therefore west of it.’

‘So Abraham acquired possession of the piece of land in Machpelah, which lies before Mamre, with the cave in it, and all the trees on it’ (Gn $23^{17f.}$). This transaction accentuates the fact that Abraham was a stranger and a sojourner in the land promised to his seed, and that the burying-place he bought in Machpelah was his sole landed possession in the land of Canaan. Abraham at this time was dwelling at the oak of Mamre, to the west of Machpelah. In this cave, that is, in the field of Machpelah, which is before Mamre, in the land of Canaan, they buried Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Leah (Gn 49^{30} 50^{13}).

There is nothing further in the Bible concerning the burying-place of the patriarchs, except that in the speech of St. Stephen (Ac 7^{16}), by a singular variation, the tomb at Shechem is substituted for that at Hebron. It is not mentioned in the visit of the spies to Hebron, in Caleb’s conquest, or in David’s reign there (Nu 13, Jos 15^{13}, 2 S 5^{5}). The only possible allusion is in the account of Absalom’s vow of a pilgrimage to Hebron when absent in Geshur (2 S 15^{7}). During the struggles of the Maccabees many battles were fought around Hebron, which had become one of the northern towns of Idumæa, and was taken and burnt by Judas Maccabæus; but no mention is made of the burying-place of the patriarch, or of the monuments erected there (1 Mac 5^{65}).

The priests at the temple, as they looked for break of day, used often to say, ‘The face of all the sky is bright even unto Hebron’ (Talm. *Joma*, ch. 3). Not a few believed that Adam was buried there in like manner [as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their wives]. ‘Adam said, After my death they will come, perhaps, and, taking my bones, will worship them; but I will hide my coffin very deep in the earth, in a cave within a cave. It is therefore called the Cave, Macpelah, or the doubled Cave,’ *Juchasin*, fol. 63. 1 (Lightfoot, ii. 47). A tradition concerning the death of Esau is noticed in the Talmud (*Sota* i. 13). A quarrel occurred at the burial of Jacob, between his sons and Esau, concerning their right to sepulture in the cave. Huskin, son of Dan, cut off Esau’s head, and left it in the cave, his body being buried elsewhere. Jelal ed-Dîn repeats this story, and the grave of Esau is still shown at *Sia’îr*, north of Hebron (*PEFSt*, 1882, 208). Josephus (*Ant.* I. xiv. 1) tells us of the purchase of the field of Ephron at Hebron by Abraham, and that ‘both Abraham and his descendants built themselves tombs (*μνημεῖα*) in that place’ (*Ant.* I. xxii. 1). In speaking of the death of Isaac he relates his burial at Hebron, ‘where they had a monument (*μνημεῖον*) belonging to them from their forefathers.’ Josephus states (*BJ* IV. ix. 7) that ‘Abraham had a habitation at Hebron, whose monuments (*μνημεῖα*) are to this very time shown in this small city: the fabric of which monuments is of the most excellent marble, and wrought after the most excellent manner.’ He makes Hebron, and not Gibeon, the site of the ‘high place’ where Solomon prayed for wisdom (2 Ch 1^{3}; *Ant.* VIII. ii. 1); and Jerome appears to suggest (*Qu. Heb.* on 2 S 15^{7}) that the ancient sanctuary of J″ there was at the ancient sepulchres of the patriarchs. But this altar, built by Abraham at Hebron (Gn 13^{18}), had no connexion with the cave of Machpelah.

The connexion of Adam and Esau (Edom) with Hebron is very interesting, and it is difficult to arrive at any conclusion as to the period when this view first arose. Perhaps it was in later times, when Idumæa extended over the Negeb or South country. Originally the land of Esau (or Edom) was Mount Seir (‘rough’ or ‘hairy’ = Esau, with a different pointing), which lay to the east of the Arabah and east and south of Moab (Gn 27^{11}; *Ant.* I. xviii. 1). In process of time, however, when the power of the Edomites increased, the territory west extended to the south of Palestine, so that Josephus (*Ant.* V. i. 22) describes it as taking in the lot of Simeon, and in 1 Mac it includes even the hills north of Hebron, and Hebron itself was an Idumæan city (1 Mac 5^{65}).

Isaac was buried at Hebron by his sons Esau and Jacob (Gn 35^{29}), and after this (?; according to 32^{4} [J] Esau was already resident in Seir when Jacob returned from Mesopotamia) Esau is said to have left the land of Canaan and ‘dwelt in Mount Seir: Esau is Edom’ (Gn 36^{6}; both P).

Adam and Eve are traditionally (by Moslems) supposed to have been buried at Mecca, and have no *Makâms* in Palestine. On expulsion from Paradise, however, they are supposed to have hidden themselves in, or near, a spring at Hebron, which is now called *‘Ain el-Judeidah*. Here, also, the red earth from which Adam was said by the Jews to have been formed, is shown by the Moslems. This tradition is mentioned by several writers in the time of the Crusaders, and may be of Christian origin (*SWP*, S. Pal. 261).

Hebron is also called the City of Arba (Kiriath-arba), ‘the greatest man among the Anakim’ (Jos 14^{15}), which by later writers was fancifully interpreted as the ‘city of four.’ Thus a fourth patriarch was required in addition to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the substitution of Adam for Edom (Esau) may be suggested as the consequence. The view taken by the Jewish writers (from the words of Jos 14^{15}) (*Bereshith rabba*, quoted by Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, 189) is that the ‘city of four’ refers to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Adam, who are buried there. See KIRIATH-ARBA. Jerome (*Onomast.* p. 120, *Ep. Paul.* 11) also explains that the ‘city of four’ refers to the four above mentioned.

The statements of the various historians concerning the sepulchres of the patriarchs are to be found collected together in *Archives de l’Orient Latin*, ii. (1884), 411, and in *Palestine under the Moslems* (1890), 318. The following are the more important. It will be noted that there is no direct allusion to the present Ḥaram enclosure until the 12th cent., and as its construction is considered to be at least as early as the time of Herod the Great, it seems doubtful whether it was ever visited by Christians until the time of the Crusades, the House of Abraham, about two miles north of Hebron, being then probably the Christian traditional site of the tombs of the patriarchs. In the 4th cent. the sepulchres of the patriarchs are spoken of as existing at Hebron, built of marble, and of elegant workmanship, and the Basilica of Constantine close to the great enclosure is called ‘Abraham’s House’ (*Onomast.* art. ‘Arboch’). The Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333) describes the square enclosure within which Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with their wives, were buried, as built of stones of great beauty. Antoninus Martyr (*c.* A.D. 600) adds Joseph to the three patriarchs, and says that a Basilica was built there 'in quadriporticus' with an interior court open to the sky, in which the Jews and Christians entered from different sides, burning incense as they advanced. Arculf (*c.* A.D. 698) speaks of the double cave and the monuments of the four patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Adam, enclosed by a low square wall; the tomb of Adam lies not far from the others, and the three women, Sarah, Rebekah, and Leah, have smaller monuments, and were buried in the earth. The hill of Mamre is a mile from these monuments, with a church and a stump of the oak of Mamre. Mukaddasi (*c.* A.D. 985) speaks of the strong fortress round the tombs of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their wives, built of great squared stones, the work of Jinns (*i.e.* of people before the Moslems: the Moslems often attribute old buildings of superior construction to Jinns). The Moslem name at the present day for the enclosure is 'The wall of Solomon.' Saewulf (A.D. 1102) and the Abbot Daniel (1106) are the first Christians who speak of the tombs being surrounded by a very strong castle or high wall. The caves are said to have been discovered and opened in A.D. 1119 (*Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii. 411). John of Wurzburg (A.D. 1100), Theodoricus (A.D. 1172), Jacques de Vitry (A.D. 1220), Burchardt (A.D. 1230), speak of the fourth tomb being that of Adam, while Saewulf and Daniel make the fourth the tomb of Joseph.

Benjamin of Tudela (1163) states of Hebron: 'Here is the large place of worship called St. Abraham, which during the time of the Mohammedans was a synagogue. The Gentiles have erected six sepulchres in this place, which they pretend to be those of Abraham and Sarah, of Isaac and Rebekah, and of Jacob and Leah; the pilgrims are told that they are the sepulchres of the fathers, and money is extorted from them. But if any Jew come, who gives an additional fee to the keeper of the cave, an iron door is opened, which dates from the time of our forefathers who rest in peace, and with a burning candle in his hand the visitor descends into the first cave, which is empty, traverses a second in the same state, and at last reaches a third, which contains six sepulchres, those of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of Sarah, Rebekah, and Leah, one opposite the other.' Ali of Herat, writing in 1173 (*PEFSt*, 1897, p. 59), fifteen years before Hebron was retaken by Saladin, states that he was informed that in the year 1119, in the reign of Baldwin II., a certain part over the cave of Abraham had given way and was repaired by the Franks from below. Rabbi Samuel bar Simson in 1210 claims to have visited the cave. 'We descended by 24 steps, very narrow, and without means of turning to the right hand or the left. We saw there the place of the Holy House, and we noticed these monuments. This place has been erected 600 years (*i.e.* about A.D. 600), it is near the cavern' (*PEFSt*, 1882, p. 212). Sir John Maundeville (1322, *Early Travels in Pal.* p. 61) says: 'In Hebron are all the sepulchres of the patriarchs, Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their wives, Eve, Sarah, Rebekah, and Leah—they suffer no Christian to enter that place except by special grace of the Sultan—and they call that place where they lie Double Spelunk, Double Cave, or Double Ditch, because the one lies above the other.' (The tomb of Joseph had already been added here by the Moslems).

Nasir-I-Khussan (A.D. 1047, *Diary of a Journey through Syria and Palestine*), after describing the tombs of the patriarchs, states, 'It is said that in early times the sanctuary (at Hebron) had no door into it, and hence that no one could come nearer to (the tombs) than the outer porch (*'iwân*), whence from outside they performed their visitation. When, however, the (Fatemeh Khalif) Mahdi came to the throne of Egypt (A.D. 918) he gave orders that a door should be opened (into the sanctuary). The entrance door of the sanctuary is in the middle of the northern wall, and is four ells high from the ground. [*Note.*—This door is usually now said, at the present day, to be on the eastern side: it is actually north-east]. On either side of it are stone steps, one staircase for going up and one for coming down, and the gateway is closed by a small door.'

Jelal ed-Dîn (A.D. 1470) says that the Moslems destroyed the Christian church in the Ḥaram enclosure when Saladin took Hebron; this destruction may have been only partial, as the church still exists. This author's writings are not considered as reliable as those of Mijr ed-Dîn.

Mijr ed-Din (A.D. 1495) speaks of the Mosque of Hebron as the work of the Greeks (*Rûm*), by which term he may mean the Christians, *i.e.* the Crusaders (see *BRP* ii. 78). He gives an account of the 'invention' of the Tomb of Joseph, outside the Ḥaram enclosure, opposite the Tomb of Jacob, in A.D. 908–932, and states that the doorway through the west Ḥaram wall between the two tombs was pierced A.D. 1394 by Yaghmuri, governor of Hebron. Makrisi (followed by Mijr ed-Dîn) relates that a poor idiot boy, having fallen through the hole existing in the floor of the mosque leading down into the cave, some servants descended into the cave and rescued him. They saw a stone staircase of 18 steps which led to the *Minbar*.

David the Reubenite, a Jew (A.D. 1523, *PEFSt*, 1897, p. 47), visited the Ḥaram area at Hebron, and, on being shown the cenotaphs of the patriarchs, said, 'These are not true; the truth is that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are in the cave under ground; and I told them to show me the cave. So I went with them, and they showed me the opening of the door of the cave in the mouth of the pit; and they let down the lamp into the pit by a rope, and from the mouth of the pit I saw the opening of the door about the height of a man, and I was convinced that it was under the cave. Then I said, This is not the opening to the cave, there is another opening; and they answered me, Yes, in ancient times the opening of the cave was in the middle of the Great Church, in which is a cenotaph of Isaac.' They showed him this opening, which was shut with large stones and lead; and they read to him a book in which it was stated that a certain king (the 2nd from Mohammed), after the Moslems had taken the sanctuary from the Christians, had built up the opening to the cave.

Jichus ha-Aboth (1537, a tract) describes the Ḥaram area: 'An admirable and magnificent edifice, attributed to king David on whom be peace. Near the door is a little window in the wall; they pretend that it extends to the cavern: it is here that the Jews pray, as they are not allowed to go into the interior' (*PEFSt*, 1882, p. 212).

The only Europeans who had visited the Ḥaram enclosure during this century before 1867 were the Spaniard Badia (Ali Bey), travelling as a Moslem (1807); Giovanni Finati, the Italian servant of Mr. Bankes (1816); and the servant of Mr. Munro (1833). Ali Bey is said to have entered the cave through an iron door in the north side of the Ḥaram at the bottom of the steps; but this was only the popular account in Hebron in 1867, and cannot be relied on.

In 1834 Ibrahim Pasha was let down into the cavern from the mosque, but was quickly brought up again, he being suddenly smitten with the impropriety of looking on another man's wife. In 1862 the cenotaphs of the patriarchs were visited by the Prince of Wales, accompanied by Dean Stanley (see a full account in *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, p. 483 ff.). In 1864 they were visited by Mr. James Fergusson, who gives additional information in Appendix J, 'The Holy Sepulchre.' In 1867 the present writer was shown the iron door which is said to lead into the caves. It is situated on a level with the street at the bottom of the steps leading up to the mosque at Jâwalîyeh, at the north-west entrance to the Ḥaram. It probably leads to the tomb of Joseph outside the Ḥaram. This door, the guardians of the mosque stated, had not been opened for 600 years (*Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 41). In 1882 they were visited by Princes Albert Victor and George of Wales, Canon Dalton, Sir Charles Wilson, and Captain Conder, and complete information is given about everything except the cave itself (*SWP* iii. 305).

The space containing the traditional caves of Machpelah is enclosed by a magnificent quadrangle of masonry 197 ft. in length and 111 ft. in width, measured externally, called the Ḥaram. The length lies N.W. and S.E., the breadth lies N.E. and S.W. The walls are of one class of masonry throughout, as in the original construction. The stone is of grey limestone, very hard, and akin to marble. The whole character of the masonry is similar to that of the lower portion of the Ḥaram wall at 'the Wailing place,' Jerusalem. The courses of stone average 3 ft. 7 in. in height, the longest stone visible being 24 ft. 8 in. in length. There is a slight *batter* in the walls; that is to say, each course stands back about ½ in. from the course below, as at the Wailing place, Jerusalem.

At the height of about 15 ft. (*i.e.* level with the floor of the mosque or church within) portions of the wall 7 ft. wide are set back about 10 in. by means of a batter, leaving 16 pilasters on the longer faces and 8 on the shorter face. These pilasters are 3 ft. 9 in. wide each; the angle pilasters are each 9 ft. 6 in. wide—the space between the pilasters being 7 ft. This wall, with pilasters, is continued up for about 25 ft., making a height of 40 ft. from the ground on the western side and 25 ft. above the pavement within. The wall and pilasters have a simple projecting cap or coping at the top. These pilasters are similar to two at the N.W. angle of the Ḥaram wall, Jerusalem, which are 4 ft. 6 in. wide, with an interval of 6 ft. and set back of 8 in. The thickness of the Ḥaram wall of Hebron is 8 ft. 6 in., counting from the intervals, or 9 ft. 4 in. from the face of the pilasters. On the top of this old masonry, which is all *in situ*, is an Arabic wall of recent date.

From the west on the north and south of the enclosure (along the shorter faces) steps run up to the level of the floor within, and a passage at this level runs round the eastern and longer face. This passage leads to the mosque *Jâwalîyeh*, situated immediately N.E. of the Ḥaram. There was originally no opening on the eastern face, but a doorway at a distance of 93 ft. 7 in. from the south-east angle has been knocked through the Ḥaram wall. So that the passage on the eastern face now leads on one side to the *Jâwalîyeh* mosque, and on the other side to the interior of the Ḥaram, 15 ft. above the roadway to the west.

There is no positive information as to what there is below the level of the passage to the east of the Ḥaram, but the general impression was that the rocky surface rises to the east, the Ḥaram wall on the eastern side being built on the rock or at the level of the passage. Dr. A. Paterson, in a recent communication to the present writer, entirely confirms this view.

Conder's account, however (*PEFSt*, 1881, p. 267), seems to settle this question. 'We visited the eastern side of the enclosure, and found ourselves on the housetops almost level with the cornice of the old wall. We here found a mosque, called *el-Jâwalîyeh*, with a large dome. There is also a third entrance to the enclosure on this side, and the old wall appears to be almost as high here as on the west, although the mountain called *el-Jâ'abireh* rises very suddenly behind the Ḥaram on the east. It would appear, therefore, that the rock beneath the Ḥaram platform, in which the great cave is said to exist, must be a detached knoll; since on all sides there is lower ground, and a retaining wall 40 ft. high' (*PEFSt*, 1881, p. 267). But Robinson (*BRP* ii. 76) says, 'The buildings stand on the slope of the eastern hill; the rocks having been excavated along the upper side, in order to lay the foundations.' Canon Dalton (*PEFSt*, 1882, note[1], p. 201) suggests that a portion of the interior of the Ḥaram probably represented originally 'the field of Mamre before the cave,' and was then on a level with the exterior.

When the level was artificially, and probably gradually (with débris of Byzantine church, etc.) raised 15 ft., the present approaches round the exterior of the Ḥaram, and at a higher level, were necessitated, and are entirely Moslem. As there is no ancient gateway through the Ḥaram wall above the level of the floor inside, it is apparent that all that is to be seen inside above this level is of a later date than the Ḥaram enclosure.

It has been mentioned that the walls of this enclosure are precisely of the same appearance as the wall of the Jews' Wailing place at the Ḥaram of Jerusalem, and probably of the same date. This unfortunately gives no clue to the date, as views differ as to the age of 'the Wailing place,' between the time of Solomon and king Herod. Wilson and Conder without hesitation consider the wall to be Herodian; de Vogüé and Fergusson appear to have the same view; on the other hand, Grove, Ritter, Stanley, Robinson, and the present writer, consider these walls to be pre-Herodian.

The interior of the Ḥaram enclosure (above the level of 15 ft. above the roadway) is occupied by buildings of Christian and Moslem construction, nothing in it being earlier than the 12th cent. except the *Minbar* or pulpit (completed A.D. 1091), and brought by Saladin from Ascalon.

The southern portion of the enclosure is taken up by a mosque (formerly a church), with length of aisles 70 ft. and breadth across aisles 93 ft. The central aisle is 35 ft. wide, and the two side aisles 30 ft. wide each. The length (70 ft.) is broken up into three bays of unequal space; that to the south is 15 ft. wide, and contains the *Mihrab* and *Minbar*. The central bay is 30 ft. wide, and contains the cenotaphs of Isaac and Rebekah. The north bay is 25 ft. wide, and contains the *Mehala* or reading-desk. The church is Gothic, closely resembling the Crusading churches of Palestine, and the four pillars supporting the roof are clustered, 12 shafts being carried up the clustering walls and supporting ribbed groins; in this respect it resembles the Church of St. John at Samaria, dating between A.D. 1150 and 1180. The capitals resemble those of the Church of Bîreh, completed A.D. 1146, and the general style resembles the Church of St. John at Gaza, dating about A.D. 1152. Conder considers that the building of this church may be attributed to the latter half of the 12th cent., probably about the year A.D. 1167, when the town became a bishopric. Fergusson's view was that this church most probably was not erected before 1167 nor later than 1262, more nearly approaching the former than the latter period.

All the other buildings in the interior of the enclosure are of Moslem construction, and are attributed to the 14th cent. The Arab historians Makresi and Mijr ed-Dîn state that they were erected in A.H. 732 (A.D. 1331) by the Mameluk Sultan Muhammed Ibn Kelawun. Beyond the church to the north is a porch or narthex, which includes two octagonal chapels, containing the cenotaphs of Abraham and Sarah.

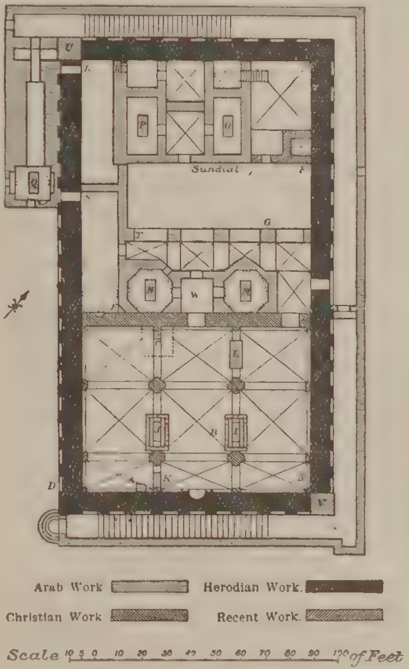
The porch appears to be of later date than the chapels, and there is an inscription on it stating that it was restored in A.H. 1172 (A.D. 1755). Beyond the porch is an open courtyard with a sundial, and beyond this courtyard are chambers occupying the northern portion of the enclosure, and containing the cenotaphs of Jacob and Leah.

On the outside of the Ḥaram enclosure, and adjoining it to the north-west, is a Moslem building, containing the cenotaph of Joseph. According to Mijr ed-Dîn, it was discovered on the traditional site by Khalanji during the reign of the Khalif al-Muḳtadir (A.D. 908–932), and a dome subsequently built over the spot. He speaks of the walls of the Ḥaram as the walls of Solomon's enclosure. He further states that one of the guardians of Hebron (*Jaqhmuri*), A.D. 1394, pierced a gate in the western wall of Solomon's enclosure, opposite to the tomb of Joseph.

The outer gates, together with the two flights of steps and passages round the exterior of the Ḥaram, are attributed to the 14th cent., and have the character of the best Arab work; this, however, must have been a reconstruction, as they would have been required, and were probably constructed when the Fatemite Khalif Mahdi caused the door to be pierced through the east wall of the Ḥaram enclosure, A.D. 918 (*Diary of a Journey through Syria and Palestine*, A.D. 1047). It was apparently at this time that the Moslems first used the interior of the Ḥaram area as a mosque or sanctuary.

The cave of Machpelah is the one ancient burying-place which has been handed down with certainty as a genuine site, and the great interest which gathers round it is enhanced by its being the earliest burying-place of the Hebrew race in the Promised Land, and by the impenetrable mystery in which the sanctuary has been involved. This, as Stanley suggests, is a living witness to the unbroken local veneration with which the three religions of Jews, Christians, and Moslems have honoured the great patriarch. But it is to the cave and not to the monuments or building that the great interest attaches, and about which so little has been known even with the researches in modern times. Even now it is uncertain whether the chamber known to be under the floor of the church in the Ḥaram area is of masonry or cut in the rock, and what its extent may be. The following is a brief summary of what is known at present on the subject.

Within the church, adjoining its northern wall, in a line between the tombs of Abraham and Isaac, is a perforated stone (at point E on plan) which rises above the floor of the church. The perforation is a circular hole, a little more than 12 in. in diameter, leading by a shaft into a chamber below, the bottom of which is about level with the roadway outside to west. The chamber (as seen by the light of a lamp lowered down) seems to be square, about 12 ft. either way, with vertical walls covered with plaster. Towards the south-east a square-headed doorway can be seen in one of the chamber walls. The plaster on the walls prevents it being ascertained whether they are of rock or masonry, but the mouth appears to be in part at least of rock, like that of a cave or cistern, while in the south-east corner a piece of rock appears to project across the angle of the chamber. The floor of this chamber is thickly strewed (1882) with sheets of paper (Moslem supplications), and it has been suggested that as they do not seem to be old, and that as the whitewash on the walls of the chamber is white, clean, and apparently of no great age, it may be inferred that the chamber, whence there is an entrance to the cave, is periodically visited and cleaned by the guardians of the mosque, and that entrance can be obtained by removing the perforated stone from the pavement. The sheikh of the mosque describes the cave as being double, in accordance with the tradition.



ḤARAM ENCLOSURE, HEBRON.
(By kind permission of P.E. Fund).

There are two other points where there are supposed entrances to the cave as shown by the sheikh of the mosque in the royal visit of 1882. At A (on plan), at the south end of the church close to the pulpit, where there are stone slabs cased with iron, and a small cupola supported on four slender pillars: this entrance is said to lead to the western cave, where, or in the inner cave, the actual tombs of the patriarchs are reputed to exist. At B (on plan), near the tomb of Rebekah, is the supposed entrance to the eastern cave. It is closed with flagging, forming the floor of the church. From these two points A and B it is supposed that staircases lead down into the cave, but practically only the entrance at C (as described) is known for a fact. At the point D, outside the Ḥaram wall, close to the steps of the southern entrance gateway, there is a hole through the lowest course of the masonry, on a level with the street. It extends some distance, and is said to admit of the whole length of a lance being passed through the wall, and probably communicates with the western cave. Through this Jews were allowed to look and to stand and pray, as they were not permitted to enter the Ḥaram enclosure.

All those who have written on the subject appear to concur in supposing that the double cave did not extend beyond the limits of the floor of the church, and that there is no cavity, but made earth, under the floor of the inner court, where are the cenotaphs of Abraham, Sarah, Jacob, and Leah, and that there was originally an entrance on a level with the street to the west, and that the old portal is concealed by the buildings known as Joseph's tomb. Some also think that there was a Byzantine church in the interior before the arrival of the Moslems.

There is another view, however, that may be taken of the matter, viz. :—That originally there was no doorway or entrance to this massive enclosure, and that the first opening through the wall was made by the Moslems in the 10th cent. The Israelites in early days had no reverence for sacred graves or tombs, and the general feeling of the people appears to have been averse to memorials to the dead. There is nothing known of the tombs of Moses, Joshua, Samuel, Elisha, etc., and even the site of the tombs of the kings is lost. Abraham's desire was to 'let me bury my dead out of my sight.' But the cave of Machpelah, being the resting-place of the patriarchs in a well-known position, could not be hidden away : it may seem, then, that the massive wall built round the cave without any entrance or means of ingress was the most effectual method that could be adopted to prevent the place being used as a sanctuary. It is suggested that this continued until the Moslem occupation in the 7th cent., and that as they developed their desire for *Makâms* and sacred places, they eventually (in A.D. 918) pierced through the wall and built in the interior, and also opened a door into the cave from the north-west corner, to enable the vestibule of the cave to be cleared of the offerings, etc., put through the opening in the floor of the mosque ; and that the first Christian building inside was erected in the 12th cent.

LITERATURE.—Ritter, *Erdkunde, Palästina*, 209 ; Robinson, *BRP* ii. 75 ; *SWP* iii. 333 ; Stanley, *S. and P.*, and *Lectures on the Jewish Church* ; *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii. 411 ; *Pal. Pilgrim Text Soc. Publications* ; *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 218 ; *PEFSt* (1882) 197, (1897) 53. C. WARREN.

MACRON (Μάκρων), the surname of Ptolemy, who was at one time governor of Cyprus under Ptolemy Philometor (2 Mac $10^{12f.}$), and subsequently governor of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia under Antiochus Epiphanes (*ib.* 8^{8}). He is to be identified with PTOLEMY the son of Dorymenes (1 Mac 3^{38}, 2 Mac 4^{45}).

MADAI.—See MEDES.

MADIAN.—Jth 2^{26}, Ac 7^{29} (both AV). See MIDIAN.

MADMANNAH (מַדְמַנָּה).—A town of Judah in the south, noticed with Ziklag, Jos 15^{31} (B Μαχαρειμ, A Βεδεβηνά), 1 Ch 2^{49} (where Shaaph the 'father' of Madmannah is a son of Caleb by his concubine Maacah ; B Μαρμηνά, A Μαδμηνά). The site is uncertain. There is a ruin called *Umm Demineh* north of Beersheba, but this does not appear to be a suitable site. Dillmann thinks it may be the same place which is called in Jos 19^{5}, 1 Ch 4^{31} Beth-marcaboth ('place of chariots' ; cf. 1 K 9^{19} 10^{26}, Mic 1^{13}). In the *Onomasticon* (279. 139) Μηδεβηνά (which, however, is confused with מַדְמֵנָה **Madmenah** of Is 10^{31}) is identified with Μηνοεις near Gaza, hence it has been proposed by some to find Madmannah in the *el-Minyây* of Robinson (*BRP*^{2} i. 602). This last name is a corruption of the Latin *limen*='shore.' C. R. CONDER.

MADMEN (מַדְמֵן).—A place in Moab, which, if the MT be correct, has not been identified. The name occurs only in Jer 48 [Gr. 31]^{2}, where there is a characteristic word-play גַּם־מַדְמֵן תִּדֹּמִּי 'also, O Madmen, thou shalt be brought to silence' (LXX *καὶ παῦσιν παύσεται*). It is a very natural suggestion that the initial מ of מַדְמֵן has arisen by dittography from the final ם of the preceding word, and that for *Madmen* we should read *Dimon* (cf. Is 15^{9}), *i.e. Dibon* (cf. 48^{18} in Jer). This appears to be favoured by Siegfried-Stade (*s.v.* מַדְמֵן) and Buhl (*GAP* 268). Dillmann thinks it unlikely that in Is 25^{10} the words בְּמֵי מַדְמֵנָה (*Ḳerê* 'בְּמוֹ מ) 'in the water of a dunghill,' there is an allusion to the name *Madmen* (supposing this reading to be accepted). See, further, Cheyne's note on this passage.

MADMENAH (מַדְמֵנָה, Μαδεβηνά).—A place apparently north of Jerusalem, named only in the ideal description of the Assyrian invasion, Is 10^{31}. The name has not been recovered.

MADNESS.—See MEDICINE.

MADON (מָדוֹן).—A royal Canaanite city, noticed with Hazor of Galilee, Jos 11^{1} (B Μαρρών, A Μαδών) 12^{19} (B Μαρμώθ, A Μαρών). Ma*d*on has been suspected to be a clerical error for Ma*r*on (by a frequent confusion in Heb. between ד and ר; cf. the LXX forms above), the reference being to one of the two places in Upper Galilee called *Mirûn* and *Mârûn*. There is a ruin called *el-Medineh* ('the city') on the plateau west of the Sea of Galilee, but this is near the shrine of Nebi Sho'eib (Jethro), and probably connected with the legend of the 'city of the grove' taken from the Korân. The site of Madon (which is noticed in the list of Thothmes III.) is therefore doubtful. See *SWP* vol. i. sheet iii., vol. ii. sheet vi. ; van de Velde, *Mem.* 146.*

C. R. CONDER.

MAELUS (A Μάηλος, B Μίληλος), 1 Es 9^{26} = MIJAMIN, Ezr 10^{25}.

MAGADAN (Μαγαδάν : the reading Μαγδαλά, **Magdala**, of TR and AV has no support).—The name occurs but once in the NT. In Mt 15^{39} it takes the place occupied by **Dalmanutha** in Mk 8^{10}, where Codex Bezæ gives *prop. man.* Μελεγαδά, D^{1} Μαγαιδά, and a few cursives Μαγαδά. In each case the indication is general. After the miracle 'he entered into the boat, and came *εἰς τὰ ὅρια Μαγαδάν*' (Mt), '*εἰς τὰ μέρη Δαλμανουθά*' (Mk) ; from this we may justly infer that the two places were in close proximity, so that 'the borders of Magadan' correspond with 'the parts of Dalmanutha.' Brocardus identifies Magadan and Dalmanutha with a place called by the Arabs *Me-Dan*, or *Syala*. He is obviously confused. *Me-Dan* must be the *Leddan*, the stream from *Tell el-Kādi* ; while *Syala* is evidently *Phiala*, now called *Birket Rām*, 4 miles east of *Baniâs*. Both sites are alike impossible. Megiddo, on the south edge of Esdraelon, is also out of the question. With the information at present available no certain decision can be reached. The direction taken by the boat is not stated, therefore we cannot say they sailed to the western shore. There is no site with a name at all resembling Magadan round the lake ; and the only place in any degree like Dalmanutha is *ed-Delhemîyeh* on the eastern bank of the Jordan, a little north of its confluence with the Yarmuk. To this town may have belonged the land stretching to the south shore of the lake. The identi-

* On the LXX reading *ἀνὴρ Μαδών* in 2 S 21^{20} (Heb. אִישׁ מדין *Kethîbh*, 'א מדון *Ḳerê*) see Driver, *Text of Sam.* p. 273.

fication is hazardous; but if established would point to the only recorded visit of our Lord to the S. or S.E. of the Sea of Galilee; in which case Magadan would probably have to be sought farther to the east.

Schwarz (quoted by Stanley, *SP* 383) speaks of the cave of *Teliman* or *Talmanutha* in the cliffs overlooking the sea, W. and S.W. of *el-Mejdel*. This lacks corroboration: during years of intercourse with the natives the present writer never heard the name. Should it prove correct, it would be a strong point in favour of placing Dalmanutha at the south end of the cliffs where they sink into the valley which opens on the sea in the fertile plain of *el-Fulîyeh* (see DALMANUTHA). Here are a number of springs, walled round in ancient times, presumably to raise the level of the water for irrigation. It is brackish and slightly tepid. Where it enters the lake great shoals of fish constantly congregate, and may be seen from an elevated rock, closely packed over a wide area. On a rocky eminence south of the valley are extensive ruins which bear the name *Khirbet Ḳuneiṭriyeh*. If this identification be accepted, then probably *el-Mejdel* represents Magadan, although the change of name remains to be explained. The village stands at the S.W. corner of the plain of Gennesaret; it is a cluster of wretched mud huts, such stones as are used being taken from older buildings. That it occupies a site of antiquity is proved by the remains of ancient walls between the village and the sea. The position may have been chosen for a tower (Heb. מִגְדָּל: the modern Arab name also signifies 'tower' or 'fortress') to guard, as here it could do effectively, the entrance to the plain from the south. A comparatively modern tower, now also ruinous, stands to the north of the village, and hard by a palm-tree rears its solitary form. A large thorn shelters the *wely* by the wayside, and several spreading trees afford shade, in which the village fathers spend most of their days. The inhabitants are of mingled blood, Arab, *fellaḥ*, and gipsy; and they own no high reputation. Part of the plain, farmed by a capitalist in Acre, is cultivated by the peasants for a pittance. Their life is mean and miserable. Behind the village to the west, the mighty gorge of *Wady Ḥamâm*, with the robber caves, and the fortress of *Ibn Ma'ân* in its precipitous cliffs, breaks away towards *Ḳurûn Ḥaṭṭîn*, the traditional Mount of Beatitudes: the clear stream that flows down the vale, waters the south of the plain and enters the sea hard by the village.

El-Mejdel, with a confidence by no means justified by known facts, is often pointed out as the birthplace of Mary Magdalene. This hamlet, and a handful of squalid hovels at *Abu Shusheh* above the stream of *er-Rubadîyeh*, with a few tents of the humbler Arabs, are all the dwellings of men now found in this once densely populated district.

LITERATURE.—Stanley, *SP* p. 383; Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 394; Henderson, *Palestine*, 157, 160; Robinson, *BRP* ii. 396; Baedeker, *Pal. and Syr.* 255; Buhl, *GAP* 225 f.; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 203 ff.; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, 216 ff.; also Literature cited under DALMANUTHA. W. EWING.

MAGBISH (מַגְבִּישׁ; B Μαγεβώς, A Μαγεβίς, Luc. Μααβείς).—The name of an unknown town, presumably in Benjamin, whose 'children' to the number of 156 are said to have returned from the Exile, Ezr 2^{30}. The name is omitted in MT of the parallel passage Neh 7^{33} and in B of the LXX, but A has Μαγεβώς and Luc. Μαγβείς. See Smend, *Listen*, 15. A name which Ryle (*Ezr. and Neh.* p. 270) considers to be identical with it occurs in Neh 10^{20} in the list of those who sealed the covenant, namely **Magpiash** (מַגְפִּיעָשׁ, B Βαναφής, A Μααφής). J. A. SELBIE.

MAGDALA.—See MAGADAN.

MAGDALENE.—See MARY, No. V.

MAGDIEL (מַגְדִּיאֵל).—A 'duke' of Edom, Gn 36^{43} = 1 Ch 1^{54} (in Gn A has Μετοδιήλ, in 1 Ch B has Μεδιήλ, A Μαγεδιήλ).

MAGI (μάγοι; AV and RV 'wise men').—In Jer $39^{3.13}$ one of the Chaldæan officers sent by Nebuchadrezzar to Jerus. is called Rab-mag (רַב־מָג; probably a title, like Rab-saris or Rabshakeh, not a proper name: the title Rab-mag, or 'chief of the Magi' (cf. Dn 2^{48}), may well be that of Nergal-sharezer, whose name immediately precedes it). The traditional account of the Magi is that they were a Median race (Her. i. 101; Amm. Marc. 23. 6; Agathias, 2. 26; see also Parsi tradition in *Sacred Books of the East*, iv. p. xlvii), who acted as priests of the Persians (Her. i. 132; Soz. *HE* ii. 9, etc.), but whose persistence as a race is frequently attested and occasionally causes violent conflicts (*e.g.* Her. i. 120, iii. 65, 73, 79).

This view raises two difficulties—(1) How do the Magi come to occupy an important place (cf. that in Justin, XII. xiii. 3; Q. Curt. V. i. 22) under the Chaldæans? It has been suggested that, as Media reached a high level of civilization before its neighbours (cf. *Sacred Books of the East*, iv. p. l), one effect of this may be seen in the influential part played by Median priests in various countries. It is no more difficult to imagine the Medes as exercising great influence at the court of Nebuchadrezzar, than to find them in Cappadocia (Strabo, xv. 733), in Cilicia (Movers, *Phön.* i. 240), or Persis (Strabo, xv. 727), the introduction of the Magian priesthood in the last case being expressly ascribed to Cyrus the conqueror of the Medes (Xen. *Cyr.* VIII. i. 23).

(2) If the Magi are identified with the Median priests of Zoroastrianism, how are we to account for the fact that the officials of a religion whose sacred books contain strong invective against magic (see J. G. Müller in Herzog's *RE*^{1} viii. 676) should yet come to give their name to magicians in general? For, in classical writers, the Magi appear, not only as performing the duties of a national priesthood, but as occupying themselves with the interpretation of dreams (*e.g.* Her. i. 107, 120, vii. 19: for this other works than the Avesta would have had to be consulted, as is admitted by Spiegel, *Eran. Alterth.* iii. 594), as well as with natural science and medicine (cf. Plin. *HN* xxx. 1), while Zoroaster himself is described as the inventor of astrology (Just. i. 1; Suid. *s.v.* Ζωροάστρης). It is true that μάγος occurs often in an idealizing sense (*e.g.* Philo, *de Spec. Legg.* 792, *Quod omnis probus liber*, 876; Plato, *Alcib.* 1. 122; Aristotle in Diog. Laert. *fr.* 8; Cic. *Div.* 1. 41; Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* 36, etc.), but its use for a magician is to be found already in Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 387. In the Sept. μάγος is the equivalent of אַשָּׁף, a charmer or astrologer (Dn $2^{2.10}$, so Theod. Dn *pass.*); in Aq. it represents אוֹב, a necromancer (the secondary use of this word for the familiar spirit which abides with such a necromancer, produces the strange rendering τὴν ἔχουσαν μάγον in 1 S 28^7); in Symm. it stands for חַרְטֻמִּים, interpreters of signs (see Hatch and Redpath, *Concord. to Sept. s.v.* μάγοι). The expression μαγικὴ τέχνη in Wis 17^7 (of *Egyp.* conjuring) is parallel to Gn 41^8 Symm., Philo *Mos.* 616, etc. (Herzog, *RE*^{1} viii. 682); and shows the transition in the sense of the word, from the practices of a local priesthood to similar actions wherever performed, as completely effected (cf. non-ethnic sense of 'Chaldæans' in Dn *pass.*). Ought we therefore to take advantage of Jer $39^{3.13}$, and assume that

the Magi were either (*a*) a Babylonian, or possibly an Assyrian, race, or (*b*) not a race at all, but that *Magi* is only a general name for a priestly caste of 'magical' tendencies, who corrupted a purer religion in Media and Persia? (*a*) As regards the former supposition, Jer 39, though it gives us the earliest allusion to the Magi, says nothing as to their relation to the Chaldæans. It is true that Ctes. *Pers.* 46 (15), Nicol. Damasc. *fr.* 66, etc., speak of the Chaldæans in such a way as apparently to identify them with the Magi, while the distinctions drawn in Diog. Laert. *fr.* 6, Porphyr. *Vit. Pyth.* 6, do not succeed in removing the impression that the two were frequently confused; but if once a similarity of occupation between Magi and Chaldæans were admitted, this would account for the identification easily enough (Spiegel, iii. 588). (*b*) The second view suggested is tempting (cf. modern view of Druids: Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 68), but the connexion between Magism and Media is too strongly attested to make it easy. The absence of the name Magi from the Avesta (Spiegel, iii. 585) does not show that they belong to a different religion from the Zoroastrian, since the racial name may have been treated as a title of scorn (*Sacred Books of the East*, iv. p. li). But the full discussion of the question does not belong to this place, where it is merely necessary to indicate the importance of Jer $39^{3.13}$ in the controversy. (See Pauly, *RE*^{1} iv. 1374; Zöckler in Herzog, *RE*^{2} ix. 127; Schrader, *COT*^{2} 110, 114).

It is partly owing to this vagueness in the meaning of the word that so little certainty can be arrived at in regard to the most important allusion to the Magi in the Bible—that in Mt 2. We are told that certain *μάγοι* came from the east to pay their homage to the king of the Jews, whose star they had seen at its rising (*ἐν ἀνατολῇ*, AV and RV 'in the east,' which would probably require the plural). They consulted Herod, who procured them the required information by help of the scribes, and, after seeing the star again, they were successful in their search, offered their gifts of gold, frankincense (cf. Holtzmann, *in loc.*), and myrrh, and, in consequence of a divine warning conveyed in a dream, returned home by a different route, without revisiting Herod. The king, who had inquired of them secretly at what time the star first appeared, with a view to ascertaining the age of the child, put to death all the male children in Bethlehem 'from two years old and under,' the Holy Child escaping through the flight of his parents into Egypt.

(1) The Magi came from the east (*ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν* should probably be taken with *μάγοι* in spite of the absence of the article, see Alford, *in loc.*; but this makes no difference to the general sense), but no conjectures as to the particular part of the east can pretend to any certainty. Probably most is to be said for Arabia (Just. Martyr, Tertul., Epiphan., to whom it was suggested by Ps $72^{10.15}$, Is 60^6; the view has also modern defenders, *e.g.* Grotius, Wieseler, Holtzmann, Edersheim); but others have favoured Persia, Parthia, Babylon, and even Egypt (see the names in Meyer's and Holtzmann's *Comm.*). The expression is quite vague (cf. Mt 8^{11} 24^{27}, Lk 13^{29}, Rev 21^{13}), and Plumptre has pointed out that 'the language of OT, and therefore probably that of St. Matthew, included under this name countries that lay considerably to the N. as well as to the E. of Palestine' (see *e.g.* Nu 23^7, Is 41^2); while the nature of the gifts presented is not decisive (Weiss, *Life of Christ*, Eng tr. i. 266). It may, however, safely be assumed that they are not Jews (as v. d. Hardt, Münter, Paulus, etc.); the words *ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν* and the exact terms of their question seem inconsistent with this supposition, while the evidence of Christian tradition is also weighty.

(2) The controversy whether *μάγοι* is here to be understood in a good or bad sense is really unimportant. It is, no doubt, true that the bad sense predominates in classical writers of the time (*e.g.* Tac. *Ann.* ii. 27, xii. 22, 59; Plin. *HN* xxv. 59, xxvi. 9, xxx. 1, 6; cf. Kleuker, *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, ii. 3), that the Magus is frequently denounced in Rabbinical works (Hamburger, *RE* *s.v.* 'Zauberei'; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 210), and that the other NT allusions bear an unequivocally bad sense (Ac 8^9 Simon Magus, $13^{6.8}$ Elymas). However, the evangelist lays no stress, either on the value of the religion of the Magi in general or on its falsity, so that the attempt of many ancient commentators (Just., Chrys., Theophyl.; cf. J. Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* ii. 36) to press the bad sense here, is as irrelevant to the story in the Gospel as the ironical fears of Strauss for the dogmatic consequences of a favourable construction. The newly-born king of the Jews receives homage from Eastern sages; their views (beyond the reference to the star, which does not imply any opinion on astrology in general) are not touched upon, and therefore neither praised nor blamed—a point in which Mt 2 contrasts with Sen. *Ep.* 58, where some critics have endeavoured to find a parallel.

(3) The exact cause of the Magi's coming can apparently only be guessed at. The passages in the Avesta on the three sons of Zoroaster and the triumph of Soshyos would appear, even if their bearing on the present story were more clear, to be too late in date to afford any assistance (*Sacred Books of the East*, iv. p. xxxvii). We must suppose that the Magi, to whatever nationality they themselves belonged, derived their inference that a king of the Jews was born, from Jewish sources. The coming of Messiah seems certainly to have been expected among the Jews at this time (Lk 2^{25}; Ellicott, *Hulsean Lectures*^{6}, 75); and though the widespread feeling in the East, that a Jewish Messiah would conquer the world, is only attested for a later period (Edersheim, *op. cit.* i. 203), Jewish authorities, if consulted on the appearance of an exceptional astronomical phenomenon, might well have explained it of Messiah. Unfortunately, it is difficult to ascertain either (*a*) what the precise Jewish view in regard to the star of Messiah was, or (*b*) what the actual astronomical fact was in which they regarded the expectation as now fulfilled.

(*a*) As regards the former point, in Nu 24^{17} (referred to by Just. *Tryph.* 106; Iren. III. ix. 2; Orig. *Cels.* 1. 59, etc.), the star would most naturally apply to the prince himself, not to a sidereal phenomenon heralding his appearance (cf. Weiss, *op. cit.* i. 266; G. Baur, *Altt. Weissag.* i. 346); the passage in *Aggadoth Mashiach* (quoted by Edersheim, *op. cit.* i. 211), however important in other ways, is quite vague as to the nature of the star; while Abarbanel (1437–1508, a Portuguese Rabbi commenting on Daniel), who attaches special importance to the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Pisces, is a very late writer, the value of whose evidence for the earlier period is a difficult matter to decide.

(*b*) Various attempts have been made to discover unusual astronomical phenomena at this time, which might have aroused the attention of the Magi. Kepler (*De vero anno*, etc. 1614) calculated that a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn took place in B.C. 7; Ideler (*Handb. d. Chronol.* ii. 399), and more recently Pritchard, have repeated the calculations, the latter showing (*Memoirs of Royal Ast. Soc.* xxv. 119) that three conjunctions took place between May and December B.C. 7. This conjunction (besides agreeing very well with the hint in Abarbanel, whatever that may be worth) would certainly present a rare and splendid spectacle, and would undoubtedly cause much interest to those engaged in the study of the stars. No difficulty would be caused by the use of *ἀστήρ* in Mt 2, for (in spite of Suidas, *s.v.* *ἀστήρ*) the word may apparently be employed for any sidereal appearance (at least in the popular language of NT, *e.g.* Lk 21^{25}, Ac 27^{20}, He 11^{12}; cf. also Schäfer in Brunck's *Ap. Rhod.* ii. p. 206), while Lotz has remarked that, as neither the evangelist nor any authority of his seem to have seen the star, the word used is indifferent. But Pritchard has shown ('Star of the Wise Men,' in Smith's *DB*) that this conjunction cannot be considered to have guided the Magi to Bethlehem or stood over Bethlehem at the time required by the story; possibly also some weight may be attached to his remark that a still closer conjunction took place in B.C. 66, which ought to have aroused similar interest. Wieseler (*Chronol. Synops.* 67) follows a suggestion of Kepler, that a peculiarly coloured evanescent star may have appeared between Jupiter and Saturn, of the same kind as one which appeared at the similar conjunction observed by Kepler in 1604. Wieseler further, adopting a hint supplied by Münter (*Stern der Weisen*, 1827, in which work interest in Kepler's suggestion was again aroused after a long interval), claims the support of Chinese tables for the appearance of such a star in Feb. B.C. 4, and the moderate weight attached by him to this evidence seems (in spite of the ridicule of Strauss) to be justified. Accordingly he regards the evanescent star, not the conjunction, as the star of the Magi; Edersheim (*op. cit.* i. 211), by referring to two passages in the Midrashim which represent the star of Messiah as appearing two years before His birth, is able to suggest further that the conjunction in B.C. 7 may have aroused the attention of the Magi, and the evanescent star of B.C. 4 have seemed (as it apparently well might) to guide them and stand over Bethlehem. On the other hand, the narrative implies that the star guiding the Magi to Bethlehem was believed to be the same star as that seen at its rising before; so we should either have to credit the Magi with a mistake (which seems improbable under the circumstances), or to suppose that the evanescent star appeared twice (which is in conflict with the Chinese records, on which the hypothesis depends).

We must therefore be content to believe that astronomical reasons prompted the Magi's visit, but that it is doubtful whether the exact cause has as yet been ascertained. Considering the number of astronomical possibilities, this fact is not in itself surprising. But there is nothing in the language of Mt 2 to imply that the star is of such a kind as could not be shown to be subject to natural laws. The universal belief in ancient times that stars acted as guides (Winer, *RWB*^{3} ii. 524), would serve to convince the Magi that this had happened in their case; their story, which may have corresponded accurately enough to the apparent facts, is simply adopted without comment in the Gospel. The question is not whether a star can lead men and stand over a place, but whether it can appear to do so; the passage is undoubtedly of 'great poetical beauty' (Holtzmann), but it does not follow that it rests on no historical basis (cf. Weiss, *op. cit.* i. 265). A wooden interpretation of the text is in any case to be deprecated, whether adopted in the supernatural (as Wordsworth, *in loc.*) or anti-supernatural interest.

(4) The attempt to use the date of the Magi's visit for establishing that of Christ's birth, comes to very little. Commentators are unable to agree how soon after the birth the visit is to be placed; the order of Herod would certainly be meant (as Euthymius already pointed out) to be inclusive, and would not show that the child was nearly two years old; the astronomical data are too uncertain to be of any value. [But cf. art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT, vol. i. p. 403; and Ramsay, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* p. 215].

(5) Much criticism has been directed against the whole story in Mt 2; but a careful study of the writers who oppose it most strongly, would seem to show the difficulty of explaining it, even from a purely destructive point of view. It has been suggested that the visit of these Eastern sages would, if true, have made a great impression, and that accounts from other quarters would almost necessarily be expected; but the attitude of Herod, which would at once be suspected, would make the utmost secrecy desirable. It is admitted that the murder of the children is in keeping with Herod's character (see Jos. *Ant.* XVII. vi. 5; *BJ* I. xxxiii. 4, 6); the number of children killed would be small ('probably 20 at most,' Edersheim, i. 214; Holtzmann exaggerates it); and those who remember the controversies on the 'silence of Thucydides' and 'the silence of Eusebius' will have no difficulty with 'the silence of Josephus' here. The references in Macrobius, *Sat.* ii. 4. 11 (Holtzmann, *in loc.*, regards this as a certain allusion to our story), and Chalcidius, *Tim.* vii. 126, are too late in date to afford any clearly independent evidence, but the absence of confirmation cannot under the circumstances be regarded as unfavourable to Mt 2 (for the earliest patristic allusions, see Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, ii. 2, 80). Lk follows entirely different sources from Mt in his account of Jesus' childhood, and therefore the omission of any allusion to the Magi in the third Gospel cannot be regarded as surprising. The question how room is to be found for the Magi's visit, so as to make a consistent story of the two narratives, is a difficult one, but the view of Wieseler (*Chron. Synops.* 152) may perhaps be considered satisfactory.

The attempt to discredit Mt 2 by producing close parallels is not successful. The scene at Plato's death in Sen. *Ep.* 58 is more remarkable for its differences than its resemblances; the story of Moses, as given in Jos. *Ant.* II. ix. 2, though more like Mt 2 than the parallel section in Ex, does not deserve the importance which some scholars attach to it (cf. Weiss, *op. cit.* i. 268); the looser illustrations of Strauss carry no conviction. The expectations of the Jews as to their Messiah do not appear to have been of such a kind as would account for the invention of the story in fulfilment of them (Edersheim, *op. cit.* i. 209). It is true that certain parts of OT (esp. Ps 72^{10}, Is $60^{3.\,10}$) might lead to a modification of the tradition in the direction indicated by those passages, and the subsequent history of the story shows this to have been the case, but those very points are conspicuously absent from Mt's account. Again, the two places in which Mt adduces OT quotations ($2^{6.\,18}$) certainly raise difficulties of interpretation (Edersheim, i. 206; Weiss, i. 270), but those very difficulties show that the story has not been invented to fulfil the prophecies. The utterance of Balaam (Nu 24^{17}) would necessarily be regarded as fulfilled in the star of the Magi, but it is hard to see how it could have given rise to the latter; that there should be signs in heaven at the advent of Messiah (Rev 12^{1}) is as natural as that a pretender should subsequently call himself Bar-Cochba ('son of the star'), but that Mt 2 should correspond in any sense to an expected star of Messiah is extremely unnatural. We should rather have to think of the evangelist as deliberately inventing a fulfilment, suggesting a reason why it should not have caused more excitement at the time, and combining it with the gifts of Ps 68^{29} 72^{10}, and the worship of Is 49^{7}. But the connexion with the prophecies is too slight, the combination too inferential, and the style of the whole too simple, to make this supposition satisfactory. To suppose, further, that this very fact is due to the author's ingenuity, is to credit him with almost superhuman cleverness. That Jerus. should be troubled at one moment and should have forgotten the cause at the next, is not inconsistent with the habits of an excitable populace. Nothing need be said of Keim's objection that Herod 'would not have exalted the position of the Sanhedrin' (see Weiss, i. 269), of his somewhat simple suggestion that Herod would probably have put the Magi to death, or of the difficulty found by Holtzmann in the king's secret interview with them. That so long a journey should be undertaken for such a cause is no doubt *a priori* improbable, but it is not impossible. If the story is legendary, the explanation of the legend has certainly not been found yet, and critics ought carefully to consider whether the difficulties involved in rejecting the account are not greater than those of accepting it as historical. But it is impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion, on critical grounds, with regard to the Magi's visit, unless it is taken in connexion with the other incidents related in the Gospels about the childhood of Jesus (see JESUS CHRIST).

(6) Tradition has much to say in regard to the Magi's visit. The influence of Ps $68^{29.\,31}$ 72^{10}, Is 49^{7} $60^{3.\,10}$, makes itself felt in the belief that they were kings (perhaps already in Tert. *Jud.* 9, *Marc.* 3. 13; but see Patritius, *de Evangel.* ii. 320, where it is contended that there is no clear instance before the 6th cent.). Their number was fixed at three in spite of an Eastern tradition that they were twelve: Drisler, *Classical Studies*, p. 31; *Op. Imp. in Mt* 2 *ap.* Chrysost. vi. 638), probably from the threefold nature of their gifts, though symbolical meanings were also attached (*e.g.* Orig. *Hom. Gen.* 14. 3; Leo, *Serm.* 31. 1; [Aug.] *Serm. App.* 136. 4; Bede, *Collect.* v. 542). The gifts themselves were explained in symbolical ways (Suicer, *Thes. s.v.* λίβανος), though it is perhaps worth notice that Christian art attached but little importance to the actual gold, frankincense, and myrrh, for which other offerings were generally substituted (Kraus, *RE s.v.* 'Magier'). The star received miraculous additions (Ign. *Eph.* 19, see Lightfoot, *ad loc.*; Chrysost. *Hom. Mt.* 6. 2), as did the whole story (*Op. Imp. l.c.*; Hyde, *Rel. Vet. Pers.* ch. 31). The names of the Magi, and the traditional way of representing them, became fixed (Spanheim, *Dub. Evang.* i. 287; Moroni, *Dizion. s.v.* 'Magi'; Kraus, *l.c.*). Their bodies were discovered in the East in the 4th cent. and removed to Constantinople; thence they travelled to Milan on the consecration of Eustorgius, and to Cologne on the conquest of Milan in 1162. Their festival, combined at first with a commemoration of Christ's baptism, His first miracle, and the feeding of the 5000 (Max. Taur. *Hom. ad Epiph.* 7; [Aug.] *Serm. App.* 134. 1), appears in the 4th cent. (Amm. Marc. 21. 2, Julian; Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 43. 52; Valens); and though rejected by the Donatists as an innovation (Aug. *Serm.* 202. 2), was honoured by the Catholics (Const. Apost. 8. 33; cf. Cod. Theod. xv. t. 5. 5; Cod. Justin. iii. t. 12. 7). Though the 'Epiphany' always retained traces of its origin as a celebration of Christ's baptism (hence its special suitability for the administration of baptism; Augusti, *Handb. d. Christl. Archäol.* ii. 376), the Magi assumed a gradually increasing importance in its solemnities (cf. Binterim, *Denkwürd. d. chr. kath. Kirche*, v. i. 310).

LITERATURE.—The most important works are cited in the course of the article, while further references can be found from them. On traditions as to the Magi and Epiphany see also Smith, *DB*, art. 'MAGI'; Bingham, *Origines*, vol. ix. p. 66; Hone, *Everyday Book*, Jan. 6.

P. V. M. BENECKE.

MAGIC, MAGICIAN.—Magic, *ars magica*, is the profession and practice of the *magi* or μάγοι. This is the etymological signification of the word. The name and office are associated by Greek writers with the Persians. 'Among the Persians they who are wise respecting the deity, and are his servants, are called magi,' says Porphyry (*de Abstin. An.* iv. 16). Both Herodotus and Xenophon employ the term in the sense of priest and soothsayer (Her. vii. 37; Xenoph. *Cyr.* VIII. i. 23). Indeed, according to Porphyry, Darius declared himself to be a teacher of magic (μαγικῶν διδάσκαλος). In Sophocles, *Oed. Tyr.* 387, the word is used in an unfavourable connexion; but this cannot be said to be necessary and inevitable. In Dn 1^{20} Theod., 2^{2} LXX and Theod. etc., μάγος occurs with by no means a bad sense attaching to it. Indeed, Daniel himself (5^{11} Theod.) was chief *magus*, and obtained this appointment from Nebuchadnezzar himself (ἄρχων ἐπαοιδῶν, μάγων, Χαλδαίων, רַב חַרְטֻמִּין אָשְׁפִין כַּשְׂדָּאִין). And in the same ethically neutral and official sense the word μάγος occurs in the Matthew narrative ($2^{1.\,7.\,16}$).

One passage in Herodotus (i. 101) need not detain us. Here the *magi* are called a 'tribe' of Medes. As Schrader points out (*COT* ii. p. 113), they were rather a class than a tribe, *i.e.* the Median priestly order. We have a close parallel in the Hebrew *Levi*.

The origin of the name and office of Magian (μάγος, Heb. מָג only in foreign name *Rab-mag*) is uncertain. Both Schrader and Delitzsch claim for it a Babylonian origin, and this certainly seems probable. Yet it must be confessed that at present there is no satisfactory derivation of מָג from Assyro-Babylonian forthcoming. Schrader's combination of it with *êmḳu* (*imgu*) 'deep,' 'wise' (עמק), is very hazardous; while Delitzsch in his *Prolegg. eines neuen Heb.-Aram. Wörterb.* p. 138, footn. 1, surrenders, on phonetic grounds, his former combination of the word (propounded in *Heb. in the Light of Assyr. Research*, p. 14) with the Assyr. *maḫḫu*, meaning 'prophet,' 'soothsayer' (=*ašipu*). Nevertheless, the close parallel between the expression רַב מָג (in Jer 39^{3}) and the Assyrian title Rab-šaḳ(ê) (*WAI* ii. pl. 67, line 66),* points decisively to a Babylonian origin.

But our subject is not limited by the original etymologic import of the name. Magic is a term used by us to connote a certain range of acts standing in very close relation to ancient religion, yet hardly forming a normal or essential part of it. A satisfactory definition of the term is by no means easy. In a recently published work by Dr. Alfred Lehmann, entitled *Superstition and Magic*, in which the accompanying beliefs and usages are traced from the earliest times down to the present, the writer defines magic as every act which arises from superstition or may be explained on the assumption of superstitious ideas (p. 7, Germ. ed.). But the definition is too broad; and when we come to the definition of superstition as 'every hypothesis which has either no justification in a given religion or stands in contradiction to the scientific conceptions of a given time' (p. 6), we have too shifting a basis on which to construct an adequate definition of magic. We must therefore endeavour to fix on a more stable connotation for this term. Ludwig Blau, *Das alt-Jüdische Zauberwesen*, defines magic as consisting of those acts 'whereby an event or a condition is conceived of as brought to pass in some supernatural way' (p. 3). We are here standing on firmer ground. Yet even here greater clearness is needed, for the term 'supernatural' requires elucidation. Robertson Smith (*Prophets of Isr.*, Lect. vii. *ad fin.*) has shown that our terms 'natural' and 'supernatural' had no relevancy to ancient Semitic modes of thought. The definition would be clearer if by 'supernatural' we meant 'transcending the normal coexistences and sequences of cause and effect.' Yet even then Blau's definition of magic remains too broad, since it might include sacrifices, augury, and soothsaying. But in its strict sense magic stands outside these, and should be entirely separated from the normal thoughts and acts of religion.

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* See Schrader, *COT* ii. pp. 8 f., 114. The word *šaḳ* as an Assyrian official term is to be found not only in the annals of Tiglath-pileser III. but also in the Rassam cyl. of Assurbanipal, col. ii. 15, *šu-ut-šaḳ-ja*; see Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesestücke* 3, No. 83 in the *Schrifttafel*.

Magic may, in its historic sense, be best described as the special and abnormal agency, whether through words or acts, whereby certain superhuman personal powers are constrained either to create evil (or good) or to avert baleful effects. Accordingly magic falls into two parts. We have to do with the art with which the Babylonian systems make us familiar, whereby the superior deities or good demons are influenced to exercise their good offices to avert the evil, *i.e.* whereby counter-spells or charms are worked. This art may be called 'sacred magic.' On the other hand, we have to do with the *Black art*[*] called sorcery (see art. SORCERY), whereby evils are wrought on the unfortunate human victim through the power of the evil eye, etc., by the male sorcerer, or more frequently through the female witch, who is able to summon supernatural powers of darkness to his or her aid. Of this some illustrations will be given below.

In the definition, or rather description, above given we have had chiefly in view the usages and beliefs of the Christian era and the ages that preceded it. In other words, magic is regarded as the outgrowth of demonology, the necessary accompaniment of a belief in demons. To quote once more from Blau's treatise: 'These spirits the magician endeavours by his occult methods to bring under his power, or to compel them to carry out his will. The conceptions respecting the nature and power of these spirits, whom man can make serviceable to himself, differ with the different races. This does not, however, alter the essential fact. Belief in demons and belief in magic are inseparable the one from the other' (p. 7). As it is not the purpose of this article, contributed to a Bible Dictionary, to travel beyond the confines of the subject in its biblical relations, we shall content ourselves with the above conception of magic based on the animistic interpretation of the universe out of which demonology arose[†] (see article DEMON, DEVIL, vol. i. p. 590). It must be premised, however, that demonology does not wholly explain magic in all its varied forms and ramifications.

Investigation of the historic sources of the magical beliefs and practices of Israel leads us to ancient Egypt and Babylonia—more especially the latter. In both magic was highly developed, and penetrated deeply into the life of the people. In both we fortunately have access to ancient documents in considerable abundance belonging to an age far anterior to the Exile and even the Regal period in Hebrew history.

Erman's instructive work, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, describes vividly the magical conceptions and practices that prevailed in the Nile Valley. As in Babylonia, magic was one of the most potent influences in the intellectual and moral life of ancient Egypt. 'The belief that there were words and actions by which they could produce an effect on the powers of nature, upon every living being, upon animals, and even upon gods, was indissolubly connected with all the actions of the Egyptians' (p. 352). It infected their funeral ceremonies. Wooden figures were supposed to do the work or prepare the food for the deceased. These with stone geese and wooden models of kitchens had been endowed through incantations with magical power. Even gods availed themselves of magic formulæ to constrain each other, or wore amulets. Isis pre-eminently was mistress of magic. Her name was placed on amulets worn by the deceased as a protection, and it was also used in medicines prepared for the living. The underlying conception in many of the formulæ employed was that in the history of one of the gods some good fortune came to the deity. The magician for the time regarded himself as identified with the god, and would repeat the words which the god had spoken on that occasion, and he might even designate himself as the god. Erman cites the example (p. 353)—

> 'Thou art not above me—I am Amon,
> I am Anhor, the beautiful slayer,
> I am the prince, the Lord of the Sword,' etc.,

by which crocodiles were conjured.

In the description of the great trial for high treason—a harem conspiracy against Rameses III. (contained in the judiciary papyrus of Turin, papyrus Lee and papyrus Rollin)—we read that 'the royal superintendent of the cows, a man of high rank, procured a magical book from the Pharaoh's own library, and according to its directions made certain wax figures which were smuggled into the palace, where they were supposed to cause lameness and illness' (Erman, p. 143). Magic and medicine were closely bound up with one another in Egypt as in Babylonia. Our chief authority on this subject is the great papyrus Ebers. In order that a special remedy might be effective, certain incantations were pronounced over it. The following formula, we learn from the above papyrus, was recited in the preparation of all medicines: 'That Isis might make free, make free. That Isis might make Horus free from all evil that his brother Set had done to him when he slew his father Osiris. O Isis, great enchantress, free me, release me from all evil red things, from the fever of the god and the fever of the goddess, from death, and death from pain, and the pain which comes over me; as thou hast freed, as thou hast released thy son Horus, whilst I enter into the fire and go forth from the water,' etc. (Ebers, i. 12 ff.). From the same authority we can readily perceive the dense ignorance of Egyptian doctors respecting the internal organism and its parts. They had a vague conception of the heart as the centre of the circulatory system, as well as some knowledge of the bones and large viscera, but respecting the etiology of disease knew nothing. Diseases they, like other ancients, ascribed to demons. The body was divided into 36 parts, and over each part a demon presided, and in case of disease he was addressed in order that restoration to health might follow. From the Book of the Dead we learn that in the case of a dead body the different parts of the body fell to the care of respective deities. Thus Nu guarded the hair, Râ the face, Hathor took the eyes under her protection, Anubis the lips, while Thoth took oversight over all the limbs. Further interesting details on this subject may be obtained from Dr. A. Wiedemann's *Religion der alten Ægypter*, p. 146 f.

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[*] See Lehmann, *ib.* p. 31 f.

[†] Tylor (*Prim. Culture*, i. p. 116), basing his generalization on a broad survey of savage life, modern superstition and folk-lore, finds the psychology of magic in faulty association of ideas. 'By a vast mass of evidence from savage, barbaric, and civilized life, magic arts, which have resulted from thus mistaking an ideal for a real connexion, may be clearly traced from the lower culture which they are of to the higher culture which they are in. Such are the practices whereby a distant person is to be affected by acting on something closely associated with him, his property, clothes he has worn, and above all cuttings from his hair and nails.' This is, no doubt, largely true. But the following passage in Tylor's work clearly shows that the theory must be supplemented by the assumption of demonology or a belief in the sorcerer, who is a quasi-demon.

In Babylonia demonology and magic were even more prevalent than in ancient Egypt. To the inhabitants of the Euphrates and Tigris lands the existence of a vast host of demons was an ever-present fact. Now demons, as we have already pointed out (art. DEMON, DEVIL), are simply a development of Animism. In the words of Prof. Morris Jastrow (*Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 49), 'the more important and the more uniform of the natural forces became gods, and the inferior ones were, as a general rule, relegated to the secondary position of mere sprites, like the jinns of Arabic belief.' Mere sprites or demons personify the irregular and destructive forces of nature (cf. Chantepie de la Saussaye, i. p. 214). The incantations, of which so large a number has been supplied to us in the 4th vol. of the Cuneiform Inscr. of Western Asia (*WAI*, occasionally designated Rawl.; see Sayce, *Hibbert Lect.* pp. 441–447), usually deal with bodily or mental afflictions, of which evil demons were held to be the cause. These were believed to have obtained power over the human subject owing to the wrath of some deity, or because the victim had been subjected to blighting influence through the instrumentality of some sorcerer or witch. Angry gods made use of demons for the infliction of punishment. Moreover, it was believed that domestic misfortunes, such as jealousy, evil reports, and quarrels, were brought about by these supernatural agents. In magic, forms of words constituted the means by which the demons were constrained to work these mischiefs on the unfortunate victim. Or it might be effectuated by poisonous breath or spittle, and yet more often by **the evil eye.** For in the very earliest times it was a popular superstition that certain beings possessed demonic power, and could exercise it malignantly on human victims of their displeasure. Jastrow thinks that 'this belief may have originated in the abnormal appearance presented by certain individuals in consequence of physical deformities. . . . The uncanny impression made by dwarfs, persons with a strange look in their eyes, and, above all, the insane, would give rise to the view that some people possessed peculiar powers. By the side of such as were distinguished by bodily defects, those who outranked their fellows by virtue of natural gifts, by keenness of intellect or cunning, would also be supposed to have received their power through some demoniac source. There would thus be associated ideas of sorcery and witchcraft. The sorcerers might be either male or female, but, for reasons which are hard to fathom, the preference was given to females.' Thus among the Babylonians, as in mediæval Europe, the witch appears more frequently than the male sorcerer. She possesses the power of demons, and in incantations the two are often conjoined.

The predominance of the sorceress may also be observed in Jewish literature as well as in that of other races, notably in that of Greece and Rome (cf. Horace, *Epod.* xvii., *Sat.* i. 8; Theocritus, *Idyll* ii.). Citations from the Talmud in Blau's *Das alt-Jüdische Zauberwesen*, p. 23 f., show how deep-seated was the belief that sorcery was the work of women. Sorceresses, in fact, abounded; and according to Simon ben Jochai (A.D. 150) they had increased in number in his time, while Rabbi Eliezer declares that Simeon ben Shetach had hanged eighty of them in Ascalon in one day. Popular belief among the Jews even assigned *rabies* among dogs to the agency of women. This predominance of the sorceress meets us in ancient Arabia.*

The witch held close personal relations with the demons, and could control them, being able to invoke them at her will in order to effect her malignant purposes on mankind. Magical potions constituted one of the arts which she employed. But among the most effective was the method which has been termed 'sympathetic magic': 'Under the notion that the symbolical acts of the sorcerers would have their effect upon the one to be bewitched, the male sorcerer or the witch would tie knots in a rope.† Repeating certain formulas with each fresh knot, the witch would in this way symbolically strangle the victim, seal his mouth, rack his limbs, tear his entrails, and the like. Still more popular was the making an image of the desired victim in clay or pitch, honey, fat, or other soft material, and either by burning it to inflict physical tortures upon the person representing it, or by undertaking various symbolical acts with it, such as burying it among the dead . . . to prognosticate in this way a fate corresponding to one of these acts for the unfortunate victim.'

Cuneiform scholars have devoted much attention to this weird branch of Babylonian literature. Since the days, twenty-five years ago, when Lenormant expounded this subject in his *Chaldæan Magic* with much graphic vigour and detail, several scholars, including Sayce and recently L. W. King (*Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*), Tallqvist, and Zimmern, have made notable contributions.

The demons which are mentioned in the incantation texts amount to hundreds. They are of various classes: those which inhabit the field, those which haunt the resting-places of the dead, and the evil demons which inflict physical suffering. It is with the last we are now specially concerned; and the means by which these evil influences were counteracted occupy a vast number of cuneiform tablets. We possess a great collection of incantations directed against these demons, called by a variety of names, and also against the sorcerers. In many cases the interpretations are provisional.

> The *utukku* of the field and the *utukku* of the
> mountain.
> The *utukku* of the sea, and the one that lurks
> in graves.
> The evil *shedu*, the shining *alu*.

Beside these we have mention of the *ekimmu*, 'which seizes hold of a man.'‡ These incantations fall into various elaborate series.

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* Wellh. *Reste Arab. Heidenthums*^{2}, p. 159: 'There were men and women who made this art of magic their profession. The witches, however, were more numerous. They distinguished themselves among the Arabs, as among other races, from the male sorcerers by showing themselves more passive than active. Hence the demons do not serve them, but *vice versâ*. In fact they almost seem incarnations of the demons. In the time of Ibn Munḳidh the witches rode about naked on a stick between the graves of the cemetery of Shaizar. Similarly they still ride by night on palm sticks through the air, having stripped themselves stark naked, smeared their bodies with cow's milk, and abjured Islam in a formula of renunciation.' The witches riding resemble demons in this respect; comp. p. 152. They were credited also with acts of unchastity, drawing the blood from the other sex, changing them into animals, or robbing them of reason. See Doughty's entertaining references, in *Arabia Deserta*, vol. ii. p. 106 f., to the Kheybar witches.

† Comp. the Hebrew חָבַר used of binding and conjuring by the tying of knots, Dt 18^{11}, Ps 58^{6}, and חֶבֶר frequently used in the plur., Is. $47^{9.12}$.

‡ From the root *ekêmu*, 'to take' or 'seize'; see Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw. s.v.* אכם. Apparently the word properly means the *manes* or shade that wanders by night. We have other demons specially mentioned, viz. *Lilu* and *lilîtu*, the demons of night (see art. DEMON), the *gallu* that attacks the hand, the *rabiṣu* and *labartu*, demons of nightmare, *Namtar* and *ašakku*, plague demons. We find some of them pictured on the boundary stones. These are the demons of the field, who will inflict punishment on the trespasser or any one who will invade proprietary rights, and whose power the owner invokes to defend them. Students of Is $13^{21ff.}$ $34^{13f.}$ should take note of the fact

One series, consisting of sixteen tablets, known by the natural name of *evil demon*, contained protective incantations against various classes of evil spirits. Another is called the series of 'head sickness,' which covered nine tablets. Two others have lately been the subject of careful investigation,—the *Šurpu* series by Zimmern, and the *Maḳlû* series by Tallqvist. Both expressions signify 'burning,' since in both the subject dealt with is the burning of images of sorcerers and the incantations recited when this symbolical act was performed. These incantations were of superior force, intended to countervail and overpower the baleful influence of the spells used by the hostile sorcerer. Symbolical loosening of knots counterworked the symbolic tying of the same. Sometimes we have the symbolical peeling of several skins of an onion. As night was the time chosen by sorcerers and witches for their work, the three divisions of the night, evening, midnight, and dawn, corresponding to the temple watches, were the times chosen for the countervailing incantations and symbolic acts.

The *Šurpu* and *Maḳlû* series formed incantation rituals. Certain formulas were found to be effective, and were therefore preserved for use; but since a certain formula only availed for a particular set of circumstances, it was necessary to preserve as many formulas as possible to meet every case with which the professional exorcizer might be confronted. This exorcizer naturally plays a great part as a controller of the destructive spirits. One citation, modified from M. Jastrow's recent work, may suffice. It is taken from the *Maḳlû* series. First the sufferer describes his troubles (Tallq. ii. col. iii. 148 f.)—

> 'They have used all kinds of charms
> To entwine me as with ropes (?)
> To catch me as in a bird's snare,
> To tie me as with cords,
> To overpower me as in a net,
> To throttle me as with a noose,
> To tear me as a fabric.'

After which the exorcizer says—

> 'But I, by the command of Marduk, lord of charms,
> By Marduk, the master of bewitchment,
> Both the male and the female sorcerer,
> As with ropes I will entwine,
> As in a bird's snare I will catch,
> As in a net I will overpower,
> As in a noose I will throttle (*apattil*),
> As a fabric I will tear.'

The byplay of action that accompanied each phrase of the incantation must be supplied by the reader's imagination. These acts were symbolically performed by the exorcizer on an image of the witch made of bitumen and pitch, of clay or wax. Sometimes the sufferer had been bewitched by concoctions of herbs. In this case other herbs or potions are concocted by the exorcizing priest as a counter charm.

In the lines repeated by the exorcizer above quoted we notice as significant the appeal to Marduk. The invocation of the greater deities was the leading characteristic of these counterspells. Demons were related to the gods as inferiors to superiors. Doubtless, in some cases, the dividing line was slight, but that the mastery belonged to the Great Gods is clear. Those invoked were chiefly Šamaš, who, as the rising sun, was supposed to scare away the haunting spectres of the night; Sin, the guardian and illuminator of the darkness; Ištar and her consort Tammuz. But the most important place in these incantations was held by the magical triad Ea, Marduk, and Gibil (as well as Nusku). Here the two points to be noticed are, (1) the appeal to the gods of light, Marduk, Šamaš, and Sin, as opposed to darkness, and the works of sorcery carried on in darkness (cf. Ps 91^{5. 13}). (2) Water and fire, as the two purifying elements, are summoned to the magician's aid through the gods whom he invokes. Observe that it is in fire the images of the witches were burned, while the cleansing and healing properties of water were recognized even in those primitive times. Ea was the Babylonian god of water as well as of wisdom, the city of Eridu being the ancient seat of his cult. He is the lord of all secrets, whose name was awful, ineffable, and disguised in ciphers. His wonder-working name was inscribed on the sacred brazen vessels. But he stood on too lofty an eminence to be practically useful. In his place Marduk,* god of the sun as he rises from the ocean and brings with him the water of purification, is usually invoked by the exorcizing priest. On the other hand, Gibil and Nusku were invoked as representing the sacred element of fire. The following incantation—

> 'Nusku, great God, counsellor of the Great Gods,
> Guarding the sacrificial gifts of all the heavenly spirits,
> Founder of cities, renewer of sanctuaries, . . .
> I prostrate myself before thee;
> Burn the sorcerer and the sorceress;
> May the life of my sorcerer and sorceress be destroyed'—

was recited in a whisper before the wax image of the sorcerer or witch. A noticeable feature of these invocations of the fire-deity is the lofty language in which they are expressed. We conclude with the following (Tallq. *Maḳlû*, i. 130 f.)—

> 'The witch who has charmed me,
> Through the charm with which she has charmed me,
> charm her;
> Those who have made images of me, reproducing my
> features,
> Who have taken away my breath, torn my hairs,
> Who have rent my clothes, have hindered my feet from
> treading the dust,
> May the fire-god, the strong one, break their charm.'

We have no space to refer to many other interesting features of this great subject of Babylonian magic, more especially to the ethical ideas that occasionally appear in the Šurpu texts. These must be studied in the attractive pages of Morris Jastrow's work from which quotation has been made. The importance of Babylonia in its relation to Greek and Roman culture must not be forgotten, and in the realm of astrology and magic this especially holds true. In the early days of the Roman empire the *mathematici* or 'astrologers' were also called *Chaldæi* (cf. Gell, i. 9). Far more potent was the influence of Babylonia upon Israel. The influence of Egypt over the ancient Hebrews is by no means so definite.† Certainly no inference confirmatory of such influence can be drawn from the post-exilian passage, Ex 7^{10} (P). The Piel partic. of כשף, there used to characterize the magicians and their practices, is connected by Semitic philologists with the Arabic root كسف 'cut off' (used of an eclipse). The Ethpa. of the same root, employed in Syriac in the sense of 'pray' (cf. ܟܘܫܦܐ 'prayer'), is combined in Gesen. *Heb. Lex.*^{12} with 1 K 18^{28}, where reference is made to the self-mutilation of the devotees of Baal. But this is a highly precarious speculation, and we are on a safer path if we go to the ancient Semitic Babylonian for light. *Kašâpu* in Assyrian means 'to bewitch,' and *kišpu* means sorcery.

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that the demons were always endowed with some animal or human shape. Frequently they are embodied in serpents, scorpions, or other monsters. Comp. *WAI* iv. pl. 5, and Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, i. pp. 61, 62, ii. p. 81.

* We cannot fail to note the corresponding rôle in comparison with Ea played by Marduk in the cosmogonic legend. See COSMOGONY.

† The influence exercised by Egypt was far more definite and powerful from the 3rd cent. B.C. onwards, when Alexandria became a centre where Greek and Oriental culture met. We see this in the later Jewish literature, from which Blau gives copious citations (*Das alt-Jüdische Zauberwesen*, p. 38 f.). Thus in *Kiddushin* 49*b* we read that out of the ten measures (קבין) of sorcery which descended into the world, Egypt claimed for itself as many as nine. In *Menachoth* 85*a* we find an interesting reference to Jannes and Mambres (Joḥana and Mamra), the heads of the Egyptian magicians (cf. 2 Ti 3^{8}). Blau thinks that the Egyptian potion זיתום המצרי, to which *Pesach.* iii. 1 refers, was a magical healing draught. Among the Greeks and Romans Egypt was regarded as the classical land of magic and medicine. Yet this is more true of the later than of the earlier Greek history, and it is obvious that the Jewish Midrash read the conceptions of its own time into OT passages. Thus in 1 K 4^{30} the 'wisdom of the sons of the east,' which Solomon's wisdom exceeded, is interpreted to mean the wisdom of the Egyptians.

Here, as in the case of אַשָּׁף (Dn 1^{20} $2^{2.27}$ 4^{7} 5^{15}, cf. Assyr. *aŝipu*), we have probably Babylonian loan words. We have already indicated (art. DEMON) that the Heb. שֵׁד (with its Aramaic equivalent) was of like origin. In earlier days than the Exile, especially in the 15th and previous centuries, Canaan was largely under Babylonian influence. From Is 2^{6} we are disposed to conclude that Babylonian magic and other foreign superstitions prevailed in Israel in the days of Ahaz, if the reading כְּקֶדֶם (LXX ἀπ' ἀρχῆς) is to be accepted as sound. The validity of this reading most recent commentators, including Dillm. and Duhm, admit, though with the addition of קֶסֶם or קֹסְמִי before כְּקֶדֶם to make better structure and rhythm: 'They are full of soothsaying from the East.' Similarly Cheyne in *SBOT*. It is true that Balaam came from Pethor (Dt 23^{4} [^{5} Heb.], cf. Nu 22^{5}), the *Pitru* of the Assyrians, on the western bank of the Euphrates, and that he was regarded as a soothsayer (Nu 22^{7}). Yet it must be admitted that the insertion of קסם here is mere hypothesis. How deeply soothsaying and magic had infected Judah a century later is shown by Jer 27^{9}. The prevalence of the magical arts in early pre-exilian times is clearly evidenced in the most primitive code of Hebrew legislation, which strictly prohibited such practices, and regarded them as closely connected with heathen worship. It is, moreover, significant that in Ex 22^{18}, the passage referred to, it is a woman professor of these arts, מְכַשֵּׁפָה or 'sorceress,' who was not to be permitted to live. Similarly in Islam both the witch and the sorcerer were punished with death. The punishment of drowning was inflicted on the witches of Kufa by the Khalif Valid I.; see Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heidenth.*^{2} p. 160.

In the list of prohibited practices in Dt 18^{11} the מְכַשֵּׁף or magician is coupled with those who worked spells (חֹבֵר חֶבֶר) by tying knots, whereby the victim was bound by an evil charm. Illustrations of these customs have been already given in the account of Babylonian practice. Closely associated in the Deuteronomic passage with the magician (מְכַשֵּׁף) and the sorcerer who binds the knots, are the soothsayer (מְנַחֵשׁ) and the necromancer, and those who inquire by familiar spirits. On these subjects, nearly allied to magic and sometimes included in it, the reader is referred to the separate articles, DIVINATION, SOOTHSAYING, and SORCERY. In Ps $58^{4.5}$ and Jer 8^{17} we find interesting parallels which show that serpent-charming was practised as a mode of conjuring the demons, which the ancient Hebrews like the Arabs considered to reside in serpents. Illustrations of this popular superstition may be found in Baudissin, *Stud. zur Semit. Relig.* i. p. 279 ff.; W. R. Smith, *RS* p. 120, n. 1, and p. 133. The root לחשׁ used in the Piel of the serpent-charmer (Ps 58^{5}) is probably a mimetic word meaning to hiss or whisper,* and thus to conjure serpents. See W. R. Smith, *Journ. of Phil.* xiv. p. 122 ff. Lagarde, indeed, would be disposed to connect נחשׁ and לחשׁ, and derive the latter from the former. The Assyrian parallel Pael form *luhhušu* is obscure as to meaning.

Is 47 is a song (arranged in strophes) concerning the fall of Babylon. Its value for the student of history is the clear evidence it affords that by the Jews of the 6th cent. Babylonia was regarded as the land where magic had been practised from time immemorial (מִנְּעוּרָיִךְ v.^{12}). The prophet utters his warning in the words (vv.$^{9-12}$)—

'Yea there shall come over thee both these . . . childlessness and widowhood in their full measure though thy magic arts (כְּשָׁפַיִךְ) be many, though thy spells (חֲבָרַיִךְ) be very potent . . . Abide by thy spells* and thy many incantations whereby thou weariest thyself.—Perhaps ye are able to obtain advantage, perhaps ye scare away [the foes].'

The references to popular magic in the OT are not infrequent. The דּוּדָאִים of Reuben of which Rachel made use (Gn $30^{14ff.}$ J) seem to be a reminiscence of some magic superstitions connected with the worship of the deity דודה, which the Moabite Stone (line 12) would lead us to regard as a deity of love belonging to the tribe of Gad. There can be little doubt that the earrings buried by Jacob as idolatrous were magical amulets inscribed with words or tokens to avert the evil eye or other disasters (Gn 35^{4}). Similarly the 'crescents' or 'little moons,' *μηνίσκοι* (שַׂהֲרֹנִים), of which Isaiah speaks in 3^{18-23} (Cheyne and Duhm make the passage post-Isaianic), may be compared with the *hilâlât* or crescents adorning a modern Arabian maiden. Similar crescents were worn on the camels' necks (Jg 8^{21}) of the Midianite kings, and were undoubtedly employed as amulets or charms (see Delitzsch on Is 3^{18}). Lane, in his *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, observes that horses often wear appendages consisting of a few verses of the Koran enclosed in cases of metal. That the lady of fashion in Jerusalem, whose attire is described by Isaiah, wore crescents as a charm, is shown by the subsequent mention of the amulets (לְחָשִׁים). See chs. xi. xii. in Lane's work on Ḥejâbs (charms) and Magic.

An obscure reference in the Bk. of Job (3^{8}), in which the speaker, cursing the night of his birth, exclaims—

> 'May those who curse the day, curse it,
> Who understand how to stir up Leviathan,'†—

has been considered to refer to the mythical dragon who was believed to seize upon the sun or moon when eclipsed. The magician's power was supposed capable of compelling the dragon monster Leviathan to seize or give up his victim (cf. Is 27^{1}, Job 26^{13}).‡ On Nu $21^{8f.}$ see SERPENT, and Dillm. *ad loc.*

The prophets habitually associate magic with idolatry (Mic $5^{11ff.}$, cf. 2 K 9^{22}, 2 Ch 33^{6}). Yet the history of Israel constantly reveals the continuance of popular superstition and practice even after legislation had long pronounced them unlawful. In the later days of Judaism learned Rabbis did not forbid the study of magical arts, though the practice of these arts was not permitted. Of one it is even said that he considered the knowledge of magic to be essential to any member of the Sanhedrin in order that he might be capable of pronouncing an opinion upon it (Blau, *Zauberwesen*, p. 20). The fact that the practice of magic was forbidden does not by any means imply that the Jews did not believe in its power. The truth is precisely the reverse. They believed in magic as the inevitable result of their belief in demons, but regarded it, just as St. Paul himself did, as bound up with idolatry and the realm of darkness, and therefore to be shunned. It comes within the circle of the *ἐνέργεια τοῦ Σατανᾶ.*[*]

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* The presence of the significant sibilant שׁ in all these words אשׁף, כשׁף, לחשׁ, נחשׁ, suggests an ultimate mimetic origin connected with the sound of hissing or whispering. Cf. צִפְצֵף in Is 10^{19} 29^{4}.

* The word חֶבֶר (pl.) 'magic art' or 'spell' probably refers to the binding of the knots. The same root occurs in Assyrian. The Pael of אבר *ubburu* is used of binding under the spell of the sorceress (*WAI* iv. 49, 5*a*; 50, 52*b*; Delitzsch, *Handwört. sub voce*). In v.^{11} we have an interesting word שַׁחְרָהּ ('evil which thou knowest not) *to avert by incantations*,' Piel infin. with suff. of the root which in Arabic (سحر) is constantly employed in the sense of using magic spells (see Wellhausen, *Reste*^{2}, p. 159).

† Gunkel's reading of יָם for יוֹם in the first line, and rendering 'may those who keep the sea under a spell curse it,' etc. (*Schöpfung u. Chaos*, p. 59), are far-fetched though ingenious. Gunkel holds that ארר and עֹרר refer to spell and counter-spell, a view which does not appear to us at all warranted.

‡ There possibly lurks a reference to a demon in the עֲלוּקָה of Pr 30^{15} and some magic ritual connected with it, to which all clue has been lost. See Baudissin's art. 'Feldgeister' in *PRE*^{3} vi. p. 6, and Wellh. *Reste Arab. Heidenth.*^{2} p. 149.

As a matter of fact, however, the mass of the people could not be delivered from the influences of their time, and troubled themselves little about the religious scruples of their teachers, and, like the Greeks and Romans, Egyptians and Babylonians, were delivered up to the superstitious tendencies and practices of their age. Hence the Mishna, *Sota* ix. 13, deplores that jealousy and magic were ruining society. Indeed we even hear of distinguished Rabbis practising magic, *e.g.* Eliezer, son of Hyrcanus, who at the request of Akiba was able, through a charm, to fill an entire field with gourds, and by means of another formula to transfer them to a single place (*Sanhedrin* 68*a* in Blau, p. 26). Jesus Christ was regarded by His countrymen as a magician, and was called by them Bal'am, *Sanh.* 106*b*, *Sota* 47*b*. According to the Gospel narrative (Mt $12^{24ff.}$), He was even called a sorcerer who worked His wonders in league with Beelzebub. Tobit, ch. 6, clearly illustrates how thoroughly demonology and magic practices had taken hold of the Jewish people. This tradition even influenced dress (see FRINGES, PHYLACTERIES, and cf. Lk 8^{44}); also dwelling-houses (*mĕzûzôth*, Dt $6^{8.9}$, see Driver, *ad loc.*).

We have no space to describe with any fulness of detail the great world of Jewish magic and the spells which were employed. These consisted of special formulæ in which certain names were recited (see AMULETS, DEMON, EXORCISM, and Brecher's *Das Transcendentale, Magie u. mag. Heilarten im Talmud*). Certain magical practices were forbidden as heathenish (Brecher, p. 192 ff.); on the other hand, special formulæ, involving the invocation of angels and the pronunciation of words, whereby certain evils were counteracted or diseases healed, were not only permitted but even recommended. The personal names of the celestial hierarchy which are most potent are given on p. 21 ff. of Brecher's treatise. We cite the translation of one formula among the large number given by this writer and Blau. It is a remedy against an ulcerous swelling. The original may be found in Brecher, p. 198 ff.: 'Baz Bazia, Mas Masia, Kas Kassia, Sharlai and Amarlai [cf. p. 38, and *Shabb.* 67*a*], the angels which came from the land of Sodom to heal painful sores. May the colour not become redder, not extend further; may the seed be absorbed in the belly. And as a mule does not propagate itself, so may the evil not propagate itself in the body of N., son of N.'

Against possession by devils: 'Cursed, broken in pieces and conjured be the demon named Bar Ṭîṭ, Bar Tamâ, Bar Tînâ,' etc.

Most potent of all names in these spells was that of God, expressed in every conceivable form, sometimes as הַשֵּׁם, sometimes as the tetragrammaton itself. This subject, as well as the great variety of modes in which the sacred Hebrew name appears in Egyptian magic papyri, will be found fully set forth in Blau's instructive work, pp. 117–144.

The survey of this strange world of abject superstition and triviality enables us to realize in some measure the nature of those methods whereby the Pharisees professed to exorcize demons in the days of our Lord (Mt 12^{27}), and of those arts which Elymas[†] the sorcerer employed (Ac 13^{8}) and Simon Magus (Ac 8^{9}). In Ephesus the Apostle Paul was confronted with this realm of magical superstition in its most aggravated form, for Ephesus was the greatest centre of Græco-Oriental life in Asia Minor. From this city came the famous Ἐφέσια γράμματα, frequently employed in conjurations.[*] Probably these and a vast number of other magic formulæ of incantation, resembling those found in recently discovered Egyptian papyri, were recorded in the magic treatises, worth 50,000 drachmas, which were publicly burned in Ephesus through the influence of St. Paul's preaching (Ac 19^{19}). Deissmann in his *Bibelstudien*, p. 26 ff., has published a long inscription of singular interest engraved on a leaden tablet (of which he gives a facsimile) discovered in 1890 in the necropolis of the ancient Hadrumetum, in which a spirit is conjured by Domitiana, daughter of Candida, to cause Urbanus to be united to her in marriage speedily. The most remarkable characteristic of this long document of 47 lines is that we have not a single heathen deity invoked, but only Jehovah under the forms Jao, Aoth, and Abaoth, and many others.[†] The origin of the first form Ιαω as an abbreviation of יהוה can hardly be doubted in this case and in those of the Abraxas[‡] gems and amulets. Aoth and Abaoth are obviously abbreviations taken from the name צְבָאוֹת (see Blau, p. 102 ff.).

Another remarkable feature in this and in other documents is the powerful influence exercised by Judaism and afterwards by Christianity on the Hellenistic and Roman heathen world. In an instructive chapter on this subject in Schürer's *GJV*^{3} iii. p. 297 ff., useful citations may be found (n. 86) from Origen, *c. Cels.* iv. 33, to prove that in the closing years of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd cent. A.D., nearly every one (*σχεδὸν καὶ πάντας*) who used spells and incantations invoked the name of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in order to avert the power of demons. From Hippolytus, *Philosophumen.* iv. 28, we learn that the magicians made use of Hebrew words as well as Greek, stress being evidently laid on the original form of the name or word, no translation having any efficacy. Further illustrations of this literature will be found in Schürer (see esp. the citation from Kenyon's Greek papyri in the British Museum, and from the Carthage tablets on p. 298, footn. 88). Jewish literature of the Christian era abounded in magical works. In the Book of Jubilees, ch. 10, mention is made of a pseudepigraphic treatise by Noah on healing, and Gaster's recently published magical book, *The Sword of Moses*, is another striking illustration. The name of Solomon is constantly associated with magic prescriptions and formulæ (comp. Kohut, *Jüdische Angelol.* p. 81 ff., and Joseph. *Ant.* VIII. ii. 5), and this tradition survived to the Middle Ages. We find an echo of it in Goethe's drama, in the words addressed to Faust's poodle—

> 'On this mongrel brood of Hell
> The charm of Solomon worketh well.'

Will magic ever die? Lehmann's instructive treatise exhibits its present wide prevalence. Even with the marvellous advance of modern culture, its power does not disappear as rapidly as might be expected. In pre-Christian times the growth of civilization only produced more highly developed forms of magic. Religion and religious philosophy were accompanied by hosts of γοῆτες. Modern spiritualism points to a factor in human life which nothing will eradicate unless man is to become ultimately an acquiescent machine. As long as he continues to live, he will attempt to defy the limitations that surround him. It is this very sense of limitations that stimulates these abnormal endeavours to transcend them in modes that lie beyond the ascertained lines of cause and effect.

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[*] *φαρμακία* belonged to the *ἔργα τῆς σαρκός* (Gal 5^{20}) Cf. the language of Rev 9^{21} 18^{23} (ref. to Babylon) 21^{8} 22^{15} with 2 Th 2^{8-10}.

[†] Probably the Arabic *'alîm* 'knowing.' Moses in Koran, Sur. vii. 106, is called *sâḥirun 'alîmun* 'wise magician.'

[*] See Schürer, *GJV*^{3} iii. 297, n. 83, where citations are given from Plutarch, *Sympos.* vii. 5. 4; and Hesychius, the translation of which is here appended. 'The magi bid those possessed with demons recite to themselves and name the Ephesian formulæ.' Hesych. says respecting these: 'They were once [six] in number, but subsequently others were deceptively added. It is said that these are the names of the first: *ἄσκι, κατάσκι, αἴξ, τετράξ, δαμναμενεύς, αἴσιον.*' Explanations of these names follow, based evidently on etymological guesswork.

[†] The names of the patriarchs occur under the forms Αβρααν, Ιακου, Ισραμα.

[‡] This refers to a special series of amulets inscribed with the word Αβρασαξ or Αβραξας, either alone or in combination with others. On this subject the student should consult Drexler's elaborate article in *PRE*^{3}, vol. i. *s.* 'Abrasax.'

'Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.'

Literature.—The literature of this subject is very copious, and a full list will be found in the pages of Schürer, pp. 300-304. In addition to the catalogue there given, Morris Jastrow's chapter on Babylonian Magic and Blau's treatise should be consulted. To these we have made frequent reference. See also Lehmann, *Aberglaube u. Zauberei*; Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln*, and Ramsay, *Expos.* July 1899, p. 22. For further information, see articles Sorcery and Exorcism.

Owen C. Whitehouse.

MAGISTRATE.—This word is used several times in AV, where it represents different words in the original. At Jg 18^7, where it is said of Laish, 'there was no magistrate in the land that might put them to shame in anything' (וְאֵין־מַכְלִים דָּבָר בָּאָרֶץ יוֹרֵשׁ עֶצֶר), the meaning of the expression has been much discussed and is confessedly obscure; but it probably denotes, not any particular office, but the more general idea of 'some one possessing power of restraint,' or as in RV 'possessing authority.'[*] At Ezr 7^{25}, where Ezra is directed to appoint 'magistrates and judges,' the first word (שָׁפְטִין) is the Aram. form of what is in Hebrew the usual expression for 'judges' (*shōphĕṭîm*, which reappears in the Carthaginian *sufetes*). At Lk 12^{11} 'magistrates' represents the general word (ἀρχαί) for 'ruling powers,' and is better rendered as in RV 'rulers'; while at Lk 12^{58} the 'magistrate' (ἄρχων) to whom it pertains to receive a complaint appears to denote a local authority of somewhat higher position than the 'judge' (κριτής) to whom he remits the case. At Tit 3^1 the phrase 'to obey magistrates' represents the compound verb πειθαρχεῖν, which may probably be better rendered as in RV by the simple 'to be obedient.' But the principal use of the word 'magistrates' is in Ac 16, where it denotes the chief authorities of the Roman colony of Philippi. When Paul and Silas were dragged into the market-place before the 'rulers' (ἄρχοντας, *i.e.* the local city-judges), the charge against them resolved itself into one of political disturbance, conflicting with the allegiance due to Roman authority, and the accused were brought unto 'the magistrates' whose duty it was to deal with it (the στρατηγοί, $16^{20. 22. 35. 36. 38}$). These were the *duumviri* or *prætores*,[†] as they were called in towns which were colonies. They had officers in attendance on them to execute their orders, called 'serjeants' (EV) or 'lictores'; but in this case they exceeded their powers, and when they were made aware that the prisoners whom they had ordered to be scourged were entitled to the privileges of Roman citizens, they were glad in turn to become suppliants that the released captives might leave the city.

William P. Dickson.

MAGNIFICAL.—The old adj. 'magnifical' is retained by AV in 1 Ch 22^5 from the Geneva version, and it is still kept in RV—'the house that is to be builded for the Lord must be exceeding magnifical'—though the word has long since been displaced by 'magnificent.' The adv. occurs in Rhem. NT, Lk 16^{19} 'There was a certaine riche man, and he was clothed with purple and silke: and he fared every day magnifically.'

J. Hastings.

MAGOG (מָגוֹג, Μαγώγ).—Enumerated among the sons of Japheth between Gomer (the Cimmerians) and Madai (the Medes) in Gn 10^2. Ezekiel (38^2) calls Gog 'the prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal,' of 'the land of Magog.' In Rev 20^8, Gog and Magog are alike made representatives of the northern nations. If Gog is Gyges of Lydia, Magog would be Lydia, and we should have to explain Magog as signifying 'the country of Gog' (but see Dillm. on Gn 10^2, where this explanation, which is that of Ed. Meyer [*Gesch.* § 464], is emphatically rejected). It is noteworthy that *môys* meant 'land' in the Lydian language, and that the Assyr. inscriptions give the name of a district in Armenia as indifferently Ma-Zamua and Zamua. In any case, as Meshech and Tubal were nations of E. Asia Minor, Magog would seem to have been in the same part of the world, and its association with Gomer in Gn 10^2 would be explained by the Cimmerian settlements in Asia Minor. Cappadocia is even called Gamir by Armenian writers. Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 1) identifies Magog with the Scythians; but the term Scythian was used vaguely to denote almost any northern population about which little was known.

The prophecy of Ezk 38^2–39^6 was the source of the constantly recurring notion in Apocalyptic literature that Israel's enemies would be finally destroyed at the advent of the Messiah (see Literature below, and cf. Rev 20^2). In the *Assumption of Moses*, where there is no mention of the Messiah, this final destruction is the work of God Himself, as it is also in *Enoch*, where the Messiah appears *after* the judgment. Gog and Magog not only meet us in Rev, but recur constantly in the 'antichrist-Apocalypses' (see Bousset, *Antichrist*, Index, *s.* 'Gog u. Magog').

Literature.—Dillmann on Gn 10^2; Davidson and Bertholet on Ezk 38 f.; Bousset on Rev 20^8; Schrader, *KAT*² 80, 427 [*COT* i. 62, ii. 123]; Stade, *GVI* ii. 61 f.; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 165, iii. 279; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii. 732 ff.; Weber, *Jüd. Theologie* (Index, *s.* 'Gog'); Renan, *l'Antichrist*².

A. H. Sayce.

MAGOR-MISSABIB (מָגוֹר מִסָּבִיב; LXX, Theod. μέτοικον (-χον A*); according to Jerome (*ap.* Field), Aq. 1st ed. *circumspicientem* (περιορῶντα), 2nd ed. *peregrinum* (πάροικον, προσήλυτον, μέτοικον or ξένον); Symm. *ablatum* (ἀφῃρημένον), or *congregatum et coactum* (συνηθροισμένον); according to Q^{mg}. Aq., Symm., and Theod. added κυκλόθεν with an asterisk; Vulg. *pavorem undique*; EV 'Magor-missabib,' RVm 'terror on every side.' LXX, Theod., Aq. 2nd ed. connect מָגוֹר with גור *to sojourn*).—Name given by Jeremiah (Jer 20^3) to Pashhur ben-Immer, governor of the temple, who had had the prophet beaten and put in the stocks. Jer 20^4 explains, 'For thus saith J", Behold, I will make thee a terror to thyself and all thy friends.' The phrase occurs also (not as a name) in Ps 31^{13}, Jer 6^{25} 20^{10} 46^5 49^{29}, La 2^{22}; where LXX has similar translations to the above, except Jer 49^{29} ἀπώλειαν. See Field, Swete, and Giesebrecht (*Handkommentar zum AT*), *in loco*. W. H. Bennett.

MAGPIASH.—See Magbish.

MAGUS.—See Magi, Magic, and Simon Magus.

MAHALALEEL.—See Mahalalel.

MAHALALEL (מַהֲלַלְאֵל[*] 'praise of God,' cf. the name יְהַלֶּלְאֵל *Jehallelel*, 'he shall praise God'; Μαλελεήλ).—1. Son of Kenan and great-grandson of Seth, Gn $5^{12. 13. 15. 16. 17}$ (P) = 1 Ch 1^2. The name corresponds to **Mehujael** (מְחוּיָאֵל) in J's list, Gn 4^{18}. See Mehujael. In the genealogy of Jesus, Lk

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[*] The MT appears to be hopelessly corrupt, and the Versions give no help (see Moore, *ad loc.*).

[†] On the application of the term *prætores* to the magistrates at Philippi, see Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 217 f.

[*] Gray (*Heb. Proper Names*, 201 n.) would point מַהֲלַלְאֵל (so also Nestle, *Marginalien*, p. 7).

3^{37}, RV has **Mahalaleel,** AV (following the Greek, Μαλελεήλ) Maleleel. **2.** The son of Perez, who dwelt at Jerusalem after the Captivity, Neh 11^{4} (B Μαλελήμ).

MAHALATH (מַחֲלַת).—**1.** (Μαελέθ) A daughter of Ishmael, and wife of Esau, Gn 28^{9} (P). In Gn 26^{34} (also P) a 'Hittite' wife of Esau is mentioned whose name was **Basemath,** and in 36^{3} (prob. R) this Basemath is called daughter of Ishmael (Sam. has here and throughout ch. 36 מחלת, which, however, may be a harmonistic correction). The whole subject of Esau's marriages is wrapt in obscurity (see *Comms.* of Dillm. and Holzinger, and art. ESAU in vol. i. of this Dictionary, p. 734^{a}, note). **2.** (Μολ(λ)άθ) Wife of Rehoboam, 2 Ch 11^{18}. She was the daughter of Jerimoth, one of David's sons, and hence a cousin of Rehoboam.

MAHALATH LEANNOTH.—See PSALMS.

MAHANAIM (מַחֲנַיִם 'two camps' or 'hosts' (?); the LXX renders by *Παρεμβολαί* Gn 32^{2}, 1 K 2^{8}, *ἡ παρεμβολή* 2 S 2^{29}; in Jos, B has Βαάν (Μαάν), Μαανά, Καμέιν, A Μανάιμ; in 2 S, B A Μανάεμ, Μανάειμ, Μαανάειμ (17^{24} A Μανάειν); 1 K 4^{14} B Μααναιεῖον, A Μαανάιμ; 1 Ch 6^{80} B Μαανάιθ, A Μαανάιμ).—An important city on the E. of Jordan, of which the exact site is unknown. The above explanation of the name is due to J, whose narrative (Gn 32^{3-13a}, esp. vv.$^{7-10}$ 'two companies,' and v.^{13a} 'and he lodged *there* that night') indicates that it originally contained an explanation of the manner in which the place obtained its name: probably this was omitted as inconsistent with v.^{2}. In E, on the other hand, nothing is known of the dual meaning of the word, the forms *Maḥanaim, Maḥaneh* (מַחֲנַיִם, מַחֲנֶה) being used indifferently (32^{2} 'This is God's host' (*maḥaneh*), v.^{21} 'and he himself lodged that night in *Maḥaneh* (not as RV 'in the company')).* According to Gn 32$^{1f.}$ (vv.$^{1, 2\ 13bff.}$ E, vv.$^{3-13a}$ J) Jacob was here confronted by a vision of angels after he had parted from Laban on the mountain range of Gilead. No further mention is made of Mahanaim until after the conquest of Palestine by Joshua, when it is described as lying on the border between Gad and Manasseh (Jos 13$^{26.30}$). According to Jos 21^{38} it was one of the cities of Gad assigned to the priestly family of Merari.

It was, however, more especially during the early period of the monarchy that Mahanaim came into prominence. Owing possibly to the timely assistance which Saul had rendered to the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead at the commencement of his reign (1 S 11$^{1f.}$), the country E. of Jordan long remained faithful to the house of its deliverer. Hence it was that, after the death of Saul, Abner established Ishbaal (Ishbosheth) as king of Israel at Mahanaim, in opposition to David, who reigned over Judah in Hebron (2 S 2$^{8f.}$). From Mahanaim Abner started on the expedition to Gibeon, which, resulting in the defeat of the Israelite forces at the hand of Joab and his Benjamite followers, proved to be the turning-point in the struggle between the rival kings. In their flight it is stated that Abner and his men passed through the Arabah along the right side of the Jordan, and thence made their way across Jordan and up the gorge (RV 'Bithron') to Mahanaim. Despite this reverse the war between the house of Saul and David still continued until the murder of Ishbaal, which followed soon after the defection and death of Abner, left David in sole command. Presumably, the tribes on the E. of Jordan joined in the universal recognition of David as king and acknowledged his rule. That they proved faithful to the new monarch is shown by the fact that David, when driven from Jerusalem by the rebellion of Absalom, at once directed his flight to the capital of his former rival and was there royally received by the chief men of the country, among whom was a son of his former ally, Nahash the Ammonite (2 S 17$^{24-27}$). The encounter between the forces of David and those of Absalom took place in the Forest of Ephraim (which see), apparently the wooded district of Gilead which lay opposite to Ephraim on the E. of Jordan.* Information of the defeat of Absalom's army was conveyed to the king, who had remained in Mahanaim, by Ahimaaz the son of Zadok, who, running by the way of the plain (הַכִּכָּר=the circle of Jordan, Smith, *HGHL* p. 505), outstripped the previous messenger who had been sent by Joab (2 S 18^{23}). Apart from a possible reference in Ca 6^{13} (RVm 'of two companies,' LXX *τῶν παρεμβολῶν*), Mahanaim occurs only once more, as the dwelling-place of one of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers (1 K 4^{14}).

From the above sketch of the history of Mahanaim it will be seen that the biblical narrative affords but little assistance in identifying its exact site. From Gn 32 it seems clear that it lay somewhere near the Jordan to the N. of the Jabbok and of the great gorge (or Bithron, 2 S 2^{29}). According to Jos 13 it was situated on the border of Gad and Manasseh, a position which agrees with the history of the monarchy. Conder (*Heth and Moab,* p. 179 ff.) places it near *el-Buḳeiʿa,* to the E. of es-Salt; but this is too far south. More probable is the view of Merrill (*East of the Jordan,* p. 433 ff.), who identifies Mahanaim with *Khurbet Suleikhat,* at the entrance of the *Wady Suleikhat,* 3 miles N. of the *Wady ʿAjlun.* He points out that the present ruins stand some 300 feet above the plain, and command an extensive view across the valley to the W., and down the valley almost to the juncture of *Wady Zerḳa* (Jabbok) with the Jordan. This situation agrees admirably with the details supplied in 2 S 18, according to which the watchman of Mahanaim discerned the Cushite and Ahimaaz from a considerable distance (v.$^{24ff.}$) It also throws light on the statement of v.^{23} ('Then Ahimaaz ran by the way of the plain'), the point being that Ahimaaz chose the longer but more level route along the plain, and so outstripped the Cushite, who made his way across the intervening hilly country. Earlier travellers (Seetzen, *Reisen,* i. 385; Robinson, *Phys. Geogr.* p. 78 f.) place Mahanaim at the modern *Maḥne,* which according to the old Jewish traveller Parchi (*Benj. of Tudela,* ii. 408) lay about half a day's journey due E. of Bethshean. The latter statement is certainly erroneous, but in any case *Maḥne* is too far from the Jordan, and its position in the midst of the mountains of Gilead does not suit the narrative of 2 S. Buhl, however (*GAP* p. 257), seems to place *Maḥne* (or *Miḥne*) considerably farther S., slightly to the N. of the *Wady 'Ajlun*; the latter he would then identify with the gorge (or Bithron) of 2 S 2^{29} (*ib.* p. 121). J. F. STENNING.

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* It seems probable that Mahanaim is yet another instance of a place-name with an apparently dual termination which has arisen from a later expansion of the original termination in *-ām* and *-ēm* (or *-ān* and *-ēn*). The most striking instance of this change is יְרוּשָׁלַםִ (Jerusalem), which represents the *Ḳerê perpetuum* for an original יְרוּשָׁלֵם (Aram. יְרוּשְׁלֵם). Similarly in Aramaic we find שָׁמְרַיִן=שָׁמְרָן for the Heb. שֹׁמְרוֹן (Samaria), while the Mesha inscription affords several examples of the termination in ָן (*-ān*), which in Hebrew is represented by ַיִם (*-aim*). Other cases in Hebrew are Dothain (דֹּתַיְן Gn 37^{17}) and Dothan (דֹּתָן 2 K 6^{13}); Ḳartan (קַרְתָּן Jos 21^{32}) and Ḳiriathaim (קִרְיָתַיִם 1 Ch 6$^{76\,(61)}$), and Enam (הָעֵינָם Jos 15^{34})=Enaim (עֵינַיִם Gn 38^{21}). For further discussion see especially Strack, *Genesis,* p. 139; Wellhausen, *JDTh* xxi. 443, *Comp.* p. 45 n.; Philippi, *ZDMG* xxxii. 65 f.; Barth, *Nominalbildung,* p. 319; Ges.-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.* p. 256. Against this view, König, *Lehrgebäude,* ii. p. 437.

* It is noteworthy that Luc. gives Μαιανάν, *i.e.* Maḥanaim instead of Ephraim, but this may be only a correction; see Smith, *HGHL* p. 335^{2}; Buhl, *GAP* p. 121; Budde, *Ri. u. Sam.* p. 34 ff.

MAHANEH-DAN (מַחֲנֵה־דָן, *παρεμβολὴ Δάν*).—The name occurs twice: in Jg 18^{12} of a place 'behind,' *i.e.* W. of Kiriath-jearim, in Jg 13^{25} of a place between Zorah and Eshtaol, where Samson began his work. Whether one identifies Kiriath-jearim (which see) with Khirbet 'Erma or with Abū Ghōsh, it is scarcely possible to take both these references to be to the same place. Nor has the name been found. It is true that Williams (*Holy City*, i. 12, note) had a site pointed out to him, north of Wady Ismail, as bearing the name Beit Mahanem. Both name and situation are tempting, but the statement lacks confirmation. Guérin (*Judée*, i. p. 62 ff.) places the Mahaneh-dan of 18^{12} near 'Abou-Goch,' but he ignores the other. Moore on Jg 13^{25} accepts the position assigned to Mahaneh-dan in 18^{12}, and thinks there is no support for the supposition that there were *two* camps of Dan. It seems probable, however, that the name, since it was never attached to a town, was floating rather loosely in this quarter of Palestine. The author of 13^{25} then understood it to refer to the original war-camp which the Danites occupied at the time of the conquest, before their permanent settlement; the author of the clause in 18^{12} took it to be the name of the first camp which the 600 Danites occupied outside their own territory when they marched northward to attack Laish. (Cf. *ZDPV* x. p. 137 with Guthe's note).
A. C. WELCH.

MAHARAI (מַהֲרַי; B *Νοερέ, Νεερέ, Μεηρά*; A *Μαεραεί, Μοορά, Μοοραί*).—A native of Netophah in Judah, the modern *Beit Nettîf* (Buhl, *GAP* p. 194), in the *Wady es-Sunt*, or Vale of Elah, the third of the five valleys which, cutting right through the Shephēlah, connected the Philistine plain with the hill-country of Judæa. Maharai was one of David's thirty heroes (2 S 23^{28}, 1 Ch 11^{30}), and according to 1 Ch 27^{13} was of the family of Zerah, and captain of the temple guard for the tenth monthly course.
J. F. STENNING.

MAHATH (מַחַת).—**1.** The eponym of a Kohathite family, 1 Ch 6^{35} [Heb.^{20}] (B *Μέθ*, A *Μαάθ*), 2 Ch 29^{12} (B *Μαάθ*, A *Μαέθ*), perhaps to be identified with **Ahimoth** (אֲחִימוֹת 'my brother is death') of 1 Ch 6^{25} [Heb.^{10}], B *'Αλειμώθ*. See Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 281, note 1. **2.** A Levite in the time of Hezekiah, 2 Ch 31^{13} (B *Μαέθ*, A *Ναέθ*).

MAHAVITE, THE (הַמַּחֲוִים).—The designation in 1 Ch 11^{46} of Eliel, one of David's heroes. The MT is unintelligible and certainly corrupt. Bertheau proposes to emend to הַמַּחֲנַיְמִי 'the Mahanaimite'; Kittel, following the Vulg. *Mahumites*, reads הַמַּחוּמִי. LXX B has *Μιεί*, A *Μαωείν*.

MAHAZIOTH (מַחֲזִיאֹת and מַחֲזִיאוֹת 'visions'; B *Μελζώθ*, A *Μααζιώθ*).—The Hemanite chief of the 23rd course of singers, 1 Ch $25^{4.\,30}$. On the extraordinary conglomeration of names in v.^{4} and the supposition that they are really a fragment of a hymn, see W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 143, note 1, and art. GENEALOGY, vol. ii. p. 124^{b}.

MAHER-SHALAL-HASH-BAZ (מַהֵר שָׁלָל חָשׁ בַּז 'spoil speedeth, prey hasteth'; LXX, v.^{1} *τοῦ ὀξέως προνομὴν ποιῆσαι σκύλων*, v.^{3} *ταχέως σκύλευσον ὀξέως προνόμευσον*; Is $8^{1.\,3}$).—A symbolical name given to one of Isaiah's sons to signify the speedy destruction of the power of the allied kings Rezin and Pekah by the king of Assyria. The prophecy was fulfilled in the invasion of the North in the following year (734) by Tiglath-pileser, who entirely crushed Rezin, and took many cities of Israel and devastated the country (2 K 15^{29} 16^{9}), though the actual capture of Samaria did not take place till 13 years later (721). F. H. WOODS.

MAHLAH (מַחְלָה; as a proper name it is thus vocalized in order to distinguish it from the common noun מַחֲלָה 'sickness'; but some of the LXX forms show that this distinction was not observed in the living language, and doubtless the meaning is identical; LXX *Μαλά, Μααλά, Μαελά, Μοολά*).—**1.** In Nu 26^{33} 27^{1} 36^{11}, Jos 17^{3}, the name of one of the five daughters of the Manassite Zelophehad. Probably she was the eldest, for the MT always puts her at the head; and although B of the LXX reverses the order in Nu 36^{11}, A and F retain the ordinary arrangement. P, to whom all the passages in question belong, states that Zelophehad left no sons, and consequently the daughters came before Moses and claimed their father's inheritance, lest his name should become extinct. By the divine direction their claim was allowed, the only condition being that they were obliged to marry within the limits of their tribe. Accordingly Mahlah and her sisters married their cousins. The narrative illustrates the well-known Israelite law that property was inherited in the male line, and could descend to females only if they married within tribal limits. This has been variously accounted for, by some on the ground that women were incapable of performing one of the duties which property involved, that of offering sacrifice to dead ancestors (Schwally, *Leben nach dem Tode*, Stade, *Geschichte*, i. 388–391), by others in accordance with the Arab maxim that 'none can be heirs who do not take part in battle, drive booty, and protect property' (W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*). In the Midrash Rabba on Numbers the conduct of Mahlah and her sisters serves as a text for the doctrine that 'the women of that generation builded up what the men broke down,' the two other instances being that the women took no part in making the golden calf, and that they did not share the pusillanimity of the men after the alarming report of the spies had been received.

2. In 1 Ch 7^{18} the RV has *Mahlah*, the AV *Mahalah*. The former is correct, the Heb. being מַחְלָה as above. The Vulg., which has *Maala* for Zelophehad's daughter, here employs *Mohola* or *Moola*. Most likely the Mahlah of this passage is a female name. The Chronicler is dealing with the genealogy of Manasseh's descendants, tracing them, unlike Nu, along the *female* line, and stating that Hammolecheth, granddaughter of Manasseh, bare 'Ishhod and Abiezer and Mahlah.' Ishhod and Abiezer are names of men: for this and other reasons it is impossible to identify the Mahlah of Nu with the same name in Chronicles.
J. TAYLOR.

MAHLI (מַחְלִי 'a sick *or* weak one,' from חלה; LXX *Μοολεί, Μοολί, Μολί, Μολεί, Μοολλεί*; Vulg. *Moholi, Mooli*).—**1.** In Ex 6^{19} (AV Mahali), Nu 3^{20}, 1 Ch $24^{26.\,28}$, it is the name of a son of Merari, Levi's youngest son. **2.** In 1 Ch 23^{23} 24^{30} a son of Mushi, Mahli's brother, bears the same name. Ezr 8^{18} informs us that whilst Ezra was waiting beside the river Ahava, he secured for the service of the house of God, amongst others, 'a man of discretion, of the sons of Mahli, the son of Levi . . . and Sherebiah,' etc. 1 Es 8^{47} drops the 'and,' thus identifying this son of Mahli with Sherebiah. It is more likely, either that the name has dropped out, or that it was something like **Ish-sechel** (rendered in our versions 'a man of discretion or understanding'). See ISHSECHEL.

Mahlites (הַמַּחְלִי).—In Nu 3^{33} (Vulg. *Moholitæ*) 26^{58} (Vulg. *Moholi*) Mahli's descendants are called 'the family of the Mahlites.' According to 1 Ch

23^{22} these Mahlites were descended from the daughters of Eleazar, the elder son of the Mahli mentioned in Ex 6^{19}. Eleazar left no male offspring. Their cousins, the sons of Kish, therefore took them in marriage, and prevented the extinction of their father's name. It is a little curious that in the enumeration of the families derived from Levi, Nu 26^{58}, the LXX omits 'the family of the Mahlites.' J. TAYLOR.

MAHLON.—See CHILION.

MAHOL (מָחוֹל, A Μαούλ, B Μάλ, Luc. Μααλά, 'Ημάων, Jos. *Ant.* VIII. ii. 5).—Named in 1 K 4^{31} [Heb. 5^{11}] as the father of certain sages with whom Solomon is compared. The expression 'sons of Mahol' has been referred to the four sages, Ethan, Heman, Chalcol, and Darda, as well as to the last three or the last two only. The Midrash to the Bk. of Proverbs gives it an independent application (Wünsche, *Bibl. Rabb.* p. 2). It is improbable that all the typical wise men whose names occur to the writer should be regarded as the sons of one man. The Lucianic Sept. (and B ?) reads, 'D. son of Mahol.' But this may not be original. In 1 Ch 2^{6} Ethan, Heman, Chalcol, and Darda are sons of Zerah. Unless 'son' be taken in the general sense of descendant (see DARDA), this conflicts with the statement in Kings, whether that be limited to Darda or not. It may be supposed that the Chronicler inferred the ancestry of Zerah (זֶרַח) from the expression Ethan the Ezrahite (הָאֶזְרָחִי), *i.e.* directly or indirectly from this passage. This is, perhaps, evidence that the phrase 'sons of Mahol' was not in his text of the verse. The appellative significance of Mahol suggests an explanation of its appearance. The word is late rather than early, and means 'dance.' St. Jerome's rendering *chorus* (Lag. *Onom. Sac.*^{2} p. 73) should be interpreted in this way, and not in its musical acceptation. The intimate connexion of the temple ritual with the names Ethan and Heman permits a conjecture that the expression 'sons of dance' was originally a note applying to Ethan and Heman. Dancing was part of the worship of J″, and מָחוֹל is twice used in the Bk. of Psalms in a ritual sense (149^{3} 150^{4}). Such a note when inserted in the text might readily be given its present position. W. B. STEVENSON.

MAHSEIAH (מַחְסֵיָה).—A priest, grandfather of Baruch and Seraiah, Jer 32^{12} 51^{59} (AV Maaseiah). He is called in Bar 1^{1} **Maaseas** (Μαασαίας).

MAIANNAS (Μαιάννας, AV Maianeas), 1 Es 9^{48} = MAASEIAH, Neh 8^{7}.

MAID, MAIDEN.—Several words, easily distinguished in Heb. and Gr., are rendered 'maid' or 'maiden' in AV. **1.** נַעֲרָה *na'ărâh*, a girl, is tr^{d} 'maid' in 2 K 5$^{2.4}$, Est 2$^{7.9.12}$ 4^{4} (all 'maiden' in RV), Am 2^{7}; and 'maiden' in Ex 2^{5}, Ru 2$^{8.22.23}$ 3^{2}, 1 S 9^{11}, Est 2$^{4.8.9\,bis\,13}$ 4^{16}, Job 41^{5}, Pr 9^{3} 27^{27} 31^{15}, all retained in RV. **2.** עַלְמָה *'almâh*, a young woman (see under IMMANUEL, vol. ii. p. 454), is rendered 'maid' in Ex 2^{8}, Pr 30^{19}. **3.** בְּתוּלָה *bĕthûlâh*, a virgin, is tr^{d} 'maid' in Ex 22^{16} (RV 'virgin'), Job 31^{1}, Jer 2^{32} 51^{22}, La 5^{11} (RV 'maiden'), Ezk 9^{6} (RV 'maiden'), Zec 9^{17}; and 'maiden' in Jg 19^{24}, 2 Ch 36^{17}, Ps 78^{63} 148^{12}, Ezk 44^{22} (RV 'virgin'). Also לֹא מָצָאתִי לָהּ בְּתוּלִים is tr^{d} in AV 'I found her not a maid' in Dt 22$^{14.17}$. **4.** אָמָה *'âmâh*, a maidservant, is often rendered 'handmaid' or 'maidservant,' but also simply 'maid' in Gn 30^{3}, Ex 2^{5} (RV 'handmaid') 21$^{20.26}$, Lv 25^{6}, Ezr 2^{65} (RV 'maidservant'), Job 19^{5}, Nah 2^{7} (RV 'handmaid'). **5.** שִׁפְחָה *shiphḥâh*, a maidservant, female attendant, is tr^{d} 'maid' in Gn 16$^{2.3.5.6.8}$ 29$^{24.29}$ 30$^{7.9.10.12}$, Is 24^{2}; and 'maiden' in Gn 30^{18}, Ps 123^{2}, Ec 2^{7}: RV has 'handmaid' for 'maid' in all the passages except Is 24^{2}, but retains 'maiden' except in Gn 30^{18} ('handmaid').

Notice also the obsol. expression 'maid child' for נְקֵבָה in Lv 12^{5}, retained in RV. It comes from Tindale, who has the similar rendering in Ex 1^{16} 'When ye mydwive the women of the Ebrues and se in the byrth tyme that it is a boye, kyll it. But if it be a mayde, let it lyve.'

In Apocr. and NT we find the following words translated maid: **1.** κοράσιον, a girl, To 6$^{12.13}$, Sus$^{15.19}$, Mt 9$^{24.25}$ (both 'damsel' in RV). **2.** παιδίσκη, a young woman, a maidservant, To 3^{7} 8$^{12.13}$ (RV all 'maidservant'), Jth 10^{10} (RV 'handmaid'), Sir 41^{22}, Sus^{36}, Mk 14$^{66.69}$, Lk 22^{56}; παιδίσκη is also rendered 'maiden' in Lk 12^{45} (RV 'maidservant'). **3.** παῖς, a young person, usually male, also used for a servant or attendant, is tr^{d} 'maid' in Lk 8^{54} (RV 'maiden'), and 'maiden' in 8^{51}. **4.** παρθένος, a virgin, is tr^{d} 'maid' in Jth 9^{2} (RV 'virgin'). **5.** ἄβρα, a maidservant, is tr^{d} 'maid' in Jth 10$^{2.5}$ 13^{9} 16^{23}, Ad. Est 15^{7}. **6.** δούλη, a female slave, is rendered 'maid' in Jth 12^{19} (RV 'servant').

We thus see that AV, according to its principle, varies the words indefinitely and almost indifferently. RV lays down the principle that as far as possible the same word in Heb. or Gr. should be rendered by the same word in Eng., but the only case in which a serious effort is made to carry it out is in the rendering of *shiphḥâh*. Except in three passages, that word is rendered 'handmaid.' One of the exceptions is Is 24^{2}, where the assonance between 'mistress' and 'maid' is allowed to stand; the other two are particularly unfortunate, since there is little reason for departing from the rule of uniformity in Ps 123^{2} and less in Ec 2^{7}, and especially since the word 'maiden,' which is retained, is no longer used for a servant. Even Shakespeare, who uses 'maiden' freely in the sense of 'virgin,' never has it in the sense of 'servant.' J. HASTINGS.

MAIL.—See ARMOUR.

MAINSAIL.—See SHIPS AND BOATS.

MAKAZ (מָקַץ, Μαγχάς Luc.; Μαχμάς A and Μαχεμάς B are probably erroneous forms due to confusion with the more familiar name *Michmash*, which the Sept. transliterates by Μαχμάς or Μακμάς).—One of five places (MT four) which compose, or identify, the second of the 12 Solomonic prefectures (1 K 4^{9}). The probable identifications of (Shaalbim) Bethshemesh and Elon (= Aijalon) show that it was situated on the western slopes of Judah, but the exact site remains uncertain. Two of the towns in the same group are elsewhere assigned to the territory of Dan. The spellings Μακές (Euseb. in Lag. *Onom.*^{2}) and Macces or Maces (Vulg., Jerome) may be compared with Jerome's derivation (*de fine*) from קֵץ a boundary (Lag. *Onom. Sac.*^{2} p. 73). W. B. STEVENSON.

MAKE.—The verb to 'make' is used in AV both transitively and intransitively, and is so retained in RV, though the intrans. use is now obsolete. In both forms it has some constructions and meanings that need attention.

1. With the meaning of to *cause* it is followed by the infin., sometimes with and sometimes without *to*:* 2 Ch 7^{20} 'This house, which I have sanctified for my name, will I cast out of my sight, and will make it to be a proverb and a byword among all nations' (RV 'I will make it a proverb'); 8^{8} 'them did Solomon make to pay tribute'; Jer 34^{17} 'I will make you to be removed into all the king-

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* See more fully Craik, *Eng. of Shak.* p. 63 ff.

doms of the earth'; and Dn 7[4] 'it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man' (RV 'made to stand'). Cf. Shaks. *Comedy of Errors*, II. i. 26, 'This servitude makes you to keep unwed'; *Hamlet*, III. iii. 186, 'Make you to ravel all this matter out'; and (without *to*) *Tempest*, I. ii. 172—

> 'Here
> Have I, thy schoolmaster, made thee more profit
> Than other princesses can that have more time
> For vainer hours and tutors not so careful.'

2. 'Make' was once common in the simple sense of 'do.' There is a single example in AV, Jg 18[3] 'What makest thou in this place?' (מַה־אַתָּה עֹשֶׂה בָּזֶה; RV 'What doest thou in this place?' Wyc. [1382] 'What here dost thow?' [1388] 'What doist thou here?' Cov. 'What makest thou here?'). Cf. Spenser, *FQ* VII. vi. 25—

> 'Whence art thou, and what doost thou here now make?
> What idle errand hast thou earths mansion to forsake?'

3. In Jn 8[53] 'Whom makest thou thyself?' (ποιεῖς), and 19[7] 'he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God' (ἐποίησεν), the meaning is 'claim to be,' almost 'pretend to be.' This meaning of 'pretend' or 'feign' is seen in Jos 8[15] 'Joshua and all Israel made as if they were beaten'; 9[4] 'They did work wilily, and went and made as if they had been ambassadors'; and Lk 24[28] 'He made as though he would have gone further.' But even without 'as if' the verb is once used in this sense, 2 S 13[5] 'Lay thee down on thy bed, and make thyself sick' (הִתְחָל; LXX μαλακίσθητι; Vulg. *languorem simula*; Wyc. 'feyn sijknes'; Cov. 'make the sicke'; RV 'feign thyself sick'; cf. v.[6] 'So Amnon lay down, and made himself sick,' RV 'and feigned himself sick'). With Lk 24[28] cf. Ps 28[1] Cov. 'thinke no scorne of me, lest (yf thou make the as though thou herdest not) I become like them, that go downe in to ye pytte'; and with 2 S 13[5] cf. Shaks. *Two Gent.* I. ii. 102—

> 'She makes it strange; but she would be best pleased
> To be so anger'd with another letter.'

4. There are some phrases: (1) *Make ado*, Mk 5[39] 'Why make ye this ado, and weep?' Cf. Nu 16[7] Tind. 'Ye make ynough to doo ye childern of Levi.' See ADO. (2) *Make away* = destroy, Dn 11[44] 'he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many' (לְהַשְׁמִיד וּלְהַחֲרִים רַבִּים; LXX ἀφανίσαι καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι πολλούς; Vulg. *ut conterat et interficiat plurimos*; Wyc. [1382] 'for to breke to gydre, and slea ful manye,' [1388] 'to al to-breke, and to sle ful many men'; Gen. 'to destroy and roote out many'; Dou. 'to destroy and kil very manie'); 1 Mac 16[22] 'he laid hands on them that were come to destroy him, and slew them; for he knew that they sought to make him away' (αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι; RV 'to destroy him'). Cf. Dt 32[26] Tind. 'I have determened to scater them therowout the worlde, and to make awaye the remembraunce of them from amonge men'; Mt 27[20] Rhem. 'But the cheefe Priestes and auncients persuaded the people, that they should aske Barabbas, and make Iesus away'; Spenser, *On Ireland*, 'Clarence . . . soon after, by sinister means, was clean made away'; and Shaks. *As You Like It*, V. i. 58, 'I kill thee, make thee away, translate thy life into death.' (3) *Make for* = help, Ezk 17[17] 'Neither shall Pharaoh with his mighty army and great company make for him in the war' (יַעֲשֶׂה אוֹתוֹ בַּמִּלְחָמָה; LXX ποιήσει πρὸς αὐτὸν πόλεμον; Vulg. *faciet contra eum prœlium*; Wyc. 'make batayle agens hym'; Cov. 'maynteyne him in the warre,' after whom the correct translation is found, except Dou. 'make battel agaynst him'); Ro 14[19] 'Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace' (τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης; Vulg. *quæ pacis sunt*; Wyc. 'tho thingis that ben of pees': we owe the idiomatic tr. 'which make for peace' to Tindale). Tind. in a note to Lv 13 says, 'This chapter maketh not for confession in the eare, but is an example of excommunicacion off open sinners.' The phrase is not obsolete, it occurs in M. Arnold's famous definition (*Lit. and Dogma*, i.) 'The not ourselves which is in us and all around us became to them adorable eminently and altogether as a power which makes for righteousness,' but no doubt this is a recollection of Ro 14[19]. In older Eng. the phrase was often *make to*, as Udal's *Erasmus' NT*, ii. fol. 283, 'those thinges that are availeable to the life of heaven, and make to the glory of Christ'; and Davenant (Fuller's *Life*, 314), 'I showed no letter or instructions, neither have any but these generall instructions, which King James gave us at our going to Dort, which make little or nothing to this business.' (4) *Make up* = put together, complete, Ezr 5[3] 'Who hath commanded you to build this house, and to make up this wall?' (RV 'to finish this wall'); Ezk 13[5] 'Ye have not gone into the gaps, neither made up the hedge'; Mal 3[17] 'And they shall be mine, saith the LORD of hosts, in that day when I make up my jewels' (וְהָיוּ לִי . . . לַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה סְגֻלָּה; LXX Καὶ ἔσονταί μοι . . . εἰς ἡμέραν ἣν ἐγὼ ποιῶ εἰς περιποίησιν; Vulg. *Et erunt mihi . . . in die qua ego facio, in peculium*, whence Wyc. 'And thei shuln be to me . . . in the day in whiche Y shal make, into a special tresoure,' and Cov. 'And in the daye that I wil make . . . they shalbe myne owne possession,' and that is no doubt the correct rendering; so RV 'And they shall be mine . . . in the day that I do make, even a peculiar treasure,' or more clearly in marg. 'in the day that I do this,' which is the tr. of the Geneva Version *); 2 Co 9[5] 'and make up beforehand your bounty' (προκαταρτίσωσι). Cf. Shaks. *Rich. III.* I. i. 21—

> 'Sent before my time
> Into this breathing world, scarce half made up,
> And that so lamely and unfashionable
> That dogs bark at me as I halt by them';

Timon, V. i. 101—

> 'Remain assured
> That he's a made-up [= perfect] villain';

and in a slightly different sense, Knox, *Hist.* 177, 'oppress the inhabitants thereof, and make up strangers with their lands and goods.'

5. Among the archaic uses of 'make' we find it followed by a subst., the two together expressing no more than a verb formed from the subst. would express, as 'make request' = request, 'make provision' = provide. In almost every instance the Heb. or Gr. is a verb and no more. Thus (1) *make account*, Ps 144[3] 'Lord, what is man, that thou takest knowledge of him! or the son of man, that thou makest account of him!' (וַתְּחַשְּׁבֵהוּ; LXX ὅτι λογίζῃ αὐτόν). So Shaks. *Rich. III.* III. ii. 71—

> 'The princes both make high account of you';

Milton, *PR* ii. 193—

> 'Among the sons of men,
> How many have with a smile made small account
> Of Beauty and her lures, easily scorn'd
> All her assaults, on worthier things intent!'

(2) *Make confession*, as Dn 9[4] 'And I prayed unto the Lord my God, and made my confession' (וָאֶתְוַדֶּה, RV 'made confession'). (3) *Make count*, Ex 12[4] 'Every man according to his eating shall make your count for the lamb' (תָּכֹסּוּ). (4) *Make an end*, Jg 3[18] 'And when he had made an end to offer (RV 'an end of offering') the present, he sent away the people that bare the present' (כִּלָּה); Is 33[1] 'When thou shalt make an end to deal treacherously' (כַּנְּלֹתְךָ); 38[12] 'From day even to night wilt thou make an end of me' (תַּשְׁלִימֵנִי); Jer 4[27] 'Yet will I

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* The marg. note in Gen. Version is, 'When I shal restore my Church according to my promes, they shalbe as mine owne propre goods.' See, further, art. JEWEL in vol. ii. p. 655[b].

not make a full end' (וְכָלָה לֹא אֶעֱשֶׂה). (5) *Make inquisition*, Dt 19^{18} 'And the judges shall make diligent inquisition' (וְדָרְשׁוּ הֵיטֵב). (6) *Make mention*, as Ps 87^{4} 'I will make mention of Rahab and Babylon to them that know me' (אַזְכִּיר). (7) *Make matter*, Gal 2^{6} 'whatsoever they were it maketh no matter to me' (*οὐδέν μοι διαφέρει*). Cf. Holland's *Livy*, p. 247, 'What makes matter, say they, if a bird sing auke or crow cross?' Tindale, *Expositions*, p. 81, 'Thou wilt say, What matter maketh it if I speak words which I understand not, or if I pray not at all, seeing God knoweth my matter already?' (8) *Make merchandise*, Dt 21^{14} 24^{7} 'If a man be found stealing any of his brethren of the children of Israel, and maketh merchandise of him, or selleth him, then that thief shall die' (הִתְעַמֶּר־בּוֹ; RV 'deal with him as a slave,' RVm 'as a chattel'); 2 P 2^{3} 'And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you' (*ἐμπορεύσονται*). Cf. Shaks. *Merch. of Venice*, III. i. 134, 'Were he out of Venice, I can make what merchandise I will.' (9) *Make provision*, 1 K 4^{7} 'Each man his month in a year made provision' (יְכַלְכֵּל); Ro 13^{14} 'Make not provision for the flesh' (*πρόνοιαν μὴ ποιεῖσθε*). (10) *Make riddance*, Lv 23^{22} 'thou shalt not make clean riddance of the corners of thy field when thou reapest' (לֹא־תְכַלֶּה; RV 'thou shalt not wholly reap'); Zeph 1^{18} 'he shall make even a speedy riddance of all them that dwell in the land' (כָּלָה; RV 'he shall make an end, yea a terrible end'). (11) *Make a sport*, 1 Es 1^{51} 'they made a sport of his prophets' (*ἦσαν ἐκπαίζοντες*; RV 'they scoffed at'). Cf. Milton, *PL* vi. 632—

> 'Eternal Might
> To match with their inventions they presumed
> So easy, and of his thunder made a scorn';

and *Samson Agonistes*, 1331—

> 'Do they not seek occasion of new quarrels
> On my refusal, to distress me more,
> Or make a game of my calamities?'

J. HASTINGS.

MAKEBATE.—There was an old Eng. word *bate* (from Old Fr. *batre*, to beat) which signified strife, discord. Thus Shadwell, *Am. Bigot*, i. 1, 'I'll breed no bate nor division between young people.' Sometimes it is a shortened form of 'debate' (from Old Fr. *debatre*), but more often it is a distinct word. 'Makebate' is a compound of this word, and means a maker of strife. It occurs in the plural in AVm of 2 Ti 3^{3}, Tit 2^{3}, as an alternative tr. of *διάβολοι*, text 'false accusers'; RV 'slanderers,' which is as old as Wyc. (1388) at Tit 2^{3}. The tr. 'false accusers' is from Tindale. Hall (*Works*, ii. 74) says of the Pharisees, 'When these censurers thought the Disciples had offended, they speake not to them but to their Master, Why doe thy Disciples that which is not lawfull? Now, when they thought Christ offended, they speak not to him, but to the Disciples. Thus, like true make-bates, they goe about to make a breach in the family of Christ, by setting off the one from the other.' J. HASTINGS.

MAKED (Μακέβ, Μακέδ).—A 'strong and great' city in Gilead (1 Mac $5^{26.\ 36}$). The site is unknown.

MAKHELOTH (מַקְהֵלֹת, Μακηλώθ, Luc. Μακηδώθ, *Maccloth*, Nu $33^{25.\ 26}$).—One of the twelve stations in the journeyings of the children of Israel, following Haẓeroth, which are mentioned only in Nu 33. Nothing is known about it. The word occurs Ps 68^{27} [Eng. ^{26}], where it is translated 'congregations.' The occurrence of *Ḳehelâthah* (a name of similar meaning) in v.^{22} should be noted.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

MAKKEDAH (מַקֵּדָה; Μακηδά [in Jos $10^{28.\ 29}$ 15^{41} B has Μακηδάν]; Syr. *Mokor*; Vulg. *Maceda*).—A royal city of the Canaanites, situated in the Shephēlah or lowland of Judah, mentioned (Jos 15^{41}) with Gederoth, Beth-dagon, and Naamah in the list of cities allotted to Judah. The last three are perhaps to be identified with the modern villages of *Katrah*, *Dajûn*, *Nâ'aneh*, and Maḳḳedah with *el-Mughâr*—all lying in the vicinity of *Ludd* (Lydda, Diospolis) and *Yebnah* (Jabneel). It is mentioned ten times (Jos $10^{10ff.}$ 12^{16} 15^{41}) in connexion with Joshua's great victory in the day when the Lord fought for Israel. Maḳḳedah is first mentioned (Jos 10^{10}) with Azeḳah as one of the two points to which the allied forces were followed by the victorious host of Israel, and they were not necessarily near each other: in the list of cities allotted to Judah they are both stated to be in the Shephēlah, but Azeḳah is in one group of fourteen cities, while Maḳḳedah is in another group of sixteen cities. Azeḳah is mentioned with Adullam, Socoh, and Jarmuth, which have all been found together about 14 miles S.E. of Maḳḳedah.

When the battle had reached these points, it is related (Jos 10^{15}) that Joshua returned and all Israel with him unto the camp to Gilgal, and then the narrative of the battle is resumed and other victories of Joshua recorded, and then again it is stated (v.^{43}) that Joshua returned to Gilgal in the same words. The LXX omits (vv.$^{15.\ 43}$) all mention of the return of Joshua to Gilgal, and some commentators propose that at least v.^{15} should be omitted, or even that it should be treated as part of the quotation from the Bk. of Jashar and not as part of the narrative, so that the action of Joshua after leaving Gilgal until the taking of Maḳḳedah is continuous, and occurred on the great day when the sun stood still in the midst of heaven. It appears clear, however, that the passage is composite, the narrative of JE being interrupted by comments and generalizations of D^{2} (see Driver, *LOT*^{6} 108).

Joshua was in his camp at Gilgal (Jos 10^{6}) in the plains on the east border of Jericho when he received a pressing message from the men of Gibeon, urging him to come up and save them from the kings of the Amorites. Now Gibeon was in the hill-country (present *el-Jeb*), 3400 ft. above Gilgal and 10 miles distant as the crow flies, but by the rugged devious mountain passes a stiff uphill march of 16 to 18 miles. Joshua went up from Gilgal all night, he and all the people of war with him, and all the mighty men of valour, and coming upon the Amorites suddenly and unexpectedly, probably at early dawn while they still slept, he slew them with a great slaughter at Gibeon, and chased them by the way of the pass of the Upper and Lower Beth-horon as far as Azeḳah and Maḳḳedah, over a rough country, a distance of at least 25 miles from Gibeon as the crow flies.

It may have been somewhere in the upper portion of the pass of Beth-horon that Joshua said in the sight of all Israel, 'Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon, and thou moon in the valley of Aijalon.' The expression 'upon (בְּ) Gibeon' rather indicates an early hour when the sun would be rising over the ridge and hills where Gibeon was situated, but Stanley (*S. and P.* 210) considers that the emphatic expression that the sun stayed in the midst of heaven seems intended to indicate noonday. On the other hand, the geographical conditions, Gibeon being to S.E. and Aijalon to S.W. of the Upper Beth-horon, would indicate some hour midway between sunrise and noon, according to the time of year; while the view also is held by many that the account of the miraculous standing still of the sun, being derived from the poetical Bk. of Jashar, is not to be considered as part of the historical narrative of the Bk. of Joshua (*Speaker's Com.* Add. notes on Jos 10^{12-15}, and Dillmann, *in loc.*).

It is evident from our present knowledge of the surrounding country, that if the attack of Joshua took place at early dawn, and the flight of the Amorites immediately followed, consequent on their being taken by surprise, the force of Joshua may have been at Beth-horon two hours after sunrise and at Maḳḳedah from eight to ten hours after sunrise, so that the circumstances related as having taken place on the great day may have occurred within the limits of an ordinary day at any time of the year.

On arrival at Maḳḳedah, Joshua was told that the five kings of the Amorites were hid in *the* cave (בַּמְּעָרָה, so correctly RV) at Maḳḳedah. This cave is mentioned eight times in the Bk. of Joshua always with the article as '*the* cave'; it was evidently a well-known cave close to the city Maḳḳedah, and probably near to a grove of trees (cf. Jos 10^{26}).

Joshua did not stop the battle tide, but, ordering great stones to be rolled to the mouth of the cave and setting a guard there, caused the pursuit to be continued until the children of Israel had made an end of slaying the enemy with great slaughter and returned to the camp at Maḳḳedah. Then the cave was opened, and the kings of the Amorites, after the ceremonial degradation, were smitten by Joshua, and were hanged on five trees until sundown. At sunset (cf. Dt $21^{22f.}$) the five kings were taken down off the trees and cast into the cave wherein they had been hid, and great stones were laid at the cave's mouth.

In the *PEF* survey of Western Palestine the present village of *el-Mughâr* ('the caves') was adopted by the surveyors, who found that at this site alone, of all the possible sites for Maḳḳedah in the Philistine plain, do caves still exist. The following points are in favour of this site. It is on the northern border-line of Judah immediately south-west of Ekron, opposite to *Katrah* (Gederoth) and near to *Dajûn* (Beth-dagon) and *Nâ'aneh* (Nâ'amah). It is an ancient site, as evidenced by the rock-quarrying and the rock-cut tombs with loculi. There are caves of various sizes, in front of which the houses are built, and small caves exist in the cliffs north of the village. It is on the northern side of the valley of Sorek (*Wady Surâr*), in the lowlands about 4 miles from the sandy dunes bordering on the seashore. It is situated on a sort of promontory stretching into the valley of Sorek, divided into three plateaus; on the lower of these to the south is the modern village of *el-Mughâr*, built in front of the caves which are cut out of the sandstone. The city of Maḳḳedah was probably to the north of these caves. The surrounding country is very fertile.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 251; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, 210; *SWP* ii. 412; Dillmann, *Jos. ad loc.* (leaves the site doubtful).

C. WARREN.

MAKTESH (הַמַּכְתֵּשׁ 'the mortar' [Pr 27^{22}]; ἡ κατακεκομμένη; Aq. εἰς τὸν ὅλμον; Theod. ἐν τῷ βάθει; Vulg. *Pīla*).—The name of a locality mentioned in Zeph 1^{11} 'Howl, ye inhabitants of the *Maktesh*; for all the people of Canaan (or, the merchant people; cf. Ezk 17^4, Pr 31^{24}) are undone, all they that were laden with silver are cut off.' The context shows that it was in Jerusalem; it is also evident that it was a locality in which traders dwelt—perhaps, in particular, that, as Ewald conjectured, it was the 'Phœnician quarter' of the city. From the meaning of the word,—it is used in Jg 15^{19} of the 'hollow place' out of which the spring of Ha-Ḳōrē issued forth,—it may be inferred that it denoted some basin-like hollow or depression. The Targ. understands by it the Kidron valley, which, it is true, forms a deep depression on the E. and S.E. of the city: but it is more probable that some locality within the city itself is intended; and it is a plausible suggestion that it was the name of the upper part of the Tyropœon valley (between the E. and W. hills of Jerusalem). The Maktesh may have been mentioned in particular by Zeph. on account of the omen of the name (Jer. 'quod scilicet, quomodo frumenta feriente desuper vecte, contunduntur').

S. R. DRIVER.

MALACHI (מַלְאָכִי, Μαλαχίας in the title only).—The last in the Canon of the OT prophets.

i. NAME OF THE BOOK.—If the title contained in the opening verse be accepted as original, *Malachi* may be taken as the personal name of the prophet. In that case it is generally understood as a contraction of מַלְאָכִיָּה *Malachiyah*, and as meaning 'the messenger of J".' This translation, however, presents difficulty,* and the word as a personal name does not occur elsewhere. Or the word may be regarded as the official title of the prophet, and be rendered 'my, *i.e.* J"'s messenger.' The LXX so understood it in 1^1,† but, by using Μαλαχίας as the head title, preserved both interpretations. The Targum of Jonathan ben-Uzziel added at 1^1 'whose name is called Ezra the scribe'; and Jerome ‡ gave this last addition as a current belief among the Jews of his time. If, however, Ezra was the author of the book, it is difficult to understand why his history contains no hint of its existence. And the fact that tradition also attaches the book to the names of Nehemiah and Zerubbabel strengthens the supposition, that, in a period which had forgotten the author's name, the close correspondence between the aims which the prophet desired and which the legislator accomplished led to their identification.

Many modern commentators (*e.g.* Wellhausen, Nowack, Kuenen) regard 1^1 as a late addition. Emphasizing the similarity of this title to those which precede Zec 9^1 12^1, and noting the prominence of the word מַלְאָכִי 'my messenger' in 3^1, they have concluded that the compiler of the separate volume of the twelve minor prophets found this book without an author's name, and, borrowing a name from the body of the work, prefixed the entire title as it stands at present. The opinion is plausible, and enjoys this advantage, that, as it is not based on facts but on several large suppositions, it is incapable of disproof. Nothing is known of the personal history of the author, for the tradition of pseudo-Epiphanius (*de vitis Proph.*), which calls him a man of Sopha in the tribe of Zebulun, is so late as to be valueless.

ii. DATE.—The general period in which the book was written is easy to determine. The Exile is so far in the past that it is not even mentioned. The temple, to the rebuilding of which Haggai needed to exhort the people, is already restored: the sacrificial ritual is being carried on within it (1^{10} $3^{1.10}$). The offenders whom Malachi rebukes are the laity who do not support the established ritual ($3^{7ff.}$), and the priests who bring it into contempt through their carelessness ($1^{6ff.}$). On the other hand, Judah is still under the civil government of a Persian satrap (פֶּחָתְךָ 'thy governor,' 1^8, cf. Hag 1^1, Neh 5^{14} 12^{26}), and the title 'great king,' which Malachi applies (1^{14}) to J", may be borrowed from the official style of that court. A comparison of the abuses which the book attacks, and the reforms which it advocates with those

* For the contraction it is possible and customary to appeal to the fact that the name of the mother of Hezekiah is given as אֲבִי *Abi* in 2 K 18^2, and as אֲבִיָּה *Abijah* in 2 Ch 29^1. But, since *Abijah* must be translated 'J" is father,' this by analogy would require that *Malachi* should be rendered, not 'the messenger of J",' but 'J" is messenger.'

† Its reading is ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ, the word of J" 'by the hand of *His* messenger.'

‡ 'Quem Esdram scribam, legisque doctorem, Hebræi æstimant' (*Præfatio in duodecim prophetas*).

which are mentioned in the histories of Ezra and Nehemiah, clearly proves a very similar condition of affairs in the community. Legislators and prophet have alike to protest against such abuses as neglect of the sacred dues, irregular sacrifices, and intermarriage with foreign women.* So similar is the whole situation that Malachi must have been nearly contemporaneous with those reformers.

Opinion, however, is still divided as to whether Malachi prepared the way by word for the later legislative acts of Ezra and Nehemiah, or whether he supplemented and enforced the work which these began. In the former case, the book must have been written before B.C. 458, the date of Ezra's arrival in Jerusalem; in the latter, either shortly before or after B.C. 432, when Nehemiah's second visit to that city took place. The question cannot be decided with certainty. But the manner in which intermarriage with foreigners is condemned as a sin, not against the strict letter of the law, but against J″'s relation as Father to His people ($2^{10\text{ff.}}$), agrees best with a time before Ezra had legislated on the subject (cf. *OTJC*^{2} p. 427, n. 2). Malachi also connects those foreign marriages with the prevalence of divorce, as though the one caused the other. Such a connexion seems more likely at a time when foreign intermarriage, being novel, was causing many to put away their native wives, than at the period when Ezra found it a settled practice among his people. The terms also in which the governor is alluded to (1^8 ye treat J″ as ye would not treat the Persian satrap) lose half their force if the position was occupied not by a foreigner but by Nehemiah.

A more uncertain means of dating the book is found in its information about the details of ritual. Thus the priests are regarded as the sons of Levi ($2^{4.8}$ 3^3), not of Aaron. This would seem to imply that the book was written from the standpoint of D, and before the Priestly Code had degraded the Levites into a subordinate position towards the sons of Aaron. On the other hand, the command to offer tithes in the temple (3^{10}), presumably for the support of the officiating Levites, agrees more closely with the rule of P (Nu $18^{21\text{ff.}}$) than with that of D (Dt $14^{22\text{ff.}}$), which commands the giver to share them at home with the Levites and the poor. This may mark the transition from the earlier to the later practice—a transition which was made easier by the fact that, when the community was the city, all the Levites were attached to the temple. The priest is still the exponent of the law (2^7); after the promulgation of P he was only its servant.† Were we less ignorant of the history of Edom at this period, the opening section ($1^{2\text{-}5}$), with its reference to the condition of that people, would furnish the best means of determining the exact date.

iii. CONDITIONS PRESUPPOSED BY THE BOOK.—The condition of the people was enough to cause grave anxiety. They had suffered from drought and locusts ($3^{10\text{f.}}$). The revolts of Egypt against Persia, which were quickened by news of Persia's waning strength in Asia Minor, must have entailed heavy military requisitions on Palestine for the support of the armies which were sent against the rebels. Men were losing heart. They had sacrificed something when, at the bidding of their religious leaders, they returned from Babylon. They had expected that the holy land would repay those sacrifices, and instead it was demanding larger. The glowing visions of Deutero-Isaiah, some of which were dangerously material in themselves, and were further materialized in the popular mind, did not correspond with the stern realities of Jerusalem. Haggai had believed ($2^{10\text{ff.}}$) the cause of their misery to be their negligence in the restoration of the temple, and had promised J″'s return on the completion of the work. But the temple was rebuilt, and everything remained as before, which, to men who had hoped for so much, must have appeared worse than before. Men were beginning to ask for proofs of that divine love of which they heard so often, but of which they thought that they saw so little ($1^{2\text{-}5}$). They were debating, though not yet openly, whether it were not better, after all, to become like the heathen among whom they lived ($3^{13\text{-}18}$). And, where such ideas were even being debated among the better minds of the nation,* the less religious must have already begun to show their discouragement, and to cast off those distinctive forms which separated Judah from the other nations. The priests, as a rule, were slovenly in their performance of the ritual. That it was a weary form (1^{13}) they expressed by their carelessness of its requirements more eloquently than by words. The laity, miserable, heartless, and copying their religious leaders, were inclined to stint their sacrifices (1^{14}), and to withhold their dues ($3^{7\text{ff.}}$). And the increasing practice of intermarriage with foreign women ($2^{10\text{-}16}$), itself both sign and cause of a slackening devotion to the God of Israel, was sapping their family life and helping to merge the people into the surrounding paganism. It is this condition which Malachi faces; and he is prophet enough to see the root from which all the rest springs. Their religious life is weak, their spiritual vision dim. And this weakened religious life is affecting their moral and social condition, as well as their religious practice. It is causing them at once to make light of marriage, and to neglect ritual. The people must return to J″ (3^7). They need a quickened sense of the worth of the divine favour. For that would bring with it a different judgment of life. To be written in God's book of remembrance, to belong to God, would make many ills in life tolerable ($3^{16\text{ff.}}$). To return to J″ would make impossible their frequent divorce, which at present is rendering God deaf to their prayers (2^{13}). If the prophet seems to write as though the whole content of repentance consisted in the due payment of Levitical tithes (3^7), and so makes the return to J″ shallow, one must join with that his idea of the priesthood in itself and in its work. The glory of the priests of olden time was in his eyes their moral dignity. His representation of that past may be very far from what the historical books and the earlier prophets show it to have been. But this only makes Malachi's ideal (2^6) the more striking. And he expects that, when J″ has purified the recreant class, the first result will be that they will offer offerings in righteousness (3^3). The priests represent to him a moral and spiritual force in the community. That men starve them by withholding their tithes, is a proof that they are not interested in the ideals which the priests represent. That the clergy in any community are underpaid, does often mean that men are not interested in religion. And a prophet may point to the outward fact as a sign of the inward cause. What redeems Malachi from even the suspicion of formalism in this respect is his high appreciation of the services offered to J″ beyond the limits of Palestine (1^{11}). On any interpretation† that verse implies that temple and priesthood, sacrifice and tithes, are not an *essential* to a spiritual worship. But the prophet has to deal with the facts before him. He is a man to whom the essence of all religion consists in its spiritual and ethical elements. But he not only finds a sacramental system in existence among his people; he also recognizes its power as a factor in the religious life of any people. Such a system both represents and educates their spiritual life. And Malachi is one among the many who have tried to correlate those two truths, instead of denying one in the interests of the other.

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* Cf. Mal $3^{7\text{-}12}$ with Neh $10^{32\text{-}39}$ $13^{4\text{-}14}$, and Mal $2^{10\text{-}16}$ with Ezr 9^2 $10^{3.\ 10\text{-}44}$, Neh 10^{30} $13^{23\text{-}31}$.

† For an adequate statement of the relations between Malachi, D and P, cf. W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 425 ff.

* One must understand the doubts of $3^{13\text{-}15}$ as being those which 'they that feared the LORD' were uttering among themselves.

† Two interpretations are possible. According to one, the verse means that even those sacrifices which the heathen offer to their own deities under the names of Vishnu, Osiris, Jove,

iv. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BOOK; ITS ATTITUDE TO RITUAL, ETC.—Undoubtedly, what characterizes this book as contrasted with the earlier prophetic literature is the high value which it sets upon a correct observance of ritual.

But it has never been sufficiently recognized that Malachi's attitude to the priestly ritual differs from that of the earlier prophets, just because the work of these had not failed to produce some result. It may still be considered a question open for further discussion, how far the rites with which Hosea found himself face to face in Israel were the outcome of a faith which, though once purer, had degenerated through contact with a heathen surrounding, and how far they were the natural expression of the faith of a people which was still at a low stage of religious development. In either case that system, because it embodied and so perpetuated a debasing idea of J″, was abhorrent to the prophet, who himself held a purer faith. And he called on his people before all else 'to take with them words.' He urged them to realize that higher conception of J″ which he himself had won. The first effect of such a thought of their God would be to make impossible some of the grosser elements in their ritual. Men who thought of God as Hosea did, would give up kissing calves as a means of worship. But, as a second effect, whether the prophet recognized it or not, a people who had gained this clearer thought of J″ would embody it in a ceremonial which would be competent to express it. Israel went into exile and so lost the position in which this might have been done. But Judah did in some measure accept the prophetic teaching about J″ and their relation to Him. And in the law and the ritual they sought to embody and perpetuate those ideas. Ezekiel, himself a prophet, formulated a legislation. It may be impossible to determine which forms in the ritual are common to heathenism and to Judaism. What is certain is that all the forms were remoulded and coloured by the spirit of Judah's religion. Now to a law and a ceremonial, which were framed to express, however inadequately, such ideas, a later prophet like Malachi was compelled, by his very vision of the truths which forms express, to assume an attitude different from the attitude which the earlier prophets assumed to the ritual of their time. Any neglect on the part of the people to fulfil the demands of this law, unless that neglect was due to the people finding the law inadequate to express their religious faith, must appear to the prophet a failure to appropriate through obedience to the ritual that understanding of J″'s will which the ritual conveyed to the worshippers. As Malachi is diligent to show, the disobedience of his time was the outcome of a lowered morality, not of a clearer spiritual vision. And he maintained the worth of the temple-service in the interests of the spiritual religion of which that service was the expression.

The prophet, however, is no creator. Satisfied with the ideas in which he had been educated, and their stereotyped expression in the ritual, he models his very style on that of earlier prophets. He is the preserver of the past rather than a creator for the future. By his whole mental attitude he represented what was necessary for the period in which his activity falls. He belongs to an age which had to retain rather than to create, to impress on men, through institutions and ritual, ideas which had been conceived in the sore travail of preceding controversies. Ideals in this world of men need to be expressed in institutions as well as in words, if they are to influence not only a select few but a whole generation, and, above all, if they are to be transmitted to the following generations. And, since men are influenced by unconscious habits as well as by conscious convictions, great religious truths must create forms which touch the whole life of a community. Probably, at that period of the national history, when Judah had been reduced to a community of humble men, and when so many of its purely secular hopes had disappeared, the utmost it could accomplish was to maintain the ground already won, to cling to the ideas already learned, and to continue institutions which were fitted to be the home of souls in the after generations, the birthplace for larger ideals in more fruitful years. To undervalue the law is easy; to appraise it is a much harder task. Yet the law kept a kingless people together through several centuries. The truths it embodied made Judæa almost unique in resisting the disintegrating influence of the Hellenic spirit. The ideals which it represented produced men who were capable of accepting the higher ideals of Jesus Christ, and of becoming the founders of His Church. At the period when his countrymen ran grave risk of losing their hold on this ritual and all it contained for them and their descendants, Malachi lent his whole influence to maintain its power. To him, however, it continued to be valuable because of the expression it gave to spiritual realities and the support it afforded the moral life. And if the Judaism of the silent centuries grew often formal in its reverence for the law as law and for the ritual as ritual, this was due as much to their forgetfulness as to their memory of the message they had received from the prophet. The exhortation which falls near the end of the book, 'to remember the law of Moses,' became dangerous so soon as the minds of men grew unspiritual; but what truth is not dangerous?

This attitude to the law explains in part the high value which Malachi sets on the priesthood. It is no longer the prophets but the priests who are the messengers of J″ (2^{7}). It is they who must first be purified by J″'s visitation, in order that they may then direct the people ($3^{3f.}$). Their office and work are set in an ideal and beautiful light. But the prophetic period is so far behind this teacher, and its fresh creative life so dead, that, when he thinks of the possibility of a new revelation of J″, the medium of that revelation is no longer a man whose lips God should touch with pure fire. It is that one of the prophets of the past who did not die, and whom J″ should restore to His people's necessity ($4^{5f.}$). But this expectation has a deeper root than the higher estimate of ritual and so of priesthood can explain. It is allied to the hope which the prophet cherished for the future, in which he diverged most widely from the early prophets. When Judah became a dependent satrapy, and its royal house fell into insignificance, the Messianic figure of the Davidic king naturally and inevitably disappeared. But the 'suffering servant' has also passed out of sight; the priestly figure has equally gone. Judah has lost confidence in her destiny and her mission.

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etc., are really offered to the one and only God. According to another, it refers to the already widely scattered Jews of the dispersion, who, in the many lands of their exile, are offering to J″ sacrifices, which are pure though beyond the holy land.

It is not out of the people itself that any deliverer or new spring of life is expected, even by its prophets. Malachi believes that a deliverer shall come, that Judah still has a mission, that J″ has not forsaken His people. But he expects that the messenger of the covenant, who can hardly be distinguished from J″ Himself, shall appear in the temple to renew all things. The Messiah is not thought of as having his roots in the soil, he has lost all essential relation to the people whom he comes to deliver, he is less a gift than an emanation from J″.

This altered hope witnesses to an altered conception of God and of His relation to men. That hard deism, into which Hebrew theology was always liable to degenerate, is showing itself afresh, and now in the minds of the prophets. Persian thought, with its dualism and its idea of the impurity of matter, fostered the tendency. The popular conception of the connexion between guilt and physical calamity ministered to it in a community which was always in distress. J″ was conceived as so far separated from men that any revelation from Him was increasingly thought of as *ab extra*, and not through the inner life of man. He must send His angels or Elijah, if the people's life is to be guided by Him. Such a conception was certain to have further results. So long as prophecy lived with its witness to the God, who is not only beyond all men's thought but who is present with and in their highest thought, so long as prophecy founded the appeal of religion on the moral and spiritual instincts of men, by which they were related to their God, there was little danger from sacerdotalism. The ritual existed, but it was construed as the outward expression and satisfaction of those instincts. But when the people, impotent, conscious of guilt, came to think of J″ as so far removed from them that any message from Him must be an importation from without, and must be guaranteed, when old and long present by tradition, when new by miracle, they were sure to fall into a material idea of divine grace.

It is only the beginning and the first causes of such a state of things which are to be found in Malachi. The conflicting ideas seem to struggle in his mind. He can write of J″ as receiving an acceptable worship beyond the limits of the holy land, and so can forecast the worship 'in spirit and in truth.' But already the people are no longer thought of as the children of J″: only a select class among them dare so to think of themselves ($1^{6f.}$). And, though that class ought to be moral and spiritual guides to the people, it is not this qualification but their being descendants of Levi which gives them that position. Now the more that idea gained on men's minds, the more also would the ritual be thought of as able of itself to maintain divine favour. The grace of J″ which men need, and the covenant which is life and peace, must be mediated to them through a system which was wholly outside of them, and which based its validity less on its appeal to their spiritual nature, and more on its being an arbitrary regulation from which they did not dare to deviate. Again, it was only when this conception of the relation between God and man formed the medium through which men approached it, that the command to remember the law of Moses ($4^{4f.}$) grew dangerous. The living word of prophecy, with its underlying conviction of God's presence in and with the soul of man, was delivered from literalism. One great prophet could and did criticize the doctrine of another, and in the interests of the spirit could dare to touch the letter of the word. Micah could urge how the temper of the people of Jerusalem made them grossly abuse Isaiah's promise of the security of Mount Zion. A prophet could base his appeal on the witness of the spirit in those to whom he spoke. But, when the soul of man was thought of as wholly alienated from God, with no essential relation to Him, and only brought into relation with divine truth by an outward mediation, there grew up a hard theory of inspiration. The revelation from God was a deposit of faith and a rule of practice which could not change. The law of Moses became the mediator between God and man; and the prophet was transformed into the scribe. An especial interest must always attach to the Book of Malachi; because both conceptions of God and His dealing with man are there, and the prophet seems hardly conscious of their antagonism. But the less spiritual one was the easier to hold, and was favoured by many circumstances. Despite several protests from Judaism itself, of which the Book of Jonah is the most beautiful example, it triumphed over the higher. And Malachi stands at the beginning of that long and swift decline, which finally separated J″ and His people by so wide a gulf that official Judaism ended by rejecting the very idea of the Incarnation as blasphemy against God.

The literary style of the book is peculiar to itself among the prophetic literature. Malachi does not attempt the rhetorical development of a great principle, in the way which is so characteristic of Deutero-Isaiah. In part this is caused by the difference in subject and in aim. The writer is applying principles to the details of life. But the style is strictly dialectic. The writer states his thesis, a principle or an accusation. Over against that he sets an objection, which he may have heard urged against it, or which from his knowledge of the people he believes to be present in their minds. After this he proves and elaborates the truth of what he began by asserting. If these addresses were ever delivered in public, the audiences must have been very dissimilar to those which faced the herdsman of Tekoa. On the ground that the style seems that of a man who developed his ideas in writing, several editors of the book have concluded that the author from the first circulated his message to his people by writing. A more accurate description would be to name it the style of the schools, and to see in it the beginning of the method of exposition, which afterwards became universal in the schools and synagogues of Judaism.

v. ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS.—The book is divided into four chapters in the English version, which in this respect follows the printed editions of the LXX, Peshiṭta, and Vulgate; the Hebrew text unites the third and fourth chapters into one. According to its subject-matter it falls into the following seven sections:—

(1) 1^{2-5}. Men are asking for the proof of the reality of J″'s love toward their nation. Malachi finds the proof in history, and especially in the differing histories of Edom and Judah. Because Jehovah hated Edom, that nation has suffered and will suffer more in the immediate future, so that Judah through seeing their fate will learn to acknowledge the sovereign love of their God.*

(2) 1^{6}–2^{9}. J″ had a right to expect a return for His love (1^{6}). Instead, those who were nearest Him among the people, the priests, offer a scant and weary worship, the perfunctoriness of which proves their indifference to His claim ($1^{7-9.\,12f.}$). The result is that the laity are offering their worst at the altar instead of their best (1^{14}). The whole ritual has grown valueless; but, though it should cease, a worship acceptable to J″ will not come to an end ($1^{10f.}$). For their neglect punishment will fall on the priesthood; it has already begun to fall † (2^{1-3}). Their indifference to ritual was at once sign and cause of a moral corruption. The priests were appointed to be examples of righteous life, and so guides to the people. But they have abused their position, to the ruin of many. And their office has already become contemptible (2^{4-9}).

(3) 2^{10-16}. The guilt of those who marry foreign women.

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* Contrast Am 3^{2}.

† The terms of that punishment are not quite clear in 2^{3}.

Such a marriage is a profaning of J″'s holiness. It has brought about an increase of divorce, with the misery and moral laxity which that produces. Because of this, their prayers are unheard, though they entreat the favour of Jehovah with tears.

(4) 2^{17}–3^{6}. Men are doubting whether there is any righteous governor of the world (2^{17}). Malachi prophesies the appearance of J″'s messenger to prepare His way, and of the messenger of the covenant (who may be J″ Himself) (3^{1}). But the coming of the Lord, for which the people long, will be a coming to judgment in Judah (3^{2}). He must begin His sifting work among the temple priesthood ($3^{3f.}$), and from them pass to judge the moral errors of the nation (3^{5}).

(5) 3^{6-12}).* The people are now more directly addressed. They are suffering from famine, drought, and locusts. These are the judgments of J″ on them for having withheld His dues. If they bring their tithes, He will certainly pour out on them the abundance they have lacked.

(6) 3^{13}–4^{4}. The prophet returns to the root of all other laxity, to the complaint that it is useless to serve J″, because He does not care for His servants. Prosperity is not following devotion. Even the best of the people are beginning to whisper among themselves doubts like these (3^{13-16a}). They need not despair. J″ is regarding them, and before Him the names of those who fear Him are inscribed for eternal remembrance (3^{16-18}). The day of sifting is again promised, though here it is uncertain whether the sifting is within the nation between the righteous remnant and the apostatizing, or whether by the ungodly are meant those who are beyond Judaism (4^{1-4}). The prophet adds a Deuteronomic exhortation to remember the Mosaic law (4^{4}).

(7) $4^{5f.}$. The promise is added that Elijah will reappear on earth to heal the divisions among the people, especially to fill the cleft between the ideals of the old and new generations. By his means the threatened curse will be averted.†

The Book of Malachi is directly or indirectly quoted in the NT in the following passages: Mk 1^{2} $9^{11f.}$, Lk 1^{17}, Ro 9^{13}.

LITERATURE.—Driver, *LOT*^{6} 355 ff.; the *Einleitungen* of Cornill, Strack, König; Wildeboer, *Litt. d. AT*, 333, 361; the commentaries of Pocock, 1677; Köhler, 1865; Wellh. (*Kl. Proph.*) 1893; Nowack (in *Handkom.*), 1897; G. A. Smith (*Book of Twelve Prophets* in 'Expositor's Bible'), 1898; cf. also Stade, *GVI* ii. 128 ff.; W. Boehme in *ZATW* vii. 210 ff.; J. Bachmann, *Alttest. Untersuch.* 1894, pp. 109 ff.

A. C. WELCH.

MALACHY.—The form adopted by both AV and RV in 2 Es 1^{40} for the name of the prophet MALACHI.

MALCAM (מַלְכָּם).—**1.** The eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 8^{9} (B Μελχάν, A Μελχάμ). **2.** 'Malcam' occurs as a proper name in RVm of 2 S 12^{30}, where David 'took the crown of מַלְכָּם (AV and RV 'their king') from off his head.' LXX B has Μελχὸλ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν, A om. Μελχόλ. Wellh. and Driver consider that the true reading is prob. מִלְכֹּם *Milcom*, the suffix ם ָ- 'their' having no proper antecedent in the context (but see Kirkpatrick in *Camb. Bible, ad loc.*).

In Zeph 1^{5} ('that swear by the LORD and that swear by מַלְכָּם') AV and RV both give 'Malc(h)am' as a proper name, RVm has 'their king.' Here, again, in all probability, we ought to point מִלְכֹּם (so Wellh. and Nowack, following Luc. Μελχόμ). Davidson, upon the whole, prefers the spelling מַלְכָּם 'their king,' but adds that 'it is possible that Malcham is merely another pronunciation of Milcom, meaning Molech.'

In Am 1^{15} both AV and RV (without any marginal alternative) read 'their king (מַלְכָּם) shall go into captivity' (LXX οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῆς), but Aq., Symm., Theod., Pesh., and Vulg. all imply a reading מִלְכֹּם, which both Driver and Nowack are inclined to adopt. This verse from Amos is borrowed by Jeremiah, practically unaltered, in a prophecy against the Ammonites, Jer 49^{3}, where AV has 'their king,' AVm 'Melcom,' RV 'Malcam,' RVm 'their king.' Here, as well as in v.^{1}, where texts and margins of AV and RV are the same as in v.^{3}, we ought probably to point מִלְכֹּם. In both verses of Jer the reading of B is Μελχόλ, in v.^{3} A has Μελχόμ. See, further, art. MOLECH.

J. A. SELBIE.

MALCHIAH (מַלְכִּיָּה and מַלְכִּיָּהוּ 'J″ is king,' see Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 118 ff.; Μελχίας).—**1.** A priest, the father of Pashhur, Jer 21^{1} 38^{1}, same as **Malchijah** of 1 Ch 9^{12}, Neh 11^{12}. **2.** A member of the royal family, to whom belonged the pit-prison into which Jeremiah was let down, Jer 38^{6}.

MALCHIEL (מַלְכִּיאֵל 'El is king' (?)).—The eponym of an Asherite family, Gn 46^{17}, Nu 26^{45} (Μελχιήλ), 1 Ch 7^{31} (B Μελλειή, A Μελχιήλ). The gentilic name **Malchielites** (הַמַּלְכִּיאֵלִי) occurs in Nu 26^{45}.

G. Buchanan Gray (*Heb. Proper Names*, p. 206) thinks that מַלְכִּיאֵל, judged by the probable history of the similar name מַלְכִּיָּה, was perhaps not created or adopted by the Hebrews earlier than the 7th cent., but notes that it was in very early use (c. B.C. 1500) in Canaan, being found repeatedly in the Tel el-Amarna letters. (See 'Milkili' in Petrie, *Syria and Egypt from the Tell El Amarna Letters*, p. 143, and cf. Jastrow, *JBL* xi. 120, and Hommel, *AHT* 231, 233 f. 260 n.).

J. A. SELBIE.

MALCHIJAH is the form preferred by RV as transliteration of מַלְכִּיָּה, although in two instances it has *Malchiah* (wh. see).—**1.** A descendant of Gershom, 1 Ch 6^{40} [Heb.^{25}]. **2.** A priest, the father of Pashhur, 1 Ch 9^{12}, Neh 11^{12}, same as **Malchiah** of Jer 21^{1} 38^{1}. **3.** Head of the 5th course of priests, 1 Ch 24^{9}, perhaps the same as the preceding. **4. 5.** Two of the sons of Parosh who had married foreign wives, Ezr $10^{25\,bis}$, called in 1 Es 9^{26} **Melchias** and **Asibias** respectively. **6.** One of the sons of Harim who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{31}. In Neh 3^{11} he is mentioned as taking part in the repairing of the wall. He is called in 1 Es 9^{32} **Melchias.** **7.** Malchijah the son of Rechab repaired the dung-gate, Neh 3^{14}. **8.** One of the guild of the goldsmiths who helped to repair the wall, Neh 3^{31}. **9.** One of those who stood at Ezra's left hand at the reading of the law, Neh 8^{4}. **10.** One of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10^{3}, probably the same as No. **2.** **11.** A priest who took part in the ceremony of dedicating the wall, Neh 12^{42}. J. A. SELBIE.

MALCHIRAM (מַלְכִּירָם 'Melech is exalted' [?], see Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, 147; B Μελχειράμ, A Μελχιράμ).—Son of Jeconiah, 1 Ch 3^{18}.

MALCHI-SHUA (מַלְכִּישׁוּעַ 'the king is wealth' or possibly 'Melech is wealth,' Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, p. 146 f.; in 1 S, B Μελχεισά, A Μελχισουέ, Μελχιρουέ, AV Melchi-shua; in 1 Ch, B Μελχεσουέ, Μελχεισουέ, A Μελχισουέ; 1 Ch 10^{2} ℵ Μελχισέδεκ).—The third son of Saul (1 S 14^{49}), who was slain by the Philistines at Mt. Gilboa (1 S 31^{2}, 1 Ch 10^{2}). In the genealogical lists given by the Chronicler Malchi-shua's name occurs in each case immediately after that of Jonathan, but though 1 S 14^{49-51} is clearly the work of a later hand (R^{D}) the balance of evidence seems in favour of its tradition.

J. F. STENNING.

MALCHUS.—The name of the man whose right ear Peter cut off when Jesus was arrested (Jn 18^{10}, cf. Mt 26^{51}, Mk 14^{47}, Lk 22^{50}). He was the personal servant (τὸν δοῦλον) of the high priest (*i.e.* probably of Caiaphas, cf. Jn $18^{13.\,24}$), and had accompanied the soldiers and Jewish officials (v.^{12}) under the lead of Judas. He had a kinsman in the same service (Jn 18^{26}). The fact that St. John alone names Malchus, as well as Peter, accords with the evangelist's apparent claim ($18^{15.\,16}$) to have been known to the high priest, and is one of many minute historical details which appear in his Gospel. Some have thought that prudential motives kept the earlier evangelists from giving the names of the parties, but this explanation is unnecessary and improbable. The servant was evidently eager to carry out his master's wish to secure Jesus, and was therefore struck at by Peter. The stroke missed, and only cut off Malchus' ear (ὠτίον (Mt), ὠτάριον (Mk, Jn), and οὖς (Lk) are synonymous; cf. Lk 22^{50} with ^{51}; and consult Lobeck, *ad Phryn.* p. 211). It could not have been entirely severed, since Jesus 'touched *it* and healed him.' Jesus' words (Lk 22^{51}), 'Suffer ye thus far' (ἐᾶτε ἕως τούτου), have been supposed by some to have been addressed to the arresting party as a request not to bind Him until He had repaired the injury. But that they were addressed to Peter appears from the preceding word 'answered,' and from the fuller account in Mt and Jn (see Meyer, *ad loc.*). It has been noted that St. Luke the physician alone records the healing.* The name Malchus (Μάλχος, a grecised form from the root מָלַךְ) was common in different forms among the Hebrews and neighbouring peoples. Cf. מַלּוּךְ, 1 Ch 6^{44}, Neh $10^{4.\ 27}$ 12^{2}, Ezr $10^{29.\ 32}$; LXX Μαλώχ or Μαλούχ. There were Nabatæan kings (Euting, *Nab. Inscr.* 63, 81 ff., 91) of this name, which is written by Josephus Μάλχος or Μάλιχος (= מָלִיךְ, Dalman, p. 104). It was the name also of the philosopher Porphyry, a Syrian by birth (cf. Del. *Zeit. f. Luth. Th.* 1876).

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* The uncertainty of meaning in 3^{6} makes it a little doubtful to which section that verse should be assigned.

† It is a recent suggestion of Nowack that these last verses are a later addition to the original prophecy.

G. T. PURVES.

MALEFACTOR.—The Gr. word κακοποιός occurs in Jn 18^{30} (TR, but edd. κακὸν ποιῶν), where it is rendered in AV 'malefactor'; also in 1 P $2^{12.\ 14}$ 4^{15}, where it is 'evil doer.' RV gives 'evil-doer' in all the passages. Again, κακοῦργος is in AV rendered 'malefactor' in Lk $23^{32.\ 33.\ 39}$, but in 2 Ti 2^{9} 'evil doer';. RV 'malefactor' everywhere. There is no difference in meaning between κακοποιός and κακοῦργος, and there is none between 'malefactor' and 'evil-doer,' but this is a good example of the care of the NT Revisers to express the same Gr. word always by the same Eng. word. Fuller, *Holy State*, 203, says, 'Thus Cranmer (who subscribed to Popery) grew valiant afterwards, and thrust his right hand which subscribed first into fire, so that that hand dyed (as it were) a malefactour and all the rest of his body dyed a martyr.'

J. HASTINGS.

MALICE, MALICIOUSNESS. — Both 'malice' and 'maliciousness' have become restricted in meaning since 1611 to a special form of wickedness. In AV of NT the only word they translate is κακία, *i.e.* wickedness of any kind, 'the vicious character generally,' as Lightfoot says, or as Wilson (*Christian Dictionary*, 1616) describes it, 'the whole pravity and naughtines of sin.' Other words are translated 'malice' in the Apocr. as μῆνις (Sir 27^{30}, RV 'wrath'), ἔχθρα (1 Mac 13^{6}, RV 'hatred'), but the same general meaning attaches to the word there also. RV generally retains 'malice' and 'maliciousness,' but prefers 'wickedness' to 'malice' in 1 P 2^{1}, and to 'maliciousness' in 1 P 2^{16}; and wherever in the Apocr. the Gr. is κακία (Wis $12^{10.\ 20}$ 16^{14}, 2 Mac 4^{50}) RV has 'wickedness.' The Douay Bible translates Is 40^{2} 'Speake to the hart of Ierusalem, and cal to her; because her malice is accomplished, her iniquitie is forgiven'; and cf. Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* v., App. 1, 'It hath been ever on all sides confest that the malice of man's own heart doth harden him and nothing else.' Tindale's tr. of Ja 1^{21} is 'Wherfore laye a parte all fylthynes, all superfluite of maliciousnes'; and Hall, *Works*, ii. 17, says, 'Doe thou that in us, which was done to thee for us; cut off the superfluitie of our maliciousnesse, that we may be holy, in, and by thee, which for us wert content to be legally impure.'

The adj. **malicious** occurs in 3 Jn ^{10} 'I will remember his deeds which he doeth, prating against us with malicious words' (λόγοις πονηροῖς, RV 'with wicked words'); and a few times in Apocr. (Ad. Est $13^{4.\ 7}$, Wis 1^{4}, 2 Mac 5^{23}). Cf. Hos 6^{8} Cov. 'Galaad is a cite of wicked doers, of malicious people and bloudshedders.' For the adv. 'maliciously,' which is found in Sus $^{43.\ 62}$, 2 Mac 14^{11}, cf. Cotton, *Calvin's Isaiah* on Is 40^{1}, 'Now the Prophet enters upon a new argument, for he lets the people alone, which made no use neither of admonitions nor threatenings whatsoever, in regard they were become maliciously desperate.'

J. HASTINGS.

MALLOTHI (מַלּוֹתִי).—A son of Heman, 1 Ch $25^{4.\ 26}$. There is reason to believe that this and five of the names associated with it are really a fragment of a hymn or prayer (see GENEALOGY, III. 23 n.; and cf. Kittel in *SBOT*, and W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 143 n.). In v.^{4} LXX B has Μανθεί, A Μεαλωθί; in v.^{26} B Μεθαθεί, A Μελληθί.

MALLOWS (מַלּוּחַ *mallûaḥ*, ἅλιμα, אA ἅλιμμα, *herbæ et arborum cortices*).—Two names of plants in Arab. are derived from the same root as *mallûaḥ*: (1) *Melûkhîyeh*, the 'Jews' mallow,' *Corchorus olitorius*, L. This is an annual herb of the order *Tiliaceæ*, with oblong-ovate, serrate leaves, the lower teeth of the leaves tipped with long bristles. It bears pods 3 to 4 in. long. The mature stem furnishes the fibre so well known in commerce as 'jute.' The immature stem and leaves are tender and succulent, and have a mucilaginous juice, which is nutritious like that of the mallow. They are extensively used in the East as a pot-herb. This plant grows only in well-watered ground. As the context of the only passage in which *mallûaḥ* occurs (Job 30^{4}) refers to desert places and plants, and to the food of the very poorest of the people, this is not likely to be the plant intended. (2) *Mallûkh.* This word is identical with *mallûaḥ* in form. In some places the allied form *mûllâḥ* is used. Both are popular names for the Sea Orache or Sea Purslane, *Atriplex Halimus*, L. RV tr. it 'saltwort.' It is a perennial shrub, of the order *Chenopodiaceæ*, with silvery-white, ovate, obtuse leaves, and densely spiked flowers in a thyrsoid-pyramidal panicle. The plant grows in salt marshes along the seacoast and in the interior. The leaves are sour; and Dioscorides says that they were cooked as vegetables. They would certainly be the food of none but the poorest, and well suit the context. G. E. POST.

MALLUCH (מַלּוּךְ).—**1.** A Merarite, ancestor of Ethan, 1 Ch 6^{44} [Heb.^{29}], LXX Μαλώχ. **2.** One of the sons of Bani who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{29} (B Ἀλούμ, A Μαλούχ), called in 1 Es 9^{30} **Mamuchus.** **3.** One of the sons of Harim who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{32} (LXX Μαλούχ). **4. 5.** Two of those who sealed the covenant, Neh $10^{4.\ 27}$ (LXX Μαλούχ). No. **4** is probably identical with Malluch of Neh 12^{2}, called in 12^{14} **Malluchi**.

MALLUCHI (מַלּוּכִי *Kethîbh*; מְלִיכוּ *Ḳerê*, followed by AV Melicu; LXX Μαλούχ; Vulg. *Milicho*).—The eponym of a priestly family who returned with Zerubbabel, Neh 12^{14}, probably the same as **Malluch** of Neh 10^{4} 12^{2}.

MALLUS (Μαλλός, 2 Mac 4^{30}) rebelled (along with Tarsus) against Antiochus Epiphanes about B.C. 171. According to Heberdey, the latest explorer, the city was situated on the river Pyramos, about 150 stadia from its mouth: at the mouth was situated Magarsa (called Antiocheia in the 3rd and 2nd cents. B.C.). The Pyramos had two mouths in ancient time, of which the principal joined the sea a little to the west of the modern village called Kara-Tash, in which many inscriptions both of Antiocheia and of Mallus have been found; but this branch is now almost completely dried up. Kara-Tash is situated on a low range of hills along the coast between the Pyramos arms: the eastern arm is rapidly filling up the bay of Ayash (into which it flows): in ancient times this branch was quite secondary. According to Heberdey, the site of Mallus was between the fork of the two branches, as coins show the goddess of the city sitting between two river-gods; but the marshy nature of the soil prevents exploration at that point.

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* On the difficulty of admitting the historicity of Luke's narrative, see *Expos. Times*, x. 139, 188.

The serious difficulties in this theory are—(1) Strabo, our best authority, says that Mallus was situated on a height (p. 675), not in a low marsh; (2) the *Stadiasmus* implies that Mallus was not 150 stadia up the river, but close to the sea 150 stadia east of Antioch-Magarsa; (3) the presence of so many inscriptions of Mallus at Kara-Tash. Perhaps the correct view is that Mallus was beside Kara-Tash, east of the Pyramos, while Magarsa was west of the river, and the distance stated in the *Stadiasmus* is over-estimated like many others. Thus, when Mallus was beside Kara-Tash (probably on its eastern side), while Magarsa lay to the west, inscriptions from both cities should be brought to the modern village: the old bed of the Pyramos, being dry in modern times, would not prevent transport.

Mallus (originally Marlos) was an ancient and wealthy city, with a rich coinage. Magarsa was a comparatively unimportant place, which struck no coins; and probably it was subject to Mallus, serving as its harbour from being closer to the river.

W. M. Ramsay.

MALOBATHRON (RVm for EV text *Bether*, הָרֵי בָתֶר Ca 2^{17}; AVm 'division'; LXX *ὄρη κοιλωμάτων*; Theod. *θυμιαμάτων*; Aquila and Symm. Βαθήρ, Βαιθήρ). The leaf of the *Cassia lignea* tree, *Cinnamomum Cassia*, Blume (*Laurus malabathrum*, L.), known in the old *Materia Medica* as *tamalapatra* or 'Indian leaf,' a lofty tree cultivated in China and Java. Its leaves are 10 in. or more long, and 6 to 8 broad. It was formerly used as a stomachic, sudorific, and a remedy for headache, and as an ingredient of *mithredate* and *theriaca*. A macerate in oil, and a vinous tincture, were used by the ancients as a perfume. Notwithstanding the authority of Wellhausen (*Prol.*^{3} 415), it is certain that this spice did not grow wild on any of the mountains of Pal., and therefore no mountains in this land would have been likely to have derived their name from it. Even had it been cultivated in the botanical gardens of Solomon, it is improbable that any mountain, much less 'mountains,' would have taken their name from this circumstance. It seems better, therefore (although the rendering *malobathron* is adopted by Reuss, Baethgen, Budde, Siegfried, and nearly all modern commentators), to retain the proper name *Bether*. (wh. see), as in text of both VSS.

G. E. Post.

MALTANNEUS (B Μαλταννaῖος, A Ἀλτ-, AV Altaneus), 1 Es 9^{33}.—A son of Asom or Hashum, one of those who agreed to put away their 'strange' wives. Called Mattenai (מַתְּנַי, B *Μαθανιά*, A *Μαθθαναί*) in Ezr 10^{33}.

MAMDAI (B *Μαμδαί*, A *Μανδ-*, AV Mabdai), 1 Es 9^{34}.—The same as Benaiah, Ezr 10^{35}.

MAMMON (*μαμωνᾶς* [*μαμμωνᾶς* only in cursives]; Vulg. *mammona*; Syr. *māmunā*; AV and RV 'mammon').—A common Aram. word for *riches* (Aram. מָמוֹנָא, rarely מָאמוֹנָא), used in Mt 6^{24} and Lk $16^{9.11.13}$, in the latter case in the parable of the Unjust Steward. LXX translates אֱמוּנָה in Ps 37^{3} by *πλούτῳ*, and possibly in Is 33^{6} by *θησαυροῖς*; it may have read a Heb. equivalent for מָמוֹנָא in one or both passages. The spelling מָאמוֹנָא suggests a derivation from אמן 'to be firm, steadfast,' Hiph. 'trust,' hence 'that which is trusted in'; but in NT it has simply its Aramaic sense. According to Augustine (*On the Sermon on the Mt.* ii. 14, 47), 'Lucrum Punice mammon dicitur.' ממון occurs in Sir 31^{8}, מ׳ דִּשְׁקַר 'm. of falsehood' often in Targg., *e.g.* 1 S 8^{3}, 2 S 14^{14}, Hos 5^{11}, Am 5^{12}, Is 33^{15}; also מ׳ דִּרְשַׁע 'm. of wickedness' in Hab 2^{9}. The phrase 'mammon of unrighteousness' occurs in the Book of Enoch (lxiii. 10), probably a post-Christian reference to the NT passages. Mammon is personified in Lk 9^{13}, but there is no reason to suppose that there was a Syrian deity Mammon in NT times. Such an idea owes its currency to Milton. Ges. (*Thes.*) derives from Heb. *maṭmon*, 'treasure,' and טמן 'to hide'; but no example of the assimilation of *Teth* (ט) is cited. Lagarde thinks ממון is by elision for מעמון, which would be the Aram. form of the Arabic *maḍmun*, 'contents,' *e.g.* of a book.

Literature.—Plummer (*International Crit. Comm.*) on Lk 16^{9-13}; Thayer-Grimm, *s.v.*; Brockelmann, *Syriac Lex.*, *s.v.*; Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, p. 185, *Mitteil.* i. 229; Arnold Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, p. 51 n.; Jastrow, *Dict. of the Tgg.*, *s.v.*

W. H. Bennett.

MAMNITANEMUS (A *Μαμνιτάναιμος*, B *Μαμτ-*, AV Mamnitanaimus), 1 Es 9^{34}.—Corresponds to the two names Mattaniah, Mattenai in Ezr 10^{37}, of which it is a corruption.

MAMRE (מַמְרֵא; *Μαμβρῆ*).—Mentioned (*a*) in the expression 'terebinths of Mamre' (אֵלֹנֵי מ׳) Gn 13^{18} (+ אשר בחברון 'which is [*or* are] in Hebron'), 18^{1} (both J), and 14^{13} (+ האמרי 'the Amorite'), from an independent source; (*b*) in P, in the expression 'which is before Mamre,' in descriptions of the cave of Machpelah, or of the field in which it was. (Gn $23^{17.19}$ (+ הוא חברון 'that is Hebron') 25^{9} 49^{30} 50^{13}, and in 35^{27} 'to Mamre, to Kiriath-arba, that is Hebron'; (*c*) in Gn 14^{23} as the name of one of Abram's allies, in his expedition for the recovery of Lot. In (*b*) M. is an old name either of Hebron or of a part of Hebron; in Gn $14^{13.23}$ it is the name of a local sheikh or chief, the owner of the 'terebinths' called after him; in Gn 13^{18} 18^{1} it is not clear whether it is the name of a person or of a place. The 'terebinths of M.' are the spot at which Abraham pitched his tent in Hebron.

The site of Mamre is uncertain. 'Before' (על פני) in topographical descriptions generally, though not, it is true, universally, means *to the east of*. The traditional site of Abraham's sepulchre is in the mosque at the S.E. of the modern city: so that Mamre would, in the first instance, be looked for to the W. of this, and at no great distance from it (for it is described as being 'in' Hebron). Sozomen (*HE* ii. 4) says that the oak by which Abraham dwelt still existed in the time of Constantine, 15 stadia N. of Hebron; and Jerome (*Onom.* 114. 17) says that it continued to be shown till the time of his youth. The site where this oak stood would agree with that of *Râmat el-Khalîl* (or, more briefly, *er-Râmeh*), 1¾ mile N. of the mosque (see the plan of the environs in *PEF Mem.* iii., after p. 352); and a spot ¾ mile N. of this, with a fine spring-well, is still called by the Jews *Beit el-Khalîl*, or 'Abraham's House' (Rob. *BRP* i. 216; Thomson, *L. and B.*, S. Pal. 304–6, with view; *PEF Mem.* iii. 316, 322 f., also with view). For some time past, however, perhaps from the 12th cent., a large and beautiful oak (*Sindiân*), 1½ mile W.N.W. of the mosque, has been shown as the oak of Abraham (Rob. ii. 72, 81; Thomson, *l.c.* 282 f., with illustration; *PEF Mem.* iii. 308; Bæd. *Pal.*^{3} 173 f.). Neither of these spots seems sufficiently near to Hebron to be a probable site for Mamre. Dillm. thinks of the height, with accompanying spring, of *Nimre*, 1 mile N.N.W. of the mosque; but this also is more distant than would be expected. Josephus (*BJ* iv. ix. 7) says that a very ancient terebinth was shown in his day only 6 stadia from the city; but he does not indicate in which direction it lay.

Sozomen adds some remarkable particulars respecting the tree, which show that it was venerated as a sanctuary. He says that an annual fair and feast was held at it in the summer, which was largely attended by Jews, heathen, and Christians (cf., more briefly, the *Onom.* 114. 19 f., 249. 29 f.). There was also a well beside it; and the heathen visitors not only offered sacrifices beside the tree (§ 3), but illuminated the well with lamps, and cast into it libations of wine, cakes, coins, myrrh, and incense (§ 5; cf. *RS* 177, 193). These observances were suppressed by Constantine, as superstitious; and a church was built there (§§ 6–8; Euseb. *Vita Const.* iii. 51–53; cf. *SP* 143).

S. R. DRIVER.

MAMUCHUS (Μάμουχος), 1 Es 9^{30}.—The same as MALLUCH, Ezr 10^{29}. The original LXX form was probably Μάλλουχος; ΛΛ would readily be corrupted into M.

MAN.—One of the peculiarities of the Hebrew language is the disinclination to form adjectives, or rather the love of placing substantives in such relation as in Western languages would be expressed by a subst. and an adjective. Thus 1 K 20^{31} AV and RV 'merciful kings,' Heb. מַלְכֵי חֶסֶד = 'kings of mercy.' See Davidson, *Heb. Syntax*, p. 32 ff.; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Grammar* (Eng. ed. by Collins and Cowley, 1898, p. 437 ff.). This form of expressing attributive ideas is especially common with the words אִישׁ 'man,' בַּעַל 'master,' 'owner,' בֶּן־ 'son,' and their feminines.

With the first of these words, with which we have to do at present, the Eng. VSS deal variously. (1) Sometimes they ignore the Heb. idiom entirely: 1 S 31^{12} and 2 S 24^{9} Heb. 'man of might,' AV and RV 'valiant man'; 1 K 1^{42} Heb. 'man of might,' AV 'valiant man,' RV 'worthy man'; 1 S 17^{4} Heb. 'man of the space between' (אִישׁ־הַבֵּנַיִם), AV and RV 'champion' (see CHAMPION); 1 K 20^{42} Heb. (אִישׁ חֶרְמִי) 'man of my ban,' AV 'man whom I appointed to utter destruction,' RV 'man whom I had devoted to destruction'; Pr 15^{18} Heb. 'man of wrath,' AV and RV 'wrathful man.' (2) Sometimes the Heb. idiom is recognized in the margin: 2 S 16$^{7.8}$ AV 'bloody man,' AVm and RV 'man of blood' (cf. Ps 5^{6} 'The Lord will abhor the bloody and deceitful man,' AVm 'the man of bloods and deceit,' RV 'the blood-thirsty and deceitful man'); 1 K 2^{26} 'thou art worthy of death,' AVm and RVm 'thou art a man of death'; Is 40^{13} 'his counseller,' RV 'his counsellor,' AVm 'man of his counsel'; 2 S 18^{20} 'Thou shalt not bear tidings,' AVm 'be a man of tidings,' RV 'be the bearer of tidings'; Ps 140^{11} 'An evil speaker,' AVm and RVm 'a man of tongue'; Ex 4^{10} 'I am not eloquent,' AVm and RVm 'a man of words'; Job 11^{2} 'a man full of talk,' AVm and RVm 'a man of lips'; Job 22^{8} 'the mighty man,' AVm and RVm 'the man of arm'; Pr 3^{31} 'oppressor,' AVm and RV 'man of violence'; 18^{24} 'A man that hath friends,' RV 'He that maketh many friends,' RVm 'a man of friends.' (3) Sometimes the Heb. idiom is preserved in the Eng. text: Gn 6^{4} 'men of renown'; Pr 24^{5} 'a man of knowledge'; so frequently 'man of Belial' (for which see BELIAL).

Perhaps the most frequent expression of this kind is **man of war,** which occurs 42 times in AV text, and always signifies a soldier or warrior. In Ex 15^{3} J″ is called 'a man of war'; see Montefiore, *Hibbert Lect.* p. 39 f., and art. LORD OF HOSTS.

The expression **man of God** (אִישׁ אֱלֹהִים), to designate one acting under Divine authority and influence, is used in Jg 13$^{6.8}$ of an angel; in Dt 33^{1}, Jos 14^{6} *al.* of Moses; in 2 Ch 8^{14} *al.* of David; in 1 S 2^{27} 9$^{6-10}$, 1 K 13$^{1ff.}$ *al.* of prophets, as a title for whom it appears to have come into use in the N. kingdom in the time of Elijah. See, further, OLD PROPHET.

J. HASTINGS.

MAN.—i. WORDS.—**1.** אָדָם. For derivation and original meaning see ADAM (LXX usually ἄνθρωπος, Vulg. *homo*). The most frequent use of this word as a common noun is for mankind generally (Gn 6^{3}), or for any member of the human race (Gn 5^{2}), but occasionally it stands for a man in distinction from a woman (Gn 2^{22}). It is used especially when the sinfulness, frailty, or mortality of the race is referred to (Job 5^{7}). **2.** אִישׁ (LXX mostly ἀνήρ, Vulg. *vir*). Del. compares Assyr. *isanu*, 'strong.' A name for man in his vigour or valour; for a masculine member of the race, thus standing for 'husband' (Gn 3^{6}), and even applied to the male of lower animals (Gn 7^{2}). While אָדָם often refers to the race as a whole, אִישׁ points to the individual. By a common Heb. idiom it is employed for 'any one' (=Gr. τις, Fr. *on*, Ex 21^{14}), and so gives rise to a similar idiom in NT Gr. (1 Co 4^{1}). **3.** אֱנוֹשׁ, simply *man*, with perhaps some reference to his mortality (mostly poetical, 18 times in Job, 13 times in Ps). **4.** גִּבּוֹר (from גָּבַר 'to be strong') 'a mighty man,' 'a warrior.' The cognate גֶּבֶר is used for a man as opposed to the weaker one, woman (Dt 22^{5}). **5.** [מַת] common in Eth., only found in pl. (מְתִים defect. מְתִם), except in compound pr. n. *Methusael*, *Methuselah*. The word stands for *men* as distinguished both from women and from children (Dt 2^{34}).

In NT ἄνθρωπος and ἀνήρ are used with the distinctions of meaning found in classic Greek. ἄνθρωπος stands for a human being, whether male or female, and is sometimes used with the association of weakness or imperfection (1 Co 3^{4}). The twofold nature of man is expressed by ὁ ἔξω ἄνθρωπος and ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος (2 Co 4^{16}). Ἄνθρωπος is employed in the Heb. idiom as the equivalent of τις, for 'anybody' (*e.g.* Mt 17^{14}, Mk 12^{1}, Lk 13^{19}). In AV, however, τις is sometimes rendered 'man' (Mt 8^{28}). Ἀνήρ stands for a man as distinguished from a woman. It is also used in pl. as a title of honour, equivalent to our word 'gentlemen' (Ac 2^{14}). In AV ἄρρην and ἄρσην, 'male,' are translated 'man' (Ro 1^{27}, Rev 12^{5}).

ii. ORIGIN.—According to both accounts of his origin, Gn 1^{27} (P) and Gn 2^{7} (J), man was made by God and through an act of Divine will. P states that God 'created' man; J indicates that he was formed out of previously existing matter ('the dust of the ground'), but that he received his life immediately from God—J″ breathing into him the breath of life. The doctrine of the pre-existence of souls cannot be discovered in OT, although 1 S 2^{6}, Job 1^{21}, and Ps 139^{15} have been thought by some to imply it. The first of these passages refers only to natural birth and death. Whatever the second may mean, it would appear from Job 10$^{8ff.}$ that the author of the poem held the genesis of the personality to be contemporary with that of the body in the womb. The expression in Ps 139^{15} 'when I was curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth' comes nearer to the idea of pre-existence; but the context points to the embryonic development of the body, and therefore it is reasonable to suppose that the phrase is an imaginative allusion to that process (see Schultz, *OT Theol.* (Eng. tr.) vol. ii. p. 250 ff.). The doctrine of pre-existence appears in Alex. Judaism and is met with in Apocr. (Wis 8$^{19ff.}$). It is distinctly set forth by Philo (*de Somn.* i. 22). It is not taught in NT, although it was held by contemporary rabbis (see Lightfoot, ii. p. 569), and the disciples may refer to it with regard to the man born blind (Jn 9^{2}).

iii. NATURE.—In the Bible man is treated as a creature sharing the nature of the world around him. A common Heb. name for mankind is 'flesh,' a term which expresses at once the materiality and the frailty of the race. The latter quality is much insisted on; compared with God, man is but 'dust and ashes' (Gn 2^{7} 3^{19} 18^{27}). Nevertheless, in both accounts of his creation (P and J), while man is associated with the universe around him he is described with separate statements that indicate a unique nature. According to P, man was made 'in the image of God' (Gn $1^{26.27}$). This phrase, taken in connexion with P's doctrine of the spiritual existence of God, must refer to mental and moral faculties, not to physical form, *i.e.* to intellect, affections, will, moral personality (Delitzsch). In Ps 8^{5} man is described as 'made to lack but little of God,' a passage in which, while the high endowments of the race are gratefully acknowledged in daring language, it is to be observed that the word for God is אֱלֹהִים (softened in LXX to *ἀγγέλους*), not יהוה, and that this is mentioned in the third person though the psalm is addressed to J" (Schultz, *OT Theol.* vol. ii. p. 254). It has been suggested on the ground of Gn 1^{27} that P teaches that mankind was originally androgynous, and on the ground of Gn 2^{21} that J contains the same idea; but this is more ingenious than reasonable.

iv. UNITY OF THE RACE.—This is implied in the accounts of the Creation, the Deluge, and the tower of Babel, and in the genealogies of Genesis. It has been asserted that Gn $6^{1.2}$ points to two distinct species of mankind (Keil); but elsewhere in OT the expression 'the sons of God' (בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים) invariably stands for *angels* (Job 1^{6} [see Dav.] 2^{1} 38^{7}; cf. בְּנֵי אֵלִים Ps 29^{1} 89^{6}; בַּר אֱלָהִין 'a son of gods' Dn 3^{25}). So LXX of Gn $6^{1.2}$ and Philo on this passage; also Josephus (*Ant.* I. iii. 1). Moreover, there is nothing to indicate that the phrase 'the daughters of men' could refer to the women of one race to the exclusion of others (Delitzsch, *in loc.*). The development of monotheistic ideas tended to deepen the sense of the unity of mankind, and so to correct any influences in the opposite direction that might arise from the exclusiveness of Jews with regard to Gentiles and that of Greeks in their view of primitive races or even of foreigners generally (*βάρβαροι*). This unity is distinctly affirmed in St. Paul's speech on the Areopagus with an emphasis which indicates that it might not be fully acknowledged by his audience (Ac 17^{26}). It is taken for granted in the NT statements of the redemption of the world by Jesus Christ (*e.g.* Jn 3^{16}). While it is at the foundation of St. Paul's universalism, it is never contradicted by his Judaizing opponents.

v. DESTINY.—It is the teaching of OT as well as NT that God has a great future in store, first for His elect, and then through them for the race. This is to be preceded by a 'day of the Lord,' in NT the *Parousia*, which ushers in the glory through terrible judgments. The grounds of hope for the future are all found in the mercy and the faithfulness of God, whose own glory is realized in the ultimate well-being of His creatures. While the end of the physical universe is contemplated, that of the race of man is not predicted—whatever may be the fate of individuals. On the contrary, OT points to a boundless future of peace, and NT to the final establishment of the kingdom of God. See ESCHATOLOGY. On the whole subject see, further, under ADAM and COSMOGONY; and for the Psychology of Man see PSYCHOLOGY.

W. F. ADENEY.

MAN OF SIN AND ANTICHRIST (*ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, ὁ ἀντίχριστος, ὁ ἀντικείμενος, ὁ ἄνομος*).—There are three principal sources in the NT whence we derive our knowledge of the beliefs of the 1st cent. concerning the Antichrist and Man of Sin, viz. 2 Th, 1 and 2 Jn, and the Apocalypse.

i. The Pauline account (2 Th 2) is this, that the final coming of Christ is to be preceded by (1) the falling-away (*ἡ ἀποστασία*). (2) After this, the revealing of the Man of Sin, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God or that is worshipped, so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, giving himself out that he is God. He has power to do miracles which are lying miracles. The Lord will come and destroy him with the breath of His mouth. There is something, described first as a thing (neuter, *τὸ κατέχον*), then as a person (masc., *ὁ κατέχων*), which prevents the appearance of the Man of Sin for the time being. St. Paul reminds the Thessalonians that he used to tell them these particulars when he was with them (*ἔτι ὢν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ταῦτα ἔλεγον ὑμῖν*, v.^{5}).

ii. In the Epistles of St. John we have little but the name of Antichrist (which occurs nowhere else in NT). In 1 Jn 2^{18} occur these most important words: 'Little children, it is the last hour: and as ye have heard that Antichrist shall come, even now there are many antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time.' From this we gather, as from 2 Th, that the belief in Antichrist was one familiar to the Christians of the time. The name occurs again in 2^{22} 4^{3} ('this is that *matter* of Antichrist'—*τὸ τοῦ ἀντιχρ.*—'whereof ye have heard that it should come'), 2 Jn^{7}. St. John, then, alludes to a popular belief, and spiritualizes it, applying it to tendencies already at work.

iii. In the Apocalypse a far more complex state of things is found. It is necessary briefly to sketch the characteristics of the various evil powers (Beasts) which appear in it.

(*a*) First in 11^{7} we have, suddenly introduced without any previous description, 'the Beast that cometh up out of the abyss.' Of him it is only said that he slays the Two Witnesses, and we gather that his seat is at Jerusalem. In connexion with him we find mention of a period of 42 months or 1260 days (=3½ years), of which more will be said.

(*b*) Next in ch. 12 appears the Great Red Dragon in heaven, who is expressly identified with Satan. He persecutes the woman clothed with the sun, and is cast out of heaven.

(*c*) In ch. 13 a Beast with seven heads and ten horns, crowned, comes up out of the sea. One of his heads is wounded to death and is revived. And the Dragon (cf. 12) gives to him his power.

(*d*) In 13^{11} another Beast comes up out of the earth, which has two horns like a lamb (evidently, therefore, is a rival and counterpart of the Lamb), and speaks like a dragon (being in reality Satanic and not divine). This being is afterwards (19^{20} etc.) called the False Prophet. His function is to support the former Beast by lying miracles, and induce mankind to worship him. The former Beast is accordingly worshipped as God, and sets a mark upon his adherents; and his name is indicated by the mystic number 666 (or 616). The principal Beast and the False Prophet appear again in chs. 19 and 20, where they make a final assault on the saints, and are vanquished by Christ.

(*e*) Lastly, in ch. 17 another Beast, scarlet, with seven heads and ten horns, appears, upon which the woman (Babylon) is seated. This Beast is explained to the seer: it is said that it 'was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the abyss and go into perdition.' Its heads are seven hills, and seemingly also seven kings (five past, one present, one to come), and its horns are ten kings (all future).

Of this exceedingly complicated series of images it would be absurd to attempt to give all the solutions which have been suggested. W. Bousset in his recent commentary on the Apoc. gives a view which commends itself as nearest to the truth of any. It is shortly this:—The Beast of ch. 11 is the Antichrist of current belief, taken over by the author of the Apocalypse together with the other traditional image of the Witnesses. The Beast of ch. 12 is perhaps an ancient mythical personification of some natural force (see below) identified by the Apocalypse with Satan. The Beast of ch. 13 is Rome, and its slain head which is revived is Nero *redivivus*. Certain of its characteristics are derived from the popular conception of Antichrist. Its number 666 is taken to mean Nero Cæsar. It derives its power from Satan. The False Prophet of ch. 13 is in many respects the Antichrist of popular belief, posing as a counterpart of the Lamb, and able to work wonders. But here it is in a subordinate position to Rome: the apocalyptist borrows the figure from the beliefs of his time: by it he probably intends the heathen priesthood, especially in its relation to the worship of the Cæsars. The Beast of ch. 17 is, as we have seen, a complex image. It is partly representative of an individual who was, and is not, etc.—Nero *redivivus*; partly of a polity—that of Rome.

iv. With these notices from the Epistles and Apocalypse we must couple a few of less certain import from the Gospels. (*a*) In Mt 24^{24}, Mk 13$^{6. 22}$, Lk 21^{8} our Lord predicts the coming of false Christs and false prophets. In Mt and Mk there is also mention of the 'abomination of desolation' in the Holy Place, coupled with an injunction that when this appears they that are in Judæa are to flee to the mountains. This is the sequel to a 'great tribulation,' of which the duration will be shortened by God for the sake of the elect. And upon this follow portents in heaven, and the coming of the Son of Man. This 'abomination of desolation' is very plausibly interpreted by many modern critics of the session of Antichrist in the temple as God. And some critics suppose that this portion of our Lord's eschatological discourse has been influenced or interpolated in accordance with current beliefs. See, further, art. ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION. (*b*) Lastly, in Jn 5^{43} our Lord says, 'I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not: if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive.' Many commentators, *e.g.* Chrys., Cyr., Theod. Mops., explain this 'other' to be Antichrist.

Such are the passages of the NT which throw light upon the subject of Antichrist: and we gather from them unmistakably that teaching concerning Antichrist was orally current at a very early time. *Did it originate with Christianity, or is it a pre-Christian Jewish idea?*

In Jewish apocalyptic literature we find undoubted evidence of this belief. In the *Book of Daniel* are certain passages which bear on the question. (α) In ch. 7 appear four beasts, the last of which has a 'little horn' which makes war against the saints. This horn, it is explained to the seer, is a king who will war against God and the saints for a period expressed as times, a time and half a time (3½ years): upon his fall follows the judgment. (β) In ch. 8 out of one of the four horns of the he-goat (Greece) comes a little horn which waxes great and casts down some of the stars of heaven, and magnifies himself even to the prince of the host, and takes away the daily sacrifice. In connexion with him is mentioned, but obscurely, the abomination that maketh desolate. This lasts for 2300 half-days, or 1150 days. In the interpretation this horn is said to represent a king of fierce countenance understanding dark sentences, who stands up against the Prince of princes, and is 'broken without hand.' (γ) In ch. 9 the daily sacrifice is taken away, and the 'abomination' takes its place for half a week (3½ years). (δ) In chs. 11. 12 is a long prophecy of a king of the north who will oppress Judæa, take away the daily sacrifice, and set up the abomination that maketh desolate. He comes to a sudden end, and then follows the great tribulation, and then a resurrection of the dead.

It is agreed that these predictions, while partly applicable to a historical person, Antiochus Epiphanes, do not apply to him in full. Those who regard the book as written during his persecution, take the view that the seer anticipated the end of all things to happen immediately upon the fall of Antiochus, and that he wrote shortly before that event. It is at least clear that parts of this picture, as of so many others in the Bk. of Daniel, were used by the author of the NT Apocalypse: notably the casting down of the stars from heaven (Rev 12), and the length assigned to the reign of the wicked king (see the 42 months and the 1260 days of Rev 11$^{2. 3}$).

In the *third Book of the Sibylline Oracles* (*c.* B.C. 170) is a prediction that Beliar will come in the last days, *ἐκ Σεβαστηνῶν*, which according to Bousset means 'of the race of Augustus'; while others, comparing the *Ascension of Isaiah*, interpret it as 'from Samaria.' Note that the final adversary is here no other than Satan, apparently in the form of man. To this *Sib. Orac.* ii., originally a Jewish composition but extensively Christianized, adds that Elias (alone) will come as a witness, and that Beliar will do many signs.

In 4 *Ezra* (5$^{4. 6}$) are traces, though obscured and corrupted, of the belief. We read, among a list of the signs of the end: 'thou shalt see *the kingdom that is* after the third (*i.e.* the power of Rome) shaken,' * and also 'he shall reign whom they look not for who dwell on the earth.'

In *Apoc. Bar* (ch. 40) is a prediction of the destruction of the last leader of the enemies of Israel by the Messiah on Mount Sion.

In *Asc. Isa.* (ch. 4) are clear predictions of the advent of Antichrist, who is identified with *Nero redivivus*, and of his reign for the traditional period of 3½ years. But this cannot safely be regarded as pre-Christian.

From this evidence, and from an examination of a number of patristic documents, Bousset (*Der Antichrist*, 1895) has concluded, and as it seems to us rightly, that there was among the Jews a fully developed legend of Antichrist—perhaps oral, but more probably written—which was accepted and amplified by Christians; and that this legend diverges from and contradicts in important points the conceptions we find in the Apocalypse. As formulated by Christians of the 1st cent. its main features are—

That Antichrist would not appear before the fall of Rome; that he would then appear among the Jews, proclaim himself as God, and claim to be worshipped in the temple at Jerusalem; that Elias would appear and denounce him, and be slain by him; that he would be born of the tribe of Dan: this idea being due to an interpretation of Gn 49^{17}, Dt 33^{22}, Jer 8^{16}—a tradition known to the apocalyptist, who omits Dan from the list of the tribes; that his reign would last for 3½ years; that the believing Jews (or all the Church) would flee into the wilderness, whither Antichrist would pursue them; that he would then be destroyed by the Lord with the breath of His mouth (a conception derived from Is 11^{4}).

It will be seen that there is here a considerable disagreement with the Apocalypse. In that book the principal beast is Rome, and there are two witnesses, not one. The first point is very important: the Apocalypse is anti-Roman. The current belief expressed by St. Paul regarded the Roman power as a bulwark against Antichrist.

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* 'Post tertiam turbatam' is taken as the equivalent of an original Greek *τὴν μετὰ τὴν τρίτην* (*sc. βασιλείαν*) *θορυβουμένην*. The old reading was 'post tertiam tubam.'

In later times the mass of conflicting traditions about Antichrist led to the idea of a twofold Antichrist—one for the Jews and one for the world at large. This is seen with the greatest clearness in the writings of the 3rd cent. poet Commodian, especially in his *Carmen Apologeticum*, where Nero *redivivus* appears as the antichrist of the Gentiles ('nobis Nero factus antichristus, ille Judæis'). Of the ultimate source of this belief it is not possible to speak with certainty.

Gunkel, in a recent work (*Schöpfung und Chaos*), has struck out a line of interpretation which has already been fruitful, and promises to be more so in the future. He regards the conceptions of the Apocalyptic beasts as survivals of ancient mythological beliefs to which the Apocalyptic writer gave new life and meaning. The primeval dragon of the deep (*Tiamat* in Babylonian mythology), which opposed the Creator in the beginning, and was overcome and bound by him, would, it was thought, in the last days rear up its head again and break out in a final rebellion, to be vanquished this time for ever. And it is at least a plausible—to the mind of the present writer a more than plausible—theory that beliefs of this kind belonging to the common Semitic stock, and refreshed in the recollection of the Jews during the Exile, should in their later literature once again appear in the guise of 'ancient wisdom,' with a new and loftier spiritual meaning read into them.

Antichrist—the Antichrist believed in by the Jews—passes through several stages. He is perhaps originally a natural force personified, representing Chaos as opposed to order, Darkness as against light. He is then identified with Satan, the great adversary of God in the moral world. The Antichrist of the *Sibylline Oracles* is, as we have seen, Beliar. And, lastly, he is thought of as a man in whom Satan's power is concentrated, as the power of God is concentrated in the Messiah.

In the New Testament St. Paul adopts, and St. John in the Epistles alludes to, a conception of Antichrist which had been coloured largely by the identification (in the Book of Daniel) of Antichrist with a historical person (Antiochus Epiphanes). In the Apocalypse the traditional Antichrist appears for a moment (in ch. 11); and thereafter his characteristics are divided between the Beast of ch. 13, who is Rome, headed by Nero *redivivus*, claiming divine worship, and the False Prophet who parodies the Lamb and performs the lying wonders.

The wish to identify the Antichrist of tradition with definite contemporary personalities (as Antiochus and Nero) is very largely responsible for the confusion which surrounds the whole subject.

A word as to later Jewish beliefs. The destruction of Jerusalem by Rome operated largely upon Jewish minds. Whereas to them Rome had been the bulwark against Antichrist, it now took the place of Antichrist in Jewish thought; and accordingly in such late compositions as the *Book of Zerubbabel* (as well as in the earlier Targums) the name of Antichrist is *Armillus* (=Romulus=Rome). But, in spite of the adverse view of the Apocalypse of John, the Christian Church continued to regard Rome as the protector of the world against Antichrist, and to pray for its preservation accordingly.

The clearest of the utterances of our Lord and of St. John point rather to a plurality of antichrists who are to appear in different ages of the Church's growth—rather to movements and tendencies of a kind hostile to Christianity, than to any one well-defined personality.

LITERATURE.—The most important sources of knowledge on the subject of Antichrist are given in full in Bousset's excellent monograph, *Der Antichrist*, which has been copiously used in the body of this article. Besides those already named, the following may be mentioned here: Hippolytus, *de Antichristo*—sermons attributed to Ephraem Syrus (Latin and Greek); Victorinus Petabionensis on the Apocalypse; Lactantius (a very important authority); the pseudo-Methodius, *de principio et jure sæculi*; the tract of Adso (printed among Anselm's works), *de Antichristo*. Of Apocryphal documents, the following contain interesting details: the Coptic *Apocalypse of Elias* (Christian, in its present form), recently edited by Steindorff in 'Texte und Unters.' (Neue Folge); the Syriac *Book of Clement* or *Testament of the Lord*, coupled with a Latin fragment found by the present writer at Treves; the late Greek *Apocalypses of Esdras* and *of John* (these four will be found collected in *Apocrypha Anecdota*, i.); the various forms of the *Apocalypse of Daniel* (see Bousset, and Vassiliev's *Anecdota Byzantina*, and Klostermann's *Analecta zur LXX*). An Armenian prophecy of St. Nerses, published by F. C. Conybeare (*Academy*, 1895), and an interesting Latin document attributed to St. John in Roger Hoveden's Chronicle (*Rolls Series*), should be added to Bousset's stock of documents.

A principal feature in the later Apocalyptic literature is the description of Antichrist's personal appearance, which is described as very unpleasing. It is curious to note that several traits of this are borrowed in the Greek Acts of St. Christopher (*Analecta Bollandiana*), and attached to that saint before his conversion.

M. R. JAMES.

MANAEN (Μαναήν, Gr. form of מְנַחֵם *Menaḥem*, LXX Μαναήμ, 'consoler,' 2 K 15^{17}), one of the 'prophets and teachers' in the Church of Antioch at the time of St. Paul's departure on his First Missionary Journey (Ac 13^{1}),[*] and σύντροφος of Herod the tetrarch, *i.e.* Herod Antipas, son of Herod the Great (Lk $3^{1.19}$ 9^{7} etc.). σύντροφος may mean either *collactaneus*, 'foster-brother,' 'nursed along with' Herod (Walch, Ols., de Wette, Alf., Words.; cf. Xen. *Mem.* ii. 3. 4), or merely *contubernalis*, 'brought up in the same household,' or 'on intimate terms with' him (Eras. Luth. Calv. Grot. Baumg. Ew.; cf. 1 Mac 1^{29}). Walch, recalling that the brothers Antipas and Archelaus were brought up together (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. i. 3), argues for the closer (without excluding the more general) relationship, on account of the tetrarch[†] alone being here mentioned.

It is highly probable that this Manaen was related to an older Manaen referred to by Josephus (*Ant.* XV. x. 5) as a notable Essene who, about B.C. 50, met Herod, afterwards the Great, then a schoolboy, and saluted him as future king of the Jews (Antipater, the father of Herod, was then chief minister of the Hasmonæan prince Hyrcanus). When the anticipation was afterwards realized (B.C. 37), Herod sent for this older Manaen, treated him as a friend (δεξιωσάμενος), and thenceforth honoured the whole Essene sect. A Talmudic authority[‡] identifies the same Manaen with a leading Rabbi who entered the household service of the king. When Antipas was born, some years later, Herod may very naturally have selected, as the child's foster-brother and youthful companion, a grandson[§] or grandnephew of the senior Manaen, who would thus be honoured in the person of the boy.[‖] As σύντροφος (in either sense) the younger Manaen would receive a place at the royal table, be educated along with Antipas, and probably accompany him and Archelaus when the two princes were sent to complete their education at Rome (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. i. 3). When Antipas became tetrarch (he was called 'king' only by courtesy) on his father's death, Manaen would naturally have some position in the 'royal' household; and, assuming that St. Luke and Manaen afterwards became acquainted at Antioch, with which both were connected,* it would most probably be from Manaen that St. Luke derived his knowledge of many facts concerning Antipas, his household, and other members of the Herodian family (Lk $3^{1.19.20}$ 8^{3} 9^{7-9} $13^{31.32}$ 23^{8-12}, Ac 12).

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[*] The arrangement of the conjunctive particles suggests that the first three mentioned were prophets, the last two (Manaen and Saul) teachers. See Meyer, *in loc.*; cf. Xen. *Mem.* ii. 3. 19.

[†] Antipas is the only Herod whom St. Luke elsewhere (Lk $3^{1.19}$) calls 'Herod the tetrarch,' although Philip (Lk 3^{1}) and, up till A.D. 52, Agrippa (Ac 25^{13}) might also have been so called. Agrippa, however, was only about seventeen at the time Manaen is designated as a teacher; Antipas would be over sixty.

[‡] Quoted by J. Lightfoot in *Hor. Heb. et Talm.* p. 25.

[§] While stricter Essenes eschewed marriage, a section of them allowed it. See art. ESSENES, vol. i. p. 768.

[‖] Cf. Chimham's reception into the royal household as a token of honour to his father Barzillai (2 S 19^{37}).

The time, occasion, and instrumentality of Manaen's becoming a follower of Christ are unknown. He may have been drawn to the Master simultaneously with Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward (Lk 8^{3}), or with the Herodian nobleman (*βασιλικός*, *i.e.* courtier) whose son was healed by Jesus (Jn $4^{46.53}$). The ministry of the Baptist,† which notably influenced Herod himself (Mk 6^{20}), may have been blessed to one whose Essene origin might predispose him towards our Lord's ascetic forerunner. His discipleship need not have involved departure from Herod's court; but the separation must have taken place, if not earlier, in A.D. 39, when the tetrarch, instigated by his ambitious wife, left Palestine for Rome, in order to obtain royal dignity, but was condemned by Caligula to perpetual exile (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. vii. 2). About the time of Antipas' removal, or soon after, the Gentile Church of Antioch was founded by Jewish Christians who had left Judæa after Stephen's martyrdom (Ac 11^{20}). From his subsequent position as a prominent Christian teacher at Antioch, we may assume as highly probable that Manaen was one of these founders. At all events, he had a leading share (1) in building up a mother Church in the third city of the empire, (2) in propagating successfully the pure Christian faith and life in a city whose moral corruption was proverbial, (3) in establishing the great truth, then but dimly discerned even by apostles, that the Gentiles were fellow-heirs, on equal terms with the Jews, of the divine promise of salvation.

LITERATURE.—Walch, 'de Menahemo,' in *Diss. Ac. Ap.*; J. Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*; Plumptre, 'Manaen' in *Biblical Studies*; Cassell's *Bible Educator*, ii. 29, 82.

H. COWAN.

MANAHATH (מָנַחַת, *Μαχαναθ(ε)ί*, *Manaoth*).—**1.** Mentioned only in 1 Ch 8^{6} as the place to which certain Benjamite clans were carried captive. Targ. adds 'in the land of the House of Esau,' and Syr. and Arab. VSS borrow a word from the next verse and translate 'to the plain of Naaman.' The town is probably identical with that implied in **Manahethites** (wh. see), with the *Μανοχώ* of the Greek text of Jos 15^{59}, where the LXX preserves a list of towns which had been lost from our Heb. text; and if the text in Jg is correct, with the **Menuhah** (wh. see) of Jg 20^{43} RVm. The site of the city is unknown. Conder (*PEF Mem.* iii. 21, 136) suggests *Mâlha*, 3 miles S.W. of Jerusalem. The text of 1 Ch 8^{6} is probably corrupt.

2. (*Μαν(ν)αχά(θ)*, *Μαχανάμ*, *Μαναχάμ*, *Manahat(h)*).—Gn 36^{23} (P), 1 Ch 1^{40} 'son of Shobal, son of Seir, the Horite,' *i.e.* eponymous ancestor of a clan of Edom, or of the earlier population conquered and absorbed by Edom. See, further, art. MANAHETHITES.

W. H. BENNETT.

MANAHATHITES.—See MANAHETHITES.

MANAHETHITES stands in AV for מְנֻחוֹת (A *Ἀμμανίθ*, B *Μωναιώ*, RV **Menuhoth**) in 1 Ch 2^{52} '(These were the sons of Caleb . . . Shobal) And Shobal the father of Kiriath-jearim had sons, Haroeh, half of the Menuhoth'; and also for מְנַחְתִּי (A *Μανάθ*, B *Μαλαθεί*, RV **Manahathites**) in 1 Ch 2^{54} '(These were the sons of Caleb . . . Salma) The sons of Salma; Beth-lehem . . . and half of the Manahathites, the Zorites.' The Vulgate translates 'rest' (*dimidium* requietionum (or -is)) in both verses. We should read (with Kittel, *SBOT*) מְנַחְתִּי 'Manahathites' in both verses. The genealogy is to be interpreted as meaning that the city **Manahath**, occupied by portions of two sections of the Edomite clan Caleb, came to be reckoned to Judah. See art. MANAHATH.

W. H. BENNETT.

MANASSEAS (*Μανασσῆας*), 1 Es 9^{31} = MANASSEH, Ezr 10^{30}.

MANASSEH (מְנַשֶּׁה).—**1.** A king of Judah. He was the son of Hezekiah and father of Amon. His mother's name was Hephzi-bah (2 K 21^{1}). He probably came to the throne B.C. 686. He is said to have been twelve years old on his accession. The length of his reign is given as fifty-five years; but this should, it seems, be reduced to forty-five, in which case he died B.C. 641. Of the actual history of this long reign we know very little, the attention of the author of the Book of Kings being fixed on the condition of religion. The reign was probably peaceful and prosperous, at any rate we have no indication to the contrary in our oldest source. But in the matter of religion it was quite otherwise. During the reign of Hezekiah those who attached themselves to the higher teaching of the prophets had formed a powerful party which had great influence over the king, who seems to have done something towards a religious reformation (2 K 18^{4}). But there was always a strong party which resented reform, and on Hezekiah's death it improved its opportunity by capturing his successor. All the superstitious cults and practices of the time of Ahaz came back, and were established with the royal sanction (2 K 21^{3}). But they did not come back alone. The most important feature of M.'s reign is its religious syncretism, the blending of foreign worships with the popular religion of Israel. Especially significant is the worship of the host of heaven (v.^{5}), which shows the influence of Assyria and Babylon. The Baal and Asherah cults were probably revivals of old Can. worship. Mention is also made of dealings with familiar spirits and wizards (v.^{6}). It is not unlikely that we should connect with this the shedding of innocent blood (v.^{16}), with which the king is also charged. This points to a systematic religious persecution. The time was, accordingly, one of religious reaction—not of reaction only, however, but of syncretism, of gloomy superstition and cruel fanaticism. Out of it sprang, according to the teaching of the prophets (2 K $23^{26.27}$ 24^{2-4}), the destruction of Jerus. and the Exile, which even the piety of Josiah and the Deuteronomic Reformation were unable to avert.

In Chronicles it is said that, in consequence of his sin, M. was taken by the Assyrians in fetters to Babylon (2 Ch 33^{11}). There he humbled himself before God, and was restored to his kingdom, whereupon he cleansed Jerus. and the temple of idols, and strengthened the fortifications of the city (v.$^{12ff.}$). The silence of Kings is very strong evidence against the story; for if M. had been really taken into captivity, repented, and on his return sought to undo the evil he had wrought, the writer in Kings would not have left the impression of unbroken idolatry and sin. (Contrast the case of Ahab, 1 K 21^{27-29}). That the Assyrians should have taken a prisoner to Babylon is not in itself very suspicious. But the mention of it probably gives a clue to the origin of the story. The Bab. exile was traced by the prophets to the sin of

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* Eus. (*HE* iii. 4) affirms St. Luke's Antiochene parentage, and the numerous references to Antioch in Ac suggest the familiarity of the writer with this city.

† From Manaen St. Luke may have obtained the information about the Baptist not given by the other evangelists (Lk 1^{57-80} 3^{7-14}).

M., and the Chronicler would feel it a fit thing that the author of this calamity should himself experience a captivity in Babylon. There was this further reason for the story. The long and peaceful reign of so wicked a king called for explanation. And this was accounted for by the story of his penitence and reformation. It is a characteristic example of the Chronicler's method of rewriting history. See, further, Driver in Hogarth's *Author. and Archæol.* pp. 114–116, where the archæological data bearing on the question are fully discussed, and the conclusion is reached that while the inscriptions do not decide the question, they fail to neutralize the suspicions attaching to the Chronicler's narrative.

2. *Manasseh* in Jg 18^{30} is a correction for *Moses*, since it seemed derogatory to the reputation of the latter that his grandson should have been the first priest at the sanctuary of Dan. The correction was made by inserting the letter נ above the line, thus changing the word into Manasseh (cf. Moore, *ad loc.*). **3. 4.** Two contemporaries of Ezra who had married foreign wives (Ezr 10$^{30. 33}$). **5.** See next article.

A. S. PEAKE.

MANASSEH (מְנַשֶּׁה,—according to the etymology given in Gn 41^{51}, 'making to forget,' from נָשָׁה 'to forget'; LXX usually Μανασσῆ), the elder son of the patriarch Joseph by his Egyptian wife, Asenath, and also the name of the tribe reputed to be descended from him. Of Manasseh as the son of Joseph, nothing more is stated than what is recorded in Gn 48, where Jacob (1) *blesses* his two grandsons, giving Ephraim, against their father's desire, the first place (vv.$^{1-2. 8-20}$ JE), and (2) *adopts* them, placing each on the same level with his own sons (vv.$^{3-7}$ P). Both these transactions have manifestly a *tribal* significance; they are traditional explanations of the relations existing subsequently between the two tribes Manasseh and Ephraim themselves, and between these two and the other tribes. In Gn 50^{23} it is also stated that the children of MACHIR, the son of Manasseh, were 'born upon Joseph's knees,' *i.e.* he survived their birth, and was able to recognize them as his descendants (cf. 30^{3}; *Odyss.* xix. 401; Stade, *ZAW*, 1886, 146 f.).

Manasseh as a *tribe* is, however, more important than Manasseh as an individual. i. *History of the tribe.* All that the oldest tradition of the Exodus (JE) says about the tribe is, that after Moses had allotted inheritances on the E. of Jordan to Reuben and Gad (Nu 32), particular families of Manasseh took possession of districts in the same neighbourhood,—the children of Machir, the (eldest) son of Manasseh, occupying Gilead generally, Jair, 'son' (*i.e.* descendant) of Manasseh, occupying the district in it called afterwards HAVVOTH-JAIR (which see), and Nobaḥ occupying Ḳenath, with its 'daughters,' or dependent villages, vv.$^{39. 41. 42}$.[*] The oldest parts of the Hex. thus recognize only two trans-Jordanic tribes as receiving their territories from Moses:[†] different Manassite clans conquer territories N. of these for themselves. Whether these statements, exactly as they stand, are historical, is doubtful: it is remarkable that in Jg 10$^{3-5}$ the 'tent-villages of Jair' are represented as deriving their name from Jair, a Gileadite, who was one of the Judges: hence it is very probable that the conquest of Jair is ante-dated in Nu 32; and in fact, if v.^{40} (see note * above) be disregarded, we have in vv.$^{39. 41. 42}$ (Dillm.) 'a good historical account of the gradual advance of Manassites into the territory E. of Jordan, though not under, but *after* Moses.' By the Deut. writers, a large part of the territory E. of Jordan, viz. 'the rest of Gilead (*i.e.* the half of Gilead N. of the Jabbok[*]), and all Bashan, even all the region of ARGOB' (Dt 3^{13}[†]), is said to have been given specifically by Moses to 'the half-tribe of Manasseh' (cf. Dt 29^{8}, Jos 12^{6} 13$^{8.}$ [LXX, Dillm.] ^{30} 18^{7} 22^{7}:[‡] for Bashan, also, as belonging to Manasseh, Dt 4^{43}, Jos 20^{8} 21$^{6. 27}$). The same half of the tribe is in Jos 1^{12} 4^{12} (D^{2}) also represented as crossing over Jordan, together with Reuben and Gad, to assist the other tribes in the conquest of Canaan:[§] Jos 22$^{1-6}$ describes the blessing with which Joshua sent them away to their homes, when they had discharged this task. According to Jos 22$^{9-34}$ (probably from a special source, allied to P), the half-tribe took part with Reuben and Gad in building the altar by Jordan, which so nearly led to a rupture between the E. and W. parts of Israel.

All these statements relate to the part of the tribe settled E. of the Jordan. There was, however, another part settled W. of the Jordan; and J's description of the territory belonging to this, and of the manner in which it enlarged the lot originally assigned to it, is preserved (imperfectly) in Jos 17$^{1b. 2. 8. 9a\beta. 10b-18}$ (taken in connexion with 16$^{1-3. 9-10}$). In J's account of the conquest, the two divisions of the tribe, Ephraim and Manasseh, are treated as one (16^{1} 17^{17} 18^{5}, Jg 1$^{22. 23. 35}$, where note the expression 'House of Joseph'); they receive accordingly a single 'lot' (16^{1}; cf. 17^{14}), the borders of which are defined in 16$^{1-3}$: the N. border—which would be the N. border of Manasseh—is now missing. Jos 17^{1b-2} describes how the Manassite clans were distributed: Machir had Gilead and Bashan; the other clans (Abi'ezer, Ḥeleḳ, Asriel, Shechem, Ḥepher, and Shemida') were settled (it is implied) in W. Palestine. Vv.$^{8. 9a\beta. 10b-13}$[‖] are fragments of J's account of the cities of W. Manasseh: all, however, that these fragments state is that Tappuaḥ, on its S. border, belonged to Ephraim, and that on the N. the towns of Beth-shean, Ibleam, Dor, En-dor,[¶] Taanach, and Megiddo, though actually in the territories of Issachar and Asher, belonged in fact to Manasseh, but that the Canaanites maintained their ground in them (vv.$^{11-13}$, with verbal differences, = Jg 1$^{27-28}$). The historical significance of this statement is that on the N. Manasseh was confined to the mountains and 'cut off from the fertile plain of Esdraelon and the tribes which struggled for a foothold beyond it in Galilee by a chain of fortified cities guarding the passes,'—Beth-shean being in the Jordan Valley on the east, Ibleam, Taanach, and Megiddo in the centre, where the central highlands slope down into the plain, and Dor on the seacoast, about 15 miles S. of Carmel. There follows (vv.$^{14-18}$) the curious narrative describing how the children of Joseph (*i.e.* Ephraim and Manasseh together), finding the hill-country insufficient for them, and being unable to make their way into the plain on the N. on account of the Canaanites, with their 'chariots of iron,' complain to Joshua; and are advised by him in reply, if they are the great people that they claim to be, to go up into the mountains and cut down the forest there—*i.e.*, apparently, augment their available territory by clearing the large thickly wooded areas which it still contained (Stade, *Gesch.* i. 163; Dillm.)—and (v.^{18b}) apply themselves more vigorously to expel the Canaanites. Fragmentary, and in parts obscure, as these notices of JE are, they nevertheless show clearly how imperfectly, for long after the Israelites first entered into Canaan, the W. half of Manasseh—in this respect, indeed, not differing from many of the other tribes (Jg 1)—obtained possession of its territory.

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[*] V.^{40} must be a later addition: not only is it out of place after v.^{39}, but '*their* tent-villages' (חוותיהם) in v.^{41}, which can refer only to the 'Amorites' of v.^{39}, shows that once v.^{41} must have immediately followed v.^{39}. The intention of the addition is evidently to legitimize the conquest of Machir, by representing it as sanctioned by Moses.

[†] V.^{33}, in which, *for the first time* in the chapter, the 'half-tribe of Manasseh' is mentioned, seems plainly to be a later addition, made for the purpose of harmonizing the passage with the representation of Dt and P.

[*] Cf. Jos 12$^{2. 15}$ 13^{31}: the other, southern 'half,' belonged to Gad (Dt 3^{12}).

[†] Vv.$^{14. 15}$ are repetitions (in substance) of Nu 32$^{41. 40}$, and are, indeed, most probably a later insertion in the original text of Dt (see Dillm.).

[‡] So also in P, Jos 13^{29} 14^{3}.

[§] In Nu 32 the command to do this is laid upon Reuben and Gad; but nothing is said about its being laid upon the half-tribe of Manasseh.

[‖] On vv.$^{5. 6}$ see Dillmann.

[¶] The clause relating to En-dor is, however, omitted in LXX and in Jg 1^{27}; and its originality is questioned by Dillm., Budde, *Ri. u. S.* p. 13; Moore, *Judges*, p. 46.

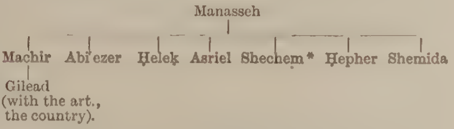
The passage is undoubtedly obscure; and Budde (*ZAW*, 1887, p. 123 ff. = *Ri. u. S.* 1890, pp. 33 ff., 87), questioning this explanation of the 'forest,' and developing further the opinion already expressed by previous scholars (*e.g.* Ewald, *Hist.* ii. 281, 299 f., 307, 321, 322;* Wellh., *Hist.* 445; Stade, *Gesch.* i. 149), that the E. half of Manasseh was really, at least in part (Ewald), a colony thrown out by the W. branch of the tribe, after its settlement in Canaan, conjectured that Jos 17^{14-18} referred originally to this undertaking, and that v.^{18} read originally 'but the hill-country *of Gilead* shall be thine,' urging in support of this view that the children of Joseph could not have complained that they had only 'one lot,' if besides their W. territory they had already received from Moses a territory E. of Jordan; and afterwards (*ZAW*, 1888, p. 148, *Ri. u. S.* pp. 38 f., 60, 87) adopted the suggestion of Valeton that Nu $32^{39.41.42}$ once followed Jos 17^{14-18}, and described how the permission then given by Joshua was acted upon. The conjecture is an attractive one, but too bold, esp. in the transposition assumed for Nu $32^{39.41.42}$, to be accepted with any confidence: had this, moreover, been the original sense of the passage, some allusion to crossing the Jordan ('get thee *over*' rather than 'get thee *up*' in v.^{15}, for instance) might have been expected (cf. also *HGHL* p. 577 *n.*). Nevertheless, whether Budde's view of these passages be accepted or not, Jg 5^{14} (see the last paragraph of this art.) undoubtedly lends probability to the opinion that the Manassites on the E. of Jordan were really immigrants from the West.

Of the later history of the tribe little specific is known. It played no prominent or distinctive part in the history of the nation. From the wild and exposed character of the district which the E. half of the tribe occupied, it may be inferred that its members were a brave and hardy race, able to maintain their own in the face of opposition (cf. Jos 17^1, Machir a 'man of war,' and 1 Ch 5^{18-22}, the narrative of a successful enterprise in which the E. Manassites took common part with Reuben and Gad against the Hagrites and other neighbouring tribes). Gideon in W. Manasseh (Jg 6^{15}, cf. v.^{35}), and (probably) Jephthah in E. Manasseh (Jg 11^1, cf. v.^{29}), were brave and distinguished members of the tribe. The strong Israelitish feeling which characterized 'Gilead' (including E. Manasseh), and the keen sense of common interests which bound it closely together with its brethren W. of Jordan, are well brought out by G. A. Smith (*HGHL* 578 ff.). 'The story of Jephthah throbs with the sense of common interest between Gilead and Ephraim.' Jabesh-gilead, romantically connected with the history of Saul (1 S 11. 31), was in all probability in E. Manasseh (about 20 m. S. of the Sea of Galilee). The tribe is specified by name in the Blessing of Moses, though characterized as less numerous than Ephraim (Dt 33^{17}, the 'ten thousands of Ephraim,' and the 'thousands of Manasseh'). Different districts of Manasseh (both E. and W.) are mentioned in 1 K 4^{11-13} as supplying provision for Solomon's court during three months of the year. One city of refuge, Golan, was in E. Manasseh (Dt 4^{43} *al.*). The tribe suffered severely during the Syrian wars (Am 1^3, 2 K 10^{33}; cf. 8^{12} 13^7). It is implied in 2 K 15^{29}, and stated expressly in 1 Ch 5^{26}, that the E. Manassites were included among the trans-Jordanic Israelites transported by Tiglath-pileser to different places in the Assyrian empire. The statements in P respecting the numbers of the tribe at the time of the Exodus (32,200 at the first census Nu 1^{35}, and 52,700 at the second census Nu 26^{34}), and (Nu 2^{20}) its position in the camp (W. of the tabernacle, between Ephraim and Benjamin), and on the march (behind the tabernacle), have no historical value; the numbers of the Manassite warriors who, according to 1 Ch $12^{31.38}$, attended at the time of David's coronation at Hebron, are equally unhistorical. For other scattered notices of the tribe, see Is 9^{21}, Ps $60^7 = 108^8$, 1 Ch 9^3 (in the post-exilic community) 26^{32} $27^{20.21}$, 2 Ch 15^9 $30^{1.10.11.18}$ 31^1.

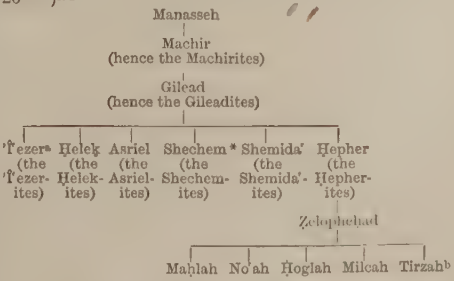
ii. The *borders* of the territory occupied by either the W. or the E. half of Manasseh cannot be fixed with precision. Of the W. half, the N. boundary seems to have been approximately the imperfectly defined line, where the hills slope down into the plain of Esdraelon, touching Asher and Issachar (Jos 17^{10b}); on the W. the border was the sea; on the S. it began (on the W.) with the Wâdy Kanah, perhaps (but see KANAH) a wâdy running up from the W. in the direction of Shechem, at about 32° 8′–10′ N., then, crossing this wâdy to the S., it passed along by Tappuah (unknown) and Michmethath 'in front of (*i.e.* E. of) Shechem' to Asher, according to the *Onom.* (222. 93), a village 15 miles N.E. of Shechem, on the road to Beth-shean, thence (to judge from $16^{6.7}$) it turned back sharply to the S. and passed down by Taanach-shiloh (7 miles S.E. of Shechem) and Naarah (in the Jordan Valley, 5 miles N. of Jericho), as far as Jericho itself; the E. border was the Jordan. The E. half of the tribe possessed, starting from the border city Mahanaim (*ib.* vv.$^{26.30}$, site uncertain; but near the Jordan, and probably not far N. of the Jabbok Gn 32^2, cf. vv.$^{10.22}$), 'half-Gilead' (Jos 13^{31}), *i.e.* the half N. of the Jabbok (see above) and all BASHAN—the whole comprising the well-wooded and (especially in its N. part) remarkably fertile tract of country stretching out northwards nearly to Hermon (the kingdom of Og, Jos $12^{1b.5}$; cf. 1 Ch 5^{23}).

iii. *The clans and subdivisions of Manasseh.*—In the enumeration of these there is much diversity; the different schemes will be apprehended most clearly if presented in tabular form.

1. In J, then, we have the following genealogy (Jos 17^{1b-2})—



2. But in P the genealogy is as follows (Nu 26^{28-34})—



[a] איעזר: in Jos 17^2, Jg 6^{34} 8^2, called *Abi'ezer* (אביעזר); so Jg $6^{11.24}$ 8^{32} the *Abi'ezrite.*

[b] The same five daughters of Ẓelophehad are also mentioned, with the same pedigree, in Nu 27^1 (cf. $36^{1.11}$), Jos 17^3 (all P).

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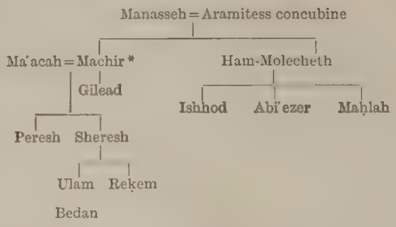
* Jg 12^4 is, however, an uncertain passage to rely upon in support of this opinion; see Moore, *ad loc.*

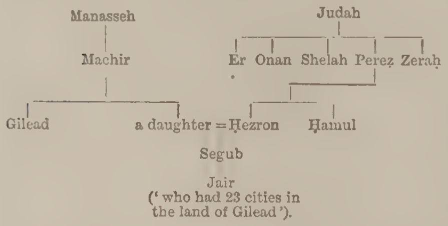
* Pointed שֶׁכֶם, not (like the name of the place) שְׁכֶם.

3. We have also (1 Ch 7^{14-19})—



Ẓelopheḥad is also mentioned as the 'second' son of some one, whose name does not appear, and it is said that he had daughters: the sons of Shemida' are also enumerated, viz. Aḥian, Shechem, Liḳḥi, and Ani'am; but the text is evidently either corrupt or defective; and what place Ẓelopheḥad and Shemida' held in the genealogy is not clear, though Berth. and Kuenen think that Ẓelopheḥad is meant to be the second son of Manasseh.

4. There is, lastly (1 Ch 2^{21-23})—



It is impossible to harmonize these conflicting schemes: it is manifest that they are different attempts to correlate and account for the principal clans of Manasseh, or for the names of districts colonized by it.[†] Gilead is 'son' of Machir, simply because the country was occupied by Machirite clans. Abi'ezer is mentioned in Jg $6^{11. 24. 34}$ $8^{2. 32}$ as the family, or clan, to which Gideon belonged: the other names, Ḥeleḳ, Asriel, etc., do not occur except in the passages cited. The only point on which the schemes all agree is in representing Machir as 'son' of Manasseh, and as 'father' of Gilead. In other respects the conspicuous difference is that, according to J, Machir is the *eldest* son of Manasseh, and the other clans, Abi'ezer etc., are coordinated with him as his *brethren*; whereas in P Machir is Manasseh's *only* son, and the six clans, Abi'ezer, etc., are represented as being his *descendants*, and in fact descended from him through his son 'Gilead.' Thus, as regards Machir, three stages seem to be discernible in the manner in which he was viewed. (1) In Jg 5^{14} he represents the *West* half of Manasseh. (2) In J (Jos 17^{1b-2}, Nu 32^{39}) he is the ancestor of the principal part of the *East* half of Manasseh, his brother clans being located, it is implied, on the W. of Jordan. (3) In P (Nu $26^{28ff.}$) he is the ancestor, through his son 'Gilead,' of *all* the Manassites, Eastern and Western alike.

Accordingly, Jos 13^{31b} ('even for,' etc.), restricting what is said in v.^{a} of *all* the Machirites to half of them, is (Kuen., Dillm.) a correction of v.^{31a}, made for the purpose of harmonizing it with the representation of P (according to which, as Machir was Manasseh's only son, the E. half of the tribe could form only a part of his descendants).

It is hardly possible to interpret with confidence the historical significance of these variations; but it is possible that the variation between Jg 5^{14} and 1 may point to the fact that between the age of Deborah and that of J Gilead had been conquered by immigrants from the tribe of Manasseh settled on the W. of Jordan;[*] and that the representation of P may imply that (vol. ii. p. 129^{b}), 'holding Gilead to have been first conquered, as represented in the Hex., he regarded the W. Manassites as offshoots of the E. Manassites.' In 3 the statement that Manasseh's concubine was an Aramitess may be an indication that there was an admixture of Aramæan blood in the tribe, especially in its Eastern half; Ma'acah, Machir's 'wife' (1 Ch 7^{16}), also suggests some connexion with the Aram. tribe of Ma'acah, in the same neighbourhood (Dt 3^{14}, Jos 13^{13}, 2 S 10^{6} *al.*). In 4 the connexion with a clan of Judah, assumed for Jair, is remarkable.

LITERATURE.—See, in addition to the authorities quoted (esp. Dillm. on Nu 32^{39-42}, and Jos 16–17), Kuenen's essay on the tribe of Manasseh, in *ThT*, 1877, p. 478 ff.; and cf. art. GENEALOGY in vol. ii. p. 129 f.

S. R. DRIVER.

MANASSES (Μανασσή B, -ῆs A).—**1.** 1 Es 9^{33} = MANASSEH, No. **4.** **2.** Judith's husband, Jth 8^{2}. **3.** An unknown person mentioned in the dying words of Tobit as one who 'gave alms and escaped the snare of death' set for him by Aman (To 14^{10}, AV and RV, following LXX B Μανασσῆs). The text of ℵ, *ἐν τῷ ποιῆσαl με* (*sic*) *ἐλεημοσύνην ἐξῆλθεν, κ.τ.λ.*, where the subject understood is *Achiacharus*, maintains the parallelism with the preceding clause, from which it repeats also the name Ναδάβ instead of Ἀμάν of A, or Ἀδάμ of B (cf. 11^{18}, where B reads Νασβᾶs, ℵ Ναβάδ, as the name of the ungrateful nephew of Achiacharus). Cosquin in *Rev. Biblique*, Jan. 1899, p. 52 f., argues strenuously in favour of the reading of ℵ in To 14^{10}, holding that Μανασσῆs is due simply to a scribal error. See, further, NASBAS, TOBIT. **4.** = MANASSEH king of Judah in title of apocr. book. See following article.

J. A. SELBIE.

MANASSES (PRAYER OF).—In place of the remote threats against Manasseh in 2 K 21^{11-15} we have in 2 Ch 33^{11-13} an account of his just punishment for his sins by captivity, his repentance and restoration; and in vv.$^{18. 19}$ the statement that other details of his life and his *prayer* were recorded in the Acts of the Kings of Israel, and in the History of Hozai (*or* the Seers). Does the Greek Prayer of Manasses of our Apocrypha go back to this Prayer in the lost sources (or source) of Ch as its Hebrew original; or is it a free Greek composition suggested by Ch? Budde, after Ewald, argues for the former view (*ZAW*, 1892, p. 39 f.), and Ball (in *Speaker's Com.*) thinks it probable. Fritzsche (*Exeg. Handb. zu d. Apok.* i. 157) favoured the latter view, on the ground that the Greek is not a translation (so Schürer).

The Prayer stands among the Canticles appended to the Psalter in some MSS of LXX. Swete (iii. 802 ff., cf. ii. pp. ix, xi) prints A with variants of T (*Psalterium Turicense*). It is never found in LXX of 2 Ch, and is often missing in Greek Psalters which include the Canticles. It is found in the *Apost. Const.* ii. 22. Nestle (*Septuaginta Studien*, iii. 1899) argues that the text of our MSS A and T comes from the *Apost. Const.* or from its original, the *Didascalia*, and that the Prayer is not, as hitherto supposed, cited in these works from a MS of LXX. It appears in the *Const.* in connexion with the entire story of Manasseh as 'written in 4 K and 2 Ch.'[*] We read that Manasseh was bound with iron in prison, that bread made of bran and water mixed with vinegar were given him in scant measure, and that in such straits he humbled himself before God and prayed. After the Prayer the narrative proceeds: 'And the Lord heard his voice and had compassion upon him. And there came a flame of fire about him, and all the irons which were about him were melted: and the Lord healed Manasseh from his affliction,' etc. Julius Africanus knew that 'while M. was saying a hymn his bonds burst asunder, iron though they were, and he escaped' (John Damasc. *Parall.* ii. 15). He may therefore have read the Prayer in this setting.[†] If it was written in this connexion, its author showed more liturgical sense than historical imagination; for the allusions to Manasseh's situation are hardly more explicit than might be found, for example, in Ps 107^{10-16}.

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[*] *Asriel* in v.^{14} seems to be a corrupt anticipation of the following words, אשר ילדה (Berth., Kittel, Oettli, *al.*).

[†] Ẓelopheḥad and his daughters, who play such an important part in the law of Hebrew inheritance, are, no doubt, historical personages; but among their ancestors there appears, in P, the name of a country (cf. Jg 11^{1b}).

[*] So Ewald, Wellh., Stade, and Budde, as cited above; Moore, *Judges*, pp. 150 f., 274 f.; Kittel, *Gesch.* ii. 69 [Eng. tr. ii. 76 f.]: see also art. HAVVOTH-JAIR.

Jewish traditions show no knowledge of our Prayer, though they add details to the story of Ch. Manasseh was put into an iron mule, beneath which a fire was kindled. He prayed to the idols which he had served, and at last to the God of his fathers. 'Lord of the universe, wilt thou allow the man who has served idolatry and put an idol in the court of the temple to repent?' God answered, 'If I do not receive his repentance that will shut the door to all penitents' (Jerus. *Sanhed.* x. 2. See also *Midr. rab.* Dt 2 and *Midr. rab.* Ru 2^{14}; cf. *Midr. rab.* Lv 30). The story of Manasseh's conversion was rather a problem than a comfort to the Rabbis, and the Mishna (*Sanhed.* x. 2) decides that he was restored only to his kingdom, not to his part in the world to come (but cf. Gemara). So in Apoc. Bar 6^4, where the tradition is already known that 'he was cast into the brazen horse, and the horse was heated'; though 'his prayer was heard,' yet the fire from which God then delivered him was only a sign of the fire with which the same God would afterwards torment him.

Does our Prayer itself contain any evidence which indicates a Hebrew or a Greek original, an early or a late date?

The petitioner calls on the Lord almighty, heavenly (cf. 3 Mac 6^{28}), 'the God of our fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of their righteous seed,' who created heaven and earth and bound and sealed the ocean (cf. Job 38^{8-11} etc.), whose glory all things fear, and whose anger is toward sinners (vv.$^{1-5}$); who is yet a God of compassion and repents of evils (=Jl 2^{13b}, Jon 4^{2b}). [In his goodness he has appointed to sinners repentance unto salvation (Swete (*AT*) omits)]. But 'the God of the righteous has not appointed repentance to the righteous, to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who have not sinned,' but 'to me the sinner' (vv.$^{6-8}$). He confesses his sins, for which he is bowed down by many an iron band (cf. Ps 107^{10}), especially his setting up abominations and multiplying offences. With humble confession he prays for forgiveness and salvation from death, since God is 'the God of the penitent,' and can show all His goodness only toward the unworthy (vv.$^{9-15}$).

This is a fine penitential prayer, deserving its ancient place in the Christian Psalter, casting a favourable light on the age and community that produced it. That it is Jewish there can be no doubt [but see Swete in *Expository Times*, xi. (1899) p. 38 f.]. But the Greek nowhere requires a Hebrew original, though it cannot be said to exclude its possibility. The belief that through repentance a sinner can gain forgiveness is contained as clearly in the story of Manasseh in Chron. as in the Prayer, and does not point to a time 'not long before the Christian era' (Westcott in Smith's *DB*). It has, indeed, deep roots in the OT. There the hope for forgiveness and grace sometimes rests on the forgiving nature of God as Ex $34^{6.7}$ proclaims it,[*] sometimes more directly on the merit of the fathers, or God's promises to them.[†] The efficacy for sinners of the merit of the righteous was early disputed (Gn $18^{23ff.}$, Jer 15^1, Ezk $14^{14.20}$), but the tendency of rabbinical Judaism was to put chief stress upon it (cf. Mt 3^9; Weber, *Die Lehren d. Talmud*, § 63; *Ass. Mos.* 3^9 4^{2-5} 11^{17}), while Hellenistic Judaism was less national and more ethical in character.

This suggests a test by which our Prayer may be judged. It is a mistake to find in it an appeal to the merit of the patriarchs. They are simply the righteous, toward whom and toward their *righteous* seed, God is only just. The sinner cannot appeal to them, but only to that quality of the Divine nature, compassion, which has no application to the righteous. It is only as a repentant sinner, not as a Jew, that the petitioner appeals to God. The only distinction recognized is that between the righteous and sinners, but God is believed to be 'the God of the penitent' as well as 'the God of the righteous.' It was Hellenistic Judaism that regarded the patriarchs chiefly as examples of righteousness (4 Mac $2^{2.17-19}$ $3^{6ff.}$ 16^{20-22}; Philo, *de Abra.* etc.; see also contrast between Sir 44–49 and Wis 10–19). The Book of Wisdom bases forgiveness only on the nature of God (11^{23}–$12^{2.10.11.15-19}$); and a book in which rabbinical and Hellenistic elements are united expresses just the thought of our Prayer, 'because of us sinners thou art called merciful,' etc. (2 Es 8^{20-36}). These considerations favour the view that our book is not a translation of the old Hebrew prayer in the source of Chron., but a Hellenistic composition. The date cannot be determined, but the eschatology of the expressions, 'Do not condemn me in the lowest parts of the earth'; 'I will praise thee always in the days of my life,' seems early rather than late.

The Prayer was not revised by Jerome, and is not in the Vulgate canon. According to Nestle, it may be said to owe its rank as a semi-biblical book to Luther, since before him it appears in no list of canonical or apocryphal books. It is not found in many editions of the LXX. Details in regard to texts and editions are given by Nestle. Cf. APOCRYPHA.

LITERATURE.—*Text.*—Fritzsche, *Lib. Apocr. VT*, and Swete, *OT in Greek*. See also Nestle, *Septuaginta Studien*, iii. 1899.

Commentaries.—Fritzsche (1851), C. J. Ball (*Speaker's Com.* 1888). See also V. Ryssel's translation of the Prayer (with critical and exegetical notes) in Kautzsch's *Apocryphen u. Pseudepigraphen d. AT*, 1899.

F. C. PORTER.

MANDRAKE (דּוּדָאִים *dûdâ'îm*, *μῆλα μανδραγορῶν*, *μανδραγόραι*, *mandragoræ*).—The Heb. word (in Gn $30^{14ff.}$, Ca 7^{13}) means 'love-plants.' The ancient VSS agree in translating the word 'mandrake.' Numbers of other plants have been suggested, as bramble-berries, *Zizyphus Lotus*, L., the *sidr* of the Arabs, the banana, the lily, the citron, and the fig. But none of these renderings is supported by satisfactory evidence. The mandrake, *Mandragora officinarum*, L., is a plant of the order *Solanaceæ*, called by the Arabs *luffâḥ*, or *beiḍ el-jinn* (*i.e.* 'genie's eggs'). The parsley-shaped root is often branched. The natives mould this root into a rude resemblance to the human figure, by pinching a constriction a little below the top, so as to make a kind of head and neck, and twisting off the upper branches except two, which they leave as arms, and the lower, except two, which they leave as legs. This root gives off at the surface of the ground a rosette of ovate-oblong to ovate, wrinkled, crisp, sinuate-dentate to entire leaves, 6 to 16 in. long, somewhat resembling those of the tobacco-plant. There spring from the neck a number of one-flowered nodding peduncles, bearing whitish-green flowers, nearly 2 in. broad, which produce globular, succulent, orange to red berries, resembling small tomatoes, which ripen in late spring. The ancients used the mandrake as a love philtre (Gn 30^{14-16}). They believed that he who incautiously touched a root of it would certainly die. Josephus (*BJ* VII. vi. 3) gives the following directions for pulling it up. 'A furrow must be dug around the root until its lower part is exposed, then a dog is tied to it, after which the person tying the dog must get away. The dog then endeavours to follow him, and so easily pulls up the root, but dies suddenly instead of his master. After this the root can be handled without fear.' The ancients also believed that this root gave a demoniacal shriek as it was pulled up. The 'smell' of the mandrakes (Ca 7^{13}) is the heavy narcotic odour of the Solanaceous plants. The allusion to it in this connexion doubtless refers to its specific virtues. G. E. POST.

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[*] The passage is made up about as follows: 2 K 20^{21}–21^{16}, 2 Ch 33^{11}, addition, $33^{12.13a}$, Pr. Man, add., 33^{13b}, add., $33^{15.16.20a.c\,22}$. There follows a Midrashic form of the story of Amon's reign.

[†] Cf. later references in Fabricius, *Biblioth. græc.*, ed. Harles, ii. 732 f.

[*] *e.g.* Hos 5^{15}–6^3, Jer 18^{7-10}, Ezk 18. 33^{10-20}, Is $55^{6.7}$, Jl 2^{12-14}, Jon 3^{5-10}, Ps 32. 51. 86 $^{(5.15)}$ 103$^{(8)}$ 130. 145^8, Sir 2^{11} 17^{24-29} 18^{11-14} 28^2.

[†] After Ex 3^{15}, *e.g.* Ex 32^{11-14}, Dt 9^{25-29}, 1 K 8^{46-53} 18^{36}, 2 Ch 20^{7-9}, Ps 105, Neh 9, Lk $1^{54.55.72f.}$ The two appeals are united in Mic 7^{18-20}, Dn 9^{3-19}.

MANEH.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

MANES (Μάνης, AV Eanes, due to a misprint Ἠάνης for Μάνης in the Aldine ed.), 1 Es 9^{21}.—One of those who agreed to put away their 'strange' wives. RVm identifies the name with Harim in Ezr 10^{21}; more probably, perhaps, it takes the place of the two names Maaseiah, Elijah.

MANGER.—The NT tr. of *φάτνη* in three places out of the four where the word occurs (Lk $2^{7.12.16}$), and in RVm of the fourth (Lk 13^{15}, where 'stall' is in the text). The chief OT Eng. equivalent is 'crib,' Heb. *'ēbûṣ* (fattening-place), LXX always *φάτνη* (Job 39^9, Pr 14^4, Is 1^3); while *φάτνη* is also the LXX rendering (once in each case) of *'urwah* ('collecting-place' or 'collected herd'), AV and RV 'stall,' 2 Ch 32^{28}; of *repheth* (not occurring except at Hab 3^{17}, but probably = Arabic *raffat*, 'herd' or 'stall'), AV and RV 'stall'; and, possibly, of *bĕlîl* ('food'), AV and RV 'fodder,' Job 6^5, if the Heb. be not represented rather by the otherwise superfluous *βρώματα*. It seems clear (from such a parallelism as in 2 Ch 32^{28} '*stalls* for all manner of beasts and *folds* (lit. *treasure-houses*) for flocks,' and likewise from such companionship as in Pr 14^4 'where no oxen are, the *crib* is *clean*'), that, like the Latin *præsepe* and our *crib*, *φάτνη* in the LXX signified not only, as in classical Greek, a *manger*, but also, metonymically, the *stall containing the manger*; an extension due immediately, perhaps, to some of its Heb. originals.

This ambiguity in the meaning of *φάτνη* would be of small moment but that it affects the story of the Nativity. Did the mother of our Lord lay her babe in a *manger* or in a *stall*? And is the very early tradition that the birth took place in a cave inconsistent with the NT narrative? These questions cannot be decisively answered either (as has been shown) from the word itself, or from the context, or from our knowledge of the customs of the time. There is an ambiguity about *κατάλυμα*, 'the inn' (AV and RV), as well as about *φάτνη*. This was not an inn in the modern sense of the term, nor apparently even such an approximation to it as the more regularly organized *πανδοχεῖον* of Lk 10^{34}, with its *πανδοχεύς*, *host* or *managing attendant*, who provided necessaries and was paid for them. All that we can be sure of as to *κατάλυμα* is that it was a *resting-place* where animals were relieved of their packs (*καταλύω*, 'I let down'), and where travellers ungirded their garments. But Lk 22^{11}, Mk 14^{14} (cf. Swete), bring the word before us in another sense—that of a *guest-room* ('*My κατάλυμα*,' said Jesus, according to Mk), one of the rooms commonly and hospitably lent, perhaps, for the occasion, to parties of strangers visiting Jerusalem for the passover. For this the 'master of the house' seems to have substituted, in the case of Jesus and His disciples, the more private and fully furnished *ἀνάγαιον*, *upper chamber* (Lk 22^{12}). When, therefore, it is said (Lk 2^7), '[She] laid [the babe] in a *φάτνη*, because there was no room for them in the *κατάλυμα*,' our ignorance of the exact meaning of *κατάλυμα* deprives us of its guidance to the exact meaning of the alternative *φάτνη*; while the absence (according to the best documents) of the article with *φάτνη* leaves us at liberty to believe that the *φάτνη* was not connected with the *κατάλυμα*. At first sight the antithesis seems to require that the *φάτνη* should be a kind of room corresponding to the superior *κατάλυμα*, though of course the sentence may be elliptical and the manger may be picked out as the special feature in the corresponding room not itself mentioned.

But, if the *κατάλυμα* was anything like the modern khan, it was a *rest-house* like those existing in the East, outside towns, as unfurnished places of gratuitous lodgment during the night for strangers, and containing (as to the ruder sort) two contiguous portions not very distinctly divided —the one for the travellers, and the other for their animals; and (as to the better sort) a central (usually roofless) court, with cells for travellers opening out upon it, and, beyond these, just within the outside wall, stalled places for the beasts of burden. If this be so, then Joseph and Mary, finding the travellers' portion full, probably abode in one of these stalled places, and the babe was laid either in the stall or in the manger belonging to the stall. Or, as Tristram suggests (*Land of Israel*, p. 73), they took refuge in some poor cottage close by, similar to one wherein he himself had seen a community of shelter for man and beast, the dwelling portion (to which, for one reason or another, Joseph and Mary were not invited) being an upper platform ascended by a few steps; and the lower portion being half granary half stable, and containing a long earthen trough which served for a manger. Tristram's suggestion has this additional element of probability, that, if the rest-house was full, the stalled places attached to it were likely to be full also.

The tradition that Jesus was born in a cave near Bethlehem is at least as early as the first decade of the 2nd cent., and is found in Justin (*Trypho*, 78), in the Arabic *Gospel of the Infancy* (c. 2, p. 181, Tisch.), in Origen (*c. Cels.* i. 51),—who says that the cave and the manger were shown in his day,—in Epiphanius (*Hær.* li. 9) and in Eusebius (*Vita Constant.* iii. 43, *Dem. Ev.* vii. 2). The cave as the place of birth is mentioned also in the *Protevangel of James* (c. 18), but in c. 22 the swaddling and the 'crib for oxen' are referred to the time of the massacre of the Innocents, and the crib (the Babe's hiding-place) is not connected in any way with the cave, while neither here nor in the *Gospel of the Infancy* is the cave connected with an 'inn.' Eus. and Epiphan. (see Nestle, *Vitæ Prophetarum*, p. 8) both affirm that the cave story appears in Luke, while Anastasius of Sinai (*Viæ dux*, c. 1, p. 6) assigns it to 'unwritten' tradition. Resch (*Texte*, x. 3) sees in the unanimity of the cave tradition a sign that it belongs to the original source of the Infancy history, and from the varieties of phraseology in the Greek narratives he conjectures that this source was Hebrew. It has been suspected (with what probability it is impossible to say) that the cave story grew out of the prophecy, Is 33^{16} ('He shall dwell in a lofty cave,' LXX), just as the prophecy in regard to Shiloh, Gn 49^{11}, led to the later addition in Lk 19^{30} ('a colt tied *to a vine*'). See Justin, *Apol.* i. 32. Thomson, *Land and the Book* (vol. on *Central Palestine and Phœnicia*, p. 35) says that many inns or khans have caverns below them, where cattle are sheltered, and where, built along the walls, are stone mangers which, 'cleaned out and whitewashed as they often are in summer when not required for the animals, would make suitable cribs in which to lay little babies.' He does not, however, say that he ever saw any little babies in them except his own. Over such a grotto, near Bethlehem, called the Grotto of the Nativity, now stands the Church of St. Mary; and the grotto contains a manger; but (adds Thomson) 'the real manger was transported to Rome.'

LITERATURE.—Petri Horrei, *Miscell. critic. libri duo*, ii. pp. 241-416 (utrum de spelunca an de stabulo), Leovardiæ, 1738; Schleusner, *Lexic. Vet. Test.* φάτνη; Plummer on Lk 2^{7} (*Internat. Comm.*); Meyer-Weiss, *ibid.*; Farrar's *Life of Christ*, p. 12 (illust. ed.); Keim, *Jesus of Nazara* (Eng. tr.), ii. 80; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, i. 185, ii. 483; *Texte und Untersuchungen* (Gebhardt and Harnack), x. 5, pp. 124 ff.; and Thomson's *Land and the Book*, and Tristram's *Land of Israel*, as above quoted.

J. MASSIE.

MANI (Μανί), 1 Es 9^{30}=BANI, Ezr 10^{29}, as he is called in 1 Es 5^{12} (Βανεί).

MANIFEST.—The verb to 'manifest' is used actively, passively, and reflexively. The active use is seen in Ec 3^{18} (the only occurrence of the word in OT), 'I said in mine heart concerning the estate of the sons of men, that God might manifest them, and that they might see that they themselves are beasts' (לְבָרָם, RV 'that God may prove them'); and Jn 17^{6} 'I have manifested thy name unto the men which thou gavest me out of the world' (ἐφανέρωσα; RV 'I manifested'). In Jn 2^{11} AV has 'manifest forth' ('manifested forth his glory') for the same verb, RV 'manifested.' It is a favourite verb with St. John, occurring 9 times in the Gospel and 9 times in the First Epistle, which are nearly half its occurrences in NT. The AV usually renders it 'manifest' or 'make manifest,' but also 'appear' (Mk $16^{12.14}$, 2 Co 5^{10} 7^{12}, Col 3^{4}, He 9^{26}, 1 P 5^{4}, 1 Jn 2^{28} 3^{2}, Rev 3^{18}), 'shew' (Jn 7^{4} 21^{1}), and 'manifestly declare' (2 Co 3^{3}). RV everywhere has either 'manifest' or 'make manifest.' The reflexive use of the verb 'to manifest' is found in Jn $14^{21.22}$; the passive is more common. The past ptcp. is twice 'manifest' instead of 'manifested,' viz. 1 Ti 3^{16} 'God was manifest in the flesh' (θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί; RV, reading ὅς for θεός, 'He who was manifested in the flesh'); and 1 P 1^{20} 'who verily was foreordained before the foundation of the world, but was manifest in these last times for you' (φανερωθέντος, RV 'was manifested'). The meaning is not exactly the same as now, if indeed we use the verb 'to manifest' at all. It is to uncover, lay bare, reveal. Cf. Cromwell (in Prolegomena to Tindale's *Pent.* by Mombert, p. xlii), 'The Kinge highnes therfor hathe commaunded me to advurtyse you that is plesure ys, that ye should desiste and leve any ferther to persuade or attempte the sayde Tyndalle to cum into this realme; alledging, that he perceyving the malycyous, perverse, uncharytable, and indurate mynde of the sayd Tyndall, ys in man[er] with owt hope of reconsylyacyon in hym, and is veray joyous to have his realme destytute of such a person, then that he should retourne into the same, there to manyfest his errours and sedycyous opynyons.' An earlier meaning—'detect,' 'disclose'—is seen in Rhem. NT, Mt 8^{heading} 'beyond the sea he manifesteth the devil's malice agaynst man in an heard of swine.'

The adj. 'manifest' signifies 'open to sight, uncovered' (not 'evident to reason,' as now). Thus Wis 12^{17} 'thou makest their boldness manifest' (τὸ θράσος ἐξελέγχεις; RV 'puttest their boldness to confusion'); He 4^{13} 'Neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight' (ἀφανής); 9^{8} 'the way into the holiest of all was not yet made manifest' (μήπω πεφανερῶσθαι); 1 Jn 3^{10} 'In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil' (φανερά ἐστι τὰ τέκνα). Cf. Shaks. *I Henry VI.* I. iii. 33, 'Stand back, thou manifest conspirator.'

The adv. **manifestly** means *openly*, *visibly*, 2 Es 14^{3} 'In the bush I did manifestly reveal myself unto Moses' (*revelans revelatus sum*); 2 Mac 3^{28} 'manifestly they acknowledged the power of God' (φανερῶς). Cf. Dt 27^{8} Tind. 'And thou shalt write uppon the stones all the wordes of this lawe, manyfestly and well'; and Rhem. NT, Lk 8^{heading} 'He preacheth to the Iewes in parables because of their reprobation; but to the Disciples manifestly, because he wil not for the Iewes incredulity have his cumming frustrate.'

Manifestation occurs but rarely, Wis 1^{9} 'the sound of his words shall come unto the Lord for the manifestation of his wicked deeds' (εἰς ἔλεγχον; AVm 'for the reproving,' RV 'to bring to conviction'); Ro 8^{19} 'For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God' (τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν, RV 'the revealing'); 1 Co 12^{7} 'the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal' (ἡ φανέρωσις), and 2 Co 4^{2} 'by manifestation of the truth' (τῇ φανερώσει, RV 'by the manifestation'). So Lk 1^{80} Rhem., 'And the childe grew, and was strengthened in spirit, and was in the deserts until the day of his manifestation to Israel.'

J. HASTINGS.

MANIFOLD is properly 'of many kinds,' 'various,' as Howell, *Letters*, iv. 47, 'The Calamities and Confusions which the late Wars did bring upon us were many and manifold.' And so it is used sometimes in AV: Wis 7^{22} 'in her is an understanding spirit, holy, one only, manifold' (πολυμερές, Vulg. *multiplex*); 1 P 1^{6} 'Ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations' (ἐν ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς);* 4^{10} 'as good stewards of the manifold grace of God' (ποικίλης χάριτος); Eph 3^{10} 'the manifold wisdom of God' (ἡ πολυποίκιλος σοφία, the only occurrence of this word in NT. See Abbott, *in loc.*). But elsewhere the word means no more than 'many,' Neh $9^{19.27}$ 'manifold mercies' (רַבִּים, LXX πολλοί); Am 5^{12} 'manifold transgressions' (רַבִּים, LXX πολλοί); Ps 104^{24} 'How manifold are thy works' (מָה־רַבּוּ; LXX ὡς ἐμεγαλύνθη; Vulg. *quam magnificata*); Sir 51^{3} 'from the manifold afflictions which I had' (ἐκ πλειόνων θλίψεων).

In Lk 18^{30} 'manifold' is an adv., 'There is no man that hath left house . . . who shall not receive manifold more' (πολλαπλασίονα, Vulg. *multo plura*; Wyc. 'many mo thingis'; Tind. 'moche moore,' and all VSS till the Bishops 'manifold more'). The adv. 'manifoldly' is used in Rhem. NT,

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* The adj. attached to these temptations, says Salmond (*Pop. Com. on NT*, iv. 158), is used in the classics to describe the *many-coloured* leopard or peacock, the colour-changing Proteus, the richly-wrought robe or carpet, the changeful months, the intricate oracles. What a picture does this epithet 'manifold,' which is applied by St. Peter also to the grace of God (4^{10}), by St. James again to temptation (1^{2}), and elsewhere to such things as the *divers diseases* healed by Christ (Mt 4^{24}), present of the number, the diversity, and the changefulness of these trials!

Mt 27^{heading} 'The chiefe of the Iewes accuse him to Pilate (his betrayer, and the Iudge, and the Iudge's Wife, testifying in the meane time manifodly (*sic*) his innocencie).' J. HASTINGS.

MANIUS, AV MANLIUS (Μάνιος A and V, Syr.; Μάνλιος al., *Manilius* Vulg.).—According to 2 Mac 11^{34-38} Quintus Memmius and Titus Manius were two Roman legates (πρεσβῦται) in the East, who sent a letter to the Jews after the first campaign of Lysias (B.C. 163), confirming the concessions made by the Syrian chancellor. But there are many reasons against accepting as genuine either this letter or the three others contained in the same chapter. From 1 Mac 4^{26-35} it appears that the first expedition of Lysias took place in B.C. 165, before the re-dedication of the temple and the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. No mention is there made of negotiations between the Jews and Lysias, who is simply stated to have returned to Antioch to collect new forces. The supposed concessions seem to rest upon a confusion of this expedition with a second, which took place about three years later. The names given to the Roman commissioners raise further difficulties. Polybius records the names of several Roman *legati* in Asia about this period, but neither Q. Memmius nor T. Manius is to be found among them. Possibly one of the persons intended was Manius Sergius, who, with C. Sulpicius, was sent to Syria shortly before the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (Polyb. XXXI. ix. 6, cf. xii. 9, xxiii. 9). It is, moreover, a suspicious circumstance that the date of the supposed Roman letter should be exactly the same as that of the letter of Eupator (15th of Xanthicus, v.^{33}), and that the year should be given according to the Seleucid era. Finally, we learn from 1 Mac 8 that Judas Maccabæus first entered into communication with the Romans after the landing of Demetrius (B.C. 162) and the death of Nicanor. It is, no doubt, possible that some foundation of fact underlies the correspondence contained in 2 Mac 11, but in their present form and present connexion none of the letters can be regarded as historical. (Cf. Rawlinson and Zöckler, *ad loc.*).

H. A. WHITE.

MANKIND.—In Lv 18^{22} 20^{13} 'mankind' means men as opposed to women, the male sex. Cf. Shaks. *Timon of Athens*, IV. iii. 491—

> 'I love thee,
> Because thou art a woman, and disclaim'st
> Flinty mankind.'

MANLY, MANLINESS.—'Manly' occurs once as an adj. (2 Mac 7^{21} 'with a manly stomach,' ἄρσενι θυμῷ, RV 'with manly passion'), and once as an adv. (2 Mac 10^{35} 'Twenty young men . . . assaulted the wall manly,' ἀῤῥενωδῶς, RV 'with masculine force'). 'Manliness' is used in 1 Mac 4^{35}, 2 Mac 8^{7} 14^{18} of the valour of soldiers in battle.

MANNA (מָן *mân*; LXX μάννα; Vulg. *man, manhu, manna*).—A substance which fell along with the dew, or was rained around the Hebrews' camp during their 40 years' wilderness life. It was in flakes or small round grains, like hoarfrost, white, in appearance like coriander seed or bdellium, and in taste was like thin flour-cakes with honey, or like fresh oil (Ex $16^{14.\ 15.\ 31}$, Nu $11^{7.\ 8}$). It was gathered every morning except on Sabbath, and a double portion on Friday morning. If kept overnight it became corrupt, and bred worms, except on the Sabbath day. The supply continued until they came to a land inhabited, to the border of Canaan, Ex 16^{36} (P); or until they reached Gilgal, in the plain of Jericho, and ate the old corn of the land, Jos 5^{12} (JE). During this time it was the chief part of their diet, but not their only food (Lv $8^{2.\ 26.\ 31}$ 9^{4} 10^{12} 24^{5}, Nu $7^{13.\ 19\text{ff.}}$, Dt 2^{6}, Jos 1^{11}). It is said to owe its name to the question מָן הוּא *mān hū*, 'what [*] is it?' v.^{15} (E), asked by the people when it fell. For Egyptian affinities of the word, see Brugsch, *HWB* vi. 606; Ebers, *Gosen*, 236. As a perpetual memorial of this provision, Aaron was told to place a *ẓinẓeneth* (pot or basket) full of it before the Testimony (Ex 16^{33}), which was in the ark (25^{16}). This vessel was of gold, He 9^{4}, but was not itself in the ark as there stated (see 1 K 8^{9}). The manna is mentioned also in Neh 9^{20}, and in Ps 78^{24}, where it is called the 'corn of heaven' and the 'bread of the mighty.'

Our Lord speaks of the manna as typical of Himself, the true bread from heaven, conferring immortality on those who spiritually become partakers of His grace, Jn $6^{31.\ 33-63}$. St. Paul calls it 'spiritual meat,' and seems to regard it and the stream from the smitten rock as a type of the Eucharist (1 Co $10^{3\text{f.}}$). The 'hidden manna' is one of the rewards of 'him that overcometh,' Rev 2^{17}.

A sweet, semifluid substance called *mann* or *mann es-samâ* ('heavenly manna') exudes in drops from the *tārfâ* tree (*Tamarix mannifera*, Ehr.), the אשל of the Hebrews, when it is punctured by an insect, *Gossyparia mannipara* (Hardwicke, *Asiat. Research*, xiv. 182, also Ehrenberg, but doubted by Ritter). This is collected in the desert by Arabs, and sold to pilgrims. A second kind, the *terengabina* of Ibn Sina, is yielded by a thorny leguminous shrub, *Alhagi Camelorum*, Fisch., and other allied species in Arabia and neighbouring countries. A third sort, the *Sirachosta* of the Arabians, is yielded by *Cotoneaster nummularia* in Herat (Haussknecht). Niebuhr describes a kind found on oaks, called *'afs* or *ballôt*, at Mardîn in Digarbekr. This oak-honey is mentioned by Hesiod, *Op. et Di.* v. 230 f., and Ovid, *Met.* i. 112. For stories of manna found on the ground in open places, not dropping from plants, see Athenæus, *Deipnos.* xi. 102, and Wellsted, *Arabia*, ii. 409.

The manna of commerce (not now in the Pharmacopœia) is a sickly-smelling, sweet, laxative exudation from the flowering ash *Fraxinus Ornus*, L., and *F. rotundifolia*, and mostly comes from Calabria. None of these could be the manna of Exodus, which was a miraculous substance. These only flow in small quantities, and all the tamarisks in the desert could not have yielded the daily provision of more than 300 tons. They only flow at special seasons—May to August (Burckhardt), or August and September (Breydenbach, *Reissbuch*, i. 193). They are physiologically insufficient as food, can keep indefinitely, and could not be cooked as the manna was. The Sabbatic intermission and final cessation likewise show that it was not a natural substance; besides, while it could be ground in mills, beaten in mortars, seethed in pots, or baked by artificial heat into cakes, yet, if not gathered, it volatilized in the heat of the sun.

LITERATURE.—The old authors are quoted and summarized in Fabri, *Historia Mannæ*, in Fabri and Reiske's *Opusc. Med. Arab.* 1776, p. 83, and Reinke, *Beiträge zur Erklärung d. Alt. Test.* v. 305. See also Rosenmüller, *Alterthumskunde*, iv. 316, and Curmann's account given by Oedmann, *Vermischte Sammlungen aus der Naturkunde*, vi. 7; cf. also Wellsted, Burckhardt, Ehrenberg (who figures the *tarfâ*), and Forskål.

A. MACALISTER.

MANNER.—The word 'manner,' to be traced back to Lat. *manus*, the hand, may be said to be originally the way of handling or managing a thing. Its uses in AV are sometimes obsolete, more often archaic and misleading.

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[*] Properly 'who'?, as is pointed out by Dillm.-Ryssel, *Ex-Lv*, p. 189, and Hommel, *AHT* 276^{a}. The argument of the latter, that *mān* (Arab. مَنْ) *hū* proves that the early Hebrews spoke a pure Arabian dialect, is dealt with in *Expos. Times*, ix. p. 478, by Ed. König, who doubts whether *mān hū* was originally meant to be a question. It might be an imitation of an Egyp. word *mannu* (so Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*^{2}, 236 f.).

1. *Method of action, way*, as Mt 6^{9} 'After this manner therefore pray ye' (οὕτως); Lk 6^{23} 'In the like manner did their fathers unto the prophets' (κατὰ ταῦτα, edd. κατὰ τὰ αὐτά); He 1^{1} 'in divers manners' (πολυτρόπως).

2. *Habitual method of action, custom*, as Ru 4^{7} 'This was the manner in former time in Israel concerning redeeming' (RV 'custom'); Am 8^{14} 'They that swear by the sin of Samaria, and say, Thy god, O Dan, liveth; and, The manner of Beer-sheba liveth' (דֶּרֶךְ בְּאֵר־שָׁבַע; RV 'the way of Beersheba,' RVm 'the manner');[*] 2 Mac 4^{13} 'Such was the height of Greek fashions, and increase of heathenish manners' (πρόσβασις ἀλλοφυλισμοῦ, RV 'an advance of an alien religion'); 6^{9} 'Whoso would not conform themselves to the manners of the Gentiles should be put to death' (μεταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἑλληνικά; RV 'go over to the Greek rites').

3. Sometimes it is custom in its origin, the regulation, or ordinance that afterwards becomes fixed as habit. Thus מִשְׁפָּט is often tr. 'manner,' when RV prefers 'ordinance' in Lv 5^{10} 7^{23} 9^{16}, Nu 9^{14} $15^{16.\ 24}$ $29^{6.\ 18.\ 21.\ 24.\ 27.\ 30.\ 33.\ 37}$, 1 Ch 24^{19}, 2 Ch 4^{20}, Neh 8^{18}; 'order' in 2 Ch 30^{16}; 'judgement' in Ezk $23^{45\ \textit{bis}}$; and leaves the rest unchanged (Gn 40^{13}, Ex 21^{9}, Lv 24^{22}, Jos 6^{15}, Jg 18^{7}, 1 S $8^{9.\ 11}$ 10^{25}, 1 K 18^{28}, 2 K 1^{7} 11^{14} $17^{26\ \textit{bis}.\ 27.\ 33.\ 40}$, Jer 30^{18}). See also 2 S 7^{19} 'And is this the manner of man, O Lord God?' (תּוֹרַת הָאָדָם, AVm 'the law of man,' RV 'and this too after the manner of men,' RVm 'and is this the law of man?')[†]; Est 2^{12} 'according to the manner of the women' (כְּדָת הַנָּשִׁים, RV 'according to the law for the women'); Ac 22^{3} 'Taught according to the perfect manner of the law of the fathers' (κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ πατρῴου νόμου, RV 'according to the strict manner of the law,' lit. 'the strictness of the law'; it is the only occurrence of ἀκρίβεια in NT). Cf. Tindale's tr. of Nu 15^{24} 'All the multitude shall offer a calfe for a burntofferynge to be a swete savoure unto the Lorde, and the meatofferynge and the drynkofferynge there to, accordynge to the maner'; and of 19^{10} 'And this shalbe unto the childern of Israel and unto the straunger that dwelleth amonge them, a maner for ever.'

4. *Personal behaviour, conduct*, as Sir 31^{17} 'Leave off first for manner's sake' (χάριν παιδείας); 2 Mac 5^{22} 'He left governors . . . at Jerusalem, Philip . . . for manners more barbarous, than he that set him there' (τὸν δὲ τρόπον, RV 'in character'); Ac 13^{18} 'And about the time of forty years suffered he their manners in the wilderness' (AVm 'Gr. ἐτροποφόρησεν, perhaps for ἐτροφοφόρησεν [*bore or fed them*] *as a nurse beareth* or *feedeth her child*, Dt 1^{31}'; RVm 'many ancient authorities read *bare he them as a nursing-father in the wilderness*, see Dt 1^{31}')[*]; 26^{4} 'My manner of life from my youth . . . know all the Jews' (βίωσις); 2 Ti 3^{10} 'But thou hast fully known my doctrine, manner of life' (ἀγωγή, RV 'conduct'). In this sense RV uses 'manner of life' as the tr. of ἀναστροφή in most of its occurrences for AV 'conversation' or the like. Cf. Jg 13^{12} Cov. 'What shal be the maner and worke of the childe?'

5. There are two passages in which the meaning is more clearly *ethical conduct, morals*, 2 Es 9^{19} 'Now the manners of them which are created in this world that is made are corrupted' (*corrupti sunt mores eorum*); 1 Co 15^{33} 'Evil communications corrupt good manners' (ἤθη χρήσθ' [χρηστά]). Cf. Knox, *Hist.* 318, 'And wonder not, Madame, that I call Rome an Harlot; for that Church is altogether polluted with all kinde of Spiritual Fornication, as well in Doctrine, as in manners'; and Calderwood, *Hist.* 107, 'Their [the Elders'] office is as well severally, as conjunctly, to watch diligently over the flock committed to their charge, both publickly and privately, that no corruption of Religion or manners enter therein.'

6. A thing which is done in a certain way is of a certain kind, and the commonest meaning of 'manner' in AV is *sort* or *kind*, as Gn 25^{23} 'Two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels'; Ex 22^{9} 'For all manner of trespass . . . or for any manner of lost thing . . . he shall pay double unto his neighbour'; Jg 8^{18} 'What manner of men were they whom ye slew at Tabor?' Dn 6^{23} 'no manner of hurt was found upon him'; Sir 37^{18} 'Four manner of things appear: good and evil, life and death'; 2 Co 7^{9} 'ye were made sorry after a godly manner' (RV 'after a godly sort'); 1 P 1^{11} 'Searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify'; 2 P 3^{11} 'what manner of persons ought ye to be'; 1 Jn 3^{1} 'what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us.' So Berners' *Froissart*, xviii., 'The king gave licence to all manner of people, every man to draw homeward to their own countries'; Tindale, *Pent.* (Prologe to Lv) 'The popettes and xx maner of tryfles which mothers permitte unto their yonge children be not all in vayne'; Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 383, 'Experience whereof commeth wysedome is in two maner of wise.' In all these examples 'manner' is sing., being used as the words 'kind' and 'sort' are used still. Cf. Shaks. *Lear*, II. ii. 96, 'These kind of knaves.' For there is a doubt in the mind whether the word is a subst. or an adj. Hence the connecting word 'of' was frequently omitted, as in Tindale's tr. of Gn 2^{19}, 'And after that the Lorde God had make of the erth all maner beastes of the felde and all maner foules of the ayre, he brought them unto Adam to see what he wold call them'; and of Lk 4^{36} 'And feare came on them all, and they spake amonge them selves sayinge: what manner a thinge is this'; and on 1 Jn 4^{18} he says, 'John speaketh not generally of all manner fear, but of that only

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[*] This passage is obscure. The Heb. word is the usual one for a way or path, and so Driver takes it here, quoting from G. A. Smith and Doughty as to the Arabic custom of swearing by the way to a place. This is apparently the tr. of Vulg. *Vivit Deus tuus Dan et vivit via Bersabee*, and of Wyc. 'the waye of Bersabe lyveth,' and of Douay. Coverdale and the Bishops follow the LXX (καὶ ζῇ ὁ θεός σου, Βηρσάβεε), thus Cov. 'as truly as thy God lyveth at Bersaba.' The AV tr. is from the Gen. version, which has the marg. 'That is, the commune maner of worshiping and the service or religion there used.' Thus the meaning of AV is 'manner of worship,' 'cult,' and that meaning W. R. Smith favours, though doubtfully (*RS*^{2} 182), 'In Am 8^{14} there is mention of an oath by the way (ritual?) of Beersheba.' See BEERSHEBA. The Heb. word *derek* is frequently tr^{d} 'manner' in AV, in the sense of *custom*, once in Amos (4^{10} 'I have sent among you the pestilence after the manner of Egypt').

[†] Kirkpatrick (*Expos.* iii. [1886] 358 f.) explains the AV text, 'Thou dost condescend to speak familiarly with me, as man speaks to man.' It is the rendering of Ges. and others. But there is no other passage in which *tôrâh* has the meaning of 'manner.' The literal tr. is given in AVm, and is found in Wyc. and Cov. The Gen. and Bish. have 'Doeth this apperteine to man?' Driver says that as the text stands the best explanation is that of Hengst. and Keil, 'to evince such regard for me is in accordance with the law prescribed by God to regulate men's dealings with one another; displayed by *God* it argues unwonted condescension and affection.' But he considers the text probably corrupt (*Notes on Sam.* p. 213), and H. P. Smith counts it certainly corrupt (*Intern. Com. on Sam.* p. 302).

[*] The TR ἐτροποφόρησεν is best attested (ℵBC^{2}DHLP, as against AC^{1}E for ἐτροφοφόρησεν). In the original passage Dt 1^{31} there is also uncertainty of reading. The decision between the two readings, though they yield such different meanings, must be mainly due to the view taken of the context. Page and Rendall take opposite sides—the former thinking that the apostle is dwelling, not on the *perversity* of Israel, but on the care and affection of God for them, so that ἐτροφ. is clearly required here as well as in Dt 1^{31}; the latter holding that ἐτροπ., correctly rendered 'suffered their manners,' agrees entirely with the context and the circumstances, 'for it exactly describes God's longsuffering with a perverse and rebellious generation.' Perhaps the strongest argument against ἐτροφ. is that it is doubtful if τροφοφορεῖν means simply 'carry.' It is rather 'give suck.' Rendall further urges that in Dt 1^{31} we should expect τέκνον, not υἱόν.

which the conscience of sin putteth a man in.' So Spenser, *FQ* II. xii. 70—

> 'Right hard it was for wight which did it heare
> To read what manner musicke that mote bee.'

In AV 1611 this construction occurs in Lv 7[23] 'Ye shall eat no maner fat of oxe'; 14[54] 'This is the law for all manner plague of leprosie and skall'; and Rev 18[13] 'all maner vessels of Yuorie, and all maner vessels of most precious wood'; but modern editions have retained it only in the last passage.

The phrase 'in a manner' is found in 1 S 21[5] '*the bread is* in a manner common.' The passage is a particularly difficult one. W. R. Smith (*RS*[2] 455) translates: 'Nay, but women are forbidden to us as has always been my rule when I go on an expedition, so that the gear (clothes, arms, etc.) of the young men is holy even when it is a common (not a sacred) journey; how much more so when [Pr 21[27]] to-day they will be consecrated, gear and all.' Driver (*Notes on Samuel*, p. 138 f.), on the whole, favours the rendering of AV, which makes the 'vessels' to be the wallets or utensils in which they carried food, and represents David as saying that these vessels being ceremonially clean could not defile the sacred bread put into them. But he does not regard the interpretation as certain, or the text as free from suspicion. H. P. Smith (*Intern. Com. on Sam.*) is more suspicious of the text. He agrees with others that to David war was sacred, peace secular ('common'), but he sees no occasion David had for saying that now he was on a peaceable expedition. Rather, David says his men and their vessels were consecrated for war, and therefore, even if the bread were common, it would be consecrated by the vessels into which it was to be put. For the Eng. phrase, which means 'in some respect,' 'to a certain extent,' cf. Shaks. *K. John*, v. vii. 89—'Nay, it is in a manner done already'; and Beaumont and Fletcher, *Laws of Candy*, I. i.—

> 'Tis not a time to pity passionate griefs,
> When a whole kingdom in a manner lies
> Upon its death-bed bleeding.'

More obscure is the phrase 'with the manner' found in Nu 5[13] 'If a man's wife go aside, and commit a trespass against him . . . and there be no witness against her, neither she be taken with the manner' (RV 'in the act'). The RV gives the modern equivalent of the phrase, which is a legal one. In Old Eng. the word is in this phrase spelt *mainour* (from Fr. *manier*, to take with the hand), and for a thief to be 'taken with the manner' is with the stolen goods about him. The phrase in AV comes from Tindale, who also uses it in *Expositions* (Prol. to 1 Jn), p. 142, 'Ye have corrupt the open scripture before our eyes, and are taken with the manner.' So Shaks. *1 Henry IV.* II. iv. 347—'O villain, thou stolest a cup of sack eighteen years ago, and wert taken with the manner, and ever since thou hast blushed extempore'; and *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. i. 205, 'The manner of it is, I was taken with the manner.' Sometimes the phrase is 'in the manner,' as Hall, *Works*, ii. 190, 'But, O foolish sinners, all your packing and secrecy cannot so contrive it, but that ye shall be taken in the manner.' J. HASTINGS.

MANOAH (מָנוֹחַ, Μανῶε, Μανώχης [Jos.], *Manue*).—A native of Zorah, of the Danites, whose wife had no children (Jg 13[2]). When it had been revealed to her by the angel of the LORD that she should have a son, who was to be brought up as a Nazirite, and to be a saviour for Israel from the Philistines, she told her husband of the vision, and of the instructions of the messenger (vv.[3-8]). Upon Manoah's entreaty, God sent the angel again to his wife as she sat in the field. She at once ran and fetched her husband, who received the same instructions about the child as his wife had done. Manoah invites the angel to stay and eat. He declines, but tells them to offer a burnt-offering to the LORD. Manoah did not know that he was an angel of the LORD, and asks him his name, but he will not reveal it, 'seeing it is ineffable' (vv.[9-18]). The offering is offered on the rock, and a wondrous sign is at once given.* The angel ascends in the flame of the sacrifice. Thereupon Manoah and his wife fall on their faces to the ground, and Manoah realizes that he has seen an angel of the LORD. Manoah is greatly alarmed, but his wife comforts him (vv.[19-23]).

Josephus (*Ant.* v. viii. 1–3) decorates the narrative, but adds nothing to our knowledge. When the promised son has grown up, he asks his father as well as his mother to obtain for him as his wife a woman of Timnah, but they are much displeased; still Samson persists in the request to his father, who was the proper person to make the proposal for the marriage (see Gn 34[4]). Overruled by him, they went down to Timnah, and some time later Manoah accompanied his son to the wedding-feast.

Manoah seems to have died before his son, and 'the burying-place of Manoah' is mentioned as the place of burial of Samson (Jg 16[31]). It has been questioned whether Manoah really after all took part in the marriage of Samson, and some have looked upon this as an interpolation (see Moore's *Judges*, pp. 329, 330). The 'Menuhoth' and 'Manahathites' of 1 Ch 2[52-54] are connected with Manoah, the latter being called also Zorites.

H. A. REDPATH.

MANSION (Lat. *maneo* to stay, *mansio* a staying, place of abode, Old Fr. *mansion* a dwelling-place, abode; 'manse' and 'manor' are of the same origin, the one directly from Lat., the other through the Fr. *manoir*).—A mansion is primarily any kind of dwelling-place, as in Milton, *Il Pens.* 92—

> 'To unfold
> What worlds or what vast regions hold
> The immortal mind, that hath forsook
> Her mansion in this fleshly nook.'

Especially a place to abide in permanently, as T. Adams on 2 P 1[4] 'Worldly things are but a tabernacle, a movable; heaven is a mansion.' Cf. Shaks. *Timon*, v. i. 218—

> 'Timon hath made his everlasting mansion
> Upon the beached verge of the salt flood.'

Later it came to signify a house of some grandeur, which is its modern meaning.

In AV 'mansion' occurs only Jn 14[2] 'In my Father's house are many mansions' (*μοναί*, RVm 'abiding places'). The tr. is Tindale's (perhaps suggested by Vulg. *mansiones*; but neither Wyc. nor Rhem. uses the word); Cov. chose 'dwellinges' (which was Wyclif's word), the Gen. and the Bishops' Bible 'dwelling places,' but the rest followed Tindale. It is curious, however, that in 14[23], the only other place in NT where *μονή* is found, no version gives 'mansion'; some tr. by a verb 'dwell,' others use 'dwelling,' Rhem., AV, and RV 'abode.'

What is the *μονή*? It is clear that in both passages its meaning is the same, and the simplest meaning is the best—an abode or dwelling. In Jn 14[23] Jesus says, 'If a man love me, he will keep my word: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.' Where the man may be is of no account. Wherever he is and loves, there the Father and the Son have their abode παρ' αὐτῷ beside him—in his conscious presence. Cf. Lk 1[30] 'Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found favour with God' (παρὰ τῷ θεῷ). That after Tindale's tr. the word should be applied to heaven was natural, since that is the meaning that has been almost always given to 'my Father's house.' But there is nothing in the word or in the context to suggest rooms in heaven; still less Westcott's idea of 'stations' or temporary resting-places on a road. For the application of the word 'mansion' to heaven see *Rhem. NT*, note on Lk 16[9] 'yea and that they be in such favour with God, that they may and doe receive their frendes which were once their benefactors, into their mansions in heaven, no less then the farmers whom the il steward pleasured, might receive their freend into their earthly houses'; and Adams, *Works*, i. 68, 'It is small comfort to the harbourless wretch to pass through a goodly city, and see many glorious buildings, when he cannot say, *Hæc mea domus*, I have a place here. The beauty of that excellent city Jerusalem, . . . affords a soul no comfort, unless he can say, *mea civitas*, I have a mansion in it.' But the word was still free enough to let Milton use it of hell, as in *PL* i. 268—

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* In v.[19] the MT וּמַפְלִא לַעֲשׂוֹת, from which it is impossible to obtain the EV tr[n], 'and (the angel) did wondrously,' is manifestly corrupt. While B reads καὶ διεχώρισεν ποιῆσαι, A has τῷ θαυμαστὰ ποιοῦντι Κυρίῳ (cf. Vulg. *Domino mirabilia facienti*). Perhaps we ought to restore the text accordingly, לַיהוה הַמַּפְלִא לַעֲשׂוֹת, 'to J[″] who worketh wonderfully' (so Moore).

> 'But wherefore let we then our faithful friends,
> The associates and co-partners of our loss,
> Lie thus astonished on the oblivious pool,
> And call them not to share with us their part
> In this unhappy mansion, or once more
> With rallied arms to try what may be yet
> Regained in Heaven, or what more lost in Hell?'

J. HASTINGS.

MANSLAYER.—In Nu 35^{6. 12} AV uses 'manslayer' for the person who unwittingly causes another's death. Elsewhere for the same Heb. and in this sense (רוֹצֵחַ or רֹצֵחַ, ptcp. of רָצַח to murder) AV gives 'slayer' or 'murderer,' RV always 'manslayer.' The word 'manslayer' is used also in 1 Ti 1^9 as tr. of *ἀνδροφόνος* in its only occurrence. The mod. word is 'homicide,' but there was no difference in meaning between 'manslayer' when it was in use and 'murderer.' Thus Jn 8^{44} Wyc. 'ye ben of the fadir, the devel, and ye wolen do the desyris of youre fadir. He was a mansleere fro the bigynnyng'; and Udal, *Erasmus' Paraphrase*, ii. fol. 278, 'Whosoever hateth hys brother is a man slear. And ye knowe that no man slear hath eternal life abiding in hym.' Other forms were *mankiller*, as the Rhem. tr. of Jn 8^{44} 'he was a mankiller from the beginning,' and of Ac 3^{14} 'But you denied the holy and the just one, and asked a mankiller to be given unto you'; and *manqueller*: thus, the marg. note in Matthews' Bible to Dt 19^4 is, 'Here are shewed ii maner of manquelling, one done wyllyngly and of set purpose, the other unwyllinglye; for even he that kylleth with the hande maye before God be no manquellare: and agayne he that is angrye and envyeth althoughe he kyll not wyth the hande, cannot but be a manslear before God: because he wylleth hys neyghboure evyll.' See GOEL, REFUGE (CITIES OF).

Manslaughter is perhaps more general, but not, as now, carefully distinguished from murder: 2 Es 1^{26} 'ye have defiled your hands with blood, and your feet are swift to commit manslaughter' (*homicidia*); Wis 14^{25} (*φόνος*, RV 'murder'). Cf. Milton, *PL* xi. 693—

> 'To overcome in battle, and subdue
> Nations, and bring home spoils with infinite
> Man-slaughter, shall be held the highest pitch
> Of human glory.'

J. HASTINGS.

MAN-STEALING.—In Ex 21^{16} (Book of the Covenant, JE) the law is laid down, 'he that stealeth a man (גֹּנֵב אִישׁ) and selleth him, or (וְ) if he be found in his hand, shall surely be put to death.' In Dt 24^7 this enactment is repeated in Deuteronomic language, and the general term אִישׁ is restricted to Israelites (נֶפֶשׁ מֵאֶחָיו מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל), a restriction which is introduced even in Ex by Targ. Onk. and LXX (*τινὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ*). The penalty of death is to be inflicted in either of two events,—if the kidnapped Israelite is retained as a slave by his fellow-countryman, or if (which would happen more frequently) he is sold into slavery in a foreign land (cf. the story of Joseph, Gn $37^{25b. 26. 27. 28b}$ [J]). The LXX and Vulg., indeed, understand the words וְנִמְצָא בְיָדוֹ in Ex 21^{16} differently from EV, rendering respectively *καὶ ἐὰν εὑρεθῇ ἐν αὐτῷ*, and *convictus noxæ*, but there can be little doubt that 'if *he* be found in his hand' is the correct sense. This is confirmed by Dt 24^7 וְהִתְעַמֶּר־בּוֹ, 'if he play the master over him' (Driver); LXX *καὶ καταδυναστεύσας*.

The aggravated nature of the offence of one Israelite selling another into foreign slavery is insisted upon by Philo (*de Leg. Spec.* ii. 338, ed. Mang.). The facilities afforded for the slave trade (the Edomites, the Philistines, the Phœnicians, the Greeks, etc., were ready purchasers, cf. Ezk 27^{13}, Am 1^6, Jl 3^{4-6}), and its lucrative character, necessitated the prohibition of kidnapping a fellow-Israelite on pain of death (inflicted, according to *Sanhed.* xi. 1, by strangulation). A similar law was in force amongst the Athenians (Xen. *Mem.* I. ii. 62: *ἐάν τις φανερὸς γένηται ἀνδραποδιζόμενος, τουτῷ θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν*).

In the list of those for 'whom the law is made' (1 Ti $1^{10f.}$) are specified men-stealers (*ἀνδραποδισταί*).

J. A. SELBIE.

MANTELET (סֹכֵךְ, AV 'defence'; LXX *τὰς προφυλακάς*; Vulg. *umbraculum*).—The only occurrence of this word is in Nah 2^5 [Heb. ^{6}], in the (ideal) description of the siege and fall of Nineveh. The Heb. term comes from the root סכך 'to cover *or* protect' (hence AVm 'covering'). In all probability Nahum refers to some engine of war, such as a siege tower or a *vinea* or *testudo* under cover of which the battering-ram (which see) was worked. The context appears to require that the סֹכֵךְ belong to the assailants, not to the defenders. See Wellh., Nowack, and especially A. B. Davidson, *ad loc.*

The Eng. word is formed by adding the dimin. suffix *et* to the word 'mantel,' which in that spelling is now used for the shelf over a fireplace, but it is really the same word as 'mantle,' a cloak. The origin is unknown, but the meaning is always 'covering.'

J. A. SELBIE.

MANTLE.—**1.** אַדֶּרֶת* *'addereth*, from a root [אדר] 'to be wide,' wideness being apparently the characteristic feature of this article of attire, which is rarely mentioned, and generally, if not always, as a robe of office or state. On its possible form (which there are not sufficient data in Scripture to determine) see art. DRESS in vol. i. p. 625^b. The name is used 5 times (1 K $19^{13. 19}$, 2 K $2^{8. 13. 14}$) of Elijah's 'mantle' (AV, RV), which was probably of hair,† and appears to have been copied by succeeding prophets‡ (cf. Zec 13^4 [אַדֶּרֶת שֵׂעָר § 'a hairy mantle'; AV 'a rough garment'], and what we are told in Mt 3^4, Mk 1^6 of John the Baptist). A Babylonish mantle (lit. 'mantle of Shinar' 'אַדֶּרֶת שִׁנְעָר) was one of the articles appropriated by Achan from the spoil of Jericho, Jos $7^{21. 24}$. See BABYLONISH GARMENT. The king of Nineveh laid aside his אַדֶּרֶת and put on sackcloth when the news of Jonah's proclamation reached him, Jon 3^6.

2. מַעֲטָפוֹת once only, Is 3^{22} (where both AV and RV have 'mantles'). The article of dress referred to is probably (Dillm. compares Arab. *ʿiṭâf, miʿṭaf*) an upper wide tunic (*kĕthôneth*) with sleeves (so Siegfried-Stade—'*die obere Tunika*').

3. מְעִיל 1 S 15^{27} 28^{14}, Ezr $9^{3. 5}$, Job 1^{20} 2^{12}, Ps 109^{29}. In all these passages AV has 'mantle'; in the first two RV has 'robe,' which is read in the whole of them by Amer. RV, and is generally given elsewhere by AV as tr^{n} of מְעִיל (*e.g.* Ex $28^{4. 31. 34}$ and oft., Lv 8^7, 1 S 18^4, Ezk 26^{16}). This article of dress is fully described in vol. i. p. 625^a.

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[*] אֶדֶר in Mic 2^8 may be a textual error for אַדֶּרֶת, the ת having been lost before the following ת (so *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* and Siegfried-Stade). Wellh. and Nowack pronounce the text hopelessly corrupt.

[†] The LXX has in Kings *μηλωτή*, 'sheepskin'; in Zec 13^4 *δέῤῥις*, 'leathern coat'; in Gn 25^{25}, Mic 2^8 *δορά*, 'hide'; in Jos 7^{21} *ψιλὴ ποικίλη*; in Jon 3^6 *στολή*.

[‡] In Zec 11^3 it is uncertain whether אַדֶּרֶת should be taken in the sense of 'glory,' 'magnificence' (cf. its use in Ezk 17^8, unless here it is an adjective fem. from אַדִּיר, and the use of אֶדֶר in Zec 11^{13}), or of 'mantle,' the shepherds being false prophets. Nowack emends אַדַּרְתָּם to כְּרְעִתָם 'their pasture.'

[§] The same Heb. expression is used in Gn 25^{25}, where Esau's appearance is compared to that of a hairy mantle (AV and RV 'garment').

4. שְׂמִיכָה (B *ἐπιβόλαιον*, A and Luc. *δέῤῥις*) occurs once only, Jg 4^{18}, of the article with which Jael covered Sisera. AV has 'mantle,' RV 'rug,' AVm 'rug *or* blanket.' Either 'rug' or 'tent-curtain' is probably the meaning. See notes of Moore and Budde, *ad loc.*

In addition to the above, RV introduces 'mantle' in (*a*) Ru 3^{15} (AV 'vail'; AVm 'sheet *or* apron') as trⁿ of מִטְפַּחַת, which in the pl. מִטְפָּחוֹת is rendered by AV 'wimples' and RV 'shawls' in Is 3^{22}, the only other occurrence of the Heb. word. The root [טפח] means 'to extend *or* spread.' Dillm. (on Is 3^{22}) and Bertholet (on Ru 3^{15}) give 'shawl'; *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* 'cloak'; Siegfried-Stade 'plaid'; LXX has in Ru *περίζωμα*. See also art. DRESS in vol. i. p. 627^b.

(*b*) The 'veil' of AV (so also RVm) is changed by RV into 'mantle' in Ca 5^7, although it translates the same Heb. word רְדִיד 'veil' in Is 3^{23}, its only other occurrence. LXX has in Ca 5^7 *θέριστρον*, which denotes a light kind of veil. Budde and Siegfried (in their *Comm.* on Ca) both think that an '*Ueberwurf*' rather than a veil suits the context. The bride in escaping leaves her רְדִיד in the hands of her captors (cf. Mk $14^{51. 52}$). But see art. DRESS in vol. i. p. 627^b.

(*c*) In Dn 3^{21} RV tr. כַּרְבְּלָתְהוֹן 'their mantles' (AV 'hats'). See HAT.

(*d*) In He 1^{12}, which is a quotation from Ps 102^{26} [Heb. and Gr. ^{27}], RV substitutes 'mantle' for AV 'vesture' as trⁿ of *περιβόλαιον*, which in the LXX answers to לְבוּשׁ of MT. The Heb. word is rendered by both AV and RV 'vesture.' The only other NT occurrence of *περιβόλαιον* is 1 Co 11^{15}, where it is used of the 'covering' or 'veil' which nature supplies to a woman in her hair.

Once more, Amer. RV tr. מְעִיל in Is 59^{17} by 'mantle' (AV and RV 'cloke').

J. A. SELBIE.

MANUSCRIPTS.—See TEXT.

MAOCH (מָעוֹךְ; in 1 S, B Ἀμμάχ (=עמך by transposition for מעך), A Μωάβ; in 1 K, B Ἀμησά, A Μααχά).—The father of Achish king of Gath, under whom David took service when his life was threatened by Saul (1 S 27^2). He is probably to be identified with Maacah (wh. see), the father of Achish king of Gath, who is mentioned at the beginning of Solomon's reign (1 K 2^{39}). In favour of this view is the fact that the Peshiṭta reads ܡܥܟܐ (=Maacah) in both passages, while the Targum of Jonathan in each case preserves the shorter form מעוך (=Maoch).

J. F. STENNING.

MAON, MAONITES (מָעוֹן).—Mentioned among the oppressors of Israel before the time of Jephthah in Jg 10^{12}, a late passage, probably due to the post-exilic editor. For *Ma'on* LXX reads *Midian* (Pesh. *Ammon*, Vulg. *Chanaan*, Targ.=MT). Though accepted by many critics, the correction is suspiciously obvious; and it does not materially relieve the anachronisms that remain in the verse. The editor included Maon in his list of representative oppressors as being an enemy familiar to later times. Hommel (*AHT* 251, 272) suggests that the LXX reading is an explanatory gloss on *Ma'on*. In 1 K 11^{18} Thenius reads *Ma'on* for *Midian*; so Stade, *GVI* i. 302, but without sufficient reason, and with no support from the Versions.

The Maonites (Maon) are usually regarded as the same as the **Meunim**, 1 Ch 4^{41} (*Me'înim* Kerê), 2 Ch 20^1 (for *Ammonites* read *Me'ûnim*, LXX) 26^7. Their headquarters have been sought in Ma'ôn (Arab. Ma'ân), 4 hours S.E. of Petra, on the ancient caravan road from Damascus to Mecca; but all that can be gathered from the references above is that they inhabited the Edomite country, and were regarded by the Chronicler as Edomites. 2 Ch $20^{10. 23}$ refers to them as 'inhabitants of Mt. Seir': this would favour a connexion with Ma'ân. On the other hand, 1 Ch $4^{40. 41}$ rather points to a situation on the western side of Edom, where the country corresponds to the description in v.^{40}. Buhl, *Gesch. der Edomiter*, 42, n. 1, suggests a connexion between the Meunim and Mâyên, a place of wells, on the S.W. corner of the Edomite plateau. The Meunim are met with again among the Nethinim who returned from exile with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^{50} (LXX 1 Es 5^{31} *υἱοὶ* Μανεί, A Μαανί) =Neh 7^{52} (LXX 2 Es 17^{52} *υἱοὶ* Μεσεινώμ, A Μεεινώμ); it has been suggested that these were captives taken from the Meunim after their defeat by Jehoshaphat (2 Ch $20^{1. 22}$) or Uzziah (2 Ch 26^7), and relegated to menial service in the temple.

In Ch the LXX renders *Meunim* by Μ(ε)ιναῖοι (1 Ch 4^{41} Luc. Κιναῖοι), cf. also Job 2^{11} Σωφὰρ ὁ Μειναίων βασιλεύς. The Alexandrian translators probably intended to identify* the Meunim with the Arab tribe whom Pliny mentions as merchants in spices and incense (*Hist. Nat.* xii. 30), with their principal home in S. Arabia (Ḥaḍramaut). They are mentioned also by Eratosthenes (in Strabo, p. 768,† ed. Casaub.), in whose time they were the most northern of the four nations of Arabia, with their home by the Red Sea. This rendering of the LXX has suggested the theory that the Meunim belonged to the ancient kingdom of the Minæans, or more correctly Mainites, whose chief city was Ma'in in S. Arabia. So Halévy, Glaser (*Gesch. u. Geogr. Arabiens*, ii. 450), Hommel (*Aufsätze u. Abhandl.* 3, 5, and *AHT* 251, 272). See art. ARABIA in vol. i. p. 133. But the great antiquity of the kingdom of Ma'in (B.C. 1000) seems not to agree with the fact that in the OT the Meunim are found only in late writings. It may be that the Meunim were survivors of the kingdom of the Mainites, dwindled to a single tribe; but on the whole it seems safer to regard the Meunim simply as an Edomite tribe, and their connexion with the Mainites as not yet sufficiently established. See Sprenger, *ZDMG* xliv. 505; Buhl, *Gesch. d. Edomiter*, 40 ff.; Kittel, 'Chronicles' in *SBOT* 59.

The name *Maon* was given to several places in S. Palestine. Besides Maon near Petra, there was Maon near Hebron, Jos 15^{55}, 1 S $23^{24f.}$ 25^2 (Smith, *HGHL* 316), and [Beth]-baal-Meon on S.E. of Jordan, Nu 32^{38} (perhaps מעון for בעון Nu 32^3), Jos 13^{17}, Jer 48^{23}, Ezk 25^9, 1 Ch 5^8, Moabite Stone, ll. 9, 30. See Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 126 f. Hommel (*AHT* 273 f.) makes the suggestion that these places were named after the ancient Arabic kingdom of Ma'in, and marked the extent of its northern frontier.

G. A. COOKE.

MAR.—To 'mar' (from Anglo-Sax. *merran*, root *MAR*, seen in Gr. *μαραίνω*, to waste) is to damage or disfigure. It is the opposite of to 'make,' in opposition to which it is used still and is frequent in Shakespeare. Thus *Timon*, IV. ii. 41—

> 'For bounty, that makes gods, does still mar men.'

It is used in AV of land spoiled by mice (1 S 6^5),‡ and by stones (2 K 3^{19}), of a path or road destroyed (Job 30^{13}, RVm 'break up'), and of vine shoots spoilt by trampling down or plucking off (Nah 2^2). The potter's clay-vessel was marred in the turning (Jer 18^4), and old wine-skins are marred by pouring new wine into them (Mk 2^{22}, ἀπολοῦνται, RV 'perish'). Jeremiah's girdle was marred by being put into a damp hole (13^{7}), an illustration of the way in which J″ will disfigure the pride of Judah and Jerusalem (13^{9}). The visage of the servant of the Lord 'was so marred more than any man.' Cf. Milton, *PL* iv. 116, 'Which marred his borrowed visage,' and better, Shaks. *Jul. Cæsar*, III. ii. 201—

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* Μιναῖοι can hardly be a transliteration. Gentilic names in -αῖοι are formed from place-names in -α, *e.g.* Σαβαῖοι, Γεῤῥαῖοι. Thus Μιναῖοι presupposes Μινά, which can hardly be a transliteration of *Ma'ôn.*

† *κατοικεῖ δὲ τὰ μέγιστα τέτταρα ἔθνη τὴν ἐσχάτην λεχθεῖσαν χώραν, Μιναῖοι μὲν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν μέρει, πόλις δ' αὐτῶν ἡ μεγίστη* Κάρνα ἢ Κάρνανα; cf. p. 776.

‡ Cf. Tindale's tr. of Ex 8^{24} 'The londe was marred with flyes.'

> 'Kind souls, what, weep you when you but behold
> Our Cæsar's vesture wounded? Look you here,
> Here is himself, marr'd, as you see, with traitors.'

The Israelites were forbidden to mar the corners of their beard (Lv 19^{27}: it is Tindale's tr. 'Ye shall not rounde the lockes of youre heedes, nether shalt thou marre the tuftes of thy beerde'). The next of kin was afraid that if he married Ruth he should mar (the same Heb. as of the marring of the land by mice, and the taking down of Judah's pride) his inheritance (Ru 4^{6}). The full force of the word as used in AV will be seen from Ex 32^{8} Tind. 'the people which thou broughtest out of the lande of Egipte have marred all'; Jg 2^{19} Cov. 'Nevertheles, whan the judge dyed, they turned backe, and marred all more then their fathers'; and Rutherford, *Letters*, No. xxx. 'Madam, many eyes are upon you, and many would be glad your Ladyship should spill a Christian, and mar a good professor. Lord Jesus, mar their godless desires, and keep the conscience whole without a crack.'

J. HASTINGS.

MARA (מָרָא or מָרָה [so corrected by *Ḳerê*]; B Πικρά, A Πικρία).—The name which Naomi claimed for herself: 'Call me not Naomi ('pleasant'), call me Mara (*i.e.* bitter): for the Almighty hath dealt very bitterly with me' (Ru 1^{20}). The Latin is able to retain the play upon the words by the use of *Mara* (*id est amaram*). H. A. REDPATH.

MARAH (מָרָה).—The first station of the Israelites after crossing the sea, mentioned only Ex 15^{23} and Nu $33^{8.9}$, from which passages it appears that it was distant three days' journey from the place of crossing. The difficulty of locating the latter has been pointed out under EXODUS, vol. i. p. 803. If we assume that the passage was in the neighbourhood of Suez, then *Wādy Hawarah*, about 15 to 16 hours' camel-ride from 'the Wells of Moses' (nearly opposite Suez on the E. side of the Gulf of Suez) on the route to the convent of St. Katharine (the traditional Sinai), is a suitable identification. *Wādy Amara*, about 1½ hour N. of this, or *Wādy Ghurundel*, about 2 hours to the S., have also been suggested, though the last is generally considered to be Elim. If, on leaving Egypt, the Israelites went by the present *haj* route towards 'Akabah, then Marah must be somewhere on the plateau of the Tih (see EXODUS, ii.). If a more northerly position (near the Bitter Lakes) be assumed for the passage, then the position of Marah would not be far from the 'Wells of Moses,' and '*Ain Nâba* or *Gharkadeh*, about 1 hour to the N. of these wells, has been proposed. Brugsch's theory would place Marah in the neighbourhood of the Bitter Lakes. In the present state of our knowledge no identification can be made with any degree of probability. Descriptions of some of these sites are to be found in Robinson and Palmer.

The LXX gives for Marah in Ex 15^{23} Μερρά twice, but renders the word on its third occurrence by Πικρία, endeavouring to indicate the meaning of the Hebrew word (cf. Thiersch, *de Pent. Vers. Alex.* 31 ff.). In Nu $33^{8.9}$ it adopts the form Πικρίαι. The manner in which the Vulg. employs *amarus* is worth quoting: 'eo quod essent amara, unde et congruum loco nomen imposuit, vocans illum *Mara*, id est *amaritudinem*.'

A. T. CHAPMAN.

MARALAH (מַרְעֲלָה; B Μαραγελδά, A Μαριλά, Luc. Μαραλά).—A place on the west border of Zebulun, Jos 19^{11}. The Pesh. has *Rāmath-ta'le'*, 'height of the fox.' The site is quite uncertain. For conjectures see Dillm. *ad loc.* C. R. CONDER.

MARANATHA.—An expression used by the Apostle Paul in 1 Co 16^{22} 'If any man loveth not the Lord, let him be anathema maranatha.' It has somewhat perplexed the interpreters from early times quite down to the present. They have been puzzled to determine its connexion, its composition, and its significance. The early Greek expositors who attempt to explain it (as Chrysost. *Hom.* 44 on 1 Co, Migne, 61, x. col. 377; Theodoret in Migne, 82, iii. 373; John of Damascus, Migne, 95, ii. 705; Theophylact, Migne, 124, ii. 793, etc., down to Euthym. Zig. *ad loc.* vol. i. 369, Athens, 1887), together with the early lexicographers (as Hesychius, ed. Schmidt, iii. 71; Suidas, ed. Gaisford, 2397, etc.), generally agree in translating it 'The (or 'our') Lord came' or 'has come.' This rendering is corroborated by marginal annotations in one or two of the later MSS (see Tisch. *Nov. Test. Gr.*, ed. octava crit. maior, *ad loc.*); and with it agree, though amid some vacillation, the leading Lat. expositors also (as Jerome, *ad loc.*, Migne, 30, xi. 772; August., Migne, 33, vol. ii. 1161; Pseudo-Ambros. *ad loc.*, Migne, 17, iv. 276).

But the association of the expression with '*anathema*' seems to have led gradually to a minatory interpretation of it, so that the phrase thus formed came to be regarded as a kind of reduplicated commination, or a curse reinforced by a prayer. Traces of its official use in this sense may be found as far back at least as the 7th cent. (see F. Kober, *Der Kirchenbann*, Tübingen, 1857, p. 40 f.; du Cange, *Gloss. med. et infim. Lat.*, ed. L. Favre, 1885, vol. v. *s.v.*; compare Tertull. *de Pudicitia*, § 14, where, however, the reading is doubtful); indeed, a still earlier instance of this use is afforded by one of the two or three occurrences of the term which are all that have yet been met with in extra-biblical Greek. A sepulchral inscription, believed to be of the 4th or 5th cent., from the island of Salamis (referred to by Schmiedel in the *Hand-Commentar* on Cor. *l.c.*, 2nd ed. ii. 208 sq., and given in the *CIG* vol. iv. p. 475, inscr. 9303, Berlin, 1877), which marks the 'eternal home' of the 'reader' Agathon and his wife, for each of whom a separate compartment has been prepared, closes as follows: 'But if any private man or any other person dare to deposit a body here besides our two, let him give account to God, and be anathema maranathan' (*sic*). The Pauline order is deviated from here in the Greek, so that maranatha is separated by one word from anathema; but the maledictory import is plain. This imprecatory use of the expression was thought to be substantiated by its assumed correspondence to the third or highest degree of Jewish excommunication, the *Shammatha*. The word Shammatha (variously interpreted, see Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.* etc. 2466) was held by some to mean 'The Lord cometh' (שֵׁם, the *name*, being taken as a substitute for the tetragram), and thus to furnish an analogy which had been followed by the Apostolic Church. For this view the authority of such eminent Jewish scholars as Rabbi Solomon Ha-Levi, known among Christians as Paulus Burgensis (15th cent.), and Elias Levita in his *Tishbi* (16th cent.), has been unwarrantably claimed (cf. *e.g.* Leigh, *Critica Sacra*, *s.v.* Μαραναθά). For Elias makes no mention of *maranatha*, and follows Rab in the Talmud (*Moed Ḳaṭan*, 17*a*; see Buxtorf, *u.s.*) in taking '*shammatha*' as equivalent to *sham metha*, 'there's death'; while Paulus Burgensis (in *Lyra*, vi. 61*a*, Basel, 1508) finds in 'anathema maranatha' a combination of the three alleged forms or grades of Jewish ecclesiastical censure, *maranatha* being a (post-apostolic) corruption from a mutilated 'macharam' (*maran*) and 'shammatha' (*atha*). Echoes, however, of the Talmudic interpretation of *shammatha* meet us, apparently, in Luther's 'accursed to death' ('maharam motha'), and the 'Let him be had in execration, *yea, excommunicate* to death' of the Genevan version of 1557; while W. Mace, in his *NT Greek and English*, 1729, gives simply 'Let him be accurst' as the rendering of the entire phrase. This imprecatory sense of the Pauline term, which was thus linked to supposed Jewish precedent, though without warrant either in philology or in fact (see John Lightfoot, *Works*, etc., ed. 1684, ii. 796 f., or *Horæ in Acta apost.* etc., Amst. 1679, p. 107 f.; Schürer, *HJP* ii. i. 60 ff.), received, nevertheless, the endorsement of such names as Beza, Bibliander, Bullinger, Capito, Calvin (cf. Suicer, *Thesaurus*, etc. i. 604; Pfeiffer, *Dubia Vexata*, etc. 4th ed. 1699, p. 944 sq. for references), and others too numerous to catalogue here. Illustration of its prevalence and persistency is afforded by its adoption in our English Bibles (with the single exception of the Rhemish) from Tindale's to the Authorized Version. Indeed, although a comma seems to have been inserted between 'anathema' and 'maranatha' as early as the Cambridge folio of 1629, it was removed again in Blayney's standard ed. of 1769, and is wanting in not a few modern editions (see Scrivener, *Cambridge Paragraph Bible*, Introd. p. lxxxii, reprinted under the title *The Authorized Edition of the English Bible*, Cambr. 1884, p. 191). Other isolated instances occur of dissent from the prevalent theory that the words should be combined into a malediction. For example, in Robert Stephens' edd. of the Gr. text issued in 1549 and 1551 a colon (or stop) is inserted after anathema, as also in the Elzevir edd. of 1624 and 1633; an English Bible, also, bearing the imprint of Henry Hills, London, 1660, although it puts no stop after anathema, adds at maranatha the marginal note, 'That is, *The Lord is come.*' Nevertheless, the compound imprecatory interpretation has lived on quite to modern times, and has even found its way into popular literature.

This opinion, however, may be said to be at length extinct in scholarly circles. It is not only confessed to be without intrinsic or historic foundation, but it conflicts with the intimations afforded by the independent use of the word in early Christian documents. The earliest is that in *The Teaching of the Apostles*, a document belonging to the early part of the 2nd cent. or possibly even to the 1st. The thanksgiving in connexion with the Eucharist, as there given ch. 10^6, closes as follows: 'May grace come and may this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David. If any man is holy, let him come; if any man is not, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen.' Plainly, then, the term has an inherent meaning wholly detached from an anathema; and the preceding words here, though permitting this meaning to be admonitory, are remote from any suggestion of imprecation. But in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (vii. 26, p. 209, 26, ed. Lagarde), where the same thanksgiving is substantially reproduced and expanded, any thought of malediction is conspicuously out of place: . . . 'Gather us all together into thy kingdom which thou hast prepared. Maranatha. Hosanna to the Son of David; blessed is he that cometh,' etc.

But the acknowledgment that the term must be taken and interpreted by itself has rather increased than diminished the perplexity respecting its composition and meaning. Passing over attempts to analyze it which have found little favour, we may say that scholars now almost unanimously agree that the first part of the expression is the Aramaic word for 'Lord'; though as to whether the *n* is a formative appendage (cf. *rabban*), or belongs to the pronominal suffix 'our,' they are not so harmonious. That it should be connected with the first half of the word and not the last is supported not only by the earliest MSS that divide the term, but by the use of *marin* by Philo (*in Flaccum*, § 6, ed. Mang. ii. 522, 47) as the current Syrian appellation for 'Lord,' as well as by extant Aram. inscriptions (see Nöldeke in *ZDMG* for 1870, p. 101). The chief problem, accordingly, lies in the last part of the term. If the second half of the compound is held to be *atha*, the Fathers were right in taking it as a past tense (ἦλθεν, ἥκει, etc.: 'the' or 'our Lord *has come*'), and understanding the advent in the flesh as referred to. But the explanations they give of the apostle's reference to this past event are far-fetched and unsatisfying; such as, 'whoever does not love him waits in vain for another,' or 'he has come; hence the folly of opposing him'—the words being assumed to be addressed to Jews: if spoken to Christians, they were thought to be designed to shame them for withholding love from one who has so humbled himself on their behalf, etc.

The obvious inappositeness, however, of an allusion to the past early began to tempt expositors to force the verb into a future reference, viz. to the final coming in judgment. This result has ordinarily been reached, at least in later times, by taking the past tense as 'prophetic,' *i.e.* as an emphatic declaration of the certainty of the future event by representing it as having already occurred: 'has come,' *i.e.* 'most certainly will come.' The incipient stage of this opinion appears in the 'in adventu domini' of certain Latin texts, and the 'donec adveniat' (or 'redeat') of Augustine and some later Fathers. But a prophetic or anticipatory past tense here is more than questionable grammatically; and its inappropriateness is indirectly conceded by modern expositors, who, as with one consent, substitute for it a present or a future in their translations: 'Our Lord cometh,' 'is at hand,' 'will come,' etc. Under these circumstances, certain Aramaic scholars have proposed to restrict the verbal part of the expression to the final syllable '*tha*,' and understand the whole as an ejaculation: 'Our Lord, come!' Compare ἔρχου Κύριε Ἰησοῦ, Rev 22^{20}; and the *Amen bo* of the Jewish liturgies. See C. Taylor, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, p. 77 ff. One of the first to make this suggestion seems to have been Gustav Bickell of Innsbruck in the *Ztschr. f. Kath. Theol.* for 1884, vol. viii. p. 403, n^3. During the same year, however, this opinion was shown by Halévy in the *Rev. des études Juives*, vol. ix. p. 9, to have the support of sundry inscriptions from Arabia, and was also advocated by Nöldeke in the *GGA* p. 1023 (in a review of Kautzsch's *Grammatik*, u.s.w.), where Wellhausen is cited as making the same suggestion (yet cf. *GGN*, 1895, p. 3, n. 2). Siegfried, also, in reviewing Kautzsch's work in Hilgenfeld's *ZWTh.*, compares the frequent phrases תא חזי 'come and see,' תא שְׁמַע 'come and hear,' and proposes to take μαρανα θά as equiv. to μαραν θά, signifying 'O (or 'our') Lord, come!' This supplicatory sense has been accepted by G. Wohlenberg (*Die Lehre der Zwölf Apostel*, u.s.w. 1888, p. 82 sq.), Arnold Meyer (*Jesu Muttersprache*, 1896, p. 50), who compares (p. 156 f.) *Marna* or *Marnas* (מרנא 'our lord'), the name of the chief deity of Gaza (cf. the new edition of the deacon Marcus' life of Bp. Porphyrius of Gaza, Leip. 1895; also Stark, *Gaza*, u.s.w. 1852, pp. 576–583); and is sustained by G. Dalman in his *Grammatik des Jüd.-Paläst. Aramäisch*, 1894, pp. 120, 297, cf. 162.* It will doubtless prevail.

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* Dalman (*Worte Jesu*, i. 269) calls מָרָנָא the earlier and fuller form. See Zahn, *Einl. in das NT*, i. § 18, Anm. 11.

To the question why the apostle deserts the Greek for the Aramaic language here, many conjectural answers have been given: such as, to humble the pride of his Corinthian converts by reminding them that the gospel did not originate with them; to affect the more readily his Jewish opponents by a phrase from their vernacular; to suggest that Christ will judge all nations and tongues, and the like. These may pass for what they are worth. The expression, as embodying the consummation of Christian desire and aspiration, may have become a current ejaculation among the early disciples (cf. 'Abba,' Mk 14[36], Ro 8[15], Gal 4[6]), and as such would doubtless be intelligible to the Christians of Corinth. This supposition gains plausibility from the recurrence of the term, in varied connexions, in the *Teaching* and the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Its specific tone it takes from its context: in the Ep. to the Cor. it is admonitory; in the *Apostolic Constitutions* it is jubilant.

Whether it is a fragment of some confession, creed, or hymn (cf. *Het NT . . . op nieuw uit den Grondtekst overgezet*, De Nederlandsche Bijbel-Compagnie, 1868, *ad loc.*), or is a germ of some early liturgical formulary, this is not the place to consider (see Bickell, 'Die Lehre d. Apostel u. d. Liturgie,' in the *Ztschr. f. Kath. Theol.* as above; Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, ii. 286; Spitta, *Zur Gesch. u. Lit. des Urchristentums*, i. 256 f., 1893; Th. Zahn, *Forschungen z. Gesch.* u.s.w. iii. 1884, p. 294 f.).

LITERATURE.—Some of the more extended discussions of the term are by Anthony Leger in Hase and Iken, *Thes. Nov. Theol.-Philol.* (1732), vol. ii. 879–883; A. Klostermann, *Probleme im Aposteltexte* (1883), 220–246; G. Wohlenberg, as above, pp. 78–85; and especially N. Schmidt in the *Journ. Bibl. Lit.* for 1894, pp. 50-60; cf. the same Journ. for 1896, p. 44, n14. Moreover, Schmiedel's note in the *Hand-Commentar*, as above, should not be overlooked.

J. H. THAYER.

MARBLE (שַׁיִשׁ, שֵׁשׁ, *μάρμαρος*) denotes, strictly speaking, limestone (carbonate of lime), which is sufficiently hard and close-grained to be capable of receiving a polish. It is valuable both as an ornamental building stone and as a material for sculpture. The most famous kinds are those associated with classic statuary and architecture, such as the Pentelic and Parian marbles of Greece and the Carrara marble of Italy. The purest marble is white, but many coloured varieties are found, and some of these were highly valued in ancient times. Among them may be mentioned the 'Breccia di Verde,' which varies from all shades of green to a purplish red, the 'onyx' marble, and the so-called 'Oriental alabaster.' All these are Egyptian stones. The last named is quite different from true alabaster (sulphate of lime), being a carbonate of lime of stalagmitic origin and of an amber colour. The famous obelisk of Shalmaneser II., found by Layard at Nimrûd, is of black marble (Hull, *Building and Ornamental Stones*, 148–152).

In 1 Ch 29[2] 'marble stones in abundance' are mentioned among the materials prepared by David for the building of the temple. The Heb. is שַׁיִשׁ (B *πάριον*, A *πάριος*). According to Josephus, Solomon's temple was built of white stone (*λευκὸς λίθος*, *Ant.* VIII. iii. 2), quarried and prepared in Lebanon (*ib.* VIII. iii. 9). The OT narrative (1 K 5[17. 18]) does not expressly state the locality from which the stone came. Hard white limestone is found in Lebanon, and has been used in the temples of Baalbek (Robinson, *BRP* iii. 508; Thomson, *Land and Book*, iii. 341, 342). But the stones in the foundation walls of the temple, as seen at the Jews' Wailing Place, appear to have been brought from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The limestone found in the quarries under Bezetha is 'hard, compact, and delicately variegated, and is capable of being cut as marble into objects of ornament and use, and of receiving a polished surface' (Hull, *SWP* 59; Warren, *Underground Jerusalem*, 60; King, *Recent Discoveries on Temple Hill*, ch. i.). Josephus (*Wars*, V. v. 2) says that the pillars of Herod's temple were *μονόλιθοι λευκοτάτης μαρμάρου*. Some of the marble used in Roman and post-Roman buildings in Palestine, and found still in their remains, may have been imported from abroad.

In Est 1[6] the palace of Ahasuerus at Shushan (Susa) is described as having 'pillars of marble' (עַמּוּדֵי שֵׁשׁ, LXX *στύλοι πάρινοι*), while in the same verse the pavement of the palace is said to have been of 'red, blue, white, and black marble' (AV), or 'red, white, yellow, and black marble' (RV). Of the four words thus translated the second is שֵׁשׁ (LXX *πάρινος λίθος*), and this was evidently understood as '*white* marble' in AV as well as in RV, in spite of the transposition which has taken place in the former, since 'marble' is the second word in the alternative rendering in the margin. The other three words are בַּהַט, דַּר, and סֹחָרֶת, and they occur only in this verse. LXX renders the first by *σμάραγδος* or *σμαραγδίτης λίθος*, the second (apparently) by *πίννινος*, and does not translate the third. AVm and RVm give 'porphyre (porphyry), alabaster, and stone of blue colour.' Oettli (*Kurzgef. Comm.*) translates שֵׁשׁ by 'Marmor,' and has for the other three words 'Alabaster und Perlmutterstein und Fleckmarmor.' The LXX rendering of בַּהַט suggests some green stone, and that of דַּר some stone with a pearly lustre. Malachite (a green mineral) is found in Persia, as is also the stone called 'Yezd marble.' The latter is described as a stalagmitic carbonate of lime resembling the Egyptian stone known as 'Oriental alabaster,' except that the colour is greenish-white instead of yellow (Blaneford in *Eastern Persia*, ii. 486). Marble capitals and broken shafts were found in the ruins of Susa by Layard (*Early Adventures*, ii. 296). The palace of the Shah at Ispahan has columns of Tabriz marble, while white and coloured marbles are profusely used in the interior of the building (Hull, *Building and Ornamental Stones*, 152).

In Ca 5[15] there occurs the simile, 'His legs are as pillars of marble' (עַמּוּדֵי שֵׁשׁ, LXX *στύλοι μαρμάρινοι*).

In Apocr. *μάρμαρος* occurs only once (Ep. Jer [72]). Here it is said that the idols of the heathen shall be known to be no gods *ἀπὸ τῆς πορφύρας καὶ τῆς μαρμάρου τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς σηπομένης*. The context seems to make it necessary to understand *μάρμαρος* here in its root meaning of 'sparkling,' or 'brilliance,' and so both AV and RV render *τῆς πορ. καὶ τῆς μαρ.* by '*bright* purple.'

In NT *μάρμαρος* also occurs once, being named as part of the merchandise of the apocalyptic Babylon (Rev 18[12]).

JAMES PATRICK.

MARCHESHVAN (מַרְחֶשְׁוָן, Mish. *Taanith*, i. 3, 4; Μαρσουάνης, Jos. *Ant.* I. iii. 3).—See TIME.

MARCUS (*Μάρκος*, or, perhaps more accurately, *Μᾶρκος*; see MARK [JOHN], p. 245b).—This form of the name of St. Mark (wh. see) occurs in AV of Col 4[10], Philem [24], 1 P 5[13]. RV has 'Mark' in every instance.

MARDOCHEUS (Μαρδοχαῖος *Mardochæus*).—**1.** The name of MORDECAI, the uncle of Esther, appears in this form in the apocryphal additions to the Book of Esther (Ad. Est 10[4] 11[2. 12] 12[1. 4-6] 16[13]). In 2 Mac 15[36] the 14th of Adar, that is, the first day of the feast of Purim, is called 'Mardocheus' day' (*ἡ Μαρδοχαϊκὴ ἡμέρα*, RV 'the day of Mordecai'). **2.** In 1 Es 5[8], for MORDECAI, one of the leaders of the Jews, who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Joshua; cf. Ezr 2[2], Neh 7[7].

H. A. WHITE.

MARESHAH (מָרֵאשָׁה and מָרֵשָׁה).—**1.** The 'father' of Hebron, 1 Ch 2^{42} (B Μαρεισά, A Μαρισά). Perhaps we may gather from this passage that Mareshah, which is really the city of Jos 15^{44}, colonized Hebron. **2.** A Judahite, 1 Ch 4^{21} (B Μαιχά, A Μαρησά). See next article, and GENEALOGY, IV. 2. 29.

MARESHAH (מָרֵשָׁה, in Jos 15^{44} מָרֵאשָׁה).—A city in the Shephēlah of Judah, near Keilah and Achzib (Jos 15^{44}; B Βαθησάρ, A Μαρησά); fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^{8}; B Μαρεισά, A Μαρισά); the scene of the encounter between Asa and Zerah the Ethiopian (2 Ch $14^{9.10}$; B Μαρισήλ, Μαρείση, A Μαρησά); the birthplace of Dodavah the father of the prophet Eleazar, 2 Ch 20^{37} (B Μαρείση, A Μαρίση); mentioned also in Mic 1^{15} (where see Nowack's note). On 1 Ch 2^{42} 4^{21} see the preceding article. The Valley of Zephathah (*Wâdy es-Sâfieh*) was to the 'north' of Mareshah (κατὰ βοῤῥᾶν M.) according to the LXX version of 2 Ch 14^{10}. In Mic 1^{15} there is a play on the name as if meaning 'inheritance.'

Outside the canonical Scriptures, Mareshah plays an important part. It was plundered by Judas Maccabæus (Jos. *Ant.* XII. viii. 6, after whom we ought certainly to correct Σαμαρίαν of 1 Mac 5^{66} to Μαρίσαν; cf. 2 Mac 12^{35}), subdued by John Hyrcanus (*Ant.* XIII. ix. 1, x. 2), freed by Pompey (*ib.* XIV. iv. 4), and finally destroyed by the Parthians (*ib.* XIV. xiii. 9).

In the 4th cent. A.D. the site was known (*Onomast.* 279. 139) as being 2 Roman miles from Eleutheropolis (*Beit Jibrin*), which is a somewhat overstated distance. The present ruin *Mer'ash*, in spite of its guttural, no doubt represents Mareshah (see *Onomast. s.* 'Marsa'). There are some remarkable rock-chambers, with flights of steps, close by, which seem to have been granaries or reservoirs. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xx.

C. R. CONDER.

MARIMOTH (*Marimoth*), 2 Es 1^{2} = MERAIOTH, an ancestor of Ezra (Ezr 7^{3}). Also called MEREMOTH, 1 Es 8^{2}.

MARISA (Μαρίσα, *Maresa*).—The Greek form of the name MARESHAH. It occurs only in 2 Mac 12^{35}, but should be read also in 1 Mac 5^{66}, where all Greek MSS wrongly have 'Samaria'; but Old Lat. *Marisan*, Jos. *Ant.* XII. viii. 6 Μαρίσα. The false reading 'Samaria' is found in 2 Mac 12^{33} in four cursives and Syr.

H. A. WHITE.

MARISH.—This old form of 'marsh' has been allowed to remain in modern editions of AV. It is still occasionally seen in poetry, as Tennyson, *Dying Swan*—

> 'And far through the marish green and still
> The tangled water-courses slept.'

It occurs in Ezk 47^{11}, 1 Mac $9^{42.45}$. Cf. Berners' *Froissart*, 37, 'True it was that some of the knights of Scotland did ever the annoyance they could to the Englishmen, and kept them in the wild country among marishes and great forests, so that no man could follow them.' The word is also an adj., as Bacon, *Essays*, p. 142, 'in Marish and unwholesome Grounds.'

J. HASTINGS.

MARK.—1. מַטָּרָה 1 S 20^{20}, Job 16^{12}, and מַטָּרָא La 3^{12}, a target, a butt. As 1 S 20^{20} 'I will shoot three arrows on the side thereof, as though I shot at a mark.' Cf. Shaks. *Venus*, 941—

> 'Thy mark is feeble age, but thy false dart
> Mistakes that aim and cleaves an infant's heart.'

2. σκοπός, a mark to keep the eye on, in shooting or running; Wis 5^{12} 'Like as when an arrow is shot at a mark' (ἐπὶ σκοπόν); 5^{21}, Ph 3^{14} 'I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus' (κατὰ σκοπὸν; RV 'towards the goal,' but it is not a technical word in the race-course; in class. Gr. it is a target, here like 1 Co 9^{26} οὐκ ἀδήλως, 'not in the dark,' or as Moule, 'with my goal clear in view'). Cf. Pref. to AV 'We never thought from the beginning that we should need to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one . . . but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principall good one, not justly to be excepted against; that hath been our indeavour, that our mark'; Shaks. *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. ii. 115—

> 'If knowledge be the mark, to know thee shall suffice.'

3. מִפְגָּע, place of striking or impinging, *i.e.* a butt or mark: Job 7^{20} 'why hast thou set me as a mark against thee?' RV 'as a mark for thee.' AV understands Job to be a target for the arrow of God's displeasure, RV that he is an object over which God stumbles. 'Job,' says Davidson, 'feels that he is continually in the way of God, an obstacle against which the Almighty is always of set purpose striking Himself. The thought is one of unprecedented boldness.'

4. אוֹת sign, token: Gn 4^{15} 'And the Lord set a mark upon Cain, lest any finding him should kill him,' RV 'appointed a sign for Cain.' 'A mark set upon Cain would have distinguished him, so that all who met him might know him. This would be no pledge of security, no consolation to the guilty man. But when we see that the Lord appointed a sign for Cain, so that, looking upon it, he might be reminded of the divine protection, the words of the passage become easy to understand'—Ryle in *Expos. Times*, iii. 211; and *Early Narratives*, 70; also Sayce in *Expos. Times*, vii. 367.

5. קַעֲקַע a puncture, tattoo: Lv 19^{28} 'Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you.' Driver and White (in *SBOT*) tr. 'You shall not make any incisions in your skin for the dead; nor shall you tattoo any marks upon you,' and explain that the tattooing here alluded to implied probably dedication to a deity. Cf. W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, 212 ff., and *RS* 334; also Stade, *ZATW* xiv. 250 f.

6. תָּו *tâw*, the letter T, the last of the Heb. alphabet, which in the old Phœnician characters had the shape of a cross. See ALPHABET. Ezk 9^{4-6}, the mark set on the forehead of those that bewailed the abominations in Jerusalem. The Vulg. tr. of 9^{4} is *signa thau super frontes virorum gementium*, to which Tindale refers when he speaks (*Expositions*, 13) of 'the sign Thau, that defendeth us from the smiting and power of the evil angels.' In Job 31^{35} the word is used of a person's signature: cf. Shaks. *II Henry VI.* IV. ii. 110, 'Dost thou use to write thy name? or hast thou a mark to thyself, like an honest plain-dealing man?'

7. χάραγμα (fr. χαράσσω, to cut, engrave), a stamp or brand. This word is used in Ac 17^{29} of sculptured work, and tr^{d} in EV by the verb 'graven.' Elsewhere it is found only in Rev ($13^{16.17}$ $14^{9.11}$ 16^{2} 19^{20} 20^{4}; TR and AV add 15^{2}, omitted by edd.) of the brand (EV 'mark') by which the followers of the Beast were known. The brand was on the right hand or on the forehead (13^{16}). See MAN OF SIN. The *tâw* of Ezk is in the writer's mind.

8. μώλωψ, weal, quoted in 1 P 2^{24} from Is 53^{5} and tr^{d} 'stripe,' is in Sir 23^{10} rendered in AV 'blue mark,' 'a servant that is continually beaten shall not be without a blue mark' (RV 'shall not lack a bruise').

9. στίγμα (from στίζω, to prick; connected with Eng. 'sting'), brand, scar: Gal 6^{17} only, ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ [Κυρίου] Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω (edd. omit Κυρίου of TR after best text); Vulg. 'Ego enim stigmata Domini Iesu in corpore meo porto'; Wyc. 'For I bere in my bodi the

tokenes of oure Lord Jhesu Crist'; Tind. 'For I beare in my bodye the markes of the lorde Jesu,' so succeeding VSS including AV; RV 'for I bear branded on my body the marks of Jesus'). The reference is to the suffering which the apostle had endured in the service of Christ, of which he gives a rapid account in 2 Co 11$^{22-27}$, and which, whether Jewish whipping, or Roman flogging, or more barbarous mob violence, must have left scars on his person, some of them no doubt visible. But why does he call them the scars or brands of Jesus? Two explanations have been given. (1) The marks which were left in the body of Jesus by the nails and the sword are reproduced figuratively in the apostle's body. Cf. 2 Co 4^{10} 'always bearing about in the body the dying (RVm 'putting to death') of Jesus' (*παντότε τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι περιφέροντες*); also 2 Co 1^{5}, Col 1^{24}; and especially the references to his crucifixion with Christ, Ro 6^{6}, Gal 2^{20}. This interpretation is forcibly illustrated by the *stigmata* of St. Francis of Assisi, to whom the word (left untranslated in the Lat. versions) 'suggested, whether by a more or less distant association, the idea which took so strong a hold upon his mind, that in a moment of extreme spiritual tension the actual marks of the Passion seemed to imprint themselves upon his body'—Sanday, *NT Com. for Eng. Readers.* Among recent commentators Moule (*Camb. Bible*) considers that there is 'something to be said' for this explanation, and Huxtable (*Pul. Com.*) argues ably and at length in its favour. (2) The marks identify the apostle as *belonging to* Jesus. This receives the nearly unanimous consent of modern expositors, and is actually introduced into the translation of the RV, on which Westcott (*Lessons of the RV of NT*, 130) comments, 'the addition of the word *branded*—I bear *branded* on my body the marks of Jesus—points the reference to the slaves who bore the names of the deities to whose service they were consecrated.' (Cf., further, art. CUTTINGS IN THE FLESH, vol. i. p. 538^{b}). But even on this interpretation the question remains, Does St. Paul refer to the custom of marking the devotees of a deity, or to the custom of branding deserters and evil-doers as a sign of degradation? Lightfoot (*Com. on Gal.*) refers the metaphor to the practice of branding slaves and other persons who were devoted to the service of some deity, and considers that 'such a practice at all events cannot have been unknown in a country which was the home of the worship of Cybele.' But the verb used (*βαστάζω*, which implies at least that the thing carried is easily seen, cf. Ac 9^{15} 'a chosen vessel unto me to bear my name before the Gentiles,' *βαστάσαι . . . ἐνώπιον ἐθνῶν*), and the apostle's glorying in being regarded as *περικαθάρματα τοῦ κόσμου, πάντων περίψημα*, 'the filth of the world, the offscouring of all things' (1 Co 4^{13}), make the reference most probable to such *stigmata* as (now also in the modern use of the word) carried punishment and degradation. These are the only marks that would involve at once much suffering at the time of their infliction and much courage to carry afterwards.

J. HASTINGS.

MARK (JOHN).—In this art. the identity of the **John Mark** of the Acts with the Mark of the Pauline Epistles (Col, Philem, 2 Ti), with the Mark of 1 P, and with Mark the Evangelist, mentioned in early Christian literature, is assumed. This identification is confirmed by the link between the Acts and the Pauline Epistles supplied by Col 4^{10} ('cousin of Barnabas'), and by the fact that the name Mark does not appear to have been common among the Jews.

1. NAME.—The Hebrew name of this companion of the apostles was Ἰωάνης; it appears without addition in Ac 13$^{5.13}$. To it the Roman *prænomen* Marcus was added (*Ἰωάνου τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου Μάρκου, Ἰ. τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Μ.*, Ac 12$^{12.25}$), just as the Roman *cognomen* Paulus was added to the Hebrew name Saul. The name Marcus was that by which its bearer was commonly known among those for whom the Acts was written (*τὸν Ἰ. τὸν καλούμενον* Μᾶρκον*, Ac 15^{37}); so Col 4^{10}, Philem ^{24}, 2 Ti 4^{11}, 1 P 5^{13}. For the accentuation Μᾶρκος, see Blass, *Gram. NT Greek*, § 4. 2; the form Μάαρκος is found in *CIG*, 5644, 6155. For the frequency of such double names among the Jews, see Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 181 ff.; and for the common use of the name Marcus 'among Greek-speaking peoples from the Augustan age onwards,' see the inscriptions quoted by Swete, *St. Mark*, p. ix. There is no evidence, however, that it was common among the Jews; the only Jew of this name mentioned by Josephus is the nephew of Philo (*Ant.* XVIII. viii. 1, XIX. v. 1).

2. FAMILY AND POSITION.—The father of Mark is not mentioned in the NT or by any reliable tradition. His mother bears the common Hebrew name Mary (Ac 12^{12}). She appears as a woman of some wealth, the possessor of a house with a *πυλών* and with a room large enough to contain many (*οὗ ἦσαν ἱκανοὶ συνηθροισμένοι*), the mistress, it would seem, of a household, the duty of one *παιδίσκη*—bearing a Greek name (see Blass on Ac 12^{13})—being to keep the door (cf. Jn 18^{17}). Her house is one of the centres of the life of 'the brethren' at Jerusalem. St. Peter goes there as a matter of course directly he has escaped from prison, and is well known there (v.^{14}). It is a natural conclusion that 'the house of Mary' had become the home of St. Peter, and that the guest was in a sense the head of the household (cf. 1 P 5^{13}). Again, in Col 4^{10} Mark is spoken of as 'the cousin' (*ὁ ἀνεψιός*, see Lightfoot's note) of Barnabas (on the name, see especially Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 175 ff.), the Joseph Barnabas of Ac 4$^{36f.}$, of the tribe of Levi, born in Cyprus, a man of substance, and from almost the earliest days a leader among 'the brethren.' It is not improbable, in view of the later history, that Mark too was by birth or previous residence connected with the Jewish colony in Cyprus (Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. p. 221 f.), and, if we may assume that the cousins were the sons of two brothers, we learn that he was a Levite (see below, 4 (i.)). There is every reason to think that he, like Saul, was a 'Hebrew of Hebrews' (Col 4^{11}; cf. Gal 2^{12}, Tit 1^{10}).

In Ac 13^{5} we read of Barnabas and Saul that at Salamis in Cyprus *κατήγγελλον τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων· εἶχον δὲ καὶ Ἰωάνην ὑπηρέτην.*† All writers, it would seem, take the last clause to mean that the apostles 'had John as minister,' *i.e.* as their assistant in their evangelistic work (cf. 10^{48} *προσέταξεν*). A different interpretation seems to the present writer to be at least possible. The clause stands in close connexion with the mention of 'the synagogues.' Further, if *ὑπηρέτην* were a predicate, the more natural order would have been *ὑπηρέτην δὲ εἶχον καὶ Ἰωάνην*. A Jewish epitaph found at Rome Φλάβιος Ἰουλιανὸς ὑπηρέτης (see Schürer, *Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom*, pp. 28, 39; cf. *HJP* II. ii. p. 67) suggests that *ὑπηρέτης* here is John's official title—'And they had with them also John, the synagogue minister' (cf. Lk 4^{20}). The article in such a case would be omitted (cf. *e.g.* *CIG*, 9906, Ἰουλιανὸς *ἱερεὺς ἄρχων . . . υἱὸς* Ἰουλιανοῦ *ἀρχισυναγώγου* and inscriptions *passim*, also Winer-

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* The reading *ἐπικαλούμενον*, found in ℵ^{c} (quod vide) CD 61 Gig, seems to be a 'Western' reading due to assimilation.

† 'Western' (paraphrastic) readings are (*a*) Ἰ. *ὑπηρετοῦντα αὐτοῖς*, D 321 syr. hl. mg.; (*b*) *ἔχοντες μεθ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ* Ἰ. *εἰς διακονίαν* (*in ministerium*, lat. vg.), E. Compare Ignat. *Philad.* xi., *Φίλωνος τοῦ διακόνου . . . ὃς καὶ νῦν ἐν λόγῳ θεοῦ ὑπηρετεῖ μοι.*

Moulton, p. 172).* If this interpretation be the true one, we have an important fact about Mark which reveals how close his ties with Judaism were. Among his fellow Jews he was known as Ἰωάνης ὑπηρέτης.

3. Mark in the Apostolic History of the NT.—Mark is one of those minor characters, a careful study of whose movements throws considerable light on the relation to each other of the apostolic leaders. In the NT he stands in close connexion with Barnabas, St. Peter, St. Paul.

(i.) The first notice of Mark in the Acts is at the time of the famine in Judæa, some 15 or 16 years after the day of Pentecost. He is at Jerusalem, and Barnabas and Saul, returning thence to the Syrian Antioch, take him with them as their companion (συνπαραλαβόντες 12^{25}; cf. $15^{37f.}$, Gal 2^{1}). It is important to notice that Barnabas, Mark's cousin, still retains the leading position (Βαρνάβας δὲ καὶ Σαῦλος 12^{25}), that as yet there is no hint of any evangelistic work further afield than Antioch, and that there the Church had not spread beyond the 'Grecian Jews' (11^{20}). Some time—how long we have no means of discovering—after their arrival at Antioch a decisive summons comes. Barnabas and Saul, at the bidding of the Spirit, are solemnly set apart and dismissed to do 'the work,' the scope of which remains still undefined. With Mark they cross to Cyprus. After work among the Jewish settlers at Salamis, they journey westwards till at Paphos they meet the Jewish Magus among the *comites* of the Proconsul, and the encounter ends with the conversion of the Roman magistrate—the firstfruit of St. Paul's Gentile converts. From Paphos they cross to the mainland, and journey inland as far as Perga. Here, perhaps when his leaders were discussing or had already determined upon the plan of crossing the Taurus and penetrating into a wholly new district, Mark separates himself from them and returns to Jerusalem (13^{13}). His conduct, it is clear, made a deep impression on St. Paul. What were Mark's reasons for this act of seeming desertion? The conditions of their common work, it must be remembered, had altered since he left Jerusalem with them, in three important respects. (1) The call at Antioch had inaugurated a new epoch in the history of the Church, and as 'the work' advanced it became clear that it would lead the workers μάκραν (Ac 22^{21}). (2) There were already indications that 'the work' would include the Gentiles; and that this was a new departure appears from 14^{27}. (3) Barnabas is passing into the background, and Paul is taking his place as the acknowledged leader (note the very significant οἱ περὶ Παῦλον in 13^{13}). For these new conditions of service Mark was not prepared.

(ii.) Some three or four years pass before we meet Mark again in the history. The great controversy as to the freedom of the Gentile converts had been closed, outwardly at least, by the decision of 'the Council' at Jerusalem. Paul and Barnabas returned to Antioch. At Antioch (if without further discussion we may assume the identity of the visit to Jerusalem recorded in Ac 15 with that recorded in Gal 2) there took place the events which St. Paul briefly narrates in Gal $2^{11ff.}$. St. Peter followed to Antioch the emissaries of the Church at Jerusalem, and proved himself loyal to the concordat of 'the Council.' But the arrival of 'certain from James' wrought a disastrous change. 'Fearing those of the circumcision,' he withdrew from full fellowship with Gentile believers. His example was the signal for a general revolt. All the Jewish Christians at Antioch (οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι) joined in his time-serving policy, and the pressure of their opinion seduced even (καὶ) Barnabas, St. Paul's old and close companion. St. Paul's public rebuke of St. Peter and (by implication) of Barnabas and the rest closes the history, so far as he has chosen to reveal it. It has an obvious bearing on the relations of St. Paul with Mark. We know that Mark was at Antioch shortly *after* these events (Ac 15^{37}). The three leaders with whom he was most intimately associated, St. Peter, St. Paul, Barnabas, were there already. It seems an almost certain inference that Mark had come as the companion of one of them. If so, he was among οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, who proved traitors; and his example and opinion must have been conspicuous among the influences which led Barnabas astray. We can understand that to St. Paul's mind his later conduct set its seal upon his earlier. His loyalty to 'the truth of the gospel' was more than questionable, and his influence over Barnabas was harmful. When Barnabas proposed that Mark should again be their companion, an indignant reference to his former desertion of 'the work' (15^{38}) was sufficient answer. If we realize the significance, personal and doctrinal, of the history in Gal 2, we can understand the παροξυσμός which separated Barnabas from Paul. The notice that Mark with Barnabas sailed to Cyprus immediately after these events is the last reference to him in the Acts.

(iii.) After an interval of ten or twelve years we meet with Mark again in St. Paul's letters to the Colossians (4^{10}) and to Philemon (v.^{24}). Mark is at Rome. His presence there is 'a solace' to St. Paul. In both Epistles the apostle speaks of him as one of the few whom he can call 'fellow-workers' (contrast Ph $1^{15f.}$). The happy change in the relations between St. Paul and Mark is an important indication of the triumph of St. Paul's 'catholic' views of Christianity among the higher type of Jewish Christians. It is clear from St. Paul's language that Mark had contemplated, and it appears was still contemplating, a journey to Asia; and the Asiatic Christians had already received from St. Paul a brief message commending him to them.

(iv.) Some three or four years later, St. Paul's last Epistle associates Mark with Timothy. The words (2 Ti 4^{11}) seem to imply that the two were no strangers to each other, and that Timothy was already acquainted with Mark's movements. Timothy, it seems probable, was still at Ephesus (Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 437). He is bidden to come to Rome by the shortest route (v.^{9}), and to execute a commission at Troas on the way (v.^{13}). From Troas he was doubtless to cross to Neapolis, to travel along the Egnatian Road to Dyrrhachium, to cross to Brundisium, and to hasten to Rome by the Via Appia. At some point in the journey he is to 'pick up' Mark (v.^{11}). If that point was in the neighbourhood of Ephesus, the notice is perhaps an indication that Mark had carried out his purpose of visiting Asia (Col 4^{10}). If not, it cannot be a place which is otherwise associated with Mark either by history or by tradition. To this direction St. Paul, remembering the help rendered to him by Mark in his former captivity, adds the reason of it—ἔστιν γάρ μοι εὔχρηστος εἰς διακονίαν. The last three words, as Swete observes (p. xv), 'assign to Mark his precise place in the history of the Apostolic age.'

(v.) One more notice of Mark is found in the apostolic writings. In his First Epistle, written at Rome (see article Babylon in NT), St. Peter sends to the churches of Asia Minor the salutation of 'Marcus my son.' This greeting makes it probable that Mark had visited some of the churches to which the apostle is writing (see above (iii.) (iv.)). It is certain from these words that Mark was with St. Peter at Rome—an important point of contact between the NT and early Christian tradition. The tenderness of the phrase ὁ υἱός μου is explained by St. Peter's early intimacy with Mark in 'the house of Mary.'

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* With this interpretation, as indeed with the common one (cf. Cod. E), though less conspicuously, εἶχον = εἶχον μεθ' ἑαυτῶν. This sense of ἔχειν is common (especially in the participle) in all Greek, *e.g.* Xen. *Cyr.* iv. 2. 29—'et sæpissime Thucydides ceterique omnes' (Stephanus, *Thes.*, ed. Hase, iii. 2616). Here εἶχον takes up συνπαραλαβόντες, v.^{25}.

4. MARK IN CHRISTIAN TRADITION.*—(i.) *Mark's position by birth.*—The Preface to the Gospel found in MSS of the Vulgate contains the notice: 'sacerdotium in Israhel agens, secundum carnem levita' (Wordsworth-White, p. 171, cf. p. 173)—a mere deduction, it seems probable, from Mark's kinship to Barnabas. The remembrance of a personal deformity survives in an epithet well known at Rome early in the 3rd cent.—*οὔτε Παῦλος ὁ ἀπόστολος οὔτε Μᾶρκος ὁ κολοβοδάκτυλος* (Hipp. *Philos.* vii. 30).

A reference to this epithet is found in the Latin Prefaces to the Gospel (see below), and with these substantially coincide the notices in one or two later writers (see Lipsius, *Die Apocr. Apostelgesch.* ii. 2, p. 327; Zahn, *Einl.* ii. p. 211). Three explanations of the epithet 'stump-fingered' or 'mutilated in the finger(s)' have been suggested. (i.) Tregelles (*Journal of Class. and Sacred Philol.*, 1855, p. 224 f.) thinks that the epithet stigmatizes Mark as 'pollice truncus,' 'the deserter' (Ac 13[13]). (ii.) The Pref. to the Vulgate: 'Amputasse sibi post fidem pollicem dicitur ut sacerdotio reprobus haberetur' (so Isidore). (iii.) The Pref. to Cod. Toletanus: 'Colobodactilus est nominatus ideo quod a cetera corporis proceritatem digitos minores habuisset' (Wordsworth-White, p. 171). It is just possible, however, that the word may refer to some mutilation or malformation of the *toes*, resulting in lameness—an infirmity which would be more likely to attract attention than a deformity of the hand.

(ii.) *Mark's relation to the Lord's ministry.*—The words of Papias (*ap.* Eus. *HE* iii. 39), on the authority of 'John the Elder,' are explicit—*οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσεν τοῦ κυρίου οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ.*

Do the words (clearly referring to Mark), with which the Muratorian Canon begins, suggest a qualification of the assertion of Papias? They run thus: quibus tamen interfuit et ita posuit. It is possible that the first word has been mutilated, and that we should restore *aliquibus*; but see below. The Canon is in full accord with Papias if, with, *e.g.*, Lightfoot and Swete, we take the words to refer to Mark's presence *at St. Peter's discourses.* Zahn (*Gesch. Kan.* ii. pp. 17 f., 30, *Einl.* ii. pp. 200, 211), however, maintains that in the previous context of the Fragment it had been said that, *speaking generally*, Mark was not an eye-witness of the Lord's ministry, and that then the qualification is added: 'nevertheless he was present at some (events), and so recorded them.' If the Canon was written at Rome, and still more, if the writer was Hippolytus (Lightfoot, *Clement*, ii. p. 412 f.), it is clear that it might embody an independent and true tradition about Mark preserved by the Roman Church. On the other hand, in the succeeding context dealing with Luke (Lucas . . . cum eum Paulus . . . adsumsisset . . . conscripsit. Dominum tamen nec ipse uidit in carne, et idem prout assequi potuit, ita et a natiuitate Johannis incepit dicere), it is unsatisfactory to take *nec* (*ipse*) as referring to St. Paul, who has been only incidentally mentioned, as Zahn is obliged to do. The writer is clearly throughout (comp. the passages dealing with John and with Acts) comparing the *Evangelists* in regard to the power of giving a personal witness. Accordingly, both *nec ipse* and *idem* (αὐτός) bring out the parallel in reference to this point between Mark and Luke.† Further, in the case of Luke, who was not a personal disciple of Christ, the writer notes that he was a companion of St. Paul. There was clearly still more reason for noting that Mark was a follower of Apostles. We may conjecture, therefore, that the context immediately preceding the first sentence of the Fragment ran substantially thus: 'Mark was not a disciple of Christ. But he was a follower of Paul and also of Peter. He records in his Gospel what Peter preached. But he was not continuously a companion of Peter. Some, therefore, of his discourses he did not himself hear; but at others (οἷς δέ—literally translated by the *quibus tamen* of the Latin Fragment) he was present, and so set them down.' On the whole, therefore, Zahn's interpretation must be rejected, and with it goes any shred of reliable evidence that Mark had part in any events of the Gospel history.

Later traditions, however, give Mark a place in the history of the Lord's ministry. In the *Dial. of Adamantius with the Marcionite*, a work which cannot be placed earlier than the later years of Constantine (Hort in *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* i. p. 39 f.), the orthodox disputant obviously has a controversial reason for asserting that Mark and Luke were among the seventy-two disciples (ed. Wetstein, p. 8). Epiphanius (*Hær.* pp. 50, 428 ed. Petav.) gives the same piece of information, and further tells us that Mark was one of those disciples who turned back (Jn 6[66]). For other references see Lipsius, p. 328 f. A more interesting tradition, which first appears in a writer of the 6th cent., Theodosius (*de Situ Terræ Sanctæ* 43, p. 20, ed. Gildemeister), identifies the Church *Sancta Sion*, mentioned by earlier writers as the scene of the Last Supper, of the meeting of the apostles (Ac 1[13]), and of the events of Pentecost, with 'the house of Mark the Evangelist.' Another writer of the same cent. —Alexander (*Laudatio Barnabæ* 13 in *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. p. 440)—repeating the legend about *Sancta Sion*, adds a story learned from 'the aged,' which identifies Mark with the man 'bearing a pitcher of water' (Mk 14[13]). For these references see Zahn, p. 212 f. The idea that the young man who followed and fled on the night of the betrayal (Mk 14[51]) was Mark, is a modern but not improbable conjecture.

(iii.) *Mark and St. Peter.*—A constant tradition in the early Church, reaching back to the confines of the apostolic age and harmonizing with the notices of the NT, certifies us that Mark was a companion of St. Peter (*i.e.* in his missionary labours), was with him towards the end of his life, and wrote the Gospel to preserve his Master's teaching. The early authorities are these: (1) *Asiatic and Western:* Papias *ap.* Eus. iii. 39 (on the authority of 'John the Elder'); Iren. iii. l. 1, 10. 6; *Canon Murat.* (see above); Tert. *adv. Marc.* iv. 5. (2) *Alexandrian:* Clem. *ap.* Eus. *HE* vi. 14, *Adumb. in Priorem Petri Ep.* (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* ix. 732); Eus. ii. 15 (on the authority of Clement); Origen *ap.* Eus. *HE* vi. 25. For references to later writers see Lipsius, p. 322; Zahn, p. 216. The above classification of authorities is due to Swete (p. xviii f.), who notices that 'the Asiatic tradition goes behind St. Mark's work as an Evangelist, and describes the nature of his services to St. Peter. He had been the Apostle's interpreter.'

Some scholars maintain that the word ἑρμηνευτής (*interpres*) points rather to Mark as the scholar of St. Peter, through whom his Master's teaching reached a wider circle, with special reference to the composition of the Gospel. This is the view taken by Zahn (*Gesch. Kan.* i. pp. 878 ff., *Einl.* ii. pp. 209, 218 ff.), who urges that Papias uses the word in close connexion with Mark's composition of the Gospel, and that no early writer preserves any detailed notice of Mark as 'dragoman' of the apostle. On the other hand, the following considerations seem conclusive for the strict sense of the word. (1) Such is the usual sense of the word (see Swete, p. xix); the passages which Zahn (*Gesch. Kan.* p. 880 n.) adduces, in which poets and prophets are spoken of as ἑρμηνευταὶ τῶν θεῶν, are really instances of a metaphorical use of the term. (2) Papias himself uses the cognate verb (ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος) in the strict sense. (3) Irenæus connects the word, not with the writing of the Gospel, but with Mark's previous relation to St. Peter, iii. l. 1. M., ὁ μαθητὴς κ. ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Π. κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκεν, *ib.* 10. 6 M. interpres et sectator Petri [note the order] initium evangelicæ conscriptionis fecit sic. Zahn's position is criticized by Link in *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1896, pp. 405–436.

The ten or twelve years which elapsed between the last mention of Mark in the Acts and St. Paul's reference to his co-operation in Rome were probably the period in which Mark accompanied St. Peter. It may well be that the help which he rendered to the apostle when the latter first worked among Greek-speaking people gained for him the title of 'the interpreter of Peter.' There is no reason why we should infer that, at least at the end of his life, St. Peter could not speak Greek, still less that he could not write a Greek letter. Moreover, it must be remembered that the word 'interpreter' may have been used in reference to Latin rather than to Greek (so Lightfoot, *Clement*, ii. p. 494).

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* Patristic passages dealing with the composition of the Gospel according to St. Mark are not discussed here: see the following article.

† This parallel is still more marked if we adopt Lightfoot's emendation of the words referring to Luke: 'et idem, prout assequi potuit, ita posuit. Ita et a natiuitate . . .' (*Essays on 'Supernat. Relig.'* p. 189 n.); comp. the 'ita posuit' in the account of Mark.

(iv.) *Mark's connexion with Rome and Alexandria.*—(*a*) Rome. For the evidence of the NT see above. The evidence that St. Peter at the close of his life, when Mark was certainly his companion, was at Rome, is overwhelming (Lightfoot, *Clement*, ii. pp. 493 ff.). Moreover, all the early writers who mention the place of its composition speak of the Gospel as written at Rome (Iren., Clem. Alex., Eus. *HE* ii. 15; for other references see Zahn, p. 215), the only exception being Chrysostom (vii. 7 B), who says that it was written in Egypt. (*b*) Alexandria. It is remarkable that the great Alexandrian Fathers, Clement and Origen, make no reference to any sojourn or work of Mark in that city. Their silence cannot but throw some suspicion on the notices of later writers. The earliest witness is Eusebius, *HE* ii. 16 (on ii. 24 see below), who records the tradition (φασίν) that Mark 'was the first to found churches in Alexandria itself.' After the time of Eusebius, notices of Mark's work in Egypt are frequent in Christian literature—(i.) Greek: Epiph. *Hær.* li. 6 (p. 428 ed. Petav.); Chrysost. *l.c.*; *Constit. Apost.* vii. 46. (ii.) Latin: Jerome, *de Vir. Illustr.* 8, *Prol. ex Comm. in Matth.* (Wordsworth-White, p. 12), *Pref. to MSS of the Vulgate* (Wordsworth-White, p. 173). (iii.) Syriac: *Doctr. Apost.* (Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 33). For other references see Lipsius, p. 323 ff. To pass to the evidence as to the *date* of Mark's work in Egypt, Eus. *HE* ii. 16 (apparently), Jerome, *de Vir. Illustr.*, and Epiph. place his journey there after the composition of the Gospel. On the other hand, the Chronicle of Eusebius (ed. Schöne, ii. pp. 152 f., 154 f.) places his arrival at Alexandria in the first (Arm.) or the third (Jer.) year of Claudius (A.D. 41–42 or 43–44),[*] the appointment of Annianus, his successor as bishop, in the eighth year of Nero (A.D. 62–63; so Eus. *HE* ii. 24).[†] It seems to be impossible to reconcile these dates with the statements of the NT. If we accept the tradition of Mark's work at Alexandria, we must apparently place it *either* in the ten or twelve years to which we have already assigned his journeys as St. Peter's 'interpreter,' *or* in the period after the death of that apostle.[‡]

The legends of Mark's mission to Aquileia and of the translation of his body to Venice belong to mediæval hagiology, and lie outside the scope of this article. See Lipsius, pp. 346–353.

(v.) *The Acts of Mark.*—The Greek text is given in Migne, *Pat. Gr.* cxv. 164–170. The document has been translated into Latin, Arabic, and Ethiopic. Lipsius (p. 345) assigns it to a date between the middle of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century. Internal evidence shows that it was written at Alexandria. It is historically worthless, telling the usual story of a successful war against idolatry, a growing Church, persecution, martyrdom. The evangelist expires as he is being dragged through the streets by an infuriated mob, who burn his remains, but are at last dispersed by a tempest. Some forms of the *Acts* give a detailed account of his person, clearly in part a reminiscence of the portrait of St. Paul in the *Acta Theclæ.*

(vi.) Περίοδοι Βαρνάβα.—These Greek *Acts* are printed by Tischendorf in his *Acta Apost. Apocrypha*, pp. 64–74. The author writes in the name of Mark, who is made to describe himself before his conversion as a servant of a high priest of Zeus. The *Acts* are wholly unhistorical. The local colouring shows that the writer was a Cypriot. The aim of the document is, by asserting for the Church of Cyprus an apostolic origin and the possession of the tomb of Barnabas, to support her claim to be independent of the see of Antioch. Hence Lipsius places the date of its composition late in the 5th cent., probably 485–488.

(vii.) *Martyrdom.*—Early writers are silent as to the time and manner of Mark's death. The statement of Jerome, *de Vir. Illustr.* 8 (Mortuus est octauo Neronis anno et sepultus Alexandriæ) is obviously a mere inference from Eusebius' notice of the appointment of Annianus. It would seem that no document earlier than the *Acts of Mark* gives the evangelist the glory of martyrdom. In these *Acts*, as in the *Menologium* of Basil, and as in the later tradition of the Western Church, April 25 is fixed upon as the day of his death. The different texts of the *Martyrium Hieronymianum* mention May 18, Sept. 23, Oct. 3, 7 as Mark's memorial day (Lipsius, p. 326; cf. *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 1089).

LITERATURE.—Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 1898, has a full and suggestive chapter on the 'Personal History of St. Mark.' Exhaustive collections and discussions of Patristic and other authorities are to be found in Lipsius, *Die Apocryphen Apostelgesch. u. Apostellegenden*, 1884, ii. 2, pp. 321–353; Zahn, *Einleitung in das NT*, ii. (1899), pp. 199-220. Reference may also be made to Harnack's article 'Mark' (1883) in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

F. H. CHASE.

MARK, GOSPEL OF.—

Introduction.
i. Compass and Contents.
ii. Selection and Arrangement of Matter.
iii. Diction and Style.
iv. Original Language.
v. State of Text and Integrity of the Book.
vi. Genius of the Gospel.
vii. Historical Attestation.
viii. Authorship.
ix. Sources.
x. Relation to Matthew and Luke.
xi. Purpose.
xii. Destination.
xiii. Place and Date.
Literature.

Of the four canonical Gospels the one which has come down to us with the title 'according to Mark' is the simplest, the most pointed and concise. Its brevity was noticed by Jerome in the account which he gave of its composition (*de Vir. Ill.* c. 8); and the peculiarity of its narrative, in respect of things omitted, has been the subject of comment from ancient times. On all that concerns its origin it is resolutely silent. It has no such descriptive statement as is found in the opening paragraph of the third Gospel. It neither names nor indicates its writer. It gives not the remotest hint that could put us on his track, if we had nothing outside itself. All that we know of its authorship rests, in the first instance, on tradition. The question is whether that tradition is historically credible, and whether it tallies with the contents and character of the writing.

In the ancient lists of the New Testament books this Gospel does not always occupy the same place. In a considerable number of MSS, almost entirely Latin and Græco-Latin (D, *a*, *b*, *e*, *f*, *ff*, *q*, *r*), as well as in the Gothic Version, the *Apostolical Constitutions*, and the Latin Stichometry of Codex Claromontanus, it is placed last (with the variation *third*) in the number of Gospels. But in the great majority of Greek MSS, as well as catalogues and lists given in ecclesiastical writers, it has the second place. This second Gospel (see below, vi.) is seen at once to have a character of its own distinguishing it unmistakably from the first and third Gospels, not to speak of the Fourth. In ancient times its special worth and peculiar features were imperfectly recognized. The tendency was to give it a subordinate place, and to attach less value to it than to the other Gospels. Even the great Augustine fell into the mistake of speaking of Mark as the 'follower and abbreviator of Matthew' ('subsecutus tanquam pedisequus et breviator ejus'; cf. *de Cons. Evang.* i. 4). A curious epithet, of obscure origin and uncertain interpretation, Μᾶρκος ὁ κολοβοδάκτυλος, which is applied to the evangelist in the writings of Hippolytus (*Phil.* vii. 30), is supposed by some (*e.g.* Keim) to refer to the cropped, curtailed character of the narrative (but see the preceding article, p. 247^{a}). The oldest Commentary (not to reckon certain Homilies supposed to belong to Jerome; cf. *Anecdota Maredsolana*, iii. 2, p. 319, etc.) which we possess on this Gospel, one ascribed to Victor of Antioch, is not older than the 5th or the 6th cent. (Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchr. Lit.* i. p. 389; Hort, *Notes*, p. 34; Burgon, *Twelve Last Verses of St. Mark*, p. 272, etc.). The author of that compilation states that he had entirely failed to find any commentary on Mark, although there were many expositions of Matthew and John, and not a few also of Luke (cf. Swete, *Gospel acc. to St. Mark*, p. xxix). And for a considerable period, as various things go to show, this Gospel was less regarded and less used than the others. One reason for this may have been the fact that it did not profess to be the immediate work of an apostle, and was not taken to be such. But there was probably a further reason in the difficulty which seems to have been felt in defining its proper function. How great this difficulty was may be seen perhaps by the variety of the symbols applied to it. In the distribution of the well-known evangelic figures no Gospel had so uncertain a position as this one. Each of the four symbols, the lion, the man, the ox, the eagle, was selected in one quarter or another as the best expression of Mark's distinctive place and purpose. And it may be said that, at least for the first five centuries, less was made of this Gospel than of the others, especially the First and the Fourth.

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[*] The *Chronicon Paschale* (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xcii. 559, cf. 546) places the foundation of the Church of Alexandria by Mark in the same year (A.D. 39) as the foundation of the Church of Antioch by St. Peter, adding that Mark presided over the former 22 years.

[†] The Armenian version puts Annianus' appointment a year earlier. For the emperors' regnal years see art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT, i. p. 418b.

[‡] With the belief that Mark founded the Church at Alexandria is connected the ascription to him of the Liturgy. In the *Acts of Mark* (c. 7) his enemies find him τὰς εὐχὰς τῆς θεϊκῆς ἀναφορᾶς ποιούμενον. According to Swainson (*The Greek Liturgies*, p. xxix), 'the first time that we hear of a Liturgy of St. Mark is in the 11th or 12th cent.' (cf. Brightman, *Liturgies*, p. lxvi).

But all is changed now. The genius of the second Gospel is better understood. Its peculiar value and its particular function in the holy quaternion of the Gospels are better appreciated. It is recognized to be of singular interest for the direct, simple, objective view which it gives of Christ and His ministry in deed and word. The spell of its vivid realism is felt as it never was before. The historical matter enshrined in it, which at first sight seems so limited as to give the book the aspect of an incomplete or abbreviated narrative, is seen to be of the first importance both in amount and in kind. The things which caused it to be less regarded in ancient times are the very things which attract special attention to it now—its shortness, its simplicity, the fact that it looks like a first, unstudied outline rather than a history, the character which belongs to it as the transcript of a disciple's notes rather than the direct work of an apostle. It is seen, too, to be at the basis of the whole problem of the origin and mutual relations of the canonical Gospels, and is believed by many to take us nearest the primitive form of the evangelic narrative. So it has become the subject of a quite peculiar interest, and engages the sedulous attention of students.

i. COMPASS AND CONTENTS.—The 'programme' of the second Gospel (Meyer) is given in Peter's statement of the apostolic preaching in his discourse before Cornelius (Ac 10$^{36-40}$). Mark keeps within the limits and answers to the character attributed there to the 'word published' by the apostles. He begins with the Forerunner's mission and ends with the Resurrection. The framework of the narrative and the course of events are to a very large extent the same as in Matthew and Luke. He has a brief introductory paragraph dealing with the ministry of John and the preparation of Jesus for His official work by His Baptism and Temptation (1$^{1-13}$); a large central section containing the main stream of narrative (1^{14}–15^{47}); and a conclusion relating to the Resurrection of Jesus (16$^{1-8}$). An additional paragraph gives details of His Risen Life, and a brief account of His Ascension (16$^{9-20}$); see below.

In the body of his Gospel Mark introduces us first to the Galilæan Ministry in the Eastern parts (1^{14}–7^{23}) and in the Northern parts (7^{24}–9^{50}); then to the Ministry in Peræa (10$^{1-31}$); and finally to the last Journey to Jerusalem and the closing events (10^{32}–15^{47}). The principal divisions of the narrative also have a certain order, and consist of certain distinct sections. The story of the Ministry in Eastern Galilee is given in three parts, viz.: (*a*) from the first announcement of the Kingdom and the call of the first disciples to the beginning of the conflict with the official classes (1^{14}–3^{12}); (*b*) from the call of the apostles to the rejection at Nazareth (3^{13}–6^{6}); (*c*) from the mission of the Twelve to the withdrawal to the borders of Tyre and Sidon (6^{7}–7^{23}). The story of the Ministry in Northern Galilee is given in two sections, viz.: (*a*) from the meeting with the Syrophœnician woman to the cure of the blind man, and the departure to the vicinity of Cæsarea Philippi (7^{24}–8^{26}); (*b*) from Peter's Confession to the second declaration of the Passion, and the words to the apostles on self-denial (8^{27}–9^{50}). The events of the last week of the Ministry are reported as they took place day by day—Sunday (11$^{1-11}$), Monday (11$^{12-19}$), Tuesday (11^{20}–13^{37}), Wednesday (14$^{1-11}$), Thursday (14$^{12-52}$), Friday (14^{53}–15^{47}).

The whole matter falls at the same time very obviously into two great blocks of narrative—the one occupied with the Galilæan Ministry (1^{14}–9^{50}), the other with the Last Week at Jerusalem (11^{1}–16^{8}). There is a difference also between the two. In the first the narrative, while always vivid and at some points full, is often compressed. In the second it is minute, circumstantial, and more of the nature of a journal. The intervening story, including the journeys in Peræa and Judæa, the words on divorce, reward, and the purpose of Christ's coming, the incidents of the blessing of the children, the question of the rich inquirer, the request of the sons of Zebedee, and the cure of Bartimæus, is rapidly disposed of.

There is more of a scheme in the second Gospel than is at first surmised. But it is a simple, natural scheme, corresponding with the earliest description which we have of this evangelist's method, viz. that given by Papias, which we shall afterwards consider. Christ's work is seen to follow a certain plan, beginning with the preaching of the largest truths of the kingdom, first in the towns in the vicinity of the Sea of Tiberias, and then throughout Galilee generally; moving on through intervals of seclusion and periods of decision; and fulfilling itself in the stated training of the Twelve for their future vocation and the final crisis. Christ's teaching is also seen to proceed by certain stages, first in the way of synagogue addresses and free discourse by the lake side or in the interior parts; then in the specific form of parabolic instruction; and, finally, in the communication to the Twelve of the deeper mysteries of the kingdom, especially those relating to the Passion.

ii. SELECTION AND ARRANGEMENT OF MATTER.—Like the other Synoptists, Mark carries us through the successive periods of our Lord's course and experience — His first popularity, with the shadow of opposition in its train; the formation of a body of apostles; the rising enmity of the ruling classes; the combination of hostile forces, and the result in the crucifixion. But he does this with a difference, which is due partly to his object and partly to his sources. He deals primarily with Christ's public ministry. He passes by, therefore, much that appears in the other Synoptists — the preliminary history, the genealogy, the circumstances of our Lord's birth, infancy, and years of privacy. He omits the greater discourses. He includes, indeed, the eschatological discourse (13^{1-37}), but he has no place even for the Sermon on the Mount, and does little more than mention the denunciations on the scribes and Pharisees. He is equally meagre in his report of the parables. Of the parables proper he records only four—the Sower (4^{3-8}), the Fruit-bearing Earth (4^{26-29}), the Mustard Seed (4^{30-32}), and the Wicked Husbandmen (12^{1-11}). He gives none, therefore, belonging to the intermediate period, and only one belonging to the later. Of the minor or germ parables also he has only about as many—the new patch on the old cloth (2^{21}); the new wine in the old skins (2^{22}); the kingdom and the house divided against themselves [illegible].

He is concerned with the acts rather than the sayings of Jesus, and especially with those which show Him in His power. He reports, therefore, a considerable number of the miracles. The instances which he gives are those of the demoniac in the synagogue (1^{23-28}), Peter's wife's mother ($1^{30. 31}$), the leper (1^{40-45}), the paralytic (2^{3-12}), the man with the withered hand (3^{1-5}), the stilling of the storm (4^{35-41}), the Gadarene demoniac (5^{1-17}), the woman with the issue of blood and the daughter of Jairus (5^{21-43}), the 5000 and the walking on the sea (6^{30-52}), the Syrophœnician woman's daughter and the deaf mute (7^{24-37}), the 4000 and the blind man at Bethsaida ($8^{1-9. 22-26}$), the lunatic boy (9^{17-29}), Bartimæus (10^{46-52}), and the withering of the fig-tree (11^{12-14}). Of these eighteen, most are of the class of healing miracles. Most also belong to the period before the Transfiguration.

In the construction of the narrative Mark appears to place some things in bold relief, particularly the crisis of the first intimation of Christ's destined death, and His various periods of retirement: His withdrawals to 'a solitary place' after the early cures (1^{35}), to 'desert places' after the cleansing of the leper (1^{45}), to the lake after the healing of the man with the withered hand (3^{7-13}), to the villages after His rejection at Nazareth (6^{6}), to 'a desert place' after the murder of the Baptist (6^{30-32}), to the borders of Tyre and Sidon after the opposition of the Pharisaic party (7^{24}), to the neighbourhood of Cæsarea Philippi after the cure of the blind man (8^{27}), to the range of Hermon after the first open prediction of His Passion (9^{2}), to Bethany after the triumphal entry (11^{11}), and again after the cleansing of the temple (11^{19}), and yet again after the discourse on the end of things (14^{3}). The added paragraph on the Ascension also reads like the story of the last of His withdrawals (16^{19}).

While the mass of Mark's matter is also found in Matthew and Luke, there are some interesting paragraphs which he has in common with only one of the two. The incidents of the demoniac of the synagogue, the journey through Galilee, the prayer of the Gadarene demoniac, the complaint of John, the women bringing spices to the tomb, are given by Mark and Luke, but not by Matthew (Mk 1^{23-27}, Lk 4^{33-37}; Mk 1^{35-39}, Lk 4^{42-44}; Mk 5^{18}, Lk 8^{38}; Mk 9^{38}, Lk 9^{49}; Mk 16^{1}, Lk 24^{1}). While the peculiarity of Mark as compared with the other Synoptists is mostly in omissions, he has also certain additions. They are not many, but they are of importance. They include one of the parables, the Fruit-bearing Earth (4^{26-29}); two of the miracles, those of the deaf mute (7^{31-37}), and the blind man at Bethsaida (8^{22-26}); and such incidents or circumstances as the three questions about the dulness of the disciples ($8^{17. 18}$), the question about the disciples disputing (9^{33}), the young man with the linen cloth ($14^{51. 52}$), the smiting of Jesus by the servants of the chief priests (14^{65}), Pilate's wonder and his questioning of the centurion (15^{44}).

Besides these, there is much additional matter in the form of striking detail in the narrative that is common to Mark and the other two, or to Mark and one of the two. This is seen especially in such cases as those of the *paralytic*, the *demoniac boy*, the *departure from Ephraim*, the *purgation of the temple*, etc. In these Mark describes, as the others do not, the *uncovering* and *breaking up* of the roof (2^{4}); the *pining* and miserable condition of the boy, the question of Jesus, and the father's *cry for faith* (9^{17-26}); the walking of Jesus *before* His disciples (10^{33}); the prohibiting of the *carrying of vessels* through the temple courts (11^{16}).

While there are only four paragraphs (together with the opening verse) out of the 106 of which Mark's Gospel may be said to consist, that are not found at all in Matthew or in Luke, the quantity of matter proper to Mark is calculated to amount, when all kinds of additions to the common record are taken into account, to about a sixth of the book. But in the stricter sense of incidents or sayings reported by Mark and not found in any form in either of the other Synoptists the case is different. In this sense the matter peculiar to the second Gospel does not extend to more than from twenty-five to thirty verses.

In the arrangement of the narrative this Gospel follows in some respects a course of its own. As regards the connexion in which it gives the narrative that is common to the three, its two main sections differ widely. In the report of the ministry in Galilee (1^{14}–9^{50}), Mark's order of events diverges largely from Matthew's on to the story of Herod (6^{14}); after this point the disagreement disappears for the most part. In the case of Luke the difference is much less. The second and third Gospels observe much the same order, yet with some notable exceptions. The incident of the blasphemy of the scribes, *e.g.*, is introduced by Mark (3^{22}) before the coming of the mother and the brethren of Jesus, but by Luke (11^{15}) after that; and the parable of the Mustard Seed is given by Mark (4^{30-32}) in connexion with that of the Sower, but by Luke ($13^{18. 19}$) after the healing of the woman with the spirit of infirmity. The visit to Nazareth which Mark records (6^{1-6}) would have to be added to these exceptions, if it were necessary to identify it with the visit reported by Luke (4^{16-32}). But, in placing the visit which he has in view at the beginning of the ministry, Luke is so far supported by Matthew (4^{13-16}); and the case recorded by Mark, which appears to be the same as is also given by Matthew at a later stage (13^{54-56}), is possibly different. In the second of the two main sections of his Gospel, from the journey to Jerusalem on to the Resurrection (10^{1}–16^{8}), Mark has generally the same order as the other Synoptists. There are some exceptions indeed, but they are of minor importance. Mark, *e.g.*, reports the blasting of the fig-tree as witnessed the morning after the curse (11^{20}), while Matthew records the effect along with the pronouncement (21$^{18. 19}$); and while Luke (22^{21}) gives our Lord's declaration of the traitor as made after the giving of the bread and the cup, Mark (14^{18}) introduces it before that.

iii. DICTION AND STYLE.—As might be expected from the measure of agreement in contents, Mark has much in common with the other Synoptists in *diction*. More than a sixth of his entire vocabulary is found also in Matthew and Luke, or in one of them, and nowhere else in the NT. The affinities with John are more limited. There are only 15 words peculiar to the second Gospel and the Fourth, and of these only a few are of distinct interest (*e.g.* ἀκάνθινος, ἐνταφιασμός, πιστικός, προσαίτης). Nor is the case much altered if we take words peculiar to Mark and John together with one or other of the remaining Gospels. There are only 7 words of all kinds peculiar to Mark with John and Matthew (ἐμβριμᾶσθαι, μοιχεία, ὄψιος, πλέκειν, ῥαββεί, σπόγγος, ὡσαννά), and only 5 peculiar to Mark with John and Luke (ἄρωμα, γαζοφυλάκιον, ἱμάς, κράβαττος, φανερῶς). The similarity between the second Gospel and the Pauline Epistles is somewhat more marked. The number of words peculiar to these writings, together with the Epistle to the Hebrews, is about 23; while the measure of resemblance becomes much greater if words peculiar to Mark and the Pauline Epistles, together with Matthew or with Luke, are taken into account. The linguistic affinity is smallest between Mark and the Apocalypse, and between Mark and the Catholic Epistles, the peculiar words in the former case being only 5 (δρέπανον, λευκαίνειν, μεγιστάν, χλωρός, χοῦς), and in the latter only 2 (δαμάζειν, δωρεῖσθαι).

On the other hand, there is a considerable number of words which occur only in Mark and the LXX. They amount to about 40, and most of them are words which are replaced by others in the parallel passages in Matthew and Luke. To the last-mentioned class belong such terms as ἀγρεύειν, ἀμφιβάλλειν, δύσκολος, ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι, ἐνειλεῖν, καταβαρύνειν, προσάββατον, στίλβειν, τρυμαλιά, etc. There are also some 38 words of various kinds (omitting proper names) which occur only in Mark, and neither in the other NT writers nor in the LXX. Among these are such terms as ἀλεκτοροφωνία, ἀλλαχοῦ, ἀνακυλίειν, ἄναλος, ἀπόδημος, ἀποστεγάζειν, ἀφρίζειν, ἐκπερισσῶς, ἔννυχα, ἐσχάτως, κωμόπολις, νουνεχῶς, παρόμοιος, προαύλιον, προμεριμνᾷν, πυγμῇ, στασιαστής, στιβάς, τηλαυγῶς, τρίζειν, ὑπερπερισσῶς. The number of words of all kinds peculiar to Mark among the NT writers amounts to somewhat less than a seventeenth of his entire vocabulary. Discounting proper names and transliterations like βοανηργές, ἐφφαθά, κορβάν, ταλειθά, κούμ, ῥαββουνεί, the proportion will be about 79 to 1270. The strictly distinctive element in Mark's vocabulary, though of great interest, is not particularly large. It is much smaller than is the case with Luke, who has about 250 ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, and also many words peculiar to himself and St. Paul.

There are certain words and phrases for which Mark has a peculiar fondness, and which are used much more frequently by him than by the other Synoptists. Of this class are these: ἐπερωτᾷν, διαστέλλεσθαι, εἰσπορεύεσθαι, παραπορεύεσθαι, περιβλέπεσθαι, εὐαγγέλιον, πρωΐ, φέρειν, ἐξέρχεσθαι ἐξ. Where Matthew and Luke have προσέχειν ἀπό, Mark has βλέπειν ἀπό; where these have Ἡρῴδης ὁ τετράρχης, he has ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρῴδης; where Matthew has συμβούλιον λαμβάνειν, Mark has συμβούλιον ποιεῖν.

Mark has also a predilection for diminutives, such as θυγάτριον, κοράσιον, κυνάριον, ὠτάριον, πλοιάριον, παιδίον, ἰχθύδιον; and for accumulated negatives, *e.g.* οὐκέτι οὐ μή (14^{25}), μηδενὶ μηδέν (1^{44}), οὐκ οὐδείς (3^{27}), μηκέτι μηδέ (2^{2}), οὐκέτι οὐδείς (5^{3} etc.), μηκέτι μηδείς (11^{14}), μὴ μηδέ (3^{20}), etc. Latinisms, such as δηνάριον, κῆνσος, κεντυρίων, κοδράντης, κράβαττος, λεγίων, ξέστης, σπεκουλάτωρ, ἱκανὸν ποιεῖν, occur in larger measure in his than in the companion Gospels. Old dialectic forms, such as εἶτεν, παιδιόθεν, occasionally reappear in Mark. He has a particular liking for the use of εὐθύς (εὐθέως) in transitions. He has a disposition also to use full or pleonastic forms, especially in statements of time and place, and in the case of prepositions in composition, *e.g.* τότε ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἡμέρᾳ (2^{20} etc.), ἐκ παιδιόθεν (9^{21}), ἀπὸ μακρόθεν (5^{6} 8^{3} etc.), ἐξάγειν ἔξω, ἐκπορεύεσθαι ἔξω, ἐξέρχεσθαι ἔξω.

Further, Mark often adds to the force of his statements by the use of repeated, explanatory, or balanced expressions (*e.g.* 1^{42} 3^{26} 5^{12}). In construction he has a preference for the use of εἶναι and ἐλθεῖν with the participle; *e.g.* ἦν ἐνδεδυμένος . . . καὶ ἔσθων (1^{6}); ἦσαν καθήμενοι καὶ διαλογιζόμενοι (2^{6}); ἦν κράζων καὶ κατακόπτων (5^{5}). He is accustomed to heap participles together (as in 1$^{21. 41}$ 5^{25} 14^{67} etc.), and to use ἄν with the indicative (ὅταν αὐτὸν . . . ἐθεώρουν, 3^{11}; ὅταν ἐγένετο, 11^{19} etc.). He has a liking also for the use of the article with the infinitive (*e.g.* διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν . . . δεδέσθαι καὶ διεσπάσθαι, 5^{4} etc.). The 'historic present' is frequent (Hawkins, 113 ff.). Broken and irregular constructions are by no means unusual (cf. 2^{22} 3$^{16-18}$ 8^{2} 9^{20} 13$^{14. 34}$ etc.).

The connexion of the sentences, again, is of the simplest, one being attached to the other usually by a καί or a δέ. There is a marked absence of such particles as οὖν. But there is considerable freedom in the use of prepositions, and there is more in the use of the tenses. The latter vary, often within the same sentence, so as to express changes in circumstance, position, or point of view (*e.g.* ἐγήγερται . . . ἠγέρθη, 6^{14}; ἐλύθη . . . ἐλάλει . . . διεστείλατο . . . διεστέλλετο, 7$^{35. 36}$; ἐξεθαμβήθησαν . . . ἠσπάζοντο, 9^{15}; cf. 5^{15} etc. 9^{34} etc. 15^{44} etc.).

The *style* has the constant qualities of life and force. When elaboration or repetition is needed in order to make his narrative distinct and vivid, Mark employs a copious phraseology, and adds word to word, *e.g.* 'he went out and began to *publish it much* and to *blaze abroad* the matter' (1^{45}); 'I *know* not neither *understand* I what thou sayest' (14^{68}); 'that *sprang up* and *increased*; and *brought forth*' (4^{8}), etc. But usually Mark's style is terse. It abounds in passages which are remarkable for the large amount of matter compressed within the narrowest limits. Examples of condensed yet singularly distinct narrative are found everywhere. They are particularly frequent in the earlier chapters (cf. 1^{13} 1^{27} 2^{7} etc.), but are by no means strange to the later (cf. 8^{29} 12$^{38-40}$ etc.).

In much Mark's Greek is like that of the LXX, at once in vocabulary and in style. It differs both from that of Matthew and from that of Luke. It has a Hebraistic colouring. But it has less of that than Matthew, though more than Luke. It lacks the flow and the literary quality of the Greek of the third Gospel. It is the Greek of one to whom Greek is not his mother tongue, and who knows the language in its biblical, popular, and colloquial forms, not in its literary usage. The command of words is moderate, and the grasp of idiomatic expression is limited. But there is enough for the purpose—enough for simple, truthful narrative; not enough for a literary composition, but enough for the construction of a collection of notes and reminiscences.

iv. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.—From the earliest times to the present day the general opinion has been that the second Gospel was written originally in the language in which we now possess it. The testimony of antiquity is entirely in this direction. The Fathers either speak of Mark's Gospel as written in *Greek*, or proceed on the supposition, and betray no knowledge of any other view of it. And in the book itself there is little, if anything, to suggest aught else. It has been held by some, however, that the original language was *Latin*. This view found favour with Roman Catholic scholars of a former age, although it has been generally given up by their successors in our own time. It was upheld by Baronius (*Ad ann.* 45, No. 39) among others, and there were even those who thought that part of the Latin autograph was to be seen in the Library of St. Mark's, Venice. The document in question was found, however, to be simply a part of the Vulgate, and to belong to a Latin MS of the Gospels, another portion of which had found its way to Prague (cf. Dobrowsky, *Fragm. Pragense Ev. St. Marci vulgo autographi*; Simon, *Hist. Crit.* iii. 14; Gregory-Tischendorf, *Proleg.* p. 185).

It is true that the subscriptions of certain manuscripts (*e.g.* 160, 161) speak of this Gospel as written in Latin (*ἐγράφη Ῥωμαϊστὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ*). But they are few in number and of relatively late date, not earlier in any case than the 10th century. It is true, too, that the same idea is conveyed in the subscriptions or marginal notes of certain versions — the Peshiṭta and Harcleian Syriac (*Latine Romæ*). But there is probably nothing more in this than a hasty inference that, if the Gospel was written in Rome or for Roman readers, it must have been written in the Roman tongue. There is absolutely nothing in Patristic testimony to support the theory of a Latin original. It is hard to believe that such an original could have perished so completely. It is true that there is the supposed parallel of a Hebrew original for Matthew's Gospel (see art. on latter). But in that case there is an early and considerable tradition at the basis of the theory, whereas in Mark's case the original, if it was in Latin, has disappeared without leaving a trace of itself. And further, if the second Gospel was meant specially for Roman Christians, the probability is all on the side of its being composed in Greek, as St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans in that tongue. Colloquial Greek would be a more natural medium of communication between the evangelist and Roman Christians than Latin.

It has also been held that this Gospel was written originally in *Aramaic*. Blass (cf. his *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 196, etc.) in advocating this view points to the condition of the text, which suggests, he thinks, the existence of a 'plurality of versions of a common Aramaic original.' But the data which he produces, though ingeniously presented, are neither numerous enough nor certain enough for the purpose. His argument in other directions is also mixed up with doubtful speculations. It implies that Papias mistook a translation for the original. It supposes that in the first part of the Bk. of Acts Luke followed an author who had written in Aramaic, and that this author was Mark. To say that Mark's Gospel had Aramaic sources is one thing, to say that it was written in Aramaic is a different thing. The theory in question makes the Mark which we have a translation, and the argument in view fails to account for the many things in the book, in its style and its strong individuality, which give it the character of a primary, not a secondary composition.

v. STATE OF TEXT AND INTEGRITY OF THE BOOK.—The *text* of the second Gospel, like that of the others, is in a satisfactory condition. It is attested by the Primary Uncials (including C, which gives chs. 1^{17}–6^{31} 8^{5}–12^{29} 13^{19}–16^{20}); by most of the later uncials which are of special interest in respect of age, completeness, or character of text, *e.g.* E, K, L, M, N, S, U, V, Δ, Π (complete, but having 16^{18-20} in a later hand), Σ (containing all but 16^{14-20}), Φ, etc.; by the mass of the cursives, among which are 1, 33, the Ferrar group, and others of critical importance; and by the best of the ancient versions—Latin (Old Lat. in its best MSS, and Vulg.), Syriac (Old Syriac, both Curetonian and Sinaitic, Peshiṭta, Harcleian, Palestinian), Egyptian (both Memphitic and Thebaic), Ethiopic, Gothic, Armenian; and by a large body of Patristic evidence.

It presents, nevertheless, not a few problems, of more or less importance, in textual criticism. The chief of these is the one raised by the existence of alternative endings. But there are others of smaller compass which are of interest. They are spread over most parts of the Gospel, and in many cases have a considerable bearing on the exegesis. Instances are found in 1^{1} (the *τοῦ θεοῦ*); 1^{2} (the reading *ἐν τῷ Ἠσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ*); 1^{4} (the point of the description of the Baptist being affected by the retention or omission of *ὁ* and *καί*); 1^{27} (the *διδαχὴ καινή*); 3^{18} (*Καναναῖον*); 4^{28} (*πληρὴς* or *πληρὴ σῖτον*); 5^{1} (*Γερασηνῶν*); 5^{36} (*παρακούσας*); 7^{3} (*πυγμῇ*); 7^{8} and 7^{26} (the omissions); 8^{22} (*Βηθανίαν*); 8^{24} (the graphic reading *βλέπω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅτι ὡς δένδρα ὁρῶ περιπατοῦντας*); 9^{29} (the omission of *καὶ νηστείᾳ*); $9^{44. 46. 49}$ (the omission of the sentences *ὅπου σκώληξ*, etc., and *καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται*); $11^{8. 26}$ (the *στιβάδας* in the former and the omission of the latter); 13^{14} (the omission of *τὸ ῥηθέν*, etc.); 14^{19} (the omission of *καὶ ἄλλος, Μήτι ἐγώ*); 14^{35} (*προελθών*); 15^{28} (its omission). Of special importance are these—the reading *ἁμαρτήματος* for *κρίσεως* in 3^{29}; the well attested *ὁ τέκτων* in 6^{3}; the *ἠπόρει* for *ἐποιεῖ* in 6^{20}; the puzzling *αὐτοῦ* for *αὐτῆς*, supported by א, B, D, L, Δ, in the description of the damsel in 6^{22}; the *καθαρίζων*, attested by א, A, B, L, and many cursives in 7^{19}.

The only case affecting the *integrity* of any considerable part of the Gospel is that of the concluding paragraph. It is also the great problem in the textual criticism of the book. The documents show three different forms for the close of the Gospel—(*a*) the longer form as given in TR, embracing 16^{9-20}; (*b*) the shorter form, ending with *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ* in 16^{8}; (*c*) an intermediate form which runs (with some variations) thus—*πάντα δὲ τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πετρὸν συντόμως ἐξήγγειλαν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐφάνη αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἄχρι δύσεως ἐξαπέστειλεν δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον κήρυγμα τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας.*

The intermediate form is found in 4 uncials (L, $ך^{12}$, ק, Ψ), the cursive 274 (in a footnote), the margin of the Harcleian Syriac (with a note), the margin of two good MSS of the Memphitic, and certain MSS of the Ethiopic (continuously with 16^{8}, and followed immediately, without note, by 16^{9-20}). In most cases it appears as an alternative to the longer form; but in the Old Latin codex *k* it is given alone. In style it resembles Luke rather than Mark. Neither in whole nor in part has it been found in any of the Patristic writings. It is probably due to a scribe or editor of early date, who found it difficult to believe that the Gospel could have terminated so abruptly as it does at 16^{8}, and there is no reason to suppose that it ever found a very extended acceptance.

The question is as to the comparative claims of the other two forms. The longer conclusion is supported by the vast majority of uncials, including A, C, D, E, F, G, H, K, M (N), S, U, V, X, Γ, Δ, Π, Σ, Ω, ב, by the cursives in a body, most of them giving the paragraph 16^{9-20} without note, 20 or more of them stating that it was found in the best manuscripts, though it was wanting in some; by all the Lectionaries for Easter and Ascension Day, by the Old Latin (*c*, *ff*, *g*, *l*, *n*, *o*, *q*) and Vulgate versions, the Curetonian, Peshitta, Harcleian and Jerusalem Syriac, the Memphitic or Bohairic, Gothic (in part), Ethiopic (as a secondary reading), and Armenian (in later MSS); and by many of the Fathers, including Justin (possibly), Hermas (doubtfully), Irenæus, Eusebius or his correspondent Marinus, Macarius as reporting an anonymous heathen writer, Epiphanius, Didymus, Nestorius, Chrysostom (doubtfully), Ambrose, Augustine, and most Latin writers after these, as well as by the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the *Gesta Pilati*, the Syrian Aphraates, etc. It is also urged in its favour that the competing conclusion is inconceivably abrupt.

On the other hand, the shorter ending is given in the two great uncials ℵ and B (the latter leaving a column blank), by L (as one of three endings), by the cursive 22 (with a note and as one of two endings), by *k* of the Old Latin (implicit), the margin of the Harcleian Syriac, the Sinaitic Syriac, the best MSS of the Armenian, and by the Ethiopic in some of its older MSS. It is also favoured by Eusebius (who speaks of vv.$^{9-20}$ as not found 'in all the copies' or 'in the accurate copies'), by Jerome (who probably repeats Eusebius, stating that the passage is found 'in few Gospels, almost all the Greek copies not having it'), by Victor of Antioch, and by the writer of the Oration on the Resurrection, wrongly attributed to Hesychius of Jerusalem or to Severus of Antioch. The lack of all reference to it in writers who might have had occasion to deal with it, such as Cyril of Jerusalem, Cyprian, Tertullian, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory Naz., Gregory Nyss., Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, is also significant.

Internal considerations, too, are, on the whole, adverse to the longer conclusion. It is true that *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ* makes an extremely abrupt termination. But such terminations, even where the last word happens to be a particle, are not unknown in Greek literature. It is true, too, that it seems strange that the evangelist should close his narrative with a single incident of the Lord's risen life, and that one in which we are left with the final impression of terror. But this may be due to the narrative having been left for some reason unfinished, or less probably to the loss of a leaf; while in point of fact the additional statement in 16^{9-20} does not give the harmony and completeness which one expects. But, further, there is a marked difference between the two paragraphs in general character. It is easy indeed to make too much of matters of vocabulary and style where the area of comparison is so limited, and some of the alleged peculiarities of the longer ending may admit of explanation. The fact, however, remains, that in 16^{9-20} there is an unusual number of words and phrases that are strange to Mark, *e.g.* *θεάομαι*, *ἀπιστέω*, *μετὰ ταῦτα*, *πρώτῃ σαββάτου*, *ὁ κύριος* as applied to Christ, *πορεύεσθαι* (three times in this section, and nowhere else), *πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις*, *τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα*, *παρακολουθέω*, *ἐπακολουθέω*, *βεβαιόω*, etc.

The style, too, changes. It is less graphic, but more constructive. It drops the simple connexion by *καί*, and runs in terms of *μετὰ ταῦτα*, *ὕστερον δέ*, *ὁ μὲν οὖν*, *ἐκεῖνος δέ*, etc. There are peculiarities also in its matter. Mary Magdalene, who has been introduced in 16^1, is mentioned in 16^9 as if for the first time, and gets a note of identification (*ἀφ' ἧς ἐκβεβλήκει ἑπτὰ δαιμόνια*). The motive of the paragraph seems not to be purely historical. The thing on which all turns in it is the passing of the apostles out of their first hopelessness, unbelief, and weakness into the certitude, the courage, and the power of faith. To exhibit this is perhaps the purpose for which it was written. In any case it is complete within itself. It is 'a condensed fifth narrative of the Forty Days' (Hort), a summary of the appearances of the risen Christ and their effect upon the apostles, concluding with His ascension, and their subsequent work.

The probability, therefore, is that these last twelve verses did not belong to the original form of the Gospel. This probability is strengthened both by the case of the intermediate ending, and by the consideration that there was an inducement to supplement the narrative so as to remove the strangeness of the shorter conclusion. In view of the peculiarities of style and connexion, it is difficult to suppose that it was added by the original hand. It must have been of very early date, however, and it is not the kind of addition that can be readily explained as a work of mere invention. It embodies a true apostolic tradition, and may have been written by some companion or successor of the original author. In an Armenian manuscript of the Gospels, which was discovered in 1891 in the Patriarchal Library of Edschmiatzin, and is stated to be written A.D. 986, the paragraph bears to be the work *Of the Presbyter Ariston*. It is suggested by Mr. F. C. Conybeare, the discoverer of the manuscript, that this Ariston may be the Aristion who is named by Papias (Euseb. *HE* iii. 39) among the disciples of the Lord, and that the question of the authorship of these twelve verses is thus solved (*Expos.* viii. [1894] p. 241, etc., and in Swete's *St. Mark*, p. ciii ff.).

The genuineness of the paragraph has been defended by R. Simon, Mill, Bengel, Wolf, Eichhorn, Storr, Kuinoel, Matthæi, Hug, Scholz, Guericke, de Wette, Olshausen, Bleek, Lange, Ebrard, Bisping, Hilgenfeld (in part), McClellan, Scrivener, Canon Cook, Dean Burgon, Morison, Wordsworth, G. Salmon, E. Miller, etc. It is contested by Michaelis, Fritzsche, Griesbach, Lachmann (although according to their method these two give it a place in their texts), Credner, Ritschl, Meyer, Ewald, Reuss, Holtzmann, Keim, Hofmann, Tischendorf, Zahn, Tregelles, Schaff, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Alford, Swete, and most English scholars. Some (Scholten, etc.) have solved the difficulty by supposing that the Gospel had originally a different conclusion; and attempts have been made (by Ewald, Holtzmann, Volkmar, and Ritschl) to restore this hypothetical ending. But these have been more venturesome than convincing. (See the great critical editions by Tischendorf, Tregelles, and especially Westcott and Hort (*Appendix*, pp. 28–51); Scrivener's *Introduction to the Criticism of the NT*; Burgon's *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to S. Mark*, etc.; Weiss, *Das Markusevangelium*; Klostermann, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 298–309; Martin, *Introduction à la critique textuelle du NT*, partie pratique tome ii.; G. Salmon, *Introd. to the NT*, pp. 141–151; Harnack, *Bruchstücke des Ev. u. der Apoc. Pt.*, 2 Aufl. p. 33; Rohrbach, *Der Schluss des Markusevangelium*; Strzygowski, *Byzantinische Denkmäler*, I. (1891); Resch, *Ausserkanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evang.* ii. pp. 450–456; Swete, *The Gospel acc. to St. Mark*, pp. xcvi–cv; Zahn, *Geschichte des NT Kanons*, ii. pp. 910–938, and *Einleit. in das NT*, ii. p. 227, etc.).

vi. GENIUS OF THE GOSPEL.—The second Gospel has a noticeable individuality. Qualities which at once catch the eye distinguish it from its companions. One of its most marked characteristics is the simple *objectivity* of its narrative. It is not the product of reflection, nor does it give things coloured by the writer's own ideas. It has been called a 'transcript from life' (Westcott). It is in the main a simple and unqualified transcript. It has been described also as the *realistic* Gospel, and the description is just if it means that Mark brings things before us as they were, simply and entirely as they were, and as if one's own eye were on them. With this, too, it has the charm of a singular *vividness*. It is beyond the others graphic and dramatic, rich in pictorial effects and lifelike touches. This is true in some degree even of the discourses. It is pre-eminently true of the deeds and incidents. Examples are seen in the narratives of the storm (4^{36-41}), the demoniac (5^{1-20}), Herod's feast (6^{21-29}), the feeding of the 5000 (6^{35-39}), the blind man (8^{22-26}), the son with the dumb spirit (9^{14-29}), the rich young ruler (10^{17-22}), Bartimæus (10^{46-52}), etc. Often the effect is produced by a single word or phrase, *e.g.* the κύψας in 1^{7}; the σχιζομένους in 1^{10}; the ἐκβάλλει in 1^{12}, as compared with Matthew's ἀνήχθη and Luke's ἤγετο; the εὐθὺς ἄρας τὸν κράβαττον in 2^{12}; the ἐπέβαλλεν and the γεμίζεσθαι in 4^{37}; the περιπατῶν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης in 6^{49}; the προσωρμίσθησαν in 6^{53}; the κράξας, σπαράξας, etc., in 9^{26}; the θερμαινόμενον in 14^{67} etc. It belongs to the same quality of vividness that the direct form of speech is so often chosen, *e.g.* 'Peace, be still' (4^{39}); 'Come out of the man, *thou* unclean spirit' (5^{8}); 'Send us into the swine' (5^{12}); 'Come ye yourselves apart' (6^{31}); '*Thou* dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him' (9^{25}).

So, too, Mark preserves notable words of Christ in the mother tongue (*Boanerges*, *Talitha cum*, *Ephphatha*, *Corban*, *Abba*), and delights to record His actual gestures and movements. Thus he tells us how He 'looked round about' on the men in the synagogue (3^{5}); how He 'turned him about in the press' (5^{30}); how He 'looked up to heaven' when He took the loaves and the fishes (6^{41}), and when He cured the deaf-mute (7^{34}); how He 'turned about, and looked on the disciples' (8^{33}); how He 'sat down and called the twelve' (9^{35}); how He took little children 'up into his arms, and put his hands upon them' (9^{36} 10^{16}); how 'beholding' the young ruler He 'loved him,' and 'turned about and looked on his disciples' ($10^{21. 23}$); how He 'looked round about upon all things' in the temple profaned (11^{11}).

Akin to this, too, is the quality of peculiar *circumstantiality*. Mark's is the Gospel of greatest detail. As a general rule, it is richer than the other Gospels in the particulars which go to give certainty and distinctness to narrative. It is copious in indications of time, place, number, situation, and the like. It tells us, *e.g.*, that the swine which 'ran violently down a steep place into the sea' were 'about two thousand' (5^{13}); that the disciples were sent forth 'two and two' (6^{7}); that on the occasion of the miracle of the 5000 the people 'sat down in ranks, by hundreds and by fifties' (6^{40}); that Jesus went to pray, rising up 'a great while before day' (1^{35}); that it was 'the third hour' when they crucified Him (15^{25}); that it was 'very early in the morning, the first day of the week, . . . at the rising of the sun,' that the women came to the sepulchre (16^{1}). So, too, Mark explains how Jesus withdrew 'to the sea' (3^{7}); how He 'sat in the sea' (4^{1}); how He was in 'the hinder part of the ship, asleep on a pillow' (4^{38}); how He sat 'over against the treasury' (12^{41}), and on the Mount of Olives 'over against the temple' (13^{3}); and how the healed demoniac preached 'in Decapolis' (5^{20}); how Peter 'went out into the porch' (14^{68}); how the centurion 'stood over against' Jesus (15^{39}); how the young man was seen 'sitting on the right side' in the sepulchre (16^{5}), etc.

'He is an author,' says Keim, 'in a flower-bedecked garment. . . . He makes the narratives more effective by the contrast between rapid progression—marked by the continually repeated "immediately"—and contemplative stillness, painting the scenery with a thousand touches, the house, the sea, the followers, the growing throng, the names of persons, the numbers of the men and of the animals and of the pieces of money, the greenness of the grass, the pillow in the stern of the boat on Gennesareth—all given with a preference for affectionate and familiar diminutives, and in the present tense' (*Jesus of Nazara*, Eng. tr. i. pp. 128, 129.

It belongs also to its genius that it is distinctively the Gospel of *action*. It is this in a twofold sense. Its primary interest is in deed and incident rather than in discourse. It does not limit itself, it is true, wholly to the works of Christ. It gives a considerable place to dialogue, and records not a few of our Lord's briefer sayings. But these seem to be introduced mainly because of their connexion with the events and acts; while the longer discourses, which are characteristic of each of the other three evangelists in different ways, do not appear in Mark. The one great exception is the Eschatological Discourse in ch. 13. It is the Gospel of action, too, in the sense that its narrative of the deeds of our Lord is rapid, energetic, undisturbed by reflection, moving steadily and regularly to its goal. The only passage that is of the nature of an episode is the story of Herod (6^{17-29}). With the briefest possible preface it goes straight to its main subject, the official ministry of Christ; and it proceeds with that subject with a simple and rapid directness, passing from one thing in it to another often by abrupt transitions and without pausing to study form or artistic connexion. The same holds true of it when it goes beyond the function of a chronicle. It does not always confine itself to the simple report of what was done by Christ and others or what befell them. In not a few cases it records the impressions which were produced—the *awe* and *wonder* with which the crowds beheld Christ's works or heard His words ($1^{22. 27}$ 2^{12} 6^{2}); the eager anxiety of the multitudes to get near Him as they *thronged* and *pressed* Him, so that there was *scarce room to stand, or sit, or leisure even to eat* (2^{2} $3^{10. 20. 32}$ 4^{1} $5^{21. 31}$ $6^{31. 33}$ 8^{1}); the feelings of *fear*, *sore amazement*, *astonishment*, and the like, which overcame the disciples (4^{41} 6^{51} $10^{24. 26. 32}$). At times Mark even *explains* cases that he records, *e.g.* Herod's attitude to the Baptist (6^{19}); the terror of the disciples when they saw Jesus on the sea (6^{52}); the silence of the women (16^{8}), etc. He deals in the same way now and again with things which he reports Christ to have done (*e.g.* the 'knowing in himself that virtue had gone out of him,' 5^{30}; the καθαρίζων πάντα τὰ βρώματα 7^{19} etc.). But all is done rapidly and by a few clear strokes. It is in harmony with this that Mark presents Christ so largely in the *energy* of His superhuman power. The prevailing aspect in which the second Gospel sets forth its Subject is not that of the Son of David and Abraham, in whom Matthew sees the fulfilment of OT prophecy; nor that of the Son of Adam, in whom Luke sees the Perfect Man, the Saviour for all mankind, the minister of love and compassion for the worst and most despised; nor the eternal Word, in whom John sees the fulness of the Godhead. It is that of the 'Son of God with power' (Ro 1^{4}), moving among men with His gift of miracle, and making the things of nature the servants of His grace. So Mark gives a large place to His mighty works, and exhibits Him in the majesty of His energy. He shows us how He used His miraculous power; how that power was felt and recognized by different classes; how the multitudes believed in it and made their appeal to it, and brought their sick to Him, confident that if they could secure His notice or even touch Him it would be enough (1^{32} 3^{10} 5^{28} 6^{56} etc.); and how resistless were the effects that were produced alike on people and on disciples by His wonderful works (1^{27} 2^{12} 7^{31} etc.).

Yet this is not due to any neglect of His true humanity. It is a remarkable fact that, while this Gospel depicts the Jesus of history so pre-eminently in His *power*, it records with literal faithfulness things which might seem so far to limit that power. It tells us how the unclean spirits first resisted (1^{24}); and how He could 'do no mighty work' in Nazareth (6^{5}). It describes with precise and vivid circumstance those miracles which were wrought not instantaneously and by word, but with comparative slowness and by the use of means (7^{31-35} 8^{22-26}). It is also rich in touches which speak to the identity of Christ's human nature with ours in feeling and in the experience of infirmity, revealing Him not only in His compassion (6^{34} 8^{2}), His love (10^{21}), His majesty and serenity (4^{37-40} 9^{2-8} etc.), but in His sense of hunger (11^{12}), His need of rest (4^{38}), His anger and displeasure (3^{5} 10^{14}), His sighing (7^{34} 8^{12}), His wonder (6^{6}), His grief (3^{5}), His longing for solitude (1^{35} 6^{30-32} etc.).

The peculiar place which the *disciples* have in this Gospel has also been noticed. They have a large place in all the Gospels, and much of each of the Gospels is given to the description of how the apostles were taught and trained by their Lord. But Mark appears to dwell with a special interest on all that belongs to the disciples—their intercourse with Christ, the way in which they became first attached to Him, the deepening of that attachment, the choice of Twelve from among them, the experience of the elect three, the things said and done by Christ with a particular reference to His immediate followers. So much is this the case that some would speak of it as distinctively the 'Disciple Gospel' (Weiss).

It has also been claimed for Mark that his is the *chronological* Gospel. But this is true only in a very qualified sense. His narrative is no more a *history* than are those of the companion Gospels, nor does it give events in strict chronological succession. There is at the same time a difference between Mark and his comrades in this respect as in others. Mark observes a certain order of a large kind in his report of Christ's teaching and in his account of His ministry. While he omits much, he gives what he includes in a certain connexion and sequence. The order which he exhibits, however, seems to be that in which facts came to him in the communications of his chief informant rather than that of actual occurrence. He does not follow the method of grouping words and events to the extent seen in Matthew, nor does he attempt the literary arrangement of the matter, as we observe it so far in Luke. It is by taking Mark's narrative, however, as the framework and adding to it from the other Gospels that we appear to come nearest the actual succession of events. His narrative, though not strictly chronological and by no means devoid of dislocations, is more *continuous* than those of the other Synoptists.

vii. HISTORICAL ATTESTATION.—The historical testimony to the early circulation and acceptance of this Gospel is sufficient. It is scantier, however, at the earliest point than might have been expected. There is scarcely any mention of the second Gospel in the Apostolic Fathers. In Clement of Rome there is one saying which looks like a reminiscence of Mk $4^{28.29}$ (1 *Cor.* 23), but it may come from another source. There are also two quotations (1 *Cor.* 15. 46) which are much in Mark's style. But they are scarcely sufficient to establish the fact of Clement's acquaintance with this Gospel (cf. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, pt. i. *in loc.*). Nor is there anything in Ignatius, Polycarp, or Barnabas to point certainly to the existence of the written Gospel, although some find references to Mk 16^{14} in Barnabas, c. xv. 9, and to Mark 9^{35} in Polycarp, *Philipp.* v. Much the same is the case with the Didaché, the Epistle to Diognetus, the Martyrium Polycarpi, the so-called Second Clement. Nor is there any quotation from this Gospel, or reminiscence of it, in the fragments of Papias, although there is much about Mark and his writing (Euseb. *HE* iii. 39, etc.).

It is perhaps somewhat different with Hermas, in whom we have one or two sayings which remind us of expressions peculiar to this Gospel. Thus *ἔνοχος ἔσῃ τῆς ἁμαρτίας* in *Mand.* ii. 2 recalls Mk 3^{29}; and the sentence *τοιοῦτοι οὖν δυσκόλως εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ . . . τοῖς τοιούτοις δύσκολόν ἐστιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν* points to the form in which Christ's declaration on riches appears in Mk ($10^{23.24}$) as distinguished from Mt and Lk. In Justin Martyr, again, there are several passages which have been thought to indicate an acquaintance with the second Gospel, *e.g. Dial.* 88 and *Apol.* i. c. 16, as compared with Mk 6^{3} 12^{30}; *Dial.* 106; also *Apol.* i. cc. 39, 45, 49, 50, and *Dial.* 32 as recalling perhaps Mk $16^{19.20}$. The most relevant of these are *Dial.* 88, where we have the phrase *τέκτονος νομιζομένου* applied to Christ, as Mark alone of the evangelists designates Him so; and *Dial.* 106, where mention is made of certain *ἀπομνημονεύματα* or *Memoirs* apparently of Peter, and the words Βοανεργές, *ὅ ἐστιν υἱοὶ βροντῆς* are given. These words occur in Mk alone of the Canonical Gospels, and there seems little reason for supposing (*e.g.* with Harnack, *Bruchstücke d. Ev. d. Petrus*, p. 37, etc.) that they are taken from the Apocryphal *Gospel of Peter* rather than from Mark.

We are on much more certain ground when we come to Irenæus. His testimony is as unambiguous as it is ample. He speaks of the 'fourfold Gospel' (*τετράμορφον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*, iii. 11. 8). He tells us both about Mark himself and about his Gospel. He quotes the opening words, *Initium Evangelii Jesu Christi filii Dei*, etc., expressly as Mark's (iii. 10. 6); and a number of passages are given by him in exact terms (*e.g.* 1^{24} in iv. 6. 6; 5^{31} in i. 3. 3; $5^{41.43}$ in v. 13. 1; 8^{31} in iii. 16. 5; 8^{38} in iii. 18. 6; 9^{23} in iv. 37. 5; 9^{44} in ii. 32. 1; 10^{38} in i. 21. 3; 13^{32} in ii. 28. 6. These quotations extend also to the disputed ending, 16^{19} being introduced thus—'in fine autem Evangelii ait Marcus *Et quidem Dominus Jesus, postquam locutus est eis, receptus est in cœlum, et sedet ad dexteram Dei*' (iii. 10. 6). A place in the line of historical witnesses may also be claimed for Athenagoras (*Legatio*, c. 33, though less definitely), the Muratorian Canon (in all probability), Hippolytus (especially Εἰς τὰ ἅγια θεοφάνεια, Lagarde's *Hippol.* p. 38, where Mk $1^{7.8}$ is quoted, also Περὶ χαρισμάτων and *contra Hær. Noeti*, Routh's *Opp.* i. 80, 545, as compared with Mk $16^{17.19}$), Tertullian (on whom see Rönsch, *Das NT Tertullians*, p. 148, etc.), Clement of Alexandria (*Adumbr. in Petr.* p. 1007, Euseb. *HE* ii. 15, vi. 14), the Clementine Homilies (*e.g.* ii. 19, iii. 54, 55, 57, xix. 20), etc.

There is evidence also to show that the second Gospel was known in the earlier heretical circles, especially the Gnostic. Irenæus refers to a sect who separated Jesus from Christ, and preferred Mark's Gospel (iii. 11. 7; the reference, however, is not quite certain), and to a Valentinian School as using Mk 5^{31} (i, 3. 3). Clem. Alex. also (*Strom.* iv. 72, *Exc.* 85) reports Mk 8^{38} as quoted by Heracleon, and the statement about Christ being 'with the wild beasts' as quoted by certain Valentinians (cf. also Sanday, *Gospels in the Second Century*, p. 177, etc.; Zahn, *Gesch. d. NT Kanons*, i. p. 741, etc.). References to our Gospel, especially to its last chapter, some doubtful, others more definite, are found in the *Gospel acc. to Peter* (on these see Zahn, *Einleit. in d. NT*, ii. p. 237, *Das Ev. des Petrus*, p. 53; Lods, *L'évangile de St. Pierre*, p. 64; Harnack, *Bruchstücke des Ev. u. d. Apoc. des Pt.* p. 33; Swete, *Akhmîm Fragment*, p. xl; Rohrbach, *Der Schluss des Markusev.* pp. 27–33, etc.).

To this it must be added that, as far back as we can trace the idea of a fourfold Gospel or the practice of harmonizing the Gospels, Mark forms one of the four. The idea of a fourfold Gospel, however, is probably of older date than Irenæus, some discovering indications of it a generation before the Bishop of Lyons (Taylor, *Witness of Hermas*, 1, etc.); and the practice of harmonizing, of which the first great evidence is Tatian's *Diatessaron*, is probably of earlier date than that work. It appears, therefore, that there is valid evidence to the fact that this Gospel was in circulation by the middle of the 2nd cent.; that by the last quarter of that century it had an established position; and that it became so generally recognized as to find a place in all the early lists of canonical books, whether of the Eastern Church or of the Western, in which the Gospels are given, and in all the great versions of the NT, including the Old Latin, the Egyptian, both Memphitic and Sahidic, and the Syriac in all its forms.

viii. AUTHORSHIP.—Ancient tradition connects the composition of this Gospel with two names—those of Mark and Peter. Much of the historical testimony, from Papias on to Jerome, which attests the early circulation and acceptance of the Gospel, also speaks to Mark as the writer, and this Mark is usually identified with the disciple of that name who appears in the NT in relation both to Paul and to Peter. This identification, indeed, has not been universally accepted. Some have taken the different accounts to point to several Marks. Hippolytus, *e.g.* (Fragment on the *Seventy Apostles*), distinguished between the cousin of Barnabas (bishop of Apollonia), John Mark (bishop of Bibloupolis), and the evangelist (bishop of Alexandria). On the ground that the earliest writers outside the NT do not call the person in question *John*, and represent him as the companion, not of Paul but of Peter, others (Grotius, Calovius, Schleiermacher, Tillemont) have held it necessary to affirm the existence of two Marks, a Pauline and a Petrine, and have ascribed our Gospel to the former (Kienlen). But the case is best satisfied by supposing, as most have done, that all the various references in Scripture and in tradition point to one and the same individual, especially as Barnabas makes the connecting link between Peter and Paul in the story of Mark.

The person to whom the preparation of this Gospel, therefore, is ascribed, is the disciple who in the NT is sometimes called simply Mark or Marcus (Ac 15^{39}, Col 4^{10}, 2 Ti 4^{11}, Philem ^{24}, 1 P 5^{13}), sometimes represented as having Mark for his surname, Ac $12^{12.25}$ 15^{37}, and sometimes called John (Ac $13^{5.13}$); while outside the NT he is spoken of as evangelist and as bishop of Alexandria, and in the later tradition as martyr (Euseb. *HE* ii. 16, iii. 39; Epiph. *Hær.* li. 6; Jer. *de Vir. Ill.* 8; Niceph. ii. 43). In the Gospel itself he does not appear, unless it be in the person of the young man who followed Jesus on the night of the betrayal, 'having a linen cloth cast about his naked body' (Mk $14^{51.52}$), or, as has also been conjectured, in the person of the 'man bearing a pitcher of water' whom the disciples were sent to meet in preparing for the passover (Mk 14^{13}). But elsewhere we see that he was a Jew by birth (Col $4^{10.11}$), the son of a certain Mary, a Christian lady apparently of some position and means, whose house in Jerusalem was a gathering point for believers (Ac 12^{12}), and cousin (ἀνεψιός) of Barnabas (Col 4^{10}). See preceding article.

In the NT the traditional author of the second Gospel is associated mostly with Paul. He is mentioned as returning to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas, after their visit to Jerusalem with the contributions of the Antioch Christians (Ac 12^{25}); as going with Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary journey, in the capacity of their ὑπηρέτης (Ac 13^{5}); as breaking away from them at Perga, and returning to Jerusalem (Ac 13^{13}); as causing a 'sharp contention' between the two friends when Paul proposed to revisit the Churches and declined to take him with them (Ac 15^{36-40}). He reappears, however, in Paul's company at the time of his first imprisonment, and sends salutations along with others through Paul (Col 4^{10}, Philem ^{24}). And he is referred to in appreciative terms by the great apostle in his second imprisonment in Rome as a friend whose presence he desired (2 Ti 4^{11}).

In the NT his association with Peter is quite subordinate. It is suggested in the notice of Mary his mother and Peter's reception in her house after his deliverance from prison (Ac 12^{12}), and it is implied in 1 P 5^{13}, where he is spoken of as Peter's convert (υἱός μου, however, not τέκνον μου). But this is all. In the non-canonical literature all is different. There the relation to Paul drops out of sight, and Mark is statedly associated with Peter. The tradition is both very ancient and remarkably continuous, beginning with Papias (reporting the Presbyter John, and giving also explanations of his own), and carried on by Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Jerome, etc. In these writers it assumes different forms, but as regards the main points it is consistent.

In Papias (Euseb. *HE* iii. 39) the presbyter speaks of Mark as Peter's ἑρμηνευτής, a term which is understood by not a few to mean that Mark acted as *interpreter* or *dragoman*, translating Peter's Aramaic into Greek; some (*e.g.* Bleek) supposing him to have served as *Latin* interpreter. It is better taken, however, to express the fact that he did the part of *amanuensis*, committing to writing, with more or less freedom in the composition, the oral communications of Peter. The Elder further says of him that he wrote down accurately, not, however, in order (ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει), all the things that he remembered, both those said and those done by Christ; that he was not himself a hearer of the Lord, but was indebted for his matter to Peter's instructions, which were adapted to the needs of his hearers, and were not designed to give a connected account of the Lord's words (οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων); and that he made no mistake, but made one thing his care, namely, neither to omit anything he had heard nor to set down anything false. It is to be noticed also that this statement defines the scope of Mark's work, or, as it is understood by Zahn and others, the extent of his dependence on Peter. What he is said thus to have written down is '*Some* things as he remembered them' (οὐδὲν ἥμαρτε Μᾶρκος, οὕτως ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν).

If Justin's ἀπομνημονεύματα αὐτοῦ (*Dial.* 106) are taken in their most probable sense as *Peter's* memoirs, Justin also is a witness to the belief that Mark's Gospel was substantially Peter's. Irenæus likewise speaks of Mark as the μαθητὴς καὶ ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου, the *interpres et sectator Petri*, who 'committed to writing the things preached by Peter,' but adds that he did this after the decease of Peter and Paul (iii. 1. 1, 10. 6). Clement Alex. (*Hypotyp.*, as in Euseb. *HE* ii. 14) enlarges the tradition, stating that when Peter had preached at Rome many who had heard him urged Mark to write down what had been spoken; that the evangelist did this; and that when Peter came to know it, he 'neither forbade nor encouraged it.' Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* iv. 5) says of the Gospel which Mark published that it 'might be affirmed to be the Gospel of Peter, whose interpreter Mark was'; and Origen (Euseb. *HE* vi. 25) speaks of Mark as having written 'as Peter directed him.' Eusebius himself, who has much to say on the subject, goes beyond Clement's negative position, and gives the report that the apostle confirmed or authorized Mark's writing at the request of the Churches (*κυρῶσαί τε τὴν γραφὴν εἰς ἔντευξιν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις*, *HE* ii. 15). And Jerome, who also speaks of Mark as Peter's *disciple* and *interpreter* (*de Vir. Ill.* c. 1), states in one passage that Mark wrote a short Gospel at the request of the brethren at Rome, and that Peter approved of it and authorized it to be read in the Churches (*de Vir. Ill.* c. 8), while in another (*Ep. ad. Hedib.* c. 2) he describes the Gospel as composed by Peter *narrating* and Mark *writing* ('habebat ergo Titum interpretem sicut et beatus Petrus Marcum, cujus Evangelium Petro narrante et illo scribente compositum est').

There are variations, therefore, in the traditions, particularly as to the time when the Gospel was written and the measure of its dependence on the apostle. In some forms it is represented as written during Peter's lifetime; in others, as composed after his decease. As time goes on, too, the tendency is to make Peter more and more responsible for it, until in Eusebius it is described as authorized by the apostle to be read in the churches, and in Jerome it is said to have been dictated as well as sanctioned and authorized by Peter. But the tradition is consistent all through in referring the authorship of the Gospel in one sense to Mark and in another to Peter. And the general view which it gives us of the Gospel is that of a composition embodying Peter's recollections of Christ's words and deeds, written by Mark from his notes of the apostle's discourses, and giving the substance of these discourses exactly as he heard them. The tradition is so ancient, so consistent in its main affirmations, and so widely extended, that only internal considerations of exceptional weight could justify its rejection. Does the Gospel as we have it, then, tally with it or not?

It has been contended by some that the second Gospel as we have it does not correspond with Papias' description, and cannot be the work which he ascribes to Mark (Schleiermacher, Weiffenbach, Beyschlag, S. Davidson, etc.). It is asserted that our Gospel is the composition of some unknown writer, who worked up into order and arrangement the unconnected notes which the evangelist had prepared. Mark's own work, it is held, cannot have been anything like a 'Gospel in the sense now understood, but something in the style of the Clementine Homilies—a *κήρυγμα Πέτρου*, in which Mark wrote down sayings, narratives, and teachings of the apostle Peter' (S. Davidson). Some (*e.g.* Wendt) have supposed that what Papias had in view was only a series of narratives, which are embodied in our present Gospel, and can be critically separated from it. And the hypothesis of an *Urmarkus*, a primitive pre-canonical writing, has been advocated in various forms (*e.g.* by Baur, Köstlin, S. Davidson, Jacobsen, etc.).

But there is no trace in ancient literature of this supposed *Urmarkus*. It has been thought, indeed, that we have a glimpse of it in a reference in Justin to a passage in Peter's *ἀπομνημονεύματα*, which is found only in the second Gospel (*Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 106; cf. S. Davidson's *Introd. to the NT*, i. p. 408). But this is utterly insufficient. There is no suggestion anywhere in early Christian literature of a substitution of a later writing for an earlier, or a transference of the name and authority of a preceding composition to our present Gospel. Nor is it easy to understand how a primitive writing by the evangelist Mark, giving an apostle's account of Christ's words and deeds, if it ever existed, could have been so absolutely lost and forgotten. And with regard to the evidence which is thought to be furnished by the Gospel itself as it exists, it is enough to say that it is of the most slender kind. It is urged, *e.g.*, that a series of older narratives is presupposed in 'the account of the replies of Jesus to objections and questions, given in the two groups, Mk 2^{1}–3^{6} and 12^{13-37}' (Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus*, i. p. 21, Wilson's tr., cf. *Lehre Jesu*, i. pp. 9 ff., 25 ff.), and that in 12^{13} we have the narrative of 3^{6} resumed. This is perhaps the strongest case, but it is not sufficient to take us back to an *Urmarkus*. The things, indeed, which are held by some to indicate that the book as we have it is the product of a process of compilation or literary remodelling are few in number, and can all be otherwise explained.

Neither can it be said that the reasons advanced for the contention that our Mark does not correspond with the writing described by Papias, are of sufficient weight to discredit the tradition. The statement that Mark wrote 'not in order' is not inconsistent with the kind or measure of arrangement which may be discovered in our Gospel. For Mark comes short at any rate of recording things in each case in the succession in which they actually took place, and attempts no literary form. Nor can it be allowed that the occurrence of certain repetitions (such are alleged, *e.g.*, in 6^{14} etc. 8^{28}; 4^{37-41} 6^{47-51}), or the omission of some particulars bearing specially on Peter (*e.g.* the want of the word *bitterly*, which is given by Mt and Lk in their account of his repentance, and the fact that he is not *named* as one of the two sent to prepare for the Supper), are of much weight. Most of the reasons, indeed, which are urged in support of the position are highly arbitrary or hypothetical. The fact, *e.g.*, that this Gospel gives the two distinct narratives of miraculous feedings is turned into an argument against its having derived its matter from an eye-witness. Much is made, too, of certain statements (*e.g.* 10^{2-8} 15^{38} as compared with 2 Co $3^{7-11.\ 18}$), which are declared to have 'passed through the mind of a Paulinist' (S. Davidson, *Introd. to the NT*, i. pp. 463–484).

On the other hand, the lifelike character of the narrative, its vividness and circumstantiality, and the peculiar fulness and certainty of knowledge which show themselves often in minute details, suggest that it is due, directly or indirectly, to an eye-witness. The difference between it and the apocryphal *Gospel according to Peter* in these and other respects is significant. There is much in it also to connect it with the apostle, as indicated by Papias and others. The great bulk of its narrative consists of things of which Peter might have personal knowledge. Peter's call, Peter's confession, the message of the risen Christ to Peter, are great turning-points in the story. There are many touches in the narrative (*e.g.* in 1^{16-20} 1^{29} 9^{5} $14^{54.\ 72}$ 16^{7}) which indicate first-hand knowledge, and that on the part of one like Peter. There are some things noticed in the other Synoptists which are unexpectedly omitted by Mark, *e.g.* Peter's walking on the water (Mt 14^{29}), his appearance in the incident of the tribute money (Mt 17^{24-27}), Christ's statement that He prayed for him individually (Lk 22^{32}), the great word addressed to him as the Rock (Mt 16^{18}). On some occasions, too, his name is not given where it is introduced by Mt or by Lk (*e.g.* 7^{17}, cf. Mt 15^{15}; 14^{13}, cf. Lk 22^{8}).

The silence of this Gospel in matters honourable to Peter has been commented on from the time of Eusebius (*Dem. Evang.* iii. 5) onwards, and explanations of most of these cases of suppression may be suggested. On the other hand, there are reports of incidents which would come most naturally from Peter, and there are suggestive occasions on which Peter is introduced in this Gospel, and only in it. It is only Mark who records, *e.g.*, that 'Simon and they that were with him followed after' Jesus when He departed into a solitary place at the beginning of His ministry (1^{36}); that he called Christ's attention to the withered fig-tree (11^{21}); that with his brother and the sons of Zebedee he questioned Jesus on the Mount of Olives about the destruction of the temple (13^{3}). It may be added that a comparison of the narratives which we have of the three scenes at which only Peter and James and John were present, the raising of the daughter of Jairus, the Transfiguration, and the Agony, will show that the versions given in the second Gospel have peculiar details and distinctive features which suggest not only that the writer had more immediate knowledge than Matthew and Luke, but that he had it from Peter. A certain likeness has also been observed between Mark and Peter in respect of style. Peter's First Epistle has at certain points a vividness that recalls Mark's way. His discourses as given in Acts show still more of the realistic faculty that is characteristic of Mark. It is noticed, *e.g.*, that there is much the same wealth of picturesque detail in the account of the cripple healed by Peter (Ac 3^{1-11}) as in one of Mark's narratives (see Farrar, *The Messages of the Books*, p. 61).

The phenomena of the Gospel, therefore, are not inconsistent with its Marco-Petrine origin. Of themselves they are quite insufficient to lead us to definite conclusions as to the authorship. But they are in harmony, on the whole, with the account of the composition of the second Gospel, which has come down to us from the 2nd century.

ix. Sources.—The chief source of the second Gospel is those discourses of Peter of which tradition speaks. Most of its matter looks like the apostle's reminiscences as transcribed and put together in a connected but unstudied way. This is most evidently and continuously the case with the first great section of the Gospel,—the narrative of the Galilæan ministry. It is the case also with the short intermediate section dealing with the Judæan and Peræan journeys, though the indications of particular acquaintance with dates, localities, and circumstances are somewhat fewer. And in the second main section, the narrative of the Passion, we have much the same features as in the first, with a greater fulness of statement, and with more of the element of discourse.

These Petrine reminiscences, however, will not account for all that is in the Gospel. The difference between the two main divisions in style and proportion, the more compressed character of the narrative in the former, the greater fulness and variety in the latter, the different treatment of discourse and the like, can scarcely be accounted for simply by the difference in the subjects. They seem to point to the employment now and again of other sources. There are some things which are due probably to Mark himself, such as the explanations about the Jewish washings ($7^{3.\,4}$), the comment on Christ's word regarding defilement—'*This he said*, making all meats clean' (7^{19}), and the incident of the young man ($14^{51.\,52}$). The long eschatological discourse in ch. 13 seems to require for its explanation a written source (cf. especially 13^{14}). There are some paragraphs, too, which are of so distinct a style as to point to dependence on another source, perhaps a written document. To these belong in particular the episode of Herod in ch. 6 and the opening of ch. 14.

It is difficult to say whether the Gospel owes any part of its matter to an editorial hand. It is most difficult to determine whether the *Logia* must be reckoned among its sources. Some, especially Weiss and Titius (the latter in the *Theologische Studien Herrn Prof. D. Bernhard Weiss zu seinem* 70 *Geburtstage dargebracht*), are of opinion that its contents cannot be explained without the assumption of some written source such as the *Logia*. There are passages occupied with discourse or conversation, it is held, which cannot be referred to independent oral tradition (*e.g.* 3^{23-29} 6^{7-11} $10^{29-31.\,42-45}$). The opening quotations ($1^{2.\,3}$), the secondary form of the voice from heaven at Christ's baptism (1^{11}), the account of the Temptation ($1^{12.\,13}$), and other things of a similar kind, it is argued by Weiss, indicate acquaintance with an earlier writing, and that writing can only have been the original apostolic source to which the other Synoptists are indebted. On the other hand, it is to be noticed that Mark, who is usually sparing in his report of Christ's sayings, is now and again fuller than Mt and Lk in the matter of Christ's private instructions to the Twelve, and that in Mk there is only one instance of a doublet proper (9^{35} with $10^{43.\,44}$; cf. Hawkins' *Horæ Synopticæ*, pp. 73, 81, 178). These things rather tell against the idea of a written source additional to Mark's notes of Peter's reminiscences. At the most, the debt to the *Logia* can only be very limited, and the influence of such a source very occasional. But in a few passages, and especially in ch. 13, these may be recognized.

x. Relation to Matthew and Luke.—While the three Synoptical Gospels cover for the most part the same field, and have also a considerable measure of agreement, especially in their latter portions, in the arrangement of events, they have also notable differences in the amount, distribution, and connexion of their matter. Mk wants much that is found either in Mt or in Lk. Such sections, *e.g.*, of Mt as chs. 1–2. 5–7, and of Lk such parts as chs. 1–2. 9^{51}–18^{14}, are entirely, or almost entirely, unrepresented in Mk. On the other hand, Mk has a small proportion of matter not found either in Mt or in Lk—amounting to about fifty verses. He has also a certain proportion of matter which is found either in Mt and not in Lk, or in Lk and not in Mt. Omitting the opening verse and the disputed conclusion, reckoning the second Gospel to consist of 106 sections, and deducting 5 as wholly peculiar to Mk, the result is that 93 are common to Mk and Mt and 8 not found in Lk, while 81 are common to Mk and Lk and 10 not found in Mt (Swete, *Gospel acc. to St. Mark*, p. lxiii).

Tried, again, by the test of characteristic words and phrases, and defining these as words and phrases which occur at least three times in Mk, and are not found at all in Mt and Lk, or occur in Mk oftener than in Mt and Lk together, Mk is seen to contain a comparatively small proportion of such—only some 37 in all; while in Mt the number is about 140, and in Lk about 86 (Hawkins, *Horæ Synop.* pp. 1–12). In arrangement, too, Mk differs considerably, as we have seen, from Mt and Lk—more especially from Lk—in the arrangement of the common matter on to the end of the ninth chapter; while from this point onwards there is general agreement, the main departures being in the cases of the withering of the fig-tree and the exposure of Judas.

But it has also to be noticed that in not a few passages, some brief and others of greater length, the second Gospel shows remarkable coincidences in word and phrase with Mt or with Lk. These are seen, *e.g.*, in Mk $4^{3.4}$, Mt $13^{3.4}$; Mk $4^{5-9.19}$, Mt $13^{5-9.22}$; Mk 8^{27}–9^{1}, Mt 16^{13-28}; Mk 9^{2-9}, Mt 17^{1-10}; Mk $1^{24.25}$, Lk $4^{34.35}$; Mk $3^{4.5}$, Lk $6^{9.10}$; Mk 10^{14-19}, Lk 18^{16-20}. There are certain parts, again, in which Mk exhibits verbal agreement partly with Mt and partly with Lk, as, *e.g.*, Mk 1^{40-44}, Mt 8^{2-4}, Lk 5^{12-16}; Mk 2^{13-22}, Mt 9^{9-17}, Lk 5^{27-39}. In what relation, therefore, does the second Gospel stand to these others? Is it *independent* of both and *prior* to them? Or does it occupy an intermediate position? Or is it dependent on both and posterior to them?

Ancient tradition is not in favour of the priority of Mk. It generally regards Mt as the first of the Gospels. Clement Alex. (Euseb. *HE* vi. 14) gives the tradition regarding the order of the Gospels. He reports it, according to Eusebius, as 'derived from the oldest presbyters,' and as being to the effect that the Gospels which contain the genealogies were written first. Augustine regarded Mk as dependent on Mt (*de Cons. Evang.* i. 2). And many in modern times have held Mk to be later than Mt, or than both Mt and Lk. Griesbach (*Opusc. Acad.* ii. p. 358, etc.) propounded the hypothesis that the second Gospel was derived from the first and third, partly by combination, and in larger measure by abridgment. In this he has been followed, with minor modifications, by Fritzsche, de Wette, Baur, Bleek, Delitzsch, Köstlin, Kahnis, and many more. In some cases Griesbach's view is followed, but with the additional supposition of a third written source, a *proto*-Mark (S. Davidson, etc.).

The arguments in support of the theory of Mk's dependence and posteriority are taken so far from the witness of tradition already referred to; from general considerations, such as the improbability that a Roman Gospel would precede a Palestinian; and from the evidence of quotations in ancient Christian literature, the attempt being made (but with doubtful success) to show that the earliest citations from the Gospels, particularly in writings like the *Gospel acc. to the Hebrews*, presuppose Mt and Lk, but not Mk. But the main arguments are based upon an analysis of the Gospel itself. It is held to be improbable that a Gospel which contains so little of the *discourses* of our Lord should be the earliest, and this improbability is thought to be confirmed by an examination of the contents of Mk, which discovers, it is held, many evidences of dependence, condensation, and alteration. Cases of incompleteness, obscurity, incongruous combination, and the like, are said to exist, which are explained, it is asserted, by haste, inattention, or lack of discernment in drawing from Mt and Lk. But surely incongruities of that kind are more likely to disappear than to persist when a writer is not first in the field and has the opportunity of consulting previous authorities.

Most of the instances, too, come to little. Why should it be necessary to suppose, *e.g.*, that when Mk (5^{15}) speaks of the demoniac as 'clothed,' he must have Lk's statement in view that 'he ware no clothes' (Lk 8^{27})? Or why should the centurion's cry, 'Truly this was a Son of God,' in Mark's record (15^{39}), presuppose that the evangelist had before him Matthew's statement about the earthquake, the rending of the rocks, and the opening of the graves? Those peculiarly graphic descriptions, which are usually taken to indicate Mark's originality, are in many cases (*e.g.* 5^{1-17} 7^{24} etc.) strangely interpreted as due to pragmatism, design, reflectiveness,—things suggestive of dependence and comparative lateness. For reasons which are not easy to grasp, the historical, geographical, and archæological explanations in such passages as 2^{26} 7^{26} 8^{10} etc., are supposed to betray the secondary character of Mark. But it is entirely to misunderstand these to speak of them as 'unimportant, prosaic, unsuitable, and trifling' (S. Davidson, *Intr. to NT*, i. 494).

Opinion, however, has gone more and more in the other direction. The independence and priority of Mk have been accepted by some (*e.g.* Ritschl) who originally held the other view; and scholars of different tendencies (Weisse, Wilke, Lachmann, Reuss, Thiersch, Ewald, Volkmar, Holtzmann, Schenkel, Weizsäcker, Weiss, Meyer, etc., and most English authorities) have been led, though not always in the same way, to the common conclusion that Mk is the most primitive of the Gospels. It is also very generally held that our second Gospel, or a source corresponding substantially to it, forms the basis of the first and third Gospels.

Many considerations, not a few of them of great force, support this conclusion. The peculiar freshness and realism of the second Gospel, the vividness of its descriptions, its liveliness even in dialogue, its precision and circumstantiality in its notices of time, place, custom, situation, and the like, and the simple objectivity of its narrative, are not consistent with the idea that it is the laboured work of an epitomizer (as Augustine supposed), or of a compiler who produces his composition by selecting, curtailing, and combining. These are characteristics that speak of originality and priority. Nor is it easy to understand why a writer should have set himself to the task of constructing out of two larger Gospels, which nevertheless were neither of them very large, a smaller Gospel, following much the same plan, and having very little new matter by which to justify itself.

Further, if Mark had Mt and Lk before him, the use he has made of them is strange. His selection of matter is puzzling. An epitomist or a constructor of abstracts is expected to cultivate brevity. But Mk does not always do that. In many cases where he reports the same incidents as Mt or Lk his narrative gets enrichments peculiar to itself. Sometimes, too, we should have to suppose him preferring the fuller version of Lk to the briefer version of Mt. And why should he omit such passages as Mt 9^{27-31} 12^{22} etc., or 14^{28-32} 17^{24-37}, where Peter is introduced, and so much of the richest matter of Lk, while he takes over short and less significant sections, such as $6^{12.13}$, cf. Lk 9^{6}; 6^{30} etc., cf. Lk 9^{10} etc.; 9^{38-41}, cf. Lk $9^{49.50}$ etc.?

It is to be noted, also, that Mk preserves his distinctive character all through, and does not owe anything that is peculiar either to Mt or to Lk. Nor do the cases in which Mk is held to give the clearest evidence of dependence on the other Synoptists stand the test of a careful examination. Much is made, *e.g.*, of Mk's tendency to adopt at points a copious narration and a twofold method of expression. This is explained by supposing him to have borrowed now from the one and now from the other. But it is found that these ways of writing are not confined to passages which might be regarded as extracts, but are generally characteristic of Mk. Not a few cases of agreement with Mt or with Lk, again, are thought to be best explained as the results of the carrying out of Mk's purpose to omit the longer discourses. But there are cases (*e.g.* 6^{56} 9^{40}) where Mk quotes Lk without the occasion created by a discourse; and there are paragraphs, such as those where the Sermon on the Mount (1^{21} etc.) and certain parables (4^{35} etc.) might come in, where the selection of verses cannot be explained by the mere wish to pass over these discourses. In short, the procedure which Mk must be supposed to have followed in these passages and in great parts of his narrative becomes incredible. He is made to leap from Mt to Lk and from Lk to Mt, taking a verse now from one and now from the other, and mixing up his borrowings in a way that can only discredit the hypothesis.

xi. PURPOSE.—The second Gospel gives no such declaration of its aim and intention as is found in the third and the fourth (Lk 1^{1-3}, Jn 20^{31}). But that its object was a simple, practical one, appears to be borne on its face. More subtle meanings, however, have been read into its story. That it was composed with a specifically dogmatic purpose, and that in the choice and presentation of its material it was ruled by that purpose throughout, was the contention of Baur and his school. The Tübingen critics dealt with it as a Tendency-writing constructed with the view of mediating between two antagonistic parties in the Church, and effecting their reconciliation. In harmony with their idea of the rise of the Catholic Church and the relation of the NT writings to that event, they explained the second Gospel as a neutral composition, prepared on the principle of taking over from Mt nothing that would offend Gentile or Pauline Christians, and from Lk nothing that would offend Jewish or Petrine Christians (so, too, Schwegler, Köstlin, etc.). Even the choice of the name given to the professed author was supposed to point to this, *Mark* being associated in the earliest literature both with Peter and with Paul. The same general idea was put by Hilgenfeld in the particular form of a purpose to mediate between the Jewish-Christian Matthew and the Pauline Luke.

Pfleiderer, again, takes this Gospel to be the product of Pauline influences adapted to mediating uses. He thinks the opening sentence which speaks of the 'Gospel,' the summary of the preaching of Jesus in terms of repentance and belief (1^{15}, cf. Gal 3^{26} 5^{6}), and other things in what follows, run in terms of Pauline ideas and expressions; that the recital of the wonderful works and the polemical discourses of Jesus is so put as vividly to contrast the free spirit of the Gospel with the narrow legalism of Judaism; and that the accounts given of the lack of spiritual discernment on the part of the disciples (Mk $9^{12.32}$, cf. 2 Co 4^{4} $5^{16.17}$, Gal 6^{12}), the lack of power on their side to expel evil spirits, while it was possessed by one who did not follow in their company (Mk $9^{18.19.38.39}$, cf. 1 Co 12^{3} $15^{9.10}$, 2 Co $12^{11.12}$, Gal 2^{6} 3^{5}), and similar things which appear prominently in Mk's record, are the 'Pauline reply to the glorification of the Twelve in the Apocalypse at the cost of the Apostle to the Heathen' (*Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 170–177). Thus the second Gospel is made a Pauline writing, connected with the Roman Church, and the product of the movement in behalf of a reconciliation between Paulinism and Jewish Christianity in which that Church took an early and leading part.

In the hands of Baur himself and his original followers, the purpose ascribed to Mk was connected with the place given to Mk as dependent on Mt and Lk. With the disproof of the latter position the situation is materially altered, and important members of the Tübingen school have broken away from Baur's presentation of the case. Hilgenfeld and Holsten deny that Mk can be later than Lk. Volkmar admitted that it cannot be later than Mt any more than Lk. Hilgenfeld finds in it a mild Jewish Christianity; Holsten and Volkmar discover in it a sharp Paulinism. Pfleiderer, too, who attempts to put a new complexion on the mediating purpose, has respect for the ancient tradition, but reads Mk through Paul. Apart, however, from these differences, the Tübingen theory in all its forms involves an interpretation of many passages of the Gospel which is in a high degree fanciful and artificial. It allegorizes freely in dealing with the narrative. Even in the hands of Pfleiderer Mk's reports of Christ's announcements of His death and resurrection become a 'strong hyperbole,' and his account of the transfiguration is regarded as a 'hieroglyphic'; while Peter's words about the building of three tabernacles (Mk 9^{5} etc.) are an expression of the 'desire to see the transient and the permanent, the old and the new, the letter and the spirit associated for all time' (*Hibbert Lect.* p. 176). The theory reads into the narrative references to divisions in the Church, and allusions to the condition of things in the post-apostolic age, which the common eye cannot see there. It does violence to the simple, natural, descriptive, reporting character of the record, and puts a strained meaning on Christ's words regarding the Law, His Messiahship, His Mission, the Sabbath, and much else.

A didactic purpose of another kind has also been attributed to the Gospel. It is understood to have been written with a view to the effect which the delay of Christ's Second Coming might have on the primitive Church. The hope of that event was waning. It was necessary to reawaken it, and to secure Christians against the loss of faith and courage. With this object the second Gospel was composed, Christ's life on earth being so set forth as to show that in it, 'apart from His glorious Return, Jesus has sufficiently attested the Messianic character of His Mission' (so Weiss, *Man. of Introd. to the NT*, § 46, 7). But even this is to ascribe too much art and didactic design to Mk. To give witness to Christ as the Messiah, no doubt, was in the purpose of Mk as in that of the other Synoptists. But beyond this Mk has no other object than to tell a simple story of things as they happened, and for the most part as Peter reported them to have been seen and heard.

xii. DESTINATION.—So far as historical testimony bears on the *destination* of the Gospel, it points to Gentile readers. That is the inference from the terms in which Mk is spoken of by Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* iii.), Clement Alex. (Euseb. *HE* vi. 14), Jerome (*de Vir. Ill.* c. 8), etc. The way in which Rome is connected by some of the Fathers (*e.g.* Clement Alex. and Jerome) with the request that Mk should write a Gospel, implies that it was also understood to have been written for Roman Christians in particular. The internal evidence amply sustains the former position, but leaves the latter uncertain. The existence of a number of Latinisms in Mk is not enough to prove Roman readers to have been specially in view. For while Latinisms occur in larger measure in Mk than in the others, they are not absolutely peculiar to it. Far less can this definite destination be inferred from such alleged peculiarities of its narrative as the reduction of coins to the Roman quadrans (12^{42}), its reference to the Roman practice of divorce, or the fact that it takes it for granted that the readers knew Pilate.

The locality of those addressed is not definitely indicated. But that they were Gentile Christians appears from the fact that Aramaic terms, which would be strange to Gentiles, are interpreted, and that Jewish customs, localities, seasons, etc., with which Gentiles could not be presumed to be familiar, are explained. Instances of the former are seen in *βοανηργές* (3^{17}), *ταλιθὰ κούμ* (5^{41}), *κορβάν* (7^{11}), *ἐφφαθά* (7^{34}), *ἀββά* (14^{36}), *ἐλωΐ, ἐλωΐ, λαμὰ σαβαχθανεί* (15^{34}), as also in *Βαρτιμαῖος* (10^{46}). To the latter class belong the statements on the Jewish washings ($7^{3.4}$) and on what was done on 'the first day of unleavened bread' (14^{2}); the interpretation of ‘defiled’ or ‘common’ as ‘unwashen’ (7^{2}); the explanation of the *λεπτὰ δυό* (12^{42}); and the descriptions of the Mount of Olives as *κατέναντι τοῦ ἱεροῦ* (13^{3}), of the *παρασκευή* or ‘Preparation’ as ‘the day before the Sabbath’ (*προσάββατον*, 15^{42}), etc.

Certain suggestive omissions and insertions may also form part of the same case, *e.g.* the omission of the genealogies, the passing over of the limitations put upon the mission of the apostles according to Mt 10^{5}, and the insertion (only in Mk) of the *πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν* in 11^{17}. The way in which the Jewish law passes into the background and the limited use of the OT have also their significance. Mk himself never quotes the OT, except once in the introductory paragraph ($1^{2.3}$; the passage in 15^{28} being of doubtful authority, as not found in ℵ, A, B, C, D, X, etc.). The entire number of references of all kinds to the OT is 67. Of these, only 7 are peculiar to Mk. The quotations amount to 23. They are generally in agreement with the LXX, with a few exceptions (those giving Is 29^{13} 40^{3}, Zec 13^{7}, Mal 3^{1}). With the one exception mentioned, all the references to OT in this Gospel and all the citations from it occur in reports of sayings of Christ or of those who spoke with Him.

xiii. PLACE AND DATE. — So far as historical testimony pronounces on the question of the *place* in which this Gospel was written, it is in favour of Rome. To this effect are the statements made by Clement Alex., Eusebius, Jerome, Epiphanius, and others. These statements have been suspected. But there is nothing to show that they were made under the influence of the belief that Mark wrote under Peter's superintendence; and they have nothing against them in ancient tradition, except that Chrysostom named Alexandria as the place. But in this he stood alone, his statement having no support even on the part of Alexandrian writers. The only other place which has been suggested is Antioch (so Storr). But the suggestion is founded on an uncertain inference from Mk 15^{21} and Ac 11^{20}.

The idea has been mooted that there may have been a publication of the Gospel both in Rome and in Alexandria (R. Simon, Lardner, Eichhorn). There are, it is true, one or two passages in the Fathers which bring the composition of the Gospel and a mission of the evangelist to Egypt or to Alexandria in particular together. Eusebius, *e.g.*, expresses himself thus: *τοῦτον δὲ Μᾶρκον, πρῶτον φασὶν ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου στειλάμενον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ δὴ καὶ συνεγράψατο κηρύξαι, ἐκκλησίαις τε πρῶτον ἐπὶ αὐτῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας συστήσασθαι* (*HE* ii. 16); and Jerome gives it even more explicitly, thus: ‘assumto itaque evangelio quod ipse confecerat perrexit Ægyptum, et primus Alexandriæ Christum annuntians, constituit ecclesiam,’ etc. (*de Vir. Ill.* c. 8; cf. also Epiph. *Hær.* ii. c. 1). But the passages do not imply that the Gospel was written or published at Alexandria. Rome, therefore, remains the only place with any claim on our attention so far as ancient tradition goes, and that Mk was in Rome with Paul appears from the NT itself (Col 4^{10}, Philem ^{24}). Whether it can be said that the NT represents Mk as in Rome also along with Peter, depends on the interpretation of *ἐν Βαβυλῶνι* in 1 P 5^{13}.

As the Gospel itself gives no certain indication of its *date*, opinions have differed greatly on the subject. They have been largely influenced by the views which scholars have taken of the purpose of the Gospel and of Mk's relation to the other Gospels. Those who have seen in it a Tendency-writing composed with a view to the harmonizing of two opposite parties in the Church, have naturally placed it very late. Baur himself put it far within the 2nd cent., our present Gospels having been assigned by him to somewhere between A.D. 130 and A.D. 170.

Those, too, who deny that Papias' statements refer to our Mk, and believe in the existence of an earlier and simpler Mk, naturally assign our Gospel to a comparatively late date. Dr. Samuel Davidson, *e.g.*, thinks A.D. 120 is as near the true time as we can get. Those who hold it posterior to Mt and Lk (Griesbach, etc.), or posterior at least to Mt (Hilgenfeld, etc.), put it at various dates after the destruction of Jerusalem. Volkmar referred it to A.D. 73. Hilgenfeld himself ascribes it to Domitian's time; Keim brings it down to about A.D. 115–120; Köstlin, distinguishing between two Marks, refers the earlier one to A.D. 65–70, and our present Gospel to the first decade of the 2nd cent. On the other hand, some have attributed to it a very early date. Theophylact, *e.g.*, and others place it some 10 years after Christ's death. The subscriptions of many manuscripts, both uncial and cursive, assign it to 10 or 12 years after the Ascension (cf. Harnack, *Chronologie*, pp. 70, 124). Schenkel refers it to A.D. 45–58; Hitzig, to A.D. 55–57.

The *data* available for the determination of the time of composition are limited and uncertain. The Paschal Chronicle places the Gospel at A.D. 40, and Eusebius in his *Chronicon* puts it in the third year of Claudius (A.D. 43). Irenæus and Clement Alex. both represent it as written after Peter's arrival in Rome, which might be early in A.D. 63. But they differ in that Clement speaks of it as composed while Peter was alive, whereas Irenæus describes it as published after the death of Peter and Paul.

Of the various historical testimonies, that of Irenæus appears to be both the most definite and the most credible. Doubt has been cast upon it. Some allow it to be nothing more than an inference from the statement made by the author of the Second Epistle of Peter (1^{15}) regarding his purpose to ‘have these things in remembrance’ after his decease (Fritzsche, Hug, Eichhorn). Others suspect it as if it were more doctrinal than historical (Weizsäcker). But these objections are not of serious weight, and the difference between Irenæus and Clement on the one point is neither sufficient to discredit the whole tradition, nor large enough to affect by more than a few years the indication of date which we get from tradition.

The internal evidence points on the whole to the same approximate period. There are things indeed in the Gospel which are thought to point to a later date than that suggested by Irenæus. The references to the coming of the Son of Man, and the final tribulation in 9^{1} 13^{24}, are said, when compared with their parallels in the first Gospel, to betray the disposition to put these events further forward than is the case in Mt. But it is precarious, to say the least, to build much upon the phrase ‘till they see the kingdom of God coming with power,’ as if it meant that the mighty effects of that kingdom must first be seen at large on earth. Nor can much be made of the change from ‘immediately after the affliction of those days’ in Mt 24^{29} to ‘in those days after that affliction’ in Mk 13^{24}. The use of the word *εὐαγγέλιον* in 1^{1} is taken to be another sign of a late date, the term being supposed to mean there ‘gospel history.’ But it may mean simply the ‘glad tidings’ or announcement of the promised Messiah. Internal considerations of this kind are altogether uncertain and inadequate. Nor do they gain much when it is urged in addition that it is antecedently improbable that any Gospel in the form of a regular, finished, written record could have been produced before the destruction of Jerusalem.

Much turns upon the view taken of the eschatological passages. The parable of the fruit-bearing earth (4^{26-29}) has been placed alongside these, and has been strangely regarded (by Weizsäcker) as an indication that the Gospel was composed after the destruction of Jerusalem. But the impression produced by the words on the *end* in ch. 13 (especially vv.$^{13. 14. 24. 30. 33}$) is different. They naturally suggest that the end as yet was only in prospect, and there is no passage which clearly means or certainly suggests that the fall of Jerusalem and the temple was an accomplished event. It is reasonable to suppose that, if so great a catastrophe in Jewish history had taken place within a recent or a comparatively recent period, there would have been indications of it in less obscure forms in the earliest of the Gospels. There are also occasional expressions, such as the reference to the presentation of the shewbread as if it were an existing custom (2^{26}), which imply rather that the city and temple were still standing. And there are others which are difficult to harmonize with a late date. It is admitted, *e.g.*, that 'the recollection implied in the notice that Simon was the father of Alexander and Rufus prevents the Gospel from being put too late into the 2nd cent.' (S. Davidson, *Intr. to the NT*, i. p. 508).

The period which seems to be made most probable, both by historical testimony and by internal considerations, is that between Irenæus' date and the year A.D. 70. Weiss proposes the close of the seventh decade, or about A.D. 67. A date only a little before the destruction of Jerusalem, perhaps early in A.D. 70, is as near as we can get. But where facts are so scanty and the indications given in the writing itself are of such uncertain interpretation, it remains a question only of greater or less probability.

LITERATURE.—Of the Comm. those especially by Victor, Theophylact, Maldonatus, Cornelius a Lapide, Bengel, Wetstein, Fritzsche, Morison, Schanz, Knabenbauer, Lange, Alford, Michelsen, Meyer, Cook (*Speaker's Commentary*), Holtzmann (*Hand-Commentar*), Plumptre (*Cassell's Commentary*), Riddle (Schaff's *Popular Commentary*), Plummer (*Cambr. Series*), Bruce (*Expos. Gr. Test.*), Gould (*Intern. Crit. Com.*), Swete.

Of the treatises on NT Introduction, those especially by B. Weiss, Th. Zahn, Hilgenfeld, Bleek, Reuss, Holtzmann, G. Salmon, S. Davidson, Jülicher, Godet. Also the following: Weiss, *Das Marcusevangelium*; Klostermann, *Das Marcusevangelium*; A. B. Bruce, *The Synoptic Gospels*; Charteris, *Canonicity*; Westcott, *Canon of the NT*, and *Introduction to the Study of the Four Gospels*; Kenrick, *Biblical Essays*; Pfleiderer, *Hibbert Lectures*, and *Urchristenthum*; Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristl. Literatur*; Grau, *Entwickelungsgeschichte des NT Schriftthums*; F. C. Baur, *Das Marcusevangelium nach seinem Ursprung u. Charakter*; F. C. Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Kan. Evang.*, and *Christenthum u. Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*; Schwegler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*; Hilgenfeld, *Die Evangelien nach ihrer Entstehung u. ges. Bedeutung*, *Kanon u. Tradition*, and *Das Marcusevangelium*; Weisse, *Die Evang. Geschichte krit. u. phil. bearbeitet*; Holtzmann, *Die Synopt. Ev., ihr Ursprung u. gesch. Charakter*; Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen über die Evang. Geschichte*; Credner, *Einleitung in das NT*; Credner, *Zur Geschichte des Kanons*; Griesbach, *Opuscula*; Ewald, *Die drei ersten Evangelien*; Hofmann, *Die heilige Schrift NT zusammenhängend untersucht*; Reinhard, *Observationes phil. et exeg. üb. Evangel. Marci*; Scholten, *Het oudste Evangelie*, etc.; Hitzig, *Ueber Johannes Markus u. seine Schriften*; Thiersch, *Kirche im apost. Zeitalt.*; Delitzsch, *Neue Untersuchungen üb. die Entsteh. u. Anl. d. Kanon. Evangel.*; Weiffenbach, *Die Papias-Fragmente über Marcus und Matthäus*; Ritschl, *Theol. Jahrb.* 1851; Huidekoper, *Indirect Testimony of History to the Genuineness of the Gospels*; Volkmar, *Die Evangelien, oder Marcus u. die Synopsis*; Holsten, *Die drei ersten noch ungeschr. Evangel.*; Gieseler, *Historisch-krit. Versuch*, etc.; Keim, *History of Jesus of Nazara*; Wilke, *Der Urevangelist, oder exeg.-krit. Unters. über das Verwandschaftsverhältnis der drei ersten Evang.*; Koppe, *Marcus non Epitomator Matthæi*; Gürike, *De fontibus Ev. Marci*; Knobel, *De Ev. Marci Origine*; Schultze, *Der schriftstellerische Charakter u. Werth des Ev. Marcus*; Schenkel, *Charakterbild Jesu*; B. Bauer, *Kritik der Ev. Geschichte*; Kienlen in *SK*, 1843; Bäumlein, *ib.* 1863; Badham, *St. Mark's Indebtedness to St. Matthew*; Titius, *Das Verhältnis der Herrnworte in Markusevangelium zu den Logia des Matthäus*; Hadorn, *Die Entstehung des Markus-evangelium*; Wright, *Some New Testament Problems*; Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*; Chajes, *Markus-Studien*; du Buisson, *Origin, etc., of Gospel of St. Mark*; Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

MARKET-PLACE is in RV the fuller and better rendering for the Gr. ἀγορά, oftener represented in AV by the more general term 'market.' Its primary and comprehensive sense is that of a place of assembly, which may as such be associated with various uses. We find it mentioned accordingly in connexion with the holding of trials (at Philippi, Ac 16^{19}), with public resort and discussion (at Athens, Ac 17^{17}), with business dealings and traffic, such as the hiring of labourers (Mt 20^{3}) or the buying and selling of goods, which implies risk of pollution (Mk 7^{4}), with the sports of children in its open space (Mt 11^{16}, Lk 7^{32}), and with the passing exchange of formal greetings in its thoroughfare (Mt 23^{7}, Lk 11^{43}). It always conveys the suggestion of openness and publicity, and forms a contrast to what takes place in private or within doors. The like associations of a place of counsel, of traffic, and of idling gathered round the Latin word *forum* (see APPIUS, MARKET OF). The ἀγορά was probably at first simply an open space; but it subsequently in the more important towns became marked off by colonnades, embellished by statues, and surrounded by public buildings for judicial and other business.

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

MARMOTH (B Μαρμωθί, A Μαρμαθί), 1 Es 8^{62} (^{61} LXX) = MEREMOTH, Ezr 8^{33}.

MAROTH (מָרוֹת).—A town named only in Mic 1^{12}. There is a play upon the name of this town, which means 'bitternesses' (LXX tr. יֹשֶׁבֶת מָרוֹת by κατοικοῦσα ὀδύνας), but there is much that is obscure both in this and in the preceding verse (see Wellhausen, Nowack, and esp. Ryssel, 32 f.). The site is unknown; but as Maroth is noticed with Saphir and other places in Philistia, as attacked by the Hebrews, it is probably to be sought in the plain between Lachish and Joppa. C. R. CONDER

MARRIAGE.—

i. Form and Duties of Marriage.
ii. The Sphere of Lawful Marriage.
    1. Conditions and Bars of Marriage.
    2. The Levirate Custom.
iii. Marriage Procedure.
    1. Betrothal.
    2. Nuptial Rites and Customs.
iv. The Moral Subversion of Marriage (Adultery).
v. The Legal Dissolution of Marriage (Divorce).
vi. Marriage as a Symbol of Spiritual Truths.

Marriage (with Fr. *mariage*, Ital. *maritaggio*, and transitional forms *maridatge*, *mariatge*, from Low Lat. *maritaticum*) is used to describe—(1) the legal relationship of husband and wife; (2) the act, ceremony, or process by which this relationship is constituted. In the former case it is equivalent to wedlock or the estate of matrimony (*Ehestand*, cf. Old Eng. *aéw* or *aé*, custom, marriage); in the latter it corresponds to the marriage ceremony (Germ. *Eheschliessung*), or, by an easy transition, to the whole of the proceedings of which that ceremony is the essential part (wedding, *Hochzeit*). For the estate of matrimony the OT has no name: where 'marriage' appears in our versions the translation is a circumlocution (Gn 34^{9}, Ex 21^{10}, Ps 78^{63}), and the want was only supplied at a late date by the Talmudic אישות and זווג. The function by which a union was constituted is also indirectly referred to by some verb indicating that one takes, or gives, or becomes a wife (see Note on *Nuptial Rites*). The idea of the rite is apparently conveyed by the word 'espousals,' but in Jer 2^{2} כְּלוּלֹת which is so translated really refers to the period of betrothal, while in Ca 3^{11} חֲתֻנָּה includes the whole marriage proceedings or wedding. The later word for the ceremony is נשואין or חופה. In NT 'marriage' translates γάμος, which, like the Eng. word, means both the estate of marriage (He 13^{4}) and the ceremony with its attendant proceedings (Jn $2^{1. 2}$), and also stands for the marriage feast (RV of Mt 22^{2}).

i. THE FORM AND DUTIES OF MARRIAGE AS DEVELOPED UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF REVELATION.—The history of marriage, in the extent which here concerns us, is the history of a Semitic institution which by natural development had reached a comparatively excellent form, and which, under the successive influences of Judaism and Christianity, was gradually improved and perfected. The fresher problem relates to the evolution of Hebrew marriage anterior to its contact with OT revelation; and the difficulty is to do justice, neither more nor less, to the theories which have been propounded as to the early history of marriage, and which at certain points claim biblical support.

1. *OT VESTIGES OF PRIMITIVE MARRIAGE.*—The scriptural account of the origin and history of marriage cannot satisfy the thorough evolutionist. According to the biblical representation, its perfect type was exhibited in the union of the first pair, upon this followed a declension to imperfect forms and sexual licence, and finally Christianity summoned mankind to realize the ideal by reverting to the divinely instituted original. But on evolutionary principles the ideal is to be found, not at the beginning but at the end —if anywhere; and the problem is to show from what base beginnings, under what impulses, and by what stages, marriage as we understand it came to be, and to be entrenched behind the laws. The theory which has served as the basis of the discussion (M'Lennan, *Prim. Mar.*) distinguishes four stages in the development—(1) a state in which the unions of the sexes were 'loose, transitory, and in some degree promiscuous'; (2) the system of polyandry, of which the lowest form is a kind of communal marriage, the highest the union of a woman with a band of brothers; (3) the reversal of polyandry in the system of polygyny; and (4) as the result of prolonged experience, and also of changed conditions, an exclusive monogamy. For a time this scheme was generally accepted as an assured result of anthropological science, but during the last decade it has been subjected to searching criticism, esp. by Starcke and Westermarck, and has been discredited in various important points. In particular, there is growing incredulity as to the alleged original promiscuity. Though the poverty of primitive languages in words expressive of relationships lends it some support, the counter-argument is stronger: human nature was sufficiently armed with jealousy, if not otherwise, to fight for and secure a better order from the first. As regards polyandry, it is not open to doubt that this form of union has played a part in human history of an importance which was till lately not even suspected. Still met with in widely remote parts of the globe, the custom of polyandrous marriage was yet more extensively prevalent in antiquity. The recollection of it is preserved in traditions and usages of the progressive nations of the old world, as well as in their notices of the manners of barbarians. It was doubtless at least one of the roots of the remarkable system of the Matriarchate, of which there are so many traces in ancient law, and which is still maintained by 'some score of peoples representative of all the great regions of the barbaric world.' But, important as this discovery is, there is a growing conviction that M'Lennan exaggerated. Even if it be admitted (and it is not admitted by all competent authorities) that the matriarchal system was exclusively the outgrowth of polyandrous marriage, the proof would still be far from complete that polyandry had been a universal and necessary phase in the evolution of the institution of marriage.

By the Matriarchate, maternal system or 'mother-right' is not to be understood a system in which women actually rule (gynækocracy), but only one in which they are regarded as constituting the family bond. They determine the recognized relationships, so that maternal relatives are treated as kin, while the paternal are ignored; and names and property are consequently transmitted through the offspring of the female members of the group. Such a system, M'Lennan contends, points to a time when paternity was usually, or in a great proportion of cases, uncertain. 'The connexion between these two things—uncertain paternity and kinship through females only—seems so necessary—that of cause and effect—that we may confidently infer the one where we find the other' (*Prim. Mar.*^{2} 126). This theory as to the origin of the maternal system is doubtless much more plausible than that of Bachofen, the pioneer in the field (*Das Mutterrecht*, 1861), who supposed that women, disgusted with the licentious primitive customs, rose in rebellion, procured the benefit of a marriage-law, and by their victory won an influence by which they reorganized the whole social life in their own favour. Starcke, however, denies that female descent necessarily points to uncertain paternity. 'The reckoning of kinship through the father only is a fact, yet no one has ever asserted that this is due to uncertainty with respect to the mother' (*Prim. Fam.* p. 18).

While Hebrew society in OT times represents an advanced stage in the evolutionary scheme, viz. that in which polygyny and paternal government are the dominant forms, the OT literature has nevertheless been largely drawn upon in the discussion, on the ground that it embodies survivals from the diverse customs of prehistoric times.

The evidence for a prehistoric stage of polyandrous marriage among the ancestors of the Hebrew stock is of no great weight. Most stress has been laid on the peculiar custom of the levirate marriage, which M'Lennan seeks to interpret as a right of succession derived from the special form of polyandry in which a family of brothers have a wife in common (*Prim. Mar.*^{2} 163), but this explanation is viewed with growing disfavour. Some use has also been made of the observation that the Hebrew words for brother, sister, and father occur with considerable latitude of meaning (cf. especially אָב with root-meaning 'nurturer,' thence 'progenitor' and even 'husband,' Jer 3^4; W. R. Smith, *Kin. and Mar.* p. 118) —the suggestion being that this points back to a time when paternal relationships were not distinguished because not ascertainable. It may, however, be safely said that these arguments would carry no conviction were it not for the assertion that an early stage of polyandry is proved to have been traversed by the kindred stock of the Arabs (*ib.*). And even the assertion that Tibetan polyandry prevailed among the early Arabs is only made in the modest form that it meets all the conditions of a legitimate hypothesis, and that the conditions under which this type of sexual relationship arises were actually present in Arabia (p. 124).

The evidence for the operation of the so-called matriarchate or 'mother-right' is of much greater weight, though some of the arguments are far-fetched and weak. (*a*) The custom of tracing descent through the female line may have survived in the distinction which long continued to be drawn between paternal and maternal relatives, with the consequence that marriage was allowed with a sister-german, a father's sister, a brother's daughter, etc. (see *Bars of Marriage*). From the same point of view Abimelech seeks assistance against his brothers from 'the family of the house of his mother's father,' and urges the plea, 'Remember that I am your bone and your flesh' (Jg 9^{1-5}). Agreeably to the same system, under which the uterine brothers have special duties of guardianship, we find that Laban is prominent in the negotiations about Rebekah's marriage (Gn 24^{29}), and that Simeon and Levi avenge the wrongs of Dinah (34^{25}). In the patriarchal history the family-tree of the two allied families in Syria and Palestine is worked out with reference to Milcah and Sarah (Fenton, *Early Heb. Life*, p. 7).* The force of much of this is indeed weakened by the obvious consideration that under a system of polygyny it is absolutely necessary for purposes of distinction to give prominence to the mother, and in case of domestic troubles to seek help of her kindred; but enough remains, especially in the matter of permitted degrees, to justify the belief that the Hebrew history contains fossil remains of the matriarchate. (*b*) The allegation that among these vestiges we are to reckon the so-called *beena* marriage, made simultaneously by M'Lennan and W. R. Smith, and since repeated with the utmost confidence, really rests on a most precarious foundation. 'In *beena* marriage,' to quote the former (*Patr. Theory*, p. 42), 'the young husband leaves the family of his birth and passes into the family of his wife, and to that he belongs as long as the marriage subsists. The children born to him belong not to him, but to the family of their mother. . . . His marriage involves usually a change of village; nearly always (where the tribal system is in force) a change of tribe.' Of this custom an example is furnished, it is said, in Jacob's marriage (Gn 29 ff.). He becomes a member of his wives' group, he buys his place by service, and Laban claims the wives and children as his own (31^{43}). What has been overlooked is that Jacob is represented as a fugitive from vengeance, who was not in a position to bring his wife into his own family, and that there is a design to exhibit Laban as a grasping and churlish person; and in the light of these facts Jacob's marriage appears to be merely an exceptional arrangement with a hard man, to which he was driven by stress of circumstances. A further proof is discovered by W. R. Smith in the phrase 'go into'—a relic, as he thinks, of the time when the husband literally left his home to join his wife, while the same practice had its visible monument in the long-continued custom of pitching a special tent for the consummation of marriage (*Kin. and Mar.* pp. 176, 291). More impressive is the M'Lennan-Smith suggestion, widely accepted by later writers, that it is *beena* marriage which is indicated in Gn 2^{24} in the words (of Adam [Del.]; of the narrator [Keil, Dillm.]): 'therefore shall (doth) a man leave his father and his mother, and shall (doth) cleave unto his wife; and they shall be (are) one flesh.' What is here contemplated, it is said, is that the man leaves the household, the family, of his birth and is adopted into his wife's kin. Now in interpreting the verse the first question which we have to ask is, What was the sense which the narrator intended to convey? And what seems quite certain is that it cannot have been the intention of a writer standing on the confines of the prophetical period to give his sanction, if not that of Adam, to a form of marriage which was obsolescent if not obsolete. If it be admitted that in the historical period 'the man is the head of the family, and of the wife, who is transferred from her family to that of the man' (Nowack, *Arch.* i. p. 153), it cannot be supposed that the purpose of J was to revive the abandoned and discredited type of family life. Much more likely is it that the command to leave father and mother and cleave to one's wife was directed against some loose form of marriage which does not involve the founding of a home, *e.g.* the so-called *mota* type, in which the husband's association with his wife is limited to occasional and clandestine visits (cf. Samson's marriage). There remains, indeed, the possibility that the saying 'therefore shall a man,' etc., while employed by the narrator as suitable to express his own idea, was an ancient form of words, and that as first coined it sanctioned and commended *beena* marriage. But it is rather unlikely that the characteristic formula of one system should have been cherished by the rival system which displaced it. In general it must be granted that in prehistoric times *beena* marriage may well have existed; but it must also be said that no direct conclusive evidence of such marriage can be drawn from OT sources.

2. *Form and Duties of Marriage in OT Times.*—(1) *The Form of Marriage.*—The typical, though, of course, not the exclusive form of Hebrew marriage in historical times was polygyny. It emerges as an early and firmly established institution; and the interest centres in the attitude taken up towards it by the OT religion, which as Law regulated it, and as Prophecy began to undermine it.

The practice of polygyny is vouched for throughout the whole of the period in question. It appears as patriarchal usage: Abraham has a principal wife and two secondary wives (Gn 16^{3} 25^{1}), Jacob has two wives of each class (29$^{23-30}$ 30$^{4-9}$). It was practised by at least some of the Judges (Jg 8^{30} 9^{2}), and in the cases of David and Solomon it comes in to account for their personal backslidings, and for the troubles and calamities of their reigns (2 S 5^{13}, 1 K 11$^{1-3}$). From these examples it is clear that it was customary for exalted persons to take several wives—whether from a desire for a numerous progeny, or with a view to strengthen themselves by influential connexions, or even to satisfy what were deemed the requirements of their position. But it might still be open to question whether the practice was at all general. Great importance accordingly attaches to the mention of Elkanah (1 S 1^{1}), who was doubtless representative of a large class. We are also justified in supposing that the peasant and the shepherd usually supplied themselves with two wives, or with a wife and a concubine. And this is confirmed by the implication of bigamy in Dt, which gives us a glimpse of the strained relations within the bigamous family (21$^{15\text{ff.}}$; cf. Nowack, *Arch.* i. p. 158 f.).

The wide prevalence of polygyny and bigamy becomes a certainty when we reflect upon the position of the female slaves in the Hebrew family. These were the property of the man, in the full sense of the word; and unless his establishment was on the scale permitting of the inter-marriage of slaves, they naturally became the concubines either of himself or of his sons. The recognized limitation of this right which is indicated, is that he could not appropriate a slave belonging to his wife except on the initiative of the latter or at least with her consent (Gn 16$^{2.3}$). These slave-concubines were supplied from various sources—especially in sale by impoverished Israelitish parents, or as booty of war. The foreign origin of one name (פִּלֶגֶשׁ, cf. πάλλαξ) has been supposed to point to an extensive traffic, through the medium of the Phœnicians, in this class of slaves (Nowack, i. p. 159; cf. on the name and position of the concubine, art. FAMILY).

The measures taken for the legal regulation of polygyny pursued two main objects. In the first place, there is some evidence of a purpose to confine the practice within narrower limits. The Deut. code, voicing the sense of the calamities it brought upon royalty and the nation, forbids kings to 'multiply wives' (Dt 17^{17}). With this censure of royal licence is closely connected, as has been acutely pointed out (art. 'Marriage' in Smith's *DB*), the contumelious treatment of the eunuch-state, which is a presupposition of the system. But the purpose to which the law addresses itself with most earnestness and particularity is the protection of the interests of the several wives, and the amelioration of the condition of the slave-wives. The oldest code deals with the case of the Israelitish woman who has been purchased for a slave-wife, asserts her title to the three conjugal rights, and provides that if these are withheld she must be set free (Ex $21^{7ff.}$). Incidentally it refers to the wife of the Hebrew slave, and humanely enacts that the two must not be compulsorily separated: when the time of emancipation arrives, the wife in one instance follows the husband, in the other he may elect to remain with her in slavery ($21^{2ff.}$). The cause of the foreign slave captured in war is maintained by Dt. She is to be allowed a month of mourning, and her master, after living with her as his wife, is forbidden to sell her ($21^{10ff.}$). A fourth case would be that in which there were two wives of equal standing; and in this instance Dt interposes in the interest of the wife who may have lost her husband's affection, and insists that her son, if the first-born, shall receive his due portion* (vv.$^{15-17}$). The same spirit inspired, and to some extent the same end was accomplished by, certain provisions restricting the right of divorce (see below). To those enactments little was added by the later legislation, except that the ritualistic requirements may have militated against polygyny by enforcing a rule of continence within the pale of marriage (Lv 15^{16}).

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* In the name of Eve, which he connects with *ḥayy* (a group based on female kinship), W. R. Smith finds a recognition of the fact that female descent had been the original system (*Kin. and Mar.* p. 177); while, according to Stade, the older tradition was that the twelve tribes were descended from twelve wives of Jacob (*GVI*).

A spirit of protest against the whole system, and the promise of more drastic reforms, is discoverable within the prophetic school. In opposition to existing practice, J sounds the significant note that in the beginning it was not so. According to the antique mode of thought, to say that the first man had one wife only, was as much as to say that monogamy was the ideal system; and it is no accident that according to the same narrative, which is deeply conscious of the disturbance and corruption introduced by the Fall, polygyny first makes its appearance in the lawless line of the Cainites (Gn 4^{23}). It is, further, not without significance that Noah, the second father of the human race, also represents monogamy (Gn 7^{7}). And it is noticeable that there is an apologetic strain in the references to patriarchal polygyny: the bigamy of Abraham is explained by Sarah's desire for children (Gn $16^{1ff.}$), of Jacob by the deceit of Laban (29^{23}). Of still greater importance than this class of incidents is the circumstance that monogamous marriage was extensively used in the prophetic teaching as the symbol of the union of God with Israel (Hos 2, Is 50^{1} etc., see below), while polygyny had its counterpart in idolatry. The imagery shows that monogamous marriage was felt to be the highest form, and on the other hand the detestation of idolatry naturally strengthened the dislike of the form of marriage by which it was so eloquently typified (Hamburger, art. 'Vielweiberei').

(2) *The Wifely Status and Conjugal Duties.*—In OT times various circumstances tended to depress the status of the wife—the logic of the patriarchal system, the custom of the 'dowry,' which suggested property, and the institution of polygyny, which divided her legitimate influence among several claimants. In theory she was the 'owned one' (בְּעוּלָה), while the husband was the 'owner' (בַּעַל, אָדוֹן, see FAMILY), and in the Decalogue she is numbered with his possessions (Ex 20^{17}). And in certain strata of the population the practice doubtless largely corresponded to the theory—the wife being little more than chattel and overdriven drudge. But among the wealthier classes the wife had no small liberty of action (1 S 25^{18}, 2 K 4^{22}). And where a woman possessed exceptional capacity, or knew how to increase her husband's affection, she asserted her title to a very different status. The wives of the patriarchs are not only consulted in matters of importance, but often impress us as accomplishing their purpose by their superior force of character (Gn 21^{10} $27^{13.46}$). In the period of the Judges the interest centres more than once in a strong woman ($4^{4.17}$); and in the history of the monarchy there are times when the queen or the queen-mother is the real power behind the throne. From the description of the virtuous woman in Pr 31 we learn how much influence could be acquired by a wise and energetic wife of the middle rank, and how much she might do to advance her husband's fortunes and to enhance his reputation.

Reference has already been made to the sympathetic attitude of the Law towards the wife, and we have to note in addition the bearing of the J narrative of Creation on the wifely status. It acknowledges that the subject and even servile position actually occupied by the wife is the appropriate one, but suggests that it is the punishment of her initiative in the original transgression (Gn 3^{16}), and thus contrasts it with the position of a 'helpmeet' which was designed by God in creation (2^{18}).

The duties of the husband were generally recognized to include all that is involved in the support of the home. Incidentally Ex 21^{10} enumerates as the minimum of obligation the provision of food and raiment, and cohabitation. As regards sexual morality the OT theory as well as frequent practice fell far short of the standard of equality of treatment. The chastity of the wife was jealously guarded by the heaviest penalties, but custom and law recognized no parallel obligation of conjugal fidelity as resting on the husband—provided always he respected the rights of other men. At the same time conjugal fidelity was naturally involved in the loving relations of the husband towards his wife, depicted in more than one touching instance (2 S $3^{14ff.}$). And there is evidence that the Hebrew intelligence, as tutored by experience, came to realize the folly, and through it the iniquity, of all sexual licence (Pr 2). Still more clear is it that the prophetic conscience was possessed by a deep sense of the abomination of whoredom; and finally a principle which claimed absolute marital fidelity was laid down by Malachi when he taught that neglect and inconstancy have God for their witness and avenger ($2^{14.15}$). The duties of the wife are not so specifically stated. The fundamental ones were chastity and submission (Gn 3^{16}), with devotion to the husband's family and interests. And by general consent the standard maintained by the Hebrew wives was high. Many daughters have done virtuously (Pr 31^{29}), and the invectives of Amos and Isaiah only illustrate the principle—'corruptio optimi pessima.'

3. *THE LEAVENING BY CHRISTIANITY.*—With Christianity begins a new epoch in the history of marriage. The changes which it introduced were due, partly to express enactment of Christ and His apostles, partly to the obvious implications of fundamental Christian principles.

(1) The Christian system involved the adoption of monogamy, and the prohibition of polygyny and bigamy. It is true that there is no direct condemnation of the latter. And the omission cannot be explained by saying it would have been superfluous, for, although in NT times monogamy was the rule, polygamy was certainly practised to some extent (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. i. 3).* As in the case of slavery, Christianity, without directly

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[*] Favouritism was also discouraged by historical examples, which suggested that childlessness was ordinarily the judgment upon the preferred wife (Gn 30^{1}, 1 S 1^{2}).

[*] In opposition to the usual view (Selden, *Ux. Heb.* i. 9), it is contended by Abrahams that monogamy had become the settled Jewish custom in Roman times apart from imperial or Christian influence, and that the theory was only tardily brought into harmony with the established practice by Rabbi Gershom, c. 1000 A.D. (*Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, ch. vii.).

attacking the custom, inevitably discredited and destroyed it. Our Lord's emphasis on the intimacy of the union between husband and wife (Mt $19^{4.5}$) at least suggested that no second woman could be admitted to the sphere. Above all, the golden rule was incompatible with polygyny, for under this system other men are robbed and wives are degraded.

(2) The duties of the married state were also revised in the spirit of Christianity. (*a*) The husband's duties, the minimum of which were promulgated as the demand of the law, were comprehended by St. Paul in the manner of His master under the requirement of *love*—a love which has self-love, and also Christ's love for His Church, for its standard (Eph 5^{28}, cf. 5^{25}, Col 3^{19}).* (*b*) The silence of the OT legislation in regard to licence outside the marriage bond was broken, and *faithfulness* was made strictly obligatory. The latter was evidently not taken for granted, from the first at least, among the Gentile Christians, and it was necessary for the Council of Jerusalem to educate their conscience by making it clear that fornication did not belong to the class of things indifferent (Ac 15^{29}). In various passages of the Pauline Epistles the imperative obligation of chastity is enforced with the menaces of excommunication (1 Co $5^{11ff.}$) and of eternal judgment (1 Th 4^{3}, Gal 5^{19}, cf. He 13^{4}), while the loose state of Corinthian opinion on the subject may be gathered from the careful argument by which the apostle demonstrates from the doctrine of the body as an integral and abiding element of personality, the incompatibility of sexual licence with an interest in Christ (1 Co 6^{13}). (*c*) Yet again the range of the husband's duty is extended to include *constancy* in love, which has its practical expression in the recognition of the perpetuity of the marriage tie (see below, *Divorce*).

The duties of the wife, in spite of the improvement of the status of woman which Christianity carried with it, continued to be developed from the presupposition of her subordination, and were summed up, not in love, but in obedience (Eph 5^{22}, Col 3^{18}, cf. 1 P 3^{1}). The new religion included various elements which tended to elevate and indeed revolutionize her position—especially the fact that in the spiritual sphere she was on the same platform as the man, redeemed by the same Saviour, saved by the same faith, destined to the same everlasting inheritance (cf. 1 P 3^{7}). In view of this stupendous fact, which St. Paul refers to in Gal 3^{28}, she could no longer be treated as an appanage to another, but was in herself an end. But the apostle did not hold it to be a consequence of this equality within the Kingdom that husband and wife were henceforth to be regarded as coequal partners in their union, or that women were to engage on equal terms with men in the varied work of the Church and of the world. The subjection of the wife to the husband, according to the apostle, was founded upon the original purpose and decree of God in creation, which could not be annulled (1 Co 11^{9}), and upon her constitution, which was modelled upon that of the man, and not, like his, an immediate reproduction of the image of God (v.^{5}). The question which arises at this point is whether the apostle has consistently argued from his Christian premises—whether the teaching of the OT on the relation of man and wife is the last word of Christianity. Expositors by whom his self-consistency is doubted might find in the teaching one of the Pauline antinomies—an old garment showing around the piece of new cloth; and it is certainly surprising that St. Paul, who elsewhere trusted to Christian love to fulfil all righteousness, should not have been satisfied with requiring of the wife true and constant conjugal love. His summarizing of wifely duty in obedience, however, had its firm supports, not only in his reverence for the religious tradition, but also in the monitions of his strong practical sense, which made it clear that in marriage, as in every other association of human beings, there must be at least in reserve a supreme court of appeal.

The incompleteness of the Pauline treatment of marriage is more conspicuous in relation to the ethical dignity of the institution, and the ends which it subserves. There were, it is to be remembered, two conflicting views in relation to which the Christian teaching had to be developed—the traditional Jewish view, according to which marriage was at once a duty and a privilege,* and the ascetic view maintained in Essene circles, according to which it was to be avoided as polluting and evil. The teaching of our Lord avoided both extremes: against the dominant opinion He affirmed the possibility of a duty arising under certain circumstances to abstain from marriage (Mt 19^{12}); against the ascetics He by word and countenance showed His estimate of marriage as a divine institution (Jn 3, Mt 19^{9}). The teaching of St. Paul inclines more to the ascetic side. He allows, as he could not but allow, the lawfulness of marriage (1 Th 4^{4}, cf. 1 Ti 4^{3}), but declares the celibate condition to be preferable. 'It is good for a man,' he says, 'not to touch a woman' (1 Co 7^{1}), and again he would have all men even as himself (v.^{7}). Where he allows it, it is from a point of view which discloses a relatively low view of the ends of marriage—as a preservative from immorality (1 Co $7^{9.35}$, 1 Th $4^{3.4}$); and to the same purpose he discusses the marriage of virgins (1 Co 7^{37}). In extenuation of these views it is usual to refer, and legitimately enough, to two facts—the first, that in an age of missionary hardship and impending persecution, celibacy was expedient (v.^{26}); and the second, that when the end of all things was believed to be at hand (v.^{31}), the importance of the family as an ethical sphere could not be taken at the same estimate as by those who look back upon and forward to a long development of Church and civilization. But St. Paul gives another reason in commendation of celibacy which is independent of temporary conditions and unfounded expectations, viz. that the married state brings with it cares and temptations which tend to weaken the heavenly affections and to cripple for Christian service (vv.$^{32-34}$). It may therefore be said with justice that his teaching on the subject is not quite on a level with the ethics of Protestantism. But, in taking up a more positive and sanguine attitude towards marriage, Protestantism has started from his own principle of 'all things are yours,' and in his spirit has conceived it to be a truer Christian achievement to bring the full circle of human experience into the obedience of Christ than to shun spiritual danger by the evasion of natural responsibilities. It may be added that the ideal view of marriage owes much to the apostle who compared it to the union between Christ and the Church.

ii. THE SPHERE OF LAWFUL MARRIAGE.—1. *CONDITIONS AND BARS OF MARRIAGE.*—In fixing the limits within which marriage is permissible, custom has varied widely, and it has not even been uniform among peoples occupying the same stage of civilization. In the phase in which the family is the most important social unit, it is common to prohibit a

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[*] While summing up the husband's duties in love, St. Paul's reverence for OT leads him also to re-emphasize the particular heads of marital duty which it had specified, *e.g.* in 1 Co 7^{3-8} where he asserts the law of conjugal rights *sensu angustiori*, and in 1 Ti 5^{8} where stress is laid on the husband's fundamental duty of providing for his household.

[*] According to Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*^{2} p. 234, a youth was expected to marry between 14 and 20. But the zealots of the Law did not deem themselves to be so bound. Rabbi Asai took no wife. 'My soul,' he said, 'cleaves to the Law: let others see to the upbuilding of the world' (p. 30).

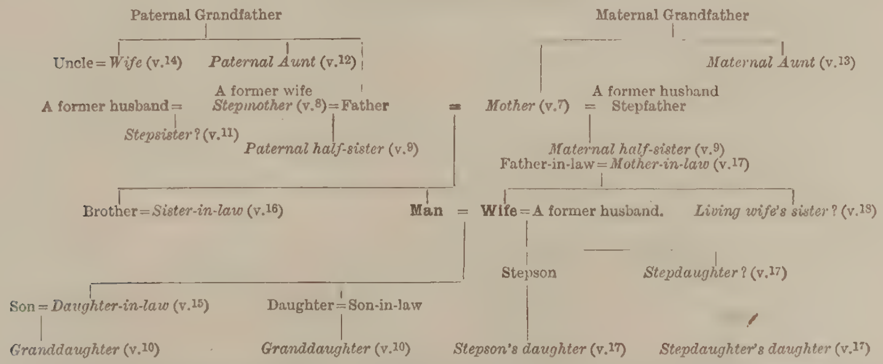
man from marrying within his own family group, or at least within that from which his mother sprang (Exogamy). Usually at an earlier but sometimes at a later period of the social history there is found the opposite custom, which forbids marriage outside the group (Endogamy). When the family comes to be superseded in important functions by the State, both obligations are naturally relaxed: a man may marry either within or without his ancestral stock, and only near relationships continue to be recognized as bars to union (Post, *Stud.* p. 79 ff.).

(*a*) *Racial Bars to Marriage.*—When the Hebrews emerge into the light of history, exogamy (if it ever prevailed among them) has disappeared, and endogamous marriage is strongly favoured. That a lively prejudice of this kind existed in early times is shown in the patriarchal histories, in which great anxiety is shown to procure wives from the original stock—marriages with cousins being most favoured, while loud protests are heard against marriage with aliens. In the period subsequent to the settlement in Canaan, racial intermixture was inevitable, and the old sentiment was in danger of being crushed out. Not only did the kings contract foreign alliances (David 2 S 3^3, Solomon 1 K 3^1 11^1, Ahab 1 K 16^{31}), but there is reason to believe that national distinctions were lightly regarded by the common people (Ru 1^4, 2 Ch 24^{26}). Israelitish women also married aliens (1 K 7^{14}), but usually, as it would seem, under the condition that their husbands settled in Israel (2 S 11^3, 1 Ch 2^{17}). In this matter, however, religious interests were at stake, a halt was called, and the reaction gradually carried the people back to the primitive position. In Dt marriage was expressly forbidden with the original inhabitants of Canaan (7^3, cf. Ex 34^{16}) as the race most likely to debase the religion and morals of the people; but an exception seems to be intended in the case of Edomites and Egyptians (23^7). During the Exile and for some time subsequent to it the law had again fallen into abeyance, only to be revived in greater stringency under Ezra (9^2 10^3) and Nehemiah (13^{23}). The exclusive spirit was fostered by historical examples of the low type of character that sprang from such mixed marriages (Lv 24^{10}).

(*b*) *Forbidden Degrees of Kinship.*—The older custom, which confined marriage within the limits of the family group, had its natural counterpart in lax views as to the bars arising from consanguinity and affinity. Unions tolerated among other nations were indeed regarded as incestuous, viz. with a daughter, or with a uterine sister, but, at least as regards relatives on the paternal side, the utmost latitude was allowed. Thus, Abraham is represented as marrying a half-sister, the daughter of his father (Gn 20^{12}), and the words of Tamar imply that this was recognized as lawful down to the time of the Monarchy (2 S 13^{13}). As late as the age of Ezekiel, marriage with a stepmother must still have been common (22^{10}). Moses himself seems to have been the offspring of a marriage between a nephew and his paternal aunt (Nu 26^{59}, cf. v.^{57}). Of these cases the more obnoxious were prohibited in Dt, viz. marriage with a stepmother (27^{20}), a half-sister (v.^{22}), and a mother-in-law (v.^{23}).

The list of forbidden degrees is extended in Lv (18^{7-17}, cf. $20^{11\text{ff.}}$), and largely on the basis of the general principle that paternal relationships rank equally with maternal for purposes of marriage. The following table gives a conspectus of the code—the names of the prohibited relatives being printed in italics, while those about whose identification or otherwise some doubt exists are marked with a ? (cf. Selden, *Ux. Heb.* p. 5).

TABLE OF FORBIDDEN DEGREES.


Paternal Grandfather
Maternal Grandfather
Uncle = *Wife* (v.14)
Paternal Aunt (v.12)
Maternal Aunt (v.13)
A former wife
A former husband = *Stepmother* (v.8) = Father
= *Mother* (v.7) = Stepfather
A former husband
Stepsister ? (v.11)
Paternal half-sister (v.9)
Maternal half-sister (v.9)
Father-in-law = *Mother-in-law* (v.17)
Brother = *Sister-in-law* (v.16)
Man = **Wife** = A former husband.
Living wife's sister ? (v.18)
Stepson
Stepdaughter ? (v.17)
Son = *Daughter-in-law* (v.15)
Daughter = Son-in-law
Granddaughter (v.10)
Granddaughter (v.10)
Stepson's daughter (v.17)
Stepdaughter's daughter (v.17)

Various problems arise out of the table of prohibited degrees. (1) The prohibitions of *marriage with sisters* are somewhat obscure. The obvious sense of v.^{9} is that it forbids marriage with a half-sister, whether on the father's or the mother's side, and v.^{11}, which prohibits 'the father's wife's daughter, begotten of thy father,' simply repeats the prohibition of a half-sister on the father's side. While the prevalence of the custom (sanctioned as it was by Abraham's example) and the gravity of the evil might justify the repetition, the interposition of different matter in v.^{10} makes it probable that a fresh case is contemplated. The most plausible interpretation of v.^{11} is that, in addition to the half-sister of v.^{9}, it prohibits the daughter of a man's stepmother by a previous husband. This result has been got in two ways—either by regarding the phrase 'begotten of thy father' as an interpolation, or by (illegitimately) treating the participle מולדת as active, with the meaning 'who hath borne children to thy father' (Bohl, *Contra Matr. Comprivignorum*; cf. Michaelis, ii. 107). Another view is that v.^{11} is to be taken as withholding the half-sister, and that v.^{9} (where read not 'or' but 'and' the daughter of thy mother) would point to the full sister. Keil (*Comm. in loc.*) finds in the text as it stands a distinction—that in v.^{11} the prohibition refers to a son by a first marriage, whereas v.^{9} treats of the son by a second marriage. This, however, involves no difference of relationship, though possibly some difference of status on the part of the half-brother. It is unfortunate that the most satisfactory explanation which connects v.^{11} with the stepmother's daughter by another husband requires alteration of the text.

(2) A second difficulty arises from a group of *three ambiguous prohibitions* which might be regarded as referring either to polygamous or monogamous marriages. Marriage is prohibited (*a*) with a stepdaughter (v.^{17}), (*b*) with the daughter of a stepson or stepdaughter (*ib.*), and (*c*) with a wife's sister (v.^{18}); but is the decease presupposed in (*a*) of the wife who is the girl's mother, in (*b*) of the wife who is the girl's grandmother, in (*c*) of the wife whose sister is mentioned? In case (*b*) it is possible that the original wife is dead, and the same may fairly be held in case (*a*); but in case (*c*) it is certain that the wife is alive, and that what is forbidden is a special type of bigamy. The discussion of this brings us to the more famous problem.

(3) *Marriage with a deceased wife's sister* is certainly not directly forbidden. The actual words are, 'thou shalt not take a woman to her sister, to be a rival to her, to uncover her nakedness, beside the other in her lifetime' (v.^{18}). The AVm suggests translating 'one wife to (*i.e.* in addition to) another' instead of 'to her sister'—in which case we should have a direct

prohibition of bigamy; but modern scholarship has not been able to sustain this. The Mosaic law was not anciently understood to preclude marriage with the sister of a deceased wife. It was declared lawful by the Talmudists, and it was even encouraged by removing or mitigating in this special case the conditions governing the remarriage of a widower. The opposition to it began among the Jewish sect of the Karaites, whose origin is traced to the 8th cent. of our era, and whose leading principle was the Protestant one of going behind the accumulated traditions and decisions of the Rabbis to the written word, with the accompanying proviso that Scripture was to be interpreted by Scripture. In the case before us the plain sense of Scripture is that no objection is raised to marriage with a wife's sister if the former is deceased, and the argument against it is consequently constructive. The argument may be summarized as follows: (1) Marriage is interdicted with those that are near of kin (Lv 18[6]); (2) 'near of kin' are shown in the legislation to include, along with mother, daughter, etc., sisters and half-sisters; (3) the wife's 'near of kin' are to be regarded as standing in the same relationship to the husband, and that because (*a*) it was declared in the primordial decree that the twain shall be one flesh (Gn 2[24]), and (*b*) the principle is conceded and exemplified in other instances—*e.g.* in the prohibition of marriage with a deceased wife's granddaughter (v.[17]) (Selden, *Ux. Heb.* i. 3 ff., where are set forth the various arguments of the different Karaite teachers, who, however, agreed in the conclusion, 'Uxoris soror, tam ea demortua quam superstite, in vetitis habenda'). But the argument is unsound. If the question be to determine whether the Mosaic law sanctions marriage with a deceased wife's sister, we must adhere as closely as possible to the statute, and, as we have seen, the object of the relevant clause is something quite different—the regulation of bigamy. If we fall back on the principle underlying the prohibitions we do not settle the matter, for it is not clear that the principle is theoretically adopted of treating the wife's near of kin as if they were the husband's; rather it would seem that this guidance is followed only in so far as it was necessary on grounds of expediency—*e.g.* in the case of the stepdaughter or granddaughter who would be living (unlike the sister) in the man's family, and who would thus, as a possible wife, be in an obnoxious position. Various other extensions of the forbidden degrees specified in Lv have been made—notably in barring marriage of an uncle with a niece, and of the nephew with the widow of his maternal uncle; and, as in these instances, the problem of the deceased's wife's sister falls to be settled in accordance with the circumstances of a given age and the teaching of experience.

(4) *The rationale of the forbidden degrees* has been variously interpreted. The following is a summary of the older explanations (cf. J. D. Michaelis, *Mos. Recht* (Eng. tr.) ii. p. 53 ff.). The cases in which marriage is disallowed in the Mosaic law have been supposed to be proscribed as those (*a*) which are repugnant to the natural sentiments of mankind (*horror naturalis*), or (*b*) which lead to the physical degeneration of a stock, or (*c*) which tend to the aggrandizement of particular families by the concentration of wealth and power, or (*d*) which are subversive of natural rights—*e.g.* degrading an aunt from her due rank, and elevating a stepdaughter above her proper position. Without denying a certain influence from these considerations, Michaelis himself argues with great force that the real reason of the prohibition of marriages among near of kin is, that, 'considering the free intercourse that such persons have with one another, some of whom, besides, live from their infancy in the same house, it would be impossible to prevent the presence of whoredom in families, or to guard against the effects of very early corruption among young persons if they could entertain the least hope of throwing a veil over past impurity by subsequent marriage' (ii. p. 68). In recent times the whole subject has been re-examined from the evolutionary point of view, with the result of showing that every system of forbidden degrees has been a growth to which something has been contributed by successive forms of social organization, and which has been dominated at different periods by different ideas. Of the Levitical system we may say that it has as its nucleus a list of prohibitions inherited from the maternal type of family organization, and that it has extended these in general (though not doctrinaire) accordance with the demands of the patriarchal system, and with a keen instinct for the interests of domestic and social purity.

The penalties for violation of the forbidden degrees were proportioned to the gravity of the case. In Dt those forming the three types of incestuous union there specified (27[20. 22. 23]) have a curse laid upon them. In Lv 20 capital punishment is decreed against the partners in three cases of incestuous intercourse or marriage, viz. with a stepmother (v.[11]), a daughter-in-law (v.[12]), and with a woman whose daughter has already been taken by the man as his wife (v.[14]). The same may be assumed in the possible cases of still deeper guilt. The mode of death was probably stoning, and in the case of the last group of offenders it is provided that their corpses shall be burned. The penalty for marriage with a half-sister was excommunication (v.[17]). In another group of cases, viz. intercourse or marriage with an aunt (v.[19]), an uncle's wife (v.[20]), and a sister-in-law (v.[21]), the culprits are left to the vengeance of Heaven, with the added menace in the last two cases that 'they shall be childless.'

(*c*) *Official Restrictions.*—In OT certain restrictions are imposed upon the sacerdotal class. A priest was forbidden to marry a harlot, or a fallen woman, or a divorced person (Lv 21[7]); the high priest was not even allowed to marry a widow (v.[14]). It was not, however, held by the Talmudists that the latter enactment required a high priest, on his elevation, to divorce a widow whom he might have previously married or betrothed (Selden, *Ux. Heb.* p. 46).

To this closer fencing of married life in the case of the OT priesthood there is a certain analogy in the NT provision that the bishop shall be the husband of one wife (1 Ti 3[2]), and likewise the deacons (v.[12]). The interpretations of this much disputed enactment are as follows: (1) It provides that the bishops and deacons shall be monogamists. But, even if it be assumed that polygyny was still practised among the Jews, it is unlikely that it was represented among the Jewish Christians; and 1 Ti 5[9] is decisive, as, similarly interpreted, it would mean that no woman living in polyandry was to be enrolled among the widows. (2) It disqualifies for office a man who has been more than once married, and prohibits him after his appointment from contracting a second marriage. This view derives strong support from the fact that it was embodied in the current opinion of the patristic Church, and was reinforced by the decision of Councils (Plummer, *Cath. Epp.* in 'Expos. Bible'), and it would doubtless have been more generally adopted but for the prejudice created by existing practice. At the same time it is right to observe that the admission of this interpretation does not involve the permanent condemnation of second marriage on the part of the clergy, as the reason for the apostolic prohibition might be peculiar to the apostolic age. (3) The regulation disqualifies for office those who had availed themselves of the rights of divorce which Christ sought to curtail, or (according to some authorities) who had in another way (concubinage, licentiousness) sinned against the marriage law. The suggestion that it was designed to support our Lord's condemnation of capricious divorce has lately grown in favour, and must be regarded as at least a possible interpretation.

(*d*) *Natal Disability.*—On the score of a taint of birth, a class of person known as מַמְזֵר was debarred from marriage with Israelites. 'A bastard shall not enter into the assembly of the Lord, even unto the tenth generation' (Dt 23[2]). By 'bastard' is to be understood, not a person born out of wedlock,—illegitimacy did not entail any serious penalties under Jewish law,—but one born of an unlawful marriage (Driver, *in loc.*). Such at least is the plausible interpretation given in the Mishna in a passage which determines the status of children (*Kiddushin* iii. 12). In a lawful marriage, it is held, the child follows the father; in an unlawful marriage, *e.g.* of a high priest with a widow, or of an Israelitish woman with one of the Nethinim, the child follows the party by whom the marriage is vitiated. The offspring of such illegal marriage, it is added, is מַמְזֵר.

(*e*) Additional marriage-bars that fall to be noted are (1) the *physical* disqualification of certain mutilated or injured persons (Dt 23[1]); (2) the *hereditary* disqualification of the heiress who was not allowed to marry into another tribe (Nu 36[5-9]); (3) the *retributive* disqualification, which disallowed remarriage under certain circumstances with a wife who had previously been divorced (see below, *Divorce*).

2. The Levirate Marriage of the OT (*levir*, brother-in-law, יָבָם husband's brother; יִבֵּם to perform the marriage obligation of a husband's brother; Talm. יִבּוּם the type of marriage; Gr. *ἐπιγαμβρεύω*, Mt 22^{24}), formerly treated as a curious anomaly, has been shown by modern research to be widely prevalent at certain stages of civilization.* 'The fundamental character of this type of marriage,' says Post (*Studien*, p. 248), 'is that a widow is inherited in accordance with the system of kinship dominant among a people, and is married by the heir—whence there then arises the obligation to provide for her and her children.' In the narrower sense it is defined (as by Starcke, *Prim. Fam.* p. 141) as 'the custom which enjoins a man to marry the widow of his brother, if he die childless, in order to raise up children to the dead man, to whom the children produced by such a marriage were supposed to belong.' Obviously, the custom is one which is capable of large modification in detail, and it would seem that even within the limits of OT times there was some shifting of view as to the object of the levirate marriage, and the range of the obligation.

What is virtually an enactment of the levirate law, and that the oldest, is given in narrative form in the story of Tamar and Judah (Gn 38). Here the object of the marriage is 'to raise up seed' to the deceased (v.^{8}); the person upon whom the obligation rests is the younger brother, failing whom the next in age (v.^{26}); the issue of the marriage becomes the head of the family (v.^{29}; cf. Mt 1^{3}); and the sanction of the law, the binding character of which is generally admitted, is in the last resort a special retributive judgment (v.^{10}).

In the formal enactment of the Deut. code (25^{5-10}) the ancient custom is similarly motived and as earnestly supported, if with some relaxation in detail. The obligation rested on a brother only if he had 'dwelt together' (*i.e.* 'on the same family estate,' Driver) with the deceased (v.^{5}), and only the eldest son of the new marriage was to be reckoned as the son of the deceased (v.^{6}). On the other hand, the obligation was not superseded if the deceased left daughters (v.^{5} 'no *son*,' as against the Sadducean interpretation in Mt 22^{24}, Mk 12^{19}, Lk 20^{28}). The duty was not legally enforced, but was supported by the resources of public opinion. A brother evading it publicly forfeited his right—symbolized by drawing off his sandal—and was to be openly insulted by the widow, and condemned to perpetual obloquy (v.^{9}).

The Book of Ruth, while certainly referring to the custom, is by no means faithful to the Deut. model. As judged by Dt, Boaz was under no obligation to wed Ruth unless it should be argued that as Elimelech's brother (4^{3}) he was bound to marry Naomi, and that as the latter was past child-bearing he married instead her widowed daughter-in-law. As a fact, the view taken is that the next of kin, who may be quite remote, is in duty bound to redeem a dead man's estate and marry his childless widow. Further, as Ruth's son by Boaz ranks as the son of the latter (v.^{21}), not of Ruth's former husband, it would seem that the earlier intention of the law is abandoned (Nowack, *Arch.* i. p. 347, who even argues that in the writer's view the sole object is the welfare of the widow). It is also noticeable that the repudiation, with the ceremony of the drawing off of the shoe, no longer has the ancient stigma attached to it (v.^{7}). On the whole, it must be said that the book reveals a state of things when the strict law had been found impracticable, but when its principle continued to be in a wider way operative, and was favoured as fostering humane dealing and averting the pathetic event of the extinction of a line.

The attitude of the later legislation towards the custom is matter of dispute. Certainly Lv (18^{16} 20^{21}) forbids marriage with a deceased brother's wife without any qualification; and it is therefore held by many modern critics that P designed to abolish this type of marriage as incestuous in the minor degree (Nowack, *Arch.* i. 346; Benzinger, art. 'Ehe,' *Real-Encycl.*^{3}). In confirmation of this it is pointed out that in this code the estate, failing a son, descends to the daughters (Nu $27^{1\text{ff.}}$). By others the traditional view is still maintained that P lays down the general rule against marriage with a deceased brother's wife, while Dt specifies the exceptional case (Driver, *Deut. in loc.*). It has also been held that the collision of the codes is only apparent, as Lev prohibits illicit intercourse with a brother's wife, and is not legislating in the passage in question about marriage (Bertholet, *Com. on Deut.*, but erroneously). Whether P intended to repeal the special law is a question likely to be determined by subjective considerations. The famous disputation with the Sadducees clearly implies that the levirate law was regarded as binding in the time of our Lord, while it was perhaps even acted on (*ἦσαν δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν ἑπτὰ ἀδελφοί*, Mt $22^{25\text{ff.}}$).

In the later period, however, its observance was exceptional: in the language of the Mishna, the dispensation (חליצה) was preferred to the observance (*Bechoroth* 13*a*). Theoretical opposition accompanied, and the opinions of the Rabbis of the first four Christian centuries were divided as to its lawfulness—Rabbi Jose declaring it unpermissible even when desired by both parties concerned. The same division of opinion ran through the Middle Ages, though the preponderance of opinion favoured the dispensation (Mishna, treatise *Yebamoth*; Surenhusius, ii.; Hamburger, *Real-Encyk.* art. 'Schwagerehe').

Of the origin and primitive purpose of the levirate marriage various explanations have been propounded. (1) The first group of theories accepts the biblical statement that the object was the procreation of a son or sons who were regarded as the children of the deceased. But on this assumption the further question arises, What was the object of the fiction by which the line was continued? To this the principal answers which have been given are (*a*) that it was regarded as a calamity (where personal immortality was not realized, a calamity tantamount to annihilation) that one's line should become extinct (Dt 25^{6}); (*b*) that the custom was connected with a system of ancestor-worship, under which failure of offspring entailed deprivation of cherished rites and service.* Popular, however, as the latter theory is, it assumes the influence of a form of religion, for the existence of which in Israel the evidence is of the scantiest. (2) A second theory, propounded by M'Lennan and supported by W. R. Smith, pushes the question further back and discovers in it a survival from polyandry. 'It could more easily be feigned,' says the former, 'that the children belonged to the deceased brother if already, at a prior stage, the children of the brotherhood had been accounted the children of the eldest brother' (*Prim. Mar.* p. 164). And in regard to this view it must be admitted that polyandry may well have left behind such a custom as its legacy. As Starcke observes (*Prim. Fam.* p. 150), 'the Levir-child was ascribed to the dead man in virtue of the same ideas according to which, in Tibet, the eldest brother and ruler of the house was held to be the father of all the children of the household.' This proves that a system of polyandry may sometimes have had as an offshoot the levirate marriage, but does not preclude the possibility of its development in other quarters from other primitive practices and modes of thought—*e.g.* the exercise of paternal authority in setting aside in certain cases the direct fatherhood (Starcke, p. 151). (3) Yet again it has been suggested that in conditions where marriage was associated with purchase, and the wife was treated as a chattel, it was natural that she should be claimed by the next of kin as part of the inheritance (Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*). Well, however, as this practice is vouched for, the inheritance of a wife by a surviving brother is widely removed from the biblical theory, for the essence of the latter is the concession that the younger brother, instead of himself heiring, raises up heirs to the deceased. (4) Yet again the object of the custom has been found in an agrarian motive, the law being designed to keep together under the levirate husband the property which would otherwise have been divided among all the brothers (Meilziner, quoted by Starcke, p. 150). But, though at a late date (Ru 4^{5}) the custom was utilized in connexion with the conservation of lands, the evidence points to its having reached back into the nomadic stage of civilization.

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* The parallel in the Laws of Manu (ch. ix. 59–64) has been often cited. Instances of the custom among other races have been collected by Post, *Einleitung in das Stud. d. ethnolog. Jurisprud.* 1866, and Westermarck, *Hist. of Hum. Marriage.*

* An expression of this idea is quoted from the Mahâbhârata (Muir's tr.) by Max Müller, *Anthrop. Rel.* p. 31—

> 'That stage completed, seek a wife
> And gain the fruit of wedded life,
> A race of sons, by rites to seal,
> When thou art gone, thy spirit's weal.'

On the whole, the question of origin is, and probably will remain, matter of controversy. Widespread as the custom is, it may well have sprung from various roots—according as in one region an ancestor-cult prevailed, in another a system of polyandry had developed, etc. Where it meets us in Hebrew history it clearly connects itself with the natural desire for survival in posterity, later with the endeavour to perpetuate family property; and if in spite of the benediction of early tradition and law it gradually fell into abeyance, the cause is to be sought in the growth of the self-consciousness and of the claims of the individual with the progress of society.

iii. MARRIAGE PROCEDURE.—1. *The System of Betrothal.*—The **betrothal**, as the first stage in the formation of a marriage union, had a prominent position among the Hebrews, as among other peoples at the same stage of social development.

The act of betrothing is described by three Heb. verbs:—אֵרֵשׂ (Pi. of [אָרַשׂ] 'pay the price,' Dt 20^{7}, Hos 2$^{19.20}$), יָעַר ('designate') Ex 21$^{8.9}$, [חָרַף] ('acquire') Lv 19^{20}; and by one Greek verb—μνηστεύειν (Mt 1^{18}, Lk 1^{27} 2^{5}). In AV the Hebrew verbs are usually rendered by 'betroth,' occasionally by 'espouse' (2 S 3^{14}): the Greek verb is translated by 'espouse.' In RV 'betroth' is exclusively used where the reference is to the initial stage (2 S 3^{14}, Mt 1^{18} etc.), while 'espouse' is restricted to the passages which imply completed marriage (Ex 21$^{8.9}$). The ceremony of betrothal has no name in OT. The Talmudists refer to it under the names of קרושין (consecration), אירושין (betrothal), and שרוכין (compact) or תנאים (conditions).

The custom of allowing the individuals concerned to arrange a marriage according to inclination is a late and exceptional concession. In societies in which the family organization is strong and stable the betrothal is treated as a concern of the family group or of the tribe. The powers are vested in the head of the tribe, or they may be devolved upon particular members of a family group—under the patriarchal system upon the father or nearest paternal relative, under the matriarchal upon the maternal uncle or the eldest uterine brother (Post, *Studien*, pp. 163, 164). From this standpoint the betrothal is viewed in OT. In the exercise of his patriarchal function Abraham through a servant negotiates with Bethuel for the hand of Rebekah, and Laban as her brother is taken into council (Gn 24); Hamor endeavours in treaty with Jacob and his sons to arrange a marriage on behalf of his son Shechem (Gn 34$^{6ff.}$); even the lawless Samson requests his father to procure for him to wife a woman in Timnah (Jg 14^{2}). The advances, further, were made by the house of the bridegroom, except in cases where the superior rank of the bride's family justified them in taking the first step (Ex 2^{21}, Jos 15^{17}, 1 S 18^{27}). Resentment was expressed when a man repudiated the rights of the natural guardians and took the matter into his own hands (Gn 26^{34})—a feeling strongly shared by the Arabs, who held it sufficient ground for withholding a bride (Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, p. 432); and the protests were not unreasonable in view of the interest of the family in the alliance that might be formed, and of the women in the bride with whom in a patriarchal society they were to be so closely associated (Gn 27^{46}). Yet, while the system required that the machinery of the family should be employed, it might easily happen, as the cases of Shechem and Samson show, that it might be set in motion by a lover, and the more so that in ancient Israel the association of the sexes was comparatively unrestrained, and naturally led to personal attachments which sought satisfaction in marriage (Gn 24^{15} 29^{10}; cf. 1 S 18^{20}). Among the Hebrews, in any case, the tyranny of family rule does not appear to have dispensed with the consent of the parties (Gn 24^{8}), which under this regime is often treated as matter of indifference, at least as respects the bride (Post, *Studien*, p. 166 ff.).

The first important stage in the betrothal procedure was the settlement of the amount of the so-called dowry, and the payment or part payment of the same.

The **dowry** of the OT (מֹהַר Gn 34^{12}, Ex 22^{17}, 1 S 18^{25}; cf. Ex 22^{16}, where RV has 'pay a dowry') was not a portion brought by the bride into the husband's family, but a price or ransom paid to the father or brothers of the bride. That this was its original significance is not open to doubt. In primitive conditions it was naturally claimed as compensation for the loss to a family of a valuable member. Recent research has shown that it was so regarded in ancient times in Arabia (*Kinship and Marriage*, 68, 78 ff.; *Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, 433 ff.); and among the same stock it retains this character. 'An Arab father,' says Tristram, 'regards his daughters much as he would his sheep or cattle, selling them for a greater or less price, according to his rank and fortune and their beauty' (*Eastern Customs*, p. 92). And so it appears in OT: Hamor offers to pay for Dinah 'never so much dowry' (Gn 34^{12}); in Ex 22^{17} it is referred to as a settled custom. Dt 22^{29} assesses the damages for seduction, which are payable to the father, and thus fixes the amount in one particular case. For the common people the sum to be paid was doubtless settled by custom, while in the case of important alliances it was matter of negotiation (Gn 34^{12}). The 'dowry' was not necessarily paid in money or kind, but might take the form of service, as in the case of Jacob (Gn 29) and David (1 S 18^{25}; cf. 17^{25}).

With the advance of families in dignity and wealth the 'dowry' easily passed into a new stage. It was natural that a portion, if not the whole, should be appropriated to ensure the comfort and security of the bride. A hint of the custom of so diverting a part is given in the complaint made by the daughters of Laban, when they declare that he 'hath sold us, and hath quite devoured our money' (Gn 31^{15}). In later times the appropriation of the 'dowry' to the wife became customary; it was conserved as capital; and in the event of the death of the husband, or an arbitrary divorce, it furnished a useful provision. A parallel development took place to some extent among the Arabs, as the Koran assumes that the 'dowry' falls to the wife (Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, p. 435).

The dowry in the modern sense was not customary, but was occasionally met with. The daughters of wealthy houses at least received handsome gifts: Rebekah brings female slaves with her to her new home (Gn 24^{61}), Laban makes a similar present to Leah (29^{24}). As a special instance of liberality, doubtless also with some reference to proprietary rights, mention is made of Caleb's gift to his daughter of a field of springs (Jg 1^{15}). The alliances of the kings with foreign princes furnish examples of the dowry—in one case a princess brings with her a city as her portion (1 K 9^{16}).*

In addition to the *mohar*, there is mention of other gifts which, naturally prompted by the occasion of a betrothal, might be distributed more or less lavishly as a means of conciliation or a token of goodwill (מַתָּן, Gn 34^{12}). The gift to the bride, which came under this category, was significant of the wealth of the wooer (24^{53}). The latter had its counterpart in the *sadâk* of the Arabs; and as the bestowal of the *sadâk* came to be treated as part of the marriage ceremony, it is possible that among the Hebrews also it was incorporated in the formal procedure either of the betrothal or of the marriage.

While the settlement and payment (in whole or in part) of the 'dowry' was the decisive act in the betrothal, there was probably also an additional ceremony of a more or less formal kind. Of the procedure various elements appear to be preserved in the narrative of Rebekah's betrothal (Gn 24). The terms in which she is asked, and gives her consent, in all likelihood preserve an ancient and familiar formula ('Wilt thou go with this man?' 'I will go,' v.^{58}); and the same applies to the blessing which is pronounced upon her when she is handed over or 'sent away' (v.^{60}). The conjecture that a ring was given to the bride has no support in the passages referred to (Ex 35^{22}, Is 3^{21}), yet the use of the ring, which plays an important part in the Talmudic formalities, may well have been of considerable antiquity.

In the procedure sanctioned by the Talmudic authorities the bridegroom handed to the bride an article of value, such as a ring, or a written document, adding: 'By this ring, etc., may she be consecrated (or betrothed) to me.' The presence of two male witnesses was required, so that the appropriate benedictions might be pronounced on the union. According to the Mishna (treatise *Kiddushin*), there were three modes of betrothal—by the payment of money, by the conveyance of a contract, and by coition; but the third was prohibited by the later Rabbis under penalties (Hamburger, arts. 'Trauung,' 'Verlöbniss').

After the betrothal the bride was under the same restrictions as a wife. If unfaithful she ranked and was punished as an adulteress (Dt $22^{23.\,24}$); and on the other hand the bridegroom, if he wished to break the contract, had the same privileges, and had also to observe the same formalities as in the case of divorce. The situation is illustrated in the history of Joseph and Mary, who were on the footing of betrothal (Mt 1^{19}).

2. *Nuptial Rites and Customs.*—Upon the betrothal followed, after a longer or shorter period, the marriage proper or wedding, the features of which may be collected partly from incidental allusions in Scripture, partly from survivals of ancient custom in Talmudic literature and in the life of the East.

The Heb. terms translated 'marry' are לָקַח 'to take' (Gn 19^{14} etc.), in *late* Heb. נָשָׂא (2 Ch 13^{21} *al.*)—both with a probable reference to ancient marriage by capture, הָיְתָה לְאִישׁ 'to be married' (Hos 3^{3} *al.*), and הָיְתָה לפ׳ לְאִשָּׁה 'to become a wife' (Nu $36^{3.\,6.\,11}$), בָּעַל to 'become master of,' expressive of the husband's authority (Dt 22^{22} etc.); later הוֹשִׁיב, lit. 'make to dwell,' 'give a dwelling to' (cf. Ps 113^{9}), Ezr $10^{2.\,10.\,14.\,17.\,18}$, Neh $13^{23.\,27}$ [*al.*]. 'To form marriage alliance with' (lit. 'to make oneself daughter's husband') is הִתְחַתֵּן (Gn 34^{9} etc.). AV 'given to marriage' in Ps 78^{63} is merely a paraphrase; Heb. is lit. 'were not praised.' In NT *γαμεῖν* is used of either sex (Mt 5^{32} $19^{9.\,10}$ etc.); also *γίνεσθαί τινι* (Ro 7^{3}), used of a woman, means to be married to a man (RV to be 'joined to a man'), *γαμίσκεσθαι*, to be given in marriage (Mk 12^{25}), *γαμίζειν*, to give in marriage (1 Co 7^{38}). The word translated 'espousals' (Ca 3^{11}) comes nearest to describing the subject here discussed.

It is probable that in the early period the principal if not the only ceremonies were connected with the betrothal, and that when these were completed the consummation of the marriage might follow at the option of the parties concerned (Nowack, *Arch.* i. p. 162). In the case of Isaac and Rebekah the formalities were over with the betrothal, and on the bride's arrival at her new home she was simply conducted to her tent (Gn 24^{63-67}). Similarly, whenever David has fulfilled the conditions imposed by Saul, he receives Michal to wife (1 S 18^{27}). That this was, however, not universal appears from Gn 29^{27}. The later practice was to draw a clear distinction between betrothal and marriage (Dt 20^{7} 28^{30}), to magnify the final function, and to invest this increasingly with characters of publicity and pomp. And in the celebration of Hebrew marriage the most noteworthy point is the retreat of the distinctively Hebrew element. We seem to be in the atmosphere of Hellas rather than of the Holy Land. There is no evidence that, in the older period, the proceedings were regulated from the theocratic point of view, or even that they included a religious ceremony: rather is there a temporary abandonment to the cult of mere happiness, with its unconsecrated ritual of feasting and song.

In the biblical references to the marriage celebrations two functions stand out prominently—the wedding procession and the wedding feast or marriage supper. As regards the nature and place of the ceremony by which the woman was transferred to the husband (the counterpart of our marriage service), the biblical notices leave us uninformed.

The wedding procession naturally fell into two parts. First the bridegroom and his friends may be supposed to have marched to the home of the bride, then in a return procession the festal company, reinforced by the bride's friends, conducted the pair to their future home. Of the movement and colour of this picturesque drama graphic touches are preserved in Scripture. We catch a glimpse of the garlanded bridegroom in his splendid attire (Is 61^{10}), and of his veiled bride surrounded by the friends of her youth (Ps $45^{14.\,15}$); the attendant throng gives vent to its jubilant feelings in dancing and shouting, and songs are struck up (some perhaps preserved in the Song called Solomon's) which sound the praise of wedded love and of the newly-wedded pair.

The relation of the wedding procession to the situation presupposed in the parable of the Ten Virgins requires elucidation. 'More rarely it happened,' says Nowack (i. p. 163), 'that a procession conducted the bride to meet the bridegroom as he approached with his friends (1 Mac $9^{37ff.}$); in the evening such a procession sometimes took place by lamp and torchlight.' The explanation here suggested is that the marriage took place late at night, and that the bride's company was preparing to sally forth to meet the bridegroom on his first appearance. It is, however, plausibly argued by Mackie (*Bibl. Manners and Customs*) that the parable presupposes that this stage is past. The bride, he infers from existing custom, has already been conducted to her future home, the bridegroom has subsequently withdrawn to the house of a relative, where he is to stay with his companions till a late hour; meanwhile the bride and her companions grow weary, and sleep falls upon them; until at last a clamour in the street heralds the approach of the torch-illumined party, and within all are roused to life and excitement. 'Before he arrives the maidens in waiting come forth with lamps and candles a short distance to light up the entrance and do honour to the bridegroom and the group of relatives and intimate friends around him. These pass in to the final rejoicing and the marriage supper; the others, who have discharged their duty in accompanying him to the door, immediately disperse and the door is shut' (p. 126).

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* Among the Greeks the dowry had a similar origin and a parallel development. In the Homeric age it was customary for the father to receive a purchase-price from his future son-in-law (*Il.* xi. 244)—hence the expression παρθένος ἀλφεσίβοια, the oxen-bringing virgin; and if it was rare for a father to give his daughter gratuitously (ἀνάεδνον), it was reckoned an act of the most signal generosity to offer presents (ἐπιμείλια), as was done by Agamemnon (ix. 146) along with the daughter. The ancient custom gradually disappeared, and was referred to by Aristotle as barbarous (*Pol.* ii. 5. 11), but Euripides voices a complaint of the women of a later day that it had become the custom that women had to purchase their husbands at a great price (*Med.* 232; Derenberg, *Dict. des Antiq. Grecq. et Rom.*, Paris, 1892, art. 'Dot'). In Rome from an early period the wife who did not bring with her a dowry was regarded as a concubine rather than as a wife (Plaut. *Trinum.* iii. 2, v. 73, 5), and it was a duty of clients to make up a dowry for the daughter of a poor patron (*ib.*).

The marriage supper, which took place in the house of the husband, was the great social event in the life of a family, and, where the standing and means allowed it, might be planned on the most lavish scale. In the parable of the Marriage of the King's Son we have an example of boundless hospitality, and also an indication of the resentment felt when the invitation was slighted (Mt 22^{1-14}). A difficulty in the parable has been met by the conjecture that persons of high rank further showed their magnificence by furnishing the invited guests with festal robes (*ἔνδυμα γάμου*). The wedding at Cana of Galilee gives us a glimpse of the way in which the spirit of hospitality was exhibited in humbler homes (Jn $2^{1ff.}$). But, while the same spirit prevailed throughout Hebrew society, it is to be remembered that among the poorer classes the marriage feast must have been very different from the picture which at the name naturally rises before the imagination.*

The scene at the marriage supper is depicted with some fulness of detail. Now (probably not in the procession) the high-born bride appeared in the full splendour of her bridal array, in a robe embroidered with gold (Ps $45^{13.14}$, Jer 2^{32}), which was gathered up by a peculiar girdle adorned with jewels (Is 49^{18}), and on her head a crown. Prominent in honour, as they had been in service, were the male friends of the bridegroom (*υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος*, Mt 9^{15}), one of whom was charged with the duties of a master of ceremonies (Jn 2^{8}, cf. Jn 3^{29}). From descriptions of later times we can fill out other spaces with panegyric and blessing uttered by the company in song and speech. At the close the bride was conducted by her parents to the nuptial chamber (cf. Jg 15^{1}). Throughout the whole proceedings it may be noted, as explaining the deception practised upon Jacob, the bride had remained veiled (Gn 29^{23}). The duty of preserving evidence of the bride's antenuptial chastity, which was enforced in Dt $22^{13ff.}$, was attended to as a safeguard against the slanders of a malicious or inconstant husband.

A marriage ceremony, to which proceedings like those described are mere adjuncts, is naturally assumed by us, but the idea is not to be summarily imported into early Hebrew marriage. We are doubtless nearer the mark in regarding the marriage supper as being in early times itself the marriage ceremony. Among primitive peoples the public meal has a quasi-sacramental character; and it was quite in harmony with this mode of thought to look on the feast of which bridegroom and bride partook in company with their friends as the rite by which they were definitely placed upon the conjugal footing. The view is supported by the fact that at a late period the feast was still treated as so essential a part of the proceedings that *γάμος* stands equally for the marriage and the supper (Mt 22^{4}). Its original significance would thus have been similar to that of the *confarreatio*—a mode of contracting marriage through a sacrificial use of bread anciently practised in Rome. It was, however, inevitable that in course of time a more definite rite should be instituted. The most natural occasion might seem to be the point at which the bridegroom came to fetch the bride from her parents, but the evidence goes to show that the matter was still in suspense so long as her parents, who accompanied her to the feast, were at her side. The act upon which attention would readily fasten as the decisive and uniting act was the leading of the bride to her 'chamber,' which in the old period was a tent specially erected for the wedded pair. The central importance of this act is further attested by the circumstance that the chamber (חֻפָּה) supplied a name for marriage—marriage being described, as it were, as 'the tenting' (Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 444). Out of this other acts would as naturally develop to form a kind of ritual. From a hint in Mal 2 it is supposed that the pair entered into a solemn covenant, and it is also probable that the good wishes of the company came to be crystallized into definite benedictions craving prosperity and posterity. After the Exile the 'covenant' was embodied in a written contract (To 7^{13} *συγγραφή*, כְּתוּבָה).

This somewhat conjectural account of the ancient marriage ceremony would have an important addition could we follow Mackie in interpreting Ps 19^{6} in the light of modern custom. 'At a Jewish wedding,' he says, 'the most interesting feature is the canopy under which the bridegroom and bride sit or stand during the ceremony. It is erected in the court or large room of the house where the guests are assembled, and it is made of palm branches and embroidered cloth. It is suggestive of the dome sometimes seen above pulpits, and gives to the wedding the appearance of a coronation. . . . The sight of the robed bridegroom issuing from the canopy (tabernacle) and receiving the congratulations of his friends suggested the simile of the sunrise in Ps 19^{5}' (p. 123). But in early times the *ḥuppah* would seem to have been an actual tent (cf. Jl 2^{16}), and the canopy described by Mackie (a picture of which is given in Bodenschatz, *Kirch. Verfas.* iv. p. 126) is doubtless a late ornamental erection evolved from the old bridal tent.

The **wedding festivities** which followed were long drawn out. In ancient times, as still among the fellaheen of Syria, the usual period for the rejoicings was a week (Jg 7). Feasting, music, and dancing, such as celebrated the return of the Prodigal Son, were the staple of the festivities of the season, and we hear of the exercise of the wits by riddles and wagers (*ib.*). The expense must have pressed somewhat heavily on the humbler folk—the more so that a marriage seems to have been treated as a festival for the community, and more than one thrifty saw in Pr may well have been suggested by an extravagance that injured the guest with the host. It is probable that then as now some contribution towards the cost was made in the case of peasant marriages by the guests themselves (Tristram, p. 93).

One of the most important contributions to this subject is the description of the marriage rejoicings of the Palestinian fellaheen in an article on the Syrian threshing-sledge by Dr. J. G. Wetzstein (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Bd. v. 1873, p. 287 ff.). The following are the principal points. During the seven days following the wedding the young couple are treated by the villagers as king and queen; the threshing-floor, where they are married, is their court; and the threshing-sledge is their throne. March is the favourite month. The most prominent incidents of the wedding-day are the sword-dance of the bride, and the great feast. On the following day they hold a reception, being greeted first by the best-man (*wezîr*), then by the friends of the bridegroom (*sebâb el-'arîs*). Then the sledge is transported on stalwart shoulders, with singing of martial or erotic songs, to the threshing-floor. Here a stage or scaffolding some two ells high is erected, and on this the sledge is placed and covered over with a gaily-coloured carpet on which two embroidered cushions are planted. On this with all pomp the husband and wife are enthroned. A tribunal is then set up, whose business is to ascertain that the marriage has been consummated (Dt 22$^{13-21}$). The tribunal being satisfied, there follow dancing and singing, the staple of the song being praise of the graces of the newly wedded pair (cf. Ca 4–7). Games follow, which begin on the first day in the morning, on the succeeding days shortly before noon, and last late into the night. During the whole week their majesties wear their festal clothes, do not work, and merely look on at the games—except that now and again the queen joins in a dance. The expenses are borne by the friends of the bridegroom eked out by fines. The proceedings end with a supper, and the degradation of the king to his proper rank. 'The festal regulations are annulled, the jokes become rougher, and scarcely is the meal over when a pair of hands smear the king's face from a dung-heap' (p. 293).

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* The following realistic description by a modern traveller is of use in this connexion: 'He found that the villagers of Schwat-el-Blat were engaged in the wedding festivities of one of the young men of the family. After the reception, etc., a huge platter, 6 feet in diameter, made of tinned copper, was brought in, on which was piled a mountain of boiled crushed wheat mingled with morsels of boiled meat. When this had been set in place, a dish of melted, clarified butter was poured over the wheat until it was quite saturated. Loaves of bread in the form of cakes were placed by the side of the platter, and the guests, rolling up their sleeves, proceeded to help themselves with their fingers, and consumed the provisions, as is usual, in silence. Water and soap were then passed around to the guests, who washed off the remains of their greasy meal, after which coffee and pipes were served' (*Pal. Expl. Fund Quart. St.* 1888, p. 204).

iv. THE MORAL SUBVERSION OF MARRIAGE.—**Adultery** falls to be considered here as the practice subversive of the institution of marriage (Old Eng. *aéw-bryce*, Germ. *Ehebruch*).

נִאֻפִים 'adultery' (Jer 13^{27}, Ezk 23^{43}), verb נָאַף Qal and Pi. (Ex 20^{14}, Dt 5^{18} etc.); *μοιχεία* (Jn 8^{3}), and of the same group *μοιχός* (Lk 18^{11}), *μοιχεύειν* (Mt 5^{27}), *μοιχᾶσθαι* (Mt 5^{32}), *μοιχαλίς* (2 P 2^{14}).

The biblical conception of adultery is often expressed by saying that, as in Roman law, a woman could violate only her own marriage, a man only that of another. In other words, an unchaste bride was guilty of adultery, an unchaste husband was guilty of it only if he sinned along with the bride of another. If in certain cases the law took cognizance of a husband's licentiousness, it was because it involved infringement of property rights, and gave rise to a claim for damages (Ex 22^{16}, Dt 22^{29}).

At a certain stage of social evolution, adultery is commonly regarded as an injury which a husband is entitled to avenge by slaying the culprits; and when important powers of the family come to be taken over by the nation, it often happens that the death-penalty continues to be attached, at least in theory, to the capital sexual crime (Post, *Studien*, p. 353 ff.). To this generalization of the sociologist the history of adultery among the Hebrews closely corresponds. According to the tradition the unfaithful wife was in old times put to death (by burning, Gn 38^{24}), and, alike from the character of the people and the duties anciently assigned to the Goel, it may be assumed that the wrong was one which was held to invite and justify the extreme of vengeance. The legislation confirmed the estimate of its enormity—the Decalogue condemns both the overt act and the lawless desire in which it originates (Ex 20$^{14.\,17}$), and the prohibition is solemnly repeated in the later legislation, and supported by the sanction of capital punishment. The mode of execution varied with the standing of the woman: a guilty wife was to be put to death, *i.e.* strangled, along with her paramour (Dt 22^{22}; cf. Lv 20^{10}), while a betrothed woman who should be seduced was to be stoned (v.^{24}). If, however, the betrothed woman was seduced in circumstances suggesting that she had been violated, the man only was to be executed: she received the benefit of the doubt (v.$^{25\text{ff.}}$); if she was a bondmaid, the culprit escaped with a guilt-offering (Lv 19$^{20\text{ff.}}$)). In the case of a priest's daughter, the punishment of sexual immorality was death by burning (Lv 21^{9}). The same high ground is taken by Ezekiel, who threatens the adulterer with death (18^{11}).

It must be added that there is no evidence that the capital penalty was actually inflicted in historical times. In late Jewish practice the penalties were merely divorce, with the wife's forfeiture of her dowry (Bodenschatz, *Kirch. Verfass.* iv. p. 164); and a long tract of earlier practice is disposed of by Lightfoot, who remarks: 'I do not remember that I have anywhere, in the Jewish Pandect, met with an example of a wife punished for adultery with death' (*Hor. Heb. ad Mat.* 19^{8}). The NT evidence is to the same effect. In His references to the subject (Mt 5^{32} etc.) Jesus implies that it simply entailed divorce. The reason given for Joseph's purpose to put away his betrothed wife privily is that he was a just man—a reason which could hardly have been given if he had been frustrating the recognized operation of the law, and saving Mary from the usual death by stoning (Mt 1^{19}). The weightiest evidence on the other side is derived from the narrative of the woman taken in adultery (Jn 8$^{3-11}$). From the reference to stoning it might be inferred that her status was that of a betrothed woman, and the implication of the narrative seems to be that there was but a step between her and death. It is, however, to be remembered that Jesus was surrounded by enemies who laboured to entangle Him in His talk—esp. to bring Him into collision with Moses; and the plot in this instance doubtless was to 'put Him in the dilemma of either declaring for the revival of a practice which had already become obsolete, or of giving His sanction to the apparent infraction of the law which the substitution of divorce involved' (art. 'Adultery,' Kitto, *Bib. Cycl.*). At all events, the reply of Jesus supported the abrogation of the law: until judges were found, themselves innocent as tried by His own heart-searching test, the title was wanting to execute the law of Moses (v.^{7}). Nor do the historical records of the pre-Christian period supply any evidence of the operation of the law in the exaction of the death-penalty. On the contrary, the prophetical writings imply that there was widespread guilt and widespread immunity. If the story of Hosea be accepted, as by most moderns, as a real history, and as implying the post-nuptial fall of the prophet's wife, it would follow that in the 8th cent. the law not only did not inflict capital punishment, but did not even (as later) insist on divorce. In spite of the legal enactments, then, it may be assumed that death was not actually inflicted, and that it was deemed that the husband was sufficiently protected by his right of divorce, the woman sufficiently punished by loss of status and property, while the adulterer might be mulcted in damages.

In OT it is sought to intensify the moral sentiment on the subject by picturing the miserable disguises and subterfuges of the adulterer, and by dwelling on the risks to which he was exposed—as degradation (Pr 2^{18}), poverty (6^{26}), and the strokes of unbridled vengeance (5$^{8-10}$). In NT (1 Co 6^{9}) the sin is declared to be utterly inconsistent with a Christian standing, and to entail exclusion from the eternal kingdom (1 Co 6^{9}).

A charge of adultery was ordinarily substantiated at a formal trial. The reason for this, when the death-penalty was no longer inflicted, was at least partly connected with money. A husband could divorce his wife on suspicion, but if he did not prove his case she retained the 'dowry.' It lay, however, in the character of the crime that it was often impossible to prove guilt according to the ordinary canons of evidence, and to meet this difficulty P provides that a suspected woman shall submit to **trial by ordeal** (Nu 5$^{11-31}$).

The particulars of the remarkable enactment of the ordeal of the waters of bitterness are as follows:—

(1) The trial takes place when a husband forms a suspicion, founded or unfounded, of his wife's chastity (vv.$^{12-14}$).

(2) The procedure is that he brings his wife to the priest, along with a sacrificial gift of barley-meal (v.^{15}); the priest sets her 'before the Lord' (v.^{16}), loosens her hair (v.^{18}), places in her hand the meal-offering (v.^{18}), and stands before her holding an earthen vessel which contains a potion of holy water sprinkled with dust from the floor of the tabernacle (v.^{17}). He then sets apart the potion to its judicial use—declaring that if she be innocent it will not injure her, if guilty it will cause her belly to swell and her thigh to shrink (v.^{22}). The woman having acquiesced with an 'Amen,' the priest writes down the curses, washes them off, adds the rinsings as a new ingredient to the potion (v.^{23}), and after some ritualistic observances gives her the water to drink (v.^{26}).

(3) The issue is a judgment of condemnation or acquittal. If guilty, she is smitten with the threatened diseases (usually sup-

posed to include dropsy, Jos. *Ant.* III. xi. 6), and is shunned as accursed (v.^{27}); if innocent, she has the compensation of again becoming a mother (v.^{28}).

In the ordeal of the bitter waters (so called as the instrument of a curse) we have doubtless an ancient custom surviving in a modified form, and amended in the interests of good sense and humanity. Similar practices have been discovered among other peoples, *e.g.* in Sierra Leone and Upper Guinea, and, according to various authorities, in the African practice it is common to employ a deadly poison, when the accused may hope to escape only by the accident of vomiting, or by the surreptitious use of an antidote. In the OT legislation, on the other hand, the case was not prejudged against the accused; the ingredients of the potion were innocuous, and reliance was placed on exposure through divine intervention. That the ordeal was at least occasionally efficacious in revealing guilt through the workings of fear and an accusing conscience, need not be doubted.

From the long persistence in Christendom of the *judicium Dei* in various forms (judicium ignis, aquæ, panis adjurati, etc.), the last trace of which only disappeared in the 18th century, it may be surmised that the ordeal appeals strongly to human nature. But among the Jews as among the Christians, experience bred doubts as to its trustworthiness. Sometimes the curse failed to operate, and that although the guilt was morally certain, or was established by later discoveries. Of such miscarriages of justice two explanations were offered. God, it might be said, stayed His hand because adultery had become so common among the accusing husbands that they had lost all claim to justice as against their wives.[*] Another reason was discovered in the doctrine of 'merits,' and it was suggested that, on the ground of other good deeds, the woman might, if not altogether escape, at least have the punishment deferred. But at all events it was no longer relied upon, and so naturally fell into disuse.

v. THE LEGAL DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE.—**Divorce** (Old Eng. *hiw-gedales*, *forlaeton*, Germ. *Ehescheidung*) is expressed in Heb. and Gr. by a number of words embodying the idea of dismissal or separation. The usual Heb. verb is שִׁלַּח 'to send away,' LXX *ἐξαποστέλλειν* (Dt 22^{19}, Jer 3^{1}), and for the practice of divorce שַׁלַּח is once used (Mal 2^{16}); in the later books יָצָא occurs in Hiph. ('make to go forth,' Ezr $10^{3.19}$). A divorced woman is אִשָּׁה גְרוּשָׁה (Lv 21^{7}, Ezk 44^{22}). The bill of divorce (Old Eng. *hiw-gedales bôk*, later 'book of forsaking') is סֵפֶר כְּרִיתֻת (Dt 24^{1}). In classical Greek the legal terms are *ἀποπέμπεσθαι*, *ἀποπομπή* (of the man), *ἀπόλειψις* (usually of the woman). In the Greek of NT their place is taken by three verbs: (1) *ἀπολύειν*, used throughout the Synopt. (Mt 1^{19} $5^{31.32}$, Mk $10^{2.4}$, Lk 16^{18}); (2) *ἀφιέναι*, which with St. Paul describes the action either of husband or wife in promoting divorce (1 Co $7^{11.12.13}$, cf. Rev 2^{4}), but in Synopt. has the meaning of 'leaving' a wife at death to another (Mt 22^{25}); (3) *χωρίζειν*, *χωρίζεσθαι*, 'to separate, depart,' then (cf. *scheiden*) to terminate a marriage union (1 Co $7^{10.11.15}$). In the translation of those terms, both AV and RV are timid about using 'divorce,' and prefer the vaguer phrases of 'putting away' (*ἀπολύειν*) and 'depart' (*χωρίζειν*), the explanation of which is to be sought in a desire partly to mark the fact that ancient and modern divorce are on a different legal footing, partly to avoid prejudicing the much disputed question as to the dissolubility of marriage.

The Jewish law of divorce has a long history, beginning with the early period in which the right of 'putting away' a wife appears as the traditional prerogative of the husband, then passing into the stage in which the exercise of the right was at least impeded by prophetic protest and legislative enactment, and ending with the effective protection of the wife's position, alike by the Talmudic jurisprudence and the ethics of the Gospel.

That the power of divorce should have been anciently regarded as a traditional right was in harmony with the general ideas and practice of the time in regard to woman's status. When compensation was given to the wife's relatives it was natural to regard her under the point of view of property, and the notion of property involves liberty to alienate it. In heathen Arabia the continuance of a marriage depended on the husband's pleasure, and Mohammed was content to leave matters on the old footing (Wellhausen, *Gött. Nach.* 1893, p. 452 ff.). The old Hebrew practice, perhaps also the very procedure, is exemplified in Abraham's dismissal of Hagar (Gn 21^{14}). From the action of Saul (1 S 25^{44}) it might be supposed that the wife's father had also power to dissolve a marriage, but the transference of Michal to another husband by paternal authority evidently has the aspect of an outrage.

The Deut. code acknowledged the husband's right of divorce, but guarded against its abuse. To prevent so important a step being taken in the heat of passion, it required him deliberately to write her 'a bill of divorcement' (24^{1}). Another check was imposed upon impulsive action by the provision that, under certain conditions, the separation should be final—if, that is, the divorced woman should marry a second time, and should later on be again free to marry (vv.$^{3.4}$). That this was an innovation may be inferred from the story of Hosea (Nowack, *Arch.* i. p. 347). The purely arbitrary exercise of the prerogative was discouraged by assuming that there was some solid ground of resentment—'that she finds no favour in his eyes because he hath found some unseemly thing in her' (v.^{1}, see below). In certain cases, again, the right of divorce was forfeited by misconduct. The husband who falsely charged his wife with antenuptial fornication (22^{13-19}), and the ravisher of a betrothed virgin ($22^{28.29}$), were bound in perpetuity by the marriage tie. In the school of the prophets the higher conception of woman's claims, which has some expression in Dt, found more definite utterance. The germ of the Deut. reforms, and of greater than these, was contained in J (Gn 2^{18-25}), which in the narrative of the Creation had described the husband as knit to the wife in the most intimate union. It is, however, in Mal that the prophetic spirit definitely breaks with established custom, and declares without qualification that God hateth divorce (2^{16}). God's disregard of the sacrifices is due, he teaches, to His wrath at men's treacherous dealing with the wife of their youth (v.^{14}). In the period following the Exile it would seem that divorce had become very common; doubtless the divorce of strange women required by Ezra (9. 10) had reacted upon the general practice, and had retarded and even set back the movement carried forward by the prophets.

In the succeeding period interest centred in the question of the precise nature of the Deut. condition justifying divorce, and the vagueness of the language in which the wife's offence was described gave rise to one of the most famous of rabbinical controversies: What was the 'unseemly thing' (עֶרְוַת דָּבָר, lit. 'nakedness of a thing,' LXX *ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα*)? The account of the dispute is given as follows in the Mishna (*Giṭṭin* ix. 10):—

'The school of Shammai says, "No one shall divorce his wife unless there shall have been found in her some unchastity (דבר ערוה 'a thing *or* matter of nakedness'), since it is written, Because he hath found the *nakedness* of a thing (ערות דבר) in her"; the school of Hillel says, "Even if she shall have burned his food in cooking, since it is written, Because he hath found in her the nakedness of *a thing*" (*i.e.* anything); R. Akiba says, "Even if he find another fairer than she, as it is written, If she find no favour in his eyes."' As indicated in this passage, the latitudinarian view was adopted on the ground that the governing principle is laid down in the opening clause 'if she find no favour in his eyes,' and it was also supported by reference to v.^{3}, where it is implied that a second husband will also divorce the woman if he hate her. The emphasis was also laid on 'matter' rather than on 'unseemly,' thereby suggesting that the unseemliness might appear in various matters. The school of Shammai treated the second clause as the significant one, and emphasized 'unseemly,' which they interpreted as meaning immoral or at least indecent conduct. The opinion of Hillel was generally adopted as the true representation of the state of the law ('decisio juxta scholam Hillelis,' Maimon. *in loc.*), although it is to be remembered that many who endorsed the position as jurists condemned it as moralists. 'Over him who divorces the wife of his youth,' said R. Eleazar, 'even the altar of God sheds tears' (Amram, *Jewish Law of Divorce*, p. 37). That 'the unseemly thing' was not a euphemism for unchastity may be confidently assumed in view of the fact that Dt prescribes the capital punishment for adultery. But recent scholarship at least agrees with Shammai in confining it to the region of immodest or indecent behaviour (Driver, *in loc.*).

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[*] 'After that adulterers multiplied, the bitter waters ceased, and R. Jochanan Saccai abolished their use according to Hos 4^{14} I will not punish your daughters when they commit whoredom, for they themselves go apart,' etc.—Mishna, *Sota*, cap. 9, Surenhusius, iii. p. 291.

Upon this vexed question of the schools the judgment of Jesus was eagerly sought (Mt 19^{3-9}, Mk 10^{1-12}), and in view of the great practical importance of the subject it was even spontaneously given (Mt $5^{31.32}$, Lk 16^{18}). Our Lord decreed in favour of the rigorous view, and indeed disallowed any ground of divorce, with the probable exception of adultery. He does not, it is true, base this on His interpretation of 'the unseemly thing'; on the contrary, He grants that the Mosaic law gave some latitude in the matter of divorce, and goes on to reform the law so as to bring it into conformity with the older ideal (Gn 2^{24}), or the original purpose of God. But did Jesus allow even adultery to be a valid ground of divorce? A negative answer is given from opposite quarters. The Rom. Cath. Church, as is well known, is committed to the position that adultery does not justify the total dissolution of a marriage (quoad vinculum) between two Christians, but only separation from 'bed and board,'* and some modern German critics have supported this contention as at least corresponding to the teaching and intention of Christ. This view, it must be admitted, is not without foundation, while yet regard for the accepted canons of NT criticism precludes the claim that it has been established.

A presumption that Jesus intended to prohibit divorce in all cases is created by the following considerations:—(1) In two passages of the Gospels it is stated without reservation that 'he who putteth away his wife and marrieth another committeth adultery' (Lk 16^{18}, cf. Mk 10^{11}), and the Pauline report of our Lord's teaching on the subject (1 Co $7^{10.11}$) is similarly unqualified; (2) it is in harmony with the spirit of Christ's general teaching to suppose that He inculcated towards the erring one utter constancy in love and forgiveness unto seventy times seven. The Book of Hosea, it may be added, shows the possibility of a love which feels that the bond which binds a husband to even a faithless wife is indissoluble. But the force of this seems to be dissipated by the fact that Jesus actually admitted the exception in the proviso, 'saving for the cause of fornication' † (Mt 5^{32} 19^{9}). The objection is met in two ways. (1) The Rom. Cath. theologians deny that the punishment contemplated was more than a separation, and urge in proof that the woman who is put away commits adultery if she marries another. If the union was really dissolved, it is argued, there could be no allegation of adultery. But these statements rest on erroneous exegesis. The verb ἀπολύειν was a recognized Hellenistic term for divorce, and could not convey to the early Christians the modified conception of a separation. Further, it is not certain that according to this passage Christ taught that a man committed adultery by marrying a divorced guilty wife, and consequently it may be held that in her case at least the marriage was regarded as annulled by divorce.* (2) Instead of explaining away the exception, Bleek, Keim, and others have denied the genuineness of the clause specifying it, and this on the ground that the original unqualified statement of Jesus was felt to be a stumbling-block, and that the exception ('saving for the cause of fornication') crept into the traditional report as a concession to the realities of social life. In support of the genuineness it is pointed out that the MSS indicate no uncertainty as to the reliability of the text in Mt; while the absence of the exception from the parallel passages in Mk and Lk is explained either by saying that it was taken for granted (Meyer), or by recalling that the law already provided for the punishment of adultery (Schegg). Yet another suggestion is that the teaching of Jesus, which was originally comparatively lenient, eventually withdrew the single concession which had been made (Hug, quoted in Weiss-Meyer, *in loc.*). The question at issue must eventually be settled in the light of a general theory as to the trustworthiness of the Synoptic report of our Lord's sayings, and the explanation of the Synoptic divergencies; and it must be added that this particular instance does not materially strengthen the evidence that the oral tradition seriously modified the sayings of our Lord (on this subject cf. Bruce, *Kingdom of God*, Crit. Introd.).

Among Protestant writers the more urgent question has been whether, consistently with the teaching of Christ and His apostles, divorce may be sought on other grounds than adultery; and the laxer modern practice has usually been justified as an extended application of the principle embodied in the words ascribed to Jesus.

The *prima facie* sense of the relative passages in the Gospels (Mt 5^{32} 19^{9}) certainly is that Jesus permitted divorce on one ground only, though the precise bearing of His references to remarriage presents considerable difficulties. † Are we then to describe a system of law which has multiplied grounds of divorce as openly defiant of the mind of Christ? To this it is replied in the first place that the apostolic teaching sanctioned further extension. The reference is to what Roman Catholics call 'the Pauline privilege' (1 Co $7^{15.16}$), according to which if a Christian husband or wife is deserted by his or her consort—being an unbeliever, the former is declared to be no longer under bondage, *i.e.* free to marry again. In the second place, it is contended that in this case Jesus, as in so many other cases, states a principle under the form of a particular instance, and that other instances are to be allowed which can be shown to embody the same principle.‡ And certainly it must be granted in general that the Christian morality does not consist of a cast-iron system of laws, but rather of germinal principles which entail the labour and responsibility of thinking out their inmost significance and judging as to their proper application. In the evangelical precept the spirit counts for more than the letter. If, therefore, we assume that Jesus allowed divorce at all, which is the most doubtful point in the argument, it is quite legitimate to extend the exception to cases involving a real moral subversion of marriage under the proviso that the verification of such be taken out of private hands and vested in a public tribunal. Nor can it be said that, at least in Great Britain, the occasions of legal dissolution allowed by law amount to less than a moral subversion.

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* 'If any one saith that the Church has erred in that she hath taught and doth teach, in accordance with the evangelical and apostolical doctrine, that the bond of matrimony cannot be dissolved on account of the adultery of one of the married parties; and that both, or even the innocent one who gave not occasion to the adultery, can not contract another marriage during the lifetime of the other; and that he is guilty of adultery who, having put away the adulteress, shall take another wife, as also she who, having put away the adulterer, shall take another husband, let him be anathema' (*Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, De Sacr. Matri., Can. VII.).

† It has been held by some critics that as the word used is πορνεία, the justification of divorce here admitted was antenuptial fornication; but cf. Weiss-Meyer, *in loc.*

* The weakness of the exegetical argument is obviously felt by a recent Rom. Cath. writer, who, after admitting the reality of the difficulty, and pleading that the passage be interpreted in the light of the clearer Scriptures, remarks that the matter affords a good instance of the impossibility of arriving at any assured interpretation of Scripture except in the light of the traditional teaching of the Catholic Church (Hunter, *Dogm. Theology*, § 815).

† As regards remarriage, the main exegetical difficulty is to know whether the phrase, 'whosoever marrieth her that is put away committeth adultery' (Mt 5^{32}), prohibits the remarriage of every divorced woman, or only that of a woman who has been unlawfully divorced. The latter view, supported by Weiss-Meyer and Alford (who translates 'her when put away'), is the natural one, though it has the curious consequence that an innocent wife is, but a guilty wife is not, prohibited from forming a second marriage. The husband of a guilty wife, as is clearly implied in Mt 19^{9}, may marry again; and by parity of reasoning, in a case which could not lawfully occur in the Jewish Church, a woman who has divorced her husband on the ground of his immorality should be free to take another husband. On the other hand, it does not follow that a legal dissolution of marriage justifies remarriage. The legal decision gives rise, for the Christian conscience, to the further question whether the marriage has been broken in the sense intended by Christ.

‡ This argument is suggestively stated by Newman Smyth (*Christian Ethics*, p. 410 ff.): 'There is no other legitimate principle for divorce than that presented by the nature of the sin of adultery. If, however, we can say with a good conscience that some other sin (some sin which possibly in Christ's day had not reached its full measure of iniquity—a sin, for instance, like drunkenness, which may utterly destroy the spiritual unity of a home and threaten even the physical security of one of the persons bound by the vows of marriage) is the moral equivalent of the cause which our Lord had immediately before Him for pronouncing divorce, we shall be justified in admitting it to be likewise a proper Christian ground for divorce?' Martensen argues to a similar purpose (*Christian Ethics, Social*, p. 41 ff.).

While Christianity broke down the husband's right of divorce along one line, on another the Talmudic law was developed with the purpose of impeding its exercise.

The most important provisions making in this direction may be thus distinguished: (1) Inculcation of the doctrine that the right was not absolute by the statement of grounds justifying it—viz. suspicion of adultery, violation of decency and of Jewish customs, obstruction of religious service, refusal of conjugal rights; (2) enforcement of penalty in the restoration of the 'dowry'; (3) complication of procedure in carrying out the divorce; (4) deprivation of the right in cases where the husband had come under some incapacity, *e.g.* as insane, or as a deaf-mute, or where the wife—as insane, or a captive, or a minor—was specially entitled to protection (cf. Amram, *Jewish Law of Div.* c. 4, 'Laws of the Mishna restricting the husband's right to divorce'). On the other hand, circumstances were specified in which the husband was compelled to divorce his wife, viz. cases of adultery, clandestine intercourse, leprosy, childlessness, etc. (Hamburger, art. 'Scheiden'). The abolition of the man's theoretical right to divorce was decreed in 11th cent. by Rabbi Gershom, who enacted that 'as the man does not put away his wife except of his own free will, so shall the woman not be put away except by her own consent' (Amram, *op. cit.* p. 52). The decree, however, was not universally accepted as law by the Jews, and is ignored by Maimonides (*ib.*).

The right of the wife to divorce her husband, which was conceded at least under later Greek and Roman law, was an idea repugnant to Hebrew custom and enactment. The only trace of such an idea is the legal provision that if a bondwoman become a wife, and if she be denied conjugal rights, she shall go out free without money (Ex 21^{7-11}). This, however, was not a concession to the woman of power to divorce; in any such case the theory was that the husband was called upon, in the exercise of his exclusive prerogative, to put away his wife (Amram, *op. cit.* p. 60). Under the influence of alien customs, and with the support of Roman law, the practice came into vogue in NT times, whereby the wife directly repudiated the husband by sending him a 'bill of divorce.' The innovation was opposed by Jos. (*Ant.* XV. vii. 11, XVIII. v. 5), and was expressly condemned by our Lord in the words, 'if a woman shall put away her husband and marry another, she committeth adultery' (Mk 10^{12}). The Talmudists upheld the old theory, allowing the wife to demand divorce in certain cases—*e.g.* leprosy, apostasy, cruelty, impotence (Amram, *op. cit.* c. 5).

The writing or **bill of divorcement** (סֵפֶר כְּרִיתֻת, Talm. גֵּט, Gr. *βιβλίον ἀποστασίου*), which figures so largely in this subject, was of great antiquity (Dt 24^1, Is 50^1, Jer 3^8). In earlier times no great ceremony was used (Gn 21^{14}), and the form of words would doubtless be similar to those in use among the Arabs.* While necessary to make a divorce legal, it would appear that in the time of our Lord the 'bill' could be granted without bringing the matter under the cognizance of the authorities (Mt 1^{19}). From the Mishna, a treatise of which takes its name from the 'bill' (*Giṭṭin*), it appears that most elaborate regulations were enforced in regard to the judiciary, clerk, witnesses, time and place, and also the medium and mode of the delivery of the document. The following is given by Maimonides as an ancient and model form of the *geṭ* or bill: 'On the —— day of the week and —— day of the month of —— in the year —— since the creation of the world (or of the era of the Seleucidæ), the era according to which we are accustomed to reckon in this place, to wit, the town of —— do I —— the son of —— of the town of —— (and by whatever other name or surname I or my father may be known, and my town and his town), thus determine, being of sound mind and under no constraint; and I do release and send away and put aside thee —— daughter of —— of the town of —— (and by whatever other name or surname thou and thy father are known and thy town and his town), who hast been my wife from time past hitherto, and hereby I do release thee and send thee away and put thee aside that thou mayest have permission and control over thyself to go to be married to any man whom thou desirest, and no man shall hinder thee (in my name) from this day forever. And thou art permitted (to be married) to any man. And these presents shall be unto thee from me a bill of dismissal, a document of release and a letter of freedom, according to the law of Moses and Israel.

—— the son of —— a witness.
—— the son of —— a witness.'

(Amram, pp. 157–158, with which cf. original text and Latin rendering in Surenhusius, *Mishnah*, iii. p. 323, and commentary, *ib.* p. 325).

vi. MARRIAGE AS A SYMBOL OF SPIRITUAL TRUTHS.—Although modern exegesis has given up the idea that in Canticles divine love is set forth under the image of human love, it is a familiar biblical thought that the marriage relationship is typical of the union and communion of God with His people. After Hosea, whose domestic life is reasonably supposed to have impressed him with the suitableness of the imagery, it became a commonplace of prophecy that God was to Israel as a husband, and Israel to God as a bride (Hos 2^{19}, Jer 3^{14} 31^{32}, Is 54^5).* The conception passed over into NT, but with modifications agreeable to the nature of Christianity—the bridegroom being now God in Christ (Mt 9^{15}, Jn 3^{29}), the bride the spiritual Israel elect out of every nation (2 Co 11^2, Rev 19^7).

Now, this conception of God as the husband, though it has been little utilized in theology, cannot be said to be less apt or important than the two other conceptions of God which have been made the basis of systems. These are the idea of God as King, which lays the main stress on the divine sovereignty, and the idea of God as Father, which lays the main stress on the divine love. And as the weakness of the system built upon the principle of the divine sovereignty has been widely felt to be that it does less than justice to the ethical being of God; and as, on the other hand, the theology based on the divine fatherhood has been in danger of obscuring the divine might and majesty, there is certainly something to be said for putting in the forefront the thought of Hosea, which, representing God as husband, equally emphasizes to our minds His sovereignty and His goodness.

How large a portion of the body of Christian doctrine may be set forth, and with the sanction of Scripture, under the category of the marriage relation, may be briefly indicated.

(1) Under *the doctrine of God* this representation, besides embodying as its fundamental principles the divine sovereignty and love, lays special stress on the attributes of clemency and long-suffering, while it safeguards the holiness of God by showing Him grieved and provoked to anger by contumacy and unfaithfulness (Hos *passim*). As husband God also provides for His people (2^8).

(2) *The doctrine of sin* is, from this point of view, characterized as adultery (Hos 2^2, Jer 3^9 13^{27};

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* Two formulæ are given by W. R. Smith (*Kinship*, pp. 94, 163: 'Begone, for I will no longer drive thy flocks to the pasture.' 'Thou art to me as the back of my mother'; cf. the Latin formula: 'Tuas res tibi habeto, tuas res tibi agito.'

* The germ of the conception, according to W. R. Smith, was found in Semitic heathenism; and the service of Hosea was to purify the gross physical conception of the god as the husband of the motherland, and to apply it to describe moral relations of Jehovah with His people (*Prophets of Israel*, new ed. p. 170 ff.).

on אַחֲרֵי זוּנָה see Driver on Dt 31^{16})—a designation which, as regards (*a*) *the nature of sin*, indicates that its essence consists in indifference or even hatred toward God, and the giving of the affections to other objects (Hos 2^{5}, Jer 2^{20}, Ezk 20^{30}); (*b*) *the heinousness of sin*, draws attention to its aggravation as unfaithfulness to solemn obligation and ingratitude for high favours (Jer 5^{7}); and (*c*) *the punishment of sin*, teaches that persistence in it entails a casting-off, of which human divorce is a pale emblem (Hos $2^{12ff.}$, Jer $2^{35ff.}$).

(3) In the Christological doctrine the points which are chiefly emphasized by the conception are the love of Christ, His kingly office as exercised in His headship over the Church, and His intimate union with it through the indwelling Spirit (2 Co 11^{2}, Eph 5^{23-32}).

(4) In close relation to the last the doctrine of the Church is elucidated and enriched by the assertion of its mystical union with and dependence upon Christ (Eph. *loc. cit.*), and of its essential note of sanctity—the latter, which includes all the graces included in sanctification, being beautifully portrayed as the bridal adornment (Rev 19^{8}).

(5) Finally, as regards eschatology, the figure concentrates attention on the momentous event of the Second Coming, which is sudden as the coming of the bridegroom (Mt 25^{1-13}), and places in a clear light the bliss, the security, and unutterable glory of the everlasting kingdom (Rev 19^{7} 21^{2-9}).

LITERATURE.—Next to the Scriptures the chief source is the division of the Mishna סדר נשים (*Liber de re uxoria*), containing, with two others, the treatises יבמות (*de levirorum in fratrias officio*), כתובות (*de dote literisque matrimonialibus*), סוטה (*de uxore adulterii suspecta*), גטין (*de divortiis*), and קדושין (*de sponsalibus*)—pt. 3 in the ed. of Surenhusius, Amsterdam, 1700. The best of the above material is collected in Selden, *Uxor Hebraica*, London, 1546, and Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopædie für Bibel und Talmud*, Breslau, 1870. Of the older articles, that in Kitto's *Biblical Cyclopædia* is distinguished by Talmudic erudition. The recent German manuals which cover the ground are Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.*, Freiburg, 1894, cf. his 'Familie u. Ehe' in Hauck=Herzog^{3}; Nowack, *Lehrb. der Heb. Arch.*, Bd. i., Freiburg, 1894, with which may be mentioned Stade, *GVI*, Berlin, 1887, i. pp. 371–395. On primitive marriage the chief works from the general standpoint are M'Lennan, *Primitive Marriage*, reprinted in *Studies in Ancient History*, London, 1876; Starcke, *The Primitive Family*, London, 1889; Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, London, 1891; Post, *Studien zur Entwickelungsgeschichte des Familienrechts*, Leipzig, 1889; while the theories are tested in the Semitic field with special knowledge by W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Cambridge, 1895, and Wellhausen, 'Die Ehe bei den Arabern' in the *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1893, p. 431 ff., following Wilken, *Das Matriarchat bei den alten Arabern*, 1884. For the interpretation of the laws there is much to be learned from Michaelis, *Mosaisches Recht*, Eng. tr. 'Commentaries on the Laws of Moses,' London, 1814. Amram, *Jewish Law of Divorce according to Bible and Talmud*, London, 1897, is an important discussion by a legal expert. See also Fenton, *Early Hebrew Life*, London, 1880; Jacobs, *Studies in Bibl. Arch.*, London, 1894; Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, London, 1896; Tristram, *Eastern Customs*, London, 1894; Mackie, *Bible Manners and Customs*, London, 1898.

W. P. PATERSON.

MARSENA (מַרְסְנָא; Μαλησεάρ AB, Μαλισεάρ, Μαρσανά; *Marsana*).—One of the seven princes of Media and Persia, who 'sat first in the kingdom,' and had the right of access to the royal presence (Est 1^{14}, cf. ADMATHA). The name is doubtless Persian, but the derivation is uncertain.

MARSHAL.—The word does not occur in AV, but in RV it represents two Heb. words. (1) סֹפֵר *sōphēr* (Jg 5^{14}) in the difficult phrase מֹשְׁכִים בְּשֵׁבֶט סֹפֵר '[out of Zebulun] they that handle the marshal's staff' (RV). The usual meaning of סֹפֵר is 'scribe' or 'writer,' and so AV, agreeing with Syr.* ܕܢܓܕܝܢ ܒܩܢܝܐ ܕܣܦܪܐ and Targ. כתבין בקולמוס דספר, gives 'They that handle the pen of the writer.' None of the Greek versions, however, give 'pen,' in A בשבט=ἐν σκήπτρῳ, in B and Theod. ἐν ῥάβδῳ, in Symm. μετὰ ῥάβδου. Therefore we may take Greek authority to be on the side of 'marshal' as against 'scribe,' 'writer,' though an abstract noun, acc. to A ἡγήσεως, acc. to B (and Theod.) διηγήσεως (error for ἡγήσεως?), seems to be the original Septuagint rendering. B offers γραμματέως as a second rendering, and Symm. has γραμματέως only, the meaning of which is 'marshal' as appears from 1 Mac 5^{42}, ἔστησεν (*sc.* Judas) τοὺς γραμματεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ χειμάρρου. The office of a marshal was to help the general to maintain discipline. His wand of office (σκῆπτρον or ῥάβδος) could be used, if necessary, for inflicting chastisement.

(2) טִפְסָר *ṭiphṣār* (Jer 51^{27}) or טַפְסֵר *ṭaphṣēr* (Nah 3^{17}). The meaning of this word—a loan-word in Heb.—is not certainly known, but Lenormant (followed by most scholars) compares the Bab.-Assyr. *dupsarru* [*dupšarru*, Delitzsch], 'tablet-writer'; so RVm to Nah 3^{17} 'thy scribes.' The title 'scribe' might very well be given to a provost-marshal; cf. γραμματεῖς in 1 Mac 5^{42} (cited above). The VSS give no help, and the meaning of the word was evidently lost in early times. LXX has βελοστάσεις ('batteries of warlike engines') in Jer, but leaves the word untranslated in Nah. Symm. has ἐκλεκτούς in Jer (so Field). Syr.* has ܚܘܪܒܐ 'destruction' in Jer, but in Nah ܡܥܝܪܢܝܟܝ 'thy aroused ones' or (possibly) 'thy warriors.' Targ. gives עבדי קרבא 'warriors' in Jer, but leaves the word untranslated in Nah. All these renderings of the VSS are founded on guesses from the context, rather than on real knowledge.

W. EMERY BARNES.

MAR'S HILL.—See AREOPAGUS.

MARTHA (Μάρθα, an Aramaic form [מָרְתָא, fem. of מָרָא 'lord'], not found in Heb., meaning 'mistress' or 'lady.' Compare Κυρίᾳ in 2 Jn ^{1}, which some interpret as a proper name, and some identify with the Martha of the Gospels).—The name does not occur in OT. Only one person called Martha appears in NT, mentioned in Lk $10^{38.40}$, Jn $11^{1.5.19-39}$ 12^{2}. It is not possible to doubt the identity of the Martha of the Fourth Gospel with the Martha of the Third. In both cases there is a sister Mary, and similar traits in the characters of the two women appear in each of the narratives. But the course of events in Lk would suggest that the village where the sisters lived was situated in Galilee; according to Jn it was Bethany. The harmonistic suggestion, that they may have changed their place of abode previous to the events with which they are connected in the Fourth Gospel, is evidently a device invented to meet a difficulty; it has no probability. St. John is so exact in his topography that it is not reasonable to suppose he was mistaken in this instance. Bethany is one of the centres round which the history in the Fourth Gospel moves. It would seem, therefore, that the order of the narrative is dislocated in Lk, so that a Judæan incident is inserted in the course of events that transpired in the north. Martha here appears actively engaged in serving Jesus and His disciples at a hospitable feast. In this case, and in the Johannine incidents, she takes the lead in a way that implies that she is the elder sister. According to the Synoptic account, it was in the house of Simon the leper that a woman, pouring precious ointment over Jesus, was rebuked by the disciples for her wastefulness (Mt 26^{7}, Mk 14^{3}); according to Jn, this occurred at the house of Martha and Mary, the latter being the woman who testified her devotion to Jesus by the costly gift (Jn 12^{1-8}). Therefore it has been suggested that Martha may have been Simon's wife or widow. In St. Luke's narrative Martha is gently corrected for her excessive anxiety and the impatience with which she complains of her sister. Thus she is seen to be one who, while truly devoted to Christ, and commendably energetic in the service of hospitality, does not possess her soul in quietness; sets too high a value on the material sumptuousness of the feast for which she is responsible; fails to understand how best to entertain her divine Guest by best pleasing Him; and hastily blames the gentler Mary. According to the oldest MSS and some VSS and Fathers,[*] Jesus said to her, 'There is need of but a few things or one'—the 'few' pointing to simplicity in the provisions at table (compare Lk 10^{42}), the 'one' perhaps carrying her thought to what alone He supremely cared for, the kingdom of God (see Mt 6^{33}), to show profound interest in which was to receive Jesus in the way most acceptable to Him. In the narrative of the death and raising of Lazarus, Martha and Mary are true sisters, echoing one another's thoughts, both trusting in Jesus as their one friend who could help them in the greatest need. In Jn 12^{2}, as in the Lk narrative, Martha is found 'serving.' See, further, under MARY, No. iv.

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* We have verified the Syr. from MSS, viz. the Ambrosian, the Buchanan Bible (Jacobite of cent. xii.), and Camb. Univ. Add. 1964 (Nestorian of cent. xiii.) for Jg 5^{14}, and from the first two of these MSS together with Camb. Univ. Add. 1965 (Nestorian of cent. xv.) for Jer 51^{27} and Nah 3^{17}.

A tradition, which cannot be traced earlier than the Middle Ages, is cherished all over the south of France, to the effect that during a persecution of the Christians by the Jews, Lazarus and his two sisters, having been sent to sea in a boat without rudder, oars, or provisions, drifted to land near Marseilles, founded many churches in Provence, in particular those at Marseilles, Aix, and Avignon, and finally lived in retreat at Tarascon (see Guettée, *Histoire de l'Église de France*, i. 402, n. 5; Guérin, *Les Petits Bollandistes*, etc. x. 91–105, where many childish but picturesque legends of Martha are recorded; cf. also Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, i. 325 ff.).

W. F. ADENEY.

MARTYR.—The Gr. word *μάρτυς* (from a root signifying to 'remember,' connected with 'memory' and *μέριμνα*, 'care,' therefore primarily 'one who testifies to what he remembers'), which in AV is frequently translated 'witness,' is rendered 'martyr' in Ac 22^{20}, Rev 2^{13} 17^{6}. The Vulg. has *martyr* in the last passage only, in the other two the usual *testis*, and Wyc. and Rhem. follow. Tind., Cov., Cran. have 'witness' in all; Gen. and Bish. 'witness' in Ac, but 'martyr' in Rev. The Versions, even the earliest, seem to have used 'martyr' in its modern sense, one who seals his testimony with his blood, not merely a witness, but a witness who suffers. But the Gr. word does not appear to have acquired that meaning within the NT, though it is common in early Christian writings. In Ac 22^{20} the tr. 'martyr' loses the reference to the preceding 'witness' (*μαρτυρία*, 22^{18}). RV gives 'witness' in Ac 22^{20} and Rev 2^{13}, but retains 'martyr' in Rev 17^{6}, m. 'witness.'

J. HASTINGS.

MARVELLOUS is an adverb in Wis 19^{8}, 'seeing thy marvellous strange wonders' (*θαυμαστὰ τέρατα*, RV 'strange marvels'). Cf. Ps 31^{23}, Pr. Bk. 'Thanks be to the Lord: for he hath showed me marvellous great kindness in a strong city'; and Ps 145^{3} 'Great is the Lord, and marvellous worthy to be praised' (but mod. edd. wrongly print 'Great is the Lord, and marvellous, worthy to be praised'). Cf. also Jer 30^{6} Cov. 'Yee all their faces are marvellous pale.' Tindale uses 'marvellously,' as Mt 2^{10} 'When they sawe the starre, they were marvelously glad.' So also often in Shakespeare.

J. HASTINGS.

MARY (Heb. מִרְיָם *Miriam*; LXX and NT *Μαριάμ* or *Μαρία*; Josephus *Μαριάμμη* or *Μαριάμη* or *Μαριάμνη*).[*]—The name, as Stanley says, probably owes its frequent recurrence in the narratives, alike of the Evangelists and of Josephus, not to the memory of Miriam the sister of Moses, but to the sympathy felt for the beautiful Hasmonæan princess, the high-souled and ill-fated wife of Herod (*Jewish Church*, iii. 429). We find it used as follows in the NT—

i. Mary the mother of James.
ii. The other Mary.
iii. Mary of Clopas.
iv. Mary the sister of Martha.
v. Mary Magdalene.
vi. Mary the mother of Mark.
vii. Mary saluted by St. Paul.
viii. Mary the mother of the Lord.

i. ii. iii. Of the above, the first three are generally identified. The first is mentioned in the three Synoptic Gospels as one of those who were present at the crucifixion. In Mt $27^{55.56}$ we read, 'many women were there beholding from afar, which had followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering unto him: among whom were Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother[†] of James and Joses, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee.' In v.^{61} we are told that the same evening, after Joseph of Arimathæa had buried the body in his own new tomb hewn out of the rock, 'Mary Magdalene, and *the other Mary* (evidently the before-mentioned mother of James), were sitting over against the sepulchre.' Next day, 'as the sabbath began to dawn towards the first day of the week,' the other Mary again appears with Mary Magdalene (28^{1}). It is to them that the angel at the sepulchre speaks words of comfort after rolling away the stone, 'Fear not ye: for I know that ye seek Jesus, which hath been crucified. He is not here; for he is risen, as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay. And go quickly, and tell his disciples.' In fear and joy they ran to carry the message; and as they went, 'Jesus met them, saying, All hail. And they came and took hold of his feet, and worshipped him. Then said Jesus unto them, Fear not: go tell my brethren that they depart into Galilee, and there shall they see me.'

Mark (15^{40}) gives some further details. Mary is called the mother of James the Little and Joses, and Salome is mentioned as one of her companions along with Mary Magdalene. In v.^{47} she (now called M. *ἡ Ἰωσῆτος*) is watching where He was laid. In 16^{1} 'Mary of James' is joined with Salome and the Magdalene, as buying spices and bringing them to the tomb at sunrise on the first day. As they go they wonder how they shall get the stone rolled away; but this is already done when they arrive, and they find in the tomb a young man in white raiment, who bids them not be amazed, but carry word to the disciples to meet the Lord in Galilee. 'But they said nothing to any one; for they were afraid' (v.^{8}).

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[*] ℵ B C^{2} L 1. 33, Syr.$^{\text{hcl mg}}$ Memph. Eth., Origen$^{\text{cat}}$ Bas.

[*] It has been asserted that the form *Μαριάμ* is used exclusively for the Virgin, and *Μαρία* for the others; but, though the Hebraic form is in general used of the former (in the nominative), perhaps as being the more dignified, it is by no means confined to her, nor is the Hellenic form confined to the latter. Thus, where the Virgin is spoken of, WH read *Μαρία* with Codd. BD in Lk 2^{19}, and though they follow B in calling her *Μαριάμ* elsewhere, yet it is only in Lk 1^{27} that this form has the support of all the MSS. In Mt 13^{55} *Μαρία* is read by C, in Lk $1^{36.39.56}$ and 2^{5} by D, in Lk $1^{34.38.46}$ by both. On the other hand, the best text has *Μαριάμ* of the Magdalene in Mt 27^{61}, Mk 15^{40}, Jn $20^{16.18}$, and this reading has the support of C and L in several other passages. *Μαριάμ* is not used of the mother of James in the best MSS, though C has it in Mt 27^{56} and Lk 28^{1}. *Μαριάμ* is used of the sister of Martha in the best text of Lk $10^{39.42}$, Jn $11^{2.20.32}$ 12^{3}.

In the other cases the Hebraic and Hellenic forms are used indiscriminately. Thus the best text has the acc. *Μαρίαν* of the Virgin in Mt 1^{20} and of St. Paul's friend in Ro 16^{6}, but *Μαριάμ* of the Virgin in Lk $2^{16.34}$, of Martha's sister in Jn $11^{19.28.31.45}$. The gen. *Μαρίας* is the only form used as well of the Virgin as of Martha's sister and the mother of Mark. The dat. *Μαριάμ* is used of the Virgin in Lk 2^{5}, Ac 1^{14}, but *Μαρίᾳ* of the Magdalene in 'Mk' 16^{9}.

[†] Here and in Mk 15^{40} Syr. Sin. has 'daughter' instead of 'mother.'

In Lk 23^{49-56} we are told generally that the women which came from Galilee stood afar off at the crucifixion and followed Joseph to the tomb to see how the body was laid, and prepared spices and ointments, which they brought at early dawn on the first day. Entering into the tomb they saw two men in dazzling apparel, who asked them why they sought the living among the dead. 'Remember the words he spake unto you in Galilee, saying that the Son of Man must be crucified, and the third day rise from the dead. And they remembered his words, and told all these things to the eleven and to all the rest.' From 24^{10} we learn that Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary of James were among the number of these women.

John (19^{25}) tells us that there were standing by the cross, His mother and His mother's sister (identified with Salome, see article on BRETHREN OF THE LORD), Mary of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene. Comparing this with Mk 15^{40}, we naturally conclude that Mary of Clopas must be the same as Mary of James. All we know of Clopas is derived from Hegesippus (*ap.* Euseb. *HE* iii. 11), who tells us that he was brother of the reputed father of our Lord, and that Symeon the second bishop of Jerusalem was his son. Whether ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ means *wife* or (as Jerome suggests) *daughter* of Clopas is uncertain. Lightfoot (cited in the above-named article) holds that there is no ground for identifying the name Clopas with Alphæus, and that the Peshitta version and Jerome may be right in regarding it as another form of Cleopas. If Mary was daughter of Clopas, she may have been wife of Alphæus, and her son James may be the apostle known as the son of Alphæus. Jerome, however, maintains that Mary of Cleophas, the aunt of the Lord, is a different person from the mother of James (see *Ep. ad Hedibiam* cited by Lightfoot, *Gal.* p. 260). John of Thessalonica and other Fathers (quoted by Faillon, i. p. 150) strangely identify the mother of James with the mother of the Lord, thinking that her presence at the crucifixion could not have been passed over without mention by the Synoptists.

iv. MARY, SISTER OF MARTHA.—It is only in the last two Gospels that her name occurs. Luke (10^{38-42}), after narrating the return of the Seventy, says vaguely that, 'as they went on their way, Jesus entered into a certain village: and a certain woman, named Martha, received him into her house. And she had a sister called Mary, which also sat at Jesus' feet, and heard his word.' When Martha complained that she was left to serve alone, Jesus answered that, whereas she was anxious and troubled about many things, her sister had chosen the good part, which should not be taken from her. In Jn 11 we find the two sisters living with their brother Lazarus in a village named Bethany; and all three are said to have been beloved by the Lord. Jesus, on His last journey to Jerusalem, receives tidings of the sickness of Lazarus, and, when He reaches Bethany, finds that he had been dead four days. The behaviour of the sisters is such as we might expect from Luke's narrative. Martha goes out to meet Him; but Mary sits still in the house, till she receives a message that the Master called for her. Then rising quickly, she came where He was, and fell down at His feet. Both meet Him, however, with the same words of sorrowful reproach: 'If thou hadst been here, my brother had not died.' It would seem that, though Martha was apparently the elder sister, Mary was for some reason held in greater consideration. In v.^{19} we are told that many of the Jews had come to comfort Martha and Mary; but, while nothing is said of their accompanying Martha, we read in v.^{31} that the Jews, who were in the house with Mary, when they saw that she rose up quickly and went out, followed her, thinking that she was going to the grave to weep there; and in v.^{45} it is said that many of the Jews that *came to Mary* believed on Jesus.

In the chapter which follows we have the story of the anointing of the feet of Jesus. Each evangelist tells us of an anointing of the Lord by a woman, whilst He was reclining as a guest at a hospitable entertainment; and there has been much discussion as to how often He was anointed, and (supposing Him to have been anointed more than once) whether the anointing was by one and the same woman. Speaking generally, it will be seen from the conspectus given on next page that Matthew and Mark are in agreement, and that Luke's account differs widely from theirs, whilst John's is independent of either, yet presenting points of contact, now with the one, now with the other. We will consider these differences in order.

(1) As to *time and place*: if we may judge from the context, the anointing described by Luke took place in Galilee while the Baptist was in prison; that described by the other evangelists took place in Bethany shortly before the crucifixion. (2) As to the *host*: Luke names Simon the Pharisee, the other Synoptists Simon the leper, while John is indefinite, merely stating that after the raising of Lazarus 'they made him a feast, at which Lazarus sat at meat, and Martha served.' (3) As to the *action*: whilst the first two Gospels speak of the head being anointed with precious ointment, Luke says that the feet of Christ were first wet with the tears of the woman standing behind Him, and then wiped with her hair and anointed; John says nothing of her tears, but agrees in the statement that it was the feet which she anointed and wiped with her hair. (4) As to who or what *the woman* was, the first two Gospels tell us nothing beyond the fact of her pouring the ointment on the head of Jesus; Luke says that she was a sinner in the city, and that Jesus said of her, 'her sins which are many are forgiven, for she loved much'; John tells us that she was the beloved and honoured sister of Martha and Lazarus. (5) As to the *criticism passed upon the action*: Mark speaks vaguely of *some* who were indignant at the waste of money, saying to themselves, 'this ointment might have been sold for more than 300 denarii and given to the poor'; Matthew puts this censure in the mouth of the *disciples*; John ascribes it to *Judas*, who bore the bag; while Luke reports quite a different criticism made by a different person, Simon the Pharisee, who becomes suspicious of Christ's pretensions as a prophet, on the ground that He had failed to read the character of the woman who touched Him. (6) As to *our Lord's justification of the woman*: this, of course, is different in the two cases, since it has to meet two distinct charges. The *Pharisee* is answered by the parable of the Two Debtors; and a contrast is drawn between *his* neglect of the ordinary forms of hospitality and the humble devotion of the penitent woman, who is bidden to go in peace. In the other Gospels the *disciples* are reminded that the poor would be always with them, while their Master would shortly leave them; that the woman had done a good work in anointing His body for the impending burial; nay, that this action of hers would be reported in her praise throughout the world, wherever the gospel was preached.

Such being the diversity of the narratives, it is evident that there are many difficulties in the way of any one who would regard them as all speaking

Conspectus of the Anointings.

[The thick type is used in the Synoptic Gospels to mark their mutual differences: in Jn for the opposite purpose of marking his resemblances to one or other of the Synoptists].

Mt 26^{6}.	Mk 14^{3}.	Lk 7^{36}.	Jn 11^{2} 12$^{1-8}$.
Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γενομένου ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ἐν οἰκίᾳ Σίμωνος τοῦ λεπροῦ, προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ γυνὴ ἔχουσα ἀλάβαστρον μύρου **βαρυτίμου**, καὶ κατέχεεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἀνακειμένου. ἰδόντες δὲ **οἱ μαθηταὶ** ἠγανάκτησαν, λέγοντες, Εἰς τί ἡ ἀπώλεια αὕτη; ἐδύνατο γὰρ τοῦτο πραθῆναι **πολλοῦ**, καὶ δοθῆναι πτωχοῖς. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Τί κόπους παρέχετε τῇ γυναικί; ἔργον γὰρ καλὸν ἠργάσατο εἰς ἐμέ· πάντοτε γὰρ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἔχετε μεθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε· βαλοῦσα γὰρ αὕτη τὸ μύρον τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματός μου, πρὸς τὸ ἐνταφιάσαι με ἐποίησεν. ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅπου ἐὰν κηρυχθῇ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ, λαληθήσεται καὶ ὃ ἐποίησεν αὕτη, εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς. τότε πορευθεὶς . . . Ἰούδας.	Καὶ ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Βηθανίᾳ, ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ Σίμωνος τοῦ λεπροῦ, κατακειμένου αὐτοῦ, ἦλθεν γυνὴ ἔχουσα ἀλάβαστρον μύρου **νάρδου πιστικῆς** πολυτελοῦς· **συντρίψασα τὴν ἀλάβαστρον**, κατέχεεν αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς. ἦσαν δέ **τινες** ἀγανακτοῦντες **πρὸς ἑαυτούς**, Εἰς τί ἡ ἀπώλεια αὕτη τοῦ μύρου γέγονεν; ἠδύνατο γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ μύρον πραθῆναι **ἐπάνω δηναρίων τριακοσίων**, καὶ δοθῆναι τοῖς πτωχοῖς· καὶ **ἐνεβριμῶντο αὐτῇ.** Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν, **Ἄφετε αὐτήν·** τί αὐτῇ κόπους παρέχετε; καλὸν ἔργον ἠργάσατο ἐν ἐμοί. πάντοτε γὰρ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἔχετε μεθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν, **καὶ ὅταν θέλητε δύνασθε αὐτοῖς πάντοτε εὖ ποιῆσαι**, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε· **ὃ ἔσχεν ἐποίησεν, προέλαβεν μυρίσαι τὸ σῶμά μου εἰς τὸν** ἐνταφιασμόν. ἀμὴν δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅπου ἐὰν κηρυχθῇ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ὃ ἐποίησεν αὕτη λαληθήσεται εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς. Καὶ Ἰούδας . . . ἀπῆλθεν.	Ἠρώτα δέ τις αὐτὸν τῶν Φαρισαίων, ἵνα φάγῃ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ· καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Φαρισαίου κατεκλίθη. Καὶ ἰδοὺ, γυνὴ ἥτις ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἁμαρτωλός, καὶ ἐπιγνοῦσα ὅτι κατάκειται ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ Φαρισαίου, κομίσασα ἀλάβαστρον μύρου, **καὶ στᾶσα ὀπίσω παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ κλαίουσα, τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἤρξατο βρέχειν τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς θριξὶν τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς ἐξέμασσεν, καὶ κατεφίλει τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ** καὶ ἤλειφεν τῷ μύρῳ. **ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Φαρισαῖος ὁ καλέσας αὐτὸν εἶπεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, λέγων, Οὗτος εἰ ἦν προφήτης, ἐγίνωσκεν ἂν τίς καὶ ποταπὴ ἡ γυνὴ, ἥτις ἅπτεται αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἁμαρτωλός ἐστιν.** Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, κ.τ.λ.	Ην δὲ Μαριὰμ ἡ **ἀλείψασα** τὸν Κύριον **μύρῳ**, καὶ **ἐκμάξασα τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ταῖς θριξὶν αὐτῆς. . . .** Ἦλθεν εἰς Βηθανίαν . . . ἐποίησαν οὖν αὐτῷ δεῖπνον ἐκεῖ καὶ ἡ Μάρθα διηκόνει, ὁ δὲ Λάζαρος εἷς ἦν τῶν ἀνακειμένων σὺν αὐτῷ. ἡ οὖν Μαριὰμ λαβοῦσα λίτραν **μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς πολυτίμου, ἤλειψεν τοὺς πόδας** Ἰησοῦ, καὶ **ἐξέμαξεν ταῖς θριξὶν αὐτῆς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ·** ἡ δὲ οἰκία ἐπληρώθη ἐκ τῆς ὀσμῆς τοῦ μύρου. λέγει Ἰούδας ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης εἷς τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, ὁ μέλλων αὐτὸν παραδιδόναι, **Διὰ τί τοῦτο τὸ μύρον οὐκ ἐπράθη τριακοσίων δηναρίων** καὶ **ἐδόθη πτωχοῖς;** εἶπεν δὲ τοῦτο, οὐχ ὅτι περὶ τῶν πτωχῶν ἔμελεν αὐτῷ ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι κλέπτης ἦν, καὶ τὸ γλωσσόκομον ἔχων τὰ βαλλόμενα ἐβάσταζεν. εἶπεν οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς **Ἄφες αὐτήν, ἵνα εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ ἐνταφιασμοῦ τηρήσῃ αὐτό. τοὺς πτωχοὺς γὰρ πάντοτε ἔχετε μεθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε.**

of one person and recording one scene.* And yet it is almost as difficult to suppose that such an action could have been repeated. Is it likely that our Lord would have uttered such a high encomium upon Mary's act if she were only following the example already set by the sinful woman of Galilee; or (taking the other view) if she herself were only repeating under more favourable circumstances the act of loving devotion for which she had already received His commendation? Is it likely, again, that St. John would have distinguished Mary as 'her who anointed the Lord with ointment and wiped his feet with her hair' if he had known that in this she was only doing what had been done by another before her? Taking a more general view, is it likely that so rare an act, the beauty of which lay in its instinctive spontaneity and freedom from self-consciousness, could have been imitated or reproduced without losing all its savour?

Perhaps it may be answered that the act was not really unusual, since the context in Luke implies that not to anoint the head of a guest is to be wanting in ordinary courtesy.† It is true we have no other reference to the anointing of the *feet* in the Bible, but that this was not unprecedented may be seen from Arist. (*Vesp.* 605, *ὃ δέ γ᾽ ἥδιστον τούτων ἐστὶν πάντων . . . ὅταν οἴκαδ᾽ ἴω τὸν μισθὸν ἔχων . . . καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἡ θυγάτηρ με ἀπονίζῃ καὶ τὼ πόδ᾽ ἀλείφῃ καὶ προσκύψασα φιλήσῃ*), where the daughter is represented as washing, anointing, and kissing the feet of her father, when he comes home from his day's work. Still this does not furnish a precedent for the hair being used to wipe the feet; and it must be remembered, on the other side, that in proportion as we diminish the rarity of the act, we find it more difficult to account for the value set upon it by our Lord, and the importance ascribed to it by St. John.

We turn now to consider how it has been attempted to harmonize the different narratives by those who believe that only one event is recorded. The most elaborate attempt is that made by Hengstenberg,* who replies to (1) the first difficulty above stated, that Luke's context is determined here, not by the order of events, but by the connexion of thought; since the contrast between the Pharisees and the publicans, in vv.$^{29. 30}$, and the description of Christ as the Friend of publicans and sinners, in v.^{34}, naturally lead on to the story of the sinful woman at the house of the Pharisee. This, we think, must be conceded. As to (2), if we are to identify Simon the Pharisee with Simon 'the leper,' we must understand the latter title to refer not to his present condition; for in that case he could not himself have entertained guests, as he does in Luke. Some have thought that he may have been previously healed of his leprosy by Jesus. But this is not at all suggested by the words addressed to him in Luke, nor does it seem consistent with his ungracious behaviour. There is less force in the argument that the injurious title 'leper' would not have been retained in the case of one who had been cured of his leprosy.

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* This view is taken by Ephraem Syrus, Paulinus, Victor of Capua in his *Diatessaron* (see quotations in Faillon, i. 37, 146), Grotius, Strauss, and the rationalistic interpreters generally, and also by Hengstenberg.

† See art. on ANOINTING, where reference is made to Egyptian monuments, as bearing witness to the practice of anointing the head of the guest at a feast, cf. also Ps 23^{5} 45^{7}.

* *Comm. on St. John*, Eng. tr. pp. 1–33, 78–89.

Lastly, is it likely that so pronounced a Pharisee as the Simon of Luke would have entertained Jesus at so late a period in His career, when the Pharisees had already resolved upon His death? or, on the other hand, that one who was so much impressed with the raising of Lazarus as to preside at a banquet given in honour of the occasion, should have shown so little respect for the prophet whom he professed to be honouring?

The other incidents of the supper may be treated together. It is said that the discrepancies in the two accounts are due merely to the different points of view taken by the narrators. The anointing gave rise to both conversations—that with Simon and that with the disciples. Luke seizes the point of her repentance, the other evangelists that of her lavish expenditure. But surely this is psychologically impossible.

Let us examine a little more closely the story in Luke. A notorious sinner, learning that Jesus is sitting at meat in the house of a certain Pharisee, makes up her mind to follow Him there. She enters the house, and immediately takes up her stand behind the Lord.* It is evident that something must have happened to make her loathe the life she had been living, and feel that her only hope of escaping from it was to take refuge with Him whose words, spoken to the scornful Pharisees, may have been brought to her ears: 'I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.' As she stands behind Him she wipes away with her hair the penitential tears which fall fast upon His feet. Then, as the agony of shame is gradually conquered by the sense of the Saviour's forgiving love, she kneels and kisses His feet and anoints them with the ointment she had brought with her. She has no thought, no eye, for anything but Him. For a while no notice is taken, but at last words of comfort come, addressed first to another, 'Her sins, her many sins are forgiven, for she loved much'; and then directly to herself, 'Thy faith hath saved thee. Go in peace.' How would it be possible for her after this to have stayed on and listened to the reproaches of Judas and the others, or how could they have ventured to find fault where their Lord had already given His blessing? Turn now to the other side of the story, if we are to piece it out from what we read of Mary. Is it possible that she who had long ago made the good choice, who was now living quietly with her brother and sister, all three noted as especially dear to Christ; she whose house had been chosen by Him for His temporary home before the end came, and who had lately been brought into such intimate contact with Him when He raised her brother from the dead,—is it possible that she should be spoken of as a notorious sinner, who was forcing herself into His company? No! If we want to make one consistent story out of the four narratives, our only course is to suppose with Strauss that the underlying fact has been much falsified by tradition, especially in the case of Luke, who has, he thinks, mixed up with it the story of the woman taken in adultery.

Before examining other explanations, we will just mention the attempts which have been made to get over two minor difficulties: (1) the discrepancy as to the anointing of feet or head; (2) the nature of the locality where the sinful woman lived. As to (1), some have compared Ps 133^{2}, where the precious ointment is said to have run from Aaron's head down to the skirts of his clothing; but (even if the correct tr$^{\text{n}}$ is 'collar' instead of 'skirts'), this could only happen in the case of one who was standing and not reclining at table. Others have assumed two anointings, first of the head and then of the feet, the former of which they think may have been omitted by John as being generally known. This does not seem probable. The writer's own view of the matter is given below. As to (2), the *ἁμαρτωλός* is said to have been 'in the city' (*πόλει*, Lk 7^{37}), but Bethany is described as a *κώμη* (Lk 10^{38}, Jn 11^{1}). To this it is replied that there is no reason why Bethany should not be regarded as a suburb of Jerusalem.

We will now examine the view which has been most generally held in the Latin Church, viz. that Luke describes a different scene from that in the other Gospels, but that the woman is the same. This gets rid of some difficulties, but is open to the objections stated above, as to multiplying what appears to be a unique occurrence. According to it, we are to suppose that the sister of Martha had at one time lived a vicious life, but had been conscience-stricken by some word of the Saviour, and, hearing that He was in Simon's house, had felt herself constrained to seek Him there, and received from His lips the word of forgiveness and blessing. If we allow an interval of two years, it is, of course, not such a flagrant impossibility for the sinner to have changed into the saint; and the quiet weeping of the one is not unlike the quiet sitting of the other at the feet of Jesus. Some have thought, too, that the remarkable reticence as regards the family at Bethany, which characterizes the Synoptic Gospels, might be explained by the wish not to call attention to a history which would bring discredit on the early life of a leading member of the Church. But if this danger of scandal still existed when the Gospels were written, how much more strongly must it have been felt some 30 years before, when the memory of the past was still fresh, and the Jews were on the watch for anything which might raise a prejudice against the prophet whom they sought to kill. Is it possible that they could have crowded to Bethany to express their sympathy and esteem for one who had so lately done such dishonour to the name of Israel? The difficulty as to the recurrence of the name Simon is perhaps fairly met by calling to mind its frequency at the time: we find no fewer than 9 different Simons in the NT. This led to its often having some distinctive appellation attached, *e.g.* Simon 'Zelotes,' Simon 'Peter,' and here Simon 'the Leper.'

The third view is that most generally entertained among Protestant divines, viz. that there were two anointings—one of the feet by the penitent sinner of Galilee, the other of the head and feet by a totally different person, the saintly Mary of Bethany. It has been objected to this that the way in which the latter is described in Jn 11^{2} 'Mary was she who anointed the Lord with ointment, and wiped his feet with her hair,' must refer to some previous occurrence; but the object of the evangelist is simply to introduce Mary to his readers by referring to an action which was in itself famous, though it had not been connected with her name in the earlier Gospels. Just in the same way Judas Iscariot is distinguished, in the earliest list of the apostles, by the addition 'which also betrayed him.' There remains the serious objection already stated: Could John have used these words to describe Mary, if he knew that they were equally true of another woman? Could our Lord have promised world-wide fame to her action, if the same thing had been already done by another in much more trying circumstances?

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* The reading of the best MSS, *ἀφ᾽ ἧς εἰσῆλθον*, in Lk 7^{45}, seems to contradict the words *ἐπιγνοῦσα ὅτι κατάκειται* in v.^{37}, which imply that it was the knowledge of His being seated at table which led her to seek the house herself. This is an argument in favour of the reading *εἰσῆλθεν*, which is witnessed to by several of the most ancient versions. The reading *εἰσῆλθον* is perhaps a repetition from v.^{44}.

It appears to the present writer that the easiest way in which we can escape these difficulties is by supposing that the story told by St. Luke cannot, in its original form, have contained any reference to anointing. In that case the final words of v.^{38} *καὶ ἤλειφεν τῷ μύρῳ* and the whole of v.^{46} must be regarded as later developments. It is easy to understand their being added under the idea that the words recorded by Matthew and Mark, 'wheresoever this gospel is preached in the whole world, there shall also this that she hath done be told for a memorial of her,' required that the act of anointing should appear in each separate Gospel. If we do not feel ourselves at liberty to make such a supposition, we must find some other means of accounting for the high commendation bestowed on Mary. It cannot have been simply for anointing, but for anointing with the precious spikenard in the prospect of the Lord's death. In any case it seems probable that the anointing with the common ointment, of which Luke speaks, was something of an afterthought. It is hardly likely that one in such extreme agitation of mind would have planned such an action beforehand. How could she know that she might not be forestalled by Simon? It will be noticed, too, that the anointing follows, not, as in John, precedes the wiping of the feet with her hair. If the details are correctly given, we may conjecture that she happened to be carrying a flask of myrrh, and, finding that the Lord's feet had been unwashed and left unanointed, had been seized by a sudden impulse to anoint them.

Prof. W. M. Ramsay[*] favours this third view, but considers that 'the attempts to harmonize John with Mark and Matthew fail completely. John, who says that "they made him a supper there, and Martha served," obviously places the meal in Martha's house: it seems quite absurd to suppose that she would be serving in the house of Simon.' He thinks Mark fell into error from putting together two separate incidents, one of which was connected with the name Bethany, the other with the name Simon; whom he identifies with a 'Simon who lived at Bethany and was or had been a leper.' It does not, however, seem likely that Mark, whose mother was at this time living in Jerusalem, and whose house was a centre of the early disciples, could have been ignorant of the facts connected with the anointing at Bethany. We must therefore accept the fact that it took place in the house of Simon, just as we accept the fact that Martha had the chief ordering of the feast. The two facts are not necessarily opposed. It may be, as Nicephorus says (*HE* i. 27), that Simon was the father of Martha, though living apart from his family. But we need not even suppose any such connexion. John's description, from its vagueness, 'they made him a feast,' rather implies a public entertainment given in His honour by the inhabitants of Bethany, probably in the largest or most convenient house in the village, which might be the property of a leper named Simon.[†]

The fourth view is that there were three distinct anointings by either two or three distinct persons. This view was first propounded by Origen in order to meet the discrepancies between the account given in John and in the first two Gospels. The latter appear to fix the date of the supper two days (Mt 26^2, Mk 14^1), the former six days (Jn 12^1), before the Passover. The latter represent the ointment as poured upon the head, the former speaks of the feet as anointed and then wiped by Mary with her hair. The latter state that the supper was held in the house of Simon the Leper, the former appears to imply that it was in the house of Martha (this difficulty has been already discussed). Hence it has been supposed that there were two different anointings in the same week; that on each occasion the same objection was made by the bystanders, and the same answer returned by Jesus. Such a repetition, we may at once say, is impossible; but what are we to make of the discrepancies? Shall we say that they are of no importance, and only such as must be expected in different reports made several years after the occurrence? We may be quite prepared to allow this; but it appears to be possible to get a little nearer to explaining them, when we observe that the dates given in the different Gospels do not refer directly to the supper. John's 'six days before the passover' is the date on which Jesus came to Bethany, where, as we learn from the other Gospels, He was lodging during the week before the crucifixion.[*] On the other hand, the two days of Matthew and Mark refer to the close of His discourses in Jerusalem: 'when he had finished all these words he said to his disciples, Ye know that after two days is the passover.'[†] Thus both dates may be literally exact, and yet neither may be the precise date of the supper. As to the other discrepancies, it is possible that the narrative in John, which seems to have been edited by the elders of Ephesus (see 21^{24}), has been to some extent affected by that in Luke. It is remarkable that the *feet* are thrice referred to (in 11^2 12^3) as if the writer wished to lay stress on this by way of correcting a current misapprehension. Such a correction seems strange to us in the present day, to whom the written Gospels are the ultimate authority; but in the first century the appeal was still to oral tradition, as we may see from the Preface to Luke, and it seems not improbable that the predominant tradition may have laid hold on the anointing of the feet as testifying to a higher degree of humility and reverence than that of the head. If, then, the original narrative of John spoke only in general terms of the anointing of Jesus, we may conceive that the elders might have taken the opportunity to correct what they deemed to be an erroneous report in Mark. Our present feeling would probably be that, where honour is intended by anointing, the head rather than the feet should be anointed. On the other hand, it was natural that the penitent, standing behind the Lord, should wipe away with her hair the tears that fell upon His feet, but less natural that it should be used to wipe away the ointment, which would simply have the effect of anointing her own hair.

It may be interesting to add a brief sketch of the history of opinion on this question. The treatment of Scripture by early Christian writers is, as a rule, uncritical. Difficulties are not felt. They are much more anxious to extract a useful moral from their text by means of some forced allegory, than to ascertain the precise meaning of the words as they were understood by the speaker and hearers, or to get a clear conception of the actual facts referred to. Hence they are often careless of distinctions, and, like children, apt to mistake resemblance for identity. It is only when there is some special call for the attention of the writer, as when he is engaged on a commentary or a harmony of the Gospels, that we can attach much weight to any critical judgment. This is seen in the references to the present question. Clement of Alexandria speaks of the woman who was still a sinner bringing the alabaster box of ointment, which she thought the best of her possessions, to anoint the feet of the Lord, and then wiping away with her hair the superfluous ointment, whilst she poured on His feet the libation of her tears. These things, he says, symbolize both the preaching of the gospel and the passion of the Lord (*Pæd.* ii. 61, p. 205). Tertullian more distinctly identifies the two anointings in the words, 'Peccatrici feminæ etiam corporis sui contactum permittit, lavanti lacrimis pedes ejus et crinibus detergenti et unguento sepulturam ipsius inauguranti' (*Pudic.* xi.). On the other hand, Tatian, towards the end of the 2nd cent., in his *Diatessaron*,[*] which was for many years the only form of the Gospel known in Mesopotamia, separates the story in Lk from that in the other evangelists, and shows that he distinguishes the sinner from Mary by placing the visit to Martha and Mary before the anointing. Victor of Capua, who published a Latin revised version of the *Diatessaron* some 300 years later, mixed up Luke's anointing with that which took place at Bethany, to suit the view which had then become popular in the Western Church.[†] Origen is the first distinctly to grapple with the difficulties of the question. In his commentary on Mt (§ 77), after stating the points of agreement in the four accounts, he proceeds to argue against the prevailing view that the actor was in every case the same, on the ground (1) that according to Matthew and Mark it was the head of Jesus which was anointed with precious *ointment*, while, according to the *other evangelists*,[‡] His feet were anointed with *myrrh* (!); (2) that it is incredible that Mary the sister of Martha, who chose the better part and was beloved by Jesus, could be spoken of as a sinner; (3) that the sinner in Luke does not venture to approach the head of Jesus, but waters His feet with penitential tears, whereas there are no tears and no sinner in John. He then goes on to say that some will perhaps argue that the actor in each Gospel is different; but he thinks it enough to distinguish three different actors; and he adds further reasons for holding that the nameless woman in the first two Gospels is not the same as the sister of Martha, the supper being at a different time and a different place. He meets the objection that the disciples could not have repeated their complaint of the waste of so much valuable ointment, by making a distinction between the honest indignation of the others and the veiled covetousness of Judas; and concludes with an allegorical interpretation of the three anointings. Elsewhere he seems to accept the view that there were only two anointings (cf. *Hom. in Ca* 1^{12} 'scio Lucam de peccatrice, Matthæum vero et Johannem et Marcum non de peccatrice illa dixisse . . . cujus nomen quoque Johannes inseruit,' also on Ca 1^{3} 'si quid peccatrix habuit, ad pedes referendum est; si quid ea quæ non erat peccatrix, ad caput'). Chrysostom also makes only two anointings, but, strangely enough, he holds that one of these is narrated only by John, the other by the three Synoptists. Accordingly, he considers that the indignation of the disciples and the comforting words of the Lord have reference to the πόρνη γυνή of Luke, who is encouraged to come to Jesus by the thought that he did not disdain to eat in the house of a leper (*Comm. in Matt.* 80). In his 62nd homily on John he says that the sister of Martha is not ἡ πόρνη ἡ ἐν τῷ Ματθαίῳ οὐδὲ ἡ ἐν τῷ Λουκᾷ . . . ἐκεῖναι μὲν γὰρ πόρναι . . . πολλῶν γέμουσαι κακῶν· αὕτη δὲ καὶ σεμνὴ καὶ σπουδαία. Ambrose (*Exp. in Luc.* 6) is inclined to think that one woman only was concerned in the anointing, but in the end leaves it an open question: 'potest non eadem esse, ne sibi contrarium evangelistæ dixisse videantur: potest etiam quæstio meriti temporis diversitate dissolvi, ut adhuc illa peccatrix sit, jam ista perfectior.' So Augustine, speaking of the anointing in Matthew (*de Cons. Evang.* 2. 154), says, 'Lucas quamvis simile factum commemoret, nomenque conveniat ejus apud quem convivabatur dominus . . . tamen potius credibile est alium fuisse illum Simonem, non leprosum in cujus domo hoc in Bethania gerebatur. Nam nec Lucas in Bethania rem gestam dicit. . . . Nihil itaque aliud intellegendum arbitror nisi non quidem aliam fuisse mulierem quæ peccatrix tunc accessit ad pedes Jesu et osculata est et lavit lacrimis . . . sed eandem Mariam bis hoc fecisse' (so too *Tract. in Joh.* 49). Jerome, on the other hand, distinguishes between the two women (*Comm. in Matt.* 26^{2}), 'Nemo putet eandem esse quæ super caput effudit unguentum et quæ super pedes. Illa enim et lacrimis lavat et crinibus tergit et manifesto meretrix appellatur. De hac autem nihil tale scriptum est.' Gregory the Great finally decided the question for the Latin Church by identifying the *peccatrix* first with the sister of Martha, and then with the Magdalene[§] (*Hom.* 33 *in Evang.*), 'hanc, quam Lucas peccatricem, Johannes Mariam nominat, illam esse Mariam credimus de qua Marcus septem dæmonia ejecta fuisse testatur. Et quid per septem dæmonia nisi universa vitia designantur?' *Hom.* 8, 'venit Maria Magdalene post multas maculas culpæ ad pedes Redemptoris nostri,' *ib.* 25. This was the generally accepted opinion in the West from the beginning of the 7th to the 16th cent. as testified to by the office in the Breviary for July 22.

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[*] In the work entitled, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* p. 91.

[†] Dr. E. A. Abbott suggests that the appellation Λάζαρος may represent *laẓẓūrûaʿ* (לַצָּרוּעַ), 'belonging to the leper.'

[*] Mt 21^{17}, Mk $11^{1.11}$, Lk 21^{37}.

[†] There is no reason to suppose that the date given in Mk 14^1 extends to the following verses. The phrase καὶ ὄντος αὐτοῦ of the third verse is well explained by Dr. Abbott as meaning, 'And here let me state something which happened while Jesus was still in Bethany, which should be mentioned here to prepare the reader for the betrayal which follows.' So in Mk 14^{66} καὶ ὄντος means, 'And here let me say that Peter had been some time ago in the court exposed to temptation, and this must be mentioned here, because now comes his fall.'

Discussion recommenced with the rise of the Reformation in the treatise of Faber Stapulensis *de Maria Magdalena*, which was somewhat feebly answered by Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and condemned by the Sorbonne in 1521, on the ground that Faber departed 'ab universali Ecclesiæ ritu unicam Magdalenam in suo officio asserentis,' and that he deprived the Church of her chief type of the penitent sinner; also that there would be no certain truth, if each, at his own caprice, might reject accepted tradition. Later Roman Catholics, however, have not been unanimous: Estius, Tillemont, and others denying the identity, while Maldonatus,[*] Lamy,[†] and the Bollandists[‡] have argued with reason and moderation in its favour. Indeed, the reaction against the old view prevailed more in France than in England, going so far that, in a whole series of dioceses with Paris at their head, new editions of the Breviary were issued in the 17th cent. without those portions of the office of St. Mary Magdalene which referred to Lk 7 and to the sister of Lazarus.[§] Dupin, Mabillon, Bossuet, and Fleury are mentioned as favouring the newer view.

Meanwhile the Menology of the Greek Church assigns three distinct days for celebrating the memory of the sister of Martha, the Magdalene, and the ἁμαρτωλός. And Theophylact, writing in the 11th cent., says in his comment on Mt 26 that some hold that there were three, others that there were two only, who anointed the Lord; that Simon the leper was father of Lazarus, and that he is the man who showed the disciples a room ready furnished for the last supper. In his commentary on Mk 14 and Lk 7 he declares himself in favour of the view that there were three anointings—one by the πόρνη of Lk, one by the sister of Lazarus six days before the passover, one in the house of Simon the leper two days before the passover.

It has been already stated that the view most commonly entertained in the Reformed Churches has been that the sinner of Lk is distinct from the sister of Lazarus, and both distinct from the Magdalene. The two former are, however, confused by Grotius and by many of the recent German theologians, as Schleiermacher, Ewald, Bleek, Baur, Hilgenfeld, Weisse, Keim, as well as by the orthodox Hengstenberg. In the Anglican Church the mediæval view was followed by Bishop Andrews, who speaks of 'Mary Magdalene anointing Christ three several times one after the other,' and being permitted to see two angels, one at the head the other at the feet where the body of Jesus had lain, because she had herself anointed His head and anointed His feet; by Donne, who identifies the sister of Lazarus with the Magdalene (*Sermons*, 25 and 80); by Jer. Taylor (iii. 248, Heb.), 'Mary Magdalene having been reproved by Judas for spending ointment upon Jesus' feet, it being so unaccustomed and large profusion, thought now to speak her love once more and trouble nobody, and therefore she poured ointment on His sacred head'; and in late years by Dr. Pusey.[‖]

Having thus examined the general question of the anointings of Jesus, it remains for us to consider more particularly the motive ascribed by our Lord Himself for the anointing by the sister of Lazarus. This is given with slight variations: in Mt 26^{12} 'In that she poured this ointment on my body, she did it to prepare me for burial' (πρὸς τὸ ἐνταφιάσαι με), Mk 14^{8} 'She hath done what she could: she hath anointed my body aforehand for the burying' (προέλαβεν μυρίσαι τὸ σῶμά μου εἰς τὸν ἐνταφιασμόν); Jn 12^{7} 'Suffer her to keep it against the day of my burying,' or (marg.) 'Let her alone: it was that she might keep it' (ἄφες αὐτὴν ¶ ἵνα εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ ἐνταφιασμοῦ μου τηρήσῃ αὐτό; several MSS, including A, read τετήρηκεν, omitting ἵνα). The meaning of the word ἐνταφιασμός is explained in Jn $19^{39.\,40}$, where we are told that Nicodemus brought 'a mixture of myrrh and aloes about 100 pound weight, and wound the body in linen cloths with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury' (ἐνταφιάζειν). The general sense seems to be given most simply in Mark's words. 'She hath done what she could' is an answer to the assertion that she ought to have spent her money otherwise, viz. in distributing to the poor. We are to understand, apparently, that this was not the work for which she was fitted: she probably did not possess the practical business habits which would enable her to decide as to the best way of helping the poor. But wisdom is justified of all her children. What she had, what the grace of

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[*] See the translation in vol. of *Ante-Nicene Library* pub. 1897, and Hemphill's *Diatessaron*, 1888, also Lightfoot on *Supernatural Religion*, Essay ix., and articles on Tatian and Victor of Capua in *Dict. Christian Biography*.

[†] This version by Victor is wrongly described by Faillon and Migne (*Patrologia*, vol. 64) as the *Diatessaron* of Ammonius.

[‡] But John speaks of νάρδος πιστική, and the word μύρον seems to be used generally of any sort of ointment.

[§] On this identification see No. v. below.

[*] *Comment. in Evang. Matt.* 26.

[†] 'De unica Maria' in *Harmon. Evang.* p. 636 ff.

[‡] *Acta Sanctorum*, July 22.

[§] See Hengstenberg, *l.c.* p. 2.

[‖] See his sermon on 'Our Risen Lord's Love for Penitents,' in which he refers to his note at the end of *Sermons preached at St. Saviour's* proving the identity of the sister of Martha, the penitent who anointed the Lord's feet, and St. Mary Magdalene.

[¶] Dr. E. A. Abbott suggests that ἢ may have been lost after αὐτῇ, and that the words are a reproach to Judas, 'or is it your wish that she should keep it for my embalming?' *i.e.* 'do you grudge it the living, that she may bestow it on the dead?'

God working in her enabled her to do, was to call forth generous emotion in others by being herself an example of the highest and noblest of all emotions, the impassioned devotion of a pure and loving heart to Him who is absolute Purity and Love. The genuine simplicity of a beautiful soul, however liable to misconception for the moment, yet in the end appeals more strongly to what is best in man, and is at the same time a more acceptable offering to God than any outward manifestation of human activity, however useful or charitable.

Then how are we to understand what follows: 'she hath anointed my body aforetime for the burying'? From the phrase in Jn, 'suffer her to keep it,' we gather that the spikenard had not been bought on purpose, but was applied to this use after being some time in her possession. Some have supposed that she had bought it for her personal adornment, but such a supposition is unworthy of Mary; and as our Lord associates it with the thought of death, it seems more probable that it had been purchased for the burial of her brother, and perhaps left unused from some faint hope that the coming of Christ might still render such a use superfluous. Compare Martha's words, 'Even now I know that whatsoever thou shalt ask of God, God will give it thee.' Destined for the tomb, the precious ointment now becomes a thankoffering to Him who called Lazarus from the tomb; but it is only in anticipation—was this Mary's own foreboding, or did she learn it first from the Lord?—of a mightier death to come. The words in Jn must, we think, be taken to mean, 'Allow her to have kept it for my burial,' *i.e.* 'do not find fault with her for doing so.'

History tells us nothing more of Mary. Her name is not mentioned among the women who were present at the crucifixion, or who brought spices to lay in the grave. This strange silence was, no doubt, one of the reasons for identifying her with the Magdalene. It seemed so natural that she who had been specially honoured and beloved by the Lord, who had been conspicuous beyond all others in doing honour to Him during His life, should have been also the last to watch by His cross and the first to whom He would appear on His resurrection. A late legend reports that Lazarus with his two sisters and Maximin, one of the Seventy, fled from Palestine in the persecution described in Ac 8 and took refuge in Massilia, and that Mary (confounded with the Magdalene) retired to a cave near Arles and died there.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the books mentioned in the course of this article, see Abbé Faillon's *Monuments inédits sur l'Apostolat de S. Marie Madeleine en Provence*, 2 vols. 4to, 1859.

v. MARY MAGDALENE (ἡ Μαγδαληνή) is probably named from the town of Magdala or Magadan (wh. see), now *Medjdel*, which is said to mean 'a tower.' It was situated at a short distance from Tiberias, and is mentioned (Mt 15^{39}) in connexion with the miracle of the seven loaves. An ancient watch-tower still marks the site. According to Jewish authorities it was famous for its wealth, and for the moral corruption of its inhabitants (Edersheim, vol. i. p. 571). Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb.* on Mt 27^{56}), following some of the rabbinical writers, gives a different derivation, according to which the name would mean a plaiter of hair, a phrase sometimes used of a woman of light character.

The first notice we have of the Magdalene is in Lk 8^{2}, where we read that certain women which had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities accompanied Jesus and the Twelve in their missionary journeys, and ministered to them of their substance. Among these are mentioned 'Mary that was called Magdalene, from whom seven demons had gone out (cf. 'Mk' 16^{9}), and Joanna the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susanna.'

The question has been raised whether this possession implies moral as well as physical disease or infirmity. Those who affirm this have found in it a ground for upholding the identity of the Magdalene with the 'sinner' of Luke. Others hold that the phrase implies nothing more than that 'the wretchedness of despair, the divided consciousness, the preternatural frenzy, the long-continued fits of silence,' which we read of in other demoniacs, were exhibited here in their most aggravated form; that such a state is 'all but absolutely incompatible with the life implied in ἁμαρτωλός,' and that to speak of 'seven demons' as equivalent to 'many sins' is 'to identify two things which are separated in the whole tenor of the NT by the clearest line of demarcation.'* But surely this is going too far. We are told of some who were 'vexed with unclean spirits,' and the parable speaks of an 'unclean spirit' taking with him 'seven other spirits more wicked than himself' and dwelling within a man. It would seem, therefore, that wickedness may be a sign or effect of possession. But this possibility goes a very little way towards proving what is wanted. If St. Luke knew that the Magdalene of ch. 8 was the same as the sinner of ch. 7, would he not have given some hint to this effect? Should we not have been told before, that the sinner had been under a Satanic influence, and had been delivered from this by the Saviour previously to her entrance into Simon's house? Then is it likely that she who had been known as the 'sinner' would have been allowed to accompany the Lord and His disciples in their journeys? Would this have been in accordance with the oft-repeated principle that we have to 'provide things honest,' not only in the sight of God, but also 'of men'? Would it not have been putting an additional stumbling-block in the way of the weak, if one of notorious character were known to be habitually in the company of the new Prophet? There would seem to be at least as much ground for the identification of the Magdalene with the daughter of the Syro-phœnician woman, proposed by Nicephorus (*HE* i. 33).

No further mention of the Magdalene is made till the crucifixion, where she appears with the other women who had accompanied Jesus from Galilee. See above under 'Mary the mother of James.' We confine ourselves here to her experience, apart from the others, which is recorded by John alone, excepting for the brief note in 'Mark' 16^{9} 'He appeared first to Mary Magdalene.' If we are to reconcile this account with what we read in the other Gospels, it would seem from a comparison of all the accounts that, after setting out for the tomb with the other women, she must have hurried on, found the stone rolled away, and hastened at once to tell Peter and John. She returns with them, and waits outside after they have gone (Jn 20^{11}). While weeping there, she stoops and looks into the tomb, and sees two angels sitting, one at the head and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain. To their question, 'Why weepest thou?' she repeats what she had said to Peter and John, 'They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him.' Turning round, she sees behind her one whom she supposes to be the gardener, who also asks, 'Why weepest thou? Whom seekest thou?' In answer, she begs him, if it is he who has borne Him hence, to tell her where He was laid, that she might take Him away. 'The one thought that fills her mind is still that . . . she has been robbed of that task of reverential love on which she had set her heart. . . . The utter stupor of grief is shown in her want of power to recognize at first either the voice or the form of the Lord. . . . At last her own name uttered by that voice, as she had heard it uttered, it may be, in the hour of her deepest misery, recalls her to consciousness; and then follows the cry of recognition, and the rush forward to cling to His feet.'[*] The title *Rabboni*, however, by which she addresses the risen Saviour, falls very far short of the address of Thomas, and shows that she had not yet realized the change which had come over her relation to Him, whom she had known as her earthly master and teacher. And therefore the first lesson which she receives is a warning against supposing that the familiarities of earth are any longer possible. A higher and closer communion will be open to her when He has ascended to the Father, but it will be that of spirit with spirit. She must cease to clasp His feet, must rise and carry to the disciples His message, 'I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God.'

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* E. H. Plumptre in Smith's *DB*.

This is all that the Bible tells us of the Magdalene. Before going on to inquire what has been built up on this foundation by the later legends, it may be well to consider whether the facts as given above lend any probability to the mediæval belief that she was the same as the sinful woman or the sister of Lazarus. It may be granted that something of the same type of character is visible in them all. All show an impassioned devotion, a generosity of feeling, which lifts them far out of the common groove. But may it not be said that this is partly a national trait, Jewish history abounding in high deeds of female heroism, and is partly due to the overpowering spiritual influences of the time? Anyhow, the similarity was sufficient to suggest to the interested hearer or reader of the three stories, whose imagination was already at work to fill in the picture from the slight outline given in each case, that this result might be most easily obtained by combining them into one. She who had been possessed by seven demons and came from Magdala must have been a sinner: she brought spices to the tomb, she clasped the Lord's feet, she was the most faithful and loving of all the women that followed Him from Galilee: must it not have been she who anointed His feet during His life, and whose faith and love had been specially commended by Him? And the same would apply to Mary of Bethany. She, too, ministered to Jesus of her substance, she fell at His feet, she anointed Him beforehand for His burial, she, too, was loving and beloved — she cannot have deserted her Lord in His last struggle, she cannot have left it to others to pay Him the last token of respect. It is she, and not another, who performed these pious offices under the name of Mary Magdalene. Yet the improbability is even greater on the other side. We have seen this already in the case of the sinful woman, and it is equally impossible that John should either have been ignorant of the identity of Mary of Bethany and the Magdalene, or knowing it should have given no hint of it to the reader. Nor can it be said that the characters are quite the same. The Magdalene could not be selected as a type of contemplation like the sister of Martha; and we can hardly believe that the latter, who had so lately witnessed the triumph over death in the raising of her brother, could have been so slow to believe in the rising again of Him whom she knew to be the Resurrection and the Life.

It may seem strange that while the general tendency was to combine the three of whom we have spoken into one, others were led to make two different Magdalenes, owing to the difficulty of reconciling the narratives of the crucifixion. Thus Eusebius (*ad Marinum*, ii. 7) says there may have been two Marys, each belonging to Magdala, one of whom is the subject of Matthew's narrative, the other of John's. The first goes to the tomb with the other Mary; they see the angel sitting on the stone; they receive his message for the disciples, and depart quickly in fear and great joy. As they are on their way Jesus meets them, and they come and hold Him by the feet, and worship Him. The second goes alone to the sepulchre, stands weeping outside, is forbidden to touch the feet of Jesus when He appears to her. Some identified the former, the rejoicing Magdalene, with the sister of Martha; the latter, the weeping Magdalene, with the sinner.

Nothing is really known to us of the subsequent history of the Magdalene. The Greek Church believed that she died at Ephesus, whither she had followed St. John,[*] and that her relics were removed from thence to Constantinople by the Emperor Leo VI. The story, however, which took root in the West was very different. It was said that she belonged to a wealthy family possessed of great estates at Magdala and Bethany; that she abused all her admirable gifts to tempt others to sin; that after the Ascension she remained at Bethany till the disciples were scattered by the persecution which followed the martyrdom of Stephen. The two sisters and others were placed in a boat by their persecutors, and were providentially carried without oars or sails to Massilia, where, by their preaching and miracles, they converted the heathen, and Lazarus was made bishop, while Mary retired to the wilderness and lived a life of extreme asceticism for thirty years. Finally, she was carried up to heaven in the arms of ascending angels.

Apparently the earliest document which gives the legend is the *Life* by Rabanus Maurus, a pupil of Alcuin, who flourished at the beginning of the 9th cent. This was greatly amplified by Vincent of Beauvais in the 13th cent. The story was not known to Gregory the Great, or to Gregory of Tours in the 6th cent., as he mentions the death of the Magdalene at Ephesus (*Mirac.* i. 30), nor, if we may believe Launoi,[†] is there any allusion to it in the writings of Bernard or Peter of Cluny or Peter Damianus, all of whom took the Magdalene as the subject of panegyric. It is treated as unworthy of examination by the Bollandists, and is probably due to misapprehension arising from the great place occupied in the traditions of Provence by Marius, who defeated the Ambrons and Teutons in the battle of Aix, B.C. 102. Marius was accompanied, as we learn from Plutarch, by a Syrian prophetess of the name of Martha, and it is suggested by Baring-Gould, after Gilles, that the connexion of these two names may have been the starting-point of the whole legend. At Les Baux, where Marius was encamped, there are some ancient sculptures on a limestone block, one, known as the *Trémaié*, containing three standing figures, which tradition holds to be the three Marys, but Gilles is of opinion that they represent Marius with his wife Julia and the prophetess Martha. The *Trois Maries* here are said to be Martha with her attendant Marcella and the Magdalene. It is curious that at another *Trois Maries* in the Camargue, the landing-place, according to the legend, of the whole party from Palestine, the three Marys are said to be the mother of James, Salome, and the attendant Sara. As there is really only one or, at most, two Marys in either case, we naturally ask how the number three came in, and it may not be irrelevant to remember that the famous *Fossæ Marianæ* from Arles to Massilia were constructed by Marius in his third consulship, while he was preparing for his campaign against the Ambrons, and would no doubt be commemorated by inscriptions which might run something as follows: *C. Marius C. F. cos III. fossas faciendas curavit*; and these, as they got defaced with age, might easily be supposed to bear witness to *Trois Maries.* The tradition had pretty well established itself by the 11th cent., though it was a matter of hot dispute whether Aix or Vezelay possessed the true relics of the Magdalene. Fortunately, in 1279 Charles the nephew of Louis IX. (who had himself made a pilgrimage to her cell at St. Baume) discovered her body in St. Maximin's Church at Aix, and since then the cult of the Magdalene has had hardly less vogue than that of the Virgin. The romantic character of her story and the feeling of a common frailty endeared her to all classes, and even reformers were loth to disturb a belief which on the whole worked for good. For an account of her place in art the reader is referred to Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, vol. ii. p. 343 ff.

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[*] E. H. Plumptre in Smith's *DB*.

[*] Modestus *ap.* Phot. cod. 275, speaks of her as *παρθένος διὰ βίου*, and says she was martyred at Ephesus.

[†] See Faillon, i. 1368.

LITERATURE.—*Acta Sanctorum* for July 22; Faillon, *Monuments inédits sur l'Apostolat de S. Marie Madeleine*, 1859; Gilles, *Campagne de Marius dans la Gaule*, 1870; Baring-Gould, *In Troubadour Land*, p. 130 ff.

vi. MARY THE MOTHER OF MARK.—The only place in which she appears in the NT is Ac 12^{12}, where we read that many were gathered together and praying in her house when Peter knocked at the door after his escape from prison. As Mark is called cousin (ἀνεψιός) of Barnabas (Col 4^{10}), she would be aunt of the latter. Later writers believed that her house was situated on Mt. Zion, and that it was the place of meeting for the disciples from the Ascension to the day of Pentecost. It was said to have escaped the destruction of the city by Titus, and to have been used as a church at a later period (Epiphanius, *de Pond. et Mens.* c. 14; Cyril Jerus. *Catech.* 16).

vii. MARY SALUTED BY ST. PAUL.—Nothing is known of her except that her name appears after Priscilla, Aquila, and Epænetus in the list of 24 persons to whom St. Paul sends greetings in the 16th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. She, like the other women (Tryphæna, Tryphosa, and Persis) mentioned in v.^{12}, is said to have 'laboured much' for the Church, and may possibly have held the position of deaconess or 'widow' at Rome.

viii. See next article. J. B. MAYOR.

MARY (THE VIRGIN).—This subject may be considered under four heads: (*A*) the story of her life as it is given (1) in the NT, (2) in the Apocryphal Gospels and elsewhere; (*B*) the history of opinion respecting her; (*C*) her place in Liturgiology; (*D*) her place in Art.

A. 1. What we are told in the Bible about Mary falls naturally into two portions—that which precedes, and that which follows the baptism of our Lord. (*a*) All that we know of the former is included in the earlier chapters of St. Matthew and St. Luke. These agree in the main facts, that Jesus was 'conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,' that His mother was espoused to Joseph, that the birth took place at Bethlehem towards the end of the reign of Herod the Great, that Nazareth was the subsequent home of the Holy Family, that previous intimation of the supernatural birth had been given through the instrumentality of angels, that Jesus was descended from David, as shown in the appended genealogies. To these facts St. Matthew adds that the marriage of Joseph and Mary was carried out after the doubts of the former had been set at rest by an angelic vision; that wise men from the East, under the guidance of a star, came to offer their gifts at the cradle of the infant Saviour; that the children at Bethlehem were massacred owing to Herod's jealousy, Jesus and His parents having previously taken refuge in Egypt, from whence they returned on the death of Herod, and settled at Nazareth in consequence of a divine warning. St. Luke adds the story of the birth of John, the Forerunner; the statement that Mary was already living at Nazareth when the angel Gabriel announced to her that she should be the mother of the Messiah; the visit of Mary to her cousin Elisabeth, and her reception by the latter as the destined mother of the Lord; Mary's song of praise; the journey of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem to be enrolled there as belonging to the family of David; the birth in the stable; the announcement to the shepherds; the circumcision; the purification in the temple; the blessing of Simeon and Anna; the return to Nazareth; the visit to the temple when Jesus was twelve years old; His questioning of the doctors; His answer to Mary's complaint ('Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing'), in the words, 'How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house?' and lastly, the general statement as to the Son's humility and the thoughtful pondering of the mother.*

It is a significant fact that the story of the Infancy is confined to these two Gospels. We may explain its omission in the Fourth Gospel by the consideration that this, being evidently supplementary to the others, often omits details which were assumed to be already familiar to the reader. But in the case of St. Mark we are forced to the conclusion, either that he was unacquainted with the details of our Lord's life previous to the preaching of John, or that, knowing them, he did not regard them as an essential part of the Gospel message. The general impression left by all the Gospels certainly is that during our Lord's life the secret of His miraculous birth had been communicated to very few. Thus we read in Mt 13^{55} 'Is not this the carpenter's son?' Lk 4^{22} 'Is not this Joseph's son?' Jn 6^{42} 'Is not this Jesus the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know?' And so in Jn 1^{45} Philip says to Nathanael, 'We have found him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph'; and both the genealogies of our Lord are traced to David through Joseph 'the son of David.'† Nor have we any evidence that the mysterious truth was generally known during the apostolic age. No allusion is made to it in the Acts or the Epistles,‡ and the 'woman clothed with the sun' in Rev 12, though interpreted by some of the Virgin, is plainly intended to symbolize the Church. St. Paul, St.

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* Resch thinks (*Kindheitsevangelium*, Leipzig, 1895) that both evangelists borrowed from the same source, the Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ mentioned by St. Matthew (1^1), which we may suppose to have been published after the Virgin's death, about A.D. 60. He accounts for the differences between them by supposing that St. Luke purposely omitted those incidents which had been already selected by St. Matthew as showing the fulfilment of Hebrew prophecy, while he preferred himself to dwell on that part of the story which possessed the widest human interest. Prof. W. M. Ramsay, on the other hand, thinks that Luke's account is directly due to Mary herself (*Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* pp. 73–88).

† Mt 1^{20}.

‡ It is true that Gal 4^4 'When the fulness of time was come God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law,' has been cited as such an allusion; but the phrase there used γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός may be merely an equivalent of γεννητοὶ γυναικῶν found in Job 14^1 15^{14} 25^4, Mt 11^{11}, Lk 7^{28}, or at most it may refer to the promise of Gn 3^{15}.

Peter, and St. John are alike emphatic in insisting on the fact of the Incarnation as the central truth of the Christian religion, and alike silent as to the way in which it was brought about.

The ancient Syriac Gospel discovered at Mt. Sinai, and published in 1894, of which a translation was published by Mrs. Lewis in 1896, has some remarkable variants in Mt $1^{16\text{ff.}}$. It runs thus: 'Jacob begat Joseph; Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus who is called Christ'; again in v.^{21} the reading is 'she shall bear to thee a son'; and in v.^{25} 'she bore to him a son.' The publication gave rise to much discussion in the *Academy*[*] and elsewhere: among other theories it was suggested that this might be an Ebionite revision of our Gospel; but this seemed inconsistent with the word 'Virgin' which appears in v.^{16}, as well as with vv.$^{18-20}$. Others supposed that the Syriac version represents an earlier form of the genealogy, which may have been taken from a Jewish register and incorporated in the Gospel. This view received a certain amount of support from some of the old Latin versions, which have *Joseph cui desponsata virgo Maria genuit Jesum*, where the use of *genuit* instead of *peperit* has been thought to betoken an earlier form, in which *desponsata* was followed by *erat.*[†] See, further, art. JESUS CHRIST in vol. ii. p. 644.

However this may be, there can be no doubt that the miraculous conception was denied by several of the early heretics, who either maintained (with Cerinthus) the naturalistic birth of the Lord, followed by the bestowal of supernatural powers through the descent of the Spirit at His baptism, or held (with Marcion) that He was without earthly parentage, but descended from heaven in the 15th year of Tiberius and showed Himself in the synagogue of Capernaum.

On the other hand, stress is laid on the supernatural birth of the Lord by Ignatius, who in opposing the phantom theory of the Docetæ uses such phrases as *καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ*, *Eph.* 7; *ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐκυοφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας κατ᾽ οἰκονομίαν ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαυεὶδ πνεύματος δὲ ἁγίου*, *ib.* 18; *ἔλαθεν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Κυρίου*, *ib.* 19: these, he says, are *τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς*, three mysteries wrought in the silence of God, though destined to be proclaimed aloud.[‡]

(*b*) Proceeding now to the second part of Mary's life, we find her, after the death of her husband (who is introduced for the last time in the visit to the temple), residing, as it would seem, with the Lord and His brethren [see BRETHREN OF THE LORD], partly at Nazareth (Mk $6^{1\text{ff.}}$, Lk 4^{16}, Jn 1^{45} 19^{19}) and partly at Capernaum (Mt 4^{13} 9^{1}, Mk 2^{1}, Jn 2^{12}). We are not told that she accompanied our Lord in His missionary journeys, like Mary Magdalene and Susanna (Mk 15^{40}, Lk 8^{3}). The first mention of her in this period is at the marriage at Cana in Galilee (Jn 2), where her direction to the servants, 'Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it,' seems to show that her relation to the bridegroom was such as to justify the exercise of authority on her part. Her previous appeal to her Son to provide for the deficiency of wine had drawn forth from Him the same sort of correction as her complaint at His disappearance on the occasion of the visit to the temple, *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, γύναι*; 'Woman, what hast thou to do with me?' Though there was nothing of harshness in the appellation *γύναι*, as we may see from its use in the last tender commendation of His mother to the beloved disciple (Jn 19^{26}), yet the choice of a word applying alike to all women is not without its significance, and the clause which follows undoubtedly contains a warning that it was not for her or for any human being to determine His course of action.[*] The next mention of Mary is in Mk 3^{20-37}, where we are told that the people pressed upon Jesus to such an extent that He had not even time to eat; and that His friends hearing this, 'went out to lay hold on him: for they said, He is beside himself.' Accordingly in the 31st verse we read that 'his mother and brethren came where he was, and, standing without, sent unto him, calling him. . . . And they say unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren without seek for thee. And he answereth them, and saith, Who is my mother and my brethren? And looking round on them which sat round about him (in Mt 12^{49} 'stretching forth his hand towards his disciples'), he saith, Behold my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.' Here, too, the same lesson is taught, viz. that the knowledge of Christ after the flesh conveys no special privilege, no right of interference or control, not even any exclusive or peculiar blessedness, for in Lk 11^{27} the exclamation, 'Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps which thou didst suck,' calls forth the correction that His mother's true blessedness consisted, not in the fact of a physical connexion, but in those moral and spiritual qualifications which were open to all, 'Yea, rather (*μενοῦν*),[†] blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it.' The next occasion on which we meet with Mary is at the foot of the Cross. She had come up with other women from Galilee to be present at the passover. As she stood watching the dying agony of her Son, she received His latest charge, entrusting her to the guardianship of the beloved disciple, who from that hour took her to his own home (Jn 19^{26}). The only remaining notice of her in the NT is contained in Ac 1^{14}, where she is mentioned as continuing in prayer and supplication with the apostles and the other women and the brethren of the Lord.

2. The brief but exquisite sketch of our Lord's early years contained in the NT provided a natural stimulant to imagination and curiosity, and the craving for further particulars was supplied by the writers of the Apocryphal Gospels, sometimes with the ulterior aim of magnifying asceticism or inculcating some special doctrine of their own. Hence in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (vi. 16) these works are spoken of as 'poisonous apocryphal books in which the wicked heretics reproach the creation, marriage, the providential government of the world,' etc. Their popularity, however, was so great, that Catholic writers found it necessary either to imitate or to revise them. We will give here a general sketch of the further story of the Infancy, derived from a comparison of these apocryphal sources, disregarding minor discrepancies.

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[*] See letters by Conybeare, Sanday, Charles, Badham, and others in the *Academy* for 1894 and 1895; also Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 86 f.

[†] The verse occurs in 'a (recently discovered) fragment of the oldest known MS of any part of the NT,' which has just been edited by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt in the 1st part of the Oxyrhynchus Papiri. It appears there in its ordinary form, *Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν Ἰωσὴφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός.*

[‡] See Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, vol. ii. p. 76.

[*] Blass (*l.c.* p. 238) quotes Nonnus' paraphrase *τί ἐμοί, γύναι, ἢὲ σοὶ αὐτῇ*, as implying that *ἢ* must have been read instead of *καί* in a contemporary MS of the Fourth Gospel, and argues that we should replace *ἢ* in the text. Prof. Ramsay thinks that we may understand the existing text in the same general sense, 'how does that concern *us*' (*l.c.* p. 84). The objection to this is (1) the constant use of the phrase in the other sense; (2) the consensus of the ancient commentators; (3) the almost certainty that the other meaning would have been expressed by *τί πρὸς ἡμᾶς* as in Mt 27^{4}, Jn 21^{22}; (4) the inappropriateness of the supposed language in the mouth of Jesus under the actual circumstances. Surely it is every man's 'concern' to save his friend from inconvenience or discredit. And what, on this supposition, is the force of the words which follow 'mine hour has not yet come'? —words which give a natural reason for the *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί*;

[†] TR reads *μενοῦνγε* with B^{2}CD, but the *γε* is rightly dropped by WH, Nestle, *et al.*

The first development is concerned with the period preceding the betrothal of Mary. Her parents are said to have been Joachim of Nazareth and Anna of Bethlehem, both of the family of David. When they had been married twenty years without children, Joachim, going up to make his offering at the temple, was repelled as coming under the curse pronounced in Scripture against those who had not raised up seed to Israel. Being ashamed to return home, he retired to the wilderness and fasted there forty days, and received an assurance that a child should be born to him. Meanwhile his wife was bewailing her barrenness and her husband's desertion, envying even the sparrows which had their nest in her garden. An angel comforted her by the news that Joachim was returning, and that she should bear him a child, whom she at once vowed to dedicate to the service of the temple. At the age of three, the child of promise was accordingly taken by her parents to the temple, where she charmed all the beholders by dancing on the steps of the altar. She remained in the temple, ministered to by angels, till she had completed her twelfth year, when the high priest was directed to summon all the widowers of Israel to bring each his rod to present before the altar, in order that it might be made known by a miraculous sign to whose care the Virgin was to be committed. When Joseph's rod was returned to him, a dove issued from it and hovered over his head: to him therefore Mary was entrusted in spite of his protests. Seven virgins were appointed to be her companions, and to work with her at a new veil for the temple, while Joseph left his home to follow his calling as a shipwright. One day Mary, going out to draw water, heard a voice saying, 'Hail! thou that art highly favoured.' Being alarmed at seeing no one, she left her vessel and returned to work at the veil, when an angel appeared and addressed her in the words, 'Fear not, Mary, thou hast found favour with God by thy vow of chastity, and shalt conceive by His word. . . . A virgin thou shalt conceive, a virgin bring forth, a virgin rear thy Son.' Shortly afterwards Mary appeared before the high priest with the veil, and received his blessing. Then come the visit to Elisabeth, the return home, the meeting with Joseph, the quieting of his suspicions by a vision, a summons from the priests, directing both Mary and Joseph to attend at the temple and reply to the charge brought against them; the proof of their innocence by the ordeal of the water of bitterness (Nu 5^{18}).

In the apocryphal account of the visit to Bethlehem the following points are noticeable. Mary rides on an ass, and is accompanied by Joseph and two of his sons; as they approach Bethlehem they stop before a cave,[*] into which Joseph carried her. As soon as she entered it the darkness was lit up by a glory brighter than the sun, which continued as long as she remained there. Meanwhile Joseph had gone to seek for a midwife. As he went, he looked up and saw all movement brought to a sudden pause, both in heaven and earth. When the pause was over, he beheld a woman coming down from the mountain, who told him she was a midwife, and went with him to the cave, on which a bright cloud was resting. Going in they found Mary with her Child at her breast, but no other sign of her delivery. Salome, who had followed them, would not believe in the miraculous birth without further examination,[†] and was punished for her impiety by the withering of her hand, which was, however, restored on her repentance. On the third day after the birth, Mary moved from the cave to a stable, and placed the Child in a manger, where the ox and the ass worshipped Him, thus fulfilling the word of the prophet, 'the ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib.'

The adoration of the Magi and the subsequent massacre of the Innocents are taken with little alteration from the Bible. But many fanciful additions are made in narrating the journey to Egypt. Wild beasts play around the infant Saviour; trees bend down their branches to offer their fruit to Mary; springs burst forth at her need; the idols fall from their bases to the earth; the journey is miraculously shortened; lepers and demoniacs and sick people of all sorts are healed by being sprinkled with the water in which Mary had washed her Child, or by handkerchiefs which He had touched. One of the most remarkable stories is that of the healing of a young man who had been turned by enchantment into a mule. His sisters having besought the Virgin's help, she placed her Son on the mule, and at her prayer He restored the youth to his original shape. Another story relates to the two robbers who were afterwards crucified with Jesus. The one, called Titus,[*] had with difficulty prevented his fellow from giving the alarm as the Holy Family passed by. Mary thanked him, and prayed that he might receive forgiveness of his sins; whereupon Jesus answered, 'After thirty years he shall be crucified on my right hand, and shall precede Me to Paradise.' At the end of the third year they returned from Egypt to Nazareth. It is unnecessary to relate the miracles, trivial or even malicious, said to have been wrought there by the child Jesus. Joseph died when Jesus was eighteen years of age.

No further particulars of interest are added to the life of Mary, as recorded in the Bible, till after the resurrection, when Jesus is said to have appeared to her, first of all, accompanied by the patriarchs and prophets whom He had released from Hades.[†] Two years later (other versions give 22 or 24 years) she was warned by an angel that her death was approaching, and the apostles were all miraculously conveyed from various parts of the earth to be present at her bedside. Jesus Himself received her soul, and after three days her body was carried up by angels to heaven. St. Thomas, who had come too late for her death, was privileged to behold her ascension, and to receive her girdle as a sign of blessing.[‡]

In his note on Jn 19^{27} Westcott says, 'Nothing is known with reasonable certainty of the later life of the mother of the Lord. Epiphanius was evidently unacquainted with any accepted tradition on the subject (*Hær.* 78). He leaves it in doubt whether she accompanied St. John to Asia Minor or not. But in the course of time surmises were converted into facts; and Nicephorus Callisti (†*c.* 1350), *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 3, relates that she lived with St. John at Jerusalem for eleven years after the death of the Lord, and died there in her 59th year. The site of the Tomb of the Virgin, just to the north of the Garden of Gethsemane, is not mentioned by any traveller of the first six centuries, and the later tradition that the church there was built by Helena is certainly false. See Quaresmius, ii. 240 ff.; Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 434 ff. From a passage in a synodical letter of the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431, *Conc.* iii. 573, Labbe) it appears that, according to another tradition, the mother of the Lord accompanied St. John to Ephesus, and was buried there.' See, further, art. 'Le lieu de la dormition de la Très Sainte Vierge,' by Père Séjourné in *Revue Biblique*, Jan. 1899, p. 141 ff. The traditional site of the *Dormitio Mariæ* in Jerusalem was made over to the Emperor of Germany in 1898.

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[*] The tradition of the cave is found in some of the earliest Christian writers, *e.g.* Justin, *Dial.* 78; Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 51. It is supposed to have been derived from Is 33^{16} *οὗτος οἰκήσει ἐν ὑψηλῷ σπηλαίῳ πέτρας ἰσχυρᾶς.* See Blass, *l.c.* p. 165.

[†] This is referred to by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 889, *μετὰ τὸ τεκεῖν αὐτὴν μαιωθεῖσάν φασί τινες παρθένον εὑρεθῆναι*; cf. Jerome, *adv. Pelag.* 2, 'Solus Christus clausas portas vulvæ virginalis aperuit, quæ tamen clausæ jugiter permanserunt'; and, on the other side, Tertull. *de Carne Christi*, 23; Orig. *Hom.* 14 *in Luc.*; Epiphan. *Hær.* p. 1051.

[*] *Evang. Infant.* c. 23, elsewhere called Dysmas.

[†] Pseudo-Ambrose, *de Virginitate*, i. 3.

[‡] For the story of the death and Assumption, see the apocryphal treatises *de Transitu Mariæ*, ascribed to St. John and to Melito. The earliest hint of such a belief among orthodox writers is to be found in Epiphanius (d. 403), who, while strongly censuring the heretical sect of the Collyridians for their worship of Mary (*Panar.* p. 1061), believes that some extraordinary mystery about her death is implied in the words of Rev (12^{14}), 'there were given to her eagle's wings.' Melito's *de Transitu* was condemned as heretical in the decree *de Libris Canonicis*, attributed to Pope Gelasius, A.D. 494. The most recent statement of the Roman Catholic belief on this point will be found in Wilhelm and Scannel, vol. ii. p. 220: 'Mary's corporeal assumption into heaven is so thoroughly implied in the notion of her personality as given by Bible and dogma, that the Church can dispense with strict historical evidence of the fact.' Cf. also Livius, *Blessed Virgin*, pp. 338–378.

For Jewish and Mohammedan traditions with regard to Mary, see Canon Meyrick's article 'Mary the Virgin,' in Smith's *DB*. The only point which need be mentioned here is the Jewish slander reported by Celsus,[*] to the effect that Jesus was the illegitimate son of Mary and a soldier Pandera.

B. As early as the 2nd cent. we find Eve made a type of Mary, as Adam was of our Lord. As Eve had brought about the curse by listening to the Serpent, so Mary the blessing by listening to the Angel.[†] Still she shared man's fallen nature, and was guilty of actual sin. So Irenæus (iii. 16. 7), 'Dominus repellens ejus intempestivam festinationem dixit: Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?' So Origen (*Hom. in Luc.* 17) interprets the prophecy of Simeon, 'A sword shall pierce through thine own soul also,' of the doubts felt by Mary, in common with the apostles, at the crucifixion: 'Si omnes peccaverunt et egent gloria Dei, justificati gratia ejus et redempti, utique et Maria illo tempore scandalizata est';[‡] and still more strongly Tertullian (*de Carne Christi*, 7), and Chrysostom, commenting on Mt $12^{47ff.}$ (*Hom. in Matt.* 44), where he says Mary called down her Son's rebuke by her presumption (ἀπόνοια).[§]

Augustine[‖] was among the earliest of the Fathers who thought it possible that she might be an exception to the rule that all have committed actual sins; though he allows that she shared the common corruption of humanity,[¶] and quotes Lk 11^{27} as showing that even the mother of Jesus was blessed, not because in her the Word was made flesh, but because she kept the word of God.

It does not appear that we have any direct evidence of prayer being made, or worship offered, to Mary during the first four centuries,[**] except by the obscure sect of the Collyridians already mentioned, against whom Epiphanius lays down the rule, *ἐν τιμῇ ἔστω Μαρία, ὁ δὲ Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱὸς καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα προσκυνείσθω· τὴν Μαρίαν μηδεὶς προσκυνείτω.* But the cultus and invocation of the martyrs, and belief in their miraculous power, had been growing up as early as the 3rd cent.,[*] and the gradual paganizing of the Church, which followed the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the empire, led, in many places, to the substitution of Christian saints for the old local divinities.[†] Indeed the continued use of the old temples and ceremonies and images under new names might seem to be countenanced by St. Paul's words in reference to the Athenian altar 'whom ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you.' Then the worship of the Lares, the apotheosis of the dead, the almost blasphemous homage paid to the living emperor in the East, prepared the way for the worship of saints. The votaries of Demeter and Persephone and of other female deities found it easier to transfer their allegiance to the Christian Church, when they were permitted to make their vows there to Mary as the Mother of God and the Queen of Heaven;[‡] while at the same time these titles were demanded by the more fanatical Christians, who claimed divine honours for the ideal and prototype of virginity, which they held to be the highest of all virtues. The movement in this direction was especially favoured by the reaction against the Nestorian heresy, condemned at the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431—a reaction shown in the multiplication of pictures of the Virgin, and in a readiness to accept, as authentic, any supposed tradition or revelation which tended to her glory. On the other hand, the Divinity of Christ tended to obscure his Humanity. The loving sympathy of one who could be touched with the feeling of our infirmities was transferred to Mary, whose mediation with her Son, the stern and terrible Judge, was every day felt to be more necessary to weak and erring mortals. Add to this the chivalrous sentiments and the respect for woman among the northern nations of Europe, and we shall not be surprised at the subsequent developments of Mariolatry. The language of the Bible, especially in the Vulgate, was strained to support this: the name 'Mariam' itself received various interpretations, of which the most popular was *Stella Maris*: the promise to the seed of the woman in Gn 3^{16} was transferred to the woman herself in accordance with the Vulgate mistranslation, 'ipsa conteret caput tuum': the greeting in Lk 1^{28} *χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη* (Vulg. 'ave gratia plena') was a proof that Mary was herself a fountain of grace: her reply to the angel (*οὐ γινώσκω ἄνδρα*) is taken to be a vow: the words by which she was entrusted to the care of the beloved disciple, *ἰδοὺ ὁ υἱός σου*, describe her relation to all true members of the Church. She is the Bride of the Canticles, the Woman persecuted by the dragon in the Apocalypse, the Wisdom of whom Solomon speaks, whom the Lord possessed in the beginning as His daily delight, rejoicing always before Him. Christian orators, beginning with Proclus, patriarch of Constantinople in the middle of the 5th cent. (who spoke of the Mother of God, *ἡ θεοτόκος*,[§] as 'the only bridge between man and God'), vied with one another in devising new phrases in her honour; and the glowing hyperboles of an earlier generation were fixed in the dogma or ritual of a later generation, which again quickly gathered to itself a new halo of sentiment, to be followed by a yet further advance both in theory and practice. We may consider this development under three heads: (1) the personal holiness of the Virgin; (2) her power and dignity; (3) the nature of the worship due to her.

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[*] Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 32. This calumny is denounced in the Koran (iv. 155) as one of the sins of the Jewish people.

[†] Justin M., *Dial.* 100; Iren. iii. 22. 4, v. 19. 1, 'si ea inobedierat Deo, sed hæc suasa est obedire Deo, uti virginis Evæ virgo Maria fieret advocata. Et quemadmodum adstrictum est morti genus humanum per virginem, salvatur per virginem'; cf. also Tert. *de Carne Christi*, 17.

[‡] So Basil, *Epist.* 260, and others; cf. Hilary, *Ps.* 118^{20}, where it is said that even Mary has to pass through the purgatorial fire.

[§] Stephanus cites other instances from Chrysostom.

[‖] *De Nat. et Grat.* c. 36, where in answer to Pelagius, who had given a list of sinless saints from the OT, concluding with the names of Elisabeth and Mary, 'quam dicit sine peccato confiteri necesse esse pietati,' Augustine maintains that all had sinned 'excepta sancta virgine Maria de qua propter honorem Domini nullam prorsus, cum de peccatis agitur, haberi volo quæstionem.' Ephraem Syrus and Ambrose are quoted to the same effect.

[¶] See *c. Julian.* v. 15, quoted in Livius, p. 246 f.

[**] Smith's *DB*, *s.v.* MARY THE VIRGIN, vol. ii. p. 267; Tyler's *Roman Worship of the Virgin.*

[*] *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, *s.v.* MARTYRS, RELICS, WONDERS, LIGHTS.

[†] See Gieseler, *E.H.* ii. p. 24 ff.; Bede, *H.E. Angl.* i. 30; Augusti, *Denkw.* iii. 9 ff.; Maitland, *Dark Ages*, p. 149 ff., Homily on *Idolatry*, parts 2 and 3; J. J. Blunt, *Vestiges of Ancient Customs in Modern Italy.*

[‡] 'The fact that some ancient heretics actually did maintain the Holy Ghost to be a female (Iren. i. 38; Gospel of the Hebrews, *ap.* Orig. *Comm. in Joan.* ii. 6), only serves to show the reluctance with which mankind bade adieu to that sex as objects of worship.' Blunt, *l.c.* ch. 3.

[§] This phrase, condemned by Coleridge (*Eng. Div.* i. 45), though accepted by most Anglican divines (*e.g.* Pearson, *Creed*, p. 177), is open to the objection contained in Augustine's words (*de Fide et Symbolo*, 9), 'nec nos ad negandam Christi matrem cogit quod ab eo dictum est *Quid mihi et tibi est mulier?* . . . sed admonet potius ut intelligamus *secundum Deum non habuisse matrem.*'

(1) We have seen that Augustine thought Mary might be exempt from actual sin, though sharing the general corruption of man's nature. Pelagius and his disciple Julian denied this hereditary sinfulness.[*] Paschasius Radbertus (*c.* 830), in his controversy with Ratramnus, maintained that Mary was sanctified in the womb; and this was the doctrine of Bernard (b. 1091), who, however, protested strongly against the institution of the feast of the Conception by the Canons of Lyons, Dec. 8, 1140, as sanctioning the belief in the Immaculate Conception, which he regarded as superstitious and opposed to the tradition of the Church. Bernard was followed by the greatest schoolmen, including Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274); but about the year 1300 Duns Scotus maintained that, since it was as much in the power of God to blot out sin in the moment of conception as at a later period, it was more congruous to attribute to the Virgin the higher perfection. This view was adopted by the Franciscans and supported by the visions of St. Brigitta, while the older view was maintained by the Dominicans and supported by the visions of St. Catharine of Sienna. Pope Sixtus IV. (1476) declared it an open question, but gave his sanction to the festival. Finally, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was proclaimed by Pius IX., Dec. 1854.[†]

(2) By the end of the 7th cent. the belief in wonder-working pictures, icons, and the honouring of these with osculation, lights, and incense, together with the invocation of the Virgin and other saints, had become so common in the Eastern Church, that Christians were regarded as idolaters by the Mohammedans. Leo the Isaurian, who became emperor in 716, tried to avert this charge by forbidding the use of images altogether; and his prohibition was confirmed by the Synod of Constantinople in 754. The chief opponents of the Iconoclasts were Germanus of Constantinople and John of Damascus, who, in their writings, assign to Mary the highest place in heaven next to the Blessed Trinity, though they guard themselves against the imputation of deifying her, as the pagans did their *Mater Deorum* (see Damasc. *Hom I. in Dorm. Mariæ*, §§ 11, 15). John addresses her as 'the rest of the weary, comfort of the sorrowful, healing to the sick, pardon to the sinful, a ready help to all.' In the 11th cent. Damiani speaks of her as 'non solum rogans sed imperans, domina non ancilla.' In the 12th cent. Bernard, in the 13th Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura, carry their adoration to a still higher pitch. Thomas is cited as saying that 'in Mary is all our hope of salvation,' and that she has obtained half the kingdom of God, '*ut ipsa sit Regina misericordiæ, ut Christus est Rex justitiæ*'; Bonaventura speaks of her as the 'porta cæli, quia nullus potest jam cælum intrare nisi per Mariam transeat tanquam per portam,' and to him are ascribed the contemporary adaptation of the Psalter and *Te Deum* to the worship of the Virgin, as a specimen of which may be quoted the versicles of the latter—'All the earth doth worship Thee, Spouse of the Eternal Father'; 'Vouchsafe, O sweet Mary, to keep us now and ever without sin.' What is perhaps even more remarkable is that, in an early sermon of Wyclif's[*] (d. 1384), we read: 'It seems to me impossible that we should obtain the reward without the help of Mary. There is no sex or age, no rank or position, of any one in the whole human race, which has no need to call for the help of the Holy Virgin.'[†]

It must not be supposed, however, that there was no protest against the constantly advancing tide of Mariolatry. Beside the Nestorians and the Eastern Iconoclasts, who were to a certain extent supported by the Frankish Church under Charlemagne, there were various sects, Paulicians,[‡] Cathari, and later the Waldenses and Moravians, which condemned the Invocation of Saints; and at least two eminent Churchmen in the 9th cent. wrote against it, viz. Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, and Claudius, bishop of Turin.[§] Wyclif gradually came to the same conclusion, and some of his followers, *e.g.* Lord Cobham, were condemned to death for contradicting the teaching of the Church as to the worship of saints. The desire for reform in the practice and teaching of the Church was strongly reinforced by the reaction from the mediæval system, which came in with the Renaissance: and by the end of the 15th cent. there were many signs that the old ideas as to the Virgin were becoming untenable. This may be seen from the reference made to her in Dean Colet's *Preceptes of Livinge*, 'Byleve and trust in chryst Jesu. Worship hym and his moder Mary,' especially when viewed in the light of his favourite principle, 'Keep to the Bible and the Apostles' Creed, and let divines dispute about the rest'; as well as from the charge brought against him (1512), that he denied the worship of images.[‖] The opinion of Erasmus is known from the *Encomium Mariæ* and *Peregrinatio*, in which he ridicules pilgrimages to the shrine of St. Mary of Walsingham, the prayers offered to her, and generally the speculations of the schoolmen as to her virginity and sinlessness. Even Sir Thomas More condemns image-worship in his *Utopia*, and in a letter to Erasmus expresses his disgust at the Mariolatry which he witnessed at Coventry, where a Franciscan was preaching that 'whoever made daily use of the Psalter of the Blessed Virgin could never be damned,' while the parish priest, seeing that men became emboldened to crime through trust in their devotions to the Virgin, made a vain protest, which only drew on him the charge of impiety. In another letter to a monk in defence of Erasmus, More mentions that he had himself known of a band of assassins, who used to kneel before the Virgin, and then proceed 'piously to perpetrate their crime.' He adds that he does not say this 'to condemn those who occasionally salute the Holy Virgin, than which nothing is more beneficial.' While all the Reformed Churches condemned the doctrine of Rome on this point, the Lutherans were less prominent in opposing it than the Swiss and the French, who often drew upon themselves persecution by their violence in destroying images. Berquin, the first Protestant martyr in France, was charged with asserting that it was wrong to invoke the Virgin Mary in place of the Holy Spirit, and to call her the source of all grace, or assign to her such titles as 'Our hope' and 'Our life,' which belong only to Christ. The doctrine of the Church of England is given in the 15th Art., *Of Christ alone without sin*, and in the 22nd, where it is said, 'The Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping, and Adoration, as well of Images as of Reliques, and also Invocation of Saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God.' Both articles are unaltered from the form in which they were originally put forth in 1553, except that the phrase 'Romish doctrine' was substituted in 1562 for 'doctrine of the school-authors' in the earlier form.

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[*] Cf. Aug. *de Nat. et Grat.* c. 36, and the words of Julian quoted by Aug. *contra Jul.* iv. 122, 'ipsam Mariam diabolo nascendi conditione transcribis.'

[†] See the very careful catena of earlier declarations on this subject, contained in Pusey's *Letter to Newman*, 1869.

[*] See Lechler's *Wyclif*, p. 299, Eng. tr.

[†] Compare, too, Luther's favourite, Tauler, in Hagenbach's *Hist. of Doctrines*, vol. ii. p. 317, Eng. tr.

[‡] See Conybeare's *Key of Truth*, 1898.

[§] Neander, Eng. tr. vi. 210.

[‖] See Lupton's *Influence of Dean Colet on the Reformation*, 1893.

Even the Council of Trent (1545–1563) gives evidence of this change of feeling in the guarded language used in Sess. xxv.: *De invocatione, veneratione, et reliquiis Sanctorum et sacris imaginibus*, where it is enjoined that 'the people be taught that the Saints reigning with Christ offer their prayers for men to God, and that it is good and useful to invoke them as suppliants, and to have recourse to their prayers for the sake of obtaining benefit from God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our only Redeemer and Saviour.' This is followed by a warning against superstition in such worship, and the caution that no innovation should be made except with the approbation of the bishop. The Roman Catechism speaks more particularly of the Virgin: 'Rightly are we taught to pray to the most blessed Mother of God, *ut nobis peccatoribus sua intercessione conciliaret Deum, bonaque tum ad hanc tum ad æternam vitam necessaria impetraret*.'

The check on superstition was, however, only temporary. Mainly owing to the efforts of the Jesuits, Mariolatry is probably now more prevalent in the Church of Rome than at any former time, if we may judge from the Decree of 8th Dec. 1854, the enormous crowds of pilgrims who flock to Lourdes, and the popularity of such books as the *Glories of Mary*, brought out in 1784 by St. Alphonsus de Liguori, of which the English translation is 'heartily commended to the faithful' by the late Cardinals Wiseman and Manning. Even Cardinal Newman does not shrink from using the phrase 'deification' in reference to the Romish doctrine of the Virgin and the Saints (*Essay on Development*, ch. 8).*

(3) As early as the 5th cent. Augustine gives a warning against the worship of saints in the words, 'Honorandi sunt propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem' (*de Vera Religione*, 55); 'Colimus martyres eo cultu dilectionis et societatis quo in hac vita coluntur sancti homines Dei . . . illo cultu qui Græce "Latria" dicitur, cum sit quædam proprie divinitati debita servitus, nec colimus, nec colendum docemus nisi unum Deum' (*c. Faustum*, xx. 21). In the 2nd Council of Nicæa (786) it was decreed that the Cross of Christ, the Virgin, Angels, and Saints were entitled to religious reverence, τιμητικὴ προσκύνησις, but not to divine worship, λατρεία. Peter Lombard (*Sent.* III. *Dist.* 9. 1) uses the word '*dulia*' for the former, but he says that there is a special *dulia* due to the humanity of Christ, 'est quædam dulia soli humanitati Christi exhibenda, non alii creaturæ.' Thomas Aquinas gives this higher *dulia* the name of *hyper-dulia*, but transfers it to the worship of Mary, not to that of the humanity of Christ, which he identifies with *latria* (*Summa*, Pars. 3, Qu. 25). He cites Augustine for the distinguishing feature of *latria*: 'aliquid est quod soli Deo exhibetur, scilicet *sacrificium*'; and later writers have maintained that, as the Mass is never offered to the Virgin, her worship never oversteps the limit of *dulia*. If, however, we understand *sacrificium*, as Augustine does (*Civ. Dei*, x. c. 1, §§ 2, 3; c. 3, 4, 5, 6), in a spiritual sense of fervent love and devotion, it is difficult to see how the worship inculcated in such a book as the *Glories of Mary* differs from this; and Pusey quotes passages from Corn. a Lapide, Faber, and others, in which it is actually maintained that Mary is present and received in the Eucharist, and feeds the worshippers there with her own flesh.*

C. By far the commonest form of devotion to the Virgin is the *Ave Maria*, consisting of two parts: the salutation—'Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb'; and the prayer—'Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners, now, and at the hour of death.' The former part was first ordered to be used as a church formula by Odo, bishop of Paris, in 1196; the latter part first appears in the 15th cent., and was directed to be used daily at the seven canonical hours by Pius v. in 1568. The 'Angelus' (said to have been introduced in 1287) consists of three recitations of the Ave Maria at the sound of the Angelus bell, at morning, midday, and night, the first recitation on each occasion being introduced by the words, 'The Angel of the Lord announced to Mary, and she conceived of the Holy Ghost.' The 'Rosary' is the string of beads introduced by St. Dominic in 1210 to facilitate the repetition of 150 Ave Marias and 15 Pater Nosters. The name is also used for this particular kind of devotion.†

The oldest festival connected with the name of Mary is the *Purification*,‡ observed on 2nd Feb., thus consecrating, as Bede observes, the old lustral month of the Romans to a higher purpose. It was probably instituted by Justinian in 542. Its name of 'Candlemas' was derived from the custom of consecrating candles and marching in procession with them on that day, in remembrance of the 'light to lighten the Gentiles.' The *Annunciation* ‡ (Lady Day), of which St. Bernard spoke as the 'radix omnium festorum,' was instituted about the end of the 6th cent. The pagan feast of the *Hilaria Matris Deum* was held on the same day (25th March). The *Assumption* (15th Aug.), instituted by the emperor Maurice about the beginning of the 7th cent., was introduced into the West by Charlemagne. The *Nativity* § (8th Sept.) was probably instituted in Italy in the 10th cent. The *Presentation* (21st Nov.) commemorates the dedication of Mary by her parents in her 3rd year. This festival was known in the East in 1150, but not till 1375 in the West. We have already spoken of the *Conception* § (Dec. 8). The *Visitation* § (2nd July) was instituted in 1389 to commemorate the visit of Mary to Elisabeth. It may be worth while to mention two other festivals: that of *Mount Carmel*, instituted in 1587 to commemorate the appearance of the Virgin to the general of the Carmelites in the year 1251, when she is said to have presented him with a scapular of the order, telling him that whoever died wearing this would escape the flames of hell. The other is the *Translation of the House of Loretto*, instituted in 1669 to commemorate the miraculous removal to Italy in 1294 of the house at Nazareth in which the angel appeared to Mary.

Saturday was appropriated to the worship of the Virgin in 1096, so far as the clergy were concerned, and this rule was extended to the laity in 1229. The month of *May* is also dedicated to her honour.

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* See also W. Palmer, *Letter to Dr. Wiseman*; Burgon, *Letters from Rome*. In the latest scientific exposition of Roman doctrine recommended by Card. Manning it is maintained that the Intercession of Mary is an ordinary and necessary means of salvation; and the dictum of certain theologians, that 'God grants no grace except on the intercession of Mary,' is defended (Wilhelm and Scannel, ii. pp. 223, 224).

* *Eirenicon*, pp. 168–172.

† See articles HAIL MARY and ROSARY in *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*.

‡ The festivals thus denoted are marked with red letters in the Church of England calendar.

§ The festivals thus denoted, as well as that of St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin (July 26), are marked as black-letter feasts in the Church of England calendar.

D. Development in opinion is illustrated by development in art. During the first five centuries there is nothing to show that the Virgin was in any way raised above other saints. She appears simply in scenes taken from Scripture, *e.g.* the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Magi, the Mother and Child (of frequent occurrence after the Nestorian controversy), or possibly as a single figure in the attitude of prayer. In an Adoration dated A.D. 435, Christ is seated alone on a throne with angels above Him, while His mother occupies a subordinate position on one side near two of the Magi. The *nimbus* is given to Christ, the angels, and king Herod, not to Mary.* It is not till the 6th cent. that we find evidence of pre-eminent dignity ascribed to her in the painting of an Ascension, contained in a Syriac MS dated 586, where she stands in the centre of the apostles beneath the ascending figure of Christ. In this picture she, as well as our Lord and the angels, has the *nimbus*, but the apostles are without it. With one remarkable exception, it is not till the 9th cent. that we find her enthroned as Queen of Heaven in the centre of the apse†—a position formerly reserved for Christ. The exception referred to is 'the mosaic of the apse of the cathedral of Parenzo in Istria, the work of Bishop Euphrasius, A.D. 535–543. She is throned and nimbed and supported by angels, holding her Son in her lap.'‡ The climax is reached in the 12th cent., when we find the Virgin enthroned with Christ, as His equal, in a mosaic of the Church of St. Maria in Trastevère.

Mrs. Jameson, in her *Legends of the Madonna*, distinguishes between representations of real or supposed historical scenes, and purely ideal or devotional paintings. Among the latter may be noted those which exhibit the Virgin as *Virgo Sapientiæ*, *Sponsa Dei*, the *Pietà* (Madonna with dead Christ), *Mater Dolorosa*, *Regina Cœli*, *Mater Misericordiæ*, in which character she is sometimes represented as endeavouring to shield mankind from the wrath of her Son.

The most famous of the ancient portraits of the Virgin was that attributed to St. Luke, which was sent to Pulcheria from Jerusalem in 438. This was subsequently regarded as a kind of palladium, and accompanied the emperor to the battlefield, till the capture of Constantinople in 1453.

From what has been said, it appears that no kind of justification for the worship of Mary is to be found in the Bible, or in the theory or practice of the Early Church. Indeed the silences no less than the utterances of Scripture might seem providentially ordered so as to forbid any such development in after-ages. It may be argued, however, that there is an *a posteriori* justification in history. The idolatry of the Canaanites, against which the Mosaic law was primarily directed, was the deification of cruelty and vice, a true worship of devils. The idolatry of Greece at its best was the deification of beauty and intellect, sometimes favourable to virtue, as we may see in Herodotus, but more frequently to vice, if we may trust the witness of Plato. The worship of the Virgin is the deification of beauty and goodness. Regarding this from the historical point of view, who can dispute the immense gain to humanity of the substitution of such worship for any pre-existing idolatry? Contrasting it even with some other forms of Christianity, say with the more rigid Calvinistic school, we can see reasons why the continued existence and prevalence of Mariolatry should have been permitted 'for the hardness of men's hearts' by Divine Providence. Tenderness, gentleness, reverence, sympathy; enthusiastic devotion to high objects; a deepened sense of the gracious dignity of motherhood; joy in all beauty, whether of art or nature, as the outward manifestation of the Supreme Beauty; a kindly natural piety breathing trust and hope; some faint reflexion of the modest meekness, the resigned submission, the pure unruffled calm of the maiden of Nazareth,—such we might anticipate would be some of the effects of the contemplation of so noble an ideal. And such, no doubt, have been its effects in thousands of simple believers to whom Mary has been the authorized representation of the Divine goodness. But even so, there are certain qualities of mind and character, such as veracity, justice, fairness, honesty, an open eye, robust common-sense, large-minded considerateness, which are liable to fall into the background, when the feminine ideal, often coloured by mediæval modes of thought, bulks so large in the foreground. And if the only acceptable worship is that in spirit and in truth, must we not expect that a worship, founded in mere human invention and the capricious movements of an unchastened piety, would give proof of its unsoundness by its fruits? We shall not therefore be surprised to find that, where the sovereignty of Mary has tended to eclipse the sovereignty of God, the idea of goodness has been exchanged for that of mere weak indulgence, while the thought of the All-Holy and All-Just has been first shrunk from and then forgotten. If Christ has entrusted to His mother the whole treasury of grace, what need is there to look beyond her? The repetition of a few prayers, the offering of a few candles, even the presence of a picture of the Virgin, acts as a sort of charm to win her favour, even for the vicious and criminal.* The sense of personal responsibility, of the inexorable claims of duty, of the heinousness of sin, has been perilously weakened by the fatal error which led to the separation of the spheres of mercy and justice, assigning the former to the Madonna, the latter to her Son. The God of love, the meek and lowly Saviour, are robbed of their highest prerogatives, while the Virgin and the Saints, whose perfection on earth consisted in conforming their wills to the Divine will, are too often represented in popular Catholicism as seeking to resist and control that will.

That the above view of the dangers of Mariolatry is no mere delusion of the Protestant mind, but is shared more or less by many Anglicans who claim to adopt the Catholic position, as well as by some of highest authority among Roman Catholics themselves, is shown by Pusey's *Eirenicon* and *Letter to Newman*, and by Newman's reply to the former, in which he says (p. 108), 'Now at length coming to the statements . . . which offend you in works written in her (Mary's) honour, I will frankly say that I read some of them with grief and almost anger. . . . And if *I* hate those perverse sayings so much, how much more must *she* in proportion to her love of him?' Again he says (p. 119), 'They (these statements) seem to me like a bad dream. I could not have conceived them to be said. I know not to what authority to go for them, to Scripture, or to the Fathers, or to the decrees of Councils, or to the consent of schools, or to the tradition of the faithful, or to the Holy See, or to reason.' And he refers to Gerson, and Petavius, and others, who condemn the 'prurience of innovation,' and the frivolous and sophistical reasonings 'in which so many indulge in order to assign any sort of grace they please, however unusual, to the Blessed Virgin.' The motive of this is, according to Petavius, a 'kind of idolatry, lurking, as Augustine says, nay, implanted in human hearts, which is greatly abhorrent from theology, that is, from the gravity of heavenly wisdom.'

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* See Marriott, *Testimony of the Catacombs*, p. 40.

† This is seen in two churches built by Pope Paschal I.

‡ *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 1154.

* Many instances will be found in Liguori's *Glories of Mary*.

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J. B. MAYOR.

MASCHIL.—See PSALMS.

MASH (מַשׁ).—A son of Aram, Gn 10^{23}. The parallel passage 1 Ch 1^{17} substitutes **Meshech**; the LXX in both has Μόσοχ. A name corresponding with Mash is found in Assyrian inscriptions, especially the cylinder R^{m} of Assurbanipal, who, in describing his Arabian campaign, says he marched through the desert of Mash, 'a place of thirst and fainting, whither comes no bird of the heaven, neither do asses nor gazelles feed there' (S. A. Smith's edition, i. pp. 67, 68). Frd. Delitzsch (*Paradies*, 242, 243) interprets this to mean the Syrian desert; Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 419), as 'the interior of Western Arabia'; and the word, according to Delitzsch, is foreign, and means 'wilderness.'

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

MASHAL (מָשָׁל, Μαασά).—1 Ch 6^{74} [Heb. ^{59}]. See MISHAL.

MASIAS (A Μασίας, B Μεισαίας), 1 Es 5^{34}.—One of Solomon's servants (RVm **Misaias**). The name is absent from the parallel list in Ezra.

MASON.—In Syria masons both hew and build. In hewing they use the different kinds of hammers mentioned under art. HAMMER. In Ezr 3^{7}, 1 Ch 22^{2}, hewers (חֹצְבִים) are mentioned; the word in Arab. VS is *nahātîn*, those who smoothed the stones. Masons use several instruments in building—the plumb line, a line wound on a reel for laying the courses of stone, a long rod of wood about 6 ft. in length, and a very curious kind of trowel. The trowel is of iron, about a foot long, fully an inch broad in the widest part, and tapers to a point; it is about half an inch thick. It is used as a lever for putting the stone exactly into its place, as well as for spreading the mortar.

The masons of Lebanon seem still to be the skilled builders of Palestine and Syria, as they were in ancient times (as we read in 2 S 5^{11} that Hiram, king of Tyre, sent masons [חָרָשֵׁי אֶבֶן] to David to build him a house), for they travel all over Syria, Palestine, and the Ḥauran, building houses for the people, and forts for the government.

W. CARSLAW.

MASREKAH (מַשְׂרֵקָה, Μασέκκα).—Mentioned in connexion with the list of 'the kings that reigned in the land of Edom before there reigned any king over the children of Israel,' Gn 36^{31}. When one of these kings, named Hadad, died, Samlah of Masrekah reigned in his stead (v.^{36}=1 Ch 1^{47}). The locality has not been identified. The *Onomasticon* defines it thus: *Μαρσικὰ πόλις βασιλείας* 'Εδὼμ *περὶ τὴν Γεβαληνήν*. The name מַשְׂרֵקָה may signify 'place of Sorek (שֹׂרֵק) vines' (Del. on Gn 36^{36}).

J. A. SELBIE.

MASSA (מַשָּׂא).—Name of a son of Ishmael (Gn 25^{14} [A Μασσή]=1 Ch 1^{30} [B Μανασσή, A Μασσή]).—The correct translation of Pr 31^{1}, where Lemuel is described as 'king of Massa,' is due to Hitzig (Zeller's *Theol. Jahrb.* 1844, 269–305), and it is probable that the sense of the words following the name 'Agur' in Pr 30^{1} is similar, though they cannot be rendered with certainty. Delitzsch (*Paradies*, 301) called attention to the occurrence of the name *Ma-as-ʻa-ai* immediately before Taymæans and Sabæans in a list of States which brought presents to Tiglath-pileser II. (*WAI* iii. 10. 1, 38), and justly identified these people with the Ishmaelite tribe. He also (*ib.* 302) thought there might be a reference to them in a tablet published in *WAI* iv. 56. 1, and further edited by G. Smith (*History of Assurbanipal*, 296–298), and most recently by S. A. Smith (*Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals*, ii. 36–38). In that tablet a certain Nebo-sum-esir, who has been told to send the king anything that he may hear about the Arabs, states that Akamaru, son of Ammē'tā of Mash (*Mash-ʻa-ai*), made a raid on the people of Nebaioth, and killed all the troops except one man, who is despatched to the king to give him personal information. It is more probable that a tribe of moderate size is referred to than a vast region like MASH; and the difference in spelling between this tablet and the former may be due to the popular pronunciation which is represented in the letters (S. A. Smith, p. 38). The scene described in the tablet resembles that of Job 1^{17} (as Delitzsch observes), and it is probable that we have in these chapters a specimen of the famous wisdom of the 'children of the East.' From none of these passages can any data be got for the localization of Massa, and the conjectures of Hitzig (repeated by him in his comm. on Pr 30) scarcely deserve mention. See, further, art. SIMEON (TRIBE). Such portions of chs. 30 and 31 as really come from Massa are probably translated; but the first verse of ch. 30, which is unintelligible, may be partly in the original dialect. Of the proper names, *Lemuel* or *Lemoel* might be Hebrew or Arabic (compare *Lishemesh*, Lidzbarsky, *Handbuch der nordsem. Epig.* 304), *Yakeh* seems to be old Hebrew, while *Agur* is uncertain. On the other hand, the names given in Nebo-sum-esir's letter are very clearly old Arabic, and he certainly implies that the 'Mash-ʻa-ai' are Arabs.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

MASSAH (מַסָּה, *i.e.* 'proving,' 'trial'; (ὁ) πειρασμός, in Dt 33^{8} πεῖρα).—The name given to the place, near Rephidim, at which, according to Ex 17$^{1-7}$, the Israelites 'tempted' J″ (*i.e.* in the old sense of the word, *tried* Him, put Him to the proof), doubting (v.^{2}) His power to save them in their thirst, and saying (v.^{7}) 'Is J″ among us, or not?' This incident at Massah is alluded to in Dt 6^{16} 'Ye shall not "tempt" J″ (put J″ to the proof), as ye "tempted" Him (put Him to the proof) at *Massah*' (cf. Driver), 9^{22}, and Ps 95^{8} 'Harden not your heart as at Meribah, as in the day of *Massah* in the wilderness, when your fathers tempted (*i.e.* tried) me, tested me, but also saw my work (*sc.* of judgment).' In Dt 33^{8} the name is either played upon differently, or there is an allusion to a different version of the incident at Massah: 'Thy Thummim and thy Urim be for the man, thy godly one, whom thou didst *prove* at *Massah*, with whom (or, according to others, for whom) thou contendedst at the waters of Meribah.' The words have reference to the tribe of Levi; and the idea expressed by them may be that at Massah J″ either 'proved' the tribe in Moses' person, or (Dillm.) 'proved' Moses himself, by observing how he would behave under the provocation of the people's complaints. However, this explanation is not perfectly satisfactory; and it becomes less so when the attempt is made to adjust the Meribah clause to it: so that the opinion cannot be excluded that the allusion is to some different account of what happened at 'Massah,' according to which the fidelity of the tribe was tested directly by J″. The Arabs point to a rock called Ḥesy el-Ḥaṭṭâtîn, in the arid N.W. part of the Wady Feiran, as the one struck by Moses at 'Massah' (Palmer, *Desert of Exodus*, 159). See, further, REPHIDIM. S. R. DRIVER.

MASSIAS (A Μασσίας, B 'Ασσείας), 1 Es 9^{22} = MAASEIAH, Ezr 10^{22}.

MASSORAH, MASSORETES.—See TEXT OF OLD TESTAMENT.

MASTER.—See LORD. Like the Lat. *magister* from which it comes, 'master' was formerly used for 'teacher,' as Mal 2^{12} 'The Lord will cut off the man that doeth this, the master and the scholar.' Cf. He 5^{12} Rhem. 'For whereas you ought to be maisters for your time, you neede to be taught againe your selves what be the elements of the beginning of the wordes of God.' Especially was it used for the head of a school (as it is still in use in the rural parts of Scotland), as Goldsmith, *Des. Village*, 196—

> 'There in his noisy mansion skilled to rule,
> The village master taught his little school.'

The Gr. διδάσκαλος, *teacher*, is in AV rendered 'master' in 2 Mac 1^{10}, Ja 3^{1}, and in all its occurrences in the Gospels, except Lk 2^{46} 'doctor' (RVm 'teacher') and Jn 3^{2} 'teacher.' But elsewhere it is tr^{d} 'teacher' in both AV and RV (Ac 13^{1}, Ro 2^{20}, 1 Co 12^{28}, Eph 4^{11}, 1 Ti 2^{7}, 2 Ti 1^{11} 4^{3}, He 5^{12}). So also ῥαββεί, though it is transliterated 'Rabbi' in Mt $23^{7.8}$, Jn $1^{38.49}$ $3^{2.26}$ 6^{25}, and is tr^{d} 'Lord' in Mk 10^{51} (after TR, but edd. mostly ῥαββουνεί, whence RV 'Rabboni'), is elsewhere rendered 'master' (Mt $26^{25.49}$, Mk 9^{5} 11^{21} 14^{45}, Jn 4^{31} 9^{2} 11^{8}); RV has Rabbi throughout. See RABBI.

Mastery is four times used for mod. 'victory': Ex 32^{18} 'It is not the voice of them that shout for mastery'; Dn 6^{24} 'the lions had the mastery of them'; 1 Co 9^{25} 'Every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things' (ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος, RV 'that striveth in the games'); 2 Ti 2^{5} 'If a man also strive for masteries' (ἀθλῇ; RV 'contend in the games'). Cf. Milton, *PL* ii. 899—

> 'For hot, cold, moist, and dry, four champions fierce
> Strive here for mast'ry.'

The verb to 'master' in the sense of 'control' occurs in Wis 12^{18} 'But thou, mastering thy power, judgest with equity' (δεσπόζων ἰσχύος, RV 'being sovereign over thy strength'). RV has the word in the mod. sense of 'overcome' in Ac 19^{16} 'the man in whom the evil spirit was leaped on them, and mastered both of them.' J. HASTINGS.

MASTICK (σχῖνος,* *lentiscus*).—A diœcious tree, *Pistacia Lentiscus*, L., of the order *Anacardiaceæ*, of a spreading growth, 10 to 12 ft. high and broad. The leaves are persistent, with 3 to 5 pairs of oblong lanceolate to obovate, leathery, mucronulate leaflets, 1 to 1½ in. long, on a winged rachis. The fruits are dry, globular-obovate, somewhat flattened drupes, ⅛th of an in. in diameter, borne on short stiff panicles. It grows in thickets, in rocky places, along the coast and on hills to a height of 2500 feet, all around the Mediterranean. The gum is obtained from incisions in the bark, made in August. The juice exudes in the form of tears, which harden into spherical, flattened or irregular, pale-yellow masses, covered with a bloom, caused by their mutual attrition. They have a mild terebinthine odour and taste. Mastick is known in Arab. by the name *mistaki*. It is in universal use by women and girls as a chewing-gum, partly because of its pleasant taste and the agreeable odour it gives to the breath, and its reputed virtues as a preservative to the teeth and gums, and partly for the amusement of chewing it. It is also used as a temporary stopping for cavities in the teeth. It is an astringent, used to check discharges from the mucous membranes. A sweetmeat is made of it in Chio, and forms a considerable article of export. The tree is mentioned once only, in Apocrypha (Sus ^{54}).

G. E. POST.

MATHELAS (A Μαθήλας, B Μαεήλας, AV Matthelas), 1 Es 9^{19} = MAASEIAH, Ezr 10^{18}. The LXX forms are due to confusion of c with θ or ϵ.

MATRED (מַטְרֵד, Ball compares the Arab. *miṭrad*, 'a short spear').—The mother-in-law (?) of Hadar (Gn) or Hadad (Ch), one of the kings of Edom, Gn 36^{39} (A Ματραίθ) = 1 Ch 1^{50} (A Ματράδ). In Gn the LXX and Pesh. make Matred the *son* not the *daughter* of Me-zahab, which is accepted by Ball, who reads בן instead of MT בת. Kittel is not indisposed to accept the same reading in Ch, thus making *Matred* a masculine name.

J. A. SELBIE.

MATRITES (הַמַּטְרִי = the Matrite; B Ματταρεί, A Ματταρεί and Ματταρείτ).—A family of the tribe of Benjamin to which Saul belonged (1 S 10^{21}). The readings of the LXX point rather to a form מַטָּרִי (Mattarite). Klostermann would substitute 'of the family of M.' for 'the son of a Benjamite' in 1 S 9^{1}. J. F. STENNING.

MATTAN (מַתָּן 'a gift'; more usually, with explicit addition of the divine name, in the form Mattaniah).—**1.** (Ματθάν Luc., Μαγθάν B, Μαχάν A; in Ch Ματθάν without variation). Priest of the temple of Baal in Jerusalem during the reign of Athaliah. He lost his life with the queen, when she was deposed (2 K 11^{18}, 2 Ch 23^{17}). Ahab, presumably at the instigation of his Phœnician wife Jezebel, built a temple for the worship of Baal in Samaria (1 K 16^{32}). Their daughter Athaliah was probably founder of this temple in Jerusalem. Possibly, therefore, Mattan was not a Judæan. The name is known as Phœnician (Gesenius, *HWB* ^{12}).

2. (Ναθάν B, Μαθθάν Q^{mg}). Named only as the father of Shephatiah, a contemporary of the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 38^{1}). W. B. STEVENSON.

MATTANAH (מַתָּנָה; LXX Μανθαναείν B, -νίν A, -νέν F*; Eus. Μαθθανέμ).—A station mentioned only Nu $21^{18.19}$. It was on the route from the Arnon to the plains of Moab, and would therefore be to the E. of the Dead Sea and N. of the Arnon. No satisfactory identification has been made; but if the position assigned to it by Eusebius (*Onom.* p. 169 and p. 274, ed. Lagarde), 12 Roman miles to the E. of Medeba, be correct, the course taken by the Israelites must have been farther to the E. than is generally supposed.*

A. T. CHAPMAN.

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* Note the word-play in the σχίσει of the following verse (Sus ^{55}), and cf. African. *Ep. ad Orig.* (Lommatzsch, xvii. p. 18).

* In an article on the 'Song of the Well' in the *New World*

MATTANIAH (מַתַּנְיָה).—**1.** The original name of king Zedekiah, 2 K 24^{17} (B *Μαθθάν*, A *Μεθθανίας*). **2.** An Asaphite, 1 Ch 9^{15} (B *Μανθανίας*, A *Ματθανίας*), leader of the temple choir, Neh 11^{17} (B *Μαθανιά*, A *Μαθθανίας*) 12^{8} (B *Μαχανιά*, A *Μαθανιά*), door-keeper $12^{25.35}$ (B *Ναθανιά*, A *Μαθθανιά*). **3.** Mattaniah, a descendant of Asaph, was, according to 2 Ch 20^{14} (B *Μανθανίας*, A *Ματθανίας*), contemporary with Jehoshaphat, but this name should probably be identified with the preceding. **4. 5. 6. 7.** Four of those who had married foreign wives, Ezr 10^{26} (B *Μαθανιά*, A *Μαθθανιά*, called in 1 Es 9^{27} **Matthanias**), v.^{27} (B *Ἀλαθανιά*, A *Μαθθανιά*, called in 1 Es 9^{28} **Othonias**), v.^{30} (B *Μαθανιά*, A *Μαθθανιά*, called in 1 Es 9^{31} **Matthanias**), v.^{37} (B *Μαθανιά*, A *Μαθθανιά*, combined in 1 Es 9^{34} with the following Mattenai into **Mamnitanemus**). **8.** A Levite who had charge of the offerings, Neh 13^{13} (B *Ναθανιά*, A *Μαθθανίας*). **9.** (מַתַּנְיָהוּ) A Hemanite, 1 Ch $25^{4.16}$ (B *Μανθανίας*, A *Ματθανίας*). **10.** (מַתַּנְיָהוּ) An Asaphite, 2 Ch 29^{13} (B *Μαθθανίας*, A *Ματθανίας*).

MATTATHA (*Ματταθά*).—Son of Nathan and grandson of David, according to the genealogy of Lk 3^{31}.

MATTATHIAS (*Ματταθίας*), the equivalent of the Heb. Mattithiah (מַתִּתְיָהוּ מַתִּתְיָה). **1.** AV Matthias, a Jew, who had married a foreign wife in the days of Ezra (1 Es 9^{33}). In Ezr 10^{33} the name is given as Mattattah, AV Mattathah (מַתַּתָּה). See GENEALOGY. **2.** One of the men who stood at the right hand of Ezra during the reading of the law (1 Es 9^{43}); in Neh 8^{4} **Mattithiah.** See GENEALOGY. **3.** The father of the five Maccabæan brothers (1 Mac $2^{1.14.16f.19.24.27.39.45.49}$ 14^{29}). See MACCABEES. **4.** The son of Absalom, a captain in the army of Jonathan the Maccabæan, who, together with Judas the son of Chalpi, stood by his commander during the flight of the Jews at the battle of Hazor, and helped to turn the fortunes of the day (1 Mac 11^{70}). **5.** A son of Simon the high priest, who was murdered, together with his father and brother Judas, at a banquet at Dok, by Ptolemy the son of Abubus (1 Mac 16^{14-16}). **6.** One of three envoys sent by Nicanor to treat with Judas Maccabæus when he invaded Palestine in B.C. 161 (2 Mac 14^{19}). Negotiations on the part of Nicanor are mentioned also in 1 Mac 7^{27-31}, but it is there stated that they were immediately broken off by Judas, who discovered that they were only a treacherous device for getting possession of his person. **7.** The son of Amos in the genealogy of Jesus Christ (Lk 3^{25}). **8.** The son of Semein (AV Semei) in the same genealogy (Lk 3^{26}). H. A. WHITE.

MATTATTAH (מַתַּתָּה).—One of the sons of Hashum, who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{33} (B *Ἀθά*, A *Μαθθαθά*), called in 1 Es 9^{33} **Mattathias.**

MATTENAI (מַתְּנַי).—**1. 2.** Two of those who had married foreign wives, Ezr 10^{33} (B *Μαθανιά*, A *Μαθθαναί*, called in 1 Es 9^{33} **Maltanneus**), v.^{37} (B *Μαθανάν*, A *Μαθθαναί*, combined in 1 Es 9^{34} with the preceding Mattaniah into **Mamnitanemus**). **3.** Representative of the priestly house of Joiarib in the days of Joiakim, Neh 12^{19} (B א* A om., א$^{\text{c. a mg inf}}$ *Μαθθαναί*).

MATTER.—In Sir 28^{10} 'matter' is used where we should now use 'material' instead, 'As the matter of the fire is, so it burneth' (*κατὰ τὴν ὕλην τοῦ πυρός*, RV 'As is the fuel of the fire'). Cf. Chaucer, *Persones Tale*, § 8, 'But for your sinne ye been woxen thral and foul, and members of the feend, hate of aungels, sclaundre of holy chirche, and fode of the false serpent, perpetuel matere of the fyr of helle'; and Bacon's *Essays* (Gold. Treas. ed. p. 57), 'The surest way to prevent Seditions, (if the Times doe beare it,) is to take away the Matter of them. For if there be Fuell prepared, it is hard to tell, whence the Spark shall come, that shall set it on fire.' In Ja 3^{5} the same Gr. word (*ὕλη*) is tr$^{\text{d}}$ 'matter,' 'Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth,' but it is clear from previous versions that the Eng. word means here 'affair.' Coverdale's tr. is 'Beholde how gret a thinge a lyttell fyre kyndleth'; the Gen. Bible has the same with 'matter' in the marg., and the Bishops place 'matter' in the text. RV renders 'Behold, how much wood is kindled by how small a fire!' marg. 'how great a forest is kindled'; this is very near Wyclif's 'Lo! hou miche fijr kyndlith hou greete a wode,' after Vulg. *Ecce quantus ignis quam magnam sylvam incendit.*

For the phrase 'Make matter' see under MAKE; and add this illustration from Tindale (*Works*, i. 169), 'Let this little flock be bold therefore: for if God be on our side, what matter maketh it who be against us?' J. HASTINGS.

MATTHAN (*Μαθθάν*).—Grandfather of Joseph the husband of Mary, Mt 1^{15}, perhaps to be identified with **Matthat,** who occupies the same place in St. Luke's genealogy of our Lord (Lk 3^{24}).

MATTHANIAS.—**1.** (A *Ματθανίας*, B *Ματάν*), 1 Es 9^{27} = MATTANIAH, Ezr 10^{26}. **2.** (A *Ματθανίας*, B *Βεσκασπασμύς*, AV Mathanias), 1 Es 9^{31} = MATTANIAH, Ezr 10^{30}.

MATTHAT (*Μαθθάτ*).—**1.** Grandfather of Joseph the husband of Mary, Lk 3^{24}, perhaps to be identified with **Matthan,** who occupies the same place in St. Matthew's genealogy of our Lord (Mt 1^{15}). **2.** Another ancestor of Jesus, Lk 3^{29}.

MATTHEW, APOSTLE (*Μαθθαῖος*, Lachm. Tisch. Treg. WH; *Ματθαῖος* TR).—Matthew's place in the Apostolic list is not quite constant, varying between seventh and eighth, and so affecting the station assigned to Thomas (in the Synoptics; in Ac 1^{13} Bartholomew). His position in Mk, Mt, and Lk, viz. seventh, must give his standing in the original apostolic circle, as reflected in St. Peter's mind. He is called in Mt 10^{3} 'the customs-officer' (*ὁ τελώνης*), and is thus identified with the Matthew of 9^{9} (cf. Mk 2^{14}, Lk 5^{27}), called while sitting 'at the toll-office' near Capernaum, on the Great West Road from Damascus to the Mediterranean. St. Mark styles this servant of the tetrarch Herod, '**Levi** the son of Alphæus'; but that does not bar the identification. For there is analogy for even two Hebraic names, both outside (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 2, *Ἰωσὴφ ὁ καὶ Καϊάφας*) and within the apostolic circle. And it is likely that, as with Simon Cephas, *Matthew* was the later name, given after his call. This fits its probable meaning, 'Jehovah's gift.' *Matthew*, then, was the name by which this apostle became known in Christian circles; and by it even St. Mark indicates him in his official list, while giving his call with strict historic fidelity. So Thomas is 'Judas Thomas' in *Acta Thomæ*; and Bartholomew was perhaps Nathanael's usual Christian name. On the forms and meaning of the name *Matthew* see, further, Dalman, p. 142.

Several things seem implied in this call of Matthew. He must already have been familiar with Jesus and His gospel as preached in Caper-

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(March 1895, p. 136 ff.) Budde argues that *Mattanah* is not a proper name at all, but that the song should end—

'With the sceptre, with their staves,
Out of the desert a gift';

and then v.^{19} resume 'and from Beer (LXX *ἀπὸ φρέατος*) to Nahaliel.' See also *Expos. Times*, vi. (1895) p. 481 f.

naum (for there is no sign that he, like the first six apostles, had been an adherent of the Baptist); and the feast which he gave in honour of Jesus (Mk $2^{14\text{ff.}}$) probably marked the new relationship. Finally, while we cannot date his call with precision, Pharisaic suspicion was already awake; so that his call and consequent experience of his Master's ministry can hardly go back to the very earliest days (this bears on the next art.).

The only other facts related of Matthew on good authority concern him as evangelist. Eusebius (*HE* iii. 24) says that he, like John, wrote only under the stress of necessity. 'For Matthew, after preaching to Hebrews, when about to go also to others, committed to writing in his native tongue the Gospel that bears his name; and so by his writing supplied, to those whom he was leaving, the loss of his presence.' The value of this tradition can be decided only after considering the Gospel itself. No historical use can be made of the artificial story in *Sanhedr.* 43^{a}, that Matthew was condemned to death by a Jewish court (see Laible, *Christ in the Talmud*, ed. Streane, 71 ff.); especially in face of Heracleon's explicit denial of martyrdom in his case (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 9). References to him in apocryphal sources are specially doubtful on account of the easy confusion between Matthew and Matthias, to whom gnostic *Paradoseis* were attributed (*e.g.* Clem. *Pæd.* ii. 16). See, further, the following article.

J. V. BARTLET.

MATTHEW, GOSPEL OF.—

- i. External Evidence of Authorship, etc.
- ii. Internal Data and Characteristics.
  - (*a*) OT Quotations.
  - (*b*) Chs. 1–2.
  - (*c*) The Sources:
    - (1) The *Logia*: (α) Sermon on the Mount; (β) the Disciple Discourse, ch. 10; (γ) the Parables of ch. 13; (δ) the Discourse in ch. 18; (ε) the later Parables.
    - (2) Mt's relation to Mk.
  - (*d*) The setting of the Sermon on the Mount.
  - (*e*) Artificial grouping in chs. 8–9.
  - (*f*) Modifications in the narrative of the Passion and the Resurrection.
  - (*g*) Eschatological standpoint and date.
  - (*h*) The Genealogy.
- iii. Conclusions:
  - (1) Mt used the Petrine memoirs written by Mk.
  - (2) Mt and Lk probably did not use in common a *Logia* document.
  - (3) The *Logia* as found in our Mt are largely coloured by the life of the Palestinian Church.
  - (4) Their nucleus is the common Apostolic didactic tradition, but with the special impress of Matthew.
  - (5) Matthew is only indirectly the author of our Mt.
  - (6) Mt was written to establish a true Messianic ideal.
  - (7) It was probably written in S. Syria, and certainly by a Jew: its standpoint.
  - (8) Concluding remarks.

Literature.

i. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE OF AUTHORSHIP, ETC.—Referring the reader to the article GOSPELS for the outlines of the Synoptic problem, we have here to investigate the specific features and origin of the Gospel which bears the name of Matthew. Even were the title in our oldest authorities, 'According to Matthew' (κατὰ Μαθθαῖον), to be held original, it need not imply more than that this written Gospel contains the substance of the oral Gospel as taught by Matthew. Nor is the matter carried much further by the words of Papias (Eus. *HE* iii. 39), that 'Matthew, then, in Hebrew speech compiled the Logia; while they were interpreted by each man according to his ability.' For (1) it may be taken as proved that our Mt is not a translation from Hebrew or Aramaic; (2) it is improbable that the *Logia* or 'Oracles' of the Lord, giving all due latitude to the term *logion*, included anything like as much narrative as does our Mt; (3) tradition is apt to transform indirect into direct authorship. Matthew's connexion, then, even with the first collection of Christ's sayings (*Logia*) may have been simply that of their guarantor in the region in which they were reduced to writing, just as Mark's Gospel might have been called 'according to Peter,' or 'Peter's memoirs' (ἀπομνημονεύματα)—to use the actual words of Justin. If it was a disciple of Matthew, corresponding to John Mark, who actually redacted the oral instruction in question, it would best fit what we know of the literary habits of the first generation; and the difference would be little more than formal.

The external evidence as to a written Gospel by Matthew resolves itself into the witness of Papias (*c.* 110–125);* for upon him later writers depend for all save traditions too vague to be trusted in such a case. Various views, however, are taken of Papias' meaning. The only safe mode of approach is through a careful study of his motive in referring to Matthew at all. Eusebius, to whom we owe our quotations, begins by saying that Papias compiled five books of 'Exposition of Sayings of the Lord' (λογίων Κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεως). He then challenges Irenæus' statement that Papias had been a hearer of John the apostle; and to prove his point quotes Papias' preface to his work. From this we gather that, in order to vouch for the truth of his expositions of the above Sayings (διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν), he subjoined to his own interpretations (ταῖς ἑρμηνείαις) a number of primitive traditions, carefully gathered from 'the Elders,' and of which he had taken special note (ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων [*i.e.* men of the former, here the first, generation] καλῶς ἔμαθον κ. καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα). He was anxious, that is, to show that his views of the Gospel, unlike those of many who were glib in giving their opinions on the subject, were formed under the influence of first-hand traditions, running back, as he believed, to the Lord Himself. These, moreover, were supplemented by the best sort of second-hand inquiry, made of companions of the first witnesses, *i.e.* certain apostles now dead, but also of two apostolic men, Aristion and John the Elder, personal disciples of the Lord still alive in his youth. From these sources he had got his best understanding of the Lord's deep sayings, namely, from oral tradition continued in living men, and not from books (*i.e.* probably written gospels, rather than exegetical writings of any kind).

His whole interest, then, is in the true interpretation of certain sayings of the Lord, embodying the genuine Gospel. But he wishes also to make clear to his readers the source whence came the *Logia* or Sayings themselves on which he commented.† He has found, he seems to say, Matthew's collection of these *Logia* preferable to any other. For as an ordered body (σύνταξις) of the Lord's Sayings,—with which alone his comments had to do,—Mark's Gospel was not its equal. But, after all, Matthew had compiled these Sayings in Aramaic before Papias' own day; and at that time each man had had to interpret them as best he could, *i.e.* for the most part without the rare advantages to which Papias could appeal in his own case.‡ In a word, his call to write his 'Expositions' lay in the absence of any written body of authorized interpretations of the *Logia* in detail (*αὐτά*). So had it been at first, so was it still; while the need, in an age of wild speculation, was greater than ever.

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* A later date for Papias' work is too readily assumed. Eusebius (*HE* iii. 37) reckons him in 'the first line of succession (διαδοχήν) from the apostles,' through whose writings the tradition of apostolic teaching lived on. He then names Ignatius and Clement as cases, and proceeds at once to Papias. The next book opens with Trajan's latter years, later than which Eus. does not seem to place Papias' work; while Polycarp he names after Justin.

† Euseb. does not necessarily give us the extracts in the order in which they came in Papias' preface. The statement, 'M., then, in Hebrew speech compiled the Logia: but as for their interpretation, each did as best he could,' may well have led up to the reference to his own 'interpretations.'

‡ Comp. Irenæus, *Præf.*, of men in his own day, ῥᾳδιουργοῦντες τὰ λόγια Κυρίου, ἐξηγηταὶ κακοὶ τῶν καλῶς εἰρημένων γινόμενοι.

Zahn and others find Papias' emphasis to lie on the Semitic form of Matthew's work. But then we should expect this to be brought out by a contrast, 'in Greek,' in the antithetical clause. In its absence the quotation seems motived by Papias' main idea of right 'interpretation' (*ἡρμήνευσε* follows immediately on *συνεγράψατο*). Further, for Papias' use of 'interpret,' his reference to his own 'interpretations' (*ἑρμηνεῖαι*) outweighs his use of *ἑρμηνευτής* in another context, where he is citing another's words. Finally, according to Zahn's view, Papias should go on to say *how* a Greek edition of the Aramaic Mt finally arose. But, to judge by Eus.'s silence, he did nothing of the kind. He knew a Greek Mt; he knew of Aramaic *Logia* current in Matthew's name; and he assumed the Greek Gospel to be a version of an original Aramaic writing by the apostle.

Thus, according to Papias' own personal belief, Matthew had indeed written down the *Logia*. But he had left no written interpretation of their meaning. The result was a divergence of views as to the Lord's teachings which Papias deplores, and which he seeks to rectify by aid of traditions which had reached him from Matthew and other disciples of the Lord.

So far, then, external evidence to the connexion of Matthew with our Greek Gospel is slender. Papias *implies*, no doubt, that the apostle wrote, and that in Aramaic. But what he is asserting is neither the one nor the other, but rather the fact that the Matthæan *Logia* were at first left to chance interpretation. As to Papias' implication that Matthew actually wrote out in Aramaic the Sayings of the Lord, its worth is doubtful. Against it stands the weighty witness of St. Luke ($1^{1ff.}$), who seems to know of no narrative of the matters on which Christian faith had assured hold drawn up by an eye-witness. The force of this can hardly be turned by saying that his word *διήγησις* suggests narrative, rather than a collection of Sayings.[*] To say the least, St. Luke would surely have constructed his careful paragraph otherwise had he known of—much more intended to use—a writing by an apostle embodying Christ's own sayings.

The strange divergence of the Logian elements in Mt and Lk respectively seems inconsistent with a common written basis. Thus, if one still suspects positive tradition to lie behind Papias' reference to Matthew as having written the Logia, it must be conceded that Lk at least had not access to it. And even as to our Mt, it seems easier to suppose that it incorporates the composite *catechesis* of a locality, than that it blends so much pure local tradition with the written *Logia* of Matthew (see iii. (2) etc. below). The meagreness of the historic setting of the *Logia* common to Mt and Lk may be gauged from Mt 11^{2-25} = Lk 7^{18-35} $10^{12-16.\ 21}$.

Before leaving St. Luke, however, one may remark that he also uses much matter which, as found also in Mt, may well go back to the Apostle Matthew in some form; only, he seems to have found it for the most part already in its present historical setting (*e.g.* in Lk 9^{51}–18^{14}). This setting differs widely from that in which the like sayings occur in Mt. But no early work, such as Luke's 'special source,' would have departed far from a setting provided in an apostle's work. Hence the Apostle Matthew did not give the *Logia* such a setting: and it has to be seen whether even the *Logia* themselves as used by our first evangelist owed their exact form to an apostle at all, rather than to oral tradition starting from Matthew's teaching. For that Matthew had some hand in shaping the *Logia* in question seems certain from the mere fact that to him, quite an obscure apostle, tradition uniformly and in all circles assigns our first Gospel. On the other hand, the variety of Gospels which in the 2nd cent. claimed to represent the Apostle Matthew—our Mt and the two forms of the 'Gospel according to the Hebrews'[*]—along with the lack of any trace of a common Matthæan document in Aramaic or Greek, suggests that all that really belonged to the apostle was a type of oral teaching. In that case our Mt would be related to the apostle much as Mk is related to St. Peter; and the difference in their titles may simply mean that Mark was a well-known apostolic disciple, whereas the name of the author of the Matthæan Gospel was early forgotten. Then posterity, fixing instead on the ultimate source of its tradition, would call the work '*κατὰ Μαθθαῖον*.'

ii. INTERNAL DATA AND CHARACTERISTICS—

General ground-plan—
i. Messiah's person, 1–2.
ii. Preparation for Messianic ministry, 3–4^{11}.
iii. Ministry in Galilee, 4^{12}–16^{20}.
(Introductory, 4^{12-25}; typical words, 5–7; typical deeds, 8–9^{34}; expansion by delegation, 9^{35}–10; Messiah's own estimate of His ministry, 11; attitude of different classes and typical persons, 12–16^{20}).
iv. Moving towards crisis at Jerusalem, 16^{21-28} (=Mk 8^{31}–16).

(*a*) *OT Quotations.*—In this inquiry welcome aid would seem to offer itself in the phenomena of biblical quotation. This has two aspects—a formal and a material. The *formal* relates to the text used, whether Hebrew or Greek (or even that of the vernacular paraphrase or Targum accompanying the reading of the Hebrew OT in the synagogue); and, if Greek, to the local variety of LXX text implied. The *material* aspect concerns the mode of thought reflected in the formula of citation, and the degree to which the evangelist's purpose shines through his use of the words or even modifies what he remembers and writes.[†]

Formally, then, the quotations in passages peculiar to Mt diverge from the LXX far more than those in parts common to it with Mk or Lk or both. This is specially the case with quotations introduced by the evangelist himself in comments signalizing 'fulfilment' (*πληρωθῆναι*) of prophecy. These are ten in number (1^{23} $2^{15.\ 18.\ 23}$ $4^{15f.}$ 8^{17} 12^{18-21} 13^{35} 21^{5} $27^{9f.}$); and of the words composing the citations nearly half do not occur in the LXX equivalents. The significance of this is indubitable, when we observe that in nineteen quotations common to Mt with at least one Synoptic, less than a sixth of the words diverge from the LXX. In other words, the homogeneity of our Mt, and so any claim to be a simple version of an Aramaic Mt, is at once disproved.

(*b*) *Chapters* 1–2.—Zahn maintains that the first verse of Mt is a title for the whole book, arguing that *βίβλος γενέσεως* cannot linguistically and by LXX usage mean 'genealogy' or even 'nativity,' but only 'history' or 'career.' But as Irenæus evidently thought otherwise (*adv. Hær.* III. xi. 11, cf. frag. 27, *ap.* Harvey, ii. 493, *Dial. Tim. et Aq.* [see below, p. 303], where *γενέσεις* = *γενεαλογίας*, fol. 93 r° et v°), one has only to prove the fitness of an introductory section, to which v.^{1} may serve as opening. Thus it might refer to the nativity (cf. Lk 1^{14}) and its attendant circumstances, including the antecedents of the seed royal, arranged so as to indicate three great moments in Israel's fortunes—climax in David, anti-climax in the Exile, and the moment of restored Davidic glory in Messiah. This would be paralleled, not only in the three prefatory chapters of Hosea, especially in the LXX (1^{2} *ἀρχὴ λόγου Κυρίου ἐν Ὠσηὲ* . . . 4^{1} *ἀκούσατε λόγον Κυρίου, υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ*), but also in Mk 1^{1}, taken as the first verse of a prefatory account of the Forerunner's ministry

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[*] In Sir 6^{35} *διήγησις θεία* is parallel to *παροιμίαι συνέσεως*; and in 9^{15} we get *πᾶσα διήγ. σου ἐν νόμῳ Ὑψίστου*. Cf. Eus. *HE* iii. 39. 12–14.

[*] The idea that this in either form was an enlarged edition of the 'Ur-Matthäus' rests only on the assumption that the Apostle Matthew was a Judaizer—an assumption improbable in the case of any of the primitive apostles, who saw the Gospel in its continuity with the prophets.

[†] In this section, as in some others, the 'Statistics and Observations' collected with scholarly care by Rev. Sir J. C. Hawkins, in his *Horæ Synopticæ* (1899), have been of great service.

(cf. Hosea, above). Further, since 1^{18}, 'Now the birth (*γένεσις*) of the Christ* was on this wise,' seems to follow closely on the last clause of 1^{17}, 'until the Christ, fourteen generations,' and 1^{17} sums up the gist of 1^{2-16}, the whole of ch. 1 might easily be subsumed under 1^{1}. But it is better to take *βίβλος γενέσεως* as 'birth-roll,' and see in 1^{18} a fresh section; so also with ch. 2, which sets forth certain prophesied corollaries of the birth of Messiah (on the genealogy itself see below (*h*), p. 302).

(*c*) *The Sources.* — (1) *The Logia.* — Here two things must be borne in mind. In early days the tradition of Jesus' Sayings 'did not remain merely personal reminiscence and communication, but served the Church as law and doctrine, and was accordingly put into the form of didactic pieces.' 'Again, this was done in a spirit and amid associations that prevented the rise of a binding letter': and hence we must be ready to recognize among the *Logia*, along with the voice of the Church's Lord, echoes awakened in the Church's experience. These conditions have been stated, and applied to the forms in which the *Logia* meet us in Mt and Lk respectively, by Weizsäcker in particular, in his *Apostolic Age* (Eng. tr. ii. 32 ff.); and his views are largely utilized in what follows. The difference in style and standpoint between the *Logia* groups in Mt and Lk is due to the differing history of the *Logian* tradition in the apostolic Church. The preoccupation amid which our Mt's type of *Logia* took proximate shape was 'the secession of the Church from Judaism and its authorities. Thus did Jesus Himself oppose the Pharisaism and the scribes of His time.' So, too, the main lines of our first Gospel reflect the practical wants of the early days—'the doctrines of righteousness, the disciples' vocation, the kingdom of God, the duties of the society, the false system of the Jews and Pharisees, the future of the kingdom of God.' These answer to chs. 5–7. 10. 13. 18. 23–25, sections in which the unity of the parts is didactic rather than historical, kindred matter having gravitated to each considerable nucleus by the exigencies of *memoriter* instruction. That our evangelist was already familiar with these sections as more or less connected wholes, is probable from the formula which he appends to each of them: *καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς λόγους τούτους* (7^{28} 19^{1} 26^{1}), or *τὰς παραβολὰς ταύτας* (13^{53}), or *διατάσσων τοῖς δώδεκα μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ* (11^{1}). We take, then, these didactic sections of our Mt in order.

(*a*) *The Sermon on the Mount, Mt* 5–7.—Weizsäcker subjects this sermon, 'a kind of catechism' set in the forefront of this Gospel, to an analysis which reveals its true nature as 'a kind of code, such as originated in and was designed for the Church.' This transformation of Christ's teaching into forms adapted to the religious use of disciples was inevitable so long as the evangelic tradition was a matter of *catechesis*, with a view to edification. Indeed this fact witnesses to its vital hold on Christians at a time when the Spirit was everything and the letter little thought of, and so when fresh applications of a principle laid down by the Master could not in oral teaching be kept apart from the germinal saying which had given them birth in the Church's mind. The question, then, is here not so much one of the Lord's *ipsissima verba*, lying behind the *Logia* used in our Gospel, as touching the nucleus of a sermon formed out of such *Logia* which Mt expands.

Weizsäcker makes it consist of three sections originally independent, as is seen from Lk: viz. the new Christian law in contrast to the existent legal usage of the scribes (5^{21-48}); Christ's estimate of the pious usages then in honour (alms, prayers, fastings); and His reformation of them (6^{1-18}) and His exposition of the higher life in contrast to division of heart and care for the worldly life (6^{19-34}). Secondary to these, even as combined, he regards not only ch. 7—an appendix of seven short sections supplementing and partly repeating the foregoing (7^{15}, with its 'false prophets which come to you in sheep's clothing,' being clearly a late touch)—but also the twofold introduction in $5^{3-12.\ 13-16}$. Now, that 5^{13-16} is out of place one may justly infer from Lk $14^{34f.}$ 8^{16} 11^{33}. But Lk also makes the Sermon open with beatitudes, though less than half Mt's number (which seems filled out with OT phrases), and otherwise contradicts Weizsäcker's analysis. For this among other reasons, the reconstruction of the *Logian* Sermon favoured by Weiss and Wendt (with some divergences) is to be preferred. Yet even so, one must not assume that the Sermon was known to Mt and Lk in the same recension. Thus, while it is probable that Lk's four beatitudes (apart from the parallel woes, a secondary feature) best represent the original apostolic *Logian* tradition (not necessarily as Matthew taught it), it is clear that Luke knew the Lord's Prayer in another form from Mt's, and that not as part of the Sermon at all.

Allowing, then, for the different history of the *Logian* tradition before it reached our Mt or Luke, we may regard the following as 'Matthæan' in substance:—Four beatitudes parallel to Lk ($5^{3.\ 4.\ 6.\ 11f.}$); four revised readings of Mosaic morality as understood by the scribes—about murder, adultery, retaliation, hatred of enemies ($5^{21.\ 22.\ (24).\ 27f.\ 38-40.\ 43-48}$); three corrections of the Jewish ideal of piety—alms, prayer, fasting (6^{1-18});* four dangers of the higher life—earthly-mindedness, insincerity, a divided heart, carefulness for things bodily—the remedy being absorption in the Father's kingdom (6^{19-34});† some more miscellaneous counsels (7^{1-27}). These last, most of all, owe their combination to our evangelist, as they repeat a good deal; and in one case (7^{12}), the Golden Rule of duty towards one's neighbour, a verse comes more naturally in Lk (6^{31}), earlier in the Sermon. Yet the words on criticism and self-criticism (7^{1-5}, Lk $6^{37f.\ 41f.}$), on fruit as the test of goodness (7^{16-21}, Lk 6^{43-46}), and the similitude which clinches the whole Sermon (7^{24-27}, Lk 6^{47-49}), come in fitly.‡ Probably even this reconstruction leaves too much in the Sermon for it really to have been spoken at one time: it expects far more of men's hearing capacity than Jesus ever demanded. But it may stand as representing the Matthæan didactic catechism for the citizen of the Father's kingdom, and as suggesting the processes of further accretion in later use, and of final compilation, which lie between it and Mt 5–7.

(*β*) *The Disciple Discourse, ch.* 10.—The action of local Church usage upon the tradition is also implied in the specific disciple-discourse. This in practical use must early have lost much of its original restrictions, as intended for the guidance of the Twelve in their first preaching by the side of their Master's own ministry (cf. Mk 3^{13-15}). Thus in Lk it refers to the conduct of a large circle of disciples who assisted Jesus in a similar way; and in either form it doubtless embodies rules taught in the churches for the guidance of all who acted as missionaries ('apostles' in the larger sense, for which 'evangelists' became a synonym). The words in Mt 10^{23} cannot have been used of the original temporary mission: 'When they persecute you in the one city, flee to the other: for verily I say to you, ye shall not finish the cities of Israel before the Son of Man come.' This must rather represent an early stage of the Church's echoed counsels to the Messianic missionaries in general, on the lines laid down by Jesus for His first disciples. Weizsäcker sees in Mt $10^{5-15\,(16)}$ the original tradition as to the apostolic mission, once current as an independent piece (cf. Mk 6^{7-13}, Lk 9^{1-6} 10^{2-11}), and here given in a form retaining the restricted scope of Christ's own earthly ministry—the form in which the Matthæan *Logia* were current in our evangelist's region. A secondary formation follows in the section on persecution, which reflects the experience of the Apostolic age at least as late as St. Paul's trials before Roman courts at Cæsarea. Its originally detached character is shown by its appearing in the eschatological discourse in Mk $13^{9ff.}$, Lk $21^{12ff.}$, where Mt faintly echoes Mk. Here, however, Mt seems independent of Mk's form, having points in common with Lk's 'doublet' ($12^{11f.}$), and being the more original in its basis (apart from the evangelist's own colouring). These two sections Weizsäcker calls 'the fundamental law for the missionary activity of the Church.' He adds that they were naturally extended by analogous sayings, like Mt10^{24-42} (many of which are clearly misplaced, see Lk $12^{3-9.\,51-53}$ 14^{25-27}), either by Mt or in the traditional form under which he was wont to teach the Matthæan *Logia*.

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* The diverse orders, 'Jesus Christ' (ℵCEKL *al.* Pap. Oxyr. (*sæc.* iii.) ægypt. syr. $^{\text{utr.}}$ arm. æth. Or.) and 'Christ Jesus' (B), point to the originality of 'the Christ' (D 71, it. vg. syr. $^{\text{sin. cur.}}$ Iren.); cf. 1^{17b}.

* Each of these sections admits of further analysis: note particularly the change from 'ye' to 'thou' (? of catechesis) in each case. We cannot, of course, by such rough tests distinguish the teaching as original and derivative. But certainly the Lord's Prayer did not come originally in the Sermon (see Lk $11^{1ff.}$). The backbone of Mt's form of this section consists of $6^{1.\ 5.\ 16}$.

† Here, too, there may be later or editorial elements, v.^{34} in particular. But Lk's divergent arrangement by no means proves that these subjects were no part of the Matthæan *Logia*.

‡ On the other hand, $7^{6.\ (7-11).\ 22f.}$ are out of place.

(γ) *The Parables of ch.* 13.—As to these parables, where Mt's love of the number seven (cf. the double sevens of the genealogy) attracts our attention, it appears that all three evangelists possessed collections of parables, beginning with 'the fundamental parable,' the Sower. To this main parable there were two types of sequel: one as in Mk and Lk, where it is combined with the simile of the Lamp, whereby Jesus explained to the disciples (in the actual course of events) the function of parable as a test of hearers' receptivity; the other, as in Mt, where it is followed didactically by other parables more or less related in thought. These appear to come from different sources. The pendent parable (to the Sower) of the Wheat and Tares has a peculiar opening, ὡμοιώθη ἡ βασ., which recurs in parables in 18^{23} 22^{2}, and may point to the three having been once a didactic whole, representing a late stage of *Logian* teaching. On the other hand, the remaining five begin with ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασ., probably the usual opening in parabolic collections.*

Weizsäcker's 'reflexions' deserve attention. Viewing the Wheat and Tares as a later supplement to the Sower, he says: 'From the very nature of this form of instruction, the discussion of one parable leads naturally to the invention of others: interpretations develop into fresh parabolic material.' Thus this parable reflects 'an experience from the life of the Church,' which may be the case also with the Drag-net and some others. But 'in any case the collection gives us an insight, not only into the way in which the tradition operated, but also into the method of editing passages for definite didactic purposes.' Its object is to set forth not so much distinct commands, as 'the fruits of the teaching received, the perfection and divine nature of the cause.' It is, in any case, characteristic of Mt's standpoint that his first special parables—the Tares and the Leaven—'carry us involuntarily into the primitive Church. They found their most direct use in the relations of that Church to the nation.'

(δ) *The Discourse in ch.* 18.—In the discourse on the 'little ones' and fraternal treatment of all brethren, even the least, Weizsäcker thinks $18^{6ff.}$ is an organic unity. 'The whole refers to the conduct of the disciples to each other: the sayings teach the nature of their communion,' even if some took shape rather later than others. It seems a proof of the general justice of these remarks that the parable of the Lost Sheep, which Lk gives as an apology for Jesus' own attitude to outcasts, came to Mt as a lesson for believers, in relation apparently to converts from among such 'little ones' of society. It had lost its original application and gained another in the Church's life. Moreover, already in 18^{3-6} Mt has made humility the note of the kingdom, in place of the spirit which thinks of 'greater' and 'lesser' among brethren. Each must be ready to sink all 'superiority,' to receive even a young child on the ground of Christ's name, and to avoid wounding the feelings of the humblest believer—one of no more account than a child (cf. Mk $9^{41f.}$). Hence, however much our Mt may be influenced in the wording of $18^{1-5.\,6.\,8f.}$ by Mk $9^{33-37.\,42-47}$, yet his mind is already filled with a *Logian* piece of didactic which asserts itself both in idea and in phrasing, as well as in $18^{3f.}$ as a whole: 'The intention of its original form' shines through; and 'the apostles are thought of as patterns for the Church.'

(ε) *The later Parables.*—Similarly the three parables of 21^{28}–22^{14}, centring in that of the Vineyard common to the Synoptics, define the Church's relations to Judaism. In the first two of these parables we get the phrase ἡ βασ. τοῦ θεοῦ, so rare in Mt, and perhaps a mark of the later stratum in its Logia.

In 12^{28b} the phrase may be due to parallelism with ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ in 28^{a}; and in 19^{24} it seems to come from Mk 10^{24}. In $21^{31.\,43}$, however, we can only suppose that this Hellenistic or un-Hebraic expression (so Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 155) marks the secondary, rather than Matthæan, element in the tradition reflected in Mt, to whose own usage ἡ βασ. τῶν οὐρανῶν can by no means be exclusively traced.

The parable of the Marriage Feast is partly paralleled by Lk 14^{15-24}, and is an old *Logian* element which has undergone change in two lines of tradition. Mt seems to have it in a late form; for it has gained an appendix, on the Wedding-garment and the fewness of those who respond and are elect. And even the part parallel to Lk adds the feature of insult and death visited on the king's messengers, resulting in vengeance on the murderers and their city—surely an echo of the experiences and expectations of the later apostolic age, though not necessarily after, rather than just before A.D. 70 (cf. Mk $12^{9.\,10}$, Lk 20^{16-18}, Mt 21^{41-44} for the like as already foretold in prophecy). We shall return to the subject in discussing Mt's date. Meantime this impression of the absolute rejection of the national religious system is confirmed by the great anti-Pharisaic discourse in ch. 23—an excellent case of didactic compilation, the bulk at least of which our Mt found ready to his hand, though the seven distinct Woes may betray his schematism. We must now turn aside, for the moment, to consider the other chief factor of Mt, the narrative sections parallel to Mk.

(2) *Mt's relation to Mk.*—To begin with a simple case, namely one which involves no other connected source like the Logia, Christ's walking on the sea may be taken (Mt $14^{22ff.}$, Mk $6^{45ff.}$). Here we observe slight omissions—αὐτοῦ (followed by addition of αὐτόν), τὸ πέραν πρὸς Βηθσαιδάν, αὐτός; insertions—κατ' ἰδίαν, μαθηταί (to compensate for αὐτούς in a clause omitted), ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου ἔκραξαν in place of ἀνέκραξαν, [ὁ Ἰησοῦς]; use of favourite forms of a word—τοὺς ὄχλους for τὸν ὄχλον, ἀνέβη for ἀπῆλθεν; changes in construction—*i.e.* ἕως οὗ ἀπολύσῃ for ἕως . . . ἀπολύει, ὑπὸ τ. κυμάτων for ἐν τῷ ἐλαύνειν, τετάρτῃ φυλακῇ for περὶ τετ. φυλακήν, ἦλθεν for ἔρχεται, περιπατῶν ἐπὶ τήν (cf. ^{29}, only Mt) for ἐπὶ τῆς, λέγων for κ. λέγει—sometimes involving transposition of a word, like ἐταράχθησαν (λέγοντες, κ.τ.λ.) in ^{26}; paraphrase—ἤδη σταδίους πολλοὺς ἀπὸ γῆς ἀπεῖχεν for ἐν μέσῳ τ. θαλάσσης; omission of a clause—κ. ἤθελεν παρελθεῖν αὐτούς, Mk 6^{48b}, πάντες γὰρ αὐτὸν εἶδον, ^{50a}.

In the general result Mt's Greek is smoother and better than Mk's, though less vivid; also the changes appear for the most part involuntary, due to *memoriter* rewriting of section by section after perusal, rather than to line for line copying.* This less mechanical conception of the process by which Mk passes into Mt is not only most likely, but helps to explain much elsewhere. In fact it secures the advantages claimed for the purely oral theory, without sacrificing what gives to the documentary theory its strength. The section affords other lessons. Peter's walking on the water ($^{28-31}$) is an insertion from tradition,† and points to a factor which must be reckoned with throughout, *e.g.* in 27^{62-66} 28^{11-15}, as also in relation to the parables peculiar to Mt. And, finally, the description of the effect upon the disciples' minds is put in a different form from Mk—one reflecting less upon their slowness of heart and pointing more directly the moral of this Gospel (v.^{33}, cf. 16^{16} 27^{54}). The phrase full of adoration, 'Truly thou art Son of God,' is here anachronistic in view of $16^{15f.}$, Mk 8^{29}. These various points might be illustrated from the next few sections. But space forbids: and so we turn to apply our principles to the parts where *Logia* and Mk may be thought to blend.

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* Weizsäcker thinks ἄλλην παραβολήν ($13^{24.\,31.\,33}$) and πάλιν ($^{45.\,47}$) original parts of special collections. But they rather show Mt's compiling hand. He also thinks that the reflexions in $13^{34f.}$, coming in the middle of things, must be due to a source used. But against this must be set Mt's favourite formula in v.^{35a}. He inserts them from Mk and practically where Mk has them. Then he returns to explain the Wheat and Tares, and adds other parables.

(*d*) *Setting of the Sermon on the Mount.*—Mt 4^{23}–5^{1} is crucial for the evangelist's methods. Is his relation to Mk here determined by other narrative material, oral or written, or simply by his own plan for the use of his didactic or *Logian* matter?

Historically arbitrary as the latter hypothesis would argue Mt's eclectic use of Mk to be, it is yet probably correct. For in fact all close study of Mt shows its historic interest to be quite subordinate to the interpretative, the setting forth in orderly fashion of the salient features of Messiah's activity and teaching. Here, then, Mt's prime care is to find a fit point of contact with the traditional narrative—of which Mk is the form before him—for the general Sermon on the kingdom. As it stood in the forefront of the *Logian* tradition, so should it stand in a full written Gospel as Mt conceived it. Starting from Mk 1^{22} (Mt $7^{28f.}$), he readapted Mk 3^{13}, where Jesus 'ascends the mountain' in order to associate with Himself an inner circle of disciples; assuming that such a call would imply a prior formal exposition of the nature of the new kingdom. And so far he may have followed tradition—a tradition, too, which knew of a discourse on a mountain. But, this identification once adopted, Mt carried out his use of Mk with great freedom.

The whole of Mk 3^{13} influences Mt 5^{1}. Not only does Jesus ascend '*the* mountain,' though no special locality is in question; but the reference to disciples as coming to Him creates some obscurity touching the persons addressed in the Sermon. 'Mt has just referred to 'the crowds'; and at the end we hear of its effect, not on disciples, but on these same crowds. Hence, apart from the form in which the Sermon is cast (perhaps mainly that of current *Logian* catechesis; contrast Lk 6^{20}, where the disciples are first addressed, and then hearers in general, ^{27}), we have the blending of Mk's context with that which Mt has just created for himself. For with the hint supplied by Mt 5^{1} in relation to Mk 3^{13}, we can hardly fail to see in Mt 4^{23-25} a mosaic of Marcan situations and expressions, generalized in order to set forth the earlier activity of Jesus in word and deed—the presupposition of 'the crowds' present at the Sermon. Similarly, the call of disciples had been hinted at by the typical cases borrowed from Mk in $^{18-22}$. The artificial nature of $^{24f.}$ is clear from the fact that no little lapse of time is implied in the going forth of Jesus' fame 'into the whole of Syria' and the gathering of crowds from Decapolis and Judæa and beyond Jordan—features natural in Mk's later context (3^{7}, Lk 6^{17}), but not in Mt, if it were meant to be chronological. Similarly 4^{23} is based on Mk 1^{39} 6^{6a}, with 1^{23} for starting-point (just as 1^{22} is used at the end of the Sermon in 7^{28}); and 9^{35} repeats the borrowing when Mt gets really parallel to Mk 6^{6}.

The fact that both in 4^{23} and ^{24} there are echoes of more than one passage in Mk, suggests that our Mt was so familiar with the latter as to combine his phrases in memory without a full sense of their actual position in Mk's narrative. And this is confirmed by the fact that these verses appear quite in Mt's style. But in any case Mt's generalizing use of Mk seems clear (so 8^{16} $15^{30.31}$), and is illustrated by our next paragraph.

(*e*) *Artificial grouping in* 8–9.—In 5–7 Mt has been drawing on his prime *Logian* source. In 7^{28b} he returns to Mk (1^{22}) with *ἐξεπλήσσοντο (οἱ ὄχλοι) ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ· ἦν γὰρ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων καὶ οὐχ ὡς οἱ γραμματεῖς (αὐτῶν).* He thus draws attention to the authority of Jesus' manner of teaching, and then proceeds to show how this Messianic mien extended to His action and attitude towards men. In fact the series of works and words of power which follow, fulfils the second part of the forecast in 4^{23}. Once more we get the broad, vague background of *ὄχλοι πολλοί* (cf. 4^{25}); and then the cleansing of the leper (Mk $1^{40ff.}$) is introduced with an abrupt *καὶ ἰδού.*

Thus he passes over the deliverance of the man with an unclean spirit (Mk 1^{23-28}), since he has already used the impression produced by it, *ἡ ἀκοή* (*φήμη* is Mt's own word 9^{26}), in his general description in 4^{24a}. This omission was the easier that the story has much in common with the fuller Gadarene incident which he is about to use shortly ($8^{28ff.}$ = Mk $5^{1ff.}$). But why does he take Mk $1^{40ff.}$ before $^{29ff.}$? Partly perhaps because it contains words of respect for Moses in keeping with 5^{17}, and partly because in Mk the healing of the leper comes between a reference to a general ministry in Galilee (1^{39}), in which Mt sees the continuation of his own 4^{25}, and an entry into Capernaum.

Mt is not concerned with temporal sequence, but tries to preserve local conditions. Hence he goes on with something which had come to him connected with Capernaum (8^{5}, cf. Lk 7^{1}). In the healing of the centurion's servant (*παῖς*, Lk *δοῦλος*) the interest centres in the dialogue: and the story may have come in the Logia just after the Sermon (as in Lk [or his special source, cf. $9^{51ff.}$], who has already used Mk's material right up to the withdrawal with disciples to the mountain).

To Mt it had special value here as introducing the idea of authority (*ἐξουσία*), which the centurion implicitly recognizes as on the side of Jesus (8^{9}). Vv.$^{11.12}$ are attached by logical affinity (?already so in Logia tradition in Mt's region, against Lk $13^{28ff.}$), and serve to justify Gentile faith in Mt's day. Then, at last, he returns to the thread of Mk 1^{29-34} ($^{35-38}$ illustrates nothing that is to his purpose). The healing of Peter's mother-in-law becomes a mere typical case, one of a class, like the many referred to in v.^{16}. This verse summarizes Mk 1^{32-34} with some characteristic changes (*e.g.* demoniacal possession is put first as marking authority), and is followed by the citation of prophecy with Mt's usual formula of 'fulfilment.'

The next step is more obscure; but the link seems to be a similarity of occasion (to which time is subordinated). As the last event was *ὀψίας γενομένης* (^{16} = Mk 1^{32}), so he subjoins another evening scene (Mk 4^{35} *ὀψίας γεν.*, Jesus saith *Διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πέραν· κ. ἀφέντες τὸν ὄχλον . . .*). The motive of departure, too, comes from Mk's context,* *ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰ. ὄχλον περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν.* The episode of the two aspirants to discipleship, which intervenes, needs some special reason for its position; it comes in very abruptly. It is otherwise placed in Lk ($9^{57ff.}$), at a later part of the ministry, and rightly. But this does not hinder its having stood in local *catechesis* after the Sermon, as logically akin, viz. as affording a typical case of response to the Master's call to discipleship: and that Mt forces it in here suggests that it so stood. It illustrates the authority, even in isolation, that marked the Son of Man (esp. ^{22}). From v.^{23} to the end of ch. 8 Mt follows Mk $5^{1ff.}$, the only points calling for note being the softening down of the disciples' alarm and surprise in the storm (*ὀλιγόπιστοι* and *οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι*), the substitution of the more familiar Gadarene region for the obscure Gerasene (*i.e.* of Kersa, a village on the lake's edge), and the fresh reading of the demoniac incident by which Mt follows the plurals in the dialogue (*e.g.* Mk's *παρεκάλεσαν αὐτὸν λέγοντες*) to the ignoring of the sing. of Mk's narrative. It is possible that this reading had already in oral tradition generated the *δύο δαιμονιζόμενοι*, and that Mt uses Mk in the light of the story as known to him orally. Yet Mt's general tendency to duality (cf. 20^{30}) is to be noted; particularly the clear case in $21^{2\text{-}7}$, where his narrative is warped by words of prophecy which he himself introduces with his own formula. The divergences from Mk seem to be quite in Mt's own style.* The words with which he returns to Mk $2^{1ff.}$ are still coloured by Mk 5, *καὶ ἐμβὰς εἰς πλοῖον* (Mk 5^{18}) *διεπέρασεν* † (*ib.* ^{21}, the verse after which Mt resumes this section of Mk in 9^{18}). Capernaum is called *τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν* in terms of 4^{13}. Once more, in the healing of the paralytic, the note of authority is struck in both Gospels. In 9^{9} Mt seems to show that his aim is to present a series of typical scenes in their logical rather than strict historical connexion; for adopting Mk's *παράγων*, appropriate to progress along the lake's margin, he uses it as a mere verb of motion by inserting *ἐκεῖθεν*, ignoring the teaching on the shore which comes in between. In the incident itself it is interesting that he substitutes 'Matthew' (with *λεγόμενον*, a favourite phrase), Levi's disciple-name, for that by which he was known at the time of his call: *i.e.* his standpoint is less purely historical than Mk's. If in $9^{14ff.}$ Mt were not following Mk, he would hardly have inserted the defence against criticism at this point, but rather reserved it for the later section devoted to the topic ($12^{1ff.}$). For the very next paragraph shows that he is still dominated by the idea of the mighty deeds of Jesus. He goes back, that is, to Mk $5^{21ff.}$: but having already used the link of circumstance in v.^{21}, he uses one belonging to a later stage of the incident (v.^{35} *ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος*) and compresses the whole.

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* That renewed reference was sometimes made, seems proved by Mt's reversion to Mk's *περιπατεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης*, in 26^{a}, after writing automatically *περ. ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν*, his own construction (cf. *ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα* in $^{28f.}$). For a parallel, compare the freer parts of Codex Bezæ.

† As such it gives a good specimen of Mt's style when free to follow its own literary form. Note *ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν* [Mk 5 times, generally *ἀποκ. λέγει*; common in Lk, and in Mt 14–28 (34 times), where rewriting Mk, but rare in 3–13 (7 or 8 times), where using *Logia*: hence not a *Logian* phrase: Jn *ἀπεκρίθη*], *ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου* (cf. 8^{16}, Mk prefers *ἐκ*), *καταποντίζεσθαι* (Mt 18^{6}) *ὀλιγόπιστος* (8^{26} 16^{8}), *διστάζειν* (28^{17}), and *κύριε* in later religious sense (cf. Lk). It shows also the easy way in which an insertion may blend with the Marcan context, *i.e.* *ἀναβάντων αὐτῶν* for *ἀνέβη (πρὸς αὐτούς)*. Note *κελεύειν* (14^{28}, $^{cf.\ 9.\ 19}$), never in Mk, once only in Lk (18^{40}).

* This is a crucial case of Mt's use of Mk. For whereas the sing. *ὄχλος* is Mk's regular form (33 to 1), Mt prefers *ὄχλοι* (25 times, *ὄχλοι πολλοί* 5, *ὄχλος* 19, generally parallel to Mk): and the foregoing context would suggest *ὄχλοι* (cf. v.^{1}) or at any rate *τὸν ὄχλον*.

That Mt is here using Mk rather than a shorter source is shown by (1) the mention of the duration of the woman's malady, (2) the coincidence in *ὄπισθεν*, (3) the rather otiose *καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ* in v.^{19} (seeing that they play no part in what follows in Mt) due to Mk (vv.$^{37.\ 40}$), (4) the fact that neither Mt nor Lk really adds any fresh matter, so that their deviations in form are to be put down to their style and aim.‡ Mt's *ἄρτι ἐτελεύτησεν* is a result of compression; and the other turns of phrase and additions are in Mt's special manner.

The last two incidents of the section are compilations of Mt completing the cycle of typical healings. They have distinct echoes of Mk, as also marks of Mt's own style; but possibly they have also a traditional basis, particularly in the case of the dumb demoniac, $9^{32f.}$. For though Lk $11^{14f.}$ has the same in substance, yet the form differs, especially if we omit v.^{34} as a later gloss, as do O.L., Syr-Sin., Tat. (see 12^{24}).

Another view is possible, namely, that Lk $11^{14f.}$ shows the story of the possessed mute in its right place, so introducing the dialogue with Pharisees as to exorcism originally in the *Logia*. In that case Mt may use the incident twice: first, among the works of power in 9, where the people's comment comes from Mk 2^{12}; and next in $12^{22ff.}$, where the two incidents in $9^{27\text{-}33}$ appear fused into one case as occasion of the people's wonder, which elicits the Pharisees' retort.

The cycle of typical Messianic deeds is now complete: and Mt wishes to present Jesus in the further aspect of authority shown in commissioning others to aid in gathering in the harvest of the Kingdom. In so doing he omits for the present (but see $13^{53ff.}$) a few verses in Mk, and takes the first words of his introduction to the Mission of the Twelve from Mk 6^{6b}, *i.e.* **καὶ περιῆγεν** *ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὰς πόλεις πάσας κ.* **τὰς κώμας, διδάσκων**, repeating also the bulk of 4^{23}, his earlier programme of Messianic ministry. Then he takes part of Mk 6^{34} (where Mt omits half the verse) and generalizes the statement of Christ's compassionate perception of the people's shepherdless condition. In $9^{37f.}$ he probably employs the opening words of the *Logia* at this point (cf. Lk 10^{2}), and then follows Mk once more in 10^{1}, repeating words used already in 4^{23b} 9^{35b} (*θεραπεύειν πᾶσαν νόσον κ. πᾶσαν μαλακίαν*). The names of the Twelve are next given, without any interest in the circumstances of their original call (Mk $3^{13ff.}$). Indeed it is assumed that they are already known.*

(*f*) *Modifications in the Passion and Resurrection narratives.*—Most will agree with Dr. Salmon that Mt 27 'copied the narrative as we find it in St. Mark, interpolating in it different passages founded on knowledge derived from some other source.' A word or two on such a source, or rather sources. In the Institution of the Supper it is likely that the slight differences in Mt are due mainly to local Eucharistic use, the cause of Lk's inversion of the Bread and Cup (so the *Didaché*). In the Crucifixion, on the other hand, the slight divergences are due to the subtle reaction of certain details of OT prophecy—now seen to be Messianic, since suffering was included in Messiah's lot. The influence of Ps 22 (whence came Jesus' great cry) is especially marked (as also in He $2^{11f.}$; cf. $^{6\text{-}9}$). Thus—

Mk *ἐδίδουν αὐτῷ ἐσμυρνισμένον οἶνον.*
Mt 27^{34} *ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ πιεῖν οἶνον μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγμένον.*
Ps 69 (68)^{21} *ἔδωκαν . . . χολήν, κ. εἰς τὴν δίψαν μου ἐπότισάν με ὄξος.*

Then, after the casting of the lots, Mt adds—
καὶ καθήμενοι ἐτήρουν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ.
Cf. Ps 22 (21)^{18} *αὐτοὶ δὲ κατενόησαν καὶ ἐπεῖδόν με.*†

And once more—
Mt 27^{43} (only) *πέποιθεν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ῥυσάσθω νῦν εἰ θέλει αὐτόν.*
Ps 22^{9} *ἤλπισεν ἐπὶ Κύριον, ῥυσάσθω αὐτὸν . . . ὅτι θέλει αὐτόν.*

Such apologetic use of prophecy is yet more obvious in 8^{17} $12^{17ff.}$, and it may have helped the evangelist to his own faith in Jesus' Messiahship; while the elaborative influence of the OT is seen in Mt's Beatitudes as compared with Lk's.

Probably the modifications of the Passion story were already part of Mt's way of telling it, before he sat down to write, and spontaneously reasserted themselves, sometimes more, sometimes less decisively, as he freely reproduced Mk. And this may afford us a fresh analogy for the way in which the general tradition of the Lord's ministry, already living in memory, modified the impressions left by his perusal of Mk.

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* Mt's *ἰσχύειν* seems due to Mk's *ἴσχυεν*, his *ἦλθες* to Mk 1^{24}; even *μακρὰν ἀπ' αὐτῶν* may gloss *πρὸς τῷ ὄρει*. As the case is a crucial one for the use of narratives assumed to exist in written Logia, one may refer also to the case of the demoniac boy ($17^{14ff.}$, Mk $9^{14ff.}$, Lk $9^{37ff.}$). What there seems to exclude such Logia as causing Mt's abbreviation of Mk, is the sudden emergence of *τὸ δαιμόνιον* (v.^{18}), easily explained by his knowledge of Mk, but not a natural sequel of the description of the lad's symptoms in v.^{15}. If this be so, then that section affords cases of pure transposition by Mt (^{15b}, cf. Mk ^{22}); recurrent comment (^{18c}); a favourite idea (*διὰ τὴν ὀλιγοπιστίαν*, ^{20a}); and a favourite word, *θεραπεύειν* ($^{16.\ 18}$).

† The other case of this rare word, 14^{34}, is also in Mk's wake.

‡ The *προσ(ελθοῦσα) . . . τοῦ κρασπέδου* common to Mt and Lk might seem to need a literary link. But both regularly prefer *προσελθεῖν* for 'approach' (see Mt 8^{25}=Lk 8^{24}, cf. Lk 7^{14}); while the addition of *τοῦ κρ.* is a quite natural (cf. Mt 14^{36}) explanatory touch, which may even come from oral tradition.

* Similar analysis of 12-16^{20} may be seen in the second of W. C. Allen's 'Critical Studies in Mt's Gospel' (*Expos. Times*, March 1900).

† Following on reference to the sufferer's deadly thirst, and the fact that many 'dogs' or wicked ones encompass him and pierce his hands and feet; while the next words are *διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς*. Here Mk's language may already have been coloured by this Ps, as also in the use of *κινοῦντες τὰς κεφαλάς*; cf. Ps 22^{7} *πάντες οἱ θεωροῦντές με ἐξεμυκτήρισάν με, ἐλάλησαν ἐν χείλεσιν, ἐκίνησαν κεφαλήν.*

A good instance of this is the Resurrection, where Mt's narrative is modified by the story of the Guard in the tradition known to him. Hence the women come, not to anoint the body, but only 'to behold the tomb'; and the influence of Mk, if present at all, is very slight. There is no consciousness that the women entered the sepulchre, as in Mk; the fulfilment of Jesus' word in his resurrection is emphasized (καθὼς εἶπεν, cf. 27^{63}); and so the element of fear is overshadowed by joy. The great fear, which is the note of Mk, has been toned down in tradition by later feelings on the subject. The rather indistinct account of the promised Christophany to 'the eleven disciples' is part of the generalizing style of oral tradition, where the original facts are set in the light of their abiding bearing on the Church's life. The 'authority' which was largely veiled in Messiah's earthly ministry is now His chief note, shown in the extension of the Kingdom to the Gentiles, and in His abiding presence with His own during the days between the Resurrection and the Parousia (note silence as to Israel and the Law, in contrast to Mt $10^{5f.}$).

(*g*) *Eschatological Standpoint and Date.*—Here the concluding Woes on the scribes and Pharisees lead up to the Last Things.

23^{34-36}. The blood of the Prophets will come on them. This is fuller than Lk of colour from Palestinian experiences, and of presage of the reckoning imminent. The addition of 'son of Barachiah' (not in Lk) quite possibly shows that Mt took certain words in v.^{35} as referring to events early in A.D. 68 (found in Jos. *BJ* IV. v. 4).

23^{37-39}. Their house is deserted by the Divine presence till they repent. This implicit reference to the Parousia is here arbitrarily connected (against Lk $11^{49ff.}$ $13^{34f.}$) with the judgment on Jerusalem (see Charles, *Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*, p. 328).

$24^{1.\,2}$. Destruction of the temple (cf. Mk $13^{1f.}$, Ac 6^{14}).

24^{3}. Tokens of this and the Parousia.

The specification of the 'Parousia' (only in this chapter in the Gospels) and the phrase συντέλεια τ. αἰῶνος, found only in Mt (cf. $13^{39.\,40.\,49}$ 28^{20}), point to this being a special form in which this discourse was quoted in Mt's circle (see note below).

24^{4-8}. The preliminary troubles * (ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων).

Clearly Lk is not entirely dependent on Mk. Nor does Mt seem to be so in all parts of this discourse.

24^{9-13}. Trial (θλίψις) for Christians—

Vv.$^{10-12}$ are peculiar in form (see below on $^{23.\,24}$ for affinity with *Did.* $16^{3.\,4}$); and in their light v.^{9} may also be recognized as not altogether dependent on Mk, ^{9a} referring to Jewish hatred, ^{9b} to Gentile. What Mk has here, is partly in different order, and partly occurs in the Commission to the Twelve in Mt (10^{17-22}); cf. Lk $12^{11.\,12}$. Vv.$^{9-12}$ seem very significant for Mt's date in virtue of their special phrasing (cf. the Christian section of *Ascensio Isaiæ*, *c.* 65–68, or else 80–90 A.D.).

24^{14}. The witness to the Gentiles.

In Mt's form, preaching 'in all the inhabited world' is, in contrast to Mk's 'unto all the Gentiles,' as 'witness to the Gentiles.' Here we probably get the idea of the Gospel in relation to the Gentiles current among Jews in S. Syria. In 10^{23} we had the corresponding idea touching Israel: the two are combined in 10^{18}. 'And then shall come the end' (in contrast to v.^{6}), *i.e.* the συντέλεια or final climax—a unique clause in Mt and one going far to date the first Gospel at a period just before the final catastrophe of 'the holy city,' the crisis of whose fortunes is seen to be approaching, as appears from the *nota bene* in v.^{15}; cf. 10^{23}.

24^{15-25}. The final Crisis of Distress (θλίψις).

The forecast in ^{15} is still on the vague lines of consummate evil in Daniel (a reference made explicit by Mt), of which Caligula's purpose of setting up his image in the temple must have seemed the foreshadowing (cf. Mt's ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ, again making more explicit what is implied in Mk, ὅπου οὐ δεῖ). Lk's deviation, in terms of the actual events of 70, is instructive as showing that these were not yet in view in Mt and Mk; cf. also Lk 21^{22}. (See further the article ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION). Vv.$^{16-25}$ are in the main in terms of current Apocalyptic notions, including Dn 12^{1}; Lk 21^{23b-24} again presents a somewhat more developed form of the tradition. The specifically Christian touches, *e.g.* $^{23.\,24}$, parallel features found in two documents of *c.* 64–68 A.D., viz. *Didaché* 16, and the Christian section of the *Ascensio Isaiæ*. The former, which echoes its own local tradition rather than the words of any of our Gospels, has, ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς, κ. στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους, κ. ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς μῖσος. αὐξανομένης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας (cf. Mt ^{12}) μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους κ. διώξουσι κ. παραδώσουσι (Mt ^{11}), καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλάνος ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ κ. ποιήσει σημεῖα κ. τέρατα. Here the false wonders are attributed summarily to a supreme Antichrist: yet his action may include that of many subordinate agents, as in *Asc. Isaiæ* (4), where Nero is expected to develop into or reappear as the incarnation of Berial, and along with Berial's hosts of evil spirits to parody Beloved's (Messiah's) works of power.

$24^{27.\,28}$. The Son of Man comes like the lightning.

Mt (Lk elsewhere, $17^{23f.}$) repeats the warning against being led away by rumours of Messiah's having been seen in various retired places (cf. Apoc. Bar 48^{34})—so showing the topic of the hour when he wrote. The comparison of Messiah's Coming to lightning is found in Apoc. Bar $53^{8f.}$, cf. $72^{1ff.}$ (Apoc. A^{3}, not long before 70), being suggested apparently by the imagery of Dn 7^{13}.

24^{29-31}. The Coming of the Son of Man.

Here εὐθέως points to an early date for Mt, *i.e.* before A.D. 70. The signs of v.^{29} are the conventional ones derived from prophecies like Is 13^{10}, 34^{4}, and appear in varying forms in the three Synoptics. V.^{30a} καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τ. υἱοῦ τ. ἀνθρ. ἐν οὐρανῷ, κ. τότε κόψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς is peculiar to Mt. The former half is akin to *Did.* 16^{6} καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας· πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ: the latter comes from Zec $12^{10ff.}$ (cf. Rev 1^{7}). In v.^{30b}, where it is parallel to Mk and Lk, Mt has τοῦ οὐρανοῦ after τῶν νεφελῶν, as in Dn 7^{13}, whence all derive their language. In ^{31} Mt, as distinct from Mk, speaks of the angels sent forth, as Messiah's (αὐτοῦ); of their agency in gathering the elect (ἐπισυνάξουσιν); and of the 'great trumpet' which summons these. This last Jewish trait appears not only in 1 Th 4^{16}, 1 Co 15^{52}, Rev 8^{6}–9^{14} 10^{7} 11^{15}, but also in *Did.* 16^{6} in the same position, πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ (Mt ^{30}), εἶτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος (Mt ^{31}), καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν (see Mt 25^{32}); cf. its Prayers for the Gathering of the Church ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς or ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων (see Zec 2^{6}, Dt 30^{4}) into God's Kingdom (9^{4} 10^{5}).

$24^{32.\,33}$. The parable of the Fig-tree.

24^{34-42}. The exact time of the Coming unknown.

Mt, like Lk, goes its own way after v.^{36}, citing the Noachic Deluge for the way in which the Parousia will surprise men (cf. Lk $17^{26f.\,30}$), and intimating how it will separate neighbours (cf. Lk $17^{34f.}$). Here the independence of Mt's tradition is specially evident. At v.^{42} the three are once more parallel in thought. But each ends the solemn call to vigilance in its own way, Mt being fullest. Its form seems to reflect the dangers of its day, viz. bad stewardship of the sacred charge of fellow-servants, and fellowship with the worldlings (v.^{48}), men being thrown off guard by their Lord's long delay. This is just the state of things in the Christian section of *Asc. Isaiæ* 3, where the faithless shepherds are spoken of. Such shall share the lot of the 'hypocrites,' the term by which Pharisaic Jews were spoken of in the circle whose tradition Mt inherited ($6^{2.\,5.\,16}$ 7^{5} 15^{7} 22^{18} $23^{13ff.}$)—another link with the *Didaché* ($8^{1.\,2}$ 'Let not your fasts be μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν').

(*h*) *The Genealogy.*—This is of importance for our Evangelist's scope and method. As Zahn says (*The Apostles' Creed*, 126 ff., cf. *Einleitung in das NT*, ii. 271 ff.), this Gospel is 'a carefully arranged account of events of which a superficial knowledge is for the most part assumed.' We find 'not the simple confession that Jesus is the promised Messiah. The point kept strictly in view from the first page to the last is much more apologetic, and, so far as it is unavoidable, polemic.' In spite of all so bitterly urged against Jesus' claim to be the Messiah, that claim is absolutely true. Thus, though the Jews scoff at His obscure origin, He fulfils the prophecy of the Messiah. It is from this point of view that we must read ch. 1 and, as Zahn well shows, much in ch. 2 likewise. Mt lays before his readers a genealogy artificially constructed in terms of the throne-succession in the Davidic line, and not that of the actual progenitors of Joseph (as in Lk). But why, we ask, should he go out of his way to make certain additions, needless to a bare genealogy, including four women's names? Above all, why choose 'women whose characters are highly offensive to Jewish, and in three cases out of four to every human, feeling'? Zahn alleges 'the same apologetic purpose which governs his account of the Conception and Birth of Jesus'; and even argues that the well-known Jewish slander that Jesus was a son of shame (cf. Laible, *Jesus Christ in the Talmud*, p. 7 ff.), is itself presupposed by Mt's genealogy, just as 28^{11-15} presupposes the Jewish story that the disciples stole the body of Jesus. This is going too far, even were the direction followed the right one. But this is doubtful. There was another Jewish objection to be met. Granting Joseph's paternity,—which the Jews always assume in the Gospels,—was Joseph of Davidic descent? And further, was God likely to send Messiah as the son of a carpenter, even though of Davidic stock? To this twofold query Mt's genealogy is a reply; and to the latter phase of it the additions already alluded to are an implicit rebuke.* The God who chose from various brethren the younger son's line, and who overruled unlikely unions to continue the chosen seed, —this God of Israel ever worketh according to His own good pleasure, and His ways of sovereign elective freedom are often marvellous in men's eyes. Thus it is in the home of the humble, yet Davidic, carpenter Joseph, that Messiah Jesus has really been born. How, it is Mt's next step to show in $1^{18\text{ff.}}$.

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* These reproduce in general conception the 12 divisions or elements in the Last Times as given in an Apocalypse embedded in Apoc. Bar (27–30^{1}), and dating *c.* 50–65 A.D., *i.e.* before the Jewish War. They are in this order—(1) The beginning of commotions; (2) slayings of the great ones; (3) the fall of many by death; (4) the sending of desolation (or 'the sword'); (5) famine; (6) earthquakes; [(7) terrors]; (8) portents and incursion of the Shedim or demons; (9) the fall of fire; (10) rapine and much oppression; (11) wickedness and unchastity; (12) confusion from the mingling together of all these. There follows a reference to 'the consummation of the times.' In our Gospels we find these elements of popular Jewish Messianic expectation, blended with features drawn from the experiences of the Palestinian Church in particular, viz. the appearance of pseudo-Messiahs, and persecutions. Mt's order keeps close to the above list, including (11) alluded to in v.^{12} (ἀνομία); while Lk's puts (6) before (5), as in another kindred place in Apoc. Bar (70^{8}), and also alludes to (7)–(9). Charles (*op. cit.* 325 ff.) thinks that an independent apocalypse (cf. Eus. *HE* III. v. 3) underlies Mt $24^{6-8.\,15-22.\,29-31.\,34f.}$).

Since the discovery of the Sinaitic codex of the Old Syriac version of the Gospels, it has been argued that our text of Mt 1^{16} is not original, but secondary. Not only is this refuted by study of the various forms in which divergence from our oldest Gr. MSS occurs in certain groups of authorities (see, *e.g.*, Zahn's *Einleitung*, ii. 291-293); but even the view that Mt used a source in which Joseph's full paternity was assumed, is itself unlikely. For the way in which Mt calls attention to the numerical symmetry of the three divisions in the pedigree, each fourteen ending with a great crisis in Israel's fortunes, suggests that he has himself so constructed it.† Further, the four women cannot have stood in an earlier source, and yet here they seem integral. The pedigree is through and through didactic: and the fact that it was from the first compiled by the aid of 1 Ch 1-3, shows that it was never other than in Greek, the language of our evangelist (cf. W. C. Allen, *Expos. Times*, Dec. 1899). Hence it seems best to conclude that Mt did not use a pre-existing genealogy (see GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST for another view: yet cf. also ii. 645^{b}).

A fresh witness for 1^{16} has just come to light in the ancient basis of the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila* (itself of the 5th cent. at least). This basis is carried back by its editor, F. C. Conybeare, to the *Dial. Jasonis et Papisci*, c. 135. The Christian cites Mt's genealogy, and gives 1^{16} first in the form, Ἰακὼβ δὲ τὸν Ἰωσήφ, ᾧ μνηστευθεῖσα Μαρία, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγ. Χ.; and next as Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τ. Ἰωσὴφ τὸν μνηστευσάμενον Μαριάμ, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη ὁ Χ. ὁ υἱὸς τ. θεοῦ. These passages seem to cast light on the real origin of the readings unsupported by our oldest Gr. MSS (for the evidence in full see art. JESUS CHRIST, vol. ii. p. 644). They are in fact explanatory glosses, such as the Dialogue presents us with in reply to the hostile gloss of the Jew, Ἰακὼβ ἐγέννησεν τ. Ἰωσήφ, τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγ. Χ., καὶ Ἰωσὴφ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγ. Χ., περὶ οὗ νῦν ὁ λόγος, φησίν, ἐγέννησεν ἐκ τῆς Μ. The Jews glossed τὸν ἄνδρα Μ. one way, in the teeth of the narrative; the Christians glossed it another, in harmony with the narrative. And this crept into some MSS.

SUPPLEMENTAL NOTES.—This Dialogue quotes the parable of the Husbandmen *in extenso*; and in so doing shows the way in which materials derived from similar sources tended to blend in the memory of an early Christian. The case is the more instructive that the writer has just quoted Isaiah's parable-germ of Jehovah's vineyard ($5^{1\text{ff.}}$), to which the Gospel parable was probably meant to point back: and we see how Isaiah's language affects the form at the beginning of Christ's parable. It runs ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτῷ τεῖχος καὶ πύργον κ. ἐποίησεν ἐν αὐτῷ ληνὸν κ. ὑπολήνιον, omitting φραγμὸν περιέθηκεν and changing the position of ληνὸν (Mt) or ὑπολήνιον (Mk), as well as uniting the two—which were in fact both integral—to a wine-press. Here the writer quotes freely, but is quite possessed by his sources, of which Mt counts for most. Thus he reproduces almost every syllable and letter of the triple tradition, while the result is a wonderfully eclectic composition, produced not mechanically, but by the subtle tricks of memory. We may be prepared, then, for the recurrence of similar phenomena in Mt.

The Fayyûm papyrus fragment parallel to Mt $26^{31.\,33\text{f.}}$, Mk $14^{27.\,29\text{f.}}$, is too scanty and mutilated to justify much inference. But it omits a verse common to Mt and Mk; while it combines features of both (ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί with Mt, τὰ πρόβ. διασκορπ., καὶ εἰ πάντες ο[ὐκ ἐγώ], δὶς κοκ[κύξει], with Mk). It may, then, represent oral tradition; but more likely a free *memoriter* use of Mt and Mk in some manual of catechesis or edification like the Oxyrhynchus *Logia*.

[και εν τω απαλ]
λαγειν ωσαυτως πα[ντες εν ταυτη]
τη νυκτι σκανδαλισθησονται κατα
το γραφεν παταξω τον [ποιμενα και τα]
προβατα διασκορπισθησ[ονται ειποντος]
[το]υ πετ και ει παντες ο[υκ εγω λεγει]
[ις] ο αλεκτρυων δις κοκ[κυξει και συ]
[πρωτον τρις α]παρνη[ση με]

Here ὡσαύτως is to be noted as pointing to a series of detached sayings rather than a gospel.

iii. CONCLUSIONS.—On the whole, then, the following results emerge as the most probable. (1) The order of narration common to the latter parts of Mt and Mk in particular, the closeness of which is made the more striking by the deviation of their earlier parts, points to the use by Mt of the Petrine memoirs written by Mk. (2) Conversely, the notable deviation of Mt and Lk in the order of the Discourses and Sayings (*Logia* element) common to them, combined with their textual variations, goes strongly against common use of a *Logia* document, as distinct from an oral Greek tradition which reached them in detached portions and in somewhat different forms.* (3) The *Logia* familiar to Mt, who had long taught them catechetically,—so that their vocabulary and his own were virtually one and the same,—reflected in epitome the whole experience of church life in certain Palestinian apostolic circles. They were rooted in the memories of the germinal Christian society, the apostles who had companied with their Master. But they contained also echoes of the first missionary commission as repeated for the guidance of others in the early days of Palestinian evangelization; of the persecution that had been their lot all along; of the forms in which the Master's principles of fellowship among brethren took actual shape as the life became more organized; and not least of the terms in which the polemic against their religious environment of Pharisaic Judaism was conducted in ever-growing volume and detail. That is, these *Logia*, far more than the Lucan, are memorials of the life of the Palestinian Church as well as of its Messiah. (4) The Matthæan *Logia* have as their nucleus the common apostolic didactic tradition, which took shape in the early Jerusalem days under the lead of Peter—a tradition which passed into Mk in its later Petrine form. At some stage which we cannot now trace they took on the special impress of the Apostle Matthew,[*] probably in a ministry of which Galilee, rather than Judæa, was the scene. In this form they passed, as Jewish unrest became more acute, to the neighbouring parts of Syria, in the person of our evangelist among others, still receiving fresh elements in the course of oral teaching.[†] And it was at this stage that they took written shape, as the main constituent in the mixed gospel composed with the aid of the Marcan memoirs of Peter. The freedom with which the writer has accommodated Mk's narrative to massed *Logian* discourses, suggests that these discourses already existed orally much in this massed form, and were not then first thrown into it by Mt. That Mk should early reach S. Syria is the more probable that St. Peter was evidently held in high honour there, witness the special references to Peter in 14^{28} 15^{15} 16^{18} 17^{24} 18^{21}; cf. 10^{2}, '*First*, Simon who is called Peter.' Indeed it seems likely that Peter had left a strong oral tradition behind him in those parts, so that Mt knew the substance of Mk before it came into his hands. This may help to explain certain phenomena in his use of it. (5) The fact that the Matthæan cycle of *Logia* was taken up into our Mt, gave it its distinctive status and acceptance; and the actual facts of its origin were soon forgotten—probably never known outside a narrow circle. Thus the indirect sense in which Matthew was its author and guarantor dropped out of tradition, and Papias could simply take for granted that the Gospel κατὰ Μαθθαῖον was from the apostle's pen. (6) The actual conditions giving its author the stimulus to compose his artistic and reflective Gospel, must be gauged from the perspective in which he places the central Figure. He is set forth as the full blossoming of Israel's prophetic ideal of the King ruling in righteousness, and in wondrous gentleness too. The picture is the implicit corrective of the false Messianic ideal which had made the nation as a whole reject Jesus, and had already led it yet further astray in the path of earthly force. Thus, as we have seen, the urgency of the warnings against going after false Messiahs on the felt approach of the great national crisis (conceived on the lines of Daniel's prophecy of Jerusalem's last trial and in terms of current apocalyptic based thereon), points to the actual crisis of 68–70 as to the specific occasion which gave it birth. It is an appeal to waverers of all sorts to trust the true King, whose reign is of heaven, and depends on the action of God, not of men; and not to become involved in the current of the false national ideal. It is meant to do the same work as the Epistle to the Hebrews, only in another fashion and at a rather later date. And, like it, it is at once apologetic and polemical: it is a dissuasive in the form of a positive presentation. Jesus is God's Messiah in spite of all superficial appearances, and that by realizing the essence of Moses and the Prophets. It is hard to see which of the alternative dates, shortly before or after A.D. 70, makes the Gospel the more pertinent as a book for the times—and so satisfies the law of all early Christian writings. On the whole, Mt 24 adheres so closely to Mk's standpoint, in contrast to Luke's modifications and omissions, after 70—notably in counsels practical before 70, but not after (*e.g.* $^{15b.\ 16a.\ 20}$, esp. μηδὲ σαββάτῳ, ^{23})—that *c.* 68–69 seems the best date.

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* Similarly the enigmatic, 'He shall be called a Nazarene,' seems an implicit reply to criticism. The flinging at Jesus of the epithet 'Nazarene'—a term of contempt on lofty lips—really fulfils the substance of 'the prophets' as a whole, touching Messiah's humble and even despised lot (*e.g.* as the faithful 'Servant of Jehovah,' Is $53^{1\text{ff.}}$).

† This will be the more convincing if even some of the other numerical arrangements which Sir J. Hawkins suggests as intended by Mt, hold good (*Horæ Synopt.* 131 ff.). We cannot, however, see that the number of the 'formula' verses, 7^{28} 11^{1} 13^{53} 19^{1} 26^{1}, is intentional. They are far apart, and no attention is drawn to their number any more than in the case of the recurring formulæ in Jg 2^{6}-16^{31}.

* Lk probably had in his 'special source' a mixed gospel embodying the bulk of his *Logian* element as it now stands in our Lk.

In 24^{15b} ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ follows Dn's forecast of Temple-desecration and not the facts of 70. Some, however, doubt whether Mt 28^{19} can have been written before 70, since it implies use of the triune baptismal name. But, if a similar clause be an original part of *Didaché* 7, its evidence may be cited. For the work as a whole, and not the 'Two Ways' only, seems to be implied by the Christian interpolation in *Ascensio Isaiæ*, which perhaps falls before Nero's death (*i.e.* *c.* 65–68). Hence there is nothing decisive against *c.* 68–69 A.D.; while the statement in 27^{8}, 'that field is called the Field of Blood until this day,' and casual references to 'the holy city' and the temple-worship, are more natural at that date than after the utter ruin and change of 70. So with the reference to 'going over the cities of Israel,' 10^{23}. Perhaps, then, $22^{6b.\ 7b}$ are additions after 70: contrast Lk 14^{21}.

(7) The evangelist writes, however, with a sort of detachment hard to imagine in one living in Palestine about 70. Thus it is best, and most in keeping with the Greek form and with internal evidence, to locate him in S. Syria, say Phœnicia (4^{24} $15^{21ff.}$ alongside Mk 1^{28} $7^{24ff.}$, cf. Ac 11^{19} 15^{3}). That the author was a Jew, is clear from the text and manner of his special OT quotations, which so colour his work. But his was a spiritual Israel, new while old, inclusive not exclusive, conceived on prophetic lines after the manner of Peter and the Apocalypse of John—with the latter of which its affinities are most marked. Jesus of Nazareth is really the Christ, since in His person, teaching, work, and even His tragic end, all has been as prophecy had intimated. While as to the scope of Messiah's *Ecclesia*, the elect Israel, it was but a little thing that God should through Him raise up Jacob: the nations, too, were to be His inheritance, by the incorporation into the Kingdom of *all* who were of faith [cf. Kübel (as below), Introductory Remarks, trans. in *Bibl. World*, i. 194 ff., 263 ff.].

(8) All theories of Mt must be both problematic and complex. Zahn's theory of an 'apologetic' Aramaic[*] Gospel by the Apostle Matthew, *c.* 62 A.D., turned into Greek, *c.* 85, is too simple for the phenomena. The prevalent 'two document' hypothesis, with the use of special oral traditions, comes far nearer the truth. But it may be doubted whether the second or *Logian* document is needed to account for Mt's divergences from Mk; and whether the differences as well as similarities of the *Logian* element in Mt and Lk are not best explained by a common Gr. *Logian* type of catechesis[†] behind both. In favour of such a 'one document' hypothesis may be alleged the *Logian* quotations in the *Didaché*, perhaps also in the first Ep. of Clement and the Oxyrhynchan fragment, as seeming to reflect local catechesis rather than either Mt or Lk. It would be some time before a written gospel superseded traditional local usage as the prime factor in forming the *Logian* equipment of Christians. It is in Ignatius, then, that we seem first to have good evidence of Mt as an influence at work (*e.g.* *ad Eph.* 19^{2}). But not even then did oral tradition cease to operate. To its reaction on the written text we owe in large part early secondary readings, such as those misnamed 'Western': and from it, especially in its later stages, come those *Logia* known as *Agrapha*.

LITERATURE.—The following aims at indicating only the more representative works of earlier times, with a rather fuller citation of those since 1880.

TEXT.—In checking the witness of the MSS and VSS, we have, besides the fragments of Tatian's *Diatessaron* (in Hamlyn Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ*, pp. 333–377), which are common to the four Gospels, a special aid in the 3rd cent. papyrus of Mt $1^{1\text{-}20}$ (Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, i. pp. 4–7). This supports not only the usual reading in 1^{16}, but also the 'Neutral' type of text resting on ℵB.

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[*] Similarly, the Epistle of James echoes in its own way not a few of the precepts of the great Sermon, esp. those on Swearing (otherwise peculiar to Mt) and on Censoriousness towards brethren (= towards 'Law,' 4^{11}, perhaps that of Mt 7^{1}, Lk 6^{37}).

[†] This kind of expansive and explanatory activity of the Christian 'scribe instructed in the kingdom of heaven' seems taken for granted in 13^{52}; cf. 23^{34} for the catechist.

[*] We can merely note the weighty witness of Dalman (*Die Worte Jesu*, 1898) against the directly Aramaic antecedents of our Gospel-material. The Hebraisms of our Gospels he traces chiefly to LXX influence on their writers.

[†] The absence of all historical trace of such a revered writing as an *Ur-Matthaus* would have been, is rendered doubly inexplicable if it be granted that it was ever current in Greek. Here is the one strong point of Zahn's theory over against the 'two document' theory of Weiss and others.

Original Language.—There is a special treatise by Gla, *Die Originalsprache des Mt*, Paderborn, 1887. But the most authoritative discussion in relation to the whole subject of the Semitic basis of the Synoptics is that in Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, Bd. i., Leipzig, 1898. There, as also in Zahn's *Einleitung in d. NT*, Bd. ii., will be found the earlier history of the subject.

Relation to the Gospel of the Hebrews.—Hilgenfeld, *NT extra Canon. receptum*^{2}, 1884; Nicholson, *Gospel according to the Hebrews* (1879); Handmann, *Hebräerevangelium* (1888), in *TU* v. 3 (with good *Geschichte der Kritik*); Resch, *Agrapha* (1889), in *TU* v. 4, p. 322 ff.; Zahn, *Gesch. des NT Kanons*, ii. 642 ff.; Harnack, *Chronologie*, Bd. i. 625 ff. Hilgenfeld's thesis, that in the original Nazarene *Heb. Ev.* [=the Heb. *Matt.*, *i.e.* Papias' *Logia*] is to be sought the Archimedean point of the whole Gospel problem, has met with little support (yet see McGiffert's note on Eusebius, iii. 27). It is largely another case of *ignotum per ignotius*. Thus Nicholson falls back on the rather effete view that Mt wrote both in Greek and Hebrew (=the *Heb. Ev.*). Handmann and Resch agree in denying the identity of the *Heb. Ev.* with the supposed Hebrew *Matt.* The former makes it a second source of our Synoptics, alongside 'Ur-Markus,' and perhaps even what Papias meant by the *Logia*; the latter emphasizes its apocryphal features (even in its original form), and makes it dependent on our *Matthew*. Harnack, here in principle agreeing with Zahn, takes a middle position, making it originally a sort of cousin of our *Matt.*, each being an enlarged edition of the Matthæan *Logia*. Only Harnack differs from Zahn in making both recensions of about the same date (not long after 70). Finally, J. Armitage Robinson, in *Expos.* 5th Ser. v. (1897) 194–200, discusses three of the fragments of the *Heb. Ev.* in such a way as to traverse the main conclusion of these two scholars.

Commentaries.—*Patristic and Mediæval:* Origen (in Greek for 13^{36}–22^{33}, in Latin to 27), Chrysostom (91 *Homilies*, ed. Field, 3 vols. 1839), Hilary of Poitiers (ed. Oberthür, tom. vii.), Jerome, Augustine (on parts), Bede, Theophylact, Euthymius Zigabenus (ed. C. F. Matthæi, 1792, a valuable work), Thomas Aquinas. To these may be added Cramer's *Catenæ græc. patrum in NT*, tom. i. 1844.

Reformation and Post-Reformation.—Erasmus, Luther, Calvin, Beza; the Roman Catholics Maldonatus (1596; Eng. tr. Hodges, 1894), Jansen and Cornelius a Lapide; Grotius, Calovius, Hammond, le Clerc, Olearius (1713), J. C. Wolf (*Curæ Philolog. et Crit.* 1733), Bengel, J. J. Wetstein (*NT græc.* 1751), H. E. G. Paulus (1800), Campbell (1807^3), Kuinoel, Fritzsche (1826), Bland (Cambridge, 1828), Olshausen, Baumgarten-Crusius, de Wette, Ewald, Meyer, Alford, Patritius (R.C.), Bleek, Morison, M'Clellan, Keil, Lange, Schaff and Riddle, Schanz (R.C., 1879), Nicholson, Knabenbauer (R.C.), Nösgen (1886, 1897^2), Broadus (Philad. 1887), Holtzmann (*Handkom.* 1889, 1892^2), Kübel (*Exeg.-Hom. Handb.* 1889), Meyer-Weiss (1890^8, 1898^9), Maclaren (1892), A. B. Bruce (*Expos. Greek Test.* vol. i.).

Illustrations.—Hebrew and Talmudic parallels are collected chiefly in the *Horæ Heb. et Talm.* of Lightfoot and Schöttgen, and in Gerh. Meuschen, *NT ex Talmude et antiquit. Ebræorum illustr.* 1736; Weber's *Jüd. Theologie* and Dalman's *Worte Jesu* also contribute thereto. In the enormous accumulation of Greek parallels to word or phrase, the following have done good service: Price, *Comm. in Varios NT Libros* (1660); Raphel, *Annot. Philolog. in NT ex Xenophonte, Polybio, Arriano et Herodoto* (1709–31); Elsner, *Observ. sacræ in NT libros* (1720); J. Alberti, *Observ. Philolog. in Sacros NT Libros* (1725), Palairet (French pastor in London, 1752); Kypke (1755); Krebs (esp. from Josephus, 1755), and Loesner (esp. from Philo, 1777); Campbell, *Dissertations*, 1788; Grinfield, *Scholia Hellenistica in NT* (1848); and Field, *Otium Norvicense, Pars* iii.^{2} (1899).

Discussions on Special Sections.—Lutteroth, *Essai d'interprétation de quelques parties de l'Évangile selon S. Matt.*, 1864–76. *Nativity:* Resch, *Kindheitsevangelium*, *TU* x. 5 (where further references will be found). *Sermon on the Mount:* Trench (1844), Tholuck (translation, 1869^2), H. Weiss (Freiburg, 1893). *The Lord's Prayer:* Chase, *Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (Camb. Texts and Studies, i. 3, 1891). *Parables:* Trench, Arnot, Bruce *Parabolic Teaching of Christ* (1889^3), and Jülicher *Gleichnisreden Jesu* (1888, 1899^2, review in *Expos. Times*, Sept. 1899, and in *JTS*, Jan. 1900). *Eschatological Discourse:* Hoelemann, *Bibelstudien* (Leipzig, 1860), 129–186; cf. Weiffenbach, *Der Wiederkunftsgedanke Jesu* (Leipzig, 1873); Schwartzkopff, *Die Weissagungen Jesu Christi* (1896, Eng. tr. 1897).

Origin, Characteristics, Synoptic Relations.—Hilgenfeld, *ZWTh* ix. 303 ff., 366 ff.; Scholten, *Das älteste Evangelium* (Elberfeld, 1869), valuable for data; Renan, *Les Evangiles* (1877); Schanz, 'Matt. u. Lukas,' *ThQ*, 1882, pp. 517–560; Massebieau, *Examen des citations de l'ancien Test. dans l'Évang. selon S. Matt.*, Paris, 1885; Th. Naville, *Essai sur l'évang. selon S. Matt.*, Lausanne, 1893; A. Réville, *Jésus de Nazareth*, 1897; Roehrich, *La Composition des Évangiles*, Paris, 1897; Bruce, *With Open Face* (1896), pp. 1–24; F. P. Badham, *St. Mark's Indebtedness to St. Matt.* (1897); Sir J. C. Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ* (1899); Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* (1898); P. Wernle, *Die Synopt. Frage* (1899). Also the Introductions of Hilgenfeld, Davidson, Bleek-Mangold, Westcott, Salmon, Weiss (also *Life of Christ*, trans., i. 25 ff., 55 ff.), Holtzmann, Jülicher, Godet (part on Matt., 1898), Zahn; as well as articles in Bible Dictionaries and Encyclopædias.

Supposed Sources.—Weiffenbach, *Die Papiasfragmente*, 1878; also Jacobsen and Lipsius in *JPTh* for 1885, pp. 167–176; see, further, *ap.* Zahn, *Einleitung*, Bd. ii.; Resch, *Agrapha* (1889), and *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte* (1893–94), in *TU* v. 4, x. 1, 2; and Ropes, *Die Sprüche Jesu* (a critical sifting of Resch's material), *TU* xiv. 2 (1896).

J. V. Bartlet.

MATTHIAS (Ματθίας [Tisch. Treg. WH Μαθθίας], abbreviated from Ματταθίας, the Gr. form of מַתִּתְיָה 'gift of J″'; cf. the name *Theodorus*).—The disciple selected along with Barsabbas, after the Ascension, from those followers of Christ who were deemed qualified for appointment to the apostleship vacant through the death of Judas (Ac 1^{15-26}). The procedure was adopted on the initiative of St. Peter, who applied Ps 109^8 to the circumstances; and the selection appears to have been made by the assembled Christian brotherhood.* The general qualification required was to have 'companied with us (the apostles) all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us.' Barsabbas and Matthias had also, presumably, special graces of character and gifts of teaching and administration. After prayer, addressed probably to Christ,† and a solemn appeal to the lot,‡ Matthias was elected.

This is the sole instance of the lot being employed in the history of the Apostolic Church, and it occurs significantly between the Ascension and Pentecost, when the disciples were 'orphans' (Jn 14^{18}). Stier (*Words of the Apostles, in loc.*) regards this election as premature and unwarranted, the outcome of St. Peter's officious impetuosity. 'The lot fell: not the Lord chose.' He holds that St. Paul was the true successor of Judas, chosen, like the other apostles, by the Lord Himself. It may be granted that the appointment of Matthias stands on a somewhat lower level than that of the original Twelve and of St. Paul; but, in the absence of any direction to the contrary, the procedure was a legitimate exercise of human wisdom in dependence upon divine guidance; and St. Luke, the 'beloved' friend of St. Paul, appears to endorse the election (representing, doubtless, the general opinion of the Apostolic Church); for after speaking of the eleven apostles (Ac 1^{26}) he refers (Ac 6^2) to the 'Twelve.'§

The historical character of Matthias' election has been impugned by Zeller (*Acts of Apost.*, Eng. tr. i. 168) on account of (1) the assumption that the apostles remained in Jerusalem; (2) the close connexion of the narrative with Pentecost. But the departure of the apostles to Galilee after the Resurrection did not preclude their early return to Jerusalem; and the second objection can have weight only with those who reject entirely the supernatural in primitive Church history.

According to Eus. (*HE* i. 12, ii. 1) and Epiphan. (*Hær.* i. 22), Matthias was one of the 'Seventy' (Lk 10^1).‖ Hilgenfeld identifies him with **Natha-**

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* So Beng., Stier, Mey., Alf., Baumg., etc. on the ground that the subj. in v.^{23} must be the same as in vv.$^{24. 26}$. Some (Mosh. Ham. Jacobson, etc.), assign the selection to the apostles, taking the subj. from v.^{17}.

† So Beng., Ols., Baumg., Alf., Words., Hows., and most commentators, on the ground that the choice of apostles is always referred to Christ (Lk 6^{13}, Jn 6^{70} 15^{16}, Ac 1^2), the same Greek word being used. Meyer, Holtz., Zöck. refer 1^{24} to God (Ac 4^{29} 15^8).

‡ The lot, presumably, would be taken in the usual way, the names of the two men being written on tablets, and shaken in a vessel, and he whose tablet first leapt out being regarded as divinely designated (Lv 16^8, Nu 26^{55}, Pr 16^{33}). So late as 1731 the Moravians decided by lot the question whether they should retain their own organization, or be incorporated with the Lutherans (Gloag, *in loc.*). Wesley also had a predilection for sortilege (Southey, *Life of Wesley*, i. 136, 187). Mosh. (*Comm. Sæc.* i. 14) and others (Gagneius [doubtfully] Salmeron) maintain, chiefly on the ground of ἔδωκαν instead of ἔβαλον in v.^{26}, that the election was by ballot. But this view harmonizes neither with Jewish usage nor with the context ('show of these two the one whom Thou hast chosen'); and while αὐτοῖς in v.^{26} is the correct reading, the rendering 'for them' is legitimate.

§ The objection of Stier, that St. Luke here avoids the expression 'Twelve *Apostles*,' is hypercritical.

‖ It is noteworthy that the ancient Syriac translation of Eus. substitutes *Tolmai* and the ancient Armenian version *Bartolmai* (Bartholomew) for *Matthias* (when referring to him as one of the Seventy), embodying probably a very early local tradition that Matthias bore this additional name. See Nestle in *Expos. Times*, ix. 568 (Sept. 1898). This Tolmai or Bartholomew may have been a brother or other relative of Bartholomew the Apostle, to avoid confusion with whom the other name Matthias would commonly be used. Or perhaps this Syriac nael, owing to the two names having nearly the same meaning.* A tradition preserved by Niceph. Call. (*HE* ii. 40) represents Matthias as labouring in Ethiopia; and in the apocryphal *Acts of Andrew and Matthias* † (assigned to the 2nd cent.), Matthias evangelizes the Ethiopian man-eaters, from whom he is delivered by St. Andrew. See ANDREW. Another ancient tradition assigns to Matthias Jerusalem as scene of ministry and place of burial (Pseudo-Hipp. in Combesis, *Auct. Nov.*).

The Gnosticism of Basilides, or of his followers, was professedly based on the παραδόσεις of Matthias, which the Basilidians held to embody instruction secretly received by Matthias from our Lord (*Philosophoumena*, vii. 20). This work is probably identical with a Gospel of Matthias referred to by Origen (*Hom. in Luc.* i.) and by Eus. (*HE* iii. 25), who includes it among spurious works cited by heretics under names of the apostles.‡

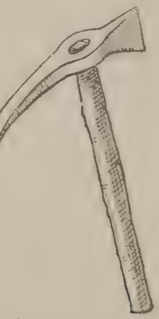
LITERATURE.—The commentaries on Acts quoted above; Lipsius, *Apocr. Apos.*; Seufert, *Zwölfapost.*; Bp. Beveridge, *Works*, vol. i.; *Theolog. Repos.* i.; *Congreg. Mag.* xxvi.; J. Cochrane, *Difficult Texts*, 1851 (regards Matthias' election as unwarranted).

H. COWAN.

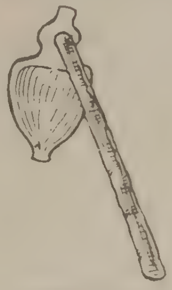
MATTITHIAH (מַתִּתְיָה).—**1.** One of the sons of Nebo who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10[43] (B Θαμαθιά, A Μαθθαθίας, called in 1 Es 9[35] **Mazitias**). **2.** A Korahite Levite who had 'the set office over the things that were baked in pans,' 1 Ch 9[31] (LXX Ματταθίας). **3.** A Levite of the guild of Jeduthun, who ministered before the ark with harps, etc., 1 Ch 15[18. 21] 25[3. 21] (in all these the Heb. form is מַתִּתְיָהוּ; B has in the first two respectively Ἰμματαθιά, Μετταθίας, and in the last two Ματταθίας; A has in the first three Ματταθίας, and in the last Ματθίας). **4.** An Asaphite Levite, 1 Ch 16[5] (Ματταθίας). **5.** One of those who stood at Ezra's right hand at the reading of the law, Neh 8[4] (Ματταθίας), called in 1 Es 9[43] **Mattathias**).

J. A. SELBIE.

MATTOCK (מַחֲרֵשָׁה, δρέπανον, 1 S 13[20. 21], מַעְדֵּר, ἄροτρον, Is 7[25]; Arab. *ma'wil*, a pickaxe).—The pickaxe used in Syria is of different shapes, but the most common has a long arm for breaking up the ground, and a short broad one, like a small axe, for cutting roots. In ploughing, the plough is always followed by one or two men with pickaxes, breaking the large clods of earth turned up by the ploughshare, or digging up the ground which cannot be reached by the plough. The hoe (Arab. *mijrăfăt*) is also used both for digging and for filling baskets with earth for removal. The shovel (*rufsh* or *mirfăshĕt*) is sometimes used. The RVm of 1 S 13[21] is the same as the Arab. Version.



MA'WIL OR PICKAXE.



MIJRĂFĂT OR HOE.

W. CARSLAW.

MAUL.—In Pr 25[18] the Arab. Version gives *mikma'at* for maul (מֵפִיץ). It is a stick for striking a person on the head as a mark of disgrace, but it may also mean a club. Clubs are always carried by the shepherds of Lebanon, slung from the wrist by a thong or cord. The head of the club is round and heavy, and is sometimes studded with iron spikes. The common name for it in Lebanon is *dabûs*; in Egypt, *nabût*. In Jer 51[20] the Heb. מַפֵּץ is tr. in RV 'battle-axe,' and in the marg. 'maul.' In the Arab. VS it is *fa's*, an axe, not very unlike מַפֵּץ in sound.

W. CARSLAW.

MAUZZIM.—The text of the AV of Dn 11[38] contains the title 'the God of forces': the marg. has 'Heb. *Mauzzim*, or Gods protectors.' The same Heb. word מָעֻזִּים occurs in the beginning of the next verse. Our marg. note may be traced to Theodotion's rendering, θεὸν μαωζείν, which, however, he does not repeat in v.[39]. The Vulg. is more consistent: 'Deum autem Maozim . . . et faciet ut muniat Maozim.' The LXX has no trace of this inclination to find a proper name here: in v.[38] the present reading is ἔθνη ἰσχυρά, and in v.[39] ὀχύρωμα ἰσχυρόν; but Jerome, in his Commentary on Daniel, states that its rendering in v.[38] was *deum fortissimum* [Is ἔθνη, a corruption of θεόν ?]. Aquila has θεὸν ἰσχύων. The Rhemish Version follows the Vulg.: 'But he shall worship the god Maozim. . . . And he shall do this to fortify Maozim,' etc. Luther's Bible is under the same influence, 'seinen Gott Mäuzim . . . stärken Mäuzim,' as is also the Authorized Dutch Version, but not quite to the same extent, 'den god Maüzzim . . . vastigheden der sterkten.' The Pesh. has 'strong god . . . strong fortress.'

It is now universally agreed that *Mauzzim* is not a proper name. Hitzig proposed to divide the word into two, reading מָעוֹז יָם (which at Is 23[4] is the designation of Tyre), and taking אֱלֹהַּ מָעוֹז יָם to be Melkart, the god of Tyre. But this seems unnecessary. 'The god of fortresses,' v.[38], and 'the strongest fortresses,' v.[39], of our RV are an adequate rendering. The only remaining dispute is as to who was meant by 'the god of fortresses.' Livy (xli. 20) states that Antiochus Epiphanes—whose deeds Daniel here depicts—began to build a splendid temple at Antioch in honour of Jupiter Capitolinus. Hence it has been inferred that this

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tradition originated in a confusion occasioned by a possible early anticipation of the double later identification (1) of Bartholomew with Nathanael, and (2) of Nathanael with Matthias—a confusion which might lead to Matthias being identified with *a* Bartholomew.

* John Lightfoot had previously (*Com. on Ac, in loc.*) regarded this identification as tenable, but preferred on the whole to identify Nathanael with the Apostle Bartholomew.

† So the oldest MS, which Tisch. follows; some later MSS substitute *Matthew* for *Matthias*. Lipsius, however (*Apocr. Apos.* iii. 258), regards these Ethiopian traditions as really referring to Matthew.

‡ Some fragments of the παραδόσεις are preserved by Clem. Alex., and indicate a high moral tone: 'When the neighbour of an elect person falls into sin, the elect one sins himself' (*Strom.* vii. 13). 'We must contend with the flesh, and in our treatment of it yield nothing in the way of wantonness to its craving' (*ib.* iii. 4). The reference in the *Philos.*, however, indicates that the work countenanced Gnostic speculations.

is ‘the god of fortresses.’ Again, 2 Mac 6^{2} informs us that he re-dedicated the temple at Jerusalem to Jupiter Olympius. And this has given rise to the conjecture that the Olympian Jupiter is the one referred to. With equal reason might the same verse induce us to fix on Jupiter Hospitalis. A yet more doubtful conjecture is that Mars was intended. And, on all grounds, Layard's suggestion must be put aside. He was inclined towards the Assyrian Venus, who is represented as ‘standing erect on a lion, and crowned with a tower or mural coronet.’ Perhaps the choice, if a choice must be made, lies between Jupiter Capitolinus and Ζεὺς Πολιεύς, ‘the guardian of the city,’ the family god of the Seleucids, to whom there was an altar on the Acropolis at Athens, whose claims are strenuously maintained by G. Hoffmann and Behrmann. In point of fact the evidence is not sufficient to justify a decision.

As curiosities of exegesis may be mentioned the view of Sir Isaac Newton and others, that the *Mauzzim* of Dn 11^{38} are protectors or guardians, the verse being a prediction that the doctrine of guardian angels should be introduced by the Roman Antichrist, and Pfeiffer's view that ‘the idol of the Mass’ is intended. J. TAYLOR.

MAW (Anglo-Sax. *maga*, the stomach).—This old name for the stomach is used in Dt 18^{3} as the tr. of קֵבָה in its only occurrence. RV uses the same word in Jer 51^{34} for AV ‘belly’ as tr. of כְּרֵשׂ in its only occurrence also. The tr. in Dt 18^{3} is from Tindale, who uses the word also in his exposition of Mt 7^{15} ‘Your prayer is but pattering without all affection; your singing is but roaring to stretch out your maws (as do your other gestures and rising at midnight), to make the meat sink to the bottom of the stomach, that he may have perfect digestion, and be ready to devour afresh against the next refection’; and Coverdale uses it in translating 1 K 22^{34}, ‘A certayne man bended his bowe harde, and shott the kynge of Israel betwene the mawe and the longes.’ J. HASTINGS.

MAZITIAS (A Μαζιτίας, B Ζειτίας), 1 Es 9^{35} = MATTITHIAH, Ezr 10^{43}.

MAZZAROTH (מַזָּרוֹת).—This word occurs only in Job 38^{32}, and seems early to have been regarded by commentators as being connected with the מַזָּלוֹת (*mazzālôth*) of 2 K 23^{5}, as is indicated also by the LXX, which has Μαζουρώθ in both passages. In the AVm *Mazzārôth* is rendered by ‘the twelve signs,’ and in the RV by ‘the signs of the Zodiac,’ both of which may be regarded as the true significations of the word. Ges., who proposes the latter rendering, and suggests its identity with *mazzālôth* (‘lodgings’), compares the Chaldee *mazzālayā*. *Mazzālôth* would therefore be the plural of the Hebrew equivalent of this Chaldee form, given in late Jewish works as מַזָּל (*mazzāl*), which was used to denote not only the single signs and the planets, but also their influence on the fate of men (Selden, *de Dîs Syr.*, Synt. i. c. 1). If the etymology of *Mazzārôth* (=*mazzālôth*) be, as Ges. suggests, the same as that of the Arab. *manzil*, ‘lodging-place,’ the root would be *nāzal*, one of the meanings of which is ‘to descend,’ *i.e.* ‘to alight at a place in order to sojourn there.’ Another etymology, however, has been revived by Jensen, who compares *Mazzārôth* (=*mazzālôth*) with the Assyr. *manzalti*.[*] This comparison, however, is not without its difficulties, as the Assyr. word is for *manzazti*, from *nazāzu*, ‘to stand,’ whence also *manzazu*, ‘station,’ ‘resting-place.’ This, of course, would disconnect *mazzārôth* and *mazzālôth* from the late singular form *mazzal*.[*] Other renderings of *mazzārôth* that may be noted are the Syriac (Peshiṭta) *agalta*, ‘the wain,’ or ‘the great bear’; ‘Lucifer, the morning star’ (Procopius of Gaza); ‘stars’ generally, and ‘a northern constellation’ (Aben Ezra and R. Levi ben Gershon), etc.

The Babylonian names of the twelve signs of the Zodiac are given in vol. i. p. 192 (footnote), and the inhabitants of that country were accustomed to observe them and to note the dates when the moon and the planets entered them, for the purpose of forecasting events, drawing up horoscopes, etc. These people were therefore wont to see Mazzaroth ‘led forth in their season,’ and the passage in Job where this word occurs would seem to point to the author of the book being as well acquainted as they with the wonders of the starry heavens. T. G. PINCHES.

MAZZEBAH.—See PILLAR.

MAZZOTH.—See PASSOVER.

MEADOW.—This purely English word (Anglo-Saxon, *Mædu*, *Mædewe*) occurs in the AV only in Gn $41^{2.\,18}$ and Jg 20^{33}.

1. In Gn $41^{2.\,18}$ אָחוּ (LXX ἄχει), the word tr^{d} ‘meadow’ is of Egyptian (demotic *αχu*) origin (cf. Jerome on Is 19^{7}: Wiedemann, *Sammlung altägyptischer Wörter*, p. 16; Ebers, *Ægypten und die Bücher Mose's*, p. 338), and believed to mean the reed-grass (so RV) which in Lower Egypt borders the Nile and its branches, together with the marsh-lands, during floods.[†] As suggested, also, in the art. MEADOW in Smith's *DB*, the word may denote the pasturage afforded by the growing crops during high Nile. But the pasturage of cattle was carried on extensively in Lower Egypt under the Old Empire. In modern Egypt cattle are fed in cultivated clover fields, for there are but few natural meadows of wild grass; but in ancient Egypt it was otherwise. As we know from numerous Egyptian tablets, cattle were fed on the stretches of marshy land in the Delta, whether beds of old rivers or water-courses, or such extensive shallows as that of Lake Menzaleh, now covered by brackish water, but once forming to a large extent one of the most productive tracts in Egypt.[‡] The dream of Pharaoh, therefore, in which the fat cattle were seen to feed in the reed-grass by the river side was the natural suggestion to the mind during sleep of a custom which he may often have witnessed.

2. Jg 20^{33} (MT מַעֲרֵה גָּבַע; B Μαραγάβε, A δυσμῶν τῆς Γαβαά; Vulg. *ab occidentali urbis parte*; AV

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[*] The original text of the Assyr. inscr. here referred to is as follows:—

‘(If) the planet Jupiter approach,’ etc. etc. etc.,
ilāni ina šamê ina manzalti-šunu izzazzūni
parakke-šunu dahdu inammaru,
‘the gods in the heavens in their station remain,
their shrines will see plenty.’ (*WAI* iii. 59, 35-36).

[*] It is worthy of note that the Assyr. intermediate form *mazzarti* has not yet been found, and that, if found, it would be singular, like *manzalti*. On the other hand, the plural, if regular, would be *manzazāti* (*l* or *r* changing back to *z* before a vowel), and ought to have been borrowed by the Hebrews, not as *mazzārôth* or *mazzālôth*, but as *mazzāzôth*. Both Heb. forms, therefore, if borrowed from Assyr., must have come from the Assyr. singular without regard to the original root of the word.

[†] אָחוּ occurs also in Job 8^{11} (LXX πάπυρος; AV, RV ‘rush,’ RVm ‘papyrus’), and should be restored in Hos 13^{15} (אָחִים for אַחִים [*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*], or read כְּבֵין מַיִם אָחוּ [Wellh. and Nowack]).

‘Meadows’ is introduced by RV also in Is 19^{7} (AV ‘paper reeds’). The Heb. is עָרוֹת, a ἅπ. λεγ.; LXX (so also Syr.) has ἄχι. It is just possible that they may have read or misread אָחוֹת for עָרוֹת. The LXX reads ἄχει also in Sir 40^{16} (AV ‘weed,’ RV ‘sedge’). The recently recovered Heb. text has קרדמות, which is prob. a corruption (see König in *Expos. Times*, Aug. 1899, p. 513 f.).

[‡] Adolf Erman, *Ægypten*, translated as *Life in Ancient Egypt* by H. M. Tirard, pp. 438–444 (1894).

'meadows of Gibeah,' RVm 'meadow of Geba,' RV Maareh-geba). Much uncertainty attaches to the correct tr^{n} of this passage. By alteration of the vowel-points adopted in MT, the word signifies 'a cave' (מְעָרָה). So Studer, following the Peshiṭta. This is a probable enough translation, as the position of Gibeah (which is the correct reading, not *Geba*), high up amongst the hills of Central Palestine, puts the idea of meadows in connexion therewith out of the question. On the other hand, caves amongst the limestone rocks are not infrequent in Palestine. Of Gibeah (*Tuleil el-Fûl*) Tristram says: 'Dreary and desolate, scarce any ruins, save a confused mass of stones, which form a sort of cairn on the top [of the hill]. As we recall also the hideous deed of the men of Gibeah, the blighting doom seems to have settled over the spot' (*Land of Israel*^{2}, p. 171).

Another probable emendation, in the line of LXX (A) and Vulg., is מִמַּעֲרַב לג׳ 'to the west of Gibeah.' See MAAREH-GEBA.

E. HULL.

MEAH.—See HAMMEAH.

MEAL.—**1.** A repast, the portion of food eaten at one time. The word is used only in the compound 'Mealtime' (Ru 2^{14}), where it is the tr. of עֵת הָאֹכֶל, literally 'the time of eating.' See FOOD in vol. ii. p. 41 f.

2. The substance of grain ground but not sifted. Our English word is from the Anglo-Saxon *melu*, which is connected with the Gothic *malan*, 'to grind.' The word is used as the tr. of קֶמַח *ḳemaḥ*, which signifies meal in general, sometimes used with the genitive of the kind of grain from which it is made, as of the $\frac{1}{10}$th ephah presented by the husband for his wife in the Jealousy Offering, Nu 5^{15}. In this case, the homely nature of the material is supposed to typify the humiliation of the woman accused. When used to represent fine flour it is combined with סֹלֶת as in Gn 18^{6}. Three *ṣeahs* of this fine meal (probably about 4 pecks) were used by Sarah to make cakes for the angelic visitors at Mamre. The mention of the same quantity, ἀλεύρου σάτα τρία, in the parable of the leaven, Mt 13^{33}, Lk 13^{21}, seems to show that this was the ordinary quantity to prepare at one time. *Ḳemaḥ* and *ṣôleth* are sometimes contrasted, as in the account of Solomon's daily provision, which consisted of 60 *kors* ($=622\frac{1}{2}$ bushels) of meal and 30 *kors* of *ṣôleth* (1 K 4^{22}). Meal was the breadstuff used by the poor. The widow of Zarephath had only a handful of *ḳemaḥ* in her meal-tub, 1 K 17^{12}. It was with *ḳemaḥ* that Elisha healed the poisonous pottage, 2 K 4^{41}. Meal was brought as part of the tribute to David on his becoming king in Hebron, 1 Ch 12^{40}.

In the prophetic writings 'meal' is used in several figures. The humbling of the Daughter of Babylon was to be shown by her being reduced to the work of grinding meal as a sign of servitude, Is 47^{2}. Hosea represents the unprofitableness of the evil works of Israel as sowing the wind, reaping the whirlwind whose bud (צֶמַח) makes no meal (Hos 8^{7}). There is a peculiar force here in the assonance *'ên lō ẓémaḥ bĕlî ya'ăseh ḳémaḥ*. For other particulars see BREAD and FOOD.

In the RV the word occurs very much more frequently in connexion with the *minḥāh* or meal offering, Lv $2^{1ff.}$ and many other passages. This is called 'meat offering' in the AV. See OFFERING and SACRIFICE.

The Israelites seem to have employed mills from a very early period, but it is remarkable that they were apparently unknown in Egypt until a comparatively late time. There is no word which unequivocally signifies 'mill' in the language of the Old or Middle Empire, as far as we know. Their grain seems to have been pounded or brayed. The word *ḳemḥ* occurs in a list of offerings at Denderah as a kind of flour. In Ethiopic *k'amiḥi* is used for 'pulse.' The word *ke-me* is used for meal in several cuneiform texts (see Strassmaier, *Inschr. v. Nabonidus*, Leipzig, 1889).

A. MACALISTER.

MEAL-OFFERING is the rendering substituted by the OT revision for AV **'meat-offering'** (מִנְחָה). The American Revisers further record their preference for 'meal-offering' in Jer 14^{12} 17^{26} 33^{18} **41^{5}**. In these passages our RV reads 'oblation' with 'meal-offering' in the margin. For details see general article SACRIFICE.

MEAN.—The verb to 'mean' (from Anglo-Sax. *maenan* to intend, tell, and connected with 'mind,' the root being *man* to think) signifies sometimes to intend, purpose: Gn 50^{20} 'But as for you, ye thought evil against me; but God meant it unto good'; Is 3^{15} 'What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor?'; 10^{7} 'Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so'; Ac 21^{13} 'What mean ye to weep and to break mine heart?'; Ac 27^{2} 'We launched, meaning to sail by the coasts of Asia'; 2 Co 8^{13} 'For I mean not that other men be eased and ye burdened.' Cf. Shaks. *Merry Wives*, v. ii. 15, 'No man means evil but the devil, and we shall know him by his horns.'

The subst. **meaning,** which in Dn 8^{15}, 1 Co 14^{11} signifies 'understanding,' 'sense,' as in its modern use, expresses 'purpose,' 'intention,' in 1 Mac 15^{4} 'My meaning also being to go through the country' (βούλομαι δὲ ἐκβῆναι κατὰ τὴν χώραν; RV 'I am minded to land in the country'). Cf. Jer 44^{25} Cov. 'Purposly have ye set up youre owne good meanynges, and hastely have ye fulfilled youre owne intente'; Hall, *Works* ii. 103, 'Good meanings have oft-times proved injurious.'

The subst. 'mean' (from Old Fr. *meien*, *moien*; Lat. *medius*) signified originally something that was in the middle. Thus Tymme's *Calvin's Genesis* (1578), p. 678 '[Moses] was a meane betweene the Patriarches and the Apostles'; Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 334, 'He that punissheth whyle he is angry, shall never kepe that meane which is betwene to moche and to lyttell'; Barlowe, *Dialoge*, 103, 'God loved the people so entyerly, that of theym he chose bysshoppes, preistes, and deacons, to offer speciall sacrifices for the clensynge of theyr synnes, and to be as meanes betwene hym and them'; and Knox, *Works*, iii. 98, 'Is he who discendit from heaven and vouchsaffit to be conversant with synneris, commanding all soir vexit and seik to cum unto him (who, hanging upon the Cross, prayit first for his enemyis), becum now so untractable, that he will not heir us without a person to be a meane?' From this arose easily the sense of *instrument*, which is often sing., 'a mean,' in the Eng. of that day, though in AV itself it is always plu., 'means.' Thus Lever, *Sermons*, 79, 'Of God surely thou hast received it, by what messenger or meane so ever thou came unto it,' and Knox, *Works*, iii. 299, 'The instrumente and meane wherwith Christe Jesus used to remove and put awaye the horrible feare and anguysshe of his Disciples, is his only worde'; and in AV, Wis 8^{13} 'By the means of her I shall obtain immortality' (RV 'because of her'); 2 Co 1^{11} 'the gift bestowed upon us by the means of many persons' (RV 'by means of many'); Rev 13^{14} 'by the means of those miracles' (RV 'by reason of the signs'). This word is sometimes also an adj., of which we have such examples in AV as *in the mean while*, 1 K 18^{45}, Jn 4^{31}, Ro 2^{15}; *in the mean time*, 1 Mac 11^{41}, Lk 12^{1}; and *in the mean season*, 1 Mac 11^{14} 15^{15}. Cf. Pr. Bk. 'The

Communion,' 'My duty is to exhort you in the mean season'; Jer 32^{25} Cov. 'In the meane season the cite is delyvered in to the power of the Caldees.'

There is another adj. 'mean,' which is traced to the Anglo-Sax. *gemaene*, 'common,' 'general,' and is possibly connected with Lat. *communis*, though Skeat counts that very doubtful. This word was early confused with the distinct Anglo-Sax. word *maene*, 'false,' 'wicked,' with the result, that from signifying merely peasant-born, of common origin, it came to express 'low-minded,' 'base' (the word 'base' has a parallel history, see BASE), and again 'niggardly,' 'penurious.' In AV the word is used only in the sense of 'low-born,' 'common': Pr 22^{29} 'Seest thou a man diligent in his business? he shall stand before kings; he shall not stand before mean men' (לִפְנֵי חֲשֻׁכִּים, lit. 'before obscure *persons*' as AVm and RVm); Is 2^{9} 'And the mean man is bowed down, and the great man humbleth himself,' Heb. אָדָם opp. to אִישׁ, so 5^{15} 31^{8}; Ac 21^{39} 'a citizen of no mean city' (*οὐκ ἀσήμου πόλεως*). Cf. Pref. to AV 1611, 'If any man conceit, that this is the lot and portion of the meaner sort onely, and that Princes are priviledged by their high estate, he is deceived'; Elyot, *Governour*, i. 25, 'It is expedient and also nedefull that under the capitall governour be sondry meane authorities'; Knox, *Hist.* 392, 'When scarcely could be found ten in a Country that rightly knew God, it had been foolishnesse to have craved, either of the Nobilitie or of the mean Subjects, the suppressing of Idolatry.'

The adv. **meanly** is found in 2 Mac 15^{38} 'If I have done well and as is fitting the story, it is that which I desired; but if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto.' The meaning is 'moderately' (*μετρίως*). Cf. Spenser, *Mother Hubberds Tale*, 297—

> 'The Husbandman was meanly well content
> Triall to make of his endevourment';

and Shaks. *Com. of Errors*, I. i. 59—

> 'Thy wife, not meanly proud of two such boys,
> Made daily motions for our home return.'

J. HASTINGS.

MEARAH (מְעָרָה 'cave' [cf. AVm]; LXX seems to follow another reading).—Mentioned amongst the districts of Palestine that had yet to be possessed, Jos 13^{4}. The text is doubtful (see Dillm. *ad loc.*, and Bennett in *SBOT*, the latter of whom emends מֵאַרְוָד 'from Arvad'); but if we accept the MT, then Mearah, 'which belongeth to the Zidonians,' may be *Mogheirîyeh* ('small cave'), a village near Zidon; cf. Aquila, *καὶ σπήλαιον ὅ ἐστι τῶν Σιδωνίων*.

C. R. CONDER.

MEASURES.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

MEAT (Anglo-Sax. *mete*, perhaps from *mete* to measure, but more probably connected with Lat. *mandere* to chew) is in AV food in general, not, as now, flesh food only. Thus 2 Es 12^{51} 'But I remained still in the field seven days, as the angel commanded me; and did eat only in those days of the flowers of the field, and had my meat (*esca*) of the herbs.' The **'meat-offering'** contained no flesh, but was composed of meal and oil. Fuller, *Holy State*, 185, says, 'A rich man told a poore man that he walked to get a stomach for his meat: *And I*, said the poore man, *walk to get meat for my stomach*'; cf. Adams on 2 P 1^{4} 'He feeds the ravens, and the young lions seek their meat at him.' In their Preface the AV translators say of the Scripture, 'It is not a pot of manna, or a cruse of oyl, which were for memory onely, or for a meals meat or two, but as it were a shower of heavenly bread, sufficient for a whole host, be it never so great.' So Hall, *Works*, i. 806, 'There was never any meat, except the forbidden fruit, so deare bought as this broth of Jacob.' As the word signifies whatever is eaten, it may be applied to flesh, as in Fuller, *Holy Warre*, 212, 'Where he giveth away the meat he selleth the sauce'; so in Gn $27^{4.\,7.\,31}$ of the venison Esau prepared for Isaac, and $27^{9.\,14}$ of the goat's flesh which Rebekah prepared.

The plu. 'meats' for 'kinds or portions of food' occurs some ten times in the Apocr., also in Pr 23^{6} 'neither desire thou his dainty meats,' where the Heb. is simply 'his dainties,' as RV; Ac 15^{29} 'meats offered to idols,' where the Gr. is 'offerings to idols' (*εἰδωλόθυτα*, RV 'things sacrificed to idols'); and in Mk 7^{19}, 1 Co $6^{13\,bis}$, 1 Ti 4^{3}, He 9^{10} 13^{9}, where the Gr. is always *βρώματα*, things to eat. Cf. Rhem. N.T. Preface, 'When we are litle ones, let us not covet the meates of the elder sort,' and the Rhem. tr. of Lk 9^{12} 'Dimisse the multitudes, that going into townes and villages here about, they may have lodging, and finde meates,' Jn 4^{8} 'For his Disciples were gone into the citie to bie meates.'

J. HASTINGS.

MEAT-OFFERING.—See MEAL-OFFERING, MEAT, OFFERING, and SACRIFICE.

MEBUNNAI (מְבֻנַּי, *ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν* (*i.e.* מִבְּנֵי), many MSS *Σαβουχαί*, Luc. *Σαβενί*).—According to 2 S 23^{27} a Hushathite (wh. see), one of David's thirty heroes. The name here given, however, is clearly a mistake for **Sibbecai**, the form which has been preserved in the parallel lists, 1 Ch 11^{29} 27^{11} (*Σοβοχαί*), and also 2 S 21^{18} (B *'Οεβοχά*, A *Σεβοχαεί*) = 1 Ch 20^{4}.

J. F. STENNING.

MECHERATHITE.—See MAACAH.

MEDABA (*Μηδαβά*).—The form of the name MEDEBA, which appears in 1 Mac 9^{36}.

MEDAD.—See ELDAD.

MEDAN (מְדָן).—Name of a son of Abraham and Keturah, Gn 25^{2} (B *Μαδαίμ*, A *Μαδάν*) = 1 Ch 1^{32} (B *Μαδιάμ*, A *Μαδάν*). The word is probably to be identified with *Madān*, the god of some Arab tribe, best known through the proper name *'Abd-Al-Madān*, 'worshipper of Al-Madān'; the tribe or family called *Banū 'Abd-Al-Madān* was proverbial for various sorts of excellence in the earliest Arabic known to us (*Kāmil* of Al-Mubarrad, i. 56, 72). Unlike most of the names of the Arabic deities, the word appears to have an appropriate etymology, and to mean simply 'object of worship'; and with this sense the employment of the article accords, as well as the alternative vocalization, *Al-Mudān* (*Saḳṭ Al-Zand* of Abu 'l-'Alā, ed. Boulak, i. 47). The occurrence of the name of this god in a context in which we expect the name of a tribe, implies that the word was used as a national name also; and the word *Ḳais* is precisely parallel to *Madān* as being used for both a nation and a god, and as taking the article in the latter application. The seat of the worship of Al-Madān appears to have been Yemen (*Tāj Al-'Arūs, s.v.*), whereas the descendants of Keturah appear to be far away from S. Arabia; but this may be due to the migration of a tribe; and indeed the word occurs as a geographical name in N. Arabia (Yāḳūt and Al-Bekri).

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

MEDEBA (מֵידְבָא 'gently flowing waters,' Nu 21^{30}, Jos $13^{9.\,16}$, 1 Ch 19^{7}, Is 15^{2}).—A town in the Mishor,* east of Jordan, about 1½ hour S. of

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* *Mishor* (מִישׁוֹר Dt 3^{10} 4^{43}, Jos $13^{9.\,16.\,17.\,21}$ 20^{8}, Jer $48^{8.\,21}$; translated by AV 'plain,' or 'plain country,' by RV 'plain,' m. 'tableland') is the name given to one of the divisions of Eastern Palestine, comprising the country between Heshbon and the Arnon, assigned to Reuben. It is a treeless plateau

Heshbon on the Roman road from that place to Kerak. It originally belonged to Moab, but was taken from them by Sihon, who was in his turn dispossessed by the children of Israel (Nu 21^{24-26}). It was assigned to Reuben (Jos 13^{9-16}, where v.^{9} should be translated 'all the tableland—Medeba to Dibon,' and v.^{16} 'all the tableland as far as Medeba'). The Syrians who came to assist the children of Ammon pitched at Medeba, and, from the account of Joab's battle with them, it would seem that the city was then in the hands of the children of Ammon (1 Ch 19^{6-15}). Since David's time (2 S 8^{2}) Moab must have regained possession of the city and territory around, for, according to the Moabite Stone (line 8), Omri took possession of [the land of] Mehedeba, and Israel dwelt therein during his days and half his son's days, forty years; but Mesha recovered the territory, and rebuilt the cities which had been held by Omri and his son Ahab. Medeba is (perhaps) named in line 30, but the stone is here defaced, and the reading not quite certain. Joram's attempt in company with Jehoshaphat to recover these cities (2 K 3) was but partially successful, and the Moabites remained in them unchallenged until the prosperous reign of Jeroboam II., when they were driven to the south of the Arnon. Medeba is mentioned as belonging to Moab in Is 15^{2}, but not in Jer 48—an omission which is the more remarkable, as the list of Moabite cities in Jer is more full than that in Isaiah. Where by comparison with Isaiah we might expect to find it, occurs *Madmen* (Jer 48^{2}), a name occurring only in that verse. See MADMEN. The LXX renderings are Jos 13^{9} *Δαιδαβάν* B*, *Μαιδαβάν* $B^{a?}$, *Μαιδαβά* A. The word is omitted in v.^{16}. 1 Ch 19^{7} *Μαιδαβά* B, *Μηδαβά* A, *Βαιδαβά* ℵ. The text of Nu 21^{30} is uncertain; for the last clause LXX has *πῦρ ἐπὶ Μωάβ*, Pesh. דמדברא. The ר of אשר, which has been marked with a point by the Massoretes, is not regarded by the LXX, and neither they nor Pesh. read Medeba. In Is 15^{2} *τῆς Μωαβειτιδος* (B) represents the Medeba of MT.

In Maccabæan times John, the eldest son of Mattathias, was killed by a robber clan which lived at Medeba. The name of this clan was Jambri or Ambri. How Jonathan avenged the death of his brother is related in 1 Mac 9^{36-42} and Jos. *Ant.* XIII. i. 2, 4. John Hyrcanus laid siege to Medeba, and took it with difficulty (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ix. 1). Alexander Jannæus afterwards took it along with others from the Arabians, and Hyrcanus II. promised to restore them to Aretas (*ib.* XIII. xv. 4, XIV. i. 4).

The city appears to have been a flourishing Christian centre during the Byzantine period. It was the seat of a bishopric, and was represented at the Council of Chalcedon. After remaining desolate for centuries it was occupied in 1880 by a colony of Christians from Kerak, and some Latin fathers have established a mission there. In digging for foundations of houses many ancient remains have been brought to light. Besides the large pool with solid walls mentioned by several travellers, the remains of gates, towers, and four churches, besides some beautiful mosaics, have been discovered. An interesting account of a visit to these ruins is contained in *PEFSt* for July 1895, and Père Séjourné has written a full article on Medeba in the *Revue Biblique* for Oct. 1892. A remarkable mosaic map of Christian Palestine and Egypt has also been discovered, a description of which appears in *PEFSt* for July 1897, being a translation from Clermont-Ganneau's *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, tom. xi. p. 161, 1897. Further communications with reference to this mosaic are to be found on p. 239 of *PEFSt* for July 1897, p. 85 of April 1898, p. 177 of July 1898, p. 251 of Oct. 1898. A. T. CHAPMAN.

MEDES (מָדַי, *Μῆδοι*).—In Gn 10^{2} **Madai** is a son of Japheth, and is associated with Gomer and Javan. The Assyr. form of the name is Madâ, but when we first meet with it in the annals of Shalmaneser II. (*c.* B.C. 840) it is written Amadâ. Hadad-nirari III. (*c.* B.C. 800) overthrew Khanaziruka, king of the Matâ, who inhabited Matiênê, S.W. of the Caspian; W. of the Matâ was Parsuas (perhaps Parthia), with its 27 kings, on the shores of Lake Urumiyeh. It is doubtful whether we should identify Matâ and Madâ as variant forms of the same name, or regard the Matâ as a division of the Madâ; at all events, Hadad-nirari III. also employs the name Madâ, and it is the only form of the name henceforth found in the cuneiform inscriptions. Tiglath-pileser III. overran the Median states E. of Zagruti or the Zagros, sending one of his generals against 'the Medes at the rising of the sun' (B.C. 743); and Sargon in B.C. 713 subdued a number of Median chieftains, one of whom was the chief of Partakanu. Esarhaddon divides Partakanu into the two provinces of Partakka and Partukka, and describes it as 'remote.' In the early part of his reign Assyria was threatened by a combined attack on the part of the Medes, Kimmerians, Saparda (Sepharad), and 'Kaztarit, king of Karu-Kassi'; but the Assyr. king carried the war into the enemy's country, and the defeat of the Median 'city-lords' in the far east relieved him of all danger from the Median tribes. A portion of the Kimmerians, however, took possession of the old kingdom of Ellipi, north of Elam, where a new power arose, with its capital in Ecbatana (Pers. *Hangmatâna*). In the cuneiform inscriptions the Kimmerians are called Umman Manda or nomad 'Barbarians' (Goiim in OT), and the resemblance of Manda to Madâ caused the two words to be confused together by the classical writers.

The Medes, like the Kimmerians, belonged to the Iranian branch of the Aryan race, the Persians being a kindred tribe, which pushed farther south towards the Persian Gulf. According to Herodotus (vii. 62, i. 101), they were called Arians by their neighbours, and were divided into six tribes: the Busæ, Paretakêni (Assyr. Partakanu), Struchates, Arizanti, Budii, and Magi. The Magi, however, seem rather to have been a priestly caste. The Assyr. inscriptions show that the Medes obeyed no central authority, but were divided, like the Greeks, into a number of small states, each under the rule of its own 'city-lord.' Consequently the classical belief in a 'Median empire' was groundless, and was really due to the confusion between the names Madâ and Manda.

A recently discovered inscription of Nabonidos has informed us that the destruction of Nineveh (B.C. 606) was brought about by the Manda, not by the Madâ or Medes. We have also learned from the cuneiform texts that it was the Manda who devastated Mesopotamia, destroying Harran and its temple of the Moon-god; that Astyages (Istuvigu in cuneiform) was king of the Manda; and that the revolt of Cyrus was against the Manda, and not against the Medes. Medes may have been included among the Manda or 'Barbarians,' but the term was primarily applied to the northern hordes who had swarmed across the Caucasus into W. Asia, and were called Kimmerians (see GOMER) and Scythians by the Greeks. The kingdom of Ecbatana was founded by these

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affording pasture for flocks, and at one time suited for the culture of the vine (Is 16^{8}). The number and extent of the ruins in this district show that it was once thickly inhabited. The Bedawin in their black tents are now the chief inhabitants; see G. A. Smith, *HGHL* pp. 535, 548.

Manda, who had conquered the ancient kingdom of Ellipi.

The 'Median' kings of Herodotus and Ctesias are alike artificial creations. Herodotus makes the Median monarchy begin with Dêiokes, B.C. 710, at a time when the Assyr. empire was at the height of its power, and Sargon was punishing the 'city-lords' of the Medes. Dêiokes is the Daiukku of the Assyr. inscriptions, a vassal-chief under the king of the Mannâ (Minni), who was carried captive to Hamath by Sargon in B.C. 715. Phraortes, who is said to have succeeded Dêiokes, is Frawartish, who carried on wars against the Persians and the Assyrians, and called himself Xathrites (Kaztarit). His successor Cyaxares may be Kaztarit, or he may have been a genuine king of Ecbatana, and the actual predecessor of Astyages. At all events Astyages was a king of the Manda, and his conquest by his rebel vassal Cyrus took place in B.C. 549. On Arphaxad king of the Medes (Jth 1^{1}), see ARPHAXAD.

The list of Median kings given by Ctesias probably comes from a Persian source, and the chronological arrangement of it is even more artificial than that of the list of Herodotus. Lenormant seems to have been right in suggesting that two of the kings in it, Artæus and Astibaras, are the kings of Ellipi, Rita (Dalta) and Ispabara, who were contemporaries of Sargon and Sennacherib.

After the capture of Samaria by Sargon in B.C. 722, some of the Israelites were transported to 'the cities of the Medes' (2 K 17^{6} 18^{11}). This probably took place after Sargon's campaign against the Medes (B.C. 713), when he penetrated as far as the distant land of Bikni. Isaiah (13^{17} 21^{2}) calls on the Medes and Elamites to overthrow Babylon (cf. Jer 25^{25}); and Jeremiah ($51^{11.\,28}$) speaks of the 'kings' of the Medes combining with Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz to destroy the Bab. empire. At this time it would seem, therefore, that the Medes were still governed by a number of different chiefs. In Elam we must see Anzan, the ancestral kingdom of Cyrus, which an Assyr. tablet states was equivalent to 'Elam'; the invasion of Babylonia, referred to by Jeremiah, may have been one which took place in the reign of Nergal-sharezer, not that of Cyrus. Cyrus, however, united the Medes and Persians under his sway; Gobryas, the governor of Kurdistan, whom he made the first governor of Babylonia after its conquest, was a Mede, according to the classical writers; and Mazares and Harpagos, who conquered Ionia for Cyrus, were both of Medic descent. Hence the Ionian Greeks spoke of 'Medes' rather than of 'Persians.' Gomates, who pretended to be Bardes (Smerdis), the son of Cyrus, and usurped the throne of Cambyses, was a Magian, and therefore also of Median origin; and, in the troubles which followed his murder, Media endeavoured to secure her independence under Frawartish or Phraortes. Frawartish, however, was at length defeated in a pitched battle, and, after being taken prisoner near Rhages, was impaled at Ecbatana. After the destruction of the Persian empire, Media was divided into Media Atropatênê (so named from the satrap Atropates), which corresponded with the modern Azerbijan, and included the Parsuas of the Assyr. monuments, and Media Magna to the south and east of it. Here were Ecbatana (now Hamadan), and Bagistana (now Behistun) in the ancient territory of Ellipi. Bagistana is probably the place called Bit-ili or Bethel by Sargon. Media had thus come to extend widely beyond its limits in the Assyr. age, when the Medes inhabited little more than Matiênê and the district to the E. of it, and S. of the Caspian, in which Raga or Rhages (now Ra) was situated. They were, in fact, mountaineers, and hence had the reputation of being brave and warlike, delighting in arms, in brilliant clothing, and in carrying off booty from their more settled neighbours. From the Persian monuments we gather that they let the beard grow, and wore caps, long robes with full sleeves, and shoes. Their religion was a form of Zoroastrian fire-worship, and they left the bodies of the dead to be devoured by wild beasts or birds of prey. (See J. V. Prášek, *Medien und das Haus des Kyaxares*, 1890).

A. H. SAYCE.

MEDIA.—See MEDES.

MEDIATOR, MEDIATION.—

INTRODUCTION.
  1. Meaning and use of the term 'Mediator.'
  2. The idea of mediation in religion.
i. IN PAGANISM.
  1. Savage notions.
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ii. IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.
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    d. St. John (α) in the Gospel and the Epistles; (β) in the Apocalypse.
Literature.

INTRODUCTION.—1. *Meaning and use of the term 'Mediator.'*—The word 'mediator' (Gr. μεσίτης) is found only in NT, namely at Gal $3^{19.\,20}$, 1 Ti 2^{5}, He 8^{6} 9^{15} 12^{24}.* The verbal form (μεσιτεύω) occurs once, in He 6^{17}. The derivation from the adjective μέσος 'in the middle' merely suggests the idea of one who is found in the midst, or who enters into the middle. But usage gives a more specific meaning to the term. Thus we always find it standing for a person who in some way intervenes between two. This intervention is of two kinds: (1) in order to bring about a reconciliation where there has been division or enmity—the thought in Job, and in St. Paul's use of the word; (2) quite apart from any notion of a previous quarrel, with the idea of drawing two together into a compact or covenant—the meaning in Hebrews in each of the three cases where it occurs. Moses was regarded as a mediator in a general sense, as coming between God and Israel, both to shield the people from the Divine severity, and to introduce God's law to their notice and effect their union with Him as a covenant people. The first of these ideas appears in Dt 5^{5}, where, while the word 'mediator' is not used, the idea is suggested by a cognate adverbial form (ἀνὰ μέσον, Heb. בֵּין). Philo uses the word 'mediator' (μεσίτης) for Moses in the same connexion (*Vit. Moys.* iii. 19). Elsewhere Philo refers to speech as a 'mediator and intercessor' (*de Somn.* i. 22). Josephus writes of Agrippa being a mediator between the people of Ilium (*Ant.* XVI. ii. 2).

2. *The idea of mediation in religion.*—While the word 'mediator' is rarely met with, the idea contained in it is one of the most vital and influential thoughts in religion. Nearly every religion bears witness to it. Both priesthood and prophecy rest upon the conception of mediation—priesthood in the selection of certain men for approach to God and the reconciliation of the people with Him by means of sacrifice; prophecy in the sending of Divine messengers who are to deliver to the people the oracles they have received from heaven. The

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* The LXX employs μεσίτης in Job 9^{33} as rendering of מוֹכִיחַ, which AV and RV tr. 'daysman' (wh. see).

idea emerges in the lowest grades of civilization under the form of the medicine man, the rain-maker, the sorcerer, whose function, however, is rather to coerce than to conciliate inimical powers. While the purification of religion eliminates degraded, distorted, and superstitious forms of mediation, it does not destroy the essential idea, which is found more clearly and forcibly expressed in Christianity than in any other type of religion. So prominent and characteristic is the idea that we might define Christianity in the abstract as Theism plus Mediation—understanding the latter term to include all that is taught concerning the person and mission of Christ, for it is this idea that most distinguishes the religion of the NT from pure Theism. But Butler pointed out that the specially Christian idea of 'the appointment of a Mediator, and the redemption of the world by him, was analogous to many things in the constitution and course of nature' (*Analogy*, pt. ii. ch. v.).

i. MEDIATION IN PAGANISM.—Space will not permit of more than the briefest notice of this branch of the subject; and yet it is impossible to do justice to the great biblical doctrine of mediation without giving at least some attention to its position in the light of comparative religion.

1. *Savage notions of mediation.*—It has been pointed out that as in course of time the individual faculties in men were seen to be differentiated, some were held to be specially gifted with occult powers. These men came to be regarded with awe; they were not as other men. To them it was given to penetrate the unseen world, read the secrets of futurity, influence the supernatural powers with which primitive man in a dim way felt himself to be surrounded. In so low a race as the Australian aborigines, the medicine men are credited with the power of controlling all occult influences. This mysterious power is claimed among the Andaman Okopaids and the Peaimen of Guiana. In Melanesia it is known as *mana*, and is said to be imparted by cannibalism. This *mana* is conveyed by the medicine man to the charms he uses. A similar power was recognized among the N. American Indians. In the lowest condition, while the medicine man uses charms and spells, he does not invoke spirits. A higher stage is attained when he calls in the aid of ghosts, the totem animal belonging to an intermediate condition. In some savage communities demoniacal possession is supposed to confer priestly or mediatorial powers. Thus we learn from Tylor (*Prim. Cult.* ii. p. 121) that among the Patagonians persons afflicted with St. Vitus' dance were selected as magicians, and that among the Liberian tribes the Shamans brought up children liable to convulsions for the profession of magic (see King, *The Supernatural*, bk. ii. ch. iv.). The medium of modern spiritualism may be compared with the medicine man who has dealings with ghosts, the special gift with which the medium is credited leading him to be consulted by others as though he were a kind of mediator between ordinary mortals and the spirit world.

2. *Civilized pagan notions of mediation.*—All religions that contain a priesthood with functions not shared by the main body of the community predicate some form of mediation in connexion with that office. The priest sacrifices to, or intercedes with, the god to whom he is attached, on behalf of the people. But the two greatest faiths of the East have peculiar relations to this subject. The distinction between the priesthood and the laity is more pronounced and rigorous in Hinduism than it is in any other religion the world has ever known. This is owing to the institution of caste. Of the four great classes recognized in the Hindu system, Brāhmans, soldiers, agriculturists, and servants, the first consists of priests, and an important part of the Veda, the Brāhmanahs, is devoted to the ritual they are required to follow. Inasmuch as the observance of this ritual is regarded with favour by the gods, all classes of society benefit by the Divine complacency thus secured; but the hopeless inferiority of the other castes destroys one important element in the mediatorial idea, the community of nature between the priest and the people which is essential to the NT idea of mediation set out in the Epistle to the Hebrews. On the other hand, the Brāhmanahs contain the idea of gods sacrificing, and so bring in the notion of mediation from another point of view. Thus in the *Tāndya-brāhmanahs* it is stated that 'the Lord of creatures (*prajā-pati*) offered himself a sacrifice for the gods.' The same idea emerges in the sacrifice of 'the primeval male.' Thus it is stated in the *sāta-patha-brāhmanah*, 'He who, knowing this, sacrifices with the *Purusha-Medha*, the sacrifice of the primeval male, becomes everything.' Monier-Williams regarded this as a witness to 'the original institution of sacrifice,' and 'typical of the one great voluntary sacrifice,' etc. (*Hinduism*, p. 36). On the other hand, it must be observed that the oldest Hindu sacrifices are not piacular, but simply consist of food offered to the gods. The idea of expiation came later, and with it the notion of mediation. But about the time of the rise of Buddhism, *i.e.* *c.* 500 B.C., the development of Hindu philosophy removed all belief in vicarious sacrifice and mediation from the mind of the speculative Brahman by developing a system of Pantheism. If man is one with God, there can be no room for mediation between man and God. And yet, again, the evolution of gods as forms or manifestations of Brahm introduces another form of mediation, the merits of an inferior god availing with one above him, that god's merits with one still higher, and so on in the ascending scale up to the highest.

When we turn to Buddhism it would seem reasonable to regard the Buddha himself as a mediator, since he is seen sacrificing himself for others, even for animals. In former states of existence, it is said, he often gave himself as a substituted victim in place of doves and other innocent creatures, to satisfy hawks and beasts of prey. Then, having freed himself from the five great passions, he will help others to a like freedom by his teaching. Still, there are two features of Buddhism that render it inherently inconsistent with the idea of mediation. One is its protest against the Hindu caste system. Holding the equality of all men, it teaches that every one must suffer the consequences of his own deeds, either in the present life or in a future condition, and repudiates the possibility of a transference of responsibility or of an atoning sacrifice. The other feature is its virtual denial of God. But in practice the Buddha is deified, and then the Buddhist monk becomes a sort of priest, so that the notion of mediation comes round again from another quarter.

We may look for antecedents to the biblical doctrine of mediation in the religion of ancient Egypt, which was associated with a richly developed hierarchical system, the priests enjoying high rank above the common people, and occupying themselves with elaborate sacrificial performances; in the religion of Babylon, which, owing to the very early connexion between the Babylonians and Palestine (evidenced by the Tel el-Amarna tablets), must have been known in the latter country in primitive times; and in the Semitic religions of Canaan and Phœnicia, where, though, as Robertson Smith showed, the primitive notion of sacrifice suggested a common feast with the god, a communion, the piacular idea appeared later. Thus the prophets of Baal, in the time of Elijah, act as mediators, performing sacrificial functions on behalf of king and people.

ii. MEDIATION IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.—Mediation appears in various forms during the course of the OT history, in the specific regulations of the law, and in the teachings of the prophets.

1. *Mediation in OT history.*—In the oldest parts of the patriarchal history (JE) the head of the household officiates as the family priest, sacrificing and entering into covenants on behalf of his people, *e.g.* Abraham (Gn 12$^{7.8}$ 15$^{9-21}$), Isaac (Gn 25$^{23-25}$), Jacob (Gn 33$^{18-20}$). It is to be observed that the later narrative (P) does not describe patriarchal altars and sacrifices. Although the earlier narrative in its written form is assigned to the period of the monarchy, this primitive style of religious observances speaks for its own antiquity, and for the probability that traditions embodying old customs are here preserved. Two incidents in particular, connected with the patriarchal narratives, bear especially on ancient views of mediation. Melchizedek, king of Salem, is introduced as a priest of God Most High (Gn 14^{18}). He blesses Abraham, and receives a tenth of the spoil after the battle of the kings. This kingly priesthood of Melchizedek laid hold of the Jewish imagination, and reappeared in the Messianic ideal of Ps 110, to be recognized and elaborately discussed in its application to Jesus Christ by the author of He (6^{20}–7). Then Abraham's pleading for the cities of the plain shows us the patriarch as a typical mediator. In this wonderful picture of earnest prayer we see mediation in the form of intercession. No sacrifice is offered, but the patriarch pleads on behalf of the doomed cities with singular persistence, and yet with profound humility. The promise of deliverance if a sufficient number of righteous men can be found, introduces another element of mediation, what we might call the passive mediation of the goodness of one, on account of which favour is shown to others,—in this case corresponding to our Lord's idea of His disciples as the salt of the earth (Mt 5^{13}). Moses appears as a mediator in various relations. First, as the deliverer of his people he comes from Jehovah with a mandate to Pharaoh (Ex 3). This is an instance of the descending mediation, in which the mediator comes from God with a divine message. In the same way Moses appears as the lawgiver, receiving the law from Jehovah and giving it to the people. Kuenen maintains that the tradition about Moses as a lawgiver shows that, even if not a single one of his laws are extant, he was prominent as a revealer of God's will (*Religion of Israel*, i. 273). Moses appears repeatedly as the prophet through whom God communicates with Israel. Thus it is said (in the JE narrative), 'And the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend' (Ex 33^{11}, see also Nu 12$^{6-8}$). Then Moses also appears most conspicuously as the mediator in the other form of mediatorial work, the ascending mediation, representing the people to God in intercession. A striking instance of this mediation occurs in relation to the molten calf, when Moses beseeches God on behalf of the people (Ex 32$^{7-14}$), and even expresses a willingness to be himself blotted out of God's book if only the people may be forgiven their sin (Ex 32^{32}), appealing to the favour he has found with God as a ground for pleading the cause of the people he represents (Ex 33^{13}, see Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. 138). A special form of mediation comes in with the idea of the theocratic king, who is both the representative of Jehovah to Israel and the representative of the people before God. David officiates in priestly apparel,—'girded with a linen ephod,' offering burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, and blessing the people in the name of Jehovah (2 S 6$^{14-18}$). A mediating position between God and the people appears in the Messianic Psalms, 2, 21, 72, 45 (where perhaps the king is called 'Elohim'), 110. The Chronicler, reflecting on the history from the Greek period, regards David's throne as divine; it is 'the throne of Jehovah' (1 Ch 29^{23}). Thus a preparation is made for regarding the Messiah of the future as a Mediator, standing between God and man, exalted above the common human standpoint, and brought near to God, but with a view to the benefit of the people He represents.

2. *Priestly mediation.*—The conception of a priesthood separate from the rest of the community implies mediatorial functions on the part of the priests for the benefit of the laity. In itself the idea of priesthood may be regarded absolutely, the priest being the man who has a right of approach to God, and on whom devolves the duty of sacrificing, etc., quite apart from any consideration for others. In this sense Israel as a whole nation is 'holy' (Lv 11^{45} 19^{2}, Nu 15^{40}), and is named a 'kingdom of priests' (Ex 19$^{5.6}$). Similarly in late poetry the nation as a whole is said to consist of 'prophets' (Ps 105^{5}). But this is exceptional. As a rule, the function of the priest is vicarious and mediatorial. In early times, however, this was not confined to any family or tribe. Gideon (Jg 6$^{19-24}$), Samuel (1 S 16^{2}), and Elijah (1 K 18$^{30\text{ff.}}$) performed the priestly function of offering sacrifices, and, in a mediatorial way, for the benefit of the people. When a priestly order was first recognized this was not necessarily of one tribe or family, as in the later system. Thus David made priests of his own sons and of the chief men of the kingdom (2 S 8^{18} RV).* Zabud the son of the prophet Nathan is also described as a priest (1 K 4^{5}). In the oldest stratum of the law, the 'Book of the Covenant,' it is assumed that the Israelite offers his own sacrifices in primitive patriarchal style. Thus, in the directions Moses is to give to 'the children of Israel,' we read, 'If thou make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stones,' etc., and 'neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar' (Ex 20$^{25.26}$), where no priestly order is referred to. In the story of Micah (Jg 17. 18, assigned to JE) a certain Levite appears as a priest, but in a most primitive fashion, consecrated or installed by Micah in his own house, and serving as a domestic chaplain. The whole narrative reveals a condition of superstitious faith in the mediatorial efficacy of the mere presence of a priest. In the narrative of Eli and his sons (1 S 1. 2^{11}–3, assigned by Budde to E^{2} and by Kittel to SS, *i.e.* an Ephraimite history of Samuel and Saul compiled from various sources about the time of Hosea) we have a recognized priesthood at Shiloh, so completely accepted that the priests are resorted to in spite of their tyrannical and immoral behaviour. In Dt the priesthood of the Levites is regulated by law, and a complete system of priestly mediation by means of sacrifices, etc., elaborated. Jeremiah (?) enforces this by dwelling on the importance of the priesthood (Jer 33$^{18-26}$). Ezekiel, in pronouncing the degradation of the Levites who had been the priests of the various high places, and confining the priesthood to the house of Zadok, *i.e.* the Jerusalem order, concentrated the mediatorial work in this body. Ezra's great reform carried Ezekiel's ideas out in practice, and advanced them still further in the development of the hier-

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* See Driver, *Notes on Heb. Text of Samuel*, p. 220; H. P. Smith, *Comm. ad loc.*; and, for a different view, Cheyne in *Expositor*, June 1899, p. 453 ff.

archy. After the Exile, P and the complete Pentateuch established the mediatorial functions of the sons of Aaron, with the high priest at their head (Nu $3^{10.\,38}$ $4^{15.\,19.\,20}$ 17^{3} 18^{1}). Now the priesthood becomes the official representative of the people before God, only the priest being permitted to approach Jehovah. This approach depends on ceremonial purity; and the priest must be free from bodily blemish (Lv $21^{18\mathrm{ff.}}$); but his function, unlike that of the prophet, does not depend on personal worth. As the mediator between Israel and Jehovah, the priest expiates guilt by prayer and sacrifice, and secures blessings for the people. Aaron the high priest is to 'bear the iniquity of the holy things which the children of Israel shall hallow in all their holy gifts' (Ex 28^{38})—a regulation which Schultz interprets as meaning that his surrender to God is a compensation for whatever duties towards God the actual Israel has unwittingly failed to perform. Similarly, the priests eat the flesh of the sin-offering 'to bear the iniquity of the congregation, and to make atonement for them' (Lv 10^{17}).

The specific mediatorial functions of the priests and of the high priest are kept quite distinct. While apparently the high priest, being *a fortiori* a priest, is at liberty to undertake any sacerdotal function if he chooses to do so, he cannot delegate the specific duties of his own office to any members of the ordinary priesthood, nor may any of them usurp his functions. For the purpose of representing the people before God, the priests are permitted a nearer approach than is allowed to the laity, they only being allowed to enter 'the sacred place,' *i.e.* the first and larger portion of the sanctuary, while the high priest, and he only, can enter the inner chamber, 'the most sacred place.' The priests perform a multitude of services for the benefit of the community; but the chief of these is sacrificing, and it is at the altar that they appear most conspicuously as mediators between God and man. The old custom of private sacrificing by individuals is now entirely abandoned, and all sacrifices must be presented by the priests. The first act, indeed, still rests with the lay worshipper. It is he who procures the victim, brings it up to the temple, and in some cases kills it. Then it is taken over by the priests and their officers. In the case of the *zebah* (AV 'peace-offering,' RVm 'thank-offering'), the priests lay part, chiefly the fat, on the altar, and the rest is eaten, partly by the offerers, partly by the priests, so that the idea of communion is still preserved. The *'ōlah* ('burnt-offering') being wholly consumed on the altar, and representing complete surrender to God, though not directly aimed at effecting an atonement, points in that way more effectually. The rite would express any intense feeling, as of gratitude, devotion, or the craving for propitiation (Lv 1^{4}). The *ḥaṭṭāth* ('sin-offering,' Lv 4. 5. $6^{24\text{-}30}$, Nu 15^{22}) and the *'āshām* (AV 'trespass-offering,' RV 'guilt-offering,' Lv 5-7. 14. 19) were directly aimed at the removal of uncleanness and atonement for breaches of Divine commands. In the case of the sin-offering, while the offerer brought the victim, the priests were to kill it, sprinkle part of the blood before the veil, and pour out the rest at the base of the altar of burnt-offering. The fat was to be burnt on that altar and the rest burnt 'without the camp, in a clean place, where the ashes were poured out.' There was this difference in the case of the trespass-offering, that the rest of the flesh was to be eaten by the priests in a sacred place (Lv 7^{6}).

In the daily service of the temple two lambs were offered as burnt-offerings—one in the morning, the other in the evening. The sin- and trespass-offerings were more occasional, as offences called for them, and of a more private character. It is in relation to these offerings that the priest stands more especially as a mediator between the offender and Jehovah, whose wrath he has occasioned, in whose eye he is unclean, though perhaps owing to some unintentional or ignorant act. But on the great Day of Atonement the daily sacrifice was supplemented with other burnt-offerings, and also a sin-offering, which in this case was of a public character, for the faults of the people generally. In these matters the priest mediates in the Godward action, presenting the people's sacrifices, and seeking the Divine grace; but at times he also acts as mediator from God to the people, when he pronounces people clean, as in the cure of lepers. See, further, arts. PRIESTS AND LEVITES, and SACRIFICE.

The high priest appears still more specifically as the mediator between the whole nation and Jehovah. This is suggested by the fact that when clothed with the ephod he bears the names of the twelve tribes on his heart and shoulders as their representative before God. On the Day of Atonement he enters the most sacred place and sprinkles blood on the mercy-seat, thus bringing the vital part of the sacrifice into the Divine Presence to make atonement for the sins of the nation. Whether the idea embodied in this ceremony was that expressed by the primary meaning of *kipper*, as a covering over of sin, or a covering of the offender from the wrath of God (Cave, Schultz); or whether, neglecting the primary signification, it was suggestive of a ransom or an atoning payment (Bennett, Smend),—in either case the action that secured pardon was performed by the high priest on behalf of the people. [For details of the laws and processes here referred to, see ATONEMENT (DAY OF)].

3. *Prophetic mediation.*—Side by side with the differentiation of the priest from the rest of the community grows up the corresponding differentiation of the prophet, who also has assigned to him specific mediatorial functions. While the priest comes between God and man chiefly at the altar, and for the offering of sacrifice, *i.e.* in ascending mediation, the prophet represents the descending mediation, speaking for God, and revealing the Divine will. This specific prophetic function has been acknowledged in other nations besides Israel. Thus among the Greeks from the earliest times prophecy was hereditary in many families—among the Jannidæ, the Clytiadæ, the Telliadæ, etc. In later ages there were two classes of soothsayers,—in one the enlightenment not being acquired by art or study (*ἄτεχνον καὶ ἀδίδακτον γένος*), the soul being either illuminated awake or thrown into a trance or ecstasy; in the other, the faculty being obtained by study, as an art (*τὸ τεχνικὸν γένος*). See Schömann, *Griechisches Alterthum*^{4}, vol. i. Plato distinguishes between the *μάντις*, who has direct communication with God, and the *προφήτης*, who merely interprets (*Timæus*, 71 ff.). In Israel necromancy was sharply distinguished from prophecy, and considered wicked, as inconsistent with faith in God. Soothsayers are not to be sought after (Dt $18^{9\mathrm{ff.}}$), nevertheless they are credited with real power. The witch of Endor summons the shade of Samuel, and thus obtains information for Saul (1 S $28^{3\mathrm{ff.}}$—a late narrative, but so lifelike as to point to a historical tradition). Then the true prophets are marked off from lying prophets, who, however, might be inspired by an evil spirit from Jehovah (*e.g.* 1 K $22^{5\mathrm{ff.}}$). The prophets who cry, 'Peace, peace,' to flatter the people, are mere tricksters. Still, in early times, the higher prophets were not above doing in their Divine power what soothsayers aimed at by sorcery (*e.g.* 1 S $9^{7\mathrm{ff.}}$ $10^{2\mathrm{ff.}}$). But it is in the loftier functions of prophecy that its media-

torial power is developed. The prophet may have been trained in one of the brotherhoods of the 'sons of the prophets,' in which case he corresponds to the second class of the Greek prophets; but he may have been called without any such preparation, and quite apart from professional associations, as in the case of Amos the herdman (Am 7^{14}). Yet in any case he must have a Divine call and commission (*e.g.* Is 6). Then he comes forth with a Divine message, frequently asserted in the phrase 'Thus saith the Lord.' Such a man mediates in the region of revelation. Prophets also mediate with God on behalf of Israel. Thus Jeremiah intercedes in prayer for Jerusalem (Jer $32^{16\mathrm{ff.}}$), and Ezekiel for his people (Ezk $13^{11\mathrm{ff.}}$). But prophetic mediation of the ascending kind is most explicitly described in the classical passage Is 53. Whoever the 'servant of the Lord' may represent,—whether Israel, the spiritual Israel, the ideal Israel, Jeremiah, Zerubbabel, the Messiah, or some unknown prophet or martyr,—it is equally clear that the passage assigns to him lofty mediatorial functions in giving his life as an offering for sins.

4. *Mediation in the Wisdom Literature.*—The famous passage in Job where, according to AV, the sufferer exclaims, 'I know that my Redeemer liveth,' etc. (Job 19^{25-27}), formerly appealed to as an OT anticipation of the mediation of Jesus Christ, cannot be so employed on any principle of sound exegesis. The 'redeemer' is the *gôēl* (גֹּאֵל), *i.e.* the next of kin whose duty it is to serve as the avenger of blood; and the context shows that this can only be God, who is described as the great Deliverer in an earlier passage (5^{13-21}); see Davidson, 'Job,' in *Camb. Bible*, 143 ff., 291 ff. We must look for this doctrine of mediation in a totally different quarter. It emerges in the personification of Wisdom. That is seen in a purely imaginative and metaphorical form in the Bk. of Proverbs, where Wisdom appears exhorting her son to receive her words (*e.g.* Pr $1^{20\mathrm{ff.}}$). Thus Wisdom says what, if it appeared in the Prophets, would assume the form of a message from God. Wisdom is now the prophetic mediator. In the Books of Wisdom and Sirach the personification is carried still further, and yet it must be regarded as wholly ideal. Philo consummates the process in his doctrine of the Logos, repeatedly described in personal language, and even mentioned as *τὸν δεύτερον θεόν* (in a fragment preserved by Eusebius; see Drummond, *Philo*, ii. p. 197). He is the mediator of creation, of the law, of all the OT theophanies and revelations. And yet it is a mistake to regard Philo's Logos as an actual person. Strong as his language is in this direction, it is only the language of allegory, and in the exact interpretation of it we cannot take the Logos to be other than the Divine Reason, or, when regarded more objectively, God's ideas and plans concerning the universe (see *Leg. Allegor.* I. 19). Still less can we admit that Philo identifies the Logos with the Messiah. Any Messianic mediation is entirely foreign to his philosophy. See, further, art. LOGOS, p. 135.

5. *The mediation of angels.*—Closely associated with this subject, the Wisdom mediation, is that of angels—the one representing the trend of Alexandrian Jewish thought, and the other the speculations of the Jerusalem Rabbis. In both cases the same cause is behind. Both Alexandrian and Palestinian Judaism were profoundly influenced in their conceptions of the Divine nature by the dread of anthropomorphism, and by the consequent tendency to widen the interval between God and man. The result is an immense enlargement of the necessity for mediation. God does not come into direct contact with man and the universe; creation is carried out by means of angels; the law is given by angels; the OT theophanies are angel appearances. Preparation is made for these ideas in the OT itself, where we have not merely angels communicating between earth and heaven, as on Jacob's ladder (Gn 28^{12}), but one—'the angel of Jehovah' (J; *e.g.* Gn $16^{7\mathrm{ff.}}$), or 'the angel of God' (E; *e.g.* Gn $21^{17\mathrm{ff.}}$)—in direct dealings with men. But the mediation of angels is all in one direction—the descending. The OT nowhere teaches the intercessory mediation of angels (see ANGEL).

iii. MEDIATION IN THE NT.—The doctrine of mediation in the NT is wholly centred in Jesus Christ. Intercessory prayer is recognized as a means of securing blessing when offered by Christians on behalf of their brethren (*e.g.* 1 Th 5^{25}, 2 Th 3^{1}, Ja 5^{16}); but this is quite secondary to the mediation of Christ, and may be regarded as dependent on it, since Christian prayer is in the name of Christ (*e.g.* Jn 15^{16}). Similarly, gifts of healing being limited to certain persons, the exercise of them on behalf of others may be regarded as a kind of mediation; but here, too, the power is through Christ and exerted in His name, as that of the real Mediator (*e.g.* Ac 3^{6} 9^{34}).

1. *Christ as Mediator.*—The very Messianic conception essentially involves the idea of mediation. From the thought of God coming to deliver Israel and judge the oppressors in His own Person, in a theophany, the later Jews came to look for deliverance and judgment in the advent of the Messiah, who was to execute the Divine will and realize the blessings of Divine grace for Israel. At first regarded as an exalted king of the line of David restoring the throne of his ancestor, the Messiah came in course of time to be invested with superhuman powers. In the Psalms of Solomon the hope is very vivid. Sinless himself, he will come as a king both to purify and to liberate Israel (Ps.-Sol $17^{35\mathrm{f}.\,38.\,47}$ $18^{6.\,18}$). As the son of David, he will feed Israel like a shepherd ($17^{5.\,23}$). A Jewish Sibyl hopes for the Holy Ruler who will come to his everlasting kingdom. In the Apocalypse of Enoch the Messiah is the righteous one who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden (38^{2} 53^{6} 46^{3}). He will come to be both Ruler and Judge (45^{3} $46^{5\mathrm{ff.}}$). There is some doubt as to the date of these passages. But Charles has successfully vindicated the pre-Christian origin of the greater part of the Messianic references (see *The Book of Enoch*, Append. B, pp. 312–317). In all this we have only the kingly rank and influence. There is no indication of the priestly sacrifice of mediation.

In the Synoptic Gospels we have accounts of the realization of the essential elements of these expectations, though with a complete conversion of them into spiritual facts and a great elevation of them in character and aim. In Mt's account of the angel's announcement to Joseph, Mary's child is to be called Jesus because 'it is he that shall save his people from their sins' (Mt 1^{21}), and the prophecy about Immanuel in Isaiah is applied to Him (1^{23}). Thus, since in Him God's presence on earth will be realized, He will be the connecting link between God and man, and by being this accomplish salvation. In Lk's account of the Annunciation it is promised that He shall be 'great,' 'called the Son of the Most High,' and receive 'the throne of his father David.' Here the Messiahship is distinctly affirmed of Him, and this is connected with a Divine Sonship. We cannot take the latter attribute in its full Christian import—it is used as a title of the Messiah by Caiaphas (according to Mt 26^{63} and Mk 14^{61}), perhaps traceable ultimately to Ps 2^{7}. Still it intimates at least a very close connexion with God, and so helps the idea of the mediation of Christ. The life of Christ opens out in the Gospels in accordance with these anticipations, though doubtless not as they would be interpreted by Jews of the first century. In particular, the following facts may be noticed as indicative of our Lord's mediatorial character and work. (*a*) *His teaching.* As a teacher, Jesus Christ realized the idea of prophetic mediation in the highest degree. The originality, the lofty tone, the spiritual force, the self-evidencing truthfulness of His utterances proclaim their Divine origin, and show the speaker to be the medium through which the will of God is revealed on earth. (*β*) *His works.* Here also Jesus realizes a form of the descending mediation, bringing down Divine power to effect the cure of disease, etc. Thus He claims to work His miracles by 'the finger of God' (Lk 11^{20}). (*γ*) *His prayers.* Jesus carries on the mediation of intercession (*e.g.* Jn 17). (*δ*) *His death.* As we are concerned only with the facts of the history at this point, and should not import the subsequent reflexions springing from apostolic teaching and later speculations, we must not yet bring in any 'doctrine of the atonement.' But, merely contemplating the historical situation, we have in it a vivid picture of mediation. Starting with our Lord's self-evidencing Messiahship in His life, teaching, and work, we see Him facing death and enduring the horrors of the Passion and the Cross, when He might easily have avoided them. Had He remained in Galilee, or had He continued in retirement such as for a time He sought at Cæsarea, in Peræa, and at Ephraim, still more had He abandoned Palestine and gone to Alexandria or Athens, where His teaching would have been welcomed, at all events superficially, for its novelty, He might have eluded the pursuit of His enemies. But any such course would have shattered His aims as the Redeemer of Israel and the Founder of the kingdom of heaven. Accordingly, Jesus is seen sacrificing His life for no personal object, but wholly on behalf of His people; and this we may accept as a fact of history quite independent of specific apostolic teaching and later theological speculation.

2. *The teaching of Jesus on mediation.* — **a.** *The teaching in the Synoptics.*—The descending mediation of one who comes from God is not only apparent throughout our Lord's life on earth; it is distinctly claimed by Him in His utterances about His own mission. Thus it is implied in His acceptance of the Messianic title (Mk 8^{29}), and His prophetic statements concerning His future action in His second advent (Mk 8^{38}). He has come now on behalf of God to establish the kingdom of heaven; He will come in the future with the glory of His Father and the holy angels to judge the world. Then He is the revealer of God, and no one can know the Father but he to whom the Son is willing to reveal Him (Mt 11^{27}). In the parable of the Vineyard He is the Son sent by the owner to collect the revenue—a mediator in the form of an agent (Mt 21^{37}). When declaring that He will own before His Father every one who confesses Him on earth, and deny before His Father every one who denies Him on earth, He approaches the other form of mediation in which His words and actions are efficacious with God on our behalf (Mt 10^{32}). There are two passages in the Synoptic narratives that connect this mediation with the death of Christ. The first is the declaration that He came 'to give his life a ransom for many' (Mk 10^{45}, Mt 20^{28}). The following points should be observed:—(1) This phrase must be approached from the context, where we find our Lord is teaching the duty of humble service by His own example, as coming to minister and not to be ministered unto, so that the primary intention of the passage is not to teach any specific doctrine concerning His mediatorial work, and therefore must not be pressed as though that were its aim. Still He could not have spoken these words without meaning that some such work was to be accomplished by Him. (2) The expression 'give his life' (*δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ*) cannot mean spend His life in service, but must signify surrender it in death as all parallels show (*e.g.* Mk 3^{4} 8^{35}, Lk 9^{56} 12^{20}, Jn 10^{11} 13^{37} 15^{13}). (3) This is voluntary ('give'—not 'lose' His life as in Mk 8^{35}), and emphatically the surrender of His own life (*αὐτοῦ*) in distinction from the familiar Jewish notion of the giving some payment or the offering some sacrifice distinct from the person performing the act. (4) The life of Christ thus surrendered is given as a ransom (*λύτρον*). The Greek word occurs in LXX as a translation of several Heb. terms (גְּאֻלָּה Lv 25$^{24.\ 51}$; פְּדוּי Nu 3$^{46.\ 51}$; פִּדְיֹן Ex 21^{30}; פְּדוּיִם Nu 3^{49}) which signify 'ransom,' *i.e.* a payment to effect liberation or to release from penalty. It also appears in the LXX as a rendering of the Heb. כֹּפֶר, which means literally a *covering*, i.e. *a propitiatory gift* (Ex 21^{30} 30^{12}, Nu 35$^{31\text{ff.}}$, Pr 6^{35} 13^{8}), but 'is restricted by usage to a gift offered as an equivalent for a life that is claimed, the *wergild*' (Driver, *Deut.* 425 f.). This second sense, though accepted by some here (Ritschl, *Lehre v. der Rechtfertigung u. Vers.*^{3} ii. p. 68 ff.), is not so appropriate as the primary meaning of the word, since, though the LXX writers give it in place of the Heb. word for 'atonement,' there is no evidence that the meaning 'atonement' was ever given to the Greek word. Its usage follows its derivation, and wherever it can be tested gives the idea of that which effects release by being paid for that purpose (so Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, p. 512 ff.). (5) This ransom is to effect the liberation of many. It is *for* (*ἀντί*) many. The exact sense of this word will depend on the meaning given to *λύτρον*. If this could mean 'atonement,' the Gr. *ἀντί* would = 'instead of'; but if it means 'ransom,' *ἀντί* must = 'in exchange for'; *i.e.* Christ pays His life as the price in exchange for which many are given up or set at liberty. Two further points are left undetermined. First, as to *what that is from which the many are set free.* The close analogy of the ideas of the passage would suggest death, or we may say a state of slavery (see Lk 4^{18} 'deliverance to the captives . . . to set at liberty'), especially that of sin (cf. Jn 8$^{33.\ 34}$). Second, as to *the person to whom payment is made.* The widest differences of opinion have prevailed on this point, patristic opinion being for the devil (Origen, Gregory of Nyssa), scholastic and later for God (Anselm). Considering that the purpose of the *logion* is not to expound the doctrine of the atonement but to enforce an example of service, it is probable that both of these points are left out of account, so that the teaching goes no further than the idea of deliverance at the cost of Christ's life voluntarily given up for the purpose.

The other passage in which Jesus Christ ascribes a mediatorial character to His death occurs in the institution of the Lord's Supper. The Eucharist itself reveals Christ as a mediator, the elements representing His body and blood as the media through which His people are nourished with Divine life. Lk reports Christ as saying of the bread, 'This is my body *which is given for you*' (*τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον*, Lk 22^{19}), and St. Paul the shorter phrase, 'which is for you' (*τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν*—*κλώμενον* being omitted from the best MSS, 1 Co 11^{24}), words which describe the giving of His body on behalf of or for the benefit of His people. And a specific connexion with His death occurs in the words about the cup. (1) In all four accounts the blood of Christ is connected with the New Covenant (Mk 14^{24}, Mt 26^{28}, Lk 22^{20}, 1 Co 11^{25}), and in the three accounts of the Gospels it is said to be 'shed' (ἐκχυννόμενον). This must point to death. The connexion of the blood with a covenant is based on a familiar Jewish idea—that of confirming a covenant by a sacrifice, the blood of which is thrown on the parties to it. Thus in the sealing of the covenant of the law victims are sacrificed, and Moses sprinkles (literally 'throws') half the blood on the altar and half on the people (Ex 24^{6-8}), as though to express the union of Jehovah and Israel in the covenant by means of the blood, the sacrificed life of the victim, shared by both. This rite, being familiar to Jews who knew the law, must have been suggested to their minds by our Lord's words concerning the cup and His blood. He teaches that His blood, *i.e.* His sacrificed life, confirms the New Covenant (Jer $31^{31ff.}$), making it effectual and binding. (2) In one of the four accounts it is added that this shedding of our Lord's blood is 'for remission of sins' (εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, Mt 26^{28}). Jesus had claimed the right to forgive sins much earlier in His ministry (Mk $2^{5ff.}$). Now for the first and only time He connects this with His death. The second evangelist uses just the same phrase of John's baptism of repentance (βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν), where the language does not determine whether it is baptism, or repentance, or the two together that are connected with forgiveness. Further, in neither case does the language declare that the result is certainly attained, the preposition (εἰς) indicating the end aimed at, not the result reached. But in the case of its association with Christ other teachings and the whole tenor of His work indicate that it is effectual, that the end is reached—a result which the sequel shows was not always the case with John's baptism. The baptism of John pointed towards what Jesus Christ actually effected. Now the connexion of this forgiveness with the shedding of His blood draws our thoughts again to the Jewish sacrificial system, where animals were slain and their blood poured out as atoning offerings. Thus the blood of the sin-offering was placed on the altar (Lv 4^{18}). Jews hearing Christ's words must have understood Him to mean that He was to die as a sacrifice for sin. Wendt considers this phrase to be an addition of the evangelist, but springing out of the consciousness of the Church as a true interpretation of the significance of the Lord's Supper (*Lehre Jesu*, p. 521). Though a Pauline thought, it is in Mt, not Lk.

b. *The teaching in the Fourth Gospel.*—This introduces both aspects of our Lord's mediatorial work more clearly than the Synoptics, but here it is not so easy to discriminate between Christ's original teaching and the form in which it is cast by the writer. Jesus comes claiming Divine Sonship and union with His Father (Jn 10^{30}), and dispensing the Water of Life (4^{14} 7^{37}). He is the Bread of Life (6^{48-58}), the Light of the world (8^{12}), the Good Shepherd (10^{11}), the True Vine (15^{1-7}); in all these aspects He is the medium for bringing to us the life and blessedness that God confers. Then, on the other hand, He also appears as the Mediator through whom men attain to God. He is the Door of the sheepfold (10^{9}), the only Way to the Father (14^{6}), and to see Him is to see the Father (14^{9}). Further, He intercedes on behalf of His disciples (17^{9}). He teaches that the raising of Lazarus was in answer to His prayer (11^{41}). In regard to His death, Jesus does not here use the sacrificial language found in the Synoptics, but He describes it as voluntarily accepted, for He has authority to lay down His life and to take it again (10^{18}), and also as being on behalf of His people. He is the Good Shepherd laying down His life for (ὑπέρ, 'on behalf of'—John never uses ἀντί, 'instead of,' in this connexion) His sheep (10^{11}). The metaphor in its connexion suggests the shepherd facing the wolves in defence of his flock; and the first historical application of it may be found in the scene in the garden, where Jesus, instead of escaping,—like the hireling who 'fleeth' when he sees the wolf coming (10^{12}),—came forward and surrendered, with the stipulation that His disciples should not be touched (18^{4-8}). But it is not possible to see the full meaning of our Lord's words realized in this incident or in any external event. His solemn reference to His authority to lay down His life, combined with the assertion that He does so for the benefit of His people, points to a deeper purpose, though one that is not here at all explained. Wendt holds that Jesus was pointing to His whole saving work, which would be ruined if He deserted His people and relinquished His task; and also that Jesus thus set His disciples a great example, and in doing that died for their benefit—a somewhat gratuitous limitation where nothing but the great purpose is defined. Wendt points out that as the author himself is more explicit on the relation of the death of Christ to the forgiveness of sins (1 Jn 2^{2} 4^{10}), and ascribes to John the Baptist sayings on the subject (Jn $1^{29.36}$), the reticence of Christ is an indication that so far our Lord's teaching has been correctly rendered (*Lehre Jesu*, p. 539).

3. *The teaching of the apostles on mediation.*—**a.** *The speeches in Acts.*—In St. Peter's speeches redemption is offered through Jesus Christ, who is described as God's servant (ὁ παῖς), a title reminding us of Is 53 (*e.g.* Ac $3^{13.26}$), and therefore as bringing His gift of redemption in obedience to the will of God. The name 'Son of God' is not here given to Him; but He is called 'Lord' (κύριος), though in distinction from Jehovah in an OT passage applied to Him (Ac 2^{34}). The primary point to be made out is that He is the Messiah. In treating of this, St. Peter has to encounter the fact of our Lord's crucifixion. He does not here connect it with the mediatorial work by introducing any doctrine of the Atonement. He has to face the great objection arising in Jewish minds from the fact that He who is affirmed to be the Christ had been executed in ignominy. This he does (1) by correcting popular conceptions of the Messiahship, in calling attention to other titles than that of the victorious king, viz. that of Prophet (Ac 3^{22}), and that of God's servant (3^{13} 4^{27}); (2) by pointing to predictions of the death of the Christ (*e.g.* Ac 2^{23}), so that this should have been expected; (3) by appearing as a witness of the Resurrection, and appealing to the like testimony of the other apostles. This was the clinching proof that death had not annulled the Messianic claims of Jesus, since He had received the greatest mark of God's recognition. Having thus met the reproach of the Cross and also given the positive proof of the Messiahship of Jesus afforded by the Resurrection, St. Peter proceeds to urge His claims (2^{36}); to lay the charge of their guilt against His murderers (3^{14}); and to invite them to repentance with the promise of future 'seasons of refreshing' in the return of Christ ($3^{19.20}$), but also with the gospel declarations that God had raised up His servant to be a means of blessing to the people in turning them from their sins (3^{26}), that in Him and in Him alone is salvation ($4^{11.12}$). He was described earlier as the 'Prince' or 'Author of life' (τὸν δὲ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς, 3^{15}), and later as exalted by God to be 'a Prince and a Saviour.' Thus these speeches distinctly set forth the idea of the descending mediation with the presentation of Jesus Christ as the Divinely-appointed intermediary through whom salvation is brought to men. They do not set forth any doctrine on the Godward aspect of mediation, though the choice of the title 'the Servant,' pointing to Is 53, brings in the germ of it for reflecting minds.

b. *St. Paul and* 1 *Peter.*—When we come to St. Paul's Epistles we reach a fuller expression of the Christian doctrine of mediation in both its aspects. He is the first NT writer to use the term mediator (*μεσίτης*), viz. where he says the law 'was ordained through angels by the hand of a *mediator*,' and adds, 'now a mediator is not of one; but God is one' (Gal $3^{19.\,20}$). Winer states that the number of interpretations of this passage mount up to 250 or 300. Origen and commentators who have followed him are plainly wrong in understanding Christ to be the mediator St. Paul here mentions. Undoubtedly he means Moses, who received the law, according to the rabbinical doctrine, not directly from God, but through the angels, and communicated it to the people (see Lv 26^{46} LXX). Lightfoot's view of the second part of the passage is as follows: 'The very idea of mediation implies two persons at least, between whom the mediation is carried on. The law, then, is of the nature of a contract between two parties, God on the one hand, and the Jewish people on the other. It is only valid so long as both parties fulfil the terms.' But it is different with God's promise. God is one, and no other person is concerned with the promise; therefore it is absolute and unconditional (Lightfoot, *Gal. in loc.*). This interpretation is substantially that of Schleiermacher, Winer, Herrmann; it is supported by Lipsius (*Hand-Com. in loc.*). Hausrath treats the 'of one' (*ἑνός*) as neuter (in spite of the *εἷς*), and takes it not numerically, but quantitatively, as signifying that the mediator is not a unit, but admits two distinctions of will—a difficult and improbable position. If, then, we follow Lightfoot here, we not only see that the passage has no direct reference to Christ's mediation, but that it even excludes this from view for the time being by contrasting God's direct promise in the Gospel with the mediation of Moses in the law. Still it is only one form of mediation that is thus excluded, for the idea of mediation is prominent in the apostle's writings. In 1 Ti 2^{15} Jesus Christ is distinctly called a mediator between God and men. Both aspects of mediation are set forth in St. Paul's writings. (1) Christ is the Mediator in bringing Divine grace to man. St. Paul carefully distinguishes the Son from the Father. The Father sends His Son to effect redemption (*e.g.* Gal 4^4, Ro 8^3). Throughout, St. Paul teaches that this blessing originates in the love of God, who therefore does not require to be rendered gracious by the offices of a mediator, but, on the contrary, out of His own grace provides the mediator (*e.g.* Ro $3^{24.\,25}$ 5^8). To effect the great purpose of redemption, Christ communicates to us the knowledge of God (2 Co 4^6), the grace of God (Ro 5^{15}), remission of sins together with 'the righteousness of God' (Ro 3^{22}, Ph 3^9), God's free gift of eternal life which is 'in Christ Jesus our Lord' (Ro 6^{23}), and all the blessings of the Christian gospel. St. Paul, writing out of his own experience, describes the Christian life as a condition of union with Jesus Christ (*e.g.* Ph 2^{21}). (2) Christ is also the Mediator in bringing about reconciliation with God. There is a point where these two kinds of mediation coincide or work together. Thus St. Paul writes of 'God reconciling us to Himself through Christ' (2 Co 5^{18}), and describes God as thus reconciling the world to Himself, with the addition 'not reckoning unto them their trespasses' (v.^{19}). This clause suggests that, while the passage as a whole points to the overcoming of man's enmity to God, there was also the removal of God's charge of guilt against man, and therefore a certain Godward aspect of the mediation, although even this originated with God. That the Greek word for 'reconcile' has this twofold bearing is suggested by other instances of the use of it, *e.g.* Ro 5^{10}, where the 'reconciled' (*καταλλαγέντες*) appear as those restored to the Divine favour and not merely turned from their own enmity, and 1 Co 7^{11}, where the wife's being reconciled to her husband includes a kindly reception on his part. St. Paul sets out his ideas on this subject very explicitly in Ro 3^{24-26}, in which passage the following points may be noted: (*α*) The redemption originated in God who 'set forth publicly' (*προέθετο, proposuit*; Vulg., Sanday-Headlam, though RVm follows Pesh. and Origen with the meaning 'purposed'), showed His righteousness in regard to His previous forbearance, and now acts as 'the Justifier.' (*β*) It is mediated by Christ. The redemption is 'in Christ Jesus.' God set Him forth to effect this end. It is enjoyed through faith in Him. (*γ*) This is accomplished by Christ becoming a 'propitiation,' and by means of 'His blood.' The word rendered 'propitiation' (*ἱλαστήριον*) is literally 'a place or vehicle of propitiation' (Sanday-Headlam), and is used in LXX and He 9^5 for the lid of the ark, the 'mercy-seat'; but it cannot be so employed here. Either it is a neuter adjective, or a masc. accus. adjective used predicatively of Christ (Sanday-Headlam). As a neuter it is often taken to be equivalent to a 'propitiatory sacrifice' (Luther, Thol., Phil., Delitzsch, Ritschl, Lipsius, etc.), or indefinitely as a 'means of propitiation' (Hofmann, Weiss, etc.). Whichever interpretation we accept shows that the ordinary pagan thought of propitiating an offended divinity cannot be intended; besides, it is to be observed that the word *ἱλάσκομαι* is never used in LXX or NT in the middle form, as with the classics, for propitiating God, but always in the passive, for God's being gracious. Therefore we must understand the propitiation, even if sacrificial, as a means by which God acts graciously to man. Then the statement that this is by means of Christ's blood, points to the death of Christ as a sacrifice; but with the distinctive thought that His life was given, that the value of this life, surrendered in death, might be the propitiation, or means of bringing God's grace to man. Elsewhere St. Paul emphasizes the importance of the death of Christ in this connexion. The message he preaches is 'the word of the cross' (1 Co 1^{18}), 'Christ died for (*ὑπέρ*) our sins' (1 Co 15^3). This, St. Paul gives as part of what he had 'received from the Lord,' adding that it was 'according to the Scriptures.' Here we have two sources of the apostle's doctrine of the atonement—tradition of Christ's teaching (*e.g.* 1 Co 11^{25}, and such a *logion* as Mk 10^{45}), and inferences from Scripture (*e.g.* Is $53^{8.\,10}$, cf. Lk $24^{26.\,27}$; Ac 9^{32-35}). St. Paul writes of Christ as dying 'on behalf of' (*ὑπέρ*) and 'concerning' (*περί*, the LXX word for sin-offerings) our sins; but he never uses the expression 'instead of' (*ἀντί*), dying in our stead. He says that Christ was 'made to be sin on our behalf' (2 Co 5^{21}), a powerful expression for being treated as a sinner, and so 'a curse for us' (Gal 3^{13}). He does not explain how it comes about that this suffering and sacrificial death of Christ effect our redemption. He seems to have the analogy of the Jewish sacrifices in mind, though he does not directly cite it (as the author of He) in explanation of his doctrine. He also points to the obedience of Christ as a ground of justification (Ro 5^{19}). It is impossible to read St. Paul's words on this subject without seeing that he very closely connects the death of Christ with the salvation of souls, that he regards this death as sacrificial—*i.e.* as an offering to God—while at the same time he never regards it as inducing God's grace, but, on the contrary, treats it as springing from the love of God to mankind. St. Paul does not confine his teaching on the mediatorial work of Christ to His death. The Resurrection is also for our benefit; our Lord was both 'delivered for our trespasses' and 'raised for our justification' (Ro 4^{25}). In His risen life He is 'the first-fruits of them that are asleep' (1 Co 15^{20}). Lastly, His intercession, now carried on in heaven, is an important part of His work as Mediator (Ro 8^{34}). In St. Paul's later Epistles the more advanced Christology necessarily affects the doctrine of mediation. In *Colossians* we seem to have a Christian alternative to the Jewish doctrine of the mediation of angels in the administration of the universe, and perhaps to Philo's specific teaching concerning the Logos as the mediator of creation, for there we read concerning Christ that 'in him were all things created' (Col 1^{16}), and the mediator of providential government, for 'in him all things consist' (v.^{17}). Referring to his teaching on the death of Christ who had 'made peace through the blood of his cross,' St. Paul enlarges the application of it to a future 'reconciliation of all things . . . whether things upon the earth, or things in the heavens' (v.^{20}), thus representing Christ as the great mediator and peacemaker for the whole universe.

1 P closely follows the Pauline teaching. Christ redeems us with His 'blood as of a lamb without blemish' (1^{19}), this reference to the lamb making the shedding of the blood evidently sacrificial. Similarly St. Peter writes of His bearing our sins in His body upon the tree (2^{24}), and suffering 'for sins once, the righteous for (ὑπέρ, on behalf of) the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God' (3^{18}). The only addition to the Pauline thought is the greater stress laid on the sufferings of Christ—while St. Paul usually confines our attention to His death. The idea of bringing us to God suggests reconciliation, and Christ, through His sufferings, coming as the Mediator who effects this reconciliation. In one mysterious passage the source of which, or subject alluded to, cannot be traced, St. Peter enlarges the idea of the mediation of Christ in an entirely new direction, assigning part of its operation to the state of the dead; for such is the simplest and most generally accepted interpretation of the statement that 'he went and preached unto the spirits in prison' (3$^{19.\,20}$). That this was only a brief episode, confined to the time between the death and the resurrection of Christ, is suggested by other passages in the Epistle indicating that He was raised from the dead (1^{3}), and that He passed into the heavens, there to exercise exalted powers of government (3^{22}).

c. *Epistle to the Hebrews.*—The main topic of Hebrews is to exhibit the mediatorial status and functions of Jesus Christ in contrast with the various forms of mediation recognized in Judaism. The Epistle opens with a contrast of the unity and exalted character of the new revelation in a Son with the broken and varied nature of the OT revelation by means of prophets. Christ there appears as the agent of creation, the sustainer of all things, who has also made purification for sins (1$^{1-3}$). Then, taking up the contents of this revelation, it proceeds to work out the contrast in several regions. First, we have the mediation of angels in giving the law; the writer contrasts the higher status of the Son, who is honoured with Divine titles, though addressed by God as another person to whom is committed the government of His kingdom (1^{4}–2^{18}). Here Jesus is named 'the Apostle and High Priest of our confession,' in contrast with Moses, who was only a servant in God's house, while Christ is both the Builder of the house and the Son set over it (3$^{1-6}$). The idea of our Lord's High-priesthood thus introduced is enlarged. He has passed into the heavens, and therefore we are encouraged to draw near with boldness to the throne of grace (4^{16}). This leads on to specific teaching concerning our Lord's priestly office. Two general considerations arise—the priesthood is of Divine appointment; yet it requires human sympathies on the part of the priest. Both of these conditions are fulfilled in Christ's priesthood. In taking the two together we see that His office is related both to God and to man, so that He stands in the intermediate position of a priestly mediator (5$^{1-10}$). A reference to Melchizedek in Ps 110 leads to a comparison of the Messianic priesthood 'after the order of Melchizedek,' with the priesthood of Aaron to the advantage of the former, since Abraham, the ancestor of Levi, did homage to Melchizedek, and since the priest of the Melchizedek order is declared by the Psalmist to be perpetual. After alluding to the sacrifices—a subject to be developed later—the writer returns to the idea of Sonship as the crowning proof of the superiority of Christ as a priest (ch. 7). Then he passes to a fresh consideration. It must be admitted that Christ is not a priest under the law, and therefore not in accordance with the OT covenant. But a new covenant is introduced—that predicted by Jeremiah, concerning the law written in the heart. It is under this covenant that Christ's priesthood is exercised. It is through Him that the covenant itself is brought into effect. Here we come to another instance of the use of the word 'mediator' in the NT: Christ is described as the 'Mediator' of this new and better covenant, 'that is, the Agent by whom it is established' (Bruce, *Hebrews*, p. 296). This use of the word is parallel to St. Paul's in Gal 3$^{19.\,20}$, where the apostle applies it to Moses as the agent through whom the covenant of the law was introduced. In both cases we have only the descending mediation, the mediator representing and executing God's will among men. But though the author does not use the title for the other aspect of mediation, he is most explicit in teaching the truth that represents in effect the Godward side of mediation. This is implied in the priestly work of Christ. Like the Levitical priests, Christ approaches God on our behalf; but with these important differences, that He not only effects much more than Aaron effected for Israel, but also brings His people directly into the Divine Presence. Subsequently the argument proceeds to develop the idea of the sacrifice of Christ in contrast with the Jewish sacrifices, and here it directly deals with the Godward aspect of mediation. Christ offers the sacrifice of Himself to God (9^{14}). Later, contrasting this sacrifice of Christ's with the Jewish rites, the author quotes Ps 40, where God says He has no pleasure in burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin, and where the Psalmist promises instead of such oblations the offer of his own service to do the will of God. That surrender of obedience is taken over by the author of Hebrews and applied to Christ as the essence of His sacrifice. By this will, *i.e.* by Christ thus doing God's will, we are sanctified. But such obedience involves dying, it is carried out to the very end and consummated in death (cf. Ph 2^{8} 'becoming *obedient* unto death'); and thus it is offered as a 'sacrifice for sins.' This is so effectual that it needs to be offered but once, while the Jewish sacrifices were repeated (He 10$^{1-19}$). Here we have most distinctly set forth the Godward aspect of mediation. It is impossible to understand the writer's doctrine of Christ's sacrifice merely as God sacrificing Himself in the person of His Son in the sense of giving Himself to us, for he distinctly says that the sacrifice is offered by Christ 'unto God' (τῷ θεῷ, 9^{14}). The efficacy of this is widespread. It is to cleanse the conscience from dead works to serve the living God (9^{14}), for 'the redemption of transgressions' (v.^{15}), 'to put away sin' (v.^{26}), a 'sacrifice for sins' (*ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν*, 10^{12}), and so leading to 'remission of sins' (10^{18}). At the same time it is for the confirmation of the new covenant. The author connects the death of Christ with this result in two ways: reading the word for covenant (*διαθήκη*) in the classical Gr. sense as a *will* [but see Westcott, *ad loc.*], he argues that for the will to take effect there must be death (9^{17}); then, returning to the idea of *covenant*, he compares the blood of Christ to that of the sacrifice which confirms a covenant (Ex 24^{3-8}).

d. *St. John.*—(*a*) The Johannine theology as represented in *the Fourth Gospel and the Epistles.*—The Prologue to the Gospel introduces the Logos as the mediator of creation and revelation, the title probably coming from Philo and Stoic usage, but the idea from Hebrew conceptions of the 'Memra' [see JOHN, vol. ii. p. 685]. God's revelation in nature (Jn 1^{1-5}), in prophecy (vv.$^{6-8}$), in consciousness (vv.$^{9, 10}$), and in the incarnation (vv.$^{11-16}$), is in every case mediated by the Logos, who is a Divine Being, in intimate relations with God, and Himself essentially God, yet with a certain personal distinction from God (1^1). God gives eternal life to the world through Christ (3^{16}). To have the Son is to have the life, and not to have the Son is not to have the life (1 Jn 5^{12}). It is through Him that we receive the knowledge of truth and God (v.^{20}). Other ideas of the same character are contained in St. John's accounts of the teachings of Christ, referred to above. Then the apostle distinctly sets out the other aspect of mediation, in the atonement for sin offered by our Lord. Christ was 'manifested to take away sins' (or 'bear sins,' RVm; Gr. *ἵνα τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἄρῃ*, 1 Jn 3^5). Compare St. John's report of John the Baptist's words about 'the Lamb of God which taketh away (RVm 'beareth,' Gr. *αἴρων*) the sin of the world' (Jn 1^{29}). More specifically St. John describes Jesus Christ as 'an advocate' (*παράκλητον*) with the Father (1 Jn 2^1), *i.e.* as a pleader who mediates on our behalf, and represents our case to God; and as a 'propitiation for our sins' (*ἱλασμός ἐστιν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν*, 2^2). It is to be observed that the word rendered 'propitiation' is not the same as that employed by St. Paul in Ro 3^{25} (*ἱλαστήριον*), and signifies distinctly either an act of propitiation, or, in Alexandrine usage, a means of propitiating (*e.g.* Nu 5^8, Lv 25^9). In 2 Mac 3^{33} *ποιεῖσθαι ἱλασμόν* is used of a priest making a propitiatory sacrifice (see Thayer-Grimm). Accordingly St. John seems to mean that Christ is the propitiatory sacrifice. He had said earlier that 'the blood of Jesus His Son cleanseth us from all sin' (1 Jn 1^7); where, as usual, the word *blood*, written by a Jew with reference to cleansing from sin, must refer to a sacrificial idea. Thus by His death Christ becomes the sacrifice which removes the guilt of sin, and secures forgiveness for the penitent. In common with other NT writers, St. John does not explain the *rationale* of the process.

(*β*) The idea of mediation in *the Apocalypse.*—Both aspects of mediation are here presented to us. On the one hand, Jesus has come from God with truth and grace, and will come again to execute judgment. He is the *Logos*, 'The Word of God' (*ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ*, 19^{13}), and so the source of revelation. He is the 'Living One' (*ὁ ζῶν*, $4^{9, 10}$ 10^6), and therefore the source of life. He appears as the mediator of creation, like the Logos in the Gospel, for He is 'the beginning of the creation of God' (*ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ*, 3^{14}). Beyschlag understands this to mean the first being created (*NT Theol.* ii. 381); but most interpreters regard the *ἀρχή* as independent of creation, its determining principle (so Weiss, Gebhardt, Lechler, Bousset, Briggs, Stevens, etc.). Further, he holds the keys of Hades and of death (1^{18}), *i.e.* determines who shall enter and who shall leave the region of the dead. He sits on the throne with God (3^{21} 7^{17} 12^5), and will be the assessor of God in the judgment ($6^{16, 17}$). In all these respects God acts through Him. On the other hand, we see in Christ the Godward aspect of mediation in which He represents us to God. As in Hebrews, though less explicitly, Christ is both priest and sacrifice. The opening description of Him as 'clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about at the breasts with a golden girdle' (1^{13}), plainly points to priestly robes. But He is also the sacrifice. The most characteristic designation of our Lord in this book is 'the Lamb of God,' a title which occurs 29 times: He 'loosed (RV *λύσαντι*, following best MSS, instead of 'washed,' *λούσαντι*, AV) us from our sins by his blood' (1^5); the saints 'have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb' (7^{14}). Such language in a book that has many features of Judaism cannot but contain a sacrificial allusion. At the same time, here and elsewhere in NT, while the explanation of ideas of 'blood' and 'sacrifice' must take account of the OT, the advance of the Christian revelation to higher and more spiritual conceptions of religion forbids us to limit the meaning to Jewish ideas. The spiritual essence of sacrifice, the surrender of will, is the specially Christian thought.

Conclusion.—All through the Bible the idea of mediation in both its aspects is continually appearing. In the OT we find it distributed among a number of persons and functions—in the patriarch, the king, the prophet, the priest, the sacrifice, the 'servant of the Lord.' In the NT all these distinctions are merged in the sole mediation of Jesus Christ, both aspects of which are seen in His life and teaching, and in the apostolic writings. Our Lord appears throughout as one sent by God to reveal Divine truth, to execute the Divine will, to bring deliverance to mankind from sin and ruin, to confer the gift of eternal life, and to establish the kingdom of heaven on earth. On the other hand, His action, to some extent His teaching, more explicitly the apostolic teaching (represented by St. Paul, St. Peter, St. John, and Ep. to Heb.), present Him as the Mediator with God on behalf of mankind, making intercession in His prayers on earth and in His heavenly life after the resurrection, but chiefly giving His life as a ransom, shedding His blood for the remission of sin, acting as a means of propitiation, doing God's will, and dying as the perfecting of obedience to please God for the benefit of mankind, confirming the new covenant by His death. The images of 'blood' and 'sacrifice' are drawn from the OT, and can be understood only when their origin and allusion are recognized. At the same time, since our Lord liberated religion from the external and material limitations of Judaism, this process must be acknowledged with regard to the priestly and sacrificial functions. The revelation of the Fatherhood of God necessarily modifies the idea of intercession and priestly mediation. The revelation of His spirituality, and of the spiritual character of religion, carries with it freedom from material conceptions of sacrifice. The OT priest killed animals and sprinkled actual blood. Christ gave His life on the cross; but the reference to His blood has no such material connexion. We must take it metaphorically for His life surrendered in death. Similarly, since He was not, like the Jewish sacrifices, an oblation laid by a priest on an altar, His sacrifice must be interpreted spiritually, and its reality found in the spiritual act of giving Himself to God in death.

Explanatory theories, as that the ransom was paid to Satan (Origen, Gregory of Nyssa), that the atonement was offered to the rights of God, whose suzerainty had been outraged (Anselm), that it was for the satisfaction of law and abstract justice (Protestant theologians, especially), that it consisted in our Lord's repenting on our behalf (M'Leod Campbell), etc., do not come within the scope of this inquiry, as they appear only in later speculations; and though all of them appeal to the Bible for the justification of their positions, none of them can claim to be results of pure exegesis, or even contents of strictly biblical theology.

LITERATURE.—The place of mediation in foreign religions may be gathered from the Introduction to *The Sacred Books of the East*; the *Hibbert Lectures*; Monier Williams' works on *Hinduism* and *Buddhism*; and *Non-Christian Religious Systems* (S.P.C.K). For treatment of the OT teaching see works of OT theology by Oehler, Schultz, Smend, Piepenbring, Bennett; Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*; Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*. For the NT teaching see *The Teaching of Jesus* by Wendt; do. by Horton; works on NT theology by Beyschlag, Holtzmann, Bovon, Weiss, Stevens, Adeney; Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*; Ritschl, *Die Lehre v. d. Rechtfertigung u. Versöhnung*, 3 vols. (Eng. tr. of vol. i.). M'Leod Campbell, *On the Nature of the Atonement*; R. W. Dale, *The Doctrine of the Atonement*; H. N. Oxenham, *The Catholic Doctrine of the Atonement*; Bruce, *The Humiliation of Christ*; Simon, *The Redemption of Man*, and *Reconciliation by Incarnation*; Dorner, *System of Christian Doctrine*; Cave, *Script. Doct. of Sacrifice*; Pryce, 'The Atonement,' in *Old Faith in New Light*.

W. F. ADENEY.

MEDICINE.—Compared with other countries in the same latitude, Palestine is, and probably was in Bible days, a fairly healthy land. It has few sluggish streams, and most of its valleys are windswept; except in some few localities malarious diseases are not very rife, and owing to its want of harbours, and consequently of maritime commerce, imported epidemics are not as common as they are in Egypt, which in the Old Testament is regarded as very much more unhealthy (cf. Dt 7^{15} 28^{60}, Am 4^{10}). In addition to these natural advantages, if at any time the sanitary legislation of the Priestly Code were strictly observed, this must have been instrumental in preventing and checking the spread of disease. Under the social system set forth in the law, if it could have been carried out, there would not have been any very poor class, subject to the diseases fostered by destitution; and it is probable that until a comparatively late period there was no permanent overcrowding in the larger towns. It is difficult to estimate the density of the population in ancient times, but, considering the frequent checks it received from wars internal and external, it is not probable that even in the most prosperous days it ever exceeded 300 to the square mile. (The numbers in 1 Ch 21^{5} or 2 S 24^{9} are obviously unreliable). The conditions of life contemplated in the Priestly Code are those of a community of agricultural freeholders; and the social and moral enactments of the law provide for the maintenance of a healthy discipline, and for the repression of excesses injurious to health.

Health, the state in which the bodily functions are perfectly discharged, is, according to Sirach, the greatest of earthly blessings ($30^{14.16}$). The word occurs 15 times in the OT (AV), but in different connotations. It is used twice as the tr. of שָׁלוֹם *shālôm*, referring to material prosperity (Gn 43^{28}, 2 S 20^{9}), but here it is replaced by 'well' in the RV. Thrice in Ps 'health' in the old sense of welfare is the rendering of יְשׁוּעָה *yĕshû'āh* (42^{11} 43^{5} 67^{2}; in the first two places RVm substitutes 'help'). Four times אֲרֻכָה *'ărûkāh* (prop. the *new flesh* that forms on a wound), is tr. 'health,' but 'healing' is better (so RV, as in Is 58^{8}, and RVm in Jer 30^{17} 33^{6}). In Pr 3^{8} 'health' in the ordinary sense of the word is the tr. of רִפְאוּת *riph'ûth*; but in Pr 4^{22} 12^{18} 13^{17} 16^{24} and Jer 8^{15}, in which 'health' is used metaphorically, the Heb. is מַרְפֵּא *marpê'* (in the last ref. RV renders 'healing'). In the NT 'health' occurs twice: Ac 27^{34}, where it is the tr. of σωτηρία, and is better rendered in RV 'safety'; and 3 Jn ^{2}, in the sense of bodily welfare, to 'be in health' being the tr. of ὑγιαίνειν.

The blessing of health was regarded as a reward of service (Is 58^{8}), or withheld on account of sin (Jer $8^{15.22}$). In both OT and NT the popular belief is referred to, that diseases are penal in their origin, inflicted by God on account of sin either personal or parental (Jn 9^{2}); and coming sometimes directly from Him (Ex 4^{11}, Dt 32^{39}), or from Satan when permitted (Job 2^{7}), or by the agencies of other spirits, as those of dumbness (Mk 9^{17}) or foulness (Mk 9^{25}). Diseases might also be caused by envy on the part of others (Job 5^{2}), and the power of the evil eye is referred to in 1 S 18^{9} as well as in the Talmud (*Shabbath* 67, *Pesachim* 112, etc.). They might also come as consequences of gluttony, of drunkenness, of vicious or self-indulgent practices (Sir $37^{30.31}$), but even in these cases they were regarded as coming by God's direct interposition. Therefore healing was a divine token of forgiveness: God was the physician of His people (Ex 15^{26}), and it was their duty to look to Him for relief; hence Asa's sin in seeking to the physicians (2 Ch 16^{2}).

Physicians.—The medical knowledge of the biblical peoples was small in amount and crude in character. In Egypt there were schools of medicine in the 15th cent. B.C. (*Papyrus Ebers* i, ciii); but there are no traces of any system of medical education in Palestine in Bible times, and allusions to physicians are few. Egyptian physicians, who are called Joseph's servants, embalmed Jacob (Gn 50^{2}). These were probably *hr-ḥbu*, the class of priests whom the Greeks called *paraschistes* and *taricheutæ*, whose long misunderstood relations have been cleared up by Revillout (*Æg. Zeitschr.* 1879, 1880). The existence of physicians in the days of the compilation of the Book of Judgments (Ex 21^{19}) has been inferred from the order that the assailant of his neighbour is to cause him to be thoroughly healed. The רֹפֵא *rōphê'*, of Jer 8^{22}, was a healer of wounds, a bandager (cf. Ec 3^{3}). While in Asa's time to seek the physician was to depart from God, Sirach in later days regards him as God's servant, 'for from the Most High cometh healing' (38^{2}). At the same time repentance and a memorial offering on the part of the sick man are to precede the visit of the physician, who is to be priest as well as healer (v.^{14}). In the newly discovered Heb. the passage in v.^{15}, which, in the Greek, seems to speak slightingly of him, says, 'He that sinneth against God will behave arrogantly before his physician' (יתגבר לפני רופא).

In early Egypt also the physicians were priests, and *Papyrus Ebers* gives several formulæ to be used as prayers while compounding medicaments (for later Egyptian physicians see Herod. ii. 84). The Hebrew priests had charge of certain branches of public health, *e.g.* leprosy, but it was to the prophets that those requiring medical aid chiefly applied: Nathan (2 S 12^{14}), Ahijah (1 K 14^{2}), Elijah (1 K 17^{18}), Elisha (2 K 4^{22}), and Isaiah (2 K 20^{7}) are examples. In post-biblical times Jewish physicians were famous throughout the East, and the sayings of many of these are preserved in the Talmud and other rabbinical writings. According to *Sanhedrin* 17*b* there was a physician in every town, and there was also in the temple a physician for the priests (*Sheḳalim* 5. 1, 2). At the same time it was not unlawful to employ a Gentile, even to perform circumcision, if no qualified Jew was available (*Menaḥoth* 42*a*); but Gentile medicine was to be taken with caution, as it might contain blood. At first these physicians and surgeons were mostly priests possessed of a certain amount of traditional and empirical knowledge, as, for example, in connexion with the diagnosis of leprosy. Doubtless many of them were, like Job's friends, רֹפְאֵי אֱלִל Job 13[4], that is, having the same relation to real physicians as that which an insignificant idol bears to the true God. Men of this kind probably gave rise to the proverb in *Kiddushin* 4. 14, that the best of physicians was deserving of hell. In the NT we have Luke, 'the beloved physician' (Col 4[14]), in whose writings the influence of a medical training has been recognized by Lagarde (*Psalterium juxta Heb. Hieron.* 165), Hobart (*Medical Language of St. Luke*, 1882); see also Blass, *Philol. of the Gospels*, 1898. The reference to physicians in Mk 5[26] is not very appreciative (cf. with Lk 8[43]).

Until a comparatively late period, the objections to touching the dead, and the ceremonial uncleanness associated with such contact, prevented the Jewish physicians from obtaining any practical acquaintance with the interior of the human body, as dissection was regarded as dishonouring the dead (*Chullin* 11*b*). The famous Rabbi Ishmael (A.D. 100), of whose anatomical knowledge many stories are told, broke down this prejudice to some degree, and obtained the body of a condemned criminal for anatomical purposes (*Bechoroth* 45*a*); see also *Nazir* 32*b*, for stories of Theudas recognizing bones. Something of the structure of animals must have been known from the priestly experiences in sacrifices, in which the operator had the opportunity of inspecting the viscera of the slain beasts. The method employed in the slaughter of the animals whose carcases were used as food, in order to drain the body of its blood, must also have given to the *sheḥeṭ* (butcher) and to the *shômēr* (inspector), whose duty is to certify the meat as *kôshēr* or clean, a certain amount of empirical knowledge of the anatomy and pathology of animals (*Chullin* 9*a*). In the *Sepher Zabaḥi* of Rabbi Meir Cohen (Leghorn, 1832) the ritual for this examination is given at length, and from it the stringency of the rules for the recognition of clean flesh can be estimated. This code is of considerable antiquity, and must have been of great benefit to the public health (Buxtorf, *Syn. Jud.* xxvii.).

There are very few biblical references to the facts of anatomy or physiology. 'The blood is the life,' and therefore tabooed as food (Gn 9[4], Lv 17[11]). This in itself was an important sanitary precaution, considering the highly metabolic nature of blood, which is of all the materials in the body the most likely to carry the microbes of disease, as well as parasites of larger size. In Job 10[10] and Ps 139[15. 16] the current notion of embryology, which was one of epigenesis, is set forth; but the details were considered as beyond human knowledge (Ec 11[5]); see also *Nidda* 25. In *Aruch* the embryo is said to appear at first like a grasshopper. שֹׁר, tr. 'navel,' appears in Pr 3[8] as the seat of health, perhaps as being the mid-point of the body, but the word is perhaps a slip for בָּשָׂר 'flesh,' in contradistinction to bones, as LXX reads it (*τῷ σώματί σου*). The heart (wh. see) was, to the Jews, as to all the peoples of antiquity, the seat of emotion, thought, and wisdom: the reins or kidneys (wh. see) were the seats of feeling, passion, and determination: the bowels (wh. see) were supposed to be the organs of affection and sympathy (see Job 30[27]). In Zohar (*Bemidbar* 128) there is a remarkable account of the anatomy of the brain.

There were many *proverbial sayings* current among the Jews referring to physicians. Our Lord quotes one of these: 'Physician, heal thyself' (Lk 4[23]). A similar saying, אסיא אסי חגירתך, occurs in Jalkut on *Bereshith* 38, and in Midrash Rabbah (*Beresh.* 23). The same idea is expressed in a saying ascribed to R. Levi (Midrash on Lv 5): 'It is a shame on the country whose surgeon is gouty and whose oculist is blind.' See Burckhardt's *Arab. Prov.* No. 404. A proverb, the parallel of our Lord's parable of the Mote and the Beam, occurs in *Baba Bathra* 15*b*, 'Say not, Take the straw out of thine eye, when thou hast a stick in thine own.' Another of His sayings, 'They that are whole have no need of a physician; but they that are sick,' is nearly alike in sense to a sentence in *Baba Kamma* 46*b*, 'They who suffer pain should seek the physician.' Other medical proverbs are, 'God determines the healing before the disease' (*Megillah* 13); 'A wise man will not live in a town where there is no physician' (*Sanhedrin* 17*b*); and, on the other hand, 'Do not live in a town of which the chief officer is a physician' (*Pesachim* 113. 1); 'Honour the physician before thou hast need of him' (*Tanḥuma*, see also Sir 38[1] Hebrew version).

Visitation of the sick, although not enjoined in the Mosaic books, is urged as a duty in the Talmud (*Shabbath* 127 B), and several paragraphs in the *Shulḥan Aruch* (*Jôre De'ah* 335 ff.) are devoted to this subject. Several cases are excepted, such as ophthalmic or abdominal diseases, and headache, as these may be aggravated by disturbance. Rabbi Joḥanan says, 'He who visits the sick lengthens his life, and he who refrains shortens it' (*Nedarim* 39). Our Lord's enforcement of this duty in Mt 25[36. 43] is noteworthy.

Of the general terms referring to disease in the Bible the word in commonest use is **sick.** This occurs 38 times in OT and 50 in NT. In the former it is usually the tr. of חָלָה *ḥālāh*, but in Lv 15[33] (cf. 20[18]) it represents דָּוָה *dāvāh*, in the sense of temporary periodic sickness: a cognate word (דַּוָּי) in Is 1[5] is tr. 'faint,' and another (דְּוַי) in Ps 41[3] 'languishing' (subst.). In 2 S 12[15] the word is אָנַשׁ *'ānash* (in imperf. Niph.). The ptcp. pass. Qal is used in Job 34[6] of an arrow wound, but tr. 'desperate' in Is 17[11], 'incurable' in Jer 30[12], and 'desperately wicked' in Jer 17[9]. 'Sick' in Is 1[5] is לָחֳלִי *loḥŏlî*, the word חֳלִי being usually tr. 'disease.' In Jer 14[18] ('sick with famine') it is תַּחֲלוּאִים *taḥălû'îm*, lit. 'sicknesses' (cf. RVm). This word is tr. 'diseases' in Ps 103[3] and 2 Ch 21[19]. 'Sickness' in OT is in 12 cases the rendering of *ḥŏlî*, and thrice of מַחֲלָה *maḥălāh*, Ex 23[25], 1 K 8[37], 2 Ch 6[28]. 'Sicknesses' in the plural occurs in the OT only in Dt 28[59] (חֳלָיִם) 29[22] (תַּחֲלֻאִים).

Disease occurs 10 times in OT, 8 times as the rendering of *ḥŏlî*; once in Ps 41[8] in the phrase 'an evil disease' (AV, RV; Heb. דְּבַר בְּלִיַּעַל, RVm 'some wicked thing'), and once as tr. of *maḥălāh* in 2 Ch 21[15]. 'Diseased' represents *naḥlôth* (Niph. ptcp. of חָלָה) in Ezk 34[4. 21], and *ḥālāh* (Qal) in 1 K 15[23] and 2 Ch 16[12]. 'Diseases' in the plural is the tr. of *taḥălû'îm* in 2 Ch 21[19] and Ps 103[3], of *maḥălāh* in Ex 15[26], of מַדְוֶה *madveh* in Dt 7[15] and 28[60], and of *maḥălûyim* in 2 Ch 24[25].

Infirmity is used thrice in the OT, each time in a different sense, and representing a different word, *dāvāh* in Lv 12[2] (in infin. con. with suffix דְּוֹתָהּ), referring to periodic sickness; *ḥālāh* (in infin. Piel) in Ps 77[10], in the sense of infirmity from sickness; and *maḥăleh* in Pr 18[14], in the sense of weakness in general. **Plague** is used sometimes as the name of a specific epidemic and sometimes in the sense of sickness in general, and is the tr. of *maggēphāh*, *makkāh*, *nega'*. In other places it refers to other forms of affliction or to the judgments of God (1 K 8[37], Rv 16[21]). See PLAGUE.

The RV has changed 'sick' in Pr 23[35] into 'hurt,' and in Mic 6[13] 'will I make thee sick in smiting thee' has been altered to 'I have smitten thee with a grievous wound.' 'Loathsome disease' in Ps 38[7] has been properly altered into 'burning,' as the reference is to the heat of fever. 'Pining sickness' דַּלָּה in Hezekiah's prayer, Is 38^{12}, has been also altered into 'from the loom.' Literally it means 'from the thrums' whereby the web is fastened to the weaver's beam, the idea being that as the web is cut off from the loom, so his life was separated from its surroundings. The 'evil disease' of Ps 41^{8} is rendered in RVm 'some wicked thing' (see above).

The words for 'sickness' are often qualified by some expression or phrase. 'Sickness unto death' of 2 Ch 32^{24}, 1 K 14^{1}, and Is 38^{1} is contrasted with 'sickness and recovery,' Is 39^{1}. R. Ḥanina ben Dosa used to say of his patients, 'This one is sick unto death, this will recover' (*Berachoth* 5. 5). 'Sore [sickness]' is the tr. of *ḥāzāḳ*, 'violent,' in 1 K 17^{17}. The prefix in 'sore diseases' of 2 Ch 21^{19} is the tr. of *ra'*. An 'evil disease' in Ps 41^{8} is literally a 'thing (דבר) of Belial.' The diseases of Egypt are referred to as especially severe in Ex 15^{26}, Dt 7^{15} 28^{27} 28^{60}. 'Incurable disease' used literally in 2 Ch 21^{18} is a phrase used figuratively in Job 34^{6}, Jer 15^{18}, Mic 1^{9}. 'Sickness of long continuance' is mentioned in Dt 28^{59}.

Figurative expressions referring to disease are not uncommon. It is a 'scourge' in Job 9^{23}; a 'pestilence walking in darkness,' Ps 91^{6}. The Jewish idea of disease and death being inflicted by a special angel is referred to in 2 S 24^{16}, 1 Ch $21^{12-18.\,27}$, 2 K 19^{35}, Rev 6^{8}. In the second of these passages he appears with a sword in his hand. Diseases are also spoken of as God's arrows, Dt $32^{23.\,42}$, Job 6^{4}, Ps 64^{7} 91^{5} 144^{6}, La 3^{12}, Zec 9^{14} etc. The Arabian proverb says that the pestilence is God's arrow which always hits its mark.

In the NT 'sick' and 'sickness' occur 58 times, 'diseases' and 'diseased' 15 times, and 'infirmities' 19 times. These are tr. of various words: ἀσθένεια, meaning primarily weakness and usually tr. 'infirmities,' sometimes 'sick' as in Ac 28^{9} (ἔχοντες ἀσθενείας); μαλακία, meaning softness or effeminacy, as well as sickness, is used in Mt 4^{23} 9^{35} 10^{1}, probably referring to wasting chronic diseases, and contrasted in some passages with νόσος, which indicates more acute violent seizures. Homer (*Od.* xv. 408) compares the hateful sickness (νούσος) falling on wretched mortals with the visitation of the gentle shafts of Artemis and Apollo, whereby the old are slain; and Hesiod assigns the origin of diseases of this kind to the box of Pandora (*Op. et Di.* i. 101). νόσημα occurs in Jn 5^{4}. The unfaithful use of ordinances is said to cause those who transgress to become weak and ἄρρωστοι (1 Co 11^{30}). Jerome on this passage says, 'There are three causes from which infirmities arise, either from temptation as Job and Tobiah, from sin as Asaph the king and those referred to here by the apostle, or from some intemperance as Timothy,' etc. Chrysostom interprets this as referring to bodily ailments, great diseases, and premature deaths. The reference is, however, possibly to mental and spiritual weakness, as in Xenophon (*Œconom.* iv. 17: καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ πολὺ ἀρρωστότεραι γίγνονται). Hippocrates uses the word for disease either of mind or body. In Mt 14^{35} τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας is used for 'those that were sick'; and in Ro 15^{1} ἀσθενήματα means weaknesses or infirmities of conscience, as in Aristotle (*de Gener. Animal.* i. 18, where it is used as the parallel of ἀρρωστήμα).

Some sicknesses, such as leprosy, rendered the patients unclean, and caused their exclusion from cities (see LEPROSY); but in general the sick were treated at home. In later times hospitals were established, generally near the city gates. These were called בתי חפשית, and were like the *Kaati* of the present day.

In the earlier days of Jewish medicine it is probable that bleeding, the universal panacea in the dominant classical medical schools, was not used, on account of the tribal belief concerning the blood. In this the Jews were in accord with Pythagoras and Erasistratus. It has been thought that they were acquainted with the use of leeches from the words of Agur (Pr 30^{15}); but if 'horseleech' is the correct rendering (cf. HORSELEECH, *ad fin.*), this only implies their knowledge of the bloodthirsty habits of the leech, and does not refer to its medicinal use. Targ. on Ps 12 paraphrases כֻּרֻם זֻלֻּת as the 'leeches which suck blood.' See on this point *Aboda Zara* 13*b*. In later days, however, the Jewish physicians conformed to the universal practice.

Biblical references to *specific diseases* are of two kinds, either so very general that they are indefinite, or concrete in connexion with individual cases. The former class for the most part consists of names alone which are as vague as the folk-names of disease usually are. Several of these disease-names are grouped together in Dt 28^{22} as forming a class, which, on account of being sudden, severe, epidemic, and often fatal, appear as if judgments directly from God. Most of these are **febrile diseases,** and although it is not possible precisely to identify the disease expressed by each name, yet, from the experience which residents in the East have acquired of the most prevalent forms of disease, it is most probable that the diseases referred to are malarial fevers of different kinds with, perhaps, tropical typhoid, and Mediterranean fever.

The first name on the list is שַׁחֶפֶת *shaḥepheth*, from a root signifying 'leanness *or* wasting,' hence it is rendered 'consumption' both in RV and AV (LXX ἀπορία). This may be phthisis, but, from the connexion in which it occurs, is more likely a febrile disease of long duration and attended with wasting, something of the type of Mediterranean or Malta fever, which may last for months, and whose most prominent characteristics are the weakness, anæmia, and wasting with which it is accompanied. The same word occurs in Lv 26^{16}. In both RV and AV the word 'consumption' is used in Is 10^{22} as the tr. of כִּלָּיוֹן *killâyôn*, meaning a wasting or destruction in general. The RV, however, distinguishes in Is 10^{22} and 28^{22} between this and *kālāh*, translating the latter as 'consummation,' whereas the two are confounded in the AV. In neither case, however, does it seem to be a specific disease. Phthisis is not a characteristic disease either in Syria or in Egypt, although it does occasionally occur in the former country. See Tobler, *Med. Topographie von Jerus.* 42, and Wittman, p. 92.

The three names that follow in Dt are קַדַּחַת *ḳaddaḥath*, 'fever' (RV and AV; LXX πυρετός); דַּלֶּקֶת *dalleḳeth*, 'inflammation' (LXX ῥῖγος, 'ague'); and חַרְחֻר *ḥarḥûr* (AV 'extreme burning'; RV 'fiery heat'; LXX ἐρεθισμός, 'irritation'). That these three describe different kinds of fever is plain, as all three words imply burning or heat. The *ḳaddaḥath* is called in AV of Lv 26^{16} 'burning ague,' and is said to 'consume the eyes and make the soul to pine away' (LXX calls this disease ἴκτερος, 'jaundice'). It may be the malarial fever which occurs in the Jordan Valley and the Lebanon valleys, in Jerusalem and in the Shephēlah, as well as around the Sea of Galilee. This disease is occasionally accompanied by jaundice. πυρετός was the disease of the nobleman's son at Capernaum (Jn 4^{26}) and of Simon's mother-in-law (Lk 4^{38} 'a great fever') at the same place (see Hippocr. *Epidem.* iii.). The word in Mt 8^{14} and Mk 1^{30} is πυρέσσουσα.

Dalleḳeth was considered by some Jewish writers as a burning fever, but by the LXX as an intermittent fever. It may possibly have been some form of ague, which often occurs in the same localities as the other forms of malarial fever, perhaps indeed typhoid, which is now, and probably was in former times, one of the commonest fevers in Palestine. Typhus was probably rare, and is so still except in crowded places. Burckhardt mentions its occurrence under the name of putrid fever at Djiddah (*Arabia*, i. 495), but says that most of the fevers elsewhere are intermitting in type, ii. 290. For typhus in Palestine see Rafalowitsch in *Ausland*, 1847, p. 1084.

Ḥarḥûr must be something characterized by irritation and heat, such as erysipelas, only that this is not at all common as an epidemic, indeed is not very common in Palestine. It might be one of the exanthemata. The Hebrew name refers to its heat, the Greek to the local irritation caused by it. Of all these fevers the Rabbinic physicians recognized four stages: incubation, beginning, augmentation, and decline or convalescence. For erysipelas in Egypt see Pruner, p. 118; see also Brayer, *Neuf années à Constantinople*, p. 46.

Following these in the Dt passage MT has חֶרֶב *ḥereb*, 'sword'; but probably we should read חֹרֶב (as in margin of AV, RV) = 'drought,' either a disease attended with dryness, or else simply drought of the earth. The latter is more probable, as it is followed by the words *shiddāphôn* and *yērāḳôn*, tr. here as in Am 4^{9} and Hag 2^{17} by 'blasting and mildew,' penal destruction of the fruits of the earth. For חרב as a disease see Zec 11^{17}. It is tr. 'a sword' both in AV and RV; but from the effects given in the passage, wasting of the arm and shrivelling of the eye, it is plainly such a condition as the wasting paralysis described below under diseases of the nervous system (but see Nowack, *Comm. ad loc.*).

Two other words are used to describe wasting diseases. Man chastened by God for his iniquity has his attractiveness consumed (מָסָה *māṣāh*, 'melt away') as by a moth (Ps 39^{11} [Heb. ^{12}]). The same condition is named מָקַק (*māḳaḳ*, 'fester') in Zec 14^{12}. This disease is threatened against the enemies of Jerusalem, and is to consume their flesh, their eyes, and their tongues. This is the 'pining away' to which sinful Israel is condemned (Lv 26^{39}, Ez 24^{23} 33^{10}), and the same term is applied to festering wounds in Ps 38^{5}, where it is associated with burning pain in the loins, weakness, violent action of the heart, etc. Much of the description is plainly figurative of mental and spiritual disquiet; but the imagery might well be taken from an attack of confluent smallpox, with its disfiguring and blinding effects, causing the repulsion even of lovers and friends. There is little reason to doubt the antiquity of smallpox. Philo in his life of Moses (ed. Turnebus, 622 A.B.) describes the sixth plague of Egypt as beginning with a red eruption whose spots became swollen and pustular, appearing as if they had been boiled with the sudden heat. The sufferers were worn down with anguish from these inflammations and ulcers. 'For to one looking upon one of these cases in which the pustules, confluent into a mass, were spread over the body and limbs, it appeared as if they formed a continuous ulcer from head to foot.' Mas'udi (in the *Meadows of Gold*, ed. Meynard, iii.) states that in A.D. 370 smallpox broke out among the Arabs for the first time, but that the disease had been known among the Jews before that time. (See also Hirsch, *Sydenham Soc. Tr.* i. 125).

The word כָּלָה (*kālāh*, 'to come to an end,' 'to vanish away') is used in Ps 71^{9} of strength failing in old age, and in Job 19^{27} 33^{21} of flesh becoming emaciated through illness (see *Comm. ad loc.*).

Pestilence or **plague** is also used as descriptive of a violent disease, extremely fatal, and sent as a punishment on large masses of people. Pestilence is the tr. of דֶּבֶר *deber*. 'Plague,' as far as it refers to these epidemics, is the rendering of several words: מַגֵּפָה *maggēphāh*, in Nu 14^{37} $16^{48.\ 49.\ 60}$ $25^{8.\ 9.\ 18}$ 26^{1} 31^{16}, 1 Ch 21^{32}, 2 Ch 21^{14}, Ps $106^{29.\ 30}$, Zec 14^{12}; מַכָּה *makkāh*, in Lv 26^{21}, Nu 11^{33}, Dt 28^{59}; נֶגֶף *negeph*, in Nu $16^{46.\ 47}$, Jos 22^{17}; it is נֶגַע *nega'*, in Ex 11^{1}, 1 S 6^{4}, Ps 91^{10}. The fear of this *deber* was used as an argument by Moses to Pharaoh to induce him to let Israel go (Ex 9^{14}). With this disease God threatens rebellious Israel repeatedly, Nu 14^{12}, Dt 28^{21}; and there were at least four outbreaks during the wanderings in the wilderness, just as in later years it has appeared among the hordes of Mohammedan pilgrims on their way to Mecca. At Kibroth-hattaavah (Nu 11^{33}) it broke out suddenly while the Israelites were consuming the quails; it is quite conceivable that these birds may have come from some plague-stricken Arabian district and conveyed the infection, as rats, oxen, deer, and others animals have done in later times (see Rocher, *Chinese Imp. Cust. Gaz. Med. Rep.* 15).

There was a second outbreak after the rebellion of Korah (Nu 16^{46}), stayed by the intercession of Aaron; and a third to punish the discontent consequent on the evil report of the spies (Nu 14^{37}). Here it is called *maggēphāh*. The fourth epidemic followed the iniquity of Baal-peor, and probably the infection was communicated by the Moabites (Nu $25^{8.\ 9.\ 18}$). The judgment which followed David's sin of numbering the people was of the same nature (2 S 24^{13}, 1 Ch 21^{12}; Jos. *Ant.* VII. xiii. 3). Plague was threatened on account of the sin of Jehoram (2 Ch 21^{14}). It is called 'noisome' in Ps 91^{3} (דֶּבֶר הַוּוֹת), and characterized as walking in darkness (v.^{6}), as its attacks often begin at night. It was often threatened by the prophets, especially Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Amos, and Habakkuk, and appears to have broken out in Jerusalem during the siege (Jer 21^{9}), and also among the fugitives from Jerusalem to Egypt (Jer 42^{17}). The destruction of the army of Sennacherib was most probably effected by a sudden outburst of this disease (2 K 19^{35}), and it is noteworthy that presumably about the same time, or at least shortly after it, Hezekiah was seized with an illness, supposed to be mortal, in the course of which a 'boil' developed which may well have been the bubo of the plague (Is 38^{1}). The destroying angel is mentioned as inflicting the plague in 2 S 24^{17}, 1 Ch $21^{15.\ 16}$, and 2 K 19^{35}, 2 Ch 32^{21} (cf. Jos. *Ant.* X. i. 5).

The bubonic plague has been from time immemorial the periodic scourge of Bible lands. It is mentioned in the oldest medical literature (Hippoc. *Aph.* iv. 52, *Epid.* iii. 55). Ruffus mentions a visitation of plague in Syria about B.C. 300; and the dreadful epidemic in the reign of Justinian, about A.D. 544, is graphically recorded by the historians as leaving whole districts depopulated. Its outbreaks are sudden, it spreads rapidly, and simultaneously affects large bodies of people. At its onset it is remarkably fatal: in the last visitation in this country (1664–1669) 4000 died in London within the first week, and during the period of the epidemic 70,000 died in that city, about 1 in 5 of the population. It has a short incubation period; 'in highly malignant epidemics the disease may show itself within three or four hours of exposure to infection' (Manson, *Trop. Diseases*, 156; see also cases cited by Pruner, p. 396). The bubo or glandular swelling in the groin or axilla often develops within a few hours. Death generally ensues (in more than 60 per cent. of those attacked) within the first three days (Colvill). In the type called *pestis siderans*, death often occurs within twelve to twenty-four hours. In one village, out of 534 inhabitants 311 died within three days (see Hirsch, *op. cit.* i. 495, and Allbutt's *Syst. of Med.* i. 917).

There are in the Levitical code no sanitary precautions given to prevent its spreading. This is probably due to the belief that it was a divine judgment supernaturally inflicted, and to be stayed only by prayer and repentance. Had the Israelites kept themselves, as they were bidden, from intercourse with their neighbours, it is probable that they would have remained tolerably free from it, as it is not endemic anywhere in Palestine, and is always propagated along trade routes. In this respect it was really a punishment for breaches of their law. In *Taanith* 3. 4, the inhabitants of a district visited by a plague are directed to fast, and to blow trumpets, while their neighbours are to fast without blowing trumpets. *Baba Kamma* recommends staying at home and fleeing the society of others in time of plague (60. 2).

Emerods.—In the account of the Philistine plague, after the capture of the ark (1 S 5[6-12]) it is said that the people of Ashdod and the other cities were smitten with emerods (AV). The word is עֳפָלִים *'ŏphālîm*, for which *Ḳĕrê* substitutes טְחֹרִים *ṭĕhōrîm* (the latter is used in the text in 1 S 6[11. 17]). These words mean 'swellings *or* rounded eminences.' Aquila renders *φαγεδαίνης ἕλκος*; LXX B has in 1 S 5[6] *ἐξέζεσεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰς ναῦς* [A *ἕδρας*; cf. BA in v.[9] *καὶ ἐπάταξεν . . . εἰς τὰς ἕδρας αὐτῶν*, and Vulg. *in secretiori parte natium*, v.[6]]. From comparison with Ps 78[66], where God is said to have smitten His enemies on the hinder part (RV 'backwards'), it was supposed that the tumours were on the buttocks, and they were therefore identified with hæmorrhoids. There is, however, nothing in the narrative to bear out this exegesis, and RV translates 'tumours.' The disease was epidemic, infectious, often fatal; was attended with tumours somewhere about the lower part of the abdomen, and these were so definite that they could be represented by models. It is certain, therefore, that it was no kind of hæmorrhoid, and the probability is great that this also was the plague whose buboes were the tumours. This view is advocated by Hitzig (*Urgesch. d. Philist.* 201) and Wellhausen (*Samuel*, 64), and it satisfies all the conditions, this being of all the diseases of the East the most likely to have set in with the fatal suddenness described in the text. The same word occurs in Dt 28[27], and from the analogy of the Syriac word used in the passage, ܛܚܘܪܐ, which is akin to ܛܘܚܪܐ, meaning *tenesmus*, Driver suggests that the reference may be to dysenteric tumours (*Comm. on Deut.* 1895, xx and 310); but there are very seldom any tumours in dysentery, while *tenesmus* and evacuations of blood are common in the plague. The images of the emerods are called in Vulg. *quinque anos aureos*.

Disorders involving *the digestive organs* mentioned in the Bible are either due to malaria or are the results of intemperance. The case of the father of Publius was one of **acute dysentery.** The disease is called in AV Ac 28[8] **bloody flux**; in Gr. *πυρετὸς καὶ δυσεντερία*. Sir W. Aitken gives Malta as one of the six districts in which this disease is most prevalent and most fatal (ii. 841). The presence of hæmorrhage shows that the disease in this instance was of the ulcerative or gangrenous type, either of which is a most dangerous form. The germs of this disease are water-borne, so it is common in swampy, moist localities, as by riversides. In Egypt its mortality is said by Griesinger to be about 36 per cent.

The description of the disease of which Jehoram died (2 Ch 21[19]), which began at a period of a general epidemic, lasted two years, and was incurable, as in its course the bowels were shed or fell out, tallies with the condition met with in some forms of chronic dysentery with sloughing of the intestine, 'one of the most hopeless and intractable forms of disease which the physician has to treat' (Aitken, ii. 859). Dutrouleau records an example of this kind in which about 13 inches of the mucous and submucous coats of the colon were evacuated. In certain forms, also, there is a diphtheritic exudation on the mucous membrane, which may be detached in larger or smaller masses. In *Papyrus Ebers* xlii there is an account of a disease of this kind, with swelling of the abdomen, and pain, pale face, aching head, the abdomen hot to the touch, and with a discharge of a black or white material. This was called the *sḥn* disease.

Digestive and other disorders from intemperance are graphically enumerated in Pr 23[29]; interjectional cries of distress, accident, redness of eyes, strange visions, bitings as sharp as those of the serpent. In Is 19[14] the drunkard is represented as staggering or falling in his vomit; in Is 28[8] they defile all that they touch (see Jer 25[27]), being ultimately drugged to sleep (Jer 51[39. 57]). Disease is also associated with riotous eaters of flesh (Pr 23[20]).

Disorders of the Liver.—The Heb. physicians regarded many diseases as due to an alteration in the bile, and in this respect they agreed with the dogmatic school of Humoralists, such as Plato and Praxagoras. This is expressed in *Baba Kamma* 92, *Baba mezia* 107, *Chagigah* 26. There is an allusion to this belief in Job 16[13], where the patriarch complains that the disease, God's arrow, had compassed him about, and poured out his gall upon the ground. The gall in La 3[5] and Dt 29[18] is, however, not the bile, but a poisonous plant. Celsius regards *rōsh* here as perhaps a poppy. See, further, art. GALL. In La 2[11] the same expression is used of the כָּבֵד or liver, the pouring out of which is regarded as a fatal condition. Hence the dissolute fool is punished by a dart striking through his liver, Pr 7[23]. Of the true functions of the liver the Jewish physicians were as ignorant as were the Egyptians. In *Papyrus Ebers* xxxvi, c, ciii, it is said that the vessels brought air as well as blood to the organ.

The *πυκναὶ ἀσθένειαι* of Timothy (1 Ti 5[23]) were probably digestive troubles, flatulent atonic dyspepsia, whose most urgent symptoms are temporarily relieved by alcohol. This disease seemed to have produced in him a disposition to slackness, concerning which St. Paul repeatedly warns him (1 Ti 4[13-16]). In such cases, however, while alcohol allays the morbid functional sensibility, it does not really remove the cause of the disease.

Mental emotions of a lowering nature, such as grief or anxiety, produce important physical effects on the alimentary canal, checking certain secretions; hence in Ps 69[3] the **dryness of the throat** in such cases is mentioned. In Is 16[11] and Jer 4[19] 31[20] there are references to the suddenly arising flatulent distension of the colon, which is often to be noticed under the same conditions. These borborygmi are referred to the heart in Jer 48[36].

The effects of the water in the **jealousy ordeal** (Nu 5[17]) may here be referred to. The 'bitter water which causeth the curse' consisted of holy water, consecrated by the priest, into which dust from the floor of the sanctuary was put, and with which the curses pronounced against unfaithfulness written out by the priest were washed off the parchment on which they had been written. This is a kind of ordeal of which examples are not uncommon in primitive religions. The meaning of the dust is given by R. Menaḥem in *Siphre* x., that as the dust is regarded as defiling the holy place, so the suspicion of unfaithfulness defiles the person suspected. In the same place the priest is recommended to write the curses out on tablets, not on paper, but on prepared skins, and not with gum or copperas, but with black ink. The ordeal was a direct appeal to God, and the water was supposed, in cases of guilt, to cause wasting of the buttock (dislocation of the right thigh, Jos. *Ant.* III. xi. 6) and swelling of the abdomen, possibly ovarian dropsy; see Dillmann, *in loc.*

The effects of eating that on which prophetic writings were inscribed as a preparation for discharging the prophetic office are referred to in Ezk 3^{1}, Rev 10^{9}. This is also an action of which examples are known in several folk-religions (see Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. 347), and even in British folk-lore. Our Lord promised His disciples protection if they were subjected to the ordeal of poisonous drinks (Mk 16^{18}).

The **heart,** mentioned more frequently (716 times in OT and 105 in NT) in Scripture than any other of the bodily organs, on account of its supposed connexion with the intellectual as well as the moral and spiritual life, was, as far as its physiological action is concerned, so little known that there are few references to physical disease affecting it (see HEART, vol. ii. 317). The pericardium or caul over the heart is mentioned in Hos 13^{8}. 'A sound heart is the life of the flesh' (Pr 14^{30}), which is parallel to Juvenal's *mens sana in corpore sano* (x. 356), may have a physical as well as a psychological reference. The curious proverb, 'A wise man's heart is at his right hand, but a fool's heart at his left' (Ec 10^{2}), has its parallel in the ancient Egyptian aphorism, 'The breath of life passes to the right side, the breath of death to the left' (*Pap. Ebers* c).

Syncope, or failure of the heart's action, causing fainting, is described in several instances. Jacob's heart fainted at the news of Joseph's exaltation in Egypt (Gn 45^{26}). Eli had a sudden attack of syncope, leading to a fatal fall, from the shock of the news that the Philistines had taken the ark (1 S 4$^{12ff.}$). Saul fainted with hunger and fear on the reception of Samuel's message through the witch of Endor (1 S 28^{20}). Daniel also fainted and was sick for several days on receiving Gabriel's message (8^{27}). See FAINT, vol. i. 826. Heart palpitation is given in *Pap. Ebers* xlv as a symptom of the '*i*' disease or chlorosis.

'A broken heart' is mentioned 11 times in Scripture, but always in its metaphorical sense of repentance and sorrow for sin. The condition literally expressed by the term has acquired a special interest on account of Dr. Stroud's hypothesis that rupture of the heart was the condition to which our Lord's death was due (see Stroud, *Physical Causes of the Death of Christ*, 1847, also Bennett's *Diseases of the Bible*, p. 117).

Although it is only in Daniel that the functions of the *nervous centres* are recognized (see 1^{10} 2^{28} 4$^{2-7.\,10}$ 7$^{1-15}$), yet diseases affecting this system are often mentioned:—

Paralysis or **Palsy.**—These words are used to express loss of the power of motion, a common symptom in diseases of the central nervous system. This condition is usually serious, often intractable, and is generally fairly rapid in its onset, but slow in disappearing. In the NT there are several accounts of the miraculous cures of paralysis by our Lord, as in Mt 4^{24}; here as in Ac 8^{7} these are recorded in general terms. In the case of the man at Capernaum, borne of four, whose friends let him down through the tiling into the presence of Christ, Matthew (9^{6}) uses the word *παραλυτικός*, as also does Mark (2^{3}). Luke (5^{18}) uses the term *παραλελυμένος*. The man seems to have suffered from *paraplegia*, *i.e.* complete loss of power in his lower limbs. The prognosis in this disease, due as it generally is to an organic change in the spinal cord from myelitis, is generally unfavourable, and even in the best cases progress is slow. Our Lord calls this man 'son,' which may be intended as a mark of age; but both this and the conjecture that the paralysis was a judgment on him for immorality, on account of our Lord's having prefaced his cure by declaring the forgiveness of his sins, are deductions not warranted by the very slender data from which they are drawn.

The example of Æneas, healed by St. Peter (Ac 9^{33}), that of a man eight years bedridden, was probably one of the same kind.

The centurion's servant (Mt 8^{6}) was 'grievously tormented' (*δεινῶς βασανιζόμενος*). This is descriptive of the pain which he suffered, as the phrase is used in classical Greek of torture to extort confession (see the case of Gylippus in Thucyd. vii. 86, and the Argive in viii. 29). It was probably an acute case, possibly of spinal meningitis. Bennett conjectures 'progressive paralysis with muscular spasms involving the respiratory movements' (p. 92), but the former seems to fit the description better, as in it the 'torment' is the more grievous.

The man with the **withered hand** (Mt 12$^{9-13}$, Mk 3$^{1-5}$, Lk 6$^{6-10}$) was probably a sufferer in his early years from *anterior poliomyelitis*, causing infantile paralysis. In such a case the bones as well as the muscles atrophy, and the limb becomes reduced to a mere stick. To the same category probably belonged the lame man healed by Peter and John at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple (Ac 3^{2}), although this may have been congenital want of development of the lower limbs; but from the narrative it would appear that the limbs were well formed, although for forty years deprived of strength.

Cases like these were probably included in the general term 'withered' (*ξηροί*), applied to a group of the expectant waiters at the Pool of Bethesda (Jn 5^{3}). The word is used of shrivelled parts (as in Æsch. *Orestes*, 387), or of a generally wasted frame (*Electra*, 239). The man who is called *ὁ ἀσθενῶν* (Jn 5^{7}) was probably thus affected. The thirty-eight years' duration of the case is against its having been an example of *locomotor ataxia*. Moreover, the diseased condition to which *locomotor ataxia* is generally due was probably unknown at that time. He was able to move himself, although slowly, for he says, 'while I am coming,' meaning by his unaided exertion (*ib.*). There appears to be an OT reference to this condition under the name *ḥōreb*, elsewhere translated 'drought,' and in this passage (Zec 11^{17}) tr. 'the sword' (*i.e. ḥereb*); but the context shows that it is really the diseased condition of hemiplegic shrivelling in this wasting disease that is referred to—'his arm shall be clean dried up, and his right eye shall be utterly darkened.' See above, p. 324^{a}.

The sudden paralysis of Jeroboam's hand (1 K 13^{4}) was a case of the condition technically known as *brachial monoplegia*, probably due to a sudden hæmorrhage affecting a certain area of the posterior central convolution of the brain or of the part of the corona radiata or genu of the internal capsule connected with that area. Decaisne has collected and analyzed a large number of cases of this kind. When the sudden supervention of the paralysis depends on a clot plugging the vessels which nourish this area, it may prove only a temporary paralysis, as in the case of Jeroboam (v.^{6}).

The word 'palsy' is a corruption of the French *paralysie*, and came into use in English at any rate about the year 1500, for it is used in the English tr. of Mandeville's *Travels*.

The case of Nabal (1 S 25^{38}) seems to have been a typical example of an **apoplectic seizure,** a condition closely allied to paralysis, in that it is usually produced by hæmorrhage or effusion of serum on or into the brain. When in the disturbed condition of brain which followed his drunken bout the churl was excited to passion by the story of his wife's generosity, some vessel probably gave way in his brain, and he became comatose (v.^{37} 'as a stone'), lingering in that state for ten days until he died. The death of Alcimus (1 Mac 9^{55}) was a typical case of apoplexy (see Jos. *Ant.* XII. x. 6).

The arteries of the brain in a man addicted to drink, and in other conditions of weakness or senile decay, are liable to atheromatous disease, which diminishes their resisting power; and if in this condition the heart's action be increased in force, as by a fit of passion, rupture of one of these vessels is not unlikely to occur. It has even been conjectured that the sudden deaths of Uzzah (2 S 6^{7}) and of Ananias and Sapphira (Ac 5$^{5-10}$) may have been apoplectic in their nature also. The great surgeon John Hunter died suddenly of an apoplectic attack, the result of severe mental emotion.

There are several terms used to describe varying forms of abnormal psychical conditions, of insanity and allied mental diseases. The state of **trance** or deep profound sleep is described in connexion with the tradition of the making of Eve (Gn 2^{21}). A similar sleep fell on Abraham (15^{12}), and Saul in the cave (1 S 26^{12}). In this last case it was the profound sleep of exhaustion; the phrase 'deep sleep from the Lord' is merely a Hebrew superlative. Sisera's deep sleep of fatigue was of the same nature (Jg 4^{21}), and other examples are those of Jonah (1^{5}), and our Lord in the boat during the storm (Mt 8^{24}, Mk 4^{38}). The ecstatic condition of the prophet described by Balaam (Nu 24$^{3.4}$) was a condition of mental exaltation believed to be due to possession by the Divine Spirit, a state in which individual will becomes paralyzed, and the person becomes subject to more or less violent emotion by suggestion. Hence prophets were called [not necessarily disrespectfully, see vol. ii. p. 564^{b} note *] 'mad fellows' (2 K 9^{11}), and Isaiah speaks of the false prophets as those that peep and mutter (8^{19}). See also the use of the word מְשֻׁגָּע *mĕshuggā'* or 'raving,' for the utterances of prophets (Jer 29^{26}, Hos 9^{7}). Saul is a singular study in mental pathology; naturally a shy, self-conscious man (1 S 9$^{5-8}$ 10^{22}), easily exalted into the condition of ecstasy (10^{10}), and by his exaltation puffed up to tyrannical self-satisfaction (15$^{12.13}$), then filled with an irresistible impulse towards homicide (18^{11}), turning even against his own son (20$^{30-33}$); but liable, under conditions suggesting it, to return to the ecstatic state (19^{24}), then falling into despondency (28^{20}), and dying by suicide (31^{5}). To such a one of weak judgment, violent passions, and great susceptibility, the influence of music is a powerful agency to calm and soothe. The cause of his madness is ascribed to an evil spirit from God (18^{10}), and the raving consequent on it is called 'prophesying' in AV and RV (יִתְנַבֵּא, imperf. Hithpael of *nābā'*). His case is a typical one of recurrent paroxysmal mania rather than of melancholia. Perhaps it was the object-lesson of Saul's insanity which prompted David to feign madness before Achish (1 S 21^{13}), the lunatic being a sacred person in the eyes of the Oriental (Stanley's *Lect.* ii. 52). The symptoms he imitated were change of behaviour, raging to and fro, as they tried to hold him with their hands, like a man in acute mania. He scratched or made marks on the doors (וַיְתָו; but the LXX and Vulgate have ἐτυμπάνιζεν and *impingebat*, as if the Heb. were וַיְתֹף 'and he beat on'), and he defiled his beard by letting his saliva fall upon it. This in itself showed loss of all self-respect, as to spit on the beard of an enemy would be a deadly insult (see Dt 25^{9}, Job 30^{10}). The malingering was so successful that the king regarded him as genuinely affected with שִׁגָּעוֹן or 'frenzy.' Madness was one of the plagues threatened for disobedience to the law (Dt 28^{28}).

Another striking instance of insanity is presented by the (? Haggadic) story of Nebuchadnezzar (Dn 4). Puffed up by an overweening self-conceit, he was smitten with mania, cherishing the delusion that he was a beast, and so was driven from his throne until his recovery at the end of seven years. Instances of a monomania in which the chief delusion is that one is an animal have been often recorded, and most alienist physicians of experience have met with such cases. Virgil (*Ecl.* vi. 48) describes the daughters of Proetus as believing themselves to be cattle, and while each of them *collo timuisset aratrum, et sæpe in levi quassisset cornua fronte*, they filled the fields with counterfeit lowings. From monomaniacs of this kind have probably arisen the legends of lycanthropy or were-wolves (see Hertz, *Der Werwolf*, 1862). There is no need to invoke totemism to account for them, nor to believe with some of the Rabbins that Nebuchadnezzar was miraculously transformed into an ox. According to Ader (p. 32) the Gadarene demoniacs were of this kind.

In the NT there are probably several cases of insanity and of allied diseases of the nervous system included among those who are said to have been possessed with devils. This is especially the case with regard to those spirits called dumb in Lk 11^{14}, or blind and dumb in Mt 12^{22}. Stammering (μογιλάλος, adj.) is in Mk 7^{32} associated with deafness. LXX uses this word in Is 35^{6} as the tr. of אִלֵּם 'dumb.' The Heb. word has in it the idea of binding (see Gn 37^{7}), as though dumbness were due to the constraint of the tongue by bands, the idea embodied in the account of the case of the stammerer in Mk, ἐλύθη ὁ δεσμὸς τῆς γλώσσης. Stammering, לָעֵג, as in Is 28^{11} (cf. 33^{19}), means rather babbling, speaking gibberish, than actual stuttering from defect (LXX φαυλισμός, 'contempt'). The same meaning is conveyed by עִלֵּג in Is 32^{4}, but LXX has here αἱ γλῶσσαι αἱ ψελλίζουσαι, the word used of Demosthenes (*Libanius*, iv. 319. 4) for inarticulate or infantile speech. Moses in Ex 4^{10} (J) is said to have been כְּבַד־פֶּה וּכְבַד לָשׁוֹן 'heavy of speech and heavy of tongue,' LXX ἰχνόφωνος καὶ βραδύγλωσσος, 'lame in speech and slow in tongue,' not necessarily 'stammering.' Temporary *aphasia* has been often observed in cases of sudden terror or other emotion, as in the case of Zacharias (Lk 1^{22}), and St. Paul's companions (Ac 9^{7}). The speechlessness of the man without the wedding garment (Mt 22^{12}) was not *aphasia*, but due to the fact that he had no excuse to offer.

Epilepsy is mentioned in Mt 17^{15} (RV) as the cause of the convulsive seizures of the boy described there and in Lk 9^{38}. The account of the fit, beginning with a cry, followed by his falling down and becoming convulsed, foaming at the mouth, grinding his teeth, bruising himself sorely, sometimes falling into the fire and sometimes into the water, is exactly in accord with a typical epileptic fit. He had been subject to these from childhood; about one-fourth of epileptics have their first fit within the first decade of life, 12 per cent. within the first three years. The 'pining away' mentioned in Mk 9^{18} is characteristic of one form of the disease, in which the fits are frequently recurring. The record of the last attack, in which he 'wallowed foaming,' is very graphic. The verb used to describe the attack in Mt is σεληνιάζομαι, literally 'to be moon-struck,' but thereby is meant epilepsy, not lunacy as in AV. The connexion between epilepsy and the phases of the moon was believed in down to a comparatively late period. Vicary, the surgeon to Henry VIII., writing in

1577, says of the brain that 'it moueth and followeth the mouing of the Moone: for in the waxing of the Moone, the Brayne followeth upwardes: and in the wane of the Moone the brayne discendeth downwardes, and vanishes in substance of vertue: for the Brayne shrinketh together in itselfe and is not so fully obedient to the spirit of feeling. And this is proved in menne that be lunatike or madde, and also in men that be epulentike [=epileptic] or having the falling sickness, that be moste greeved in the beginning of the new moone,' etc. The moon-struck are distinguished in Mt 4^{24} from the paralytic and from those possessed by devils. Moonstroke is also mentioned in Ps 121^{6}. Among the later Jews epilepsy was treated by means of amulets called קמיעת עקרין, and by the application of certain insects named שרץ העיף. See *Shabbath* 61, and *Tosefta Shabbath*, *in loc.*

Sunstroke in Ps 121^{6}, coupled with moonstroke, is also mentioned in Is 49^{10}. It was the cause of the death of the Shunammite's son, stricken in the harvest field (2 K 4^{19}), and of Manasseh, Judith's husband, as he stood overseeing the binders of sheaves in the field (Jth 8^{3}). In the former case the child was suddenly affected with sharp pain in his head, and, on being carried to his mother, lay on her knees till noon, and then died. There are several diseases which are confounded under the name of heat-stroke or sun-stroke,—sun-syncope, sun-traumatism, sometimes meningitis; but this seems to have been a genuine example of *siriasis.* This disease has been described by Sambon (*Brit. Med. Journ.* 1898, March 19, p. 744) as a rapidly fatal, febrile condition, beginning with high temperature, violent pains in the head, and passing rapidly into coma, death taking place 'within a few hours or even minutes of the onset of insensibility' (Manson, 210). The Shunammite's child was laid, after his death, on the prophet's bed until his mother had brought Elisha back from Mount Carmel. By the time Gehazi arrived the body had become cold; and the subsequent restoration to life was plainly miraculous, as the mere stretching of the prophet on the body could not have brought back the life. Syria is one of the countries in which this disease occurs.

The case of Jonah, on the other hand, was one of **heat syncope**; he fainted from the heat, and suffered the severe headache which always supervenes in such cases after the recovery of consciousness. In these cases, unlike true *siriasis*, the temperature of the body falls, and the surface feels cold and appears pale; 'usually after a short time the patient gradually recovers, very likely with a splitting headache and a feeling of intense prostration' (Manson, 202). It was in this condition that the prophet said 'it is better for me to die than to live' (Jon 4^{8}).

Dropsy.—In Lk 14^{2} the cure of a case of dropsy is recorded. The patient had been able to enter into the house of one of the rulers of the Pharisees at Jerusalem, where Jesus was being entertained. The man is called ὑδρωπικός, the word used by the Greek physicians for dropsy in general. The disease may have been a universal *anasarca*, due to disease of the kidneys or heart, or else abdominal dropsy, usually dependent on disease of the liver. In all cases this is a dangerous symptom, and it usually indicates a comparatively large amount of organic disease. In *Shabbath* 33. 1, dropsy is said to be the punishment of transgression. It is common in Jerusalem; see Macgowan in *Jewish Intelligence*, 1842, p. 319.

Pulmonary disease, as such, is not referred to in Scripture. It is said of the widow's son at Zarephath that his sickness was so sore there was no breath left in him (1 K 17); but this simply means that he died. The modern Jewish authorities, in their directions for the slaughter of animals for purposes of food, regard the state of the lungs as of the utmost importance, and minute instructions are given for the recognition of pathological conditions which rendered the carcase unfit for food.

The nature of the disease from which Asa suffered in his *feet* is not mentioned (1 K 15^{23}, 2 Ch 16^{11}). The former writer says that it affected him in his old age, the latter in the 39th year of his reign; and adds that he sought not to the Lord, but to the physicians. This may have been suggested by the king's name (אָסָא), which probably means 'healer.' Josephus apparently knows nothing of the disease, and describes Asa as dying happily after he had attained a long and blessed old age (*Ant.* VIII. xii. 6). The Rabbinical belief was that the malady was **gout** (*Sota* 10*a*, *Sanhedrin*). Rashi has conjectured from the wording of v.^{12} that the disease mounted to his head. Others have supposed that this infliction was a punishment because he had not exempted the children of the wise from the labour of carrying away the stones of Ramah (1 K 15^{22}). There is no clue in the passage to the nature of the disease. Hippocrates says truly that gout, although it may be long and laborious, yet is seldom mortal (*peri Pathōn*, ed. Kuhn, 407). As Asa's disease began in old age, it may have been a case of senile gangrene. Gout is very rare among natives of Palestine. Kamphausen suggests that it may have been articular leprosy (see Riehm's *HWB*, art. 'Krankheiten').

A few references to *surgical disease and accident* occur in the Bible. Among primitive peoples, as a rule, surgery preceded medicine, as the conditions of their life expose the body to violence. The following are cases of surgical disease:—

The woman **bound by the spirit of infirmity,** and unable to lift herself (Lk 13^{11-17}), was yet able to attend the synagogue. This was probably a case of senile *kyphosis*, due to chronic osteitis of the vertebræ, a condition not infrequent among aged women whose lives have been spent in agricultural labour: in these the vertebræ become gradually distorted and modified to the new position, so that by nothing short of miracle can the spine be straightened without violence. Why this deformity was regarded as of specially Satanic origin is not apparent, but some Rabbinic authorities regard every disease which produces distortion as due to demons.

Crook-backedness rendered a man unfit for the priesthood. This condition, called גִּבֵּן in Lv 21^{20} (LXX κυρτός), differs from the last in that it occurs in the young, and is due to caries of the vertebræ. It must have been fairly common in Egypt, as the present writer has found a considerable number of spinal curvatures of this kind in collections of Egyptian bones. The Jerus. Targ. renders *gibbēn*, 'very dark coloured,' but this meaning is improbable.

In a metonymic or metaphorical sense the **bones** in many poetical passages stand for the whole human frame as affected by mental emotion. Rottenness or caries (רָקָב *rāḳāb*) of the bones is compared with envy (Pr 14^{30}), with a wife that causes shame (Pr 12^{4}), and with the emotion of terror (Hab 3^{16}): LXX, however, puts σής, σκώληξ, and τρόμος respectively for caries in these three places, but there is no suggestion of worms in the Hebrew. The bones are said to shake with fear (Job 4^{14}) or with grief (Jer 23^{9}). The bones are burnt with heat in Job's disease (30^{30}), with grief (Ps 102^{3}, La 1^{13}), with the fire of suppressed emotion (Jer 20^{9}). They are said to wax old (Ps 32^{3}), to be pierced (Job 30^{17}), vexed (Ps 6^{2}), out of joint (Ps 22^{14}), consumed (Ps 31^{10}), or broken (La 3^{4}). A bandage (חִתּוּל) for broken bones is mentioned in Ezk 30^{21}; cf. use in same verse of verb חָבַשׁ 'bind up.'

Fracture of the skull without immediate insensibility, showing the absence of compression of the brain, was produced by the fall of the millstone on the head of Abimelech (Jg 9^{53}). In the case of Eutychus the fall produced fatal compression and most probably a broken neck (Ac 20^{9}). Goliath is said to have fallen on his face when struck by the slingstone, as if his fall was due to flexor spasm (1 S 17^{50}). Ahaziah died ultimately of the injuries sustained from his fall through the lattice (2 K 1^{2}). It is difficult to understand the parenthetic account of Judas' suicide in Ac 1^{16}; see art. JUDAS ISCARIOT.

Mephibosheth's **lameness** in both his feet (2 S 4^{4} 9^{13}), due to a fall from his nurse's arms, seems to have been some kind of injury which produced bone disease, for when he hastened to meet David on his return he did not delay to 'dress' his feet (19^{24}). LXX tr. עָשָׂה by *ἐθεράπευσεν*. Both these words, however, may simply mean 'to wash,' parallel to the trimming of his beard in the context. In spite of his friendship for Mephibosheth, it was proverbial that the lame were among the hated of David's soul (2 S 5^{6}). This curious passage appears to be corrupt (see Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam.* 199; Smith, *Comm. on Sam.* [1899], 288). Lameness incapacitated a descendant of Aaron from the priesthood (Lv 21^{18}), but did not prevent the access of such into the temple, for many lame persons were healed by Christ there (Mt 21^{14}; for other lame men healed see Mt 11^{5} 15^{31}, Lk 7^{22}; they are called 'halt' in Mt 18^{8}, Mk 9^{45}, Lk 14^{21}, Jn 5^{3}. See HALT in vol. ii. p. 288). Jacob's lameness has been referred to in connexion with the sinew that shrank (see FOOD, vol. ii. p. 39). The Jewish butchers now extract the great sciatic nerve as the *gîd*. See Meir's *Sepher Zabaḥi*, 63.

Of **congenital malformations** the giant with six fingers and six toes on each side is the most remarkable (2 S 21^{20}, 1 Ch 20^{6}). Persons with such superfluous parts were disqualified for the priesthood, Lv 21^{18}, where שָׂרוּעַ may mean 'having members of unequal length' (LXX renders it *ὠτότμητος*, 'crop-eared'). חָרֻם in Lv 21^{18}, tr. 'flat-nosed' (LXX *κολοβόριν*, 'snub-nosed'), may refer to the deformity in hare-lip (RVm 'slit-nose'). Dwarfishness also disqualified a son of Aaron from the priesthood (Lv 21^{20}): this, however, has by some been supposed to refer to emaciation from wasting disease. See art. DWARF.

Skin diseases, using the term in the widest sense, were and still are common in the East. They are frequently referred to in their relation to leprosy and the allied conditions, which are carefully described on account of their causing the uncleanness of the sufferers from it. See LEPROSY. The words referring to these diseases are baldness (treated of in vol. i. p. 234 f.), itch, scab, scurvy, blemishes, wen, blains, boils, botch, scall, and spot:—

Itch (חֶרֶס *ḥereṣ*, LXX *κνήφη*), Dt 28^{27}, is probably the parasitic disease of this name now known to be due to a small mite, *Sarcoptes scabiei*, which burrows in the skin. In some cases, when neglected, it spreads over the whole body, which becomes covered with a rough crust adhering to the surface. It is very easily communicated from person to person, and cannot be healed unless the parasite be destroyed. It disqualified its victims from the priesthood (Lv 21^{20}). The Heb. word is derived from a root which means to scratch, hence the Vulgate uses *prurigo*. It is not at all uncommon in Syria at the present day.

Scurvy (RV), **scab** (AV) (Dt 28^{27} גָּרָב *gārāb*) is the *ψώρα ἀγρία* of LXX, *scabies* of the Vulgate. In Lv 21^{20} it is called 'scurvy' in AV. This disease has nothing to do with the true scurvy, but is also an itchy disease in which a thick crust forms on the skin; it is most rebellious to treatment, and technically known as *favus*. It is commonest on the head, where it is called 'scald head,' and is due to a fungus, the *Achorion Schonleinii*. This is the *garabu* of *WAI* ii. 44. 13. It sometimes spreads over the entire body, and, in neglected, exaggerated cases, covers the entire face as with a mask. Sometimes it causes ulceration of the subjacent skin, and Alibert describes it as, in some cases, affecting even the cranial bones. It also is not uncommon in Syria.

Scab in Lv 21^{20} is the tr. of יַלֶּפֶת *yallepheth*, meaning 'an itching,' 'scab' (LXX *λειχήν*). It is probably another form of the disease just described. The infliction of this scab on the head is described in Is 3^{17} by the verb שִׂפַּח *sippaḥ* (LXX *ταπεινώσει*); see *Giṭṭin* 70*a*.

The **scall** or scurf of the head and beard of Lv 13^{30} is נֶתֶק *nethek*, probably *tinea tonsurans* or *mentagra*, another parasitic disease of somewhat similar character; בֹּהַק, the **freckled spot** of Lv 13^{39}, may be *psoriasis*, a non-contagious scaly eruption. See LEPROSY, p. 96.

The **botch of Egypt** of Dt $28^{27.\,35}$ is called שְׁחִין, an inflamed or ulcerated spot. The same word is used to describe Job's malady (Job 2^{7}), the boils of the Egyptian plague (Ex $9^{9\text{ff.}}$), and Hezekiah's boil (2 K 20^{7}=Is 38^{21}). It is probably a general term for a sore swelling of the skin. Those in Ex 9^{10} are distinguished from the others because they were accompanied with אֲבַעְבֻּעֹת or 'blains,' explained by the Talm. as בּוּרָה or בְּעָבוּעַ, pustules containing fluid (LXX *ἕλκη, φλυκτίδες ἀναζέουσαι*). If, as already surmised, this disease was smallpox, this character would distinguish it from the others; and if the last example was a plague spot, it would account for its reputedly fatal character. The botch of Dt 28^{35} especially affected the knees and legs (see Pruner's *Krankheiten des Orients*, 167). Job's disease, however, was not a fatal one, and instead of a single tumour he was covered with sore spots from head to foot, and these were attended with an intolerable itching. The Egyptian word *sḥn* means an abscess, and is used in *Pap. Ebers* xxxviii. It was common in that country, and is therefore called the botch of Egypt (Dt 28^{27}). It is called in Coptic *shash*, and possibly the *'ăba'bū'ôth* may be connected with a Coptic root meaning *to be rounded* or *to boil up*. In *Papyrus Ebers* cv it is said, 'If thou findest a swelling that is connected with the beginning of *uḥetu* it is as a bean, a sore boil on his skin, not very large, containing pus; say thou, He has *ḥunḥunt* which suppurates. I shall treat this disease; make thou a remedy that shall remove the swelling and set free the matter.' A poultice is recommended of wax, suet, bean-flour, and certain plants. For the *peculiare Ægypti malum* see Lucretius, vi. 1113, and Pliny, xxvi. 5.

Job's body was covered with irritating ulcers (*ἕλκει πονηρῷ*), whose itching he endeavoured to allay by scraping himself with the rough but soft edge of a piece of unglazed earthenware. The disease disfigured his face (2^{7}), so that he could not easily be recognized by his friends; his pains led him to groan continually without relief (3^{24}), and he felt as though burnt by a fiery poison (6^{4}), shattering his nervous system (3^{25}); the loathsome sores made his breath fœtid (19^{17}), and were infested with maggots (7^{5}). He was so helpless that he required aid to rise, and he sat among the ashes (2^{8}; LXX *ἐπὶ τῆς κοπρίας*, 'on a dunghill') to mitigate the itching. See Carey, 178; Magnus, 311. 161; Keil, *Archäol.* ii. 94. The malady is called (18^{13}) בְּכוֹר מָוֶת 'the firstborn of death,' and it has been supposed to have been elephantiasis (Kimchi), leprosy (Origen), smallpox (Shapter, 169), guinea-worm, which is credited, but falsely, by one writer with being called Job's disease in Bokhara (but see Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, ii. 181, where no mention is made of Job), malignant pustule, or frambœsia (see Pruner, 174), etc. The characters given, however, agree better with those of the Biskra button or Oriental sore, endemic along the southern shore of the Mediterranean and in Mesopotamia. This begins in the form of papular spots, which ulcerate and become covered with crusts, under which are itchy, burning sores, slow in granulation and often multiple: as many as forty have been found on one patient. It is probably due to a parasite, is communicable by inoculation, and very intractable even under modern treatment. It is sometimes called 'Aleppo sore' or 'Bagdad sore.'

Lazarus in Lk 16^{20} was probably afflicted, like many of his class, with old varicose ulcers of the leg. Burckhardt says that sores on the legs are very common at Djiddah (i. 448).

Spot in Job 11^{15}, Ca 4^{7}, Dt 32^{5}, **blemish** in Lv 21^{17}, Dn 1^{4}, are apparently general terms for any skin disease. **Wen** in Lv 22^{22}, used as the name of a disease of cattle, means a gall or suppurating sore.

Among affections of the skin may be considered the **bloody sweat** of our Lord in the garden (Lk 22^{44}). The passage (on the question of whose genuineness see Westcott-Hort) says that His sweat was *ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι αἵματος καταβαίνοντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν*. Theophylact, Michaelis, Olshausen, and others take this to mean that His sweat dropped, as clots of blood drop from a wound. The word *ὡσεὶ* is frequently used to express a mere comparison, as in Mt 28^{3} *λευκὸν ὡσεὶ χιών*. There are no modern trustworthy cases of genuine bloody sweat; and although in some older writings comparable instances are quoted, none of them are properly authenticated. Tissot (*Traité des Nerfs*, 279) records one such, and others are given in connexion with legends of stigmatization, etc., as in the cases of Catharine of Raconizio (1446), and Stephano Quinzani in Soncino (1467). Bleeding took place from the stigmatic wounds in the case of Louise Lateau in 1870 (see also Schenck, *Obs. Med.* iii. 458, for ancient examples, and refs. in art. 'Stigmatization,' *Encyc. Brit.* xxii. 550). It is significant that the word used is *θρόμβοι*, 'clots,' not *σταγών* used of blood-drops by Æschylus (*Agam.* 1122), or *σταλαγμός* used both of blood (Eurip. *Ion.* 351, 1003) and sweat (Hippoc. *Aph.* 1261). Bourrut and Burot have described a red-coloured sweat in a hystero-epileptic, but the conditions were equivocal.

Poisonous serpents are mentioned in Nu 21^{6}, Dt 32^{33}, Job $20^{14.16}$, Is 11^{8} 14^{29} 59^{5}, Jer 8^{17}, Mt 3^{7} 12^{34} 23^{33}, Mk 16^{18}, Lk 3^{7} 10^{19}, Ac 28^{3-6}. The fiery serpents of the plague in the wilderness are not called *flying*: that word is imported into their description from Is 14^{29} and 30^{6}. There are several poisonous serpents in the Desert of the Exodus, the sand-viper *Echis carinata*, and the horned viper *Cerastes Ægyptiacus* and *Hasselquistii*, which are sometimes found in great numbers in favourable localities, and whose bites are burning and often fatal (see Strabo, xvi. 2. 30). *Naia Haje*, the asp, has also been found there. One or other of these was most likely the fiery serpent, the brazen model of which miraculously healed the bitten people. Küchenmeister (*Sydenham Soc. Tr.* i. 391) suggested that these fiery serpents were guinea-worms, *Filaria Medinensis*, parasitic worms which burrow under the skin and set up local inflammation: these are not uncommon in this region, and he supposes that they are the same as the *δρακόντια μικρά* of Plutarch (*Symposiakon* viii., Question 9), which are said by Agatharchides of Cnidus to eat away the flesh of the peoples near the Red Sea (see for other refs. Bennett, *Diseases of Bible*, 134). The story of Moses and the serpents given by Josephus (*Ant.* II. x. 2) is interesting in this connexion. Scorpion bites are not very common and rarely fatal in Palestine, but are common and often fatal to children in Egypt; see Pruner, p. 430.

The disease of Herod Agrippa I., recorded in Ac $12^{21ff.}$, was a sudden and fatal seizure of some abdominal complaint, accompanied with intense agony, and in some way connected with **worms.** Sir J. R. Bennett has surmised that it was acute peritonitis set up by the perforation of the bowel by an intestinal worm. This is a rare but not an impossible condition. The term employed is *σκωληκόβρωτος*, used here, as also in Theophrastus (*de Causis Plantarum*, v. 10), to signify 'eaten of worms.' Vulg. has *a vermibus erosus*. The mistaken idea that it was a case of *phthiriasis* has no support in the passage, and still less from the narrative in Josephus, which does not mention worms, but says that Herod was seized with a violent abdominal pain which lasted for five days (Eusebius says four) and proved fatal (XIX. viii. 2). The death of Pheretime (Herod. iv. 205) took place not from this disease, but from some exhausting disorder with superficial ulceration; the *εὐλαί* or maggots which were fatal to her were probably blow-fly larvæ. Antiochus Epiphanes, fatally injured by a fall, had probably compound fractures in which blow-flies laid their eggs and maggots were hatched. In former times cases of this sort were not rare when the injuries were neglected (2 Mac 9^{9}). See also Jos. *Ant.* XVII. vi. 5.

The third Egyp. plague was one of insects which are called *kinnām* (LXX *σκνῖφες*); and as the root כנן probably means 'to pierce *or* cut into,' it is likely that they were mosquitoes or sand-fleas, or some pest of that nature, which would be a much more serious plague in the East than one of lice. It was only the priests, Herodotus tells us, that were defiled by these (ii. 37). RVm renders 'sand-flies *or* fleas.' The argument that they must have been lice, because coming from the dust, is not of much force, for sand-fleas live in the same material, and lice are not generated in dust any more than gnats. It is therefore improbable that this plague was *phthiriasis*.

Among the causes of ceremonial impurity were certain **discharges** (Lv 15^{2-25}), some natural (Dt 23^{10}), others probably the result of evil practices. How far the diseases consequent on vice were known among the ancients is a doubtful point. The passages in Ps $107^{17.18}$, Pr 2^{18} 5^{11-22} $7^{23.26}$ (see tract *Zebaim*, and Maimonides' commentary thereon) seem to refer to such, but this group of diseases was not known in Europe until A.D. 1495.

Blindness was, and is, one of the commonest afflictions of the natives of Palestine; the blear-eyes, often crusted round with dried secretion, and fly-infested, make some of the most sickening sights in a Syrian village crowd. The words 'blindness' or 'blind' occur 87 times in the Bible; 41 times in a metaphorical sense, and 39 in reference to literal want of sight. The OT uses the words 'blind' or 'blindness' 35 times: in 28 the word is עור (Pi. 'to blind') or *'ivvēr* (adj.), 19 times literal, 9 figurative; in 3 it is *'ivvārôn* or *'avvereth*, 'blindness,' always literal; in 2 it is סַנְוֵרִים *sanvērîm*, 'a dazzling,' Gn 19^{11}, 2 K 6^{18}; once it is העלים 'to hide' (*sc.* my eyes, 1 S 12^{3}, but the text here is probably corrupt, cf. the LXX). In Is 29^{9} RV has 'be blind,' where AV has 'cry' as tr. of שׁעו. In the NT, in which 'blind' or 'blindness' is used 52 times, 36 literally and 16 metaphorically, the word is *τυφλός* or (verbal) *τυφλόω*. In four places where the word is *πώρωσις* or *πωρόω* RV has replaced ‘blindness’ or ‘blinded’ by ‘hardening’ or ‘hardened’ (Ro $11^{7.25}$, 2 Co 3^{14}, Eph 4^{18}); cf. confusion in MSS between *πηροῦν* and *πωροῦν* in Job 17^{7}.

Apparently but two forms of blindness were recognized: (1) that due to the prevalent ophthalmia. It is a highly infectious disease, and is aggravated by sand, sun-glare, and dirt, so that it almost always leaves the organs damaged, and often renders them useless, causing opacity of the cornea or closure of the pupil; (2) that due to age: Eli at the age of 98 was blind, his eyes waxed dim (1 S 3^{2}). David's eyes were ‘set’ at an earlier age (1 K 4^{15}). Ahijah was blind from age (1 K 14^{4}). Isaac was also blind (Gn 27^{1}); and it is noted of Moses that in spite of his age his eye was not dim. Like other plagues, blindness was believed to be a visitation from God, and curable only by Him (Ex 4^{11}). It incapacitated for the priesthood (Lv 21^{18}); but by law compassion for the blind was enacted (Lv 19^{14}), and offences against them were accursed (Dt 27^{18}). The minor form of ophthalmia caused redness of the lids and loss of the eyelashes. Leah was thus ‘tender’ or weak-eyed (Gn 29^{17}). Blindness from birth arises from *ophthalmia neonatorum*, which is often severe enough to cause permanent opacity of the cornea. Sometimes ophthalmia accompanies malarial fever (Lv 26^{16}). Smiting with blindness as a punishment occurred in the case of Elymas (Ac 13^{11}). This was only temporary, and may have been hypnotic. The Syrian soldiers seeking Elisha were also affected, probably in the same way (2 K 6^{18}). It was also probably subjugation to His overmastering power that caused the inhibition of the angry manifestations of the Nazarenes towards our Lord (Lk 4^{30}).

Of the blind men cured by our Lord the cases of interest were (1) the man congenitally blind (Jn 9^{1}), and (2) the man whose progress in vision was gradual (Mk 8^{22}). Probably the latter also was blind from birth, and the intermediate stage was that before he had learned to interpret the new sensation, although, on the other hand, the use of the word *ἀποκατεστάθη* would seem to imply that he had at one time possessed sight which was restored to him. Cases are on record of men to whom sight was suddenly given by operation, being unable to understand visual appearances until verified by touch (see discussion of this in Locke's *Essay*, ii. 9. 8). Our Lord in His miracles used different methods to restore sight, all of them inadequate without His divine power, but doubtless suited to the condition of faith on the person healed; a word, a touch, anointing with saliva, with clay, or testing his faith by sending him to wash his eyes. Maimonides refers to the use of fasting spittle as an application to sore eyes, but expressly forbids its use on the Sabbath.

The blindness of St. Paul (Ac $9^{8f.}$) was doubtless a temporary amaurosis, such as that which has been caused by injudiciously looking at the sun. The ‘scales’ which fell from his eyes were probably not material, but vision was restored as if scales had fallen; the word used is *ὡσεί*, for which see p. 330^{a}. It is not improbable that this left a weakness of eye, which may have been the ‘thorn in the flesh’ which rendered his bodily presence weak (see Gal 4^{15}). Tobit's blindness from the irritation of the sparrow's dung (To 2^{10}) was cured by the gall of the fish caught by his son ($11^{4ff.}$). Pliny recommends the bile of *Callionymus Lyra* as a cure for blindness (xxxii. 24). There is a reference to eye-salve in Rev 3^{18}. Magical means for curing eye diseases are referred to in Rawlinson, *WAI* ii. 47. Many eye-washes are mentioned in *Papyrus Ebers* lv ff.

The poetical description of the failure of the powers of nature in **old age**, in Ec 12, has been commented upon by many authors, and the details are carefully reviewed by Sir J. R. Bennett (*op. cit.* p. 106). The Rabbins recognized 903 modes of death; and, commenting on Ps 90, said that death at 70 is old age, at 80 is strength (*Moed Ḳatan* 28. 1). On account of the impurity of a dead body, the older Jewish physicians did not make post-mortem examinations (*Aboda Zara* 29; *Baba Bathra* 155*a*), but at a later date these were permitted (see Willstädler in *Allg. Zeitung des Judenthums*, viii. 568). Burial with or without the external application of antiseptics was the common method.

The process of **child-birth** is mentioned in Scripture: (α) in individual cases, (β) in legislative enactments, and (γ) in metaphor. Leaving on one side the narrative of the birth of Eve (see *Midrash Rabbah* on Nu 14, where Adam is described as androgynous), there are details of a number of births, most of which are illustrations of the primal curse of Gn 3^{16}. Two of these are cases of twins (Gn $25^{21ff.}$ and 38^{28}). The latter was a case of spontaneous evolution with perineal laceration, probably fatal to the mother (although a Rabbinic tradition in *Zohar ḥadash* says that she lived long after); Rachel's was a case of fatal *dystocia*, probably on account of some delicacy or unhealthiness of long standing (31^{35}); and Phinehas' wife was an example of premature labour (Jos. *Ant.* v. xi. 4), brought on by shock, and proving fatal (1 S 4^{19}).

The cases of Sarah, Manoah's wife, Hannah, the Shunammite, and Elisabeth, are instances of *uniparæ* at a late period. Barrenness was regarded as a divine judgment (Gn 20^{18} 30^{2}), and was a cause of much unhappiness (Gn 30^{1}, Pr 30^{16}), for the removal of which the forked root of the mandrake was used as a charm (Gn 30^{16}). A multitude of children was believed to be a signal proof of the favour of God (1 S 2^{5}, Ps 113^{9} 127^{3} 128^{3}). Hence miscarrying was regarded also as a sign of God's displeasure (Hos 9^{14}). The attendants on child-bed were women, מְיַלְּדֹת (Gn 35^{17}, Ex 1^{15}), of whom two were enough for the Israelitish women in Egypt, indicating a small number in a circumscribed locality. *Midrash Rabbah* credits Puah with being the inventor of artificial respiration by insufflation. The mother was placed in a kneeling posture, leaning on some one's knees (Gn 30^{3}) or on a labour-stool. There is some obscurity as to the nature of the אָבְנַיִם of Ex 1^{16}. Sa'adya and the Targ. believe it to have been a seat on which the midwife made the patient to kneel,* others a bathing-tub. Ibn G'anach considers it a name for the uterus, others believe that the dual refers to the two sexes of the children which they were to see and note (see Dillmann-Ryssel on this passage, pp. 14, 15). Difficult labour from weakness of the mother is mentioned metaphorically in 2 K 19^{3}.

According to the law of Lv $12^{2ff.}$ the mother was regarded as unclean or taboo for 7 days, until the date of circumcision in case of a male, or for 14 days if the child was a female. After this there was a second period of separation, during which she was not permitted to appear in the temple. This period for the mother of a boy was 33 days, of a girl 66 days, after which the offering for purification was made. The difference of period in the case of the two sexes was due to the belief that the lochia lasted longer after the birth of a female child. Nursing was continued for 2 or 3 years (2 Mac 7^{27}), and the child was taken by a relative to wean (1 K 11^{20}).

The legislation for the **catamenia** and for menorrhagia was characterized by a rigid system of purification, and the cleansing of everything that was

* For particulars of this משבר or labour-stool see Rashi on 2 K 19^{3}, *Kelim* 23. 4.

defiled thereby (Lv $15^{19ff.}$). The sufferer from this disease in Mt 9^{20}, Mk 5^{25}, and Lk 8^{43} had suffered many things of many physicians and only grew worse; so much was this condition considered as beyond treatment that it was recommended to treat it magically and by amulet (*Baba Shab.* 110, *Giṭṭin* 69). According to the early legend, the votive figure at Bânîas, supposed to be that of Christ, was put up by her (v. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, p. 197). Amulets of the *lapis resurrectionis* were used to prevent miscarriage (*Shabb.* 66). To this day, charms, usually in the form of verses or incantations from the Bible, are used in the interval between birth and circumcision to keep away Lilith: these are called קמיעות (*Shebuoth* 15, *Chullin* 77, *Shabbath* 57, *Sanhedrin* 90). Cæsarean section (implied in the expression יוצא דופן) is mentioned in *Sanhedrin* 45. There is a description of a newborn infant given in Ezk 16^4 with undivided umbilical cord, unwashed and undressed. Salt was rubbed on the skin of infants to make it firm, and to remove the *vernix caseosa.*

In the prophetic writings labour pains, pangs, and travail are frequent images, representing (1) the affrighting of God's enemies, Ps 48^6, Is 13^8 etc.; (2) God's declaration of judgment, Is 42^{14}; (3) the sorrows of God's people under chastisement, Is 26^{17}; (4) claim of spiritual parentage, Gal 4^{19} etc.

Infantile diseases seem to have been exceptionally severe in Palestine, and at the present day mortality in the early years of life is exceptionally high. The Rabbinical writers speak of the צער גדול בנים, or pain of bringing up children, and in *Bereshith Rabbah* it is written that it is easier to rear a forest of young olive-trees than one child. Biblical references to sick children are not a few: Bathsheba's infant (2 S 12^{15}), the Shunammite's son (2 K 4), the widow's son at Zarephath (1 K 17). Christ healed many children, among whom were the fever-stricken son of the nobleman of Capernaum (Jn 4^{49}), and Jairus' daughter (Mt 9^{18}, Mk 5^{22}, Lk 8^{41}), who was 12 years old. No particulars are given of their diseases.

Several general references to sicknesses whose characters are not specified occur. We do not know the maladies of Abijah (1 K 14^1); Benhadad (2 K 8^7), whose disease was not mortal, but who was too weak to struggle with Hazael; Elisha (2 K 13^{14}), Joash ('afflicted with great diseases,' 2 Ch 24^{25}), Lazarus of Bethany (Jn 11^1), Dorcas (Ac 9^{37}), Epaphroditus (Ph 2^{27}), or Trophimus (2 Ti 4^{20}).

Similarly, the metaphorical allusions to sickness are numerous, as typical of the weakness brought on by sin and neglect of God's commandments. This moral sickness is especially compared to the severe pains in the back from fever and exposure: anguish in loins (Is 21^3), pains in loins (Nah 2^{10}), smitten in loins (Dt 33^{11}), disease in loins (Ps 38^7), affliction laid on loins (Ps 66^{11}), breaking of loins (Ezk 23^{15}); see for other images Is 1^5, Ps 55^4, Jer 4^{19}.

There are very few references to *methods of treatment* in the Bible. External applications, such as bathing or washing (2 K 5^{10}); diet (Lk 8^{55}); the application of saliva (Jn 9^6; see Maimon. on *Shabb.* 21); anointing with oil (Ja 5^{14}); binding of sores and mollifying them with ointment (Is 1^6); pouring in oil and wine (Lk 10^{34}); Hezekiah's plaster of figs prescribed by Isaiah (Is 38^{21}); animal heat by contact (1 K 17^{19}, 2 K 4^{34}), especially with those failing from old age (1 K 1^2). Claudius Hermippus is said to have prolonged his life to 115 years by breathing the breath of young girls.

Of actual medicines few are mentioned; possibly the **balm of Gilead** was one, Gn 37^{25}, 43^{11}, Jer 8^{22} 46^{11} 51^8 (from this last passage it appears to have been used as a local sedative, Ezk 27^{17}). This material was probably the resin of *Pistacia lentiscus*, the mastic tree; as the plant now called Balm of Gilead (*Balsamodendron Gileadense*) is a native of Somali-land and S. Arabia, and it is doubtful if it ever extended as far north as Palestine. The צרי may, however, have been the resin of *Balanites Ægyptiaca*, still used as an application to sores. See, further, art. BALM. **Mandrakes** (*dûdā'îm*) were used as a stimulant to conception, the forked root as a charm, and the sweetish fruit as a medicine. The plant is *Mandragora officinalis* (for ancient views on this see Deusing, *de Mandragora*, Groningen, 1659; Celsius, *Hierobot. s.v.* 'Dudaim'). Of other plants, mint, anise, and cummin, mentioned under FOOD (vol. ii. p. 38^b), are used as carminatives. The last was used for the wound in circumcision, *Shabbath* 133*b*. Myrrh, lign-aloes, onycha, stacte, frankincense, spikenard, are odorous materials, but scarcely remedial; salt was used for hardening the skin and as a preservative; nitre, native sodic carbonate, not saltpetre (Pr 25^{20}, Jer 2^{22}), was used as a cleansing agent to remove the fatty secretions of the skin. The caper-berry (*Capparis spinosa*) had a considerable reputation as an aphrodisiac (Ec 12^5). Narcotics were used to abate pain (*Baba mezia* 83*b*). The wine given to our Lord at His crucifixion was probably for this purpose.

As in Egypt, the most of the remedies in common use were dietary: meal, milk, vinegar, wine, water, almonds, figs, raisins, pomegranates, honey, dibs, and butter, made up a large part of the Egyptian as of the Jewish pharmacopœia. Some few remedies were of a less agreeable nature, such as the heart, liver, and gall of Tobiah's fish (To 6^7). The Talmud adds to this list radishes, mustard, ginger, dog's dung, wormwood, calamus, cinnamon, ladanum, galbanum, storax; and of poisons, *ḥemah* (supposed to be some hemlock-like plant), *rosh* (probably poppy), and *bashaḥ* or aconite. Many of the medicines given in the Egyptian medical writings, and almost all in the Babylonian and Assyrian plant lists, cannot be identified.

The art of the apothecary is mentioned in Ex $30^{25\text{-}35}$ 37^{29}, as well as in Ec 10^1. The רוקח was, however, rather a maker of perfumes (2 Ch 16^{14}) than a compounder of medicines. They seem to have formed a kind of guild (see Neh 3^8). RV has replaced the word by 'perfumer' except in Neh, 1 Ch, and Sir 38^8 and 49^1. Probably, as in Egypt, the physician compounded his own medicines. In *Pap. Ebers* there is an invocation given to be used by the physician when thus engaged: 'May Isis heal me as she healed Horus from all pain which his brother Set hath inflicted on him when he slew his father Osiris. Oh Isis! great wonder-worker, heal me and set me free from all evil, destructive, and demoniacal inflictions, from fatal diseases and uncleanness of every kind which befall me,' etc.

It is probable that charms of this kind were in use among the later Jews. Neck-chains like serpents, such as those mentioned in Is 3^{20}, protected against diseases produced by envy and the evil eye (see *Berachoth* 55, *Shabbath* 57, *Chullin* 77, *Shebuoth* 17, and Elworthy's *Evil Eye*, 1898). The לְחָשִׁים of Is 3^{20} and the נְזָמִים or ear-rings of Gn 35^4 are supposed to have been charms.

The Levitical code contains a large number of **Hygienic enactments** with regard to food, sanitation, and the recognition of infectious diseases. It prescribes as sources of food, animals of the herbivorous and ruminant group, excludes all birds which live upon animal food, and permits the use of all true fishes; and, among invertebrates, permits only the use of locusts. Of food-animals, the fat and the blood are prohibited; and special rules were laid down for the slaughter and inspection of the animals, that the meat may be clean from the taint of infectious disease. Among fruits, those produced by trees in the first three years of their life are 'uncircumcised' and not to be eaten; that of the fourth year is 'devoted'; and that of the fifth and later years may be used as food (Lv 19^{25}). The provision of the periodic cleaning out and destruction of leaven, that even the bread-stuffs may be kept wholesome, is also an important law for the maintenance of a pure food (Ex 12^{19} 13^{7}, Dt 16^{3}).

The agricultural sanitary laws forbid the mixture of seeds in a field at the same time, the sowing of crops in a vineyard, the cross grafting of fruit-trees, the cross-breeding and even the yoking together of dissimilar cattle, and enforces the complete rest of man and beast on the Sabbath days, as well as on the great religious and national festivals (Ex 23^{12}). To ensure the perfect purification of garments, no mixture of linen and woollen materials was permitted (Lv 19^{19}, Dt 22^{11}), as they cannot be so thoroughly or easily cleansed as pure garments of one material (see *Kilayim*). Such compound fabrics, however, might, according to *Nidda*, be used as shrouds.

In domestic sanitation the covering with earth of excreta and of blood are prescribed, and the expansion of these rules in the Mishna (*Baba Kamma*) forbids dung-heaps, and gardens requiring manure within the city, and intramural interments. The fires of the valley of Hinnom perhaps consumed the city offal (but see Robinson, *BRP* i. 274). Houses were built with parapets to prevent accidents (Dt 22^{8}), and persons suspected of having infectious diseases in the stage of incubation were isolated (Lv 13^{4}). Those who had to touch corpses or things unclean were themselves rendered unclean, and had to wash their clothes (Nu 19^{11}).

In the Talmudic code of uncleanness there were five or, according to some, six grades recognized. Decomposition, death, or leprosy, or certain other diseases, were the central causes of all impurity, and hence were called 'fathers of fathers of uncleanness.' That which was affected by these became the 'father of uncleanness,' and could not be purified: for example, a corpse, or carcase except such as was killed in the proper way, certain issues, a leprous man, an idol, the water of purification (Nu 19), the propitiatory parts of sacrificed animals. Whatever was defiled by contact with these was the first son of uncleanness, to be cleansed by sacrifice, by a period of isolation and a process of purification by water or fire; whatever was defiled by contact with a first son of uncleanness was a second son of uncleanness, to be purified by seven days' isolation and washing; and whatever was rendered impure by one of these was a third son, to be purified by a day's isolation and washing of the clothes and person. By these lustrations and by the careful isolation of cases of suspected contagious disease, the chances of the propagation of infection were much diminished.

Of **surgical instruments** a flint knife called צוּר was used for circumcision (see vol. i. p. 443), but later, steel knives, מַאֲכָלוֹת, called also סכין, were used (*Chullin*). An awl or מרצע was used for boring the servant's ear (Ex 21^{6}). Other knives called *pigîon 'izmel, kesilta'* are mentioned in different Talmudic tracts—*Kelim* 13. 1; *Shabbath* 130; *Moed Ḳatan* and *Aboda Zara* 276.

Of **surgical operations,** circumcision has been already dealt with. The exclusion of eunuchs from the service of God under the theocracy was probably a protest against either of these operations referred to in Dt 23^{1} as performed among heathen nations in the service of their gods (see Driver, *Deut.* p. 259). Under the kingdom, however, they became important officials as Samuel predicted, 1 S 8^{15} (AV and RVm), 1 K 22^{9}, 2 K 8^{6} 9^{32} 24^{12-15}, Jer 29^{2} 34^{19} 38^{7} 41^{16}, and no spiritual disability attached to their state, Is 56^{4}; see our Lord's words in Mt 19^{12}, and also Ac $8^{27\text{ff.}}$.

LITERATURE.—Few of the books on the subject written before this century (which number at least 150) are of any value. The only works worth consulting are: Ader, *de Ægrotis in Evangelio*, Toulouse, 1626; Bartholinus, *de Morbis biblicis Miscellanea Medica*, Hafniæ, 1671; Lundt, *Die alten Jüdischen Heyligthümer*, Hamburg, 1695; Oremont, *Dissert. de Ebræorum veterum Arte Medica*, Viteborg, 1688; Moles, *Pathologia morborum quorum in Sac. Scrip. mentio fit*, Madrid, 1642; Calmet, *de re Medica Hebræi*, Paris, 1714; Colmar, *über die Arzneigelehrheit der Juden*, Gera, 1729; Mead, *Medica Sacra*, London, 1749; Reinhard, *Bibelkrankheiten*, 1767; Sprengel, *de Medic. Ebræorum*, Halle, 1789, and his *Geschichte d. Arztneykunde*, vol. i.

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A. MACALISTER.

MEEDDA (A Μεεδδά, B Δεδδά, AV MEEDA), 1 Es 5^{32} = MEHIDA, Ezr 2^{52}, Neh 7^{54}.

MEEKNESS must not be considered alone, but in connexion with the group of virtues of which it is one, and which are especially characteristic of the Christian temper. Meekness goes along with poverty of spirit, humility, mercy, etc., Mt $5^{3\text{ff.}}$ (πρᾷος, πρᾳότης; but in the best uncials both in LXX and NT, πραΰς, πραΰτης). The grace is found in similar company in the Epistles, 'With all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love' (Eph 4^{2}, Col 3^{12}, Gal 5^{23}). This association best illustrates the meaning of the word; it connotes gentleness, kindness, forbearance, and is the direct opposite of a proud, harsh, unforgiving spirit. The high place given to this virtue in the beatitudes (Mt 5^{3-12}), which represent the higher Christian law, its special prominence in the character as well as in the teaching of the Lord Jesus ('I am meek and lowly in heart,' Mt 11^{29}), its frequent mention in the Epistles (Gal 6^{1}, Tit 3^{2}, 1 Ti 6^{11}, 2 Ti 2^{25}, Ja 1^{21} $3^{13.\,17b}$, 1 P $3^{4.\,15}$), all indicate the determining influence assigned to this class of virtues in the NT ideal of character. The insistence upon the duty of forgiveness (Mt $6^{14\text{f.}}$ 18^{35}, Eph 4^{32}) is another striking illustration. Our Lord prayed for His murderers (Lk 23^{34}). His meekness deeply impressed His followers (2 Co 10^{1}, 1 P 2^{23}). 'The Lord's servant' must possess the same spirit (2 Ti $2^{24\text{f.}}$; cf. what is said of Moses in Nu 12^{3}, that he was meek [עָנָו] above all men upon earth). Row justly calls attention to the fact that Christianity transfers supremacy from the stronger to the milder virtues (*Bampton Lect.* p. 154). The result in the growth of the spirit of sympathy and love in the world amply justifies the change. The improvement would have been still greater if Christians had better understood and followed the Christian ideal as set forth in passages like Mt $5^{39\text{f.}}$, Ro $12^{19\text{f.}}$ Too often they have preferred the heathen worship of the stronger virtues to the Christian ideal. Hence the slow fulfilment of prophecies like the one in Is 2^{4}.

The NT teaching on this subject, while going beyond the OT teaching, is rooted in it (see Ps 9^{12} 10^{12} 22^{26} 72^{4} 76^{9} 82^{3} 147^{6}, Is 11^{4} 61^{1}). The Heb. word (עָנִי, עָנָו)* denotes, first of all, a distressed, helpless state in the literal sense, and then acquires a moral meaning, just as there is a close connexion between literal and spiritual poverty (cf. Mt 5^{3} and Lk 6^{20}). The Christian beatitude (Mt 5^{5}) almost literally translates Ps 37^{11}. It is no less striking a fact that the possession of the earth is promised to the meek in both passages.

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* See Rahlfs, *עָנִי und עָנָו in den Psalmen*; and cf. Driver, *Par. Psalt.* 445f. (*s.v.* 'humble'), 451 f. (*s.v.* (1) 'poor').

J. S. BANKS.

MEET (Anglo-Sax. *gemet* 'suitable,' from *metan* to measure, whence Eng. 'mete,' thus 'according to the proper measure or standard'). The Heb. and Gr. words rendered 'meet' in AV are numerous, but the meaning is either 'fit' or 'fitting.' 1. *Fit, suitable,* 2 K 10^{3} 'Look even out the best and meetest of your master's sons, and set him on his father's throne'; Wis 13^{11} 'He hath sawn down a tree meet for the purpose'; Mt 3^{8} 'Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance' (TR καρποὺς ἀξίους τῆς μετανοίας, edd. καρπὸν ἄξιον, RV 'fruit worthy of repentance'); 1 Co 15^{9} 'I am the least of the apostles, that am not meet to be called an apostle' (ἱκανός); Col 1^{12} 'Giving thanks unto the Father, which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light' (τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἱκανώσαντι ἡμᾶς). Cf. Erasmus, *Commune Crede,* fol. 79, 'It is not in the mete place.' So Tindale's tr. of Nu 1^{22} 'whatsoever was mete for the warre' (so $1^{30.\,42}$, but 1^{26} 'all that were able to warre,' and 1^{28} 'what soever was apte for warre'), and of Mt $10^{37.\,38}$ 'He that lovith hys father or mother more then me, is not mete for me.' Also 1 S 14^{52} Cov., 'And where Saul sawe a man that was stronge and mete for warre, he toke him to him'; Hall, *Works,* ii. 30, 'Piety and diligence must keepe meet changes with each other; neither doth God lesse accept of our returne to Nazareth, then our going up to Jerusalem'; and Shaks. *Lear,* I. ii. 200—

> 'Let me, if not by birth, have lands by wit,
> All with me's meet that I can fashion fit.'

2. *Fitting, proper,* as 2 Mac 9^{12} 'It is meet to be subject unto God' (δίκαιον, RV 'It is right'); Mt 15^{26} 'It is not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it to dogs' (οὐκ ἔστιν καλόν). Cf. Shaks. *Rich. II.* v. iii. 118—

> 'No word like "pardon," for kings' mouths so meet.'

J. HASTINGS.

MEGIDDO (מְגִדּוֹ, מְגִדּוֹן **Megiddon** in Zec 12^{11}; Μαγεδδώ or Μαγεδδών, Μαγδώ in 1 K 9^{15} A [om. in B]) was an old Canaanite capital (Jos 12^{21}, B om.) situated in Issachar but assigned to Manasseh (Jos 17^{11}, 1 Ch 7^{29}). The Can. inhabitants were, however, 'put to tribute' and not driven out (Jos $17^{12.\,13}$, Jg $1^{27.\,28}$). The town was in the district from which Baana, one of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers, drew supplies for the royal household (1 K 4^{12}), and Solomon restored the fortifications (1 K 9^{15}), which were of very ancient date (Inscr. of Thothmes III.). According to 2 K 9^{27} Ahaziah died at M.; but elsewhere (2 Ch 22^{9}) it is said that he was found in Samaria, taken to Jehu, and slain. Barak fought Sisera 'in Taanach by the waters of M.,' and the Canaanites were swept away by the suddenly swollen Kishon (Jg 5^{19-21}). Pharaoh-necho, whilst on the march from Egypt to Carchemish and the Euphrates, defeated and slew Josiah 'in the valley' or 'plain' of M. (2 K $23^{29.\,30}$, 2 Ch 35^{22}, 1 Es 1^{29}); and the 'mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley (LXX plain) of Megiddon' may refer to the same event (Zec 12^{11}). Possibly this was the battle at Magdolum mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 159). M. is frequently mentioned in close connexion with Taanach (Jos 12^{21} 17^{11}, Jg 5^{19}, 1 K 4^{12}, 1 Ch 7^{29}), which was certainly at *Ta'annuk*—a small village, on a large isolated mound, or *Tell*, near the edge of the plain of Esdraelon, and about 6¼ m. N.W. of *Jenin.* M. was taken by Thothmes III. after a great battle, in which he defeated the confederated kings and princes of Palestine. Leaving his camp at Aruna (a place identified by Maspero with *Umm el-Fahm*, but which is more probably *Ararah*), he marched through a defile (*Wady Arah*) in which he expected to be attacked, and in seven hours reached the south side of M. (*RP*, 1st ser. ii. 35–47). The town is noticed in the 'Travels of an Egyptian,' apparently in connexion with the Jordan (*ib.* ii. 112); but Max Müller has shown (*Asien u. Europa*, 195) that Jordan is probably an error for Kishon. M. is also mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions. At Armageddon (RV Har-magedon), that is, 'the fortified city or mountain of M.,' according to Rev 16^{16}, the final conflict between the hosts of good and evil will take place; see ii. 304 f.

About 4½ m. N.W. of Taanach are two ancient sites. One, *Tell el-Mutasellim*, is at the end of a spur that runs out from the ridge of Carmel into the plain, and is a conspicuous feature in the landscape. This is Megiddo. The other, close to it, is *Lejjun*, the Roman *Legio*, which took the place of the earlier Can. town, and gave its name, *Campus Legionis*, to the great plain of Esdraelon, which is called by Jerome 'the plain of Megiddo.' Lejjun is identified with Megiddo by Robinson (*BRP*^{2} ii. 329), Dillm. (on Jos 12^{21}), Moore (*Judges*, 45, 47), G. A. Smith (*HGHL* 386 f.), Buhl (*GAP* 209). Moore (p. 47) thinks *Tell el-Mutasellim* may have been the citadel of Megiddo. The ruins of Legio cover a wide area on both sides of a perennial stream, which is one of the principal feeders of the Kishon, and sometimes called its head (*PEF Mem.* ii. 39). This stream is apparently 'the waters of Megiddo.' Legio was a centre from which Eusebius and Jerome measured the distances of other places, and probably a military station. It occupied an important position on the road from Bethshean and Jezreel to the coast, and guarded the northern end of the pass over the ridge of Carmel, which forms the easiest line of communication between the plain of Sharon and that of Esdraelon. Through this pass ran the great road from Egypt to the north, along which invading armies have marched from the time of Thothmes III. to that of Napoleon. It was apparently during the passage of the defile that Josiah's hillmen attacked the army of Necho, hoping to obtain an easy victory over soldiers trained on the plains of Egypt. A large ruined *khan* shows that, even in the Middle Ages, commerce followed the same route. There would seem to be a trace of the name Megiddo in the Arab name of the Kishon, *Nahr el-Mukutta'*. (See Smith, *HGHL* 386, 387, whose view, however, is strongly opposed by Moore, *Judges*, 158). Conder (*PEF Mem.* ii. 90–99) identifies Megiddo with *Mujedda'* in the Jordan Valley near Bethshean. This site has in its favour similarity of name, and a doubtful reference in the description of the journey of an Egyptian traveller in the 14th cent. B.C. It is, however, far removed from the Kishon; is a long way from any road by which an army would march from Egypt to Carchemish and the Euphrates; the flight of Ahaziah would not have been towards Bethshean, whence Jehu had come; and the expression 'Taanach by the waters of M.' cannot apply to any site beyond the limits of Esdraelon. (See the criticism of G. A. Smith, p. 387 f.).

C. W. WILSON.

MEGILLOTH.—See TEXT OF OT.

MEHETABEL, AV **Mehetabeel** (מְהֵיטַבְאֵל = מְהֵיטַבְאֵל 'God benefits').—**1.** The grandfather or ancestor of Shemaiah, the son of Delaiah, the false prophet, who was hired by Tobiah and Sanballat against Nehemiah (Neh 6^{10}). **2.** The wife of Hadar or Hadad, king of Edom (Gn 36^{39}, 1 Ch 1^{50}).

MEHIDA (מְחִידָא).—The eponym of a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^{52} (Μαουδά) = Neh 7^{54} (Μεειδά), called in 1 Es 5^{32} **Meeda.**

MEHIR (מְחִיר).—A Judahite, 1 Ch 4^{11} (LXX Μαχείρ).

MEHOLATHITE (הַמְּחֹלָתִי; in 1 S B omits, 2 S B ὁ Μωουλαθεί, A ὁ Μοουλαθείτης).—Probably an inhabitant of Abel-meholah, the birthplace of Elisha, which is usually placed in the Jordan Valley, 10 miles S. of Beth-shean (G. A. Smith, *HGHL* p. 581 n.), in accordance with the identification of Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*^{2} 227, 35). Conder (*SWP Memoirs*, p. 221) identifies it with *'Ain Ḥelweh* in the same neighbourhood; but Moore (*Judges*, p. 212) rejects both these conjectures (cf. Buhl, *Geogr.* p. 206 n.). Possibly we should look for Abel-meholah or Meholah on the east of Jordan, in which case Barzillai, the father of Adriel, who is described as an inhabitant of this place (1 S 18^{19}, 2 S 21^{8}), is to be identified with the wealthy Gileadite of that name (2 S 17^{27}). In favour of this view is the close connexion which existed between the house of Saul and the inhabitants of the trans-Jordanic country.

J. F. STENNING.

MEHUJAEL (מְחוּיָאֵל or מְחִיָּיאֵל [*Ḳĕrê* מְחִיָּאֵל]; A Μαιήλ).—A Cainite, Gn 4^{18} (J), corresponding to **Mahalalel** of P's genealogy (Gn $5^{12\text{ff.}}$). Dillmann remarks that the name may mean 'destroyed of God,' or (Jewish-Aramaic) 'smitten of God' (so Holzinger), or 'God gives (to me) life' (so Budde [*Urgeschichte*, 128], who points מַחְיִיאֵל or מְחַיֵּיאֵל; cf. Philo's interpretation, ἀπὸ ζωῆς θεοῦ).

Ball (in *SBOT*) agrees with Hommel (*PSBA*, March 1893) in holding not only that the two lists of the antediluvian patriarchs are identical, but that the Heb. names are either adaptations or translations of the Babylonian as found in Berosus and cuneiform sources. Ball considers that the form מַהֲלַלְאֵל of Gn $5^{12\text{ff.}}$ is more original than either מְחוּיָאֵל or מְחִיָּיאֵל [the *Ḳĕrê* מְחִיָּאֵל he calls 'a triumph of absurdity'], as is shown by Berosus' Μεγάλαρος, a phonetic improvement of Μελάλαρος = *Amel-Aruru*, 'Aruru's man' (Hommel), י and ל being sometimes confused. See, further, Nestle, *Marginalien*, 7, and Sayce, *Expos. Times*, May 1899, p. 353.

J. A. SELBIE.

MEHUMAN (מְהוּמָן).—One of the seven eunuchs in attendance upon king Ahasuerus (Est 1^{10}, LXX Ἀμάν). The name has been explained from the Persian *Mehhum-van*, 'belonging to the great Hum' (cf. Berth.-Ryss.); the former has perhaps been assimilated to the Aram. ܡܗܝܡܢ = *faithful*.

H. A. WHITE.

ME-JARKON (מֵי הַיַּרְקוֹן).—An unknown place in the neighbourhood of Joppa, Jos 19^{46}. The text is doubtful, the following **Rakkon** (רַקּוֹן) being in any case almost certainly due to dittography from the second part of *Me-jarkon*, while the latter name itself is not beyond suspicion. The LXX reads καὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης Ἱερακὼν ὅριον πλησίον Ἰόππης, which Dillm. points out implies a reading וּמִיָּם הַיַּרקוֹן גְּבוּל וג׳, *i.e.* 'and westward, Jarkon the boundary over against Joppa.'

J. A. SELBIE.

MEKONAH (מְכֹנָה; BA om., ℵ$^{\text{c.a mg inf}}$ Μαχνά).—A town noticed, with Ziklag, as inhabited after the Captivity, Neh 11^{28}. The site has not been identified.

MELATIAH (מְלַטְיָה 'J" hath delivered,' Μαλτίας, but ℵA om.), a Gibeonite, who, with the men of Gibeon and of Mizpah, repaired a portion of the walls of Jerus. in the days of Nehemiah (Neh 3^{7}).

MELCHI (Μελχί TR, but Μελχεί Tisch. Treg. WH).—**1. 2.** Two ancestors of our Lord bear this name in St Luke's genealogy ($3^{24.\,28}$).

MELCHIAS (B Μελχείας, A -χίας).—**1.** 1 Es 9^{26} = MALCHIJAH, Ezr 10^{25}. **2.** 1 Es 9^{32} = MALCHIJAH, Ezr 10^{31}. **3.** 1 Es 9^{44} = MALCHIJAH, Neh 8^{4}.

MELCHIEL (B Μελχειήλ, A Μελχιήλ; Vulg. om.).—The father of Charmis, one of the three governors of Bethulia, Jth 6^{15} (cf. the name מַלְכִּיאֵל, *Malchiel*).

MELCHIZEDEK (מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק, Μελχισεδέκ).—King of Salem and priest of the Most High God, who, after Abram's defeat of Chedorlaomer and his Bab. allies, met the patriarch on his return, offered him bread and wine, blessed him, and received tithes from him of the spoil (Gn 14^{17-20}). Salem is Jerusalem, which appears already in the Tel el-Amarna tablets (B.C. 1400) as one of the most important cities of Canaan, and is called Uru-salim. An Assyr. lexical tablet (*WAI* II. ii. 393) states that *uru* is the equivalent of the Assyr. *alu*, 'city'; and in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Egyp. kings Ramses II. and Ramses III. (19th and 20th dynasties) Jerus. is called simply Shalam or Salem. Several of the Tel el-Amarna tablets are letters written to the Pharaoh by Ebed-tob (or, as read by Hommel, Abdi-khiba), the king of Uru-Salim, who begs for help against his enemies. He tells the Pharaoh that he was not like the other Egyptian governors in Palestine, nor had he received his crown by inheritance from his father or mother; it had been conferred on him by 'the Mighty King.'* In another letter he speaks of 'the city of the mountain of Uru-Salim, by name Bit-Ninip,' becoming disaffected; and we may perhaps infer from this that the 'Most High God' of Jerusalem was identified with Ninip, the warrior Sun-god of Babylonia. In a letter from Phœnicia we hear of a second Bit-Ninip in the N. of Palestine. 'The Mighty King' is distinguished from the 'great king' of Egypt; and in one passage Ebed-tob declares that, although the Pharaoh sends no troops, 'the arm of the Mighty King shall reach the lands of Naharaim and Babylonia.' Ebed-tob would therefore appear to have been a priest-king, and thus to offer a striking parallel to Melchizedek. Moreover, Ebed-tob's words, that he had received his royal dignity neither from his 'father' nor from his 'mother,' are a curious commentary on He 7^{3}. As Uru-Salim probably (but see JERUSALEM, vol. ii. p. 584^{a}; *ZA*, 1891, p. 263; *JBL* xi. (1892) p. 105) signifies 'the city of the god Salim,' the god of peace and safety (Heb. *shâlôm*) (though the Babylonians seem to have interpreted the name the 'city of alliance,' *salim* having that meaning in their own language), the action of M. in welcoming the peaceful return of Abram is easily explained. The offering of the *esrâ* or tithe to the priests and temples was a long-established Bab. custom, and the formula used by M. in blessing the patriarch is met with in Aram. inscriptions found in Egypt. (See a series of papers on 'Melchizedek' by Sayce, Driver, Hommel, and others in the *Expos. Times*, vols. vii. and viii., and cf. art. EL ELYON).

For NT references see art. HEBREWS, vol. ii. 331 f., and MEDIATION, pp. 313^{a}, 319^{b}.

A. H. SAYCE.

MELEA (Μελεᾶ TR, but Μελεά Tisch. Treg. WH).—An ancestor of Jesus, Lk 3^{31}.

MELECH (מֶלֶךְ 'king'; cf. Nabatæan מלכו, the name of several kings in 1st cent. B.C.–1st cent. A.D. [Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, 116]).—The name of a grandson of Merib-baal (Mephibosheth), 1 Ch 8^{35} (B Μελχήλ, A Μαλώθ) 9^{41} (B Μαλάχ, A Μαλώχ).

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* Acc. to Hommel (*Expos. Times*, viii. 95), the 'Mighty King' is in Abdi-khiba's letter the king of the *Hittites*, but he considers it probable that this was an applied reference, the original sense of *sarru dannu* ('mighty king') having been a religious one, parallel to the אֵל עֶלְיוֹן ('Most High God') of Gn 14^{18}.

Siegfried-Stade compare, further, the names Μάλχος (Jn 18^{10}) and Μάλιχος (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. v. 2).

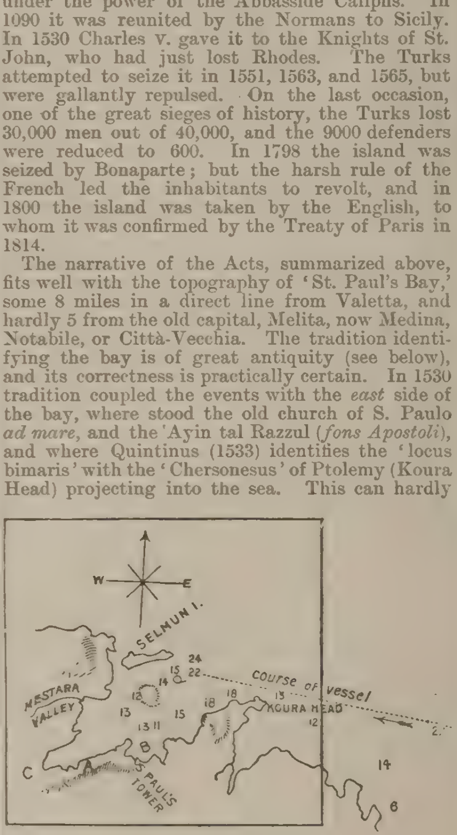
J. A. SELBIE.

MELITA (Μελίτη; but B*, the Arm. VS, a Greek corrector of the Philoxenian Syr., the Bohairic, some good MSS of Vulg., and other authorities read Μελιτήνη, a natural and probably very early error in transcription).—The island upon which St. Paul was shipwrecked (Ac 28^{1}). The ship had drifted thither from Cauda, a small island off the coast of Crete (Ac 27^{16}). The violent wind Euraquilo (which see), the 'Gregalia' or 'Levanter,' blowing from E.N.E., would have drifted the vessel to the Syrtis (which see) had not its course been changed. St. Luke gives a partial account of the steps taken with this object; but, writing as a landsman, he omits the one essential point, viz. the setting of storm-sails, without which 'way' could not have been kept on the ship, and she would have drifted straight on the Syrtis. It has been shown that a ship of the kind in question, close-hauled on the starboard tack, before an E.N.E. gale, would make a course about W. by N. This would bring her to Malta within about the time stated (v.^{27}) to have elapsed. It could not possibly have carried her to the Dalmatian coast. This fact, as well as the fact that the party proceeded from Melita to Rome by Syracuse and Rhegium, is conclusive against the claim of Melita in the Adriatic, in spite of the identification of our Melita with the latter island by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*de Admin. Imper.* 36, apparently the only express allusion to the question in early literature; he gives no reasons). The mention of Adria (which see) proves nothing. Malta was recognized as marking the point where the Tyrrhenian Sea ceases and the Adriatic (in the wider sense) begins (Procop. l. 372).

To Malta, then, the apostle and his fellow-voyagers quite indisputably came. At night the watch were convinced that 'land was getting near' (προσάγειν—προσαχεῖν is an attempt to replace a curious phrase by an explanatory one, Ac 27^{27}). As the soundings confirmed this, they threw anchors out from the stern (to avoid the risk of 'swinging' on to a lee shore), and 'prayed for day.' The dawn revealed a bay, with a shelving bit of beach. Upon this they decide to run the vessel. Simultaneously they cut the cables, let the 'rudders' down (they had been braced up for safety), hoist the foresail, thus getting way on to enable them to steer, and head for the beach. What happened next is in dispute. The beach is not coextensive with the bay. There is a beach at the head of it, and apparently at one or two other points at the foot of the cliffs. But before they reach the beach they meet unexpectedly a τόπος διθάλασσος, and the ship grounds in water too deep for wading. Accordingly swimmers were bidden to save themselves, the rest make use of boards, spars, etc., and all are saved. The natives * receive the party kindly, and light a fire. As St. Paul warms himself, a snake, roused by the heat, darts at him from a faggot he has piled on the fire, and hangs by its teeth on to his hand. The apostle shakes off the animal into the fire, and, to the amazement of the natives, suffers no injury. Escorted to the house of Publius (which see), the πρῶτος † or Princeps of the island, St. Paul heals his father of dysentery. This miracle is followed by others. The party are honourably treated, and after three months proceed to Italy by a ship which has wintered at the island.

Malta lies 60 miles from Pachynum (Cape Passaro), the southern headland of Sicily, and nearly 200 from Cape Bon, the nearest point of Africa, in lat. 35° 53′ N., long. 14° 30′ E. It is separated by a channel of geologically recent formation, 4½ miles wide, from the Isle of Gozo on the west. The length of Malta is 17 miles, its greatest breadth 9, its circumference 60, its area 95 square miles. Its population is very dense, 2000 per (productive) square mile. The Greeks seem to have colonized it at an early date. It is said (Diod. V. xii.) that the older inhabitants were Phœnician. It was long held by Carthage; in B.C. 218 it was taken by the Romans, under whom it became part of the province of Sicily (Cicero, *in Verr.* II. iv. 18, 46). In A.D. 399 it became part of the Eastern Empire; Belisarius recovered it in 533 from the Vandals; but in 870 it passed under the power of the Abbasside Caliphs. In 1090 it was reunited by the Normans to Sicily. In 1530 Charles V. gave it to the Knights of St. John, who had just lost Rhodes. The Turks attempted to seize it in 1551, 1563, and 1565, but were gallantly repulsed. On the last occasion, one of the great sieges of history, the Turks lost 30,000 men out of 40,000, and the 9000 defenders were reduced to 600. In 1798 the island was seized by Bonaparte; but the harsh rule of the French led the inhabitants to revolt, and in 1800 the island was taken by the English, to whom it was confirmed by the Treaty of Paris in 1814.

The narrative of the Acts, summarized above, fits well with the topography of 'St. Paul's Bay,' some 8 miles in a direct line from Valetta, and hardly 5 from the old capital, Melita, now Medina, Notabile, or Città-Vecchia. The tradition identifying the bay is of great antiquity (see below), and its correctness is practically certain. In 1530 tradition coupled the events with the *east* side of the bay, where stood the old church of S. Paulo *ad mare*, and the 'Ayin tal Razzul (*fons Apostoli*), and where Quintinus (1533) identifies the 'locus bimaris' with the 'Chersonesus' of Ptolemy (Koura Head) projecting into the sea. This can hardly be correct, as the ship would more probably, as Smith and all modern investigators assume, be stranded on the west side of the bay; it may be noticed, moreover, that the oldest map (reproduced below) shows the serpents, etc., on the west side, opposite the islet of Selmun, though the church of St. Paul is shown on the E. side. If the modern view is correct, the 'locus bimaris' will be a spit of mud projecting under the sea with deep water on either side—possibly, as Ramsay,



MAP A.

(After Con. and Howson). A, 'Ayin tal Razzul; B, St. Paul *ad mare*; C, the Wied tal Puales. Valetta is about 8 miles E.S.E.

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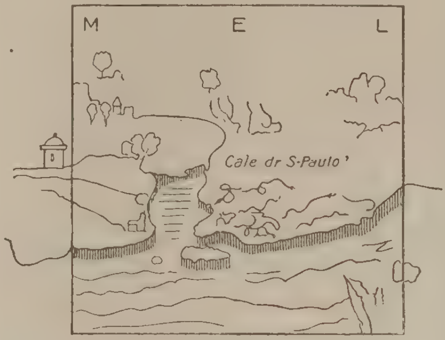
* Βάρβαροι. The language was probably Punic (Bilingual Punic and Gr. insc. *CIG* 5753). The modern Maltese is a corrupt Arabic with words from Italian, etc.

† The title is confirmed by Boeckh, *CIG* 5754, Λούκιος Κλαυδίου υἱὸς . . . προύδης ἱππεὺς Ῥωμαίων πρῶτος Μελιταίων καὶ πατρῶν, and by an earlier inscr. published by Caruana.

etc., suggest, between the islet of Selmun and the mainland.



MAP B.

Venetian map soon after 1530. The church on the left of the bay is St. Paul *ad mare*. Città-Vecchia is beyond the letter M at the corner.

Three points require final consideration: (1) The title and position of 'Publius.' If Malta was by this time enfranchized, the πρῶτος may have been a semi-official position corresponding to that of the *princeps coloniæ* at Pisæ (see Woolsey, quoted by Hackett, *in loc.*). Otherwise he might be the legate of the proprætor of Sicily (Cicero, *in Verr.* IV. xviii.). Tradition, supported by excavations, puts the Rom. governor's house at Città-Vecchia. But Playfair mentions the ruins of an important house, now covered up for protection, apparently near the Church of St. Paul *ad mare*, certainly on the east side of St. Paul's Bay.

(2) Malta has now no venomous snakes; but the increase of population and cultivation may well have killed them out. Venomous snakes, again, do not hang on after biting. The smooth snake (*Coronella lævis*) is said to do so (Tristram), but it is not venomous. But to peasant-folk all reptiles, even lizards, are venomous.

(3) A question of more far-reaching interest is the history of the local tradition, which modern research so remarkably confirms, of the site of St. Paul's shipwreck. Apart from the variation above mentioned as to the *side* of the bay, the general accuracy of the tradition is remarkable. How did it originate? Have we here a unique instance of local tradition remounting to the actual landing of St. Paul, or the happy conjecture of a later date, which fixed upon a likely spot near at hand to the capital? The matter cannot be settled with our present knowledge. All one can say is, that the tradition was clearly old when the first maps of Malta were made (after 1530). Before that time no writer appears to allude to the place; but Quintinus (see above) and Fazelli (about 1555) both take its identity for granted. The Church of St. Paul *ad mare* was rebuilt in 1610 by the Grand Master Vignacourt, who also built the neighbouring Torre di S. Paulo. The statue of St. Paul which crowns the isle of Selmun is modern (1845).

The first known bishop of Malta (the Episcopate of Publius is assumed in the Roman Martyrology with no known evidence) is Acacius, at the Council of Chalcedon in 451. But Caruana claims the existence of Christian monograms and inscriptions as early as the 2nd cent. This makes it just credible that there may have been a continuous Christian tradition in Malta since St. Paul's days. But if the gospel were reintroduced at a later date, the mention of Melita (Ac 28[1]) would lead to the establishment of some local tradition. Città-Vecchia abounds with sites traditionally associated with St. Paul, including the cave where he lodged during his sojourn. And the foundation of a Church of St. Paul *ad mare* in the neighbourhood of the capital, the original centre of tradition, would be natural.

LITERATURE.—The ancient commentaries on the Acts contain nothing bearing on the question. Oecumenius in his summary of St. Paul's journeys (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* cxviii. 312 D) does not mention Melita by name. The ancient map reproduced above was published at Venice by 'D. B.' Another by Battista Agnese (Ven. 1554) is similar in treatment, but marks 'Cala de S. Paulo' at Koura Head. A similar map was published at Rome in 1551. Other maps published (at Rome and Nürnberg) in 1565 have also been consulted. Quintinus' *Descriptio Melitæ* (1533) is printed in P. Burmann's *Thesaurus*, xv. 110. Fazelli, *de rebus Siculis*, ed. by D. Vito e Statella (Catan. 1749), 1, 16, 27 (sensible refutation of Dalmatian theory. Refers to virtue of stone from St. Paul's cave against snake-bite, immunity of persons born in any country on Conversion of St. Paul, Jan. 25, etc.); *Descripçao da Famoza Ilha de Malta* (Lisbon, 1761), Part I. based on Fazelli; *Historisch-Geographische Beschreibung M.'s* (Frankf. 1782), unimportant; [O. Bres] *Recherches Historiques*, etc., *sur Malte* (Paris, An. vii., *i.e.* 1798), anonymously; Onorato Bres, *Malta Antica Illustrata* (Rome, 1816, dedicated to the Prince Regent) refutes Const. Porphyr. (*supra*) and Don Ignazio Georgi, the Benedictine of Ragusa, the chief modern advocate of the Dalmatian theory (1730). Bres is worth consulting. Miège, *Histoire de Malte* (Paris, 1840), 2, 15 ff., formerly French consul at Malta, no topographical references, but argues against continuous Christian Church in M. from time of St. Paul. *Neueste Gemählde von Malta* (Ronneburg and Leipzig, 1800); Playfair (Sir R. L.) [Murray's], *Mediterranean*[3] (Lond. 1890), very useful; Porter, *Hist. of the Knights of M.* (Lond. 1858), for the later history. See also *Sicilia Sacra*, ii. 900–928; Ferres, *Descriz. storica delle Chiese di M. e Gozzo*; Saint Pres, *M. par un Voyageur Français*; W. M. Ramsay, *Expositor* (5th Ser.), vi. 154, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 314 ff.; Caruana, *Reports on Phœn. and Rom. Antiquities in M.* (1881 and 1882); James Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul* (1866), very important; Con. and Howson, *St. Paul*, vol. ii. (most useful). 'Malta' in *Ency. Brit.*[9] by Miss L. Toulmin Smith; also Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.*, both with fuller reff. to Literature.

A. ROBERTSON.

MELONS (אֲבַטִּחִים *'ăbaṭṭiḥîm*, πέπονες, *pepones*).—The cognate name *boṭṭîkh* in Arab. = melon, with the testimony of the ancient VSS, leaves no reason to doubt the identity of the fruit mentioned (Nu 11[5]) along with cucumbers, leeks, onions, and garlic. The term in Arab. is generic. It includes all the varieties of cucurbitaceous fruits known as water-melons, *boṭṭîkh akhḍar* = 'green melon,' and cantelopes or muskmelons, *boṭṭîkh aṣfar* = 'yellow melon.' Melons of excellent quality (under the name of *baṭṭîkh* or *biṭṭîkh*) are still produced in Egypt, and their succulent pulp was remembered with great regret by the Israelites in the burning sands of the Desert of the Wandering. Had their faith or their knowledge been greater, they needed not to sin by their impatient expressions of longing, for Palestine and Syria produce melons no less renowned for their excellence than those of Egypt. The water-melons of Jaffa are specially prized for their luscious pulp. Those of Ḥemṣ and Lattakia, where the fruit is called *jabas*, are also of very fine quality. Melon patches are to be seen everywhere, often on the driest of hillsides. The vine has the power of extracting moisture from a soil which appears entirely parched and barren. The fruit is very cheap, and forms an important part of the diet of the poorer classes, but is equally enjoyed by the rich in Bible lands. During the season long trains of camels and donkeys transport melons from place to place, and boat-loads are constantly entering the seaports.

G. E. POST.

MELZAR (הַמֶּלְצַר Dn 1[11. 16]).—The LXX (Ἀβιεσδρί), Theodotion (Ἀμελσάδ or Ἀμερσάρ), the Vulg. (*Malasar*), all regard it as a proper name, and have been followed in this by our AV and other modern versions. This is now universally admitted to be a mistake. The article precedes the noun, and the two together must be rendered 'the steward' (RV), or 'the cupbearer' (Kautzsch's *AT*), or 'the overseer' (Nowack's *Handkommentar*). The last is best. It expresses fairly well the functions with which the man in question was charged. The prince of the eunuchs bade him superintend the diet, training, and conduct of Daniel and his three faithful companions, until the time when they should be fit to enter on the king's service. It has been well said that he thus combined the duties of the παιδαγωγός and τροφεύς, and attention has been called to the inscription on the Bellino cylinder which mentions the son of one 'who was governor over the young men educated in my [the king of Assyria's] palace.' This was hardly the *cup-bearer's* work. And the title *steward* leads our thought to the superintendence of property rather than of persons.

The derivation of the word *melẓar* has been very variously given. Hitzig, in his Commentary, compared with it Μολοσσός, Laconian Μολοσσόρ, and connected this with κολοσσός. Halévy compares μυλωθρός, 'miller': Grätz, coming a little nearer the meaning, μελέτωρ. The Pers. *mul-ser*, 'keeper of the cellar,' has met with much favour, but the duties of that official do not square with those assigned to *ham-melẓar*. Lenormant thought of the Assyr. *amil uṣṣur*, 'treasurer.' Other suggested Assyr. origins are *mul*, 'a star,' and *Mulal-Assur*. But the most probable is that of Frd. Delitzsch and Schrader, who point out the frequent interchange of ל and נ in Semitic, and hold that our word may be the same as the Assyr. *maṣṣaru*, 'guardian,' from the root נצר. Schrader compares *maṣṣar babi*, 'gatekeeper.' As to the *l*, Delitzsch points to βάλσαμον, from בֶּשֶׂם. In the Pesh. and Arab. of the two Daniel passages we find the *n*, ܡܢܨܪ, مناصر. J. TAYLOR.

MEM (מ).—The thirteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 13th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. It is transliterated in this Dictionary by *m*.

MEMEROTH (A Μαρερώθ, B om., AV Meremoth), 1 Es 8[2]=MERAIOTH, an ancestor of Ezra (Ezr 7[3]). Also called MARIMOTH, 2 Es 1[2].

MEMMIUS, QUINTUS (Κόιντος Μέμμιος), a Roman legate (2 Mac 11[34]), but no Memmius with this prænomen is mentioned elsewhere. The Memmii were members of a plebeian gens which first appears in history in B.C. 173, and more frequently from the time of the Jugurthine war (B.C. 111). In 170 T. Memmius was sent by the Senate to Macedonia and Achaia (Livy, xliii. 5). See MANIUS. H. A. WHITE.

MEMORIAL, MEMORY.—A *memorial* is that which preserves alive the *memory* of some person or event; but in earlier English the words were not carefully distinguished, so that in AV we find 'memorial' where we should now use 'memory,' and 'memory' where we should use 'memorial.'

MEMORIAL.: Est 9[28] 'The Jews ordained . . . that these days of Purim should not fail among the Jews, nor the memorial of them perish from their seed'; Ps 9[6] 'Thou hast destroyed cities; their memorial is perished with them'; 135[13]; Wis 4[1] 'Better it is to have no children, and to have virtue; for the memorial thereof is immortal' (ἀθανασία γάρ ἐστιν ἐν μνήμῃ αὐτῆς, RV 'in the memory of virtue is immortality'); 4[19] 'their memorial shall perish' (μνήμη, RV 'memory'); Sir 45[1] 'Moses, beloved of God and men, whose memorial is blessed' (μνημόσυνον; so 49[10], 1 Mac 3[7] 12[53]; elsewhere μ. is rendered 'remembrance,' 'renown,' etc., RV prefers 'memorial'). Cf. Pr 10[7] Cov. 'The memorial of the iust shall have a good reporte, but the name of the ungodly shall stynke'; Ps 145[7], Pr. Bk. 'The memorial of thyne aboundant kyndnes shal be shewed, and men shall synge of thy righteousness.'

MEMORY: 1 Mac 13[29] 'Upon the pillars he made all their armour for a perpetual memory' (εἰς ὄνομα αἰώνιον). Cf. Mt 26[13], Rhem. 'Wheresoever this Gospel shal be preached in the whole world, that also which she hath done, shal be reported for a memorie of her'; Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* III. ii. 139—

> 'And they would go and kiss dead Cæsar's wounds,
> And dip their napkins in his sacred blood,
> Yea, beg a hair of him for memory.'

But 'memory' is also used for remembrance, the retaining of the past in memory, 2 Mac 7[20] 'But the mother was marvellous above all, and worthy of honourable memory.' Cf. the Rhem. tr. of Ac 10[31] 'thy almesdeedes are in memorie in the sight of God'; Ro 1[9] 'I make a memorie of you alwaies in my praiers.' J. HASTINGS.

MEMPHIS, the capital of Egypt, is, in the Heb. text, only once (Hos 9[6]) written correctly מֹף **Moph.** In the other passages (Is 19[13], Jer 2[16] 44[1] 46[14. 19], Ezk 30[13. 16]) it is corrupted to נֹף **Noph.** EV is correct and in agreement with the ancient versions in rendering *Moph*, 'Memphis'; *Noph*, which likewise all ancient versions render 'Memphis,' is merely transliterated. The name Memphis was in ancient Egyp. *Men-nofer* (=later *Men-nufe*), *i.e.* 'the good (or fine) abode.' Plutarch's translations (*de Iside et Osiride*, 20), ὅρμος ἀγαθῶν, 'landing-place of the good,' and 'tomb of the good god' (*i.e.* Osiris), are erroneous, betraying little knowledge of Egyptian. The vernacular shortening was *Mennefe*, *Menfe*, in the Coptic period *Menbe*, *Membe*, *Memfi*, but more frequently *Mefe* (Arab. *Māfe*, more commonly *Menf*). These shortened forms passed over into many languages: Assyrian, *Mempi*, *Mimpi*; Greek-Latin, *Memphis* (hence Targumic *Mēphis*), etc. The Heb. renders the most abridged form *Meph*(*e*). The corruption *Noph* is, perhaps, due to an attempt at taking מֹף for נֹיף, and, subsequently, shortening this.—The sacred name of Memphis, preferred especially in the religious texts of the Egyptians, was *Ḥa*(*t*)-*ka-ptaḥ*, 'the abode (or temple) of the likeness of god Ptaḥ,' whence the designation of all Egypt as Αἴ-γυ-πτος, *E-gy-pt*, seems to have arisen.

Memphis was one of the most ancient cities of Egypt, at least near it was the earliest residence of those Pharaohs who ruled over both Upper and Lower Egypt. Herodotus (ii. 99) reports that the earliest historical king Menes (before 3000 B.C., an accurate determination of the date will never be found) built M. after winning the ground from the Nile by an immense dyke, still existing in Herodotus' time, 100 stadia (*i.e.* almost 12 miles) south of M., and completely changing the course of the river (?). Menes, Herodotus says, built the temple of Hephæstus (*i.e.* Ptaḥ). This tradition is now supported by hieroglyphic inscriptions as old as the 14th cent. B.C., claiming indeed king Mena, Meni, as founder of that most ancient and most important temple, the *Ḥa*(*t*)-*ka-ptaḥ* or 'sanctuary of Ptaḥ.' Diodorus attributes the foundation of M. to a king Uchoreus, a name admitting of no certain identification. The name Memphis originated from a new suburb which grew up to the west of the original city, around the pyramid of king *Pepi* (*Apopi*) I. of Dynasty 6 (*c.* 2700 B.C.?), that pyramid being called *Mennofer*, 'good abode' (see above).

We can observe that before this time the city, or at least a large part of it, was shifted repeatedly over a space of several miles. Most kings liked to build a new palace, and around it their 'own city.'

Consequently it might be disputed if this changing series of cities and suburbs can properly be called Memphis. But if the name is not old, and the situation was as unstable as that of many Oriental cities, the religious centre, the temple of Ptaḥ, always remained the same.

The city extended on the western bank of the Nile over an area of 150 stadia (more than 17 miles) from N. to S., according to Diodorus. From E. to W. the diameter cannot have been more than 3 miles. The names of several quarters are known: the quarter of Sokari(s) (now Sakkara), near the desert in the west, touching the necropolis, a part of which was called *Ko-kome* ('of the black bull'). The 'White wall' was the chief part of the city, with the citadel, always occupied by a strong garrison. Another quarter was *Makhatoui*, 'the balance of both countries.' *Ankh-toui*, 'the life of both countries,' in the E. was on the bank of the Nile, a quarter rich in temples, but also in pleasure-places, a temple of the Syrian goddess Astarte combining both functions. This part was inhabited by a mixed population. The classical writers (above all Herodotus, about 450 B.C., and Strabo, 24 B.C.) give very impressive descriptions of the several large temples, especially of the old 'sanctuary of Ptaḥ-Hephæstus,' remarkable for immense statues (75 feet) standing before it. Almost every king had built here; the largest part of the various constructions seems to have been due to the greatest builder of ancient Egypt, Ramses II., the Sesostris of the Greeks. Canals crossed the city; an artificial lake was in the western part.

The chief local god of Memphis was Ptaḥ, the former of the world, whose high priest had therefore the name 'the great workman.' Other divinities were, *e.g.*, the lion-headed goddess *Sokhmet*, the Egyp. Asclepius Imouthes (*I-m-hotep*), *Nefer-Atum*, etc. The western suburb had its own local god *Sokari*, a hawk sitting in a kind of sledge, later assimilated to Osiris, the god of the dead. The Serapeum, described by Strabo (p. 807), was in this quarter. The worship of Apis (Ḥap), the sacred animal of Osiris-Sokaris—according to popular belief the incarnation of this god himself—had its own temple opposite the great temple of Ptah. The Apis was a black bull with certain white spots and other marks—the description of which, by the classical writers, *e.g.* Herod. ii. 153, does not agree with the monumental evidence. Also the cow, which had been mother of an Apis, was adored in a special temple. Sometimes all Egypt was searched for a new Apis for a long time. The discovery, the bringing to Memphis, and the solemn enthronization were public festivals of the highest rank, immense sums being frequently contributed by the kings for the celebration. Likewise the death of the Apis was followed by public mourning and a splendid burial in the large crypt at Sakkara. Mariette found there, in 1859, sixty-four embalmed bodies of sacred bulls and cows. The goddess Isis had a remarkable temple, finished by king Amasis (*c.* 550 B.C.)

Memphis owed its importance chiefly to its situation near the southern angle of the Delta, where the Libyan mountain-ridge in the W. almost meets with the Arabian mountains in the E. It thus commanded all Egypt, just as Cairo does at present. Dynasties 3, 4, 6, 7, 8 are reported to have been Memphitic. The city continued to be the unrivalled metropolis down to Dynasty 18 (beginning about 1650 B.C.) Dynasties from Upper Egypt, as, *e.g.*, 11 and 12 (from Thebes), could not disregard it; also the foreign invaders, called Hyksos or 'shepherd kings,' seem to have resided here. Only during Dyn. 18 to 20 (to *c.* 1100 B.C.) Thebes, as residence of the kings, rivalled successfully Memphis for splendid buildings. Yet M. continued to be the most populous city, and became again the residence of the Pharaohs until the end of Egypt's independence (525 B.C.), although it was frequently ravaged by war, *e.g.* when the Ethiopian conqueror P(i)'ankhi (about 750) took it by storm. It experienced the woes threatened by the prophets of Israel repeatedly at the hands of the Assyrians under Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, last and worst in 525 B.C. at the hands of the Persian king Cambyses. Under the Persian rule it was the stronghold of a powerful Persian garrison, and proved to be the key of Egypt in the various rebellions against the Persians, suffering especially from the Persian king Ochus after the last revolution. The foundation of Alexandria made M. the second city of Egypt, but the Ptolemies and the governors of the Roman and Byzantine lords used it as a second capital. The deathblow was dealt to it by the Arab conquest and the foundation of Old Cairo (Fostat) in 638 A.D. The Arabs employed the stones of the ruins (which are described by Abulfeda in the 14th cent. as still being very extensive) for building up the new city, and, later, Cairo. Therefore the present site does not indicate the former size (marked by *Kum el-Azizyeh* in the N., Bedrashen in the S.) and splendour. That the poor modern village of Mitrahineh occupies the centre of M. and the site of the celebrated temple of Hephæstus, is indicated only by the fallen stone colossus of Ramses II. (originally 43 feet high). Mariette's excavations produced only insignificant fragments of this temple, and showed that the destruction of the whole city has been very complete. But the immense necropolis at the west of M., on the borders of the Libyan desert, still extends from Abu-Rosh in the N. to Dashur in the S. The gigantic royal tombs, the pyramids, attract numerous visitors from the whole world. Usually, only the most remarkable group of pyramids (those of *Khufu*, *Khafrē*, and *Menkarē* of Dyn. 4 [in Herodotus, *Cheops*, *Chephren*, and *Mycerinus*]) at Gizeh are visited; about 50 other pyramids of smaller size or still more dilapidated are less known (those at Sakkara, belonging to Dyn. 6, and of Dashur of Dyn. 4, being most remarkable). The immense sphinx at Gizeh (prob. a work of *Khafrē*-Chephren, although recently some scholars place it in Dyn. 12), and many private tombs, the latter much destroyed, contribute to make the site of ancient M. still remarkable.

W. MAX MÜLLER.

MEMPHITIC VERSION.—See EGYPTIAN VERSIONS.

MEMUCAN (Est $1^{14.16.21}$ מְמוּכָן, מומכן v.^{16} *Kethîbh*; in vv.$^{16.21}$ BA have Μουχαῖος; in v.^{13} $\aleph^{c.a}$ Μαμουχαῖος; in v.^{21} $\aleph^{*}$ has εὐνοῦχος, $\aleph^{c.a}$ Μούχεος, $\aleph^{c.b}$ Μαμούχεος; in v.^{14} LXX om.: *Mamuchan*).—One of the seven princes of Persia who held the highest rank in the kingdom, and had access to the royal presence (see ADMATHA). These men, who formed the king's council, are represented both as astrologers ('wise men, who knew the times') and as authorities on all questions of law and custom. When Ahasuerus consulted his counsellors with regard to the conduct of Vashti in refusing to come to the banquet at his bidding, Memucan was the first to speak. He represented that the queen's example was likely to be followed by all the princesses of Media and Persia, and recommended that she should be deposed from her royal dignity, and that a decree should forthwith be published enjoining upon all wives to give due honour to their own husbands. This advice pleased the king, and was at once carried into effect (Est 1^{13-22}). H. A. WHITE.

MENAHEM (מְנַחֵם = 'consoler'; Μαναήμ, A Μαναήν, the latter form being the same as is found Ac 13[1]).—The history of Menahem is recorded 2 K 15[13-22]. He is there called 'son of Gadi' (Heb. גָּדִי, LXX Γαδδεί). *Gadi* is most likely the name of his father, but it is possible that 'son of Gadi' may mean that he was a member of the tribe of Gad, many of whom had become regular soldiers in consequence of the harrying of the East Jordan land in the long course of the Syrian wars (see 2 K 15[25], and cf. Stade, *Gesch. des V. Isr.* i. 576). During the six months' reign of Zechariah, the last king of the house of Jehu, Menahem seems to have been one of the foremost generals; and when Shallum conspired against and murdered Zechariah, Menahem was in command at Tirzah, once the capital of the northern kingdom and still an important military post. Menahem did not acquiesce in Shallum's usurpation. He marched from Tirzah to Samaria, defeated and slew his rival, and mounted the throne. According to the MT of v.[16] his next move was against Tiphsah, which refused to admit him. He took it by storm, slaughtered the inhabitants, and treated the unhappy women with the atrocious cruelty too common in those days. In several particulars the text of this sixteenth verse is corrupt, and there can be little doubt that it is so in respect of the town-name. The only city of this name mentioned in the Bible is the well-known Thapsacus, on the Euphrates (1 K 4[24] [Heb 5[4]]). Rawlinson's suggestion (*Speaker's Comm. in loc.*) that an expedition thither by Menahem would be the natural sequel to Jeroboam II.'s occupation of Hamath, is condemned by the fact that Menahem's position at home was too insecure for him to venture far afield. On the other hand, we need not assume the existence of a Tiphsah in the land of Israel, unmentioned in any other passage. The LXX, which has Θαρσειλά in v.[14], here reads Θερσά (A Θαιρά). It is not difficult to believe that in those disturbed times, when no one knew who would ultimately come out at the top, Tirzah closed its gates behind Menahem as soon as he marched out against Shallum, and was therefore visited with bloody vengeance when he forced them open again. On this view we should read תִּרְצָה instead of תִּפְסַח, and omit מִתִּרְצָה as a clerical error. The other alternative is to adopt Thenius' conjecture, and, with the minimum of alteration, read תַּפּוּחַ for תִּפְסַח; the town thus named, Tappuaḥ, being on the boundary between Ephraim and Manasseh, Jos 16[8] 17[7.8] (cf. Benzinger, *Konige*, in Marti's Handkomm.). A keen sense of the evil and misery of these days of internal strife is best gained from such writings as Hos 7[7] 8[4], Is 9[19-21].

It was in the short and troubled reign of Menahem that the Assyrian invader first set foot in the Holy Land. 'There came against the land Pul the king of Assyria' (2 K 15[19]). Schrader (*COT*[2] i. 222, 230) has shown that this Pul, the Πῶρος of the Ptolemaic Canon, and Tiglath-pileser III. of the cuneiform records, are identical, that probably 'when he became ruler he exchanged the name Pûlu, which belonged to him as a subject, . . . for the other name Tuklat-abal-isarra. Yet the earlier and original name was perhaps the most popular one. It was that under which he first became known to the Israelites.' The books of Hosea and Isaiah exhibit a deep and abiding division between an Egyptian and an Assyrian party in Israel. It is possible that at this crisis the king and his faction actually solicited the interposition of Assyria. Tiglath-pileser's own account would look as though he came unsolicited, sweeping Israel, along with the other states of Western Syria, into his net. In III R 9, No. 3, lines 50–57, he enumerates 'the tribute of Kushtashpi of Kummuch, Rezin of Damascus, Menahem of Samaria (Mi-ni-ḫi-im-mi Sa-mi-ri-na-ai), Hiram of Tyre,' and many other petty kings (see Winckler, [illegible] i. 284). In any case, Menahem succeeded in inducing Tiglath-pileser to accept him as a vassal, and it may well have been his policy on this occasion that evoked the prophet's reproaches, Hos 5[13] (cf. 7[11]) 8[9] 10[6] (cf. 12[1]) 14[3].

The method by which Menahem met his suzerain's demand for money has thrown light on the economic condition of the kingdom. 'Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver that his hand might be with him. . . . And Menahem exacted the money of Israel, even of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver' (2 K 15[19. 20]). That is to say, there were 60,000 'men of means' in the land.

The mention of Menahem on Tiglath-pileser's list of tributaries enables us to fix his date with a fair degree of precision, and compels us to correct the number of years assigned to him in v.[17]. The Assyrian list is of the year B.C. 738. Pekah, who succeeded Menahem's son, Pekahiah, after the latter had reigned two years, occupied the throne in 734. The Assyrian invasion must have occurred not very long after Menahem had seized the reins; otherwise he would not have been so eager to utilize it for the confirmation of his authority. Hence the dates given for Menahem in the art. CHRONOLOGY, vol. i. p. 401 of this Dictionary, are more probable than Wellhausen's (*IJG*[2] p. 80) view that Menahem seized the kingdom in 745, or even than that of Kautzsch (*Hist. of OT Lit.*, Eng. trans., p. 185), who gives 743–737. Three or four years, not ten years, must have been the extent of his reign. And that was quite long enough. He was a military adventurer, who reigned for himself, not for his people, and did nothing to heal the sores of the land. The prophecies of Hosea present us with an all too vivid picture of the drunkenness, debauchery, injustice, oppression, superstition, as well as of the confused and fluctuating politics of the time. And if it is unsafe to fix on individual traits as belonging specifically to Menahem's reign, we are at all events quite justified in forming our general idea of the character of the reign from the dark picture which the prophet paints. Menahem seems to have died a natural death. He was the last king of Israel who was succeeded on the throne by his son.

One of the best sketches of Menahem and his rule is that given by Kittel (*Hist. of the Hebrews*, ii. 332–337), although it is difficult to understand the reason for the assertion (p. 332), 'Of the few kings of the kingdom of Ephraim who died a natural death, Jeroboam II. is the last.' Benzinger (*Könige*, 167, 168) is excellent; and Stade (*Gesch. des V. Isr.* i. 576) is still worth reading. See also his discussion of the text of v.[16], *ZAW*, 1886, p. 160.

J. TAYLOR.

MENE MENE TEKEL UPHARSIN (מְנֵא מְנֵא תְּקֵל וּפַרְסִין; Theod. Μανή, θεκέλ, φαρές; LXX tr. in Dn [illegible] Ἠρίθμηται, κατελογίσθη, ἐξῆρται).—The words of the famous handwriting on the wall at Belshazzar's feast (Dn 5[25]). The construction of the enigma in this chapter is similar to that in ch. 2: by performing one part of it Daniel certifies the correctness of his performance of the other part. Here, by deciphering what no one else can read, he gains credit for his explanation and application of the words. The author does not state wherein lay the difficulty of reading the words on the wall, and none of the many guesses on this subject made in ancient and modern times is worthy of attention. Clearly, however, the writing must have been, in the author's intention, of a kind with which the king and his wise men were familiar, though in this particular case they were unable to read it. It requires no flight of the imagination to conceive such a case. The *CIS* contains numerous specimens of Phœnician and Neo-Punic texts, which, owing to careless writing or ignorant transcription, still baffle the ingenuity of decipherers; and the same is the case sometimes with Greek cursive. Yet these alphabets are not more liable to become unintelligible than that Aramaic cursive which was probably in 'Daniel's' mind, and of which we have specimens in the Blacassian papyri. When such texts are read, those who are familiar with both script and language can easily see whether the readings are right or wrong. The test of Daniel's ability, though not equal to that given in ch. 2, was therefore still considerable.

Daniel's interpretation and application of the words occupy vv.$^{26-28}$, where it is noticeable that the readings differ slightly from those given in v.^{25}. *Mĕnē* appears only once, and the singular *pĕrēṣ* is substituted for the plural *parṣin*. The texts of Theodotion and Jerome bring v.^{25} into agreement with vv.$^{26.\,28}$, in the opinion of many critics (cf. Peters in *JBL* xv. 116) rightly. The general principle of Daniel's interpretation is to render each word twice (as Hitzig observes). This appears most clearly in the case of the last word, which is made to mean 'thy kingdom is broken up and given to Media and Persia,' a rendering which suits *parṣin* if interpreted (1) as 'fragments' (Ewald and others) or 'they break' (Hitzig and others); (2) as 'the Persias.' The Persias, according to the writer, stands for Media and Persia, just as with the Arabs 'the Euphrateses' [dual] means the Tigris and the Euphrates, 'the Basras' [dual] means Basra and Kufa (Vennier, *Grammaire Arabe*, § 288). The second word means 'weighed' (from *tḳl*) and 'thou art light' (from *ḳll*). The first word is apparently made to mean 'counted' and 'handed over' (השלמה), the second sense being perhaps given it on the authority of Is 65^{12} (where for מָנִיתִי the Targ. has אמסר, a synonym of אשלם). Hitzig suggests that the second sense of *mĕnē*, 'completed,' is got from the similar *mĕlê*, 'full.' The grammar of the second word suffers somewhat in this interpretation, since תקל should be תקיל in the first sense.

It might seem that this explanation of the words must be certainly right, since either the whole narrative is the author's invention, or, if it be historical, Daniel's explanation was found satisfactory by those likely to know. There is, however, a third possibility, viz. that an actual inscription found on the walls of the palace at Babylon, or at any rate found somewhere, was worked by the author of Daniel into this dramatic scene, and arbitrarily explained. Somewhat similarly Epiphanius (*adv. Hær.* xix. 4) produces the saying of the Arabic prophet Elxai and interprets it quite wrongly; it was left to M. A. Levy to interpret the words correctly in 1858 (*ZDMG* xii. 712). In the case of the words in Daniel there is something in favour of such a supposition. Besides the grammatical difficulty in the case of the second word, the uncertainty as to signification in the case of the first, and its actual repetition, make the principle of rendering each word twice resemble the artifice of an interpreter rather than what was actually intended by the author of the inscription. But if that principle be abandoned, the words 'counted, weighed, and fragments' are not sufficient to justify the gloss; for the word 'weighed' by no means implies that the weight is deficient, any more than 'counted' implies that the number is complete. Moreover, if the author was composing a suitable death-warrant for Babylon, it is probable that he would have given a sentence which would be clear, or a quotation which would be appropriate. But if he is not the author of the inscription, these difficulties may conceivably be got rid of by a better interpretation.

A suggestion for a fresh rendering of the words in Dn was made by Clermont-Ganneau in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1886 (Sér. viii. vol. i. 36; translated in *Hebraica*, 1887), which was followed up by T. Nöldeke (*ZA* i. 414–418), G. Hoffmann (*ib.* ii. 45–48), P. Haupt (*John Hopkins Univ. Circ.* No. 58, p. 104), Bevan (*Dan.* 106 f.), and J. D. Prince (*Journ. of the American Oriental Society*, xv. clxxxii–clxxxix). He regarded the words in the text as the names of *weights*, 'a Mina, a Mina, a Shekel, and [two] Peras.' The word *peraṣ* is used in Jewish writings for 'a half,' especially 'a half mina.' This discovery seemed to shed some light on the difficulty of reading the words, which could all be represented by ideographs; though it is not clear why the wise men of Babylon should have been puzzled by such common signs. It also seemed to give an explanation of *tĕḳēl* which did not violate grammar (though this is not certain). Otherwise this discovery seems to give little help. For, besides the improbable character of the sum (which would be like £1, 1s., some £½), how came it to be connected with the fall of Babylon? Clermont-Ganneau therefore practically abandoned his discovery as soon as made, and offered a variety of renderings, of which 'Mina by Mina weigh the Peras' may be given as an example. Haupt, who adopted the rendering 'there have been counted a Mina, a Shekel, and Perases,' thought these weights stood symbolically for Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, and the Medes and Persians. But it is incredible that this, if correct, could have escaped the author of Dn 2; and for a death-warrant it is by no means dramatic.

We are driven back therefore to Daniel's explanation of the first two words as *verbs*, which, if we had the inscription on stone, we should probably render 'he has counted, counted, weighed.' It is curious that the third word פרס has in the Targum a sense which is very similar to that of the preceding two, *i.e.* 'to assess' (for the Heb. העריך in Lv). The reading of vv.$^{26-28}$ would therefore be naturally rendered 'he has counted, weighed, assessed,' and that of v.^{25} 'he has counted, counted, weighed, and they assess.' The first of these reads like a commercial formula with which goods might be labelled, implying that they were ready for immediate delivery; while the second might be a description in technical language of a sale in which the salesman gives an accurate description of the goods, for which the buyers offer a price. The interpretation given in vv.$^{26-28}$ would in either case err in assigning a separate application to each of the words of a formula which as a whole was a symbolical description of the occasion.

If the inscription given in Dn 5 be historical, it is probable that some euhemeristic explanation of its appearance, such as Prince suggests, should be adopted. The historical character of the name Belshazzar leads us to seek for more elements of fact in this chapter than in the rest of the Aramaic portion of the book; and if it could be made out that the inscription had been misunderstood by the writer, there would be some probability in favour of its authenticity. It must be confessed, however, that the assumption that the inscription is by a different hand from that of the rest of the book opens a wide field for conjecture.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

MENELAUS (Μενέλαος).—A usurping high priest in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. According to Josephus (*Ant.* XII. v. 1) he was originally named Onias, and was a brother of Onias III. and Jason; but the account in 2 Mac, which is probably more trustworthy, states that he was a Benjamite, a brother of Simon, the guardian of the temple, who had instigated the attempt of Heliodorus to plunder the treasury (2 Mac 4^{23}, cf. 3^{4}). In B.C. 171 Menelaus was sent by Jason to convey his promised tribute to Antiochus, and by offering the king a still larger bribe secured the high priesthood for himself. When Menelaus was established in Jerusalem this money still remained unpaid, and, a dispute on this matter having arisen between him and Sostratus, the Syrian commandant, they were both summoned to appear before Antiochus (2 Mac $4^{23. 24}$). When they arrived in Antioch, the king was absent in Cilicia. Menelaus therefore took the opportunity to secure the support of the vicegerent Andronicus by means of rich presents, which were commonly supposed to have been stolen from the temples. He also persuaded Andronicus to murder treacherously the ex-high priest Onias III., who had taken refuge in the sanctuary at Daphne (vv.$^{31-36}$). Meanwhile the misconduct of Lysimachus (wh. see), the deputy left by Menelaus, had led to a serious riot at Jerusalem, and the Jews sent a deputation to meet the king at Tyre, and to make formal complaints against the high priest. Menelaus, who seems to have remained in Syria, again had recourse to bribery, and having won over an influential courtier, Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes, he secured both his own acquittal and the execution of his accusers (vv.$^{39-50}$). During the Egyptian expedition of Antiochus (B.C. 170), Jason attempted to regain his former position, and, suddenly attacking Jerusalem, forced his rival to take refuge in the citadel. Antiochus treated this attack as an act of open rebellion. He marched on Jerusalem, gave orders for a terrible massacre, and plundered the temple of its most sacred treasures, receiving (it is said) in this sacrilege the assistance of Menelaus himself (*ib.* $5^{5-16. 22f.}$, cf. 1 Mac 1^{20-24}). Menelaus was confirmed in power, but after the second attack of the Syrians on Jerusalem (1 Mac 1^{29-34}, 2 Mac 5^{23-26}) we hear no more of him till the next reign. We do not know who exercised the office of high priest after the victories of Judas. But in B.C. 162, either before (2 Mac 13^{3-8}) or after (Jos. *Ant.* XII. ix. 7) the campaign of Lysias and Eupator, Menelaus met his death. He had incurred the anger of the Syrian chancellor, who represented him as the cause of all the troubles in Judæa. He was accordingly sent by the king to Berœa, a town between Hierapolis and Antioch, and there executed. According to 2 Mac *l.c.* he was carried to a certain tower, and thrown down into the ashes with which it was filled—a fitting retribution for one who had so grievously desecrated the holy altar at Jerusalem (cf. Rawlinson on 2 Mac in *Speaker's Comm.*; Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 204 f., 225 f.).

H. A. WHITE.

MENESTHEUS (Μενεσθεύς B and prob. A; *Mnestheus*).—The father of Apollonius, a general of Antiochus Epiphanes and chief collector of tribute (2 Mac 4^{21}, cf. 5^{24}, 1 Mac 1^{29}). In the RV of 2 Mac 4^{4}, on the strength of a conjecture of Hort's in a difficult passage, mention is again made of *Apollonius* the son of *Menestheus* (reading Μενεσθέως for *μαίνεσθαι ἕως*), but the person there intended seems rather to be Apollonius the son of Thrasæus (cf. 3^{5}). See, further, under APOLLONIUS.

H. A. WHITE.

MENI (מְנִי; *ἡ τύχη* [but in some MSS, the renderings of מני and גד being interchanged, *ὁ δαίμων* or *τὸ δαιμόνιον*]; Aq. Theod. *μεινει*; Vulg. omits; Targ. דחלתהון *their object of fear* [*i.e.* their false god]; Syr. combining both clauses, גד̈א *fortunes*).—In Is 65^{11} the name of a divinity, worshipped by the Israelites, 'But ye . . . that prepare a table for Gad (Fortune), and that fill up mingled wine unto Mĕnī (Destiny); [12] I will *destine* (וּמָנִיתִי) you to the sword,' etc. The root מָנָה means in Heb. *to number*, in Arab. *to assign, apportion* (cf. Heb. מָנָה a *portion*); and there is little doubt that Mĕnī (properly, *that which is apportioned* or *destined*) was a personification of destiny, and was a male deity corresponding to *Manât*, one of the 'daughters of Allah,' a great stone worshipped by the old heathen Arabians (see particulars from Ibn Kalbi and others in Wellh. *Reste Arab. Heid.* 22–25 [^{2}, 25–29]), and mentioned in Ḳoran 53^{20}, and also to *maniyya* (plur. *manâya, manâ*), an expression for *fate* (*fates*) used by Arabic poets. *Manôt*—or rather (Nöld. *ZDMG*, 1887, p. 709) its plural *Manawât*, 'the fates'—occurs also in the Nabatæan inscriptions of Ḥigr, at about the period of the Christian era, as the name of one of the gods worshipped by the Nabatæans (Euting, *Nab. Inschr.* 2^{5} $3^{4. 8}$ 9^{8} 20^{8} 27^{12} [=*CIS* II. i. 197^{2}, $198^{4. 8}$ etc.; add also 320 F, and 271 the n. pr. עבדמנת] : מנותו). The name *Meni* itself has been supposed to occur in the pr. n. עבדמני found on some of the coins of the Achæmenidæ (Rödiger, in the app. to Ges. *Thes.* p. 97); and also in the inscription on an altar at Vaison in Provence (Orelli Henzen, 5862), 'Belus Fortunæ rector, *Meni*sque magister' (where Belus, as the parallel Greek inscription shows, is the Bel of Apamea in Syria), quoted by Mordtmann, *ZDMG* xxxix. (1885) p. 44.* As Jewish tradition identified Gad with the planet Jupiter, and Arab. astrology called Jupiter *the greater fortune*, and Venus *the lesser fortune*, it has been conjectured (Ges., Del., Cheyne) that Meni denoted Venus.

S. R. DRIVER.

MENNA (Μεννά, Tisch. Treg. WH; Μαϊνάν TR, hence AV Menan).—An ancestor of Jesus, Lk 3^{31}.

MENUHAH (מְנוּחָה).—In Jg 20^{43} 'They enclosed the Benjamites . . . (מְנוּחָה הִדְרִיכֻהוּ *menûhâh hidrikhuhû*)'; AV 'trode them down with ease' (AVm 'from Menuchah'), RV 'trode them down (RVm 'overtook them') at their resting-place' (RVm 'at Menuhah'); B *ἀπὸ Νουὰ κατὰ πόδα*; Vulg. *nec erat ulla requies morientium.* We should perhaps read מָנַחַת, **Manahath** (which see), or better מִנּוֹחָה 'from *Nohah*.' In 1 Ch 8^{2} **Nohah** (which see) is a clan of Benjamin. Cf. Moore, 'Judges' in *Internat. Crit. Comm.*; Kittel in *SBOT*; Budde, *Kurzer Hand-Comm. zum AT.*

W. H. BENNETT.

MENUHOTH.—See MANAHETHITES.

MEONENIM, OAK OF (RVm 'The augurs' oak *or* terebinth,' AV [wrongly] PLAIN OF M., AVm '(Plain of) the regarders of times' [cf. Dt 18^{14}]; Heb. אֵלוֹן מְעוֹנְנִים; A *δρυὸς ἀποβλεπόντων*, B Ἠλωνμαωνεμεὶν; Vulg. *quæ respicit quercum*).—Only in Jg 9^{37}, where Gaal tells Zebul that he sees troops approaching, 'and one company cometh by the way of the oak of Meonenim.' *Mĕ'ōnĕnîm* is masc. pl. participle *Polel* (possibly a denominative from *'ānān*, 'cloud'), which occurs as a common noun, Dt $18^{10. 14}$, Mic $5^{12\ (\text{Heb. }11)}$, AV 'diviners,' 'soothsayers,' RV 'them that practise augury,' 'soothsayers.' Other forms of the verb occur Lv 19^{26}, 2 K 21^{6}, 2 Ch 33^{6}, Is 2^{6} 57^{3}, Jer 27^{9}. *Mĕ'ōnĕnîm* were a class of diviners, whose character is uncertain, the connexion with *'ānān* being perhaps only an accidental resemblance (see SOOTHSAYER).

Sacred trees at or near Shechem are mentioned: Gn 12^{6} JE 'Abram passed through the land unto the place of Shechem, unto the oak (אֵלוֹן) of Moreh' (see MOREH); Gn 35^{4} E, Jacob buries the family images under the oak (אֵלָה) which was by (עִם) Shechem; Jos 24^{26} E, 'the oak (אַלָּה) that was in

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[*] On the possible occurrence of the name in Assyrian, see Johns in the *Exp. Times*, June 1899, p. 423 (the Egyptian-looking proper name *Puti-mani*), and Aug. p. 526 f. (a deity, 'Manu the great,' worshipped in the city of Asshur, III R. 66. 2, 3), and Hommel, *ib.* Sept. p. 566 f. (*Manawât* also Minæan).

the sanctuary of J″,' under which Joshua set up a stone, *i.e.* a *maẓẓēbhāh*; Jg 9^{6} 'the oak of the pillar (RVm 'garrison,' אֵלוֹן מֻצָּב) that was in Shechem.' Instead of מֻצָּב read מַצֵּבָה, so that this oak is the same as the preceding. Generally, some or all of these five references may be to the same tree; the use of different terms is no objection, as אֵלוֹן and אֵלָה are used loosely for trees of the same kind, and אֵלָה is mistaken pointing for אַלָּה; the trees in Gn 35^{4}, Jg 9^{37} seem to stand outside Shechem; and if so, the references are not to the tree '*in* Shechem' in the other passages. But (Moore, *Internat. Crit. Comm.*, *ad loc.*) 'there is no reason why there may not have been three, or a half-dozen, well-known sacred trees in the vicinity of Shechem.' There is nothing to indicate the exact position of the *Oak of the Mĕʿōnĕnîm.*

W. H. BENNETT.

MEONOTHAI (מְעוֹנֹתַי; B Μαναθεί, A Μαναθί).—Son of Othniel, 1 Ch 4^{14}. See GENEALOGY, IV. 48.

MEPHAATH.—A city of Reuben, Jos 13^{18} (מֵפַעַת; B Μαιφάαθ, A Μηφάαθ); assigned to the Levites, Jos 21^{37} (מֵיפַעַת; B Μαφά, A Μασφά), 1 Ch 6^{79} (Heb. ^{64}, מֵיפַעַת; B Μαέφλα, A Φαάθ); a Moabite city in Jer 48^{21} (*Kethîbh* מוֹפַעַת, *Ḳĕrê* מֵיפַעַת; LXX [31^{21}] B Μωφάς, A Μωφάθ). On the name see D. H. Müller, *ZDMG*, 1876, p. 679; 1883, p. 362. Mephaath is noticed with Kedemoth and Jahaz, and lay apparently to the south of Reuben. In the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomast. s.v.*) it is said to have been the station of a Roman garrison near the desert.

C. R. CONDER.

MEPHIBOSHETH (מְפִיבֹשֶׁת, B Μεμφιβόσθε, A -αι).—**1.** A son of Jonathan (2 S 4^{4} *al.*). As the real name of *Ishbosheth* was *Eshbaal* (man of Baal), so *Mephibosheth* is a transformation of the original name *Meri-Baal* or *Merib-Baal*, which has been variously rendered 'Baal's man,' 'Baal contends,' or 'Baal's warrior.'* As in the case of Ishbosheth, it is the Chronicler who has preserved the true name (1 Ch 8^{34} [B Μεριβάαλ, A Μεφριβάαλ] and 9^{40} [B Μαρειβάαλ, A Μεχριβάαλ]). The reason why *Baal* was thus transformed into *Bosheth* has been already explained. See ISHBOSHETH.

Upon David's accession to the throne, it would have been quite in accordance with Oriental custom if he had exterminated the family of Saul. (Compare the conduct of Athaliah in 2 K 11^{1}). His friendship for Jonathan led him, however, to follow a different course. With Ishbosheth had perished the last of Saul's sons by wives of the first rank, and with the exception of Jonathan none of them seem to have left any issue, although we read in 2 S 21^{8} of sons of Saul by his concubine Rizpah, and also of grandsons, the children of his daughter Merab. Once David was firmly established upon the throne, he ascertained by inquiry of Ziba, who had been the steward of Saul, that a son of Jonathan named Merib-baal (Mephibosheth) still survived (2 S $9^{1ff.}$). This son of his most intimate friend could all the more safely be spared by David, as his bodily condition made him of little account in a warlike age, and precluded the possibility of his proving a dangerous rival. From 2 S 4^{4} we learn that in the hurried flight of Saul's household, when tidings came of the defeat at Gilboa, M., who was then five years old, sustained such injuries through a fall, that he became permanently lame. Since his uncle Ishbosheth's death, he had been living in concealment at Lo-debar to the E. of the Jordan. It was probably not without trepidation that he obeyed the summons to court, and, in answer to David's promises of protection and favour, he could only reply with true Oriental self-depreciation, 'What is thy servant that thou shouldest look upon such a dead dog as I am?' (2 S 9^{8}). As a pledge of the sincerity of his promises, the king restored to Jonathan's son all the personal estates of Saul, Ziba being appointed to administer these for the benefit of M., who was himself maintained as a permanent guest at the king's table (2 S 9^{13}). This latter arrangement commended itself from the point of view both of friendship and of policy.

The next mention of M. is during the troublous period when, in consequence of Absalom's rebellion, David had to abandon Jerusalem. At the Mount of Olives the king was met by Ziba, who brought a couple of asses laden with bread, bunches of raisins, cakes of dried fruit, and wine, which he offered for the use of the royal household. In answer to the question, 'Where is thy master?' Ziba declared that M. had preferred to remain in Jerus. in the hope that the kingdom of Saul would be restored to him. It was an unlikely story, for M. had surely less to expect from Absalom than from David; yet it served its purpose, and the crafty Ziba had the satisfaction of hearing David say, 'Behold, thine is all that pertaineth to M.' (2 S 16^{4}). When David returned to Jerus. after the defeat and death of Absalom, M. came to congratulate him; and being met with the stern question, 'Wherefore wentest thou not with me, M.?' proceeded to exculpate himself and to accuse Ziba of fraud. David's flight, he alleged, had occasioned him the acutest grief, and in token of mourning he had not trimmed his beard nor washed his feet or his clothes from the time the king left his capital till he returned to it. Nay, he had intended to accompany his benefactor, but Ziba had taken advantage of his helplessness, and, instead of saddling an ass for him to ride after David, had gone and basely calumniated him to the king. David's answer seems a strange one, 'Why speakest thou any more of thy matters? I say, thou and Ziba divide the land.' It would seem as if he only half believed M., or at least despaired of reaching the truth. Ziba might have been faithful to David, simply because he felt sure of being on the winning side; but at all events he had been faithful, and the king felt in no mood to reproach him. The easiest way was to compromise the matter, leaving the steward and the master each in possession of half the profits of Saul's estates. A strange way of doing justice from a European but not from an Oriental point of view! M., who always makes a favourable impression upon us, and who seems to have inherited the warm heart and generous disposition of his father Jonathan, replied, 'Yea, let him take all, forasmuch as my lord the king is come in peace unto his own house' (2 S 19^{30}).

According to 2 S 9^{12} Mephibosheth had a son named Mica (מִיכָא), from whom seems to have sprung a family afterwards well known in Israel (1 Ch 8^{35} 9^{41} [מִיכָה, Micah]).

2. One of the sons of Rizpah handed over by David to the Gibeonites for execution (2 S 21^{8}).

J. A. SELBIE.

MERAB (מֵרַב; 1 S 14^{49} B Μερόβ, A omits; 1 S $18^{17.19}$ B omits, A Μερόβ).—The elder daughter of Saul. According to the later of the two documents in 1 S, Saul promised his daughter to the slayer of Goliath (1 S 17^{25}). This promise, however, was afterwards ignored, and Saul is represented as trying to bring about David's destruction by offering him Merab's hand as a reward for his military services against the Philistines (1 S 18^{17}). But, though David successfully carried out the task which the king had set him, Saul failed to keep his promise, and Merab became the wife of Adriel the Meholathite. In the earlier document nothing is known of this incident in connexion with Merab, but only of the affection of Michal, Saul's second daughter, for David. In 2 S 21^{8} *Michal* is clearly a mistake for *Merab*, whose five sons were delivered by David into the hands of the Gibeonites, by whom they were slain and 'hanged before the Lord.' See, further, art. MICHAL. J. F. STENNING.

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* See Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, p. 200, n. 3, and Kittel (in *SBOT*) on 1 Ch 8^{34}, who both hold that מְרִי בַּעַל ('man *or* hero of Baal') is the original form, Kittel offering as an alternative rendering 'my lord is Baal' (cf. *CIS* i. 111). On the other hand, Nestle (*Eigennamen*, p. 120 f.) adopts the form מְרִיב בַּעַל. The change of מְרִי into מְפִי (besides that of בַּעַל into בֹּשֶׁת) was probably intended still further to disguise the original form of the name, מְפִיבֹשֶׁת being probably taken to mean 'one who scatters *or* disperses shame' (Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam.* p. 195).

MERAIAH (מְרָיָה; B *Μαρεά*, A *Μαριά*).—The representative of the priestly house of Seraiah in the days of Joiakim, Neh 12^{12}.

MERAIOTH (מְרָיוֹת).—**1.** Son of Ahitub and father of Zadok, 1 Ch 9^{11} (B *Μαρμώθ*, A *Μαριώθ*), Neh 11^{11} (AB *Μαριώθ*). **2.** A Levite, or a Levitical family name, 1 Ch $6^{6f.}$ [Heb. $5^{32f.}$] ^{52} [Heb. ^{37}], Ezr 7^{3}. In the first two of these passages B has *Μαρειήλ*, A *Μαραιώθ* and *Μεραώθ*, in the third B has *Μαρερώθ*, A *Μαραιώθ*. This Meraioth is called in 1 Es 8^{2} **Memeroth** and in 2 Es 1^{2} **Marimoth.** **3.** A priestly house which was represented by Helkai in the days of Joiakim, Neh 12^{15} (B ℵ* A om.; ℵ$^{c.a}$ *Μαριώθ*)= **Meremoth** (which see) of v.^{3}.

MERARI (מְרָרִי, *Μεραρ(ε)ί*) **1.** is known to us only from P and the Chronicler. According to these writers he was the third of the three sons of Levi (Ex 6^{16}, Nu 3^{17}, 1 Ch $6^{1.16}$ 23^{6}), and accompanied Jacob into Egypt (Gn 46^{11}). He had two sons, Mahli and Mushi (Ex 6^{19}, Nu 3^{20}, 1 Ch $6^{19.29}$). Nothing further is related of Merari personally, but of the fortunes of his descendants we have fuller particulars. Their history falls into three periods—(1) the wilderness wanderings, and the settlement in Canaan; (2) the monarchy; (3) after the Exile.

(1) At the time of the census taken by Moses in the wilderness of Sinai the Merarites were divided into two families, the Mahlites and the Mushites (Nu 3^{33}). The whole number of males from a month old was 6200 (3^{34}), and between 30 and 50 years of age 3200 (4^{42-45}). Their position in the camp was on the side of the tabernacle northward, and their chief at this time was Zuriel the son of Abihail (3^{35}). The office assigned to them was the carrying of the less important parts of the tabernacle —boards, pins, cords, etc. ($3^{36.37}$ $4^{31.32}$ 10^{17}). In this they were to be superintended by Ithamar the son of Aaron (4^{33}), and four waggons and eight oxen were given to them for transit purposes (7^{8}). The two families of Merarites are mentioned in the account of the second census taken by Moses and Eleazar in the plains of Moab by the Jordan, when the whole number of the Levites was 23,000 ($26^{57.58}$). After the settlement in Pal., 12 cities out of the territories of Reuben, Gad, and Zebulun were assigned to them (Jos $21^{7.34-40}$ [P] = 1 Ch $6^{63.77-81}$).

(2) In the reign of David, as narrated by the Chronicler, we have several references to the Merarites. The Merarite family of Jeduthun (=Ethan, 1 Ch 6^{44} 15^{17}), together with the Kohathite family of Heman and the Gershonite family of Asaph, were, according to this writer, specially set apart to administer the temple music (cf. 1 Ch 6^{31-47} $16^{41.42}$ 25^{1-7}; and see ETHAN, JEDUTHUN). Consequently at the bringing up of the ark from the house of Obed-edom into Jerus. we find that, of the 220 Merarites who are said to have been present under the leadership of Asaiah (1 Ch 15^{6}), Ethan and certain others took part in the music ($15^{17.19}$). Descendants of the two families of Mahli and Mushi are mentioned as 'heads of the fathers' houses' when David divided the Levites into courses, 1 Ch 23^{26-30}, and in 1 Ch 26^{10-19} certain Merarites are specified as doorkeepers (cf. 9^{14-23} 23^{5}). Further, in the reign of Hezekiah, Merarites are mentioned as taking part in the cleansing of the temple (2 Ch $29^{12.14}$).

(3) For the period after the Exile we have a few scattered notices of members of the family of Merarites. 1 Ch 9=Neh 11 seems to contain a list of those who were known to be dwelling in Judæa during the period immediately after the return from captivity. In these lists occur the names of 'Shemaiah . . . of the sons of Merari' (1 Ch 9^{14}=Neh 11^{15}), and 'Obadiah or Abda . . . son of Jeduthun' (1 Ch 9^{16}=Neh 11^{17}). Lastly, when Ezra went up to Jerus. in B.C. 454 it is expressly stated that certain Merarites accompanied him (Ezr $8^{18.19}$).

The **Merarites** (הַמְּרָרִי) occur Nu 26^{57}, elsewhere called 'the sons of Merari,' Ex 6^{19}, Nu 3^{20} $4^{29.33.42.45}$ 7^{8} 10^{17}, 1 Ch $6^{19.29.44.63.77}$ 9^{14} $15^{6.17}$ 23^{21} 24^{27} 26^{19}, 2 Ch 29^{12}, Ezr 8^{19}; or 'the children of Merari,' Jos $21^{7.34.40}$. For their history see above.

2. The father of Judith (Jth 8^{1} 16^{7}).

W. C. ALLEN.

MERATHAIM (מְרָתַיִם) is given as a proper name by both AV and RV in Jer 50^{21} 'Go up against the land of Merathaim' (AVm '*or* of the rebels,' RVm '*i.e.* double rebellion'). The term is an enigmatical one, possibly suggested (Del. *Parad.* 182) by Bab. *Marrâtim*, the land by the *nar Marrâtu*, or 'bitter river' (Persian Gulf)=S. Babylonia, and adapted so as to recall to a Heb. ear either 'double rebellion' (מְרָיָתַיִם) or 'double bitterness' (מָרָתַיִם). The LXX (B) *πικρῶς ἐπίβηθι ἐπ' αὐτήν* (27^{21}) connects מְרָתַיִם with the root meaning 'bitter.'

J. A. SELBIE.

MERCHANDISE, MERCHANTMAN.—The word merchandise (from Old Fr. *marchandise*, a merchant's wares), somewhat archaic now, is used in AV in two senses, one of which is quite obsolete. 1. The first meaning is goods, wares, any object of commerce, as Rev 18^{11} 'The merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man buyeth their merchandise any more' (*τὸν γόμον αὐτῶν*, RVm 'their cargo'). Defoe, *Crusoe*, p. 535 'He confess'd, he said, it was not a Place for Merchants, except that at some certain Times they had a kind of a Fair there, when the merchants from Japan came over to buy the Chinese Merchandizes.' 2. But the word was also used for 'traffic' in goods, and even for 'gain' from such traffic: so Pr 3^{14} 'The merchandise of it [wisdom] is better than the merchandise of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold' (טוֹב סַחְרָהּ מִסְּחַר־כָּסֶף). Cf. Shaks. *Merch. of Venice*, III. i. 134—'Were he out of Venice, I can make what merchandise I will.'

Merchantman is in AV simply 'merchant,' Gn 37^{28}, 1 K 10^{15}, Mt 13^{45}. Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 500, says, 'The craftsman or merchantman teacheth his prentice to lie, and to utter his wares with lying and forswearing.' J. HASTINGS.

MERCURY.—The tr^{n} of Ἑρμῆς, Ac 14^{12}, for which the rendering 'Hermes' of RVm is preferable. The Romans in many cases transferred the attributes and functions of the Greek deities to their own. Thus Mercury (from *merx*=merchandise), the god of commerce and profit, was identified with the Greek Hermes, the patron of good luck. One of the many functions of the latter was that of messenger and spokesman of the gods. Hence the word *ἑρμηνεύς*=an interpreter ('interpres Divom,' Verg. *Æn.* iv. 356). He was also regarded as the inventor of speech and the god of eloquence. When Paul and Barnabas had healed the cripple at Lystra, the inhabitants in their gratitude wished to sacrifice to them as gods, and they called the former Hermes because he took the lead in speaking. C. H. PRICHARD.

MERCY, MERCIFUL.—These words have somewhat changed in meaning since 1611. As the next article will show, they do not in AV express pardon, they denote compassion. Thus He 2^{17} 'Wherefore in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people' (ἐλεήμων = pitiful, Vulg. *misericors*); Mt 5^{7} 'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy' (οἱ ἐλεήμονες . . . ἐλεηθήσονται, Vulg. *misericordes . . . misericordiam consequentur*); Lk 10^{37} 'which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour unto him that felle among the thieves? And he said, He that shewed mercy on him' (Ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἔλεος μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ); Sir 29^{1} 'He that is merciful will lend unto his neighbour' (ὁ ποιῶν ἔλεος). Cf. Shaks. *Othello*, V. ii. 86—

> 'Not dead? not yet quite dead?
> I that am cruel am yet merciful;
> I would not have thee linger in thy pain.'

Merch. of Venice, IV. i. 6—

> 'Uncapable of pity, void and empty,
> From any dram of mercy.'

Pity is the oldest meaning of the word, which, it is now generally allowed, comes from Lat. *mercedem*, 'pay,' 'reward.' In Low Latin *mercedem* meant 'pity'; in French it expressed the 'thanks' of one who receives reward or consideration; taken into English, it seems to have been associated with 'amerce' and to have denoted the pay or penalty due for transgression, as 'to be in grievous mercie of the king' (Statute of Henry VI.), *i.e.* 'to be in hazard of a great penaltie,' as Minshew explains. Then to 'cry mercy' is to beg off a penalty, and, that being granted, the sense of pardon and of the grace that pardons successively developed. Thus 'pity,' found in the word as it came from Low Latin, was obscured through the association with 'amerce,' and restored by the natural use of the word.

In Ps 117^{2} 119^{76} חֶסֶד is translated 'merciful kindness.' The translation comes from Coverdale. RV gives 'mercy' in the first passage, 'lovingkindness' in the second; Amer. RV prefers 'lovingkindness' in both.

'Tender mercies' is a frequent tr., esp. in the Psalter, of רַחֲמִים 'bowels' (as the seat of compassion), 'pity.' This tr. is from the Gen. Bible, and is retained in RV. In Ph 1^{8} 2^{1} RV turns 'bowels' of AV into 'tender mercies' (Gr. σπλάγχνα, which is the LXX tr. of רַחֲמִים in Pr 12^{10}). See BOWELS.

The form **mercifulness** occurs in Sir 40^{17} 'Mercifulness endureth for ever' (ἐλεημοσύνη, RV 'almsgiving'). Cf. Matt. Bible, Notes to Dt 22 'This law wyll no more but that in dealyng mercifullye with beastes we shoulde lerne mercifulnesse unto oure neighboures.' J. HASTINGS.

MERCY.—I. OLD TESTAMENT.—'Mercy' is used in AV to translate the following:—**1.** חֶסֶד *ḥeṣedh*, LXX usually ἔλεος (see below on NT), Vulg. usually *misericordia*; the translation 'mercy' is sometimes retained by RV, sometimes replaced by 'lovingkindness'; also AV 'merciful-kindness' (Ps 117^{2}), and often 'loving-kindness.' The Hithpael of the cognate verb is rendered by LXX ὁσιωθήσῃ, Vulg. *sanctus eris*, EV 'show thyself merciful'; the adj. חָסִיד *ḥāṣîdh*, by LXX usually ὅσιος, Vulg. *sanctus*, EV 'saint,' 'holy (one),' 'godly,' and RV of Ps 145^{17} 'gracious.' There are no English words to which *ḥeṣedh* and *ḥāṣîdh* are exactly equivalent. *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* renders *ḥeṣedh* by 'goodness,' 'kindness'; and *ḥāṣîdh*, 'as denoting active practice of חֶסֶד,' by 'kind,' 'pious.' G. A. Smith renders חֶסֶד by 'leal love,' and explains that it 'means always not merely an affection, "lovingkindness" . . . but a relation loyally observed' (*Book of the Twelve Prophets*, i. 243 n.). That *ḥeṣedh* includes these two qualities of *kindly affection* and of *loyalty* is shown by the fact that it is coupled with and used as a parallel to *raḥămîm* (see below), Ps 77^{9} 103^{4}, on the one hand, and to *'ĕmeth*, 'fidelity,' Ps 25^{10} 26^{3}, and *bĕrîth*, 'covenant,' Dt 7^{9}, on the other. *Ḥeṣedh* is used of man towards man, *e.g.* between David and Jonathan and his house, 1 S $20^{14f.}$; of Israel towards Jehovah, Hos $6^{4.6}$; but chiefly of Jehovah towards His people. *Ḥāṣîdh* is almost always—only two exceptions, Jer 3^{12}, Ps 145^{17}, of God—used of men, probably as exercising *ḥeṣedh* (so *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*). Its application to God is in favour of this view rather than that of 'object of God's *ḥeṣedh*.' *Ḥāṣîdh* became specialized in the sense of pious towards God, hence the versions.

2. רַחֲמִים *raḥămîm*, lit. 'bowels,' so fig. 'tender affection,' 'compassion'; LXX ἔλεος, οἰκτιρμοί, etc.; Vulg. *misericordia(æ)*, *miseratio*, etc.; also translated in EV 'compassion.' The adj. רַחוּם *raḥûm* is rendered: LXX οἰκτίρμων, etc.; Vulg. *misericors*, etc.; EV 'merciful,' 'full of compassion.' Corresponding translations are given of the Piel of the verb רחם. These are used of man towards man, and of God towards man.

3. The verb חנן *ḥnn*, 'to show favour,' 'do kindness,' of man towards man, and of God towards man, and the adj. חַנּוּן *ḥannûn*, only of God towards man, are rendered by EV 'be merciful *or* gracious,' 'show mercy,' 'have pity,' 'merciful'; by LXX ἐλεέω, οἰκτείρω, etc.; ἐλεήμων, οἰκτίρμων; by Vulg. *misereor*, etc.; *clemens*, *misericors*, etc.

4. In Gn 19^{16} 'the Lord being merciful unto him' is EV tr^{n} of בְּחֶמְלַת יהוה עָלָיו. חמל here rendered 'be merciful' is 'spare,' 'have compassion' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*); LXX usually ἐλεέω, φείδομαι; Vulg. *misereor*, *parco*; elsewhere in EV 'have pity.' It is often parallel to חוס 'pity,' 'look upon with compassion,' *e.g.* Ezk $7^{4.9}$.

5. In Dt 21^{8} 32^{43} 'be merciful' is the translation of כִּפֵּר, here = 'clear,' 'treat as forgiven, and therefore as enjoying full favour.' In these two passages LXX has ἵλεως γενοῦ (cf. below), ἐκκαθαριεῖ, 'purge'; Vulg. *propitius esto, erit*; RV 'forgive,' 'make expiation.'

II. NEW TESTAMENT.—'Mercy, merciful, to be merciful, to show mercy,' etc., are used in EV to translate the following:—**1.** ἔλεος, ἐλεήμων, ἐλεέω, 'to be pitiful, compassionate.' These terms are used both of God and man, and are not applied with any special frequency to God; so that in NT ἔλεος is a divine attribute, but no special emphasis is laid upon it. Its most common use with reference to God is in the salutation χάρις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Ti 1^{2}, 2 Ti 1^{2}, Tit 1^{4}) and in 2 Jn ^{3}; cf. Jude ^{2}.

2. οἰκτιρμοί, οἰκτίρμων, 'compassion, -ate,' not common, but chiefly applied to God, Ro 12^{1}, 2 Co 1^{3}, Lk 6^{36}, Ja 5^{11}.

3. ἵλεως, 'forgiving,' He 8^{12}; ἱλάσκομαι, 'be propitiated, forgive'; ἀνίλεως, 'not forgiving' (AV 'without mercy'), Ja 2^{13}.

Thus the chief OT terms which AV, and in a measure RV, translate most unsuitably by 'mercy,' ascribe to God the following attributes: (*a*) tender compassion, *raḥămîm*, etc., for man's misery and helplessness; (*b*) a disposition to deal kindly and generously with man, *ḥanan*, etc.; (*c*) the divine affection and fidelity to man, on which man may confidently rely, as he would on the loyalty of his tribe or family, *ḥeṣedh*. Though these terms may include the ordinary sense of 'mercy,' the 'sparing of a wrongdoer,' and the context sometimes shows that they do include this meaning, the terms themselves do not suggest it. Hence the use of the word 'mercy' to translate them, represents

God in the OT as occupied with the position of man as a criminal, a rebel, and an enemy, to an extent entirely unwarranted by the original. Cf. Driver, *Sermons on OT*, 220 ff., also *Par. Psalt.* 443 f., 447, and see preceding article.

The NT use of the corresponding terms is neither frequent nor characteristic, and is only a faint reflexion of OT teaching. The great ideas represented in OT by *raḥămîm*, *ḥanan*, *ḥeṣedh*, and their cognates, are mostly expressed in NT by other terms than ἔλεος, οἰκτιρμοί, etc. One might almost say that *ḥeṣedh* covers the whole ground of χάρις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη (but see Hort on 1 P 1^{2}), and implies the NT doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood.

The subject of 'mercy,' in its usual sense of 'That benevolence, mildness, or tenderness of heart which disposes a person to overlook injuries or to treat an offender better than he deserves,' is treated under ATONEMENT and FORGIVENESS. The qualities dealt with here are those which moved God to provide an atonement, but they describe God's attitude to man, as man, and do not, except OT, 5, of themselves call attention to man's sin.

W. H. BENNETT.

MERCY-SEAT.—See TABERNACLE.

MERED (מֶרֶד; B Πῶραδ, A Μῶραδ, Luc. Βάραδ).—A Judahite, 1 Ch 4^{17}. See BITHIAH.

MERES (מֶרֶס *Mares*, LXX om.).—One of the seven princes and counsellors of Ahasuerus (Est 1^{14}); cf. ADMATHA. With this name and with Marsena, Benfey (see Ges. *Thes.*) compares Sansk. *mârsha*, Zend. *mercsh*='writing.'

MERIBAH (מְרִיבָה 'strife').—The word occurs by itself Ex 17^{7}, Ps 95^{8}, and in both places Massah (which see) is also mentioned. Massah is rendered by LXX Πειρασμός, Vulg. *Tentatio*, in both; Meribah of Ex 17^{7} by LXX Λοιδόρησις, but omitted in Vulg.; Meribah of Ps 95^{7} by LXX παραπικρασμῷ, Vulg. *irritatione*, RV 'as at Meribah as in the day of Massah,' AV 'in the provocation as in the day of temptation' [these are the only two places where Massah and Meribah occur. Massah occurs with 'waters of Meribah' Dt 33^{8}, and by itself twice Dt 6^{16} 9^{22}]. The expression 'waters of Meribah' is more common, occurring Nu 20$^{13.\ 24}$, Dt 33^{8}, Ps 81$^{7\ [\text{Heb. }8]}$ 106^{32}. Meribah is in LXX ἀντιλογίας in all these places except Nu 20^{24}, which has λοιδορίας; Vulg. has *Contradictionis* in all; RV has in these passages uniformly 'waters of Meribah,' while AV has 'waters of strife' in Ps 106^{32}.

A fuller expression is מֵי מְרִיבַת קָדֵשׁ in Nu 27^{14}, Dt 32^{51}. LXX and Vulg. render as in Nu 20^{13}. RV has 'waters of Meribah of Kadesh,' while AV has 'Meribah in Kadesh' in Nu and 'Meribah-kadesh' in Dt. Besides these passages in which reference is made by name to the waters which flowed from the rock when smitten by Moses, many others mention the providing water from the stony rock without detail of name or place, *e.g.* Dt 8^{15}, Ps 78$^{15.\ 20}$ 105^{41} 114^{8}, Is 48^{21}.

According to Nu 20$^{2-13}$ the children of Israel, finding no water at Kadesh, in the desert of Zin, *strove* with Moses (both in v.^{3} and v.^{13} RV has 'strove,' while AV by putting 'chode' in v.^{3} obscures the double reference to *strife* which exists in the original). The LORD commands Moses, 'Take the rod . . . and speak ye unto the rock before their eyes, that it give forth its water'; but Moses struck the rock with his rod, and water came forth abundantly. Then follows the sentence of prohibition: 'ye shall not bring this assembly into the land which I have given them.' The carrying out of this sentence in the case of Aaron is related in Nu 20$^{23-29}$, in the case of Moses in Nu 27$^{12-14}$, Dt 32$^{49-52}$ (see above for the words employed in these passages).

Another account is also given (Ex 17$^{1-7}$) of water flowing from the rock when smitten by Moses. The language is very similar to that of Nu 20, and in points of detail there is a marked resemblance between the two narratives. In this account stress is laid (v.^{2}) on 'tempting' (*i.e.*, in the old sense of the word, *proving*) as well as 'striving,' and in v.^{7} two names are given to the place, MASSAH ('temptation,' *i.e. proving*) because the children of Israel 'tempted' the Lord, and Meribah ('chiding *or* strife') because of the 'striving' of the children of Israel (in both verses AV has 'chide' for 'strive' as in Nu 20^{3}). Other passages referring to these events are given at the beginning of this article, from which it appears that Massah by itself is mentioned twice, Massah with Meribah twice, and in Dt 33^{8} mention is made of Massah and the waters of Meribah in connexion with Levi, and the verse apparently refers to an incident not recorded in Ex 17 or Nu 20.

A comparison of these two narratives (those in Ex 17 and Nu 20) suggests many difficult questions. Kuenen was not prepared with an answer, and abstained from expressing a decisive opinion (*Hexateuch*, § 6 n. 42, p. 101, Wicksteed's translation). Cornill (in *ZATW*, 1891, p. 20 ff.) discusses these narratives at length, and submits them to a searching analysis, arriving at results which are in the main adopted by Bacon (*Triple Tradition*) in his notes on these passages.

There appear to be two alternatives: (*a*) the narratives in question are different versions of the same occurrence which has been assigned to different periods in the journeyings of the children of Israel; or (*b*) an account of occurrences at a place to which the name of Massah was given (mainly preserved in Ex 17$^{1-7}$ and there called Rephidim), and another account of occurrences at Meribah (preserved but with considerable modifications in Nu 20$^{1-13}$, and these connected with Kadesh) existed at one time as independent narratives; but details have been transferred from the one account to the other in the process of compilation, perhaps the addition of Meribah and the idea of strife to the narrative of Ex 17.

From Nu 20 it is difficult to understand clearly wherein the sin of Moses and Aaron is supposed to have consisted. According to 20^{24} 27^{14} it is described as *rebelling* against the word of the LORD. The waters of Meribah receive their name because the children of Israel *strove* with the LORD, and on this occasion the words assigned to Moses are 'Hear now, ye *rebels*.' May Moses and Aaron on this occasion have shown themselves unworthy of their position as leaders, and in some way joined in the strife? Then a reason for their heavy punishment would be apparent, while reverence for the great leader may suggest a further reason why the narrative appears in its present form.

In art. EXODUS, ROUTE OF (§ iv.), some reasons have been given for ascribing to the events recorded in Nu 20$^{1-21}$ an earlier date than that usually given to them. They may be noted here, as (whatever weight they may have) they reduce the interval between Massah and Meribah.

A note on Dt 33^{2} should find a place here. According to RV, 'He shined forth from Paran, and came *from the ten thousands of holy ones* [m. holiness].' AV has 'with' for 'from,' which is not defensible. The rendering in italics arouses suspicion. After mention of Seir, Paran, we might expect the name of some place; and as the words which follow ('At his right hand was a fiery law') are certainly corrupt, it is probable that emendation is needed here also. A slight modification of the text would give 'and came *to Meribath-kadesh*,' an emendation which has found much favour.

The manner in which the words 'strife' and 'temptation' and the corresponding verbs are used in the passages already quoted, invites comment. In Ex 17^{2}, Nu 20^{3} the people strove with Moses, but in Nu 20^{13} they strove with the LORD, in Ex 17$^{2.\ 7}$ they 'tempt' the LORD. But in Dt 33^{8} another view of the relation between God and His people is represented: 'whom thou didst *prove* at Massah, and with whom thou didst *strive* at the waters of Meribah.' The word *prove* is the same word as that rendered *tempt*, and occurs in Gn 22^{1} ('God did *tempt* [RV prove] Abraham'). The same thought is found in Ex 15^{25} ('there he made for them a statute and an ordinance, and there he *proved* them'). Whether in the first part of this passage there is any connexion between *mishpat* and Meribah-Kadesh may be questioned (but note that a cause in judgment is רִיב, and Kadesh is En-mishpat), but that the latter clause contains the idea underlying Massah is clear.

This double view of the wilderness history is found also in the Psalms. Ps 81^{7} has '*I tried thee* at the waters of Meribah,' Ps 95^{9} has 'when *your fathers proved me, tried me*' . . . In these two places the Heb. for *try* is בחן. The above may serve to illustrate the fulness of the religious teaching which may be derived from the Pentateuchal narrative.

Meriboth-kadesh.—'The waters of Meriboth-kadesh' are given in Ezk 47^{19}, and 'the waters of Meribath-kadesh' in 48^{28}, as a southern limit to the land. The difference between the singular and plural in the two passages seems strange, and the LXX renderings Μαριμὼθ Καδὴμ (47^{19}), Βαριμὼθ Καδὴς (48^{28}), which suggest the plural in both verses, are to be preferred. Note the interchange of β and μ. In 48^{28} QΓ have Μαριμώθ. AV has 'the waters of strife in Kadesh' in both places.

Here is a clear reference to the events recorded in the Pentateuch, but it is doubtful whether the inference may be drawn that a place bearing the name of Meriboth-kadesh was known to the prophet or his contemporaries. A. T. CHAPMAN.

MERIBBAAL.—See MEPHIBOSHETH.

MERIBOTH-KADESH.—See MERIBAH.

MERODACH (מְרֹדָךְ).—A Bab.-Assyr. deity mentioned as a separate name but once in OT (Jer 50 [Gr. 27]^{2}), B Μαιωδάχ, ℵAQ Μεωδάχ. The Bab. pronunciation of the name was *Mar-u-duk*. Its signification is still uncertain, though its Bab. origin is strongly maintained (cf. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 228; Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, 242 ff.). On the side of astronomy M. is identified with Jupiter, of the Romans. In the earlier Bab. history he occupies a seat on the same platform with Anu, Bel, Ea, Nergal, etc. But in later times he occupied a position of pre-eminence, particularly as the patron deity of the city of Babylon. In Jeremiah's reference he seems to be one of the two chief gods of Babylon. In his inscriptions, Nebuchadrezzar speaks of Merodach (*Mar-duk*) as 'the great lord,' 'the exalted governor,' 'king of the heavens and the earth,' 'the supreme god'; Assurbanipal speaks of him as 'king of gods'; Nabonidus (Cyl.) calls him 'Lord of the gods'; and (Stele) speaks of the king of Assyria as having wrought the ruin of the land by M.'s wrath. The many hints in later Bab. literature of his importance show that he was held to be the supreme god, the source of power, and of all the blessings which showered upon mankind. At the fall of Babylon, Merodach receives the profoundest reverence from Cyrus, the victor. For his relation to Nebo see the art. NEBO. Under the name Bêl he was worshipped among the Mandæans. His name forms an important element in many late proper names of Babylonia, *e.g.* Merodach-baladan and Evil-Merodach, as well as in some of an earlier date, *e.g. Marduk-adin-aḫi* of 17th cent. B.C. For his possible connexion with the story of Esther see art. MORDECAI.

LITERATURE (additional).—Schrader, *COT* ii. 115 ff., *Assyr.-Bab. Keilinschrif.* p. 129; Hommel, *Gesch. Bab.-Assyr.* p. 778, n. 1; Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Geschichte*, p. 531 f.; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 88; Winckler, *Geschichte Bab.-Assyr.* p. 84 f.; Baudissin, *PRE* ii. 35 ff.; Jeremias, Alf., art. 'Marduk' in Roscher's *Ausfuhr. Lex. der Gr. u. Röm. Myth.*; Jastrow, *Religion of Bab. and Assyria.* IRA M. PRICE.

MERODACH-BALADAN (מְרֹאדַךְ בַּלְאֲדָן, Μαρωδὰχ Βαλαδάν), Is 39^{1}; misspelt (in MT, but not in LXX, BA having Μαρωδάχ [Βαλαδάν]) **Berodach-b.** in 2 K 20^{12}.—In Assyr. the name is written Marduk-bal-iddina, and means 'Merodach has given a son.' Merodach-baladan was the hereditary prince of the Kaldâ or Chaldæans, who inhabited the marshes at the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates. The inscriptions call him the son of Yagina; but this may signify that Yagina was a more remote ancestor. In 2 K he is made the son of Baladan: this would be the abbreviated form of some name, the first element of which was the name of a deity. In the troublous period which followed the death of Shalmaneser IV. before Samaria, B.C. 722, M. possessed himself of Babylonia, and was crowned king at Babylon (B.C. 721). After a few years, however, Sargon of Assyria found himself sufficiently strong to think of reconquering Babylonia, which had been annexed to Assyria by Tiglath-pileser III. M. accordingly looked for allies, and in B.C. 711 sent an embassy to the West, where the vassal-princes were disposed to throw off their allegiance to the Assyrian king. Judah with the Philistine cities, and Edom and Moab, entered into the alliance, and Egypt promised help. It was on this occasion that Hezekiah boastfully showed the Bab. envoys the material resources which he could bring to the alliance (2 K 20$^{12-19}$, Is 39).* Before the allies were ready to move, however, the army of Sargon had descended on Palestine, and severely punished Ashdod, which had been the centre of disaffection. Judah, Edom, and Moab thereupon submitted, and the Assyr. king was free to turn to Babylonia. M. vainly sought aid from the Elamites, who were defeated by the Assyrians before they could come to his help, and he accordingly fled from Babylon, which was entered by Sargon, B.C. 709. After being proclaimed king there, Sargon pursued M. to Bit-Yakin, the capital of the Kaldâ in the marshes, which he captured along with its prince.

M. afterwards recovered his freedom, and in B.C. 702, after the death of Sargon, he returned to Babylon, and reigned there a second time for about six months; though the Annalistic Tablet seems to imply that this M. was not identical with the Kaldâ prince (as it calls him 'an Assyrian soldier'). At any rate, the usurper was overthrown by Sennacherib at Kish, and Bel-ibni was made king of Babylon by the Assyrians. For some time M. defended himself in the marshes; but after a time, growing weary of the struggle, he embarked for the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf, with his followers and gods, and settled in the Elamite city of Nagitu. To this retreat, in B.C. 695, he was pursued by Sennacherib, who stormed the Chaldæan colony. M. himself seems to have been already dead, but at a subsequent date we hear of his son Nebo-sum-iskun assisting the Elamites in a war against the Assyrians.

A. H. SAYCE.

MEROM, THE WATERS OF (מֵי־מֵרוֹם, τὸ ὕδωρ Μαρρών or Μερρών), where Joshua overthrew the confederation of the northern kings, are commonly identified with the highest of the three lakes in the Jordan Valley, now called *Baḥeiret el-Ḥuleh*, 'the little lake of *el-Ḥuleh.*' The *height* of the waters here relatively to those of the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea possibly accounts for the name מֵי־מֵרוֹם used by the ancient historian (Jos $11^{5.7}$). Several of the places mentioned in the chapter have been identified with tolerable certainty, *e.g.* Hazor and Achshaph; while Mizpah, from the position assigned to it, must have lain immediately to the north of *el-Ḥuleh.* The open land in the neighbourhood of *'Ain el-Mellâḥa* would therefore afford an excellent rallying-ground for the hosts assembling for one supreme effort to stay the progress of the victorious invaders.

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* So Driver, *Isaiah*^{2}, 14, 45, 49; Skinner, *Isaiah*, vol. i. p. 283; Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.* (1888), p. 349; *et al.* On the other hand, Schrader, *KAT*^{2} p. 344 [*COT* ii. 28], prefers to date the visit of Merodach-baladan's envoys *c.* 704 B.C.; so also W. R. Smith, *Proph. of Isr.* p. 318—at a time, however, when he was *not* king of Babylonia.

No absolute proof of this identification can be offered, and certain objections have been raised, none of which, however, is insuperable. (1) The word *mê* [constr. of *mayîm*, 'waters'] is nowhere else applied to such a large body of standing water; in such cases the term *yām* ('sea') is commonly employed. Too much may easily be made of this objection, which, being only of a negative character, must give way to more positive considerations. (2) Josephus places the camp of the kings at *Beroth* in Upper Galilee, and makes no mention of waters. Here, therefore, we are told the scene of the battle must be sought, and not in the Jordan lowlands (Socin's note in Schumacher's *Jaulân*, 102). Josephus says (*Ant.* V. i. 18) that Beroth was 'not far from Kadesh': this fixes the locality, Kadesh lying on the heights west of the valley. But the battle was not necessarily fought at the spot where the camp stood. Long afterwards, in this same district, Demetrius pitched his camp at Kadesh, and fought Jonathan in the plain below (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 7). Why should not the kings have followed a similar course? (3) By giving battle in this plain the kings would have exposed themselves to grave peril in the event of defeat, since it is so hemmed in by hills and marshes as to make escape extremely difficult; immense natural barriers lying especially between it and great Zidon, towards which a great part of the routed army fled (Jos 11^{8}). In reply to this, it may be pointed out that for the evolutions of the chariots on which the Canaanites so much relied, there was no ground anywhere near so suitable as the comparatively easy downs south of *'Ain el-Mellâḥa.* To secure this advantage, they were doubtless willing to take some risk. It should also be remembered that the Canaanites were at home amid the intricacies of mountain and marsh, of which their pursuers were largely ignorant. In their flight to great Zidon, the fugitives would probably follow the course of the ordinary route from *Baniâs* to the sea, and familiarity with these wild uplands would greatly facilitate their efforts to escape.

Baḥeiret el-Ḥuleh is a pear-shaped basin, pointing southward, and having a distinct bulge to the north-west. It lies 7 ft. above the level of the Mediterranean, and is from 10 ft. to 16 ft. in depth. Its greatest breadth is about 3 miles, and its length from the edge of the marshes to the exit of the Jordan is 3½ to 4 miles. Measurements vary somewhat with the amount of rainfall and the condition of the muddy banks. The N. limit is especially ill defined, as the waters of the upper Jordan, forcing their way in different channels through the swamp, are constantly changing the line. Owing to the formation at the southern end, the lake might be drained or enlarged with almost equal ease. Probably it was once much larger than it is now (*HGHL* p. 481, note). To the means taken for this extension, possibly Muḳaddasi (A.D. 985) refers in the following sentence: 'In order to form the lake they have built a wonderful embankment of masonry along the river, confining its waters to its bed' (Le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, 68). The floor of the valley northward is one vast morass, varying in breadth from 2 to 3 miles. From the chief source of the Jordan at *Tell el-Ḳâḍi* to the lake, a distance of 11 miles, there is a fall of 498 ft. Towards the lower end the marshes are covered with papyrus-reeds (Arab. *babîr*), and through them in dark sluggish lanes the waters from the north make their way into the lake. The whole place is literally alive with wild fowl, ranging in size from the pelican to the tiny but gay-plumaged kingfisher; and the water is plentifully stocked with fish (see JORDAN). All the waters from the S.W. of Hermon, and as far north as *Hasbeiyeh*, from *Merj A'yûn*, and from the western slopes south of the *Liṭâny*, are carried down into *el-Ḥuleh.* A few miles above the lake on the west side of the valley there is a copious spring, *'Ain el-Balāṭa.* Almost due west is the much larger *'Ain el-Mellâḥa*, which turns a mill and sends a broad stream across the plain. Possibly misled by this name, Burckhardt gave currency to the statement that the S.W. shore of the lake was covered by a saline (Arab. *mallâḥah*) crust (*Travels*, 316). There is no trace of salt here or elsewhere in the valley.

The uplands of Naphtali drop almost precipitously on the west edge of the plain. On the east the mountains descend from a greater height, but much more gradually, approaching almost to the water's edge. From the lake northward the land is called *Arḍ el-Ḥuleh*; southward it is known as *Ard el-Khaiṭ.*

The Waters of Merom appear no more in history under that name; but of the lake and the district under different appellations we have frequent notices. It figures as the lake of Semechonitis in Jos. *Ant.* V. v. 1 (cf. Jg 4^{2}). Here, in the 'plain of Hazor,' or 'Asor,' Jonathan defeated Demetrius (*Ant.* XIII. v. 7; 1 Mac 11^{67}). When Zenodorus died, Cæsar bestowed his country, lying between Trachon and Galilee, upon Herod. It contained Ulatha and Paneas, and the country round about (*Ant.* XV. x. 3; *BJ* I. xx. 4). Οὐλάθα here is evidently equivalent to *Ḥuleh*, and to ימא רחולתא of the Talmud (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, 24, 27 ff.; *HGHL* 481^{1}, note), and it is applied in accordance with subsequent usage to the district as well as the lake. Josephus gives a brief description of the place in *BJ* III. x. 7, IV. i. 1. Seleucia, which he mentions, is *Selûkîyeh*, about 9 miles S.E. of the lake, while Daphne corresponds with *Difneh*, near *Tell el-Ḳâḍi.* The Arab geographers speak of the lake now as *Baḥairah Ḳadas* and anon as *Baḥairah Bâniyas*, from its proximity to each of these strongholds; but the name *el-Ḥuleh* constantly asserts itself as applying to both lake and district (Le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, 52, 68, 32, etc.). To the district also Bohâ ed-Dîn refers (*Life of Saladîn*, *PEF* tr., p. 155).

The highway from the south and from the west by way of Safed keeps close to the hills on the western edge of the plain, to escape the marshes. It crosses the vale in the north past *Tell el-Ḳâḍi* to *Baniâs*, and thence to Damascus.

The land is occupied to-day by the *Ghawârineh* Arabs, 'the dwellers in the *Ghôr.*' The herds of buffaloes that find congenial haunts in the marshes are their chief care. They also till the soil, which still justifies its ancient reputation for fertility (Muḳaddasi, A.D. 985; Yakût, A.D. 1225). Their other occupations are hunting and fishing, and making mats, etc., of the reeds from the marshes. Of these also many of their fragile houses are built. The women, however, do the most of this work.

LITERATURE.—Stanley, *SP* 390 ff.; Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 450 ff.; Smith, *HGHL* 481; Schumacher, *The Jaulân*, 102;

Macgregor, *Rob Roy on the Jordan*; Guy Le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, 32, 34, 39, 52, 68, 455; Robinson, *BRP* ii. 435, iii. 392–395; *SWP Mem.* i. 205, Map Sheet iv.; Buhl, *GAP* 113, 234 (doubts the identification with *el-Huleh*); Dillm. on Jos 11[5].

W. EWING.

MERONOTHITE.—**1.** Jehdeiah 'the Meronothite' (הַמֵּרֹנֹתִי) was over the asses of king David, 1 Ch 27[30] (B ὁ ἐκ Μεραθών, A —Μαραθών). **2.** Jadon 'the Meronothite' assisted in repairing the wall of Jerusalem, Neh 3[7]. No place of the name of *Meronoth* is mentioned in OT, but from the context of Neh 3[7] it would appear to have been in the neighbourhood of Gibeon and Mizpah.

MEROZ (מֵרוֹז; B Μηρώζ, A Μαζώρ, Luc. Μαρώρ; Vulg. *Meroz*) is nowhere mentioned in Scripture except in the Song of Deborah (Jg 5[23]), whose curse, like that of the Saviour on Chorazin, has alone preserved it from oblivion. The bitterness of the curse against Meroz can be accounted for only by some special aggravation of its offence. Of Reuben, Dan, and Asher, who also played an ignoble part, the language of the song, although satirical, is restrained. But with what impetuous fury it bursts forth—

> 'Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord,
> Curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof;
> Because they came not to the help of the Lord,
> To the help of the Lord against the mighty.'

This may have been because of their nearness to the field of battle, while the others were far away. If the surrounding country were in a fever of excitement because of the presence of the hostile forces, and the grave issues depending on the coming conflict, the appeal to their patriotism was strengthened unspeakably. If, within sound of the strife when their heroic kinsmen of Zebulun and Naphtali closed in deadly struggle with the oppressor, the men of Meroz skulked, sullen and craven, behind their walls, we can understand why the hot heart of the prophetess overflowed upon them in a flood of corrosive rhetoric.

There is but one site in the neighbourhood with any reminiscence of the ancient name to which these conditions could apply. This is *el-Murussus*, about 5 miles N.W. of *Beisân*, and 9 miles E. of Jezreel, on the northern slopes of the vale which runs down from Esdraelon to the Jordan, between Little Hermon and Gilboa. Built entirely of mud, the modern village stands on rising ground, in the midst of plough land. For water it is dependent on the stream below, in *Wady Yebla*.

Another suggestion (Moore, *Judges*, pp. 135, 163) is that Meroz was a hamlet in the line of Sisera's flight, 'whose Israelitish inhabitants suffered him to escape,' thus proving traitors to their country's cause, and earning the fierce reproaches of Deborah. Sisera fled 'to the tent of Jael the wife of Heber the Kenite' (Jg 4[17]), who had pitched his tent by the terebinth of Betsa'anim by Kedesh. Identifying Kedesh with the ruined *Ḳadish* W. of the Sea of Galilee, and Betsa'anim with *Khirbet Bessûm* (Conder, *Tent-Work in Pal.* 69; Smith, *HGHL*[1] 396), the direct road from the battlefield would have been round the base of Tabor, and across the head of *Wâdy esh-Sherrâr*. But as this way was probably barred by the Israelites, whose army descended from Tabor, Sisera would most likely rush down the valley of Jezreel, skirting the southern terraces of Little Hermon. In his endeavours to elude pursuit he may easily have approached *el-Murussus* before turning northward. This site, therefore, meets the requirements of either case; and Moore is not justified in saying that all proposed identifications 'may safely be dismissed' (*Judges*, p. 162).

LITERATURE.—Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 127; Smith, *HGHL*[1] pp. 395, 396; Conder, *Tent-Work in Pal.* pp. 58, 59; Robinson, *BRP* ii. 356; *SWP Mem.* ii. 85; Moore, *Judges*, pp. 135, 162; Henderson, *Palestine*, p. 107; Douglas, *Judges*, p. 38.

W. EWING.

MERRAN (Μεῤῥάν, Syr. מורת, Vet. Lat. b. *Myrrhæ*).—Found only in Bar 3[23] 'the merchants of Merran and Teman.' Grotius identified it with מְעָרָה, a town of Sidonia, Jos 13[4]; Hävernick, with Moarrah, a Syrian city; Fritzsche, with the sterile Arabian desert Mahrah; and Keil, with Marane, a city placed by Pliny near the Red Sea, in the country of the Sabæans. It is decidedly preferable with Kneucker and Ball to suppose that there has been a misreading of ר for ד in the Semitic original from which our Greek text was taken, and that we should read 'the merchants of *Medan* (or *Midian*) and Teman.' The doubled ρ is no obstacle to this, since we have Σαῤῥά for שָׂרָה. In favour of it we may cite Gn 37[28], where Midianites are called 'merchants,' and Hab 3[3. 7], where Teman and Midian are named in connexion.

J. T. MARSHALL.

MESALOTH (Μεσσαλώθ, Μαισαλώθ), 1 Mac 9[2].—Probably representing מְסִלּוֹת 'steps' or 'ascents' (?), referring to the plateau near Arbela, W. of the Sea of Galilee.

C. R. CONDER.

MESHA.—**1.** (מֵישָׁא) Son of Shaharaim, a Benjaminite, whom his wife Hodesh bare in the land of Moab (1 Ch 8[9]). LXX reads, A Μωσά, B Μισά; Vulg. *Mosa*. The two latter readings seem to have been based on an original מוֹשָׁא. **2.** (מֵישָׁע) Firstborn of Caleb (1 Ch 2[42]). He became the father of Ziph, possibly the founder of the Ziphites. LXX reads Μαρισά, and the Vulg. *Mesa*; Kittel (in Haupt's *OT*) follows the LXX, reading מָרֵשָׁה, which he thinks is to be expected from the context.

3. Mesha (מֵישַׁע, Μωσά), a king of Moab, who was a sheep-master, and was tributary to Ahab, king of Israel. Upon the death of the latter and the accession of his son Ahaziah, Mesha rebelled and refused to pay his annual tax of 'an hundred thousand lambs and an hundred thousand rams *with* the wool' (2 K 3[4. 5]). The people of Mesha had fallen before the arms of David (2 S 8[2]), and in all probability remained subjects of Solomon till the division of the kingdom. The infection of rebellion at that period probably seized the Moabites, and they, in common with other extra-Israelitish subjects of the united kingdom, struck for independence and secured it. The tenor of the record on the Moabite Stone (wh. see) favours this supposition. It also informs us that the subjection of Moab, which Mesha threw off, was due to the prowess and power of Omri, the founder of the 4th Dynasty of Israel. After forty years of yoke-bearing, Mesha's god, Chemosh, delivered him from Israel, in the middle of the reign of Omri's son. This appears to imply that the secession (2 K 1[1]) occurred, not at the death of Ahab, but in the middle of his reign (see 'Moabite Stone' in art. MOAB). At any rate this rebellion cut off valuable revenues from Israel's exchequer, and Jehoram, Ahab's son, who came to the throne after the two years' reign of his brother Ahaziah (1 K 22[51], 2 K 1[17]), aspired to re-conquer the rebels. With Jehoshaphat of Judah and his army, and the Edomites of Mt. Seir, Jehoram and Israel marched against the seceders. Upon the counsel of the prophet Elisha, the encamped armies dug trenches to catch the water necessary to slake thirst. Led on by an illusion (2 K 3[22-24]), the Moabite army recklessly rushed into the enemies' camp, only to be routed, cut to pieces, trodden down, and dismayed. The few escaped ones entered Kir-hareseth, and the combined armies destroyed the land with stones, stopped cisterns and fountains, felled the forests, and beleaguered the fortress. With 700 warriors the king of Moab attempted to break through the ranks of the besiegers. But utterly failing in this he went to the top of the wall, and, in full view of the armies of Judah, Israel, and Edom, he propitiated the wrath of Chemosh by offering up as a burnt-offering his firstborn, the heir-apparent to the throne. Thereupon the three armies withdrew, leaving Mesha master of the situation, though routed, and his land greatly damaged (2 K 3^{27}).

4. Mesha (מֵשָׁא) was the name of one of the limit-points of the territory ascribed to the descendants of Joktan in Gn 10^{30}. 'And their dwelling was from מֵשָׁא as thou goest toward Sephar, the mountain of the East.' It is plain that it must be sought for in the Arabian peninsula. The earlier views are amply presented by Gesenius (*Thesaurus*, p. 823), who concludes by finding the location at the E. boundary of *Mesene*, not far from the mouth of the Tigris river. Pliny, Ptolemy, Arrian, and others mention a seaport Μοῦσα or Μοῦζα, a celebrated place in classic times, which is now in ruins. Pullen, in his surveys in the Admiralty chart of the Red Sea, cites, at 13° 40′ N. lat., 43° 20′ E. long., a mountain called *Jebel Mousa*. Delitzsch (*Paradies*, p. 242 f.) identifies מֵשָׁא with the Bab.-Assyr. term *Maš*, which is the name attached to the district of the Syrian-Arabian desert touching the Lower Euphrates on the S.W. (LXX reads, A Μασσηε, E Μανασσή). The territory of the Joktanites is fairly well determined, from the language and monuments of S. Arabia, to be in the S.W. portion of that peninsula, extending from modern Yemen on the W. to Ḥadramaut on the E. The latest and perhaps the most authoritative statements on the location of this hard-to-find locality are made by that successful explorer of Arabia, Eduard Glaser. In vol. ii. of his recent work (*Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, Berlin, 1890, pp. 336 ff., 420 f., 437) we find his results presented. In W. Central Arabia he found a *Maciya* near Jebel Samar, which he identifies with the biblical Massa. He even goes further and asserts (p. 420) that the biblical Mash, מַשׁ (Gn 10^{23}), Mesha מֵשָׁא (Gn 10^{30}), and Massa מַשָּׂא (Gn 25^{14}) are found in one and the same territory, the difference in spelling being due merely to the different sources or times from which the names reach us. Sephar he locates only in the S. part of Arabia, hence he looks for Mesha at the other limit (Gn 10^{30}) in the north. The most northern Joktanide group (*Ôphîr*, *Ḥawîlah*, *Jôbab*, *Uzal*, and *Diḳlah*) is bounded by a line drawn obliquely from the northern end of the Persian Gulf across Arabia to Medina. Such a line would touch the territory of *Djebel Šamar* (p. 437), and in particular the district of Massâ. Thus, in a word, Glaser concludes that *Jebel Šamar* and its Westland, already identified with Maš, and inclusive of Massâ, also encloses within it the biblical Mesha of Gn 10^{30}.

Ira M. Price.

MESHACH (מֵישַׁךְ; LXX and Theod. Μ(ε)ισάχ; Vulg. *Misach*).—The name **Mishael**, by which one of Daniel's three companions, of the children of Judah, was originally called, was changed by the prince of the eunuchs into *Meshach* (Dn 1^7 and ch. 3). Such changes of name were not uncommon: they marked the fact that a new state of life had now begun. In the present instance there is no idea of dishonour or humiliation.

Many conjectures have been put forward with respect to the origin of the word. Fuerst dragged in the Sansk. *mêshah*='a ram,' and afterwards the name of the sun-god of the Chaldæans. Ges. was favourably inclined towards the Pers. *miz shah*='friend of the king.' Another suggestion connected it with the Accadian *mas*, a protecting genius, who stood at the head of the demi-gods, and is described in the old magical books as having his abode on the top of the mountains, and protecting all who seek refuge with him. Frd. Delitzsch's proposal to consider it identical with *Mi-sha-Aku* is rightly rejected by Schrader (*COT* ii. 126), who points out that the correct form would have been *Mannu-ki-Aku*. The fact is that no name such as this has been found in the inscriptions; and when we look at the word itself, it gives us the impression that it was formed partly by imitation of the first part of Mishael, and partly out of the companion name Shadrach.

J. Taylor.

MESHECH (מֶשֶׁךְ, Sam. מושך, Μοσόχ).—Son of Japheth, Gn 10^2=1 Ch 1^5. This nation is regularly mentioned in company with Tubal (Ps 120^5 is the only exception), and in the two names the Moschi and Tibareni 'are scarcely to be mistaken' (Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.* 254). The vocalization of the LXX agrees with that of the Assyrian inscriptions, in which a country called *Muski* or *Mushki* is of frequent occurrence. The passages in those inscriptions which treat of the inhabitants of that country are collected by Frd. Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 250), and these, with the other notices of them to be found in ancient writers, are discussed by Lenormant (*Les Origines de l'Histoire*, II. ii. pp. 181–249). An individual named Meshak is known only to Moses of Khorene (Venice, 1865, p. 32), according to whom such a person was left by Aram as governor of the region called Armenia I., who built there a city called by his own name, but mispronounced *Mazhak* by the people of the country. The first mention of the nation is in an inscription of Tiglath-pileser I. (*c.* 1100 B.C.; *WAI* i. pl. 9, 60 ff., translated by Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-pilesers*, p. 16, and Winckler, *KIB* i. p. 19), where it is stated that in the first year of that monarch's reign 20,000 Moschians with their five kings, after having occupied the lands of Alzi and Purukuzzu for 50 years, came down and took possession of Kummukhu. The last place has been identified with Commagene; and Alzi with Anzitene, mentioned by Ptolemy (v. 13. 18) as a district between the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates. Tiglath-pileser went out to meet them, traversed a region called Kashuyara, and defeated them with great slaughter. They are next mentioned in an inscription of king Asshur-nasir-abal (*WAI* i. 18; translated in *KIB* i. 65) about 220 years later, who professes to have received tribute of the Moschi and Commagenians, consisting of 'bowls of brass, sheep, and wine,' in which the first item agrees curiously with the 'vessels of brass' which, according to Ezk 27^{13}, were supplied by 'Tubal and Meshech' to Tyre. Their power had become formidable by the time of Sargon (B.C. 722–705), in whose annals the Moschian king Mita plays an important part (Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, pp. xxiv–xxxix); from 715 this king appears as a formidable enemy of Assyria, who makes common cause with Rusa of Urartu, seizes cities in Cilicia, and otherwise supports Sargon's enemies. The fortresses of Usi, Usilu, and Uargin are built in 712 to protect the new province of Kammanu against him (*ib.* p. 33, l. 192). Not till 709 is Mita forced to make peace with the Assyrian king, owing to an invasion of his territory by one of the latter's lieutenants (*ib.* p. 128, ll. 151–153). The Moschi do not, however, appear in the lists of tributaries of the later Assyrian kings, though in Persian times they figure in the 19th Satrapy of Darius (Herod. iii. 94). In chs. 37 and 38 Ezekiel mentions them among the allies of Gog, king of Magog, but in $32^{26.\ 27}$ he reckons them among the great departed. It is probable, therefore, that the Israelites knew of their fame only at second-hand, and hence Ezekiel would not be clear as to whether the nation still existed or not. It is not, however, known at whose hands they lost their independence.

Their geographical position probably varied somewhat with the vicissitudes of their fortune, but can be generally fixed by the historical references in the inscriptions, where it is approached through Kummukh, and has for its neighbours Tubal to the south and Kammanu to the west, and where it is reduced by the governor of Kui (Cilicia). In Græco-Roman times the nation that bore their name is represented as much farther north, between the Cyrus and the Phasis (cf. Strabo, xi. 2. §§ 14, 16); Hecatæus placed them next to the Matieni (Steph. Byz. *s.v.*). Too little is known of their language and customs to make it possible to locate them ethnographically.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

MESHELEMIAH (מְשֶׁלֶמְיָה and מְשֶׁלֶמְיָהוּ). — The eponym of a family of Korahite doorkeepers, 1 Ch 9^{21} (B Μασαλαμί, A Μοσολλάμ), 26^{1} (B Μοσολαήλ, A Μοσολλάμ), ^{2} (B Μοσαληά, A Μασελλαμιά), ^{9} (B Μοσομαμείδ, A Μεσολλεμιά) = **Shelemiah** of 26^{14}, **Shallum** of $9^{17.\,19.\,31}$, and **Meshullam** of Neh 12^{25}.

MESHEZABEL (מְשֵׁיזַבְאֵל).—**1.** One of those who assisted to repair the wall, Neh 3^{4} (B om.; ℵ Μασεζεβηά, A Μασεζειήλ). **2.** One of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10^{21} (B Μεσωζεβήλ). **3.** The father of Pethahiah, who was at the king's hand in all matters concerning the people, Neh 11^{24} (B Βασηζά, ℵ$^{c.\,a}$ Βασηζαβεήλ). It is quite probable that all three references are to the same individual or family.

MESHILLEMITH (מְשִׁלֵּמִית).—A priest, 1 Ch 9^{12} (B Μασελμώθ, A Μοσολλαμώθ), called in Neh 11^{13} **Meshillemoth** (wh. see).

MESHILLEMOTH (מְשִׁלֵּמוֹת).—**1.** An Ephraimite, 2 Ch 28^{12} (Μοσολαμώθ). **2.** A priest, Neh 11^{13} (AB om.; ℵ$^{c.\,a}$ Μασαλαμίθ), called in 1 Ch 9^{12} **Meshillemith** (wh. see).

MESHULLAM (מְשֻׁלָּם perh. 'the devoted one,' cognate with Arab. *Muslim*, cf. Del. and G. A. Smith on Is 42^{19}, LXX Μοσολλάμ, Μοσολάομος, Μεσουλάμ, etc.).—A common OT pr. name. **1. 2. 3.** Three Benjamites (1 Ch 8^{17} $9^{7.\,8}$). **4.** A Gadite (1 Ch 5^{13}). **5.** The grandfather of Shaphan the scribe (2 K 22^{3}). **6.** The father of Hilkiah the priest (1 Ch 9^{11}). **7.** Another priest of the same family as the preceding (1 Ch 9^{12}). **8.** A Kohathite, one of the superintendents appointed by Josiah to direct the repairs on the temple (2 Ch 34^{12}). **9.** A son of Zerubbabel (1 Ch 3^{19}). **10.** One of the 'chief men' whose services were enlisted by Ezra to procure Levites to accompany him to Jerusalem (Ezr 8^{16}). **11.** A Levite who opposed Ezra's proceedings in connexion with the foreign marriages (Ezr 10^{15}). **12.** One of those who had married foreign wives (Ezr 10^{29}). **13.** Son of Berechiah, one of those who helped to repair the walls of Jerusalem (Neh $3^{4.\,30}$). His daughter was married to Tobiah (6^{18}). **14.** Son of Besodeiah. He helped to repair the old gate (Neh 3^{6}). **15.** One of the company that stood at Ezra's left hand during the reading of the law (Neh 8^{4}). **16. 17.** A priest and a chief of the people who sealed the covenant (Neh $10^{7.\,20}$). **18.** One of the princes of Judah who marched in procession at the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem (Neh 12^{33}). **19. 20. 21.** Two heads of priestly houses and a porter in the time of the high priest Joiakim (Neh $12^{13.\,16.\,25}$).

MESHULLEMETH (מְשֻׁלֶּמֶת, Luc. and B Μεσολλάμ, A Μασσαλαμείθ, Vulg. *Messalemeth*, Jer. *de interpr. Messalem*).—Wife of king Manasseh and mother of Amon (2 K 21^{19}). Her father's name (Haruz) and her birthplace (Jotbah) are both given. Similarly in the case of all the queen-mothers who follow, but of none who precede, Meshullemeth. If the formula 'daughter of X from (the locality) Z' is due to a preference of the compiler, it may be an indication of the farthest point of time to which he was independent of his main source, in virtue of oral tradition, etc. But the change of style may have occurred in the main source itself. The name is a feminine form of the frequent masculine Meshullam (cf. LXX B and Luc). It is a passive in MT, but Jerome (Lag. *Onom. Sac.*^{2} p. 77) gives the active meaning *reddens* as an alternative to the passive *reddita* (cf. the spellings of LXX A and Vulg.).

W. B. STEVENSON.

MESOPOTAMIA.—See ARAM.

MESS.—A mess is a viand, a dish, properly a dish of food *sent* to the table. It comes from Old Fr. *mes* (of which the mod. form *mets* is due, says Skeat, to a wish to show the connexion with *mettre*), which is formed from Lat. *missum* 'sent.' Cf. More, *Richard III.* p. 46, 'My Lord you have very good strawberries at your gardayne in Holberne, I require you let us have a messe of them.' Shaks. uses the word often, thus *Lear*, I. i. 119—

> 'He that makes his generation messes
> To gorge his appetite.'

Fuller, *Holy State*, p. 283, says, 'How often did reverend Whitgift (knowing he had the farre better cheere) send a messe of meat from his own table to the Ministers of Geneva?'

The word מַשְׂאֵת *mas'êth* (from נָשָׂא to 'lift up') is translated 'mess' in Gn $43^{34\,bis}$, 2 S 11^{8}. Mess occurs also in Sir 30^{18} 'Delicates poured upon a mouth shut up are as messes of meat set upon a grave' (Gr. θέματα [from τίθημι to place] βρωμάτων). And RV introduces the word into He 12^{16} 'Esau, who for one mess of meat sold his own birthright' (ἀντὶ βρώσεως μιᾶς, lit. 'for one eating,' *i.e.* one meal: 'mease of meat' is the tr. of the Great [Cranmer's] Bible; it is echoed by Shaks. in *Merry Wives*, III. i. 63—'I had as lief you would tell me of a mess of porridge.' The tr. of the Rhem. NT is 'a dish of meate'; the AV 'morsel of meat' comes from the Bishops' Bible).

J. HASTINGS.

MESSENGER. — The Heb. word מַלְאָךְ *mal'āk* means a messenger, and is so translated about 100 times in AV. It is used of messengers both public and private, both Satanic and Divine. But so frequently does the word designate a messenger from God that it assumes the special meaning of 'angel.' In LXX it is nearly always translated by ἄγγελος (exceptions are, *e.g.*, Nu 21^{21} 22^{5}, Dt 2^{26}, all in plu. πρέσβεις; Jos 6^{25} οἱ κατασκοπεύσαντες; 1 S 25^{42} παῖδες); but this word ἄγγελος is rendered 'messenger' in AV in Mt 11^{10}, Mk 1^{2}, Lk $7^{24.\,27}$ 9^{52}, 2 Co 12^{7}, Ja 2^{25}, where it is evident that human messengers are spoken of; in 2 Co 12^{7} St. Paul calls his thorn in the flesh 'a messenger of Satan to buffet me' (ἄγγελος σατανᾶ ἵνα με κολαφίζῃ). It is rarely doubtful whether the meaning is 'messenger' in the original sense, or 'angel' in the derived or restricted sense. Only once does RV change 'messenger' into 'angel,' Job 33^{23}, and *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* says that there the 'angel' of RV is too specific; the reference is to 'a messenger from God acting as an interpreter and declaring what is right' (RVm has 'messenger'). Only once * is a prophet directly called a messenger of God (מַלְאָךְ, ἄγγελος), Haggai (1^{13}), but the name MALACHI (wh. see) is 'my messenger,' and Malachi uses the title not only of himself, of the priest as God's messenger carrying the law of the LORD to the people (2^7), of the Forerunner of the Messiah (3^1), but even of the Messiah Himself (3^1, AV and RV 'messenger,' RVm 'angel'). See art. ANGEL.

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* Unless Nu 20^{16} refers to Moses, which is not probable; RV keeps AV tr. 'angel.'

Other words tr^d 'messenger' are self-evident, but it may be pointed out that in NT ἀπόστολος 'apostle,' lit. 'one sent out,' is twice rendered 'messenger,' 2 Co 8^{23}, Ph 2^{25}. See APOSTLE.

J. HASTINGS.

MESSIAH.—

Introduction.
- i. Jewish Messianic belief.
  - 1. Outlines of its history.
    - (*a*) 'Messianic' expectations prior to or independent of the notion of a unique personal Deliverer.
    - (*b*) Hopes attached to the House of David.
    - (*c*) Early Evidence of Expectation of Messiah.
    - (*d*) Jewish beliefs as reflected in the Gospels.
    - (*e*) Evidence of Apocalyptic literature.
  - 2. Discussion of special points.
    - (*a*) The Messiah as Prophet.
    - (*b*) The Suffering Messiah.
    - (*c*) The 'Son of Man'—Dn 7—Messiah's pre-existence.
- ii. The Christian transformation.
  - Jesus the true Prophet—the Servant of Jehovah—suffering and death the way to triumph—the kingly office of Jesus—His heavenly priesthood—His relationship to God.
  - The argument from prophecy still valid.

Literature.

In approaching this subject, it seems important to distinguish between the *historical* and the *theological* points of view from which it may be regarded, and to vindicate the rights of both. There is a danger that a sense, derived from Christian faith, of the purpose and the fulfilment of the hope of the Messiah may somewhat interfere with the accuracy of our view of the course of its history. The Messianic expectation was formed under the influence of the fundamental beliefs and the national experiences of the Israelite people, interpreted first by the prophets and subsequently by more ordinary religious reflexion and speculation. In a historical study we must be careful not to attribute greater distinctness or scope to the expectation at any epoch than had then been attained. The actual genesis and connexion of ideas must, so far as possible, be observed; and elements of the final conception, which existed first as separate thoughts and did not affect the process of development during its earlier stages, must be treated as separate till the time when they were in reality combined with the main body of doctrine. On the other hand, in the endeavour to appreciate the true lessons of the history, to understand aright the meaning of the facts, considerations are in place and are necessary, which are, properly speaking, theological—such, namely, as furnish the ground for, or are connected with, our belief in the Moral Government of the world and the Divine plan for man's Redemption, and determine our estimate both of the Christian Faith and of the OT dispensation, and of their relation to one another.

It will be our aim in this art. (i.) to trace the origin and growth of the Messianic beliefs of the Jews, and then more briefly (ii.) to mark the character and extent of the change which these beliefs underwent in the Christian Church, and its results as to the interpretation of OT prophecy.

i. JEWISH MESSIANIC BELIEF.—1. *Outlines of its history.*—(*a*) We shall be mainly concerned with the expectation of a personal deliverer. But it is impossible to place this in a right light, if we do not view it in connexion with the belief, as a whole, which the Jews had in the future blessings assured to them. From the conviction that they were the chosen people of Jehovah, and that He would be faithful to His covenant made with them, there arose in times of common distress and of exile the confidence taught by the prophets, and which sustained the most pious and best part of the nation, that their national life, after it had been purified by the punishment of sinners and the discipline of the godly, would be restored, that they would obtain complete victory over their enemies, and that God would bestow upon them such glory and peace and well-being as would surpass all that had been realized in the happiest preceding times, and would satisfy perfectly all the longings of their hearts. These hopes existed before the expectation of a unique person who was to come—the Messiah—had been formed. This is exemplified by the Book of Zephaniah, the whole of which is occupied with a vision of the great day of the Lord's vengeance on the sinners in Israel and destruction of the surrounding nations, and the subsequent happiness of Zion, while yet the figure of Messiah does not appear at all. Again, there were periods in which, or portions of the Jewish world where, the expectation of a coming King seems to have fallen into abeyance, though the more comprehensive hope for Israel and Zion was still vigorous. This is exemplified by the Apocrypha and the writings of Philo. Nevertheless, these different forms of expectation had their roots in beliefs which were closely connected. This whole body of expectation may therefore not unfitly be, as it often is, called 'Messianic.' The importance of those originally simple anticipations, to which we have referred, will further appear when it is observed that out of them, and out of the imagery in which they were expressed, grew in time the elaborate and mysterious doctrines concerning the millennium, the final judgment, the world to come, and other last things (cf. ESCHATOLOGY in vol. i.).

(*b*) We come now more definitely to the history of the idea of the Messiah. God had not only made a special covenant with Israel, but with David and his descendants as its royal house (2 S 7^{8-17}, Ps 89^{19-37}). To the days of David and Solomon, especially, after-generations looked back as furnishing a pledge for the future. It is the renewed glory of the house of David, and the reunion of all the tribes under it, that Amos, for instance ($9^{11f.}$), and Hosea (3^5) foretell, not the coming of the Messiah. Again, it is on the restoration of a succession of kings, not on one pre-eminent king, of David's line, that Jeremiah dwells (17^{25} 22^4 $33^{15.17}$). In some prophecies, however (Is 7^{14-16} $9^{6.7}$ 11, Mic 4. 5), attention is concentrated upon a single descendant of David; and the language used respecting him, taken by itself, would seem clearly to imply the conception of the Messiah, strictly so called. Any remaining doubt whether it did so is suggested by the absence of confirmatory language, and even the contrary representations, in other nearly contemporary, or later, prophets. Unquestionably, however, the image of the king who, in accordance with God's covenant with David, stood in a peculiar relation to Jehovah ('I will be his father, and he shall be my son'), who reigned by His appointment, in His name, and by His power, who would do all God's will, whose rule should be one of absolute righteousness, who would compel all men to honour the God of Israel and bestow on His people perfect peace and happiness for ever, contained the essential characteristics of the idea of the Messiah, as that name came to be commonly understood among Jews. At most it was only necessary besides that the conception should be firmly apprehended, that it should be fixed in language, and become clearly recognizable.

(*c*) We proceed to examine the early evidence of the expectation of the Messiah as a unique personality, and in particular of the use of the title 'the Messiah' ('the Christ') as the distinctive name for such a one.

In order to understand the significance of the application of the name Messiah in the special manner which has become so familiar, we must glance at the use of the word in OT. The ceremony of anointing was used in making priests and prophets, as well as kings, and מָשִׁיחַ (LXX *χριστός*), 'anointed,' is a few times applied to the first of these as an adjective (Lv 4[5. 16] 6[22], 2 Mac 1[10]). But as a substantive, 'the Lord's anointed,' 'Mine anointed,' 'Thine anointed,' it is used only of kings. A possible exception to this is the use of the plural to designate the Jewish people as a whole (?), at Ps 105[15] (1 Ch 16[22]), Hab 3[13], although even in these passages the reference may be to the king. It is employed of the king, in contrast with the priest, even at 1 S 2[35]. The title is repeatedly given to Saul (1 S 12[3] etc.); but it acquired a far fuller meaning when used of David and his descendants, by reason of God's covenant with him (Ps 2[2] 18[50] etc.). Its transference to Cyrus (Is 45[1]) does but illustrate its primary force. See, further, art. ANOINTING.

At Dn 9[24-26] we possibly have the word used in that which has come to be its distinctive sense. If so, it is the earliest instance of this.

In the next oldest works which have to be noticed, as probably giving indications of the expectation of the Messiah, the title is not used; but this is explicable from the oracular, apocalyptic character of the writings in question, which favours an allusive or symbolical mode of speech. In the most ancient portion of the *Sibylline Oracles* (iii. l. 97 to l. 807, or according to some critics a little more), composed about B.C. 140, we have (l. 652 ff.) a description of a king whom God should send, who can hardly be other than the Messiah. Again, in one of the older sections of the Book of Enoch, the *Vision of Seventy Shepherds*, which probably belongs to the reign of John Hyrcanus (B.C. 135–106) [in art. ENOCH, vol. i. p. 707, it is placed somewhat earlier], and in which the history and destiny of the Chosen People are symbolically represented, the white bullock, it is generally allowed, denotes the Messiah. Another portion of the Book of Enoch, the so-called *Book of Parables*, should be considered at this point, if the period assigned for its composition in art. ENOCH, *ib.*, is adopted, and if the chronological order ought to be strictly adhered to. But critics differ widely in respect to its date. The supposed historical allusions in it are of very uncertain import. Even on this ground it would be well to reserve it for separate treatment, when the course of the history of the Messianic Hope, so far as it may be determined by means of evidence of more unquestionable character, has been reviewed as a whole. But there is still stronger reason for doing this. The Messianic doctrine of this book is, by common admission, unlike in important particulars to that found in any other Jewish document. Whatever, therefore, the time and circumstances of its origin may have been, it seems certain that it did not exercise any general influence.

We pass to the *Psalms of Solomon*, which contain full and clear evidence of the idea of the Messiah and also (Ps-Sol 17[36] 18[6. 8]) of the use of the title. These psalms were most probably written by one author, and within no very wide limits of time. They contain allusions which can best be explained if the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey (B.C. 63) was still recent when some of them were composed. Though we possess them only in Greek, they were evidently written originally in Hebrew, and there is every reason to regard them as Palestinian. Pss 17 and 18 are some of the most important passages in all Jewish literature in connexion with the history of the Messianic Hope. Their thought and language are moulded on the portions of OT which celebrate God's covenant with David. Another fragment of the *Sibylline Oracles*, which is probably of a little later date than the *Psalms of Solomon*, contains an allusion to the Messiah (*Or. Sib.* iii. 46–50).

The comparative scantiness of the indications which we possess of the expectation of the Messiah in the last two or three centuries B.C. cannot be wholly explained by our want of knowledge of the period. The silence of the Apocrypha has already been referred to. The truth would seem to be that, in part owing to changed political circumstances, in part also to a deeper cause, a movement of religious feeling, the hope of the restoration of the Davidic monarchy, after it had slumbered for a while, re-awoke gradually, and in some parts of the Jewish world more decidedly than in others, and especially so in Palestine, during the last cent. and a half B.C., and that as it did so, a unique and ideal character was attributed to the person and mission of the expected king, such as had not before been, commonly at least, associated with any looked-for occupant of the throne. The fact itself that he would be separated by so long an interval of time from all his predecessors contributed to this, and in addition a deepened sense of the magnitude of the events in connexion with which he would appear, and in which he would bear a part, had begun to enhance the idea of his greatness.

The chief elements in this early conception of the Messiah have become apparent in tracing its history, but it will be well to mark them carefully before proceeding further. He will be a descendant of David; Son of David comes to be used of him as a special appellation (first in Ps-Sol 17[23], in the Gospels Mt 9[27] etc., and commonly in Rabbinic literature). He will be the ideal king, whose mind and action shall be in entire accord with the will of God, who will be God's true representative upon earth, in whose days and through whom God will make good all His promises, and who will lead all men to honour the God of Israel and to respect Israel as God's people. The relation of the Messiah to the actual inauguration of this happy state of things cannot be precisely determined. It is clearly an exaggeration to say with Castelli (*Il Messia secondo gli Ebrei*, p. 164) and Dalman (*Worte Jesu*, p. 242) that the Messiah is never according to the original conception himself the deliverer, but only the king of the people after God has wrought deliverance. The writer of Ps 2, and those who took their ideas from it (*e.g.* Ps-Sol 17[24]), manifestly attributed the subjugation of the enemies of God to the agency of the Messiah. It was also evidently possible for writers who contemplated this to use language implying that the deliverance was God's work. The part taken by supernatural and by human agency would be, no doubt, somewhat variously conceived by different minds; but the language of the documents is not full enough to justify us in defining the views of the several writers with exactness. At the period we are considering, thought upon this subject would be vague. Only through a process of reflexion, and when it came to be a question of harmonizing diverse representations in the prophets, would the place in the succession of events at which the Messiah would appear be determined.

(*d*) The evidence so far considered brings us down approximately to the middle of the last cent. B.C. *The Gospels* are our next important source of information. They supply us with a lifelike picture of Jewish beliefs in Palestine at the time of our Lord's ministry. We gather that the expectation of One who should come—the Messiah was an article of faith with the masses of the Jewish people, and with the Pharisees there. In the main, their conception of him is that which has already been before us. But one or two additional traits appear. The Jews, whose discussions are reported in Jn 7^{27}, assumed that the coming of the Messiah would be unexpected and mysterious. The same idea is met with in the Talmud and Targum of the prophets, and in the mouth of Trypho in Justin (*Dial.* chs. 8 and 110). Again, we have a feature in the rôle of the Messiah corresponding rather to what is recorded of some of the greatest prophets than of the kings of old, when it is expected that he will work mighty miracles. That this was the common anticipation is implied in the answer of Jesus to John (Mt 11$^{2ff.}$), and in the questionings of the Jews (Jn 7^{31}). In Rabbinic literature we find evidence to the same effect.

(*c*) The development of eschatological doctrine, which may be traced especially in *the Apocalyptic literature* (see ESCHATOLOGY in vol. i. p. 741 ff.), necessarily affected the conception of the Messiah and his office. As the order of events at the end of the world came to be more clearly defined, his work was marked out with greater precision. A more unearthly character was also imparted to him. The *Apocalypse of Baruch* and *Fourth Ezra* (see ESDRAS, SECOND BOOK OF) are important for illustrating the change. They may with confidence be pronounced to be Jewish, and there is a large amount of agreement among critics that their composition should be placed between A.D. 70 and the beginning of the 2nd cent. A.D. The calamities that are to come upon the earth are described in dark colours. In the midst of them the Messiah appears. He is said to be preserved by the Most High to the end of the days. In 4 Ezr 13$^{1f.}$ he is seen as a man coming from the sea, flying with the clouds of heaven. Nevertheless just before, at 12^{32} he is referred to as 'the Anointed One of the seed of David.' We must suppose, therefore, that the author had the notion which is met with in the Rabbinic literature, that one born of David's line had been caught away from the earth and was being kept in heaven, or in Paradise, till the time should have arrived for his Advent. When he has executed vengeance on all the enemies of God, and the dispersed of Israel have been gathered together, he will reign for a long period (400 years according to 4 Ezr) in a state of peace and plenty, such as that imagined in what Christians came to call the Millennium. Then the Messiah himself and all flesh would die. After this there would be a general resurrection and judgment by the Most High, and a new world. The Messianic doctrine of the Talmud and Targum agrees as to its main outlines and character with that attained at the time we have now reached. The additional point of most interest to be considered in connexion with them is the extent to which they bear testimony to the belief that the Messiah would participate for a time in the sufferings of men. Further reference will be made to this presently.

It has sometimes been held that there existed even in pre-Christian times various types of Messianic expectation. Gfrörer (in *Jahrh. d. Heils*, 1838) formulated this theory, distinguishing them as 'the common-prophetic,' 'the Danielic,' 'the Mosaic,' and 'the Mystical-Mosaic'; and Westcott (*Introd. to Study of Gospels*, ch. ii.) countenances this idea. But it does not fairly represent the evidence of our documents. In the Enochic *Book of Parables*, indeed, to which reference has already been made, and to the doctrine of which we shall recur under the next head, we do find a different type. But, putting this on one side, the evidence, when arranged according to the times that the different portions of it most probably illustrate, sets before us a single line of orderly development. There is one root-conception which in process of time is elaborated, and in some respects changed, yet so that its original features remain recognizable throughout.

2. *Discussion of Special Points.*—There are some questions which need to be more particularly considered on account of their intrinsic importance, or the diversity of views held in regard to them, or their connexion with Christian doctrine. The first relates to an ideal other than the kingly one which was combined with it in Christian faith, but which seems in Jewish belief, at least before the Christian era, and in the main throughout, to have been kept separate.

(*a*) *The Prophet.*—In Dt 18^{15} the promise is given of 'a prophet like unto Moses'; yet if the whole context be taken into account the meaning seems to be, not so much that one supereminent prophet should be sent, but that God's people should not be left destitute of prophetic guidance. When prophecy had for a time ceased, and at a period when the expectation of a king of David's line does not seem to have flourished, religious hope was fixed upon the rise of a true prophet (1 Mac 14^{41}; cf. 4^{46} and 9^{27}). Among the Jews of the time of our Lord's ministry the return of one of the famous prophets of old (Mk 8$^{27f.}$ and parallels, Mk 6^{15}), or the coming of one who was defined as 'the prophet' (Jn 1$^{21.\,25}$ 6^{14}), was awaited. But in all these passages, except Jn 6$^{14ff.}$, it is evident that 'the prophet' is distinct from the Messiah; and in that place, also, there is no need to suppose an identification of, or confusion between, the two ideas. Nevertheless, some traits taken from the prophetic character seem to have found a place in the conception of the Messiah's work and office. One, the working of miracles, has been referred to already. Again, the Messiah, according to the woman of Samaria, is to be the revealer of all truth that men need to know (Jn 4^{25}). This view of the Messiah agrees with the special complexion of Messianic doctrine among the Samaritans at a later time.

(*b*) *The doctrine of a suffering Messiah.*—There are passages in the OT which teach deep lessons as to the Divine purposes that are accomplished through the sufferings of the righteous, and foreshadowings even of one pre-eminent vicarious sufferer. But, so far as we can trace the connexion of ideas in these passages and their contexts, there does not seem to have been any clear reference to the Messiah and his atoning work in the thought of the writers. The suggestion for their prophecies seems to have come either through individual experience, or (as notably in the latter half of Isaiah) from the belief that, through the afflictions which the better part of the Israelite nation was undergoing, its purification and restoration were being effected.

We desire, however, to know what the influence of these prophecies was upon Jewish Messianic belief. The true answer appears to be that for a long time they did not affect it at all, and that they never did so to any considerable degree. There is no trace of the idea that the Messiah would undergo suffering, in the extra-canonical pre-Christian literature which we have been reviewing. And the evidence supplied by the Gospels seems to show conclusively that no such belief existed among the Jews at the time of our Lord's ministry. His own disciples were totally unprepared for His announcements on the subject. And yet, if such a belief was to be found anywhere, it might be expected to be among those who were attracted by the character and teaching of

Jesus. There were differences in the spirit in which the Messiah and his times were thought of and desired. The mass of men thought chiefly of victory over their enemies and the bringing in of great material prosperity, while the truly pious dwelt on the remission of sins (Lk 1[77]). But there is no sign of this remission being connected with the vicarious sufferings of the Messiah except in the Baptist's words (Jn 1[29. 35]); and plainly this inspired utterance cannot be taken as evidence of Jewish belief: those who heard it do not seem to have understood it at the time. Some have held that in our Lord's time there had, through devotion to earthly ideals, been a decline, esp. in regard to the point under consideration, from a conception of the Messiah prevalent in an earlier age which had been more truly in accord with prophetic teaching (cf. Liddon, *Divinity of our Lord*, II. ii.). It would be strange if this fuller and higher doctrine had been so completely lost, as it must in that case have been. Moreover, as we have seen, this theory has no documentary support.

We pass to writings subsequent to the Christian era. The view of 4 Ezr that Messiah would die after a long and prosperous reign, at the end of this world, has evidently nothing to do with atoning suffering. Christian controversialists appear to have been equally mistaken in the meaning they have often attributed to the doctrine of two Messiahs—Ben-Joseph and Ben-David. The former is the Messiah of the ten tribes, a warlike deliverer and king. He was, it is true, to die, but only in order to make way for the union of the whole nation under Messiah Ben-David.

In the Targum of Jonathan much of Is 52[13]–53[12] is applied to the Messiah, but those verses which speak of the sufferings of the Servant of Jehovah are referred to the Israelite nation. And the general current of Jewish interpretation is to the same effect. There are some traces in the Talmud of the belief that the Messiah would suffer with the sufferings of his people, and that he is the subject of the whole of this prophecy; but they are rare, and are not found in the earlier portions.

A good deal of stress has been laid on the fact that Justin Martyr in his *Dialogue with Trypho* represents his Jewish interlocutor as forced to allow that the Scriptures foretell a Messiah destined to suffer (chs. 68. 89. 90). But this cannot rightly be pressed, since Justin may attribute this admission to his, perhaps partly imaginary, opponent, as a literary device for setting forth his own argument. If accepted as evidence of Jewish opinion, it could only show that some Jews a little before A.D. 150 did not feel able to resist this interpretation of prophecy when it was urged upon them by Christians.

We may observe, in taking leave of this subject, that before the historical realization in Jesus Christ, and apart from belief in Him, it must have been extremely difficult to combine the idea of suffering with the conception of the promised king derived from the representations of OT prophecy generally. It can have been possible at all only for men of unusual depth of spiritual insight and sympathy with the sorrows of their people.

(*c*) *The use of the name 'the Son of Man,' the Messianic interpretation of the vision in Dn* 7, *and the doctrine of the Messiah's pre-existence.*—The Messiah was certainly not called **'the Son of Man'** by Jews with that fulness of signification which Jesus gave to the name. The use of this title for the Messiah among Jews, if it was used by them at all, is closely associated with the interpretation of Dn 7, and the discussion of the two points may conveniently be connected.

From Jn 12[34] it appears that the Jews were puzzled by the designation 'the Son of Man,' and that it was not with them a recognized title for the Messiah. Indeed, if it had been, the use of it by Jesus could hardly be reconciled with His course of action as a whole. We gather from the records generally, that He refrained till the very end of His ministry from claiming before the multitude to be the Messiah, and till within a few months of the close from making this claim before even the innermost circle of His disciples. Yet He repeatedly and openly designated Himself from an early period by the name 'the Son of Man.' It is true that, in connexion with this early and public use of it, He does not introduce imagery taken from, or similar to, that of the vision in Dn 7, as He does in later sayings addressed to His disciples which contain this title. From the first, however, His use of it was marked and emphatic, and such as would not have been consistent with the rest of His conduct, if it already commonly denoted the Messiah.

With respect to the vision in Dn 7 it has to be observed that he who is brought to the Ancient of Days is described not as '*the* Son of Man,' but as 'one like unto *a* son of man.' Further, the vision is accompanied by an interpretation, from which it appears that this human form represents 'the saints of the Most High' (vv.[18. 22. 27]) in contrast with the earthly kingdoms represented by forms of beasts. Nevertheless, from the relation between the form of the vision in 4 Ezr, to which allusion has already been made, and that in Dn 7, we may clearly infer that the writer of the later Apocalypse saw a reference to the Messiah in the language of his prototype. But it should be noted that he described the Messiah not as 'the Son of Man' or as 'like unto a son of man,' but as 'like unto a man.' In Rabbinic literature, from the 2nd cent. onwards, indications of the Messianic interpretation of the vision in Dn 7 are not wanting, but they are not prominent. There is nothing in this literature to lead us to suppose that 'the Son of Man' was ever in common use as a name for the Messiah.

The employment of imagery such as that of Daniel's vision in describing the advent of the Messiah implies *his existence before his appearing*, in some extra-terrestrial region. But this view could, as we have seen, be harmonized with the belief that he would be of David's line, by supposing that a descendant of David had been first caught up from the earth, or that David himself or one of the kings of his house would reappear. And as the Davidic lineage of the Messiah was a thoroughly established dogma, and there is no reason to suppose that any doubt on the point was entertained, or would have been tolerated, in the Rabbinic schools, we must conclude that any pre-existence of the Messiah before his manifestation to men which they thought of, was only such as was consistent with a previous human birth.

Harnack indeed (*Dogmengesch.* i. 755) asserts that, as a way of representing to themselves the Divine foreknowledge, the Jews were in the habit of supposing that every important person or thing which has successively appeared or is to appear on earth has first existed in heaven, and that such a heavenly pre-existence was assumed in the case of the Messiah in accordance with this mode of thought. But G. Dalman, the chief expert in Jewish literature among recent writers, emphatically denies that this was a Jewish, or at all events a Palestinian, principle. He does not allow that the familiar instances of the heavenly prototypes of the holy city and the temple establish it (*Worte Jesu*, p. 245). We may at least say that it must be difficult for us to understand exactly and fully what such a notion imported, even where we seem to find it, and that consequently it must be rash for us to imagine it in the case of persons and objects with which it was not plainly associated. The older Rabbinism at least seems to have contented itself with the idea of the pre-existence of *the Name* of Messiah (Ps 72^{17}). (See Dalman, *ib.* p. 247).

One work there is, apparently Jewish, which is an exception in Jewish literature in regard to more than one of the points which we have been discussing —the Enochic *Book of Parables*, to which reference has been made, but the consideration of which was deferred. The present is a suitable opportunity for making a few remarks upon it. In this document the Messiah is repeatedly called 'the Son of Man,' and described as surrounded with majesty in the presence of the Lord of Spirits, and reserved for a future manifestation. Furthermore, he is to be the Judge in the Universal Judgment—a function never assigned to the Messiah, but always ascribed to the Most High in other Jewish writings. Yet, in spite of the various points of contact with Christian ideas and language, there is nothing (save one phrase, which is probably to be otherwise explained) to connect this Son of Man with the Christ of Christian faith, who has been crucified and has since ascended to His throne, and is waiting to return in glory. It is very unlikely that a Christian writer would have so concealed his own belief, or that a Christian interpolator, while introducing those passages and expressions which correspond with Christian rather than with Jewish ideas, would have done his work with so much reserve. The traits in question may however, for all that, be due to Christian influence. To any one who considers how Christian teaching affected the thought of many pagans in the early centuries, even sometimes of such as remained most hostile to Christianity, or who is at all familiar with the many instances of the same kind which there are among educated Hindus at the present day, this will seem a not improbable hypothesis. And in the relations which existed during the 1st cent. A.D. between Jewish Christianity and Judaism there were the conditions which would make such effects natural. It is to be added, that even if it is a mistake to trace the peculiarities of the Enochic *Book of Three Parables* to Christian influence, it may still be post-Christian. It is true that 'the figure of the Messiah is here drawn specially in dependence upon the Bk. of Daniel.' But it would not be justifiable to regard this as making an early date more credible. For between the original vision and this rendering of its imagery there lies a difference in the definiteness and fulness of the Messianic ideas implied, which was only by degrees approached and never elsewhere attained among Jews.

ii. THE CHRISTIAN TRANSFORMATION.—The fact that Jesus claimed to be the Christ, and the significance of this fact, the manner in which and the time when He did so, and the part which the temper of the prevalent Jewish expectation had in determining His course of action, need not here be considered. It must suffice to note that He gave a new character to the conception of the Christ when to His acceptance of His disciples' faith in Him, as such, He linked the distinct announcement of His approaching sufferings (Mk $8^{27\text{ff.}}$ and parallels, Mk 10^{35-45} = Mt 20^{20-28}). In the minds of the first members of the Christian Church, the experiences of the Cross, the Resurrection, and Pentecost, together with the impression which the character and work, the life and teaching of Jesus had made upon them, led to a rapid transformation, pregnant with important consequences, of the idea of the Messiah which they had held as Jews. They turned again, as Jesus had taught them to do (Mk $12^{10.\,24}$ = Mt 21^{42} 22^{29}, Mk 14^{49} = Mt 26^{54}, Lk 4^{17}, Jn 5^{39} etc.), to their ancient Scriptures, and read them with new eyes. They found scattered there the elements of a relatively complete ideal, which had been perfectly fulfilled in Jesus. The process by which they combined them was uncritical, and was to a large extent performed unconsciously, but the result was in harmony with essential truth.

By the very character which Jesus had assumed in His mode of life and ministry, attention was directed to the promise of *a true prophet*, and we are not surprised to find that special stress is laid on it in the early preaching in the Acts (Ac 3^{22} 7^{37}).

The references in the same part of NT to '*the servant of Jehovah*,' though they have not perhaps been commonly noticed, can hardly be questioned when they have been pointed out (Ac $4^{27.\,30}$, where *παῖς* should, in view of the manifest allusions to Is, and the use of this term in the LXX, be rendered —not with AV 'child'—but with RV 'servant,' as also at Ac $3^{13.\,26}$). His 'anointing' (Ac 4^{27}, cf. Is 61^{1}) with the Spirit served as a link to connect Him with the king of David's line. It may be permissible to see an allusion to the same figure of prophecy in the parable Lk $14^{16\text{f.}}$, though *δοῦλος* is the word there employed.

But the question upon which the whole controversy between believers in Jesus as the Christ and the Jews necessarily turned was as to the Divine intention, foreshown in the prophets, that He should pass *through suffering and death to His triumph* (Ac 3^{18} $8^{32\text{f.}}$ 17^{3} 26^{23}). Stress was also laid upon those spiritual blessings, the expectation of which had already been associated with the Messianic times—the call to repentance, the remission of sins, peace, the outpouring of the Spirit (Ac 2^{17-21} 5^{31} 10^{36}).

Two comings of the Messiah, first in humiliation, then in glory, were now distinguished, and this distinction became a characteristic article of the Christian faith; for the withdrawal from the earth of one who had not in any way discharged the office of Messiah, though destined to do so hereafter, according to the Jewish notion referred to above, can hardly be regarded as equivalent. Further, even from the very necessities of the case, the *kingship* of the Messiah could no longer be conceived as primarily an earthly one. He had been exalted to a throne in heaven at God's right hand, whence He was expected to return in glory. Some, and for a time many, Christians supposed that He would then reign upon earth for a certain period. But to thoughtful believers this must always have seemed a very subordinate part of His discharge of His kingly office. It scarcely appears in the NT (Rev 20^{6} is the only passage that can be regarded as a distinct indication of it). The predominant thought was that of a heavenly king. Moreover, He was to be the Judge in the final universal judgment (Ac 10^{42} $17^{30.\,31}$, Ro 2^{16}, 2 Co 5^{10}, Mt $25^{31\text{ff.}}$).

Meanwhile He exercises a *heavenly priesthood*. This aspect, too, of Messiahship was first clearly brought out in Christian teaching. That this was so, appears from the fact that Christian believers did not at once perceive it. The title of 'priest' is in NT given to Jesus Christ only in Ep. to Heb.; and His right to it is founded primarily upon a passage in which a psalmist had once recognized the priestly character belonging to Israel's king (Ps 110^{4}, He 5^{6} 7. 8^{4}). Lastly, a meaning so much loftier than before was given to *His relationship to God*, that the title 'the Son of God' lost, or almost so, the associations with specifically Messianic ideas which it once might have had.

To some the view of OT prophecy suggested in this article may be disappointing. For the purpose of the argument from prophecy in support of the Christian faith as it has been ordinarily used, the strictly miraculous character of the prophecies should be as plain as possible. Predictions are therefore demanded, the reference of which is guaranteed by their circumstantial accuracy, and by their having been more or less clearly intelligible before the time of fulfilment came. Modern inquiry has rendered it doubtful how far the predictions satisfied these requirements. But, on the other hand, the history which we have been tracing is full of the signs of Divine Providence. The whole religious history of Israel down to the time of Him whom Christians believe in as the Christ, and in a special manner the teaching of the prophets, formed a most remarkable preparation for His coming. It remains true as ever, and criticism and historical investigation only confirm it, that the Scriptures were in reality full of Him, and that, in proportion as men had entered into their spirit, they must have been able to receive Him (Jn $5^{38.\,39}$). It is still legitimate as ever to regard types and ideals which were first fully realized in Him as divinely intended to foreshadow Him. And if the method in which Israel was trained in its great hope, even while in many respects unique, was more analogous to that in which truth has ordinarily been unfolded to mankind, permitting a larger amount of illusion and error on their part than has sometimes been supposed, it may for this very reason be the more instructive.

LITERATURE.—Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah: A critical history of the Messianic idea among the Jews from the rise of the Maccabees to the closing of the Talmud*; Castelli, *Il Messia secondo gli Ebrei*; Schürer, *GJV* ^{3} ii. 496 ff. [*HJP* III. ii. 126 ff.]; Dalman, *Der leidende und der sterbende Messias*, and *Die Worte Jesu*; Driver and Neubauer, *The Jewish Interpreters of Isaiah liii.*; Stanton, *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah.*

For the literature connected with the Jewish documents referred to, see the arts. upon those works.

V. H. STANTON.

METE, METEYARD.—To 'mete' (from Anglo-Sax. *metan*, and radically connected with Gr. *μέτρον*, Lat. *metiri*, Eng. 'measure'; and even with Gr. *μέδειν* to rule, Lat. *modus*, measure, moderation, Eng. 'mode,' 'modest,' etc.) is to measure. Thus Ex 16^{18} 'And when they did mete it with an omer, he that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack'; Mt 7^2 'With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.' Cf. Knox, *Hist.* 97, 'But bee yee assured, my Lord, with such measure as ye mete to others, with the same measure it shall be met to you againe.' Tind. uses the word in Dt 21^2 'Then let thine elders and thi judges come forth and meet unto the cities that are rounde aboute the slayne,' and Cov. in Ru 3^{15} 'And he meet her sixe measures of barlye.' Sir John Cheke, in his determination to use Anglo-Saxon at all hazards, turns Tindale's 'cubite' in Mt 6^{27} into 'half yard mete.' Chapman uses the verb in *Iliads*, iii. 327—

> 'Then Hector, Priam's martial son, stepp'd forth, and met the ground.'

Meteyard is used by Tindale in Lv 19^{35} as the tr. of מִדָּה, a measure, and it is retained in AV and RV. The word occurs also in Pref. to AV, 'neither is it the plain-dealing Merchant that is unwilling to have the weights or the meteyard brought in place, but he that useth deceit.' Coverdale has the similar forms 'meteline' (Jos $17^{5.\,14}$) and 'meterod' (Ezk $40^{3.\,5}$ 41^8).

J. HASTINGS.

METHEG-AMMAH.—AV and RVm in 2 S 8^1 'David took Metheg-ammah (מֶתֶג הָאַמָּה) out of the hand of the Philistines.' AVm has 'the bridle of Ammah,' RV text 'the bridle of the mother city.' This last rendering is pronounced to be 'probable' by Driver (*Text of Sam.*), who points out (see his references) that אם has the sense of *mother city* or *capital* in Phœnician. 'The bridle of the mother city' would mean the authority of the metropolis or capital of the Philistines, namely Gath (so Ges., Keil, Stade). Budde [in *SBOT*] makes various objections to this, and leaves the expression blank in his Heb. text as irrecoverably corrupt. The LXX reads *τὴν ἀφωρισμένην*, which *may*, according to Wellhausen, imply a reading מתגרשה. Wellh. himself (*Sam.* 174) emends to גַּת הָאַמָּה 'Gath the mother city,' comparing 1 Ch 18^1 גַּת וּבְנֹתֶיהָ ('Gath and her daughter towns'), which he argues may have arisen from the text he postulates in Samuel. Klostermann attempts to obtain from the two texts (of S and Ch) אֶת־גַּת וְאֶת־גְּבוּלָהּ יָמָּה 'Gath and her border to the west.' Thenius emends to מֶתֶג הַמִּדָּה 'bridle of tribute,' *i.e.* 'David laid the Philistines under tribute.' Löhr despairs of recovering either the meaning or the text. Cheyne (*Expos. Times*, Oct. 1899, p. 48) emends to אֶת־אַשְׁדּוֹד מְחוֹז הַיָּם, 'Ashdod, the city of the sea.' Sayce (*EHH* 414 n.) suggests that מֶתֶג הָאַמָּה is the Heb. transcription of the Bab. *méteg ammati* (for *mêtêq ammati*) = 'the highroad of the mainland' of Palestine. The reference would thus be to the command of the highroad of trade which passed through Canaan from Asia to Egypt and Arabia; but the appearance of such distinctively Babylonian words in Hebrew of this date is extremely improbable.

J. A. SELBIE.

METHUSELAH (מְתוּשֶׁלַח).—A Sethite, the father of Lamech, Gn $5^{21\mathrm{ff.}}$, P (A *Μαθουσάλα*), 1 Ch 1^3 (B *Μαθθουσάλα*, A *Μαθουσάλα*), Lk 3^{37} (*Μαθουσάλα*) = METHUSHAEL (which see) in J's genealogy, 4^{18}. The name מְתוּשֶׁלַח is interpreted by Holzinger as 'man of the javelin' (*Mann des Geschosses*), a fitting name for a time when the earth was full of violence. Ball (in *SBOT*), following Hommel (*PSBA*, March 1893), makes the name = 'man of Selaḥ,' where *Selaḥ* may be a modification of Bab. *Šarraḫu*, a title of *Sin*, the god of Ur Casdim. *Methuselah* would thus answer to Berosus' *'Αμέμψινος* = *Amel-Sin*, 'Sin's man.' While Ball remarks that the form *Methushael*, 'man of El,' is less original than *Methuselaḥ* 'man of Selaḥ,' Sayce (in *Expos. Times*, May 1896, p. 367) suggests that *Methushael*, an exact transcription of the Bab. *Mutu-ša-ili*, has been in 'the Sethite genealogy corrupted into *Methuselaḥ* (perhaps for *Mutu-ša-ilati*, 'man *or* husband of the goddess'), which does not admit of an etymology.'

J. A. SELBIE.

METHUSHAEL (מְתוּשָׁאֵל).—A Cainite, the father of Lamech, Gn 4^{18} (J); LXX (A) *Μαθουσαλά*, which is read also for **Methuselah** (מְתוּשֶׁלַח) in P's genealogy, $5^{21\mathrm{ff.}}$. The interpretations of the name are various. Dillm. remarks that מְתוּשָׁאֵל may have meant 'suppliant *or* man of God' (Ges. *Thes.*; = Mutu-ša-ili according to Lenormant, *Origines de l'histoire*^{2}, 262 f., cf. Sayce in *Expos. Times*, May 1896, p. 367, May 1899, p. 353; Hommel, *ZDMG* xxxii. 714), or 'one who has been obtained by asking' (Budde), but not 'man of Sheol' (Redslob). See, further, Spurrell, *Notes on Genesis, ad loc.*; Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, 164 f.; Budde, *Urgeschichte*, 129.

J. A. SELBIE.

METRE.—See POETRY.

MEUNIM.—See MAON.

MEUZAL.—Ezk 27^{19} AVm. See UZAL.

ME-ZAHAB (מֵי זָהָב 'waters of gold').—Father of Matred and grandfather of Mehetabel the wife of Hadar (Hadad), one of the kings of Edom, Gn 36^{39} (A *Μεζοόβ*) = 1 Ch 1^{50} (LXX om.). The name *Mê-zahab* (cf. *Mê-deba*) is certainly, as Hommel (*AHT* 264 n.) remarks, much more like that of a place than of a person. Holzinger (*Gen. ad loc.*) suggests that it is the same name which appears in a corrupted form in Dt 1^1 as דִּי זָהָב *Dî-zahab.* Hommel (*l.c.*) makes the radical suggestion that 'it is a question whether we ought not to restore Gn 36^{39} as follows: "and his (Hadar's) cities were *Pa'ish* (in MT *Pa'û*, var. *Pa'î*, LXX Φογώρ), *Me'eshet*, *Mehêtab-el*, *Bath-Matred*, and *Mê-zahab*."'

MEZOBAITE.—One of David's heroes is called in 1 Ch 11^{47} 'Jaasiel the Mezobaite' (הַמְּצֹבָיָה). As Kittel (in *SBOT*) remarks, the MT is 'certainly incorrect, but totally obscure.' B has Μειναβειά, A Μεσωβιά, Luc. Μασαβιά.

MIBHAR.—In 1 Ch 11^{38} one of David's heroes appears as 'Mibhar the son of Hagri' (מִבְחָר בֶּן־הַגְרִי). The parallel passage 2 S 23^{36} reads, 'of Zobah, Bani the Gadite' (מִצֹּבָה בָּנִי הַגָּדִי), which is probably the correct text. While the LXX has, in 1 Ch 11^{38}, B Μεβαὰλ υἱὸς Ἀγαρεί, A Μαβὰρ υἱὸς Ἀταραί, it reads in 2 S 23^{36} ἀπὸ δυνάμεως [*i.e.* מִצָּבָא instead of מִצֹּבָה] υἱὸς Γαλααδδεί (B; A . . . Γαδδί). See Driver (*Text of Sam.* 284) and Kittel (*SBOT* on 1 Ch 11^{38}).

MIBSAM (מִבְשָׂם).—**1.** A son of Ishmael, Gn 25^{13} (A Μασσάμ) = 1 Ch 1^{29} (B Μασσά, A Μαβσάν). **2.** A Simeonite, 1 Ch 4^{25} (B Μαβασάμ, A Μαβασάν).

MIBZAR (מִבְצָר 'fortification'). — A 'duke' of Edom, Gn 36^{42} (Μαζάρ) = 1 Ch 1^{53} (B Μαζάρ, A Μαβσάρ). If we take Mibẓar as a place-name, Dillm. rejects decidedly Knobel's identification with Sela or Petra, and, while pronouncing Hitzig's view 'more possible' that Mibẓar is the same as Boẓrah of v.^{33}, he thinks it 'most probable,' in view of the words of the *Onomasticon* (ἔτι καὶ νῦν κώμη μεγίστη Μαβσαρὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Γαβαληνῆς, ὑπακούουσα τῇ Πέτρᾳ), that this identification must also be given up.

MICA (מִיכָא). — **1.** Son of Merib-baal (Mephibosheth), 2 S 9^{12} (B Μειχά, A Μιχά), called in 1 Ch 8$^{34f.}$ 9$^{40f.}$ **Micah** (מִיכָה). See MICAH, No. **2.** **2.** Son of Zichri, 1 Ch 9^{15} (B Μειχά, A Μιχά), Neh 11^{17} (B Μαχά, A Μιχά), where he is called son of Zabdi, v.^{22} (B Μειχά, A Μιχά) = **Micaiah** (מִיכָיָה) of Neh 12^{35}. See MICAIAH, No. **7.** **3.** One of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10^{11} (A Μιχά, B om.).

MICAH.—**1.** (מִיכָה, but מִיכָיְהוּ in Jg 17$^{1.\ 4}$; see Gray, *HPN* 157, B Μειχαίας, A Μιχί). A resident in the highlands of Ephraim, whose story is related in a supplement (chs. 17. 18) to the Bk. of Judges, with a view to explain the origin of the sanctuary of Dan. There is no need to doubt the historicity of the narrative, though it contains signs of revision, if not of composite authorship. That two accounts were woven into one, is the conjecture of some critics, whilst others try to explain the phenomena of the text on the supposition of redaction by a reviser who was indignant at the pretensions of the Danite priests. For a full and fair statement of the different opinions, see Moore, *Judges*, xxix. xxx. 366–369. The nucleus of the story is evidently of great age, and the events it describes may be assigned with some confidence to the generation after the invasion by Joshua.

Micah stole 1100 shekels of silver from his mother, but restored the money on hearing the curses with which she threatened the unknown thief. His mother thereupon had part of the silver made into 'a graven image and a molten image'; but as the context speaks of but a single image, and the former term is sometimes used (Is 40^{19} 44^{10}) generically for an idol though cast, the latter term is probably an editorial explanatory addition of subsequent date to that of the earliest form of the story. This image of J″ was given to Micah, who placed it in his private chapel, together with an 'ephod,' which was some portable object used in divining (Jg 8^{27}, 1 S 23$^{6.\ 9}$ 30^{7}) and not necessarily a part of a priestly dress, and 'teraphim' or idols, possibly household gods. There is no evidence that these were the busts or images of ancestors; but they were used at least in later times in some unknown way for the purposes of divination (2 K 23^{24}, Ezk 21^{21}, Zec 10^{2}). See EPHOD. One of Micah's sons was formally invested with the office of priest.

In the course of time a Levite in search of a livelihood migrated from Bethlehem to Mount Ephraim, and settled there. He is described as of the family of Judah (17^{7}), and as a grandson of Moses (18^{30}, where MT has *Manasseh*, written, however, with נ *suspensum*). The most likely explanations of the former phrase are that Levite here means merely a descendant of Leah, or that, the tribe having been broken up, the man in question had attached himself to that of Judah (Gn 49$^{5.\ 7}$), or that the word Levite is not used here technically of a clan but of a profession, and denotes that the man was an expert in religious lore and in the art of divination; but no explanation is entirely free from difficulty. In the latter phrase the change of Moses to Manasseh in some of the texts was possibly due to an attempt to detract from the dignity of the priesthoods of the early northern sanctuaries, for whose officials a Mosaic lineage seems to have been justly claimed; see JONATHAN, No. **1.** This young Levite was welcomed by Micah, who attached him to his household (17^{11}), and transferred to him the duties at first assigned to his own son. But soon afterwards the Danites, finding their quiet establishment in the district allotted them by Joshua impossible on account of the resistance of the Philistines and the Amorites (Jg 1^{34}, Jos 19^{41}), sent five of their tribe to find a suitable place for settlement elsewhere; and these, while passing through the highlands of Ephraim, stayed for a night at the house of Micah. There they recognized the Levite by his voice, as, if he were actually a descendant from Moses and a recent resident in their own neighbourhood, they may well have done; though, according to a less natural explanation, the southern dialect that he used was the cause of the recognition. At their request he consulted the oracle for them, and promised them success in their expedition. At Laish (or Leshem, Jos 19^{47}), the northern limit of the settlement of Israel, identified by name and ancient authority with Tell el-Ḳaḍi (less probably with Bânîas; see G. A. Smith, *HGHL*, 473–481), they found an attractive locality and an unwarlike people, and returned with the tidings to the temporary centre of their tribe in the district made famous by Samson's exploits. Six hundred of the Danites, with their families and cattle (18^{21}), determined to migrate to Laish. On approaching the village in which Micah lived, the main body halted at its entrance, whilst the five were detailed to secure the idols. They proceeded to the house of Micah, and, after greeting the Levite, seized the idols; and when the Levite expostulated, they persuaded him to keep quiet and even to accompany them as the priest of their tribe. Hastily rejoining their comrades, they sent forward their families and flocks, placed the Levite and his apparatus in their midst, and marched with the majority of the 600 in the rear to guard against attack by pursuers. Micah collected a few of his neighbours, and overtook the column at some distance from the village; but his remonstrances were received with contemptuous menace, and, as the employment of force by his little band was out of the question, he was obliged to return home and leave his idols in the hands of the Danites. They continued their march to

Laish, which they took without difficulty; and in a new town built on the site of the old they set up a temple of their own in charge of Micah's Levite, who thus became the ancestor of the Danite priesthood.

How long this priesthood lasted is not known. The note of time (18^{31}) is of little help. If 'the day of the captivity of the land' (18^{30}) is not a late editorial addition, it will probably denote the times of the Philistine wars under Eli; but if it is, the conquest of Galilee (2 K 15^{29}) by Tiglath-pileser in B.C. 734. See art. JUDGES (BOOK OF), in vol. ii. p. 818 f.

2. (מִיכָה in 1 Ch $8^{34.\ 35}$ [B Μεχιά, A Μιχά] $9^{40.\ 41}$ [B Μειχά, A Μιχά]; מִיכָא, RV **Mica,** in 2 S 9^{12}) A son of Merib-baal (or Mephibosheth), and grandson of Jonathan. The name occurs alike in the general Benjamite genealogy (1 Ch $8^{34.\ 35}$), and in the specific one of the house of Saul (1 Ch $9^{40.\ 41}$). The allusion in 2 S 9^{12} (B Μειχά, A Μιχά) is probably a late genealogical gloss to remind the reader of the line of descent notwithstanding such passages as 2 S 21^{5-9}. **3.** The name and head of the chief family of the Uzziel branch of the Kohathite Levites, according to the arrangement for public service attributed to David in 1 Ch 23^{20} (B Μειχάς, A Μιχά). The name is repeated in 1 Ch $24^{24.\ 25}$ (B Μειχά, A Μιχά) in the classification of the Levites according to their duties. **4.** A name occurring in the genealogy of Reuben (1 Ch 5^{5}) as that of an ancestor of Beerah, the chief of the Reubenites carried into captivity by Tiglath-pileser. **5.** A contemporary of Josiah and the father of Abdon, 2 Ch 34^{20} (B Μειχαίας, A Μιχαίας), who is called Achbor son of Micaiah in 2 K 22^{12}. **6.** A Simeonite, father of Ozias, one of the three rulers of Bethulia in the story of Judith (Jth 6^{15}). To the same tribe belonged Judith herself (9^{2}) (B Μειχά, A Μιχά), and probably the other rulers, with the majority of the population of the district; and warrant for confidence in the antiquarian accuracy of the author of Jth, and for the assumption of a Simeonite settlement in the north, may be found in Gn 49^{7}, 2 Ch 15^{9} 34^{6}. **7.** See next article.

R. W. MOSS.

MICAH (מִיכָיְהוּ Jg $17^{1.\ 4}$; in pause מִיכָיְהוּ 2 Ch 17^{7}; shortened מִכָיָה Jer 26^{18} and מִיכָה Mic 1^{1}; = 'who is like J″?' [cf. Ex 15^{11}, and מִיכָאֵל in Nu 13^{13}]).—A proper name of very frequent occurrence in the OT (see preceding article). The best-known men who bore this name are—**1.** Micah of Mt. Ephraim, who appointed a Levite to minister as priest before the image (אֵפוֹר) which his mother had caused to be made from 1100 shekels of silver. See the preceding article, No. **1.** **2.** Mica(ia)h ben-Imlah, a man of kindred spirit with Elijah, who, at the moment when Ahab of Israel desired to secure the alliance of Jehoshaphat of Judah against the Syrians, predicted, in opposition to the prophet Zedekiah, the unfortunate issue of the campaign and the death of Ahab, and ranged himself as a true prophet of J″ over against the lying prophets (1 K 22). One will hardly be wrong in tracing the attitude of Mica(ia)h ben-Imlah to the circumstance that Ahab favoured the worship of the Tyrian Baal in Israel—a practice which appeared to Mica(ia)h irreconcilable with Israel's belonging to J″. On the reference probably intended in 1 K 22^{28} שִׁמְעוּ עַמִּים כֻּלָּם to the opening words of Mic, see König, *Einleit. in d. AT*, p. 330. See, further, MICAIAH, No. 3.

3. MICAH (B Μειχαίας, A Μιχαιάς) THE PROPHET,—of Moresheth (wh. see), the younger contemporary of Isaiah, after whom one of the writings in the *Dodekapropheton* is named, the 6th in the Heb. order but the 3rd in the Greek.

i. *The Contents and Unity of the Book.*—There can be no doubt that the prophecies collected in the book which bears his name proceed only in part from Micah, for alike in contents and style they are totally diverse in character.

(*a*) The first three chapters, apart from $2^{12f.}$, present no difficulty. The prophet begins with announcing the Divine judgment, which accomplishes itself in two acts, namely, upon Samaria and upon Judah, although, of course, the judgment upon Judah forms the central point of his message. Then chs. 2 and 3 state the reasons for the judgment denounced upon Judah in $1^{9ff.}$, and it is especially against the ruling classes in Jerusalem that Micah utters his reproaches. The verses $2^{12f.}$ are quite foreign to this line of thought, for they presuppose the Exile, and occupy themselves with the restoration of the people.[*]

(*b*) To these denunciations of judgment in chs. 1–3 we have the counterpart in chs. 4–5, which open a glimpse into the Messianic time. Against their composition by Micah there are the following objections: (1) The strange conjunction of the Messianic hopes of $4^{1ff.}$ with the threatenings of 3^{12}; (2) the circumstance that mutually exclusive views present themselves (cf. 4^{6-8} with v.$^{9f.}$, 4^{11-13} with v.^{14}, 5^{1-3} with v.$^{4f.}$), and that frequently a connexion can be established only by very artificial methods (cf. 4^{4} with v.^{5}, 4^{8} with v.$^{9f.}$, 4^{11-13} with v.^{14} 5^{1-3}); (3) the dependence upon trains of ideas which did not become current till after the time of Micah (cf. 4^{11-13} with Ezk 38 f.), as well as the presupposing of relations which were strange to Micah's era (cf. 4^{6-8} [$2^{12f.}$] $5^{1ff.}$) If there are any words of Micah at all in chs. 4–5, these can include no more than $4^{9f.\ 14}$ 5^{9-13}.

(*c*) 6^{1}–7^{6}, which consist of three short addresses (6^{1-8} 6^{9-16} 7^{1-6}), whose original context, however, is doubtful, might, so far as their contents are concerned, proceed from Micah. They present J″'s controversy with His ungrateful people, the prophet's denunciation of the people for the unrighteousness which marked their whole manner of life, and finally Zion's lament over the decay of her children. This lament is intelligible in the time of Manasseh, when the sacrifice of children (Mic 6^{7}) was a flourishing custom; but not only the tenderness of feeling exhibited in $6^{1ff.}$, but also the dramatic and exceedingly animated descriptions, make the composition of this section by Micah very improbable.

(*d*) $7^{7ff.}$ cannot possibly be attributed to Micah,[†] for what in 6^{1}–7^{6} is yet in prospect is in $7^{7ff.}$ actually come to pass—Zion suffers for her sins, and the prophet looks to a better time, when J″ will again interest Himself on behalf of His people, and build the walls of Jerusalem.

ii. *The Activity of the Prophet.*—It follows from the above investigation, that if we are to form an idea of the characteristics of Micah and the method of his activity, we must base our conclusions only upon 1^{2}–2^{11} 3 ($4^{9f.\ 14}$ 5^{9-13}). It results from these data that the title in 1^{1} rightly represents the prophetic activity of Micah as having begun as early as the reign of Ahaz, for according to $1^{2ff.}$ he predicted the fall of Samaria. Since of the two contradictory dates given in 2 K 18^{1} (cf. 17^{6}) and in 18^{13} the latter is clearly the better entitled to credit—*i.e.* Hezekiah probably ascended the throne B.C. 715—it follows that at the time of the destruction of Samaria the occupant of the throne of the Southern kingdom was not Hezekiah (as in 2 K 18^{1}, cf. 17^{6}) but Ahaz, who would have begun to reign *c.* 734. Whether Micah had entered upon his prophetic activity before 734, *i.e.* in the time of Jotham, as the title asserts, we have no certain data to enable us to decide, for the threatening of 3^{12} was, according to the express testimony of Jer 26$^{18\text{ff.}}$, uttered under Hezekiah, and probably after the accession of Sennacherib in 705—an event which appears to have determined Hezekiah to a change of policy towards the Assyrians. Since ch. 3 stands in close connexion with ch. 2, and the latter as the foundation for the threatenings of 1$^{9\text{ff.}}$ is not to be separated from ch. 1, we can only assume that the threatenings once uttered and meanwhile realized against Samaria were taken by Micah into a written discourse against the Southern kingdom (cf. Is 28 ff.)—a happy thought whereby this denunciation, calculated to strike terror into all, acquired special weight against Jerusalem.

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[*] Cf. Driver (*LOT*^{6} 327 f.), who, though he questions the necessity of attributing the verses to an exilic (Stade, Kuen.) or post-exilic (Wellh.) hand, agrees that they do not now stand in their proper context.

[†] So Wellhausen, Stade, Kuenen, Cornill, Giesebrecht. For the reasons on the other side, we may refer to the discussion in Driver, *LOT*^{6}, 33 f.

iii. *Style and Message of Micah.*—It has rightly been remarked that in his rhetoric Micah is sharply distinguished from the simplicity of Amos and the originality of Hosea. He begins with the violent hiatus of 1^{2} and the imposing description of Jahweh's descent in storm from heaven to earth (v.$^{3\text{f.}}$), to which the denunciation of judgment upon Samaria attaches itself, in order finally to introduce the burden of his discourse—the judgment upon Judah,—a discourse, however, which runs off into mere puns attached to local and personal names. It is possible that this, as Wellhausen suggests, was the ancient scholastic model of prophetic style, which elsewhere has maintained itself especially in prophecies regarding foreign nations. Apart from this peculiarity, Micah has close points of contact with Amos. Like the latter, he displays a deep moral earnestness which does not shrink from drawing the last conclusions, and which, in opposition to his great contemporary Isaiah, who looked with confidence to J″ the holy God to preserve Jerusalem, leads him to predict the destruction of the city as a punishment for the treading under foot of righteousness. Whether we are justified in concluding from 3^{12} that Micah anticipated the destruction of the whole kingdom, has been rightly called in question and denied by W. R. Smith (*Prophets of Israel*, 287 ff.), for Micah in assigning the ground for judgment—and in this likewise he agrees with Amos—has specially to do with the aristocracy of Jerusalem, against whom his whole anger is turned on account of the injustice perpetrated by them ('Jerusalem is Judah's sin,' cf. 1^{5} LXX). What a powerful impression this message of judgment produced upon Micah's contemporaries we may infer from Jer 26$^{18\text{ff.}}$, where we find that 100 years after its utterance this denunciation of judgment, which stood in such glaring contradiction to the preaching of Isaiah, is not yet forgotten.

Whether Micah had a glimpse of better days and committed his anticipations to writing, must, in view of what has been said above, remain uncertain; the verses which alone could come into consideration as from his pen, contain scarcely anything more than a reference to a future deliverance and a removal by J″ of things displeasing (cf. 4$^{9\text{f.}}$ 5$^{9\text{-}13}$). In any case, our prophet, even if he never gave expression to such hopes, would in this respect also have a predecessor in Amos, for the Messianic hopes expressed in Am 9$^{8\text{ff.}}$ are a later addition to that book.

A brief reference may further be made to Mic 6$^{7\text{f.}}$, which are not only marked by a depth and a moral earnestness, but also interpenetrated by an intensity of genuine feeling such as are scarcely paralleled elsewhere. These verses likewise have a point of contact with Amos, in so far as in them the thought is emphasized that moral goodness coincides with humanity ('Das Sittlich-Gute ist auch das Natürlich-Menschliche'); but in another point they go far beyond Amos—in fact, scarcely anywhere in the OT is the essence of true worship expressed so briefly and appropriately as in 6^{8} 'It is said to thee, O man, what is good and what J″ requires of thee: to do justice, to love kindness, and to walk humbly before thy God.'

LITERATURE.—Driver, *LOT*^{6} 325 ff.; Cornill, *Einleit.*^{2} 182 ff.; Wildeboer, *Lit. d. AT*, 148 ff.; Strack, *Einleit.* 104 ff.; Stade, *ZATW*, 1881, p. 161 ff., 1883, p. 1 ff., 1884, p. 291 ff.; Nowack, *ib.* 1884, p. 277 ff.; Kuenen, *Études dédiées à Mr. le Dr. Leemanns*, 116 ff.; Pont, 'Micha-Studiën' in *Theol. Stud.* 1888, p. 235 ff., 1889, p. 436 ff., 1892, p. 329 ff.; Kosters, 'De samenstelling v. het boek Micha' in *ThT*, 1893, p. 249 ff.; V. Ryssel, *Untersuch. über die Textgestalt u. die Echtheit d. Buches Micha*, Leipzig, 1887; J. Taylor, *The Massoretic text and the ancient versions of Micah*, 1891; Elhorst, *De profetie van Micha*, Arnhem, 1891; W. R. Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, 287 ff.

Of commentaries the following may be consulted:—Pocock, *Comm. on Micah*, 1677; Caspari, *Ueber Micha den Morashthiten u. seine prophet. Schrift*, 1851–52; Roorda, *Comm. in Vaticin. Michæ*, Leiden, 1869; L. Reinke, *Der Prophet Micha*, Munster, 1874; Cheyne, *Micah* (in 'Camb. Bible'), 1882, 2nd ed. 1895; Pusey, *The Minor Prophets*, 1860; Wellhausen, *Die Kl. Propheten*, pp. 22 ff., 131 ff.; G. A. Smith, *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, vol. i. (1896), 355 ff.; Nowack (in the *Handkommentar*), 1898, p. 185 ff.

W. NOWACK.

MICAIAH.—The Heb. name מִיכָיְהוּ ('who is like J″?') and its abbreviations מִכָיְהוּ, מִיכָיָה, מִיכָה, מִיכָא are variously rendered in AV; but, with the exception of one instance, the first three words appear in RV as Micaiah. The exception is in Jg 17$^{1.4}$. Here the name מִיכָה, which occurs frequently in Jg 17. 18, is found in the longer form מִיכָיְהוּ, and is rendered *Micah* for the sake of the unity of the narrative. The LXX equivalents of Micaiah have in every case the alternative spellings Μιχ. and Μειχ., the latter being found uniformly in B.

1. Micaiah (מִיכָיָהוּ, Μααχά, AV Michaiah) is the name given in 2 Ch 13^{2} to the mother of Abijah. It is evident from 1 K 15^{2}, 2 Ch 11^{20}, and from LXX, that this is a corruption of **Maacah** (wh. see). **2.** One of the princes of Judah (2 Ch 17^{7}) appointed by Jehoshaphat to superintend religious instruction throughout the kingdom, was called Micaiah (מִיכָיָהוּ, Μιχαίας, AV Michaiah).

3. Micaiah (מִיכָיְהוּ, Μ(ε)ιχαίας) the son of Imlah was a prophet of J″ in Israel in the days of Ahab. His name is once (2 Ch 18^{14}) spelt מִיכָה (RVm Micah). In Scripture history he appears only on the great occasion described in the almost identical narratives of 1 K 22$^{4\text{-}28}$, 2 Ch 18$^{3\text{-}27}$. It is evident, however, from 1 K 22^{8} ‖ that this was not the beginning of his prophetic activity, and that his former messages had not been favourable to the king. Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. xiv. 5) identifies Micaiah with the prophet who disguised himself after the victory over the Syrians at Aphek, and reproved Ahab for allowing the king of Syria to escape (1 K 20$^{35\text{-}43}$); and adds that Ahab, in his displeasure at this, put Micaiah in prison. These statements at least harmonize with the Scripture account, and the identification is not in itself unlikely.

In LXX 1 K 22 follows 20, and both chapters are derived from a special source (see KINGS I. and II., vol. ii. pp. 867, 868) in which Elijah is not mentioned, but which has several references to unnamed prophets. In so far as any prophet is mentioned by name, Micaiah may be said in this section to take Elijah's place (Kittel, *Hist. Heb.*, Eng. tr. ii. 275).

On the occasion recorded in Scripture, Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, was on a visit to Samaria, when Ahab asked his co-operation in recovering Ramoth-gilead, which the Syrians had formerly captured, and which they were now retaining, contrary to the conditions of the latest peace (1 K 20^{34} 22^{3}). Jehoshaphat declared his willingness to join in the expedition, but suggested that at the outset they should 'inquire at the word of J″'. The prophets of Israel, to the number of 400, were accordingly assembled where the two kings sat in royal state at the gate of Samaria. They prophesied unanimously that the undertaking would be successful, and one of them, Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah, emphasized the prophecy by producing horns of iron as symbols of the conquering might of Ahab and Jehoshaphat. These Israelite prophets posed as prophets of J″, and spoke in His name (2 Ch 18^{5} has 'God' instead of 'J″'); but Jehoshaphat was doubtful of their true character, and asked anxiously if there was not besides a prophet of J″ whom they might consult (cf. 2 K 3^{11}). Ahab then mentioned Micaiah for the first time, but added that he hated him, as he was always a prophet of evil—a remark which Jehoshaphat courteously deprecated. A eunuch was sent to fetch Micaiah (who, according to Josephus, was already in prison), and this officer told him of the favourable reply which the 400 prophets had given to the inquiry of the kings, counselling him in a friendly way to answer in the same strain. Micaiah, however, replied boldly that he would speak only what J″ should say to him. When he appeared before the kings, and when Ahab asked his counsel, he at first echoed ironically the advice of the 400. But Ahab detected the irony; and Micaiah, when pressed for his true opinion, answered in words of solemn imagery, which boded nothing but disaster. He had seen all Israel scattered upon the mountains as sheep that had no shepherd: and J″ had said, 'These have no master, let them return every man to his house in peace.' Besides replying thus to Ahab's immediate question, he went on to pronounce a verdict on the whole situation and on the prophets who were opposed to him. This he did in an account of a remarkable vision. J″ sat on a throne, attended by all the host of heaven. He asked who would entice Ahab that he might go and fall at Ramoth-gilead. A spirit volunteered to do so by being a 'lying spirit' (רוּחַ שֶׁקֶר) in the mouth of Ahab's prophets. J″ accepted the offer, and sent the spirit forth with a promise of success. Micaiah's concluding message to Ahab, therefore, was that his prophets were false prophets, and that J″ had spoken evil concerning him. Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah replied to Micaiah by an insulting blow and a mocking question. The account of Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. xv. 4) adds that Zedekiah sought to refute Micaiah's prophecy by appealing to the prediction of Elijah (1 K 21^{19}), who had foretold that the dogs should lick Ahab's blood in Jezreel; and that Zedekiah also challenged Micaiah to wither the hand that smote him, as had been done in the case of Jeroboam (1 K 13^{4}). Micaiah warned Zedekiah of the future perils that awaited him, and, when he was carried off by Ahab's orders to suffer rigorous imprisonment, he contented himself by appealing confidently to the issue of events for proof that his prophecy had been true. At this point his history, which may have been continued in the source (Ewald, *HI*, Eng. tr. iv. 76), breaks off abruptly, and is not resumed. The exordium, 'Hear, ye peoples, all of you,' is apparently an interpolation, taken from Mic 1^{2}, and due to a confusion of Micaiah the son of Imlah with the canonical Micah.

Much interest attaches to Micaiah's vision. It is not to be taken, of course, as a literal description of an objective scene, but a question may be raised as to how far it shows us the form in which the truths proclaimed by the prophet were first presented to his own mind, and how far he consciously cast these truths into this dramatic shape in order to convey them to others. In regard to such visions it seems best, while allowing for a possible element of literary embellishment, to hold with Davidson (*Ezekiel* xxix.), that they are 'not mere literary invention,' but that the spontaneous working of a prophet's inspired imagination threw truths 'into a physical form, making them stand out before the eye of his phantasy as if presented to him from without.' The vision, with its picture of a scene in heaven, is strikingly similar to the Prologue of Job (1$^{6-12}$ 2$^{1-6}$). Another parallel may be found in Zec 3, and the idea of a heavenly assembly is present also in Ps 89$^{6.7}$. The account of Micaiah's vision embodies theological conceptions which are strange and even perplexing to the Christian mind. In opposing the 400 prophets Micaiah did not question their claim to have J″'s inspiration, but simply asserted that this was in their case an inspiration of falsehood. The explanation of this (to us) apparently self-contradictory conception is to be found in the strength of the OT idea that J″ is supreme, and that nothing happens independently of Him. The problems raised by the varied moral quality of events in relation to the holiness of J″ were as yet in the background. A 'spirit from J″,' such as the 'lying spirit' of Micaiah's vision, signified simply a real Divine influence directing actual events. In this OT view, to use the words of Schultz, 'the Spirit of God is in itself only a wonderful power by which the life of man is regulated . . . but in itself there is no direct moral element' (*Theology of OT*, Eng. tr., ii. 205–208. See also Dillmann, *Alt.-Test. Theol.* 304–5; Stanley, *Jewish Church*, ii. 270). Schultz goes so far as to say (i. 257) that Micaiah 'had at first, in accordance with the Divine will, to say what was untrue, because he was aware that God intended to beguile the king.' This, however, seems an exaggeration. If Micaiah's first reply had been anything but ironical, it would have been inconsistent with his position as a true prophet of J″, as well as with his declaration to the eunuch. In connexion with Micaiah's standing as a true prophet, Zedekiah's mocking remark deserves to be noticed. Whether we take it as in EV following MT, or in the sense of the LXX reading (ποῖον πνεῦμα κυρίου τὸ λαλῆσαν ἐν σοί;), the implication of the question is the same. Zedekiah did not deny the charge of false inspiration, but insinuated that Micaiah's own inspiration was of the same kind. Had Micaiah been under any compulsion even temporarily to speak what was untrue, there would have been a measure of truth in Zedekiah's taunt. We can only reconcile Micaiah's conception of the 'lying spirit from J″' with the reality of his own inspiration, by regarding him as a messenger sent to declare the unqualified truth upon the situation. Stripped of all figurative dress, the facts which Micaiah proclaimed were these: that Ahab's prophets were false prophets, that in spite of warning Ahab would believe them, and would go to Ramoth-gilead to meet his doom.

The whole history of Micaiah presents impressively the contrast between true and false prophecy which became so marked afterwards in Jeremiah's time. We see in it already some of the features by which, apart from the decisive test of the event, the false could be distinguished from the true. The false prophets relied on the consent of numbers; their message fell in with the royal wishes; and, whatever truth there may be in Josephus' account of Zedekiah's argument from Elijah, it at least illustrates the method of mechanical and mistaken inference from predictions already accredited which Jeremiah denounced in the false prophets who were his contemporaries (Jer 7^{4} 23^{30}). Micaiah, on the other hand, was independent, conscious of J″'s inspiration, resolute to speak only what J″ said to him, indifferent to the anger which his message might excite, and to the personal hardships and dangers he might incur by delivering it. He stands out in this single scene which has been recorded of his life as a solitary and heroic figure, in whom are embodied many of the noblest characteristics of the true prophet, the instrument of God's genuine revelation to men.

4. Micaiah (מִיכָיָה [*Keth.*], M(ε)ιχαίας or Μιχέας; AV, RVm Micah) the Morashtite in Jer 26^{18} is the same as the canonical prophet MICAH (wh. see).

5. Micaiah (מִיכָיָהוּ, M(ε)ιχαίας or Μιχέας, AV Michaiah) the son of Gemariah (Jer 36$^{11.13}$) was one of the nobles of Judah in the days of Jeremiah. In the fifth year of Jehoiakim he heard Baruch reading the roll of Jeremiah's prophecies in the ears of the people from the chamber of his father Gemariah in the Temple. He then told what he had heard to the other nobles who were gathered in the 'scribe's chamber' in the royal palace, and it was his report which led to the subsequent reading of the roll first to the nobles and then to the king.

6. In 2 K 22^{12} mention is made of Achbor the son of Micaiah (מִיכָיָה M(ε)ιχαίας, AV Michaiah, AVm Micah) among the messengers whom Josiah sent to consult Huldah after the discovery of the book of the Law (see ACHBOR). This Micaiah may very possibly have been the same as the son of Gemariah referred to in **5** above. In 2 Ch 34^{20} 'Achbor the son of Micaiah' appears as 'Abdon the son of Micah.'

7. Micaiah (מִיכָה, M(ε)ιχαιά, AV Michaiah) the son of Zaccur is named (Neh 12^{35}) in the Asaphite genealogy of Zechariah the son of Jonathan, one of the priests of Nehemiah's time, who took part in the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem. In the parallel genealogy of 1 Ch 9^{15} this Micaiah is called '**Mica** (AV Micah) the son of Zichri,' and in those of Neh 11$^{17.22}$ he appears as 'Mica (AV Micha) the son of Zabdi.' All the lists mention that he had a son called Mattaniah.

8. There was a Micaiah (מִיכָה AV Michaiah) among Nehemiah's priests themselves (Neh 12^{41}). He took part in the dedication of the wall, and is not to be confounded with the ancestor of Zechariah (**7** above) mentioned in the same chapter. Neh 12^{41} is omitted in the chief MSS of LXX. Those that have it give this name as *Μιχαίας*. JAMES PATRICK.

MICE.—See MOUSE.

MICHAEL (מִיכָאֵל 'who is like God?'; on the name see Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 157, 165, 181, 210, 221; LXX Μειχαήλ, Μιχαήλ).—**1.** Father of the Asherite spy, Nu 13^{13}. **2. 3.** Two Gadites, 1 Ch 5$^{13f.}$. **4.** The eponym of a Levitical guild of singers, 1 Ch 6^{40} [Heb.^{25}]. **5.** Name of a family in Issachar, 1 Ch 7^{3} 27^{18} (B Μεισαήλ, A Μιχαήλ). **6.** Eponym of a family of Benjamites, 1 Ch 8^{16}. **7.** A Manassite chief who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^{20}. **8.** A son of king Jehoshaphat, 2 Ch 21^{2} (B Μεισαήλ, A Μισαήλ). **9.** The father of Zebadiah, an exile who returned, Ezr 8^{8}, 1 Es 8^{34} (in the latter M(ε)ιχάηλος). **10.** The archangel. See next article.

MICHAEL (מִיכָאֵל='who is like unto God?'; in the LXX and NT M(ε)ιχαήλ) holds a very lofty rôle in Judaism from B.C. 200 onwards. He is one of the seven archangels who execute the commands of God at the final judgment (Eth. Enoch 90$^{20-21}$), or present the prayers of the saints before God (To 12^{15}), or who stand in the immediate presence (Rev 1^{1} 4^{5} 8^{2}). Michael appears as fourth in the oldest list of the seven: Uriel, Raphael, Raguel, Michael, Suriel, Gabriel, and Remiel (Eth. En. 20). In this list the order is no key to the relative dignity of the angels mentioned; for according to other authorities Michael stands at the head of the four great archangels, who apparently form a class apart, though three of them are members of the sacred seven. These four angels are Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel (Eth. En. 40^{9} 71), or Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel (Eth. En. 9^{1} Gizeh and Syncellus Greek).

We must now consider the various functions assigned to Michael in Judaism and the NT. Thus he appears variously as Israel's angelic patron and warrior, their mediator and likewise lawgiver. With these and other functions of Michael we shall now deal.

i. Michael is first mentioned as the angelic patron of Israel. Thus he is called 'your prince,' *i.e.* the prince of Israel, Dn 10^{21}. In 10^{13} he is described as 'one of the chief princes.' All nations have their angelic patrons or guardians (see art. ANGEL, vol. i. p. 96), and the destinies of the former are determined by the relations of the latter in heaven. As the end draws nigh the strife grows fiercer, and Michael, Israel's angelic guardian, becomes the great hero of the last days. 'And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which protecteth the children of thy people,' Dn 12^{1}. According to Eth. En. 20^{5} he 'is set over the best part of mankind, over the people,' *i.e.* Israel. As Israel's champion, he is appointed to avenge Israel on their enemies at the close of the world (Assumption of Moses 10^{2}). It is not improbable also that he is referred to in Dn 8^{11} [LXX and Theod.] under the phrase 'prince of the host' (*ἀρχιστράτηγος*). The same idea reappears in the Slav. Enoch 22^{6}, where he is termed 'the chief captain,' and in 33^{10} 'the great captain.'

ii. Another hardly less ancient conception is that which regards Michael as the heavenly scribe who entered in the heavenly books the deeds of the angelic patrons of the nations. That the angel who discharges this function is Michael in Eth. En. 90 we infer from two facts: first, this angel is one of the seven archangels (90^{22}); and, secondly, he is the archangel who helps Israel (90^{14}). No further record of this function is found till the 1st cent. A.D. According to the Ascension of Isaiah 9$^{22.23}$ (Latin), Michael records the deeds of all men in the heavenly books.

iii. Michael seems also to have been regarded as the medium through whom the Law was given. This is clearly stated in the late Apocalypse of Moses I: *Διήγησις . . . ἀποκαλυφθεῖσα . . . Μωϋσῇ . . . ὅτε τὰς πλάκας τοῦ νόμου τῆς διαθήκης ἐκ χειρὸς Κυρίου ἐδέξατο, διδαχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ.* Most probably, therefore, the angel of the presence, who in Jubilees 1^{27} 2^{1} instructs Moses on Mount Sinai, and delivers to him the tables of the Law, is to be taken as Michael, and the same identification should no doubt be made in the case of the angel in Ac 7^{38}.[*]

iv. A very notable extension of the attributes and offices of Michael is attested in the Similitudes and the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. Thus he is described as 'the merciful and the long-suffering,' Eth. Enoch 40^{9} (cf. 68$^{2.3}$), and as 'the angel who intercedeth for the race of Israel and of all the just' (*τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν παραιτούμενον κ.τ.λ.*), Levi 5, and 'the mediator of God and man for the peace of Israel' (*μεσίτης θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων κ.τ.λ.*), Dan 6. The same view of Michael appears in the Ascension of Isaiah 9^{23} (Latin) 'Magnus angelus Michael deprecans semper pro humanitate.'

In the NT Michael is mentioned twice by name, Jude^{9} Rev 12^{7}. In both these passages the conception of Michael belongs to division i. above. Thus what is more fitting than that the angelic patron of Israel should protect the body of Israel's great lawgiver against Satan? Jude^{9}, as we are aware, is derived from the Assumption of Moses (see Charles' *Assumption of Moses*, pp. 105–110). We find elsewhere the burial of Moses attributed to the agency of angels, particularly of Michael, in the Targum of Jonathan on Dt 34^{6}.

In the second NT passage (Rev 12$^{7-9}$) Michael and his hosts go forth to war against the dragon, 'the old serpent' that is called the Devil and Satan. Here the figure of Michael thrusts aside that of the Messiah; for it is Michael and not the Child that overthrows Satan when storming the heavens—a fact which speaks strongly for the Jewish origin of most of Rev 12.

Under division iii. above we have already noticed a possible reference to Michael in Ac 7^{38}.

With the Talmudic conceptions of Michael we have not here to deal. For these the following books may be consulted: Lueken's monograph, *Michael*, 1898; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*^{2}, 167–172, 205, 253; Schoettgen, *Hor. Heb.* i. 1079, 1119, ii. 8, 15 (ed. Dresden, 1742); Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopædie für Bibel und Talmud*, 1892, pp. 753,

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[*] In Eth. En. 69$^{13-17}$ (a fragment of the Book of Noah) Michael is said to be the guardian of the mysterious magical formula wherewith the heavens and earth were founded.

754. On later Christian conceptions see Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 227–231.

R. H. Charles.

MICHAL (מִיכַל contracted from מִיכָאֵל 'who is like unto God?').—The younger of Saul's two daughters (1 S 14^{49}, Μελχόλ). Saul, who was wavering between desire to destroy David and reluctance to promote him to be the king's son-in-law, suddenly gave Merab his eldest daughter to Adriel (1 S 18^{19}). It now transpired that Michal had fallen in love with David. For a woman to take the initiative in such matters is without a parallel in the Bible, but it suited Saul's designs, and David, on his part, lost no time in providing double (not LXX) the dowry demanded. It should be noted that the LXX (B), followed by Josephus (*Ant.* VI. x. 2), simplifies the story by omitting the incident about Merab (1 S 18$^{17-19. 26b}$); and Josephus here, and again in *Ant.* VII. i. 4, misses the point of Saul's savage mockery of 'the uncircumcised Philistines' by representing the conditions imposed on David as six hundred heads of Philistines. David was soon to owe his life to the wife whom Saul had designed to 'be a snare to him.' When the emissaries of Saul 'watched the house to kill him' (1 S 19$^{11-17}$, Ps 59 title), Michal baffled them by letting David down by the window, and delayed pursuit by a clever ruse. Placing the household god in the bed, she covered the supposed sick man's head with a mosquito net (RVm), and finally disarmed Saul's jealous anger by a plausible lie. In this passage the rare word in v.^{13} 'pillow' כְּבִיר (on which see Driver's note) was read כְּבַר (constr. of כָּבֵר) 'liver' by the LXX. Josephus (*Ant.* VI. xi. 4) seems not to have understood the LXX translation of 'teraphim,' *τὰ κενοτάφια*, for he says that Michal placed in the bed a goat's liver, which, as it palpitated and shook the bedclothes, might suggest that David was gasping for breath.

The last scene in which Michal figures (2 S 6$^{16-23}$) presents a startling contrast to the time when, for love of David, she had flung aside conventionalities and braved her father's fury. That love was now all changed into coldness and dislike. When from a window in the palace on Mt. Zion Michal looked down on David leaping and dancing before the ark, it was not merely her woman's impatience of the absurd that made her 'despise him in her heart,' or that prompted the sarcasm in which that contempt found utterance later on. To appreciate her daring mockery, and the cold anger of David's rejoinder, we must read them in the light of the years that had passed. It is probable that Michal had been happy with Palti, or Paltiel, to whom she had been married on David's banishment (1 S 25^{44}). From that home she had been torn (2 S 3^{15}) merely that David might be enabled to claim a sort of hereditary right to the throne, and have by him a living memorial of his early prowess. Now she was but one of many wives, equalled with mere 'handmaids,' probably neglected. What wonder if the bitter reflexion that she had indirectly facilitated the humiliation of her own family was coupled with a suspicion that David had from the first regarded her merely as a means of self-aggrandisement? It is difficult not to feel some sympathy with Michal; though the historian characteristically sees in her childlessness a punishment for that ill-omened outburst of spleen on the most glorious day of David's life. The Chronicler omits, as usual, the painful incident, except 2 S 6^{16}.

It remains to add that in 2 S 21^{8} 'Michal' is an ancient but obvious mistake for 'Merab' (which is read by Luc. and Pesh.). Josephus (*Ant.* VII. iv. 3) says that Michal returned to her former husband (Palti), whom he does not name, and bore five children. The AV explanation 'brought up' for 'bare' is that of the Targum and Jerome (*Qu. Heb.*); and the Targ. on Ru 3^{8} mentions 'the pious Paltiel, who placed a sword between himself and Michal . . . because he had refused to go in unto her.' Similarly Jerome (*Qu. Heb.* on 1 S 25^{44}) explains that Paltiel wept for joy because the Lord had kept him from knowing her. He also (*Qu. Heb.* on 2 S 3^{5} 6^{23}) mentions a Jewish tradition that Michal is the same as Eglah, who is emphatically styled 'David's wife' because she was his first wife, and that she died when giving birth to a child.

N. J. D. White.

MICHEAS (*Micheas*), 2 Es 1^{39}.—The prophet Micah.

MICHMAS (מִכְמָס).—The form in Ezr 2^{27} (B Μαχμάς, A Χαμμάς) = Neh 7^{31} (A B Μαχεμάς) of the name which appears elsewhere (1 S 13$^{2. 5. 11. 16. 23}$ 14$^{5. 31}$, Is 10^{28}, Neh 11^{31}) as **Michmash** (מִכְמָשׂ). See next article.

MICHMASH (מִכְמָשׂ; in Ezr 2^{27}, Neh 7^{31} מִכְמָס; LXX Μαχ(ε)μάς; Josephus Μαχμά; Vulg. *Machmas*).—A town in the tribe of Benjamin east of Bethel and Beth-aven (1 S 13^{5}, cf. Jos 7^{2}). In OT it is called nine times Michmash (1 S 13$^{2ff.}$ 14$^{5. 31}$, Is 10^{28}, Neh 11^{31}) and twice **Michmas** (Ezr 2^{27}, Neh 7^{31}). In 1 Mac 9^{73} AV has Machmas, RV Michmash. Michmash is mentioned only in connexion with the war of Saul and Jonathan with the Philistines, the (ideal) invasion of Judah by the Assyrians described by Isaiah, and as the seat of government of Jonathan Maccabæus.

It still bears the name *Mukhmâs*, and stands in the mountains of Judah about 7 miles north of Jerusalem on the eastern slopes at an altitude of 2000 ft. above the Mediterranean Sea, about 900 ft. below Bethel, which is situated on the backbone of the country. Though located in the midst of the tribe of Benjamin, it is not mentioned in the list of the towns of that tribe.

Michmash is first mentioned as the headquarters of Saul, who, on being made king over Israel, came up from Gilgal, and with two thousand men occupied the mountains of Bethel, while Jonathan with a thousand men occupied Gibeah of Benjamin, a stronghold about 4 to 5 miles north of Jerusalem; between them lay a strong mountain fortress, Geba, occupied as an outpost by the Philistines. Jonathan, with his characteristic intrepidity and impulsiveness, smote the Philistine garrison (? נְצִיב) at Geba. On hearing of this, the Philistines of the Shephēlah got ready for battle, and, coming up with great multitudes of chariots and horsemen and swarms of footmen, drove the badly armed Hebrews out of the hill-country about Bethel, and pitched their camp at Michmash, east of Beth-aven, opposite to Geba, which was occupied by Jonathan.

The Hebrews were greatly perturbed at this invasion of their lands, and some fled beyond Jordan, while others hid in caves and cisterns, and many assembled at Gilgal with Saul in fear and trembling. Saul, fearing that the Philistines would pursue him even to Gilgal, disobeyed the directions given to him by Samuel, and, after a very unsatisfactory interview with the prophet, abode with Jonathan at Geba (13^{16} RV, not Gibeah as AV; but see vol. ii. 116^{b}, 169^{a}) of Benjamin with only six hundred badly armed men.

The Philistines sent out three companies east, west, and north to spoil the lands of the Hebrews, much to the distress of Saul and Jonathan, who were not strong enough to prevent it. Jonathan now secretly devised a scheme (14$^{1ff.}$) for dividing the Philistines against themselves and securing their arms for the defenceless Hebrews, and with this intent he left the camp at Gibeah (v.^{2}) during the night, unknown to Saul and the garrison, and in company with only his armour-bearer set out on a very perilous and heroic enterprise.

They descended the rocky crag called Senneh, protecting Geba to the north, and, arriving at the bottom of a deep valley, found the precipitous cliff of Bozez terminating Michmash, facing them to the north. Here Jonathan, having ascertained that the young man with him would be faithful to death, disclosed his plans, an expanded account of which is given by Josephus (*Ant.* VI. vi. 2). The camp of the Philistines was on the spur of a hill, with three plateaus shelving down, one below the other, with precipitous sides and terminating in the rocky crag of Bozez; and at this point the outposts of the enemy were neglectful of their watch, because they thought it impossible that any one would ascend this crag. Jonathan therefore discovered himself just after daybreak to some other Philistine outposts, who called out to the Hebrews to come up and receive the chastisement due to them. This invitation Jonathan considered to be a favourable omen, and retiring out of their sight, with the aid of his comrade, by great labour and difficulty, scaled the heights of Bozez and fell upon its outpost (while they slept ?), slaying about twenty of them. The Philistines, waking up in the dim light of dawn, could not imagine that there were only two Hebrews at work; but supposing they were surprised by a strong force, and being of different tribes, and suspecting each other to be the enemy, fought against one another, as so often happened on other occasions, and some of them died in battle, while others threw away their armour and fled, many of them being thrown down the rocks headlong. When the watchmen of Geba saw that the multitude of the Philistines melted away from Michmash they reported it to Saul, who went out to battle with his six hundred. The Hebrews that were in hiding in the rocks came out, and those who were with the Philistines also turned from them, so that Saul found himself suddenly in command of a large force (Josephus says ten thousand men), all fully equipped with the arms of the slaughtered or fleeing Philistines; and they smote the Philistines that day from Michmash to Aijalon.

Benjamin was now in peaceful possession of Michmash, and there is no further record of it until the time of the Assyrians' threatened march on Jerusalem in the reign of king Hezekiah, spoken of by Isaiah (10^{28}). Sennacherib is depicted as coming along the northern road from Samaria against Jerusalem, along the backbone of the mountain chain; but instead of passing south from Bethel to Beeroth he turns aside to the eastern slopes towards Ai, and passing Migron (the precipice) lays up his baggage (AV carriages) at Michmash, because they could go no farther in a southerly direction. See, further, MIGRON. The Philistines, when they brought their chariots to Michmash, came from the west. The host of Sennacherib then go on foot to Geba, where they make a lodgment. They arrive here over the passage or pass of Michmash, mentioned as the place where the Philistine garrison was encamped before Geba when Jonathan scaled the crag Bozez (1 S 13^{23} 14^{4}). The town **Makaz** (1 K 4^{9}) is given by the LXX as *Μαχ(ε)μάς*. See MAKAZ.

Ezra relates (2^{27}, Neh 7^{31}) that one hundred and twenty-two men of Michmas came with Zerubbabel out of the Captivity unto Jerusalem and Judah.

When Bacchides returned to Antioch with his army from Judæa, after having been so rudely repulsed by Jonathan Maccabæus, Michmash was made the seat of government, and Jonathan dwelt there, 1 Mac 9^{73}.

Eusebius and Jerome describe Machmas as a large village 9 miles distant from Jerusalem and not far from Ramah (*Onomast. s.* 'Machmas'). In the Middle Ages the site of Michmash was removed to *el-Bîreh* (Beeroth). Cf. Brocardus, c. 7; Quaresmius, ii. p. 786; Maundrell.

The Mishna describes Michmash as famous for its barley, giving rise to the Talmudic proverb 'to bring barley to Michmash' (Reland, *Pal.* 897).

The great valley west of Ai, which runs to Jericho as the *Wady Ḳelt*, becomes a narrow gorge, a great crack or fissure in the country. On the south side of this great chasm stands *Jeba* (Geba of Benjamin) on a rocky knoll, with caverns beneath the town and arable land to the east. Looking across the valley, the stony hills and white chalky slopes present a desolate appearance; and on the opposite side, considerably lower than Jeba, is the little village of *Mukhmâs* (Michmash), on a sort of saddle backed by an open and fertile corn valley (Conder, *Tent-Work in Palestine*, ii. 112). With regard to the description of Michmash by Josephus, Conder states, 'Exactly such a natural fortress exists immediately east of the village of Michmash, and it is still called the fort by the peasantry. It is a ridge rising in thin rounded knolls above a perpendicular crag, ending in a narrow tongue to the east with cliffs below, and having an open valley behind it, and a saddle towards the west on which Michmash itself is situated. Opposite this fortress to the south there is a crag of equal height, and seemingly impassable: thus the description of the Old Testament is fully borne out' (1 S 14^{4}). 'The picture is unchanged since the days when Jonathan looked over the white camping-ground of the Philistines, and Bozez must then have shone as brightly as it does now, in the full light of an Eastern sun. To any one looking over the valley it seems a most difficult feat to cross it, and, in the words of Josephus, "it was considered impossible not only to ascend to the camp on that quarter, but even to come near it"' (*Tent-Work in Pal.* ii. 113). Mukhmâs is a small stone village. The water supply is from cisterns, with a well to each. On the north are rock-cut tombs. There are foundations and remains of former buildings in the village, and the masonry of what appears to have been a church (*SWP* vol. iii.).

LITERATURE.—Josephus, *Ant.* VI. vi. 2; Robinson, *BRP*^{2}, i. 440 ff.; Tristram, *Land of Israel* (Index); Conder, *Tent-Work in Palestine* (Index); Buhl, *GAP* 176; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 63 ff.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 178 n. 1, 250, 291. C. WARREN.

MICHMETHAH (הַמִּכְמְתָה with art.).—The name of a place on the north border of Ephraim, to the east of Shechem, Jos 16^{6} (B *Ἰκασμών*, A *Μαχθώθ*, Luc. *εἰς Ἀχθώθ*) 17^{7} (where 'הַמּ מֵאָשֵׁר of MT is represented in B by *Δηλανάθ*, A and Luc. *ἀπὸ Ἀσὴρ Μαχθώθ*). From the circumstance that the art. is prefixed, Siegfried-Stade suggest that 'הַמּ may not be a proper name, but an appellative. If so, its meaning must remain obscure, as the meaning of the root [כמת] is quite unknown. The name may perhaps exist in a corrupt form as *Mukhnah*, applying to the plain east of Shechem. The change may be compared with that which has certainly taken place in the case of Michmash (mod. *Mukhmâs*), and the change of *n* for *m* is not infrequent in Aramaic as compared with Hebrew. But *Mukhnah* may also stand for *maḥaneh* 'camp,' a term applied in two cases (Mahanaim and Mahaneh-dan) to plains. Buhl (*GAP* 202) conjectures that Michmethah may be *Khirbet kefr beiṭa*, between *Sichem* and *Ta'na*.

C. R. CONDER.

MICHRI (מִכְרִי).—Eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 9^{8} (B *Μαχείρ*, A *Μοχορέ*, Luc. *Μαχειρί*).

MICHTAM.—See PSALMS.

MIDDIN (מִדִּין; B apparently *Αἰνών*, A *Μαδών*, Luc. *Μαδδείν*).—A town in the wilderness (*midbar*) of Judah, Jos 15^{61}. The site has not been recovered. If we might suppose מדין to be an early clerical error for מרד, the site of *Mird* on the plateau S.W. of Jericho would be a likely one. This was at one time occupied by a monastery. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xviii. C. R. CONDER.

MIDDLEMOST, MIDLAND.—The Heb. word תִּיכוֹן *tīkhōn*, usually translated 'middle,' is rendered 'middlemost' in Ezk 42$^{5.6}$. The tr. comes from Cov., and RV retains it. Cf. Jer. Taylor, *Works*, ii. 65, 'Truth hath a mysterious name, . . . it consists of three letters [*i.e.* אמת], the first and the last and the middlemost of the Hebrew letters.'

Midland is still in use as an adj., and as a subst. in the pl. 'the Midlands.' As a sing. subst. it occurs in 2 Mac 8^{35} 'he came like a fugitive servant through the midland (1611 'mid land') unto Antioch' (*διὰ τῆς μεσογείου*). RV retains the word, but mod. Eng. is 'interior.'

The form **middest** for 'midst' often occurs in the early editions of AV. Mod. editions spell 'midst.' Cf. Fuller, *Holy State*, 260, 'Two eyes see more then one, though it be never so big, and set (as in Polyphemus) in the middest of the forehead.' Other forms are, besides 'midst' itself, 'midest' (Jth 6^{11}), 'middes' (Ps 116^{19}, Ac 27^{21}, Ph 2^{15}), and 'mids' (Jer 37^{12}, Three$^{27.66}$, Sus$^{34.48}$). J. HASTINGS.

MIDIAN, MIDIANITES (מִדְיָן).—A son of Abraham by Keturah (Gn 25$^{1-4}$, 1 Ch 1$^{32.33}$), and the name of the nation of which he is reckoned the progenitor. The plural מִדְיָנִים occurs Gn 37^{28}, Nu 25^{17} 31^{2} only. In Gn 37^{36} מְדָנִים is probably a variant of מִדְיָנִים, and refers to the same people as in v.^{28}. The LXX have the same rendering in both verses. מִדְיָנִי occurs Nu 10^{29}, but elsewhere the nation or the country is called מִדְיָן, LXX *Μαδιάμ* (but B has *Μαδιάν* in Nu), Vulg. *Madian*, and in Jth 2^{26}, Ac 7^{29}, AV has **Madian.** Other renderings of LXX are *Μαδιηναῖοι* Gn 37$^{28.36}$, Nu 25^{17} *Μαδιανεῖται*, Nu 10^{29} 31^{2}. Both AV and RV have Midian or Midianites in OT.

In connexion with the genealogies of Gn 25, three points may be noted.

(*a*) The name Keturah. The meaning of the word is either *incense* or *the perfumed one* (cf. Ca 3^{6} *perfumed* with myrrh or frankincense), and may imply that the tribes descended from her were occupied in the production of incense and spices, or were traders in these articles. It will be remembered that the merchantmen (described as Midianites in Gn 37) who carried Joseph into Egypt are represented as bearing 'spicery and balm and myrrh' (v.^{25}), and that the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah are mentioned as bringing gold and incense (Is 60^{6}).

(*b*) The relationship between Midian and the Israelites. The genealogy, by tracing the descent of both nations from Abraham, acknowledges kinship, but assigns separate territory to each (Gn 25^{6}). But among the descendants of Midian are Ephah, Epher, and Hanoch. Ephah is mentioned twice in genealogies connected with Judah 1 Ch 2$^{46.47}$, Epher in connexion with Judah 1 Ch 4^{17}, and with the half-tribe of Manasseh on E. of Jordan 1 Ch 5^{24}. Hanoch is the name of Reuben's eldest son. This similarity of names (note that they belong to *frontier* tribes) may point to further alliances between the Midianites and Israel. The marriage of Moses with a Midianite woman is recorded without disapproval, and it may be but one of many similar unions of which no record has been preserved.

(*c*) The distinction between the Midianites and the descendants of Ishmael. This distinction, clearly indicated in the genealogy of Gn 25 (cf. v.^{6} with v.^{9}), is not so marked elsewhere, for in Gn 37 the merchantmen who carried Joseph into Egypt are described both as Ishmaelites and Midianites (cf. v.^{25} with v.^{28} and v.^{36}), and in Jg 8^{24} the same interchange of names occurs.

The Midianites appear in Gn as traders moving about in companies with camels. In the earlier chapters of Ex they are described as a pastoral people tending their flocks. Moses flees from the face of Pharaoh to Midian, is hospitably received by Jethro the priest, and marries his daughter Zipporah. While Israel is at Sinai, Jethro visits his son-in-law, and at their departure from Sinai Moses begs him to accompany them, but he declines. The descendants of Jethro continued their friendly relations with the children of Israel, for in the time of the Judges they are found dwelling in the land (Jg 1^{16} 4$^{11.17}$), and Saul shows favour to them because of the services which they rendered to the Israelites in the wilderness (1 S 15^{6}). In these passages they are called Kenites. Towards the end of the journeyings, when Israel is on the E. side of the Jordan, Midianites are acting in concert with Moab in procuring the services of Balaam; they tempt Israel to idolatry and lewdness, and are defeated with great slaughter [Nu 22, 25$^{6-18}$ 31, with ref. in Jos 13$^{21.22}$].

The character of the Midianites as here portrayed is very different from that presented in the earlier chapters of Exodus. Instead of a friendly people, with Jethro their priest acknowledging and praising the God of Abraham (Ex 18$^{9-12}$), the children of Israel are now confronted with a nation of idolaters, on whom they are bidden to take vengeance. These varied aspects under which Midian is presented to us may be accounted for by supposing that the name of Midian was applied to a number of clans spreading over a large area, some of whom settled down peacefully, tending their flocks, while others were of a roving and warlike character.

Due regard must also be had to the fact that the accounts of the Midianites are derived from different sources. The chapters which refer to Jethro are assigned to JE, and Nu 25$^{6-18}$ and 31 to P. Nu 31^{16} states that the action of the Midianites described in 25$^{6-18}$ was prompted by the counsel of Balaam. In the account of Balaam (Nu 22-24) the elders of Midian are mentioned twice at the commencement (Nu 22$^{4.7}$), but throughout the rest of the section Balak and the princes of Moab are represented as treating with Balaam, and there is no further reference to Midian. Some commentators are of opinion that this cursory mention of Midian implies the existence of a document which gave further details about the conduct of Midian on this occasion, some of which are preserved in Nu 25 and 31 (cf. Jos. *Ant.* IV. vi. 6–13). Another view is that Midian is inserted in Nu 22 on harmonistic grounds.

The account of Gideon is also a composite one, and it is generally allowed that Jg 6^{1}–8^{3} and Jg 8$^{4-21}$ are from different sources, though the contrast between the two sections has been exaggerated (see Moore, *Judges, in loc.*, and art. GIDEON). As the Midianites disappear from history after their defeat by Gideon, it is possible that later writers may have employed the name of Midian in a less exact manner, as a general designation of ancient foes of Israel. The peculiar character of Nu 31 will not escape the notice of the thoughtful reader. The *ideal* picture of a holy war there portrayed may remind him of that symbolical treatment of Midian as the spiritual enemy which is to be found both in Jewish and Christian writers.

Yet another characteristic of Midian, which distinguishes nomad tribes even to the present day, appears prominently in the Book of Judges: they made raids upon their neighbours at harvest time and stripped the land bare, coming as grasshoppers for multitude with their tents and camels as far as Gaza. The story of their defeat by Gideon is told in Jg 6–8. He not only drives them out of Western Palestine, but pursues them on the east side of the Jordan, captures their two chiefs Zebah and Zalmunna, and takes vengeance on them for their slaughter of his brethren by putting them to death (Jg 8^{18-21}) (see GIDEON).

The memory of this great deliverance was cherished by the people. Isaiah uses the phrase 'day of Midian' to describe the joy of Israel when the rod of his oppressor is broken (Is 9^4 10^{26}), and the Psalmist prays that the enemies of his nation may be put to shame and perish, as were the Midianites and their chiefs Zebah and Zalmunna (Ps $83^{9.\,11}$). A victory over Midian by Edom in the field of Moab is recorded (Gn 36^{35}, 1 Ch 1^{46}), but its date cannot be determined. The only other references to Midian are 1 K 11^{18}, and in the 'prayer of Habakkuk,' Hab 3^7.

Extent and position of territory.—The accounts given in Nu and Jg imply that the Midianites occupied country to the E. and S.E. of Palestine. In the genealogy (Gn 25^6) Midian and the sons of Abraham other than Isaac are sent away into the east country, and in Jg 6^3 Midian is associated with the children of the East. This is the only *direct* evidence of position afforded in the OT, and it indicates a territory E. of the Jordan and of the Arabah. Moab and Edom occupied the country on the E. and S.E. of Palestine from the river Arnon to the head of the Gulf of Aḳabah. There would remain, therefore, for Midian a tract of country to the N. of Arabia, and on the E. shore of the Gulf of Aḳabah, with freedom to roam northwards along the E. boundary of Edom and Moab. In this region Ptolemy mentions (vi. 7) a city Μοδίανα on the E. shore of the Red Sea (*i.e.* the Gulf of Aḳabah), and another Μαδίαμα situated inland. The former of these corresponds in position with the Madian of *Onom. Sac.* (136. 31, p. 168, ed. Lagarde) and with the Medyen of Arab writers, who locate there the well of Moses from which he watered the flocks of his father-in law. Classical writers give no information about Midian. Josephus says that Moses in his flight came to a city of Midian, lying on the Red Sea, so called from one of Abraham's sons by Keturah (*Ant.* II. i. 1). Philo considers Midianites to be an ancient name of the Arabians (*de Fortitudine*, ii. 381. 7, ed. Mangey). In recent times the country on the E. shore of the Gulf of Aḳabah has been explored by Sir R. Burton. The account of his first journey is given in *The Gold Mines of Midian*, 1878, and of his second in *The Land of Midian Revisited*, 1879. In the first book he gives a *résumé* of Jewish tradition with reference to Midian (c. vii.), and, in the second, extracts from Egyptian papyri and Arabic writers are collected (c. iv.).

No reference has been made in the geographical part of this article to passages in Exodus. The only geographical detail which these passages supply is relative, viz. that Mt. Sinai or Horeb was in or in close proximity to Midian. If from other considerations the position of Sinai be determined, then an additional fact is known concerning the territory of Midian. If the traditional situation of Sinai be accepted, then Midianites must have moved westwards into the peninsula between the Gulf of Suez and the Gulf of Aḳabah. Remembering the wide area over which the Midianites roved, such a migration is not improbable. But this proximity of Sinai to Midian may be urged in favour of assigning to Sinai a position E. of the Arabah, thereby assigning a uniform geographical position to Midian and rendering the hypothesis of migration unnecessary.

Other considerations in support of this view may be briefly indicated:—

(1) The poetical references to Sinai, Dt 33^2, Jg $5^{4.\,5}$, Hab 3^3, imply that the writers regarded Sinai and Seir as contiguous.

(2) The geographical note (Dt 1^2) and the account of Elijah's visit to Horeb (1 K 19—the only visit recorded in the OT outside the Pentateuch) supply no definite data for assigning a position to Sinai. The same may be said of Josephus' account of Elijah (*Ant.* VIII. xiii. 7) and of his other references to Sinai (II. xii. 1, III. v. 1).

(3) The peninsula at the time of the Exodus was part of Egypt, or inhabited by Egyptian settlers. A journey due east (in the direction of the modern *hajj* route) would lead the Israelites most quickly to safety, whereas that to the traditional Sinai would bring them again into contact with their Egyptian enemies.

(4) Elim may be a variant of Elath or Eloth, and a place of this name is on the Gulf of Aḳabah. The encampment by the sea following suits this position very well.

(5) The absence of satisfactory identification of any of the stations on the road to or from Sinai. Cf. EXODUS AND JOURNEY TO CANAAN, §§ ii. iii., and separate articles.

The question as to the position of Sinai is discussed by Sayce, *HCM* p. 264 ff. St. Paul's reference, Gal 4^{25}, to Sinai in Arabia is not conclusive as to the position of Sinai, for the boundary of Arabia towards the W., according to Herodotus, reaches to the canal dug by Necho and Darius, and includes part of the coast-line of the Mediterranean to the S. of Gaza (Herod. iii. 5, iv. 39). The LXX speak of Goshen as Γέσεμ Ἀραβίας. Arabia may then include territory as far west as the modern canal. See ARABIA, GOSHEN, SINAI.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

MIDIANITISH WOMAN (הַמִּדְיָנִית), Nu 25^{6-18}, by name Cozbi, the daughter of Zur, was brought into the camp of Israel by Zimri the son of Salu. The parents of both were persons in high station. The people were weeping before the door of the tent of meeting (v.^{6}, and from vv.$^{8.\,9}$ it appears that a plague was raging among Israel at the time); and Phinehas, enraged at this profanation of the camp, thrust both of them through with a spear ('javelin' AV). His zeal was rewarded by the promise of an everlasting priesthood to him and to his seed after him (vv.$^{10-13}$). The plague was stayed after 24,000 had been slain.

This account (vv.$^{6-15}$) belongs to P. According to Wellhausen (*Comp. d. Hex.* p. 114), it is placed here after the Balaam section because it was originally connected with an account of Balaam, in which he appears as the counsellor of Midian, advising them to tempt Israel by means of their daughters. This part of the narrative has been replaced by the account in vv.$^{1-5}$ of Israel's connexion with Moab, and joining themselves to Baal-peor (JE). Here the daughters of *Moab* make Israel to sin, stress is laid on sacrifice and worship to strange gods, and the 'judges' carry out the sentence. But Kuenen doubts whether, in joining the two accounts together, so interesting a detail would have been entirely suppressed, and is disposed to think that Balaam's name did not occur in the original introduction to the story of the Midianitish woman. This is certain, that the two accounts in Nu 25 are from different sources, that they are incomplete, and that emendation must be conjectural. It is probable that vv.$^{16-18}$ have been added by way of introduction to the account of Nu 31. For further details the writers above mentioned may be consulted, and Dillmann's commentary on the chapter.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

MIDRASH.—See COMMENTARY.

MIDWIFE (מְיַלֶּדֶת, *μαῖα*, *obstetrix*.—Midwives must have been employed among the Hebrews from a comparatively early period (Gn 35^{17} 38^{28}, Ex $1^{15\text{ff.}}$); but it would appear that Hebrew women usually had little difficulty in childbirth, and that such assistance was not always required (Ex 1^{19}). In some cases the necessary service was rendered by friends or relatives (1 S 4^{20}), as is still the custom in many parts of the East. From the fact that in Ex 1 only two Hebrew midwives are spoken of, it may perhaps be inferred that they were not a numerous class.

A word used in the narrative of Exodus has given rise to some difficulty. אָבְנַיִם *'obnayim*—a dual form meaning apparently 'the double stone'—occurs again only in Jer 18^{3}, where it is applied to the 'potter's wheel.' In Ex 1^{16} it can hardly denote anything but a special kind of stool used by women in labour. Gesenius (*Thesaurus*, p. 17) doubted the early invention of such a contrivance, and interpreted the word of a stone bath in which the child was washed; but the study of medicine had made considerable progress in Egypt in very early times; birth-stools of various patterns have been employed in many parts of the world (Ploss, *Das Weib*^{2}, ii. 35, 179 ff.); and at the present day in Egypt a chair of peculiar form, called the *Kursee elwilâdeh*, is still in common use (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*^{5} (1871), ii. 241).

The meaning of the names Shiphrah and Puah is quite uncertain; also whether they are of Hebrew or of Egyptian origin. The statement that 'God made for these women houses' (Ex 1^{21}) must refer to their numerous or prosperous families, which were regarded as a reward for their upright and courageous conduct towards their Hebrew patients. H. A. WHITE.

MIGDAL-EDER.—See EDER, No. **1.**

MIGDAL-EL (מִגְדַּל־אֵל; B Μεγαλααρεἰμ, A Μαγδαλιηωράμ, the following name Horem being incorporated).—'The Tower of God,' a town of Naphtali (Jos 19^{38}) between Iron and Horem. The exact site is uncertain, though Eusebius (*Onom. s.v.*) places it between Dora (*Tantûra*) and Ptolemais (*Acre*), and 9 miles from the first. In this case it would correspond with *Athlît*. But the territory of Naphtali did not extend so far, and the site must rather be looked for in one of the numerous *Mejdels* of N. Palestine. See, further, Dillm. *Jos. ad loc.* A. H. SAYCE.

MIGDAL-GAD (מִגְדַּל־גָּד 'tower of Gad'; B Μαγαδὰ Γάδ, A Μαγδὰλ Γ.; Vulg. *Magdal-Gad*).—Mentioned only (Jos 15^{37}) in the list of the cities of the lot of Judah, together with Zenan and Hadashah, neither of which has been identified. It is one of the group of sixteen cities which are found in various parts of the Shephēlah, so that there is no clue as to the position. Of the same group, Makkedah, Gederoth, Beth-dagon, and Naamah have been found to the north, Lachish and Eglon to the south, and Socoh, Adullam, Azekah, and Jarmuth to the east of the Shephēlah. The name, the 'Tower of Gad' ('Fortune'), may refer to the ancient worship of Gad (good luck or fortune) among the Canaanites. Gesenius conjectures that Gad was the planet Jupiter. In the north of Palestine the modern representation of Baal-gad is conjectured (*BRP* iii. 409) to be *Bâniâs*, which is known to have been the sanctuary of Pan; but there is nothing whatever at present known of the remains in the Shephēlah to allow of any conjectures concerning Migdal-gad.

There is a town named *Mejdel* about 2½ miles north-east of Ashkelon (*'Askalân*) which is suggested as possibly the site of Migdal-gad, solely from the resemblance of the first portion of the name. It is the most important modern town of the district (*Nâhiet el-Mejdel*), has a good weekly market, and a population of about 1500 inhabitants. There is a bazaar in the town; rope-making is carried on outside; the inhabitants are traders, rich and prosperous, and there is a bustle and activity about the place contrasting with most towns in Palestine. There is a mosque with a very conspicuous minaret, seen for a long distance inland. The houses are of mud, the water supply from wells and a pond to the east, where there is also a grove of palms. To the north are olive groves with large trees, and it is a rich corn country. The sandy dunes are encroaching on the west close on to the town.

Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) mention *Magdala*, but give no information. This town may be the Magdolon (Μάγδολον) mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 159) where Pharaoh-necho conquered the Syrians (B.C. 608). As the conquest of Cadytis (Jerusalem?) follows, it is usually conjectured that the Magdolon of Herodotus is the Migdol of the Old Testament (Ex 14^{2}, Nu 33^{7}), situated in Lower Egypt (Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* ix. 15).

LITERATURE.—Dillmann, *Jos. ad loc.*; Guérin, *Judée*, ii. 131; Buhl, *GAP* 189; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{2} 210.

C. WARREN.

MIGDOL (מִגְדּוֹל, מִגְדֹּל, Μάγδωλον), the name of one or more places on the frontier of Egypt. The word is Semitic, and means 'tower'; it is commonly found in composition, as in the names Migdal-el, Migdal-eder, Migdal-gad. Similarly in Egyp. inscriptions of the 19th and 20th Dynasties, at a time when many Semitic words were adopted into the hieroglyphic vocabulary, the word occurs compounded with the names of different Pharaohs, etc., to designate what appear to have been fortresses on the eastern frontier. In OT, however, the simple form Migdol is always found whenever the place in question is in Egypt.

In Ex 14^{2}, Nu 33^{7} 'Migdol' refers to a place situated between Goshen and the Red Sea, and near the spot where the Israelites crossed the latter. According to a papyrus, there was in this region, near Succoth, a Migdol of the Pharaoh Seti I.

In Jer 44^{1} and 46^{14} Migdol, Noph (Memphis), and Tahpanhes (Daphnae) are named as the cities in which the Jews dwelt in Egypt, together with the country of Pathros (the south country, or Upper Egypt). Ezekiel twice mentions Migdol as the N.E. extremity of the country, the other extremity being Syene ('from Migdol to Syene,' the marginal rendering in Ezk 29^{10} 30^{6}, preferable to AV and RV). One of the principal routes from Palestine passed along the Wady Tumîlat; it is possible that the Migdol of Ex was the first station in Egypt on this route from Syria, and was thus considered as marking the N.E. frontier. But a Roman Itinerary mentions a Magdolo nearer the coast, only 12 miles south of Pelusium, and this situation (perhaps at the modern Tell el-Hêr) agrees still better with the biblical indications. Mashtûl. the present form in which the name Migdol occurs in Egypt, is derived through the Coptic; it is found as a village-name three times—twice in the eastern Delta, and once in Middle Egypt. But none of these Mashtûls can be identified with a biblical Migdol. F. LL. GRIFFITH.

MIGRON (מִגְרוֹן; B Μαγών, Luc. Μαγεδδώ).—**1.** A place in Benjamin, in the neighbourhood of Gibeah (1 S 14^{2}). There are reasons for suspecting that the vocalization of the MT is incorrect, and that a proper name should not be read here at all. The Syr. read בַּגֹּרֶן 'by the threshing-floor,' and Wellh. (*Sam. ad loc.*) proposes כַּמִּגְרָן, with the same meaning. This is accepted by Budde (in *SBOT*), who objects to Klostermann's emendation בַּמִּגְרָשׁ 'in the common-land,' that this is hardly an old enough word to be used here. If מגרון be taken as a proper name, it is a question whether it is to be identified with—**2.** Migron of Is 10^{28} (B Μαγεδώ, A Μαγεδδώ, *i.e.* Megiddo, which of course is out of the question). The prophet, in his (ideal) description of the Assyrian invasion, mentions Migron as one of the stages in the march of the enemy, and appears to place it north of Michmash, and thus at a considerable distance from Gibeah (cf. v.^{29}). W. R. Smith, indeed, proposes (*Journ. of*

Philol. 13, 62 ff.) to identify with the Migron of 1 S 14^{2}, *south* of the *Wâdy Suweinît*, by supposing that the Assyrian, before marching through the pass, is pictured as seizing by a *coup-de-main* this position at its southern end. This is accepted by Driver (*Isaiah*^{2}, p. 72), but Dillmann and Buhl both object to it as too artificial, and agree in locating Isaiah's Migron at the modern *Makrun*, about ½ mile S.E. of the village of Burka (cf. Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{2} 121). J. A. SELBIE.

MIJAMIN (מִיָּמִן and מִיָּמִין).—**1.** One of those who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{25} (B Ἀμαμείν, A Μεαμίμ, called in 1 Es 9^{26} **Maelus**). **2.** Eponym of the 6th of the priestly courses, 1 Ch 24^{9} (B Βενιαμείν, A Μειαμείν). This family returned with Zerubbabel, Neh 12^{5} (א$^{c. a}$ Μειμίν), and was represented at the sealing of the covenant 10^{7} (B Μιαμείμ, A Μιαμείν) = **Miniamin** of Neh 12^{17}.

MIKLOTH (מִקְלוֹת).—**1.** A son of Jeiel, 1 Ch 8^{32} = 9$^{37f.}$. The words 'and Mikloth' (וּמִקְלוֹת) have probably been dropped at the end of 8^{31} (B καὶ Μακαλώθ). In 9^{37} they are found both in MT and LXX (B Μακελλώθ, A Μακεδώθ). **2.** An officer of David, 1 Ch 27^{4}. There is a strong suspicion that the MT is corrupt. The name is wanting in LXX (BA).

MIKNEIAH (מִקְנֵיָהוּ).—A gate-keeper of the ark, 1 Ch 15^{18} (B Μακελλειά, A Μακενιά, א Μακκελλά) ^{21} (B Μακενιά, A Μακενίας).

MILALAI (מִלֲלַי, LXX om.).—The eponym of a priestly family, Neh 12^{36}.

MILCAH (מִלְכָּה, Μελχά).—**1.** Daughter of Haran, and wife of Nahor who was her uncle,* Gn 11^{29}. The names of her children are given in 22$^{20ff.}$. Rebekah was her granddaughter, 24$^{15. 24. 47}$. All these passages proceed from J. Nöldeke (*ZDMG* xlii. 484) conjectures that *Milcah* may be the same name as מִלְכַּת, the goddess worshipped by the Phœnicians. Ball (*SBOT*) thinks it possible that מִלְכָּה and יִסְכָּה (also Gn 11^{29}) may be phonetic or dialectic variants of the same (tribal or local) name; cf. כַּשְׂדִּים = Assyr. *Kaldu*. 'The weakening and disappearance of *m* is a well-known feature of Babylonian.' This, however, appears somewhat precarious. See, further, art. ISCAH.

2. Daughter of Zelophehad, Nu 26^{33} 27^{1} 36^{11}, Jos 17^{3} (all P). There can be little doubt that Kuenen is right in pronouncing Zelophehad's 'daughters' to be really towns, and, if the above conjecture of Nöldeke be correct, *Milcah* may be an abbreviated form of Beth-milcah (see Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, p. 116). J. A. SELBIE.

MILCOM.—See MOLECH.

MILDEW (יֵרָקוֹן *yērāḳôn*, ὤχρα, *rubigo*).—This word occurs with שִׁדָּפוֹן *shiddāphôn*, ἀνεμοφθορία, *aëre corruptus* (Dt 28^{22}, 1 K 8^{37}, 2 Ch 6^{28}, Am 4^{9}, Hag 2^{17}). *Yērāḳôn* signifies 'yellowness' or 'pallor' (cf. Arab. *yeraḳân* = 'jaundice'). It is in contrast with *shiddāphôn*, which signifies the drying up or scorching of the grain or fruit by heat, during the siroccos or *khamsîn* winds. Mildew consists of various species of parasitic fungi, which grow at the expense of their host, and suck out the juices of the grain or fruit, and so destroy them. As *shiddāphôn* is due to excessive drought, *yērāḳôn* is due to excessive moisture. They are both peculiarly liable to occur in a climate marked by long periods of uninterrupted heat, followed by a winter season, during which most of the rainfall of the year takes place within two or three months. G. E. POST.

MILE.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

MILETUS (Μίλητος) was in very early times the most famous and important of the Ionian cities, an ancient Greek colony on the coast of Caria. It was situated at the southern end of the sea entrance to the gulf into which the river Mæander formerly emptied itself. But the silt which the river carries with it has entirely filled up the gulf, and forced the coastline far out to sea. Hence the modern Palatia, which marks the site of Miletus, is about 5 or 6 miles from the sea, and Lade, which in the time of Strabo (A.D. 19) was an island in front of the harbour of Miletus, is now a small hill in the low alluvial plain. Once the greatest Greek city in Asia, Miletus was a second-rate town under the Romans, and now is, and is likely always to continue, an obscure village or a ruin. Our ignorance of the exact truth as to the situation of Miletus in relation to the coastline about the middle of the 1st cent. makes the circumstances narrated in Ac 20^{15}–21^{1} rather obscure. The present coastline extends nearly direct northwards on the west side of the site of Miletus. But in A.D. 19 Miletus was situated on the south coast of a gulf of irregular shape (Λατμικὸς Κόλπος), which extended far into the country eastwards. The south-eastern extremity of this gulf is now a lake. The rest of the gulf is now land, often swampy, through which the Mæander flows in two arms—one keeping near the north side of the low alluvial plain, and one near the south side. The southern arm in its upper part seems to be the channel of the ancient river. The two arms unite close on the north-west side of the site of Miletus, and flow into the sea by one mouth. We do not know the exact line of the coast about A.D. 50; but Strabo gives a rough idea of its situation 30 years earlier.

Thus, in modern times, a messenger could easily be sent by land straight north from Miletus to Ephesus. But in ancient times a foot-messenger would have to make an immense circuit: for example, he would have to traverse about 110 stadia from Miletus to Heracleia, and 100 from Heracleia to Pyrrha, whereas the sea-crossing from Miletus to Pyrrha was only 30 stadia. Pyrrha was 50 stadia south of the mouth of the Mæander, which joined the sea between Pyrrha and Priene. At the present day Priene is 12 miles from the coast. The coastline on to Priene is not stated by Strabo, but it must have been more than 100 stadia. Hence the foot-messenger would have a journey of over 360 stadia from Miletus to Priene (45 miles), whereas the straight line across the gulf is barely 100 stadia (12½ miles). From Priene to Ephesus, the land road across the mountains cannot be less than 25 miles, though the air line is under 20. St. Paul's messenger, then, probably sailed to Priene and walked or rode thence to Ephesus. The vague statement often made, that Ephesus was by land only about 20 or 30 miles distant from Miletus, is, as we now see, very misleading.

If we accept as true* the Bezan and Western addition to Ac 20^{15} μείναντες ἐν Τρωγυλλίῳ, we see that the ship on which were St. Paul and the delegates, bearing the contributions of the Churches of the four provinces, Achaia, Macedonia, Asia, and Galatia, after sailing from Assos on a Monday morning,[*] must have spent Wednesday night at Trogyllion, the extreme promontory of Mount Mykale on the north side of the Mæander valley, projecting far out towards the west and towards Samos. On Thursday a voyage of only about 23 miles with the morning breeze from the north would bring them to Miletus. A messenger was then found, and sent to Ephesus. He would probably reach Ephesus during the course of Thursday night, and the assembling of the elders and their journey (some being doubtless comparatively elderly men) would take time. The morning of Saturday, then, is the earliest possible date for the arrival of the elders in Miletus; and we must suppose that St. Paul spent the day with them; and probably the early morning of Sunday[†] was the time when the ship proceeded on its voyage to Jerusalem, reaching Cos that day.

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* For other instances of marriages of relatives in the family of Terah, Dillmann cites Gn 20^{12} 24$^{3ff.}$ 29^{19}, pointing out at the same time that 'such marriages are only a short way of expressing the amalgamation of fair-sized communities into one whole.'

* True, whether as a correct tradition added by a reviser, or as a part of the original text written by St. Luke, which dropped out either in the transmission of the text, or through the act of the author (according to Prof. Blass's theory).

According to 2 Ti 4^{20} St. Paul visited Miletus (AV *Miletum*) on some later occasion, and there left Trophimus sick. This visit is quite inconsistent with the narrative of Ac, and must be referred to a later period, after St. Paul was released from his Roman imprisonment, and returned to the Ægean lands and churches.

The famous temple of Apollo Didymeus at Branchidæ was about 20 miles south of Miletus, in the territory subject to that city. It stood about 2 miles back from the coast, overlooking the harbour Panormus. The best account of Miletus and Branchidæ is given in Sir C. T. Newton's works, and in Radet's *Milet et le Golfe Latonique.*

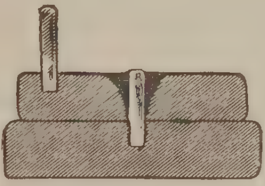
Miletus is mentioned as a bishopric in all the *Notitiæ Episcopatuum*; but, although it is given first in the list of Hierocles' *Synekdemos*, the common statement that its bishop occupied the first rank among the bishops of Caria is wrong: that rank belonged to Aphrodisias, for the coast cities of Caria lost and the inner cities gained importance in the late Roman and Byzantine times. But during the 5th cent. Miletus became an archbishopric[‡] independent of the control of Aphrodisias (*αὐτοκέφαλος*), but without subject bishoprics.

Few traces of the influence of Christianity in Miletus have been discovered. It is apparent that in the coast towns of Asia, which were less thoroughly Christianized and also more closely under the eye of the imperial officials than those of Phrygia, hardly any public memorials of the new religion can have been erected before the time of Constantine. An official inscription of the time of Justinian is published in *Byzant. Zeitschrift*, 1894, p. 21. Another late inscription mentions the saint and martyr Onesippos (*CIG* 8847). A strange example of popular superstition and angelolatry, invoking the seven archangels to guard the city, was found in the theatre (*CIG* 2895); it perhaps belongs to the 4th cent.: on the kind of practices connected with this class of superstition see Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln*, 1898.

Miletus is mentioned in LXX of Ezk 27^{18} (see Field, *Hexapla*). W. M. RAMSAY.

MILK.—See FOOD in vol. ii. p. 36^{a}.

MILL, MILLSTONE (רֵחַיִם, Arab. *raḥa*).—The hand-mill is in constant use in many parts of Syria at the present time. It consists of two circular stones, one of which is placed on the top of the other, and the upper and lower surfaces of each of them are flat. From the centre of the lower stone a strong pin of wood passes through a funnel-shaped hole in the upper stone. Into this hole the grain to be ground is thrown, and it escapes as flour between the two stones at the circumference, and falls on a smooth sheepskin which is placed under the lower stone. On the surface of the upper stone, near its circumference, the handle is inserted, which may be of any length, according to the number of hands used in turning it. Small stones are generally turned by one woman, but larger ones may be turned by two, three, or four women.


SECTION OF HAND-MILL.

In ancient times, turning the mill was a work deemed fit only for women and slaves. In Jg 16^{21} Samson was set to grind in the prison. In La 5^{13}, rendered in RV 'the young men bare the mill, and the children stumbled under the wood,' it should probably be, as in the Arab., 'They caused the young men to grind, and the boys stumbled under the wood.' The poet laments that the young men should be put to so degrading an employment, and that the boys should be put to a work for which they were not able, such as carrying the wood to the oven for firing the bread which was made from the flour ground by the young men. Hand-mills have no wood about them except the handle and the central pin, which are fixed so that they cannot be taken out. In Lebanon and those parts of Syria where a fall of water can be obtained, large millstones are turned by a horizontal water-wheel. The water falls through a pipe formed of large stones perforated, and at the lower end of this pipe a wooden channel directs the stream against the floats of the wheel. The water-wheel is enclosed in a vault, the roof of which forms the floor of the room in which the millstones are placed. The wooden axle of the wheel passes through the roof of the vault, through the lower millstone, and is fixed to the upper millstone, which it turns round. When the wheat is ground into flour it is gathered in the same way as when the hand-mill is used. This kind of mill is called *ṭâḥoon*. Cf. the Heb. *ṭĕḥōn*. There is another kind of mill turned by animals, which is called *ṭăḥânet*. In Mt 18^{6}, Mk 9^{42} we have *μύλος ὀνικός*, a millstone turned by an ass. Usually the stones of the mill are of a dark-brown sandstone, and when the stone is soft the flour is full of sand. The upper stone has frequently to be taken off to have its under surface roughened; but when the porous Ḥauran stone is used, that is not necessary, as the stone in wearing presents new holes, and, consequently, new cutting edges.

The hand-mill being an implement absolutely necessary in a household, it was forbidden to take the upper millstone (רֶכֶב, Arab. *mirdât*) as security for debt, as that would render the mill useless (Dt 24^{6}).

Mills are used not only for grinding wheat into flour, they are used also for making crushed wheat (*burghal*). The wheat is first boiled and then dried in the sun, and when put into the mill water is sprinkled upon it to prevent its being ground into flour. The mill is turned slowly. Crushed wheat is used to make a kind of food which is a great favourite with the mountaineers of Lebanon; it is called *kibby*. It is a mixture of crushed wheat (RV 'bruised corn,' Pr 27^{22}) and raw mutton beaten together in a mortar for hours, and is generally eaten cooked, but often raw. The grinding of the *burghal*, or bruised wheat, was a season of rejoicing in Lebanon some years ago. The young men gathered together, and, while the grinding was going on, songs were sung to the accompaniment of musical instruments and a kind of small drum. W. CARSLAW.

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[*] In the year A.D. 57 it would be Monday 25th April.

[†] Sunday 1st May, A.D. 57.

[‡] See Gelzer's articles in *Jahrb. f. protest. Theol.* xii., and Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 428. Gelzer fixes the date between 459 and 536, but it may be earlier.

MILLENNIUM.—A name suggested by the period of 1000 years described in Rev $20^{2. 4-7}$ during which Satan is confined in the abyss, and the martyr saints reign with Christ. Hence variously understood, according to the interpretation put upon the passage, either as (1) the period, present or future, definite or indefinite, 'during which the kingdom of Christ will be established upon earth, and will dominate over all other authority' (*Cent. Dict.*); or more specially (2) as the period in which 'Christ will reign in bodily presence on earth for a thousand years' (*Oxf. Eng. Dict. s.* 'Chiliasm'). In this latter sense it is associated with pre-millenarian views of Christ's Second Coming, the word Chiliast or Millenarian being usually applied in the pre-millenarian sense (*Oxf. Eng. Dict. l.c.; Cent. Dict.* 'Millenarian').

That which is characteristic of the doctrine in all its forms is the belief in a period of triumph and blessedness for the saints on earth, preceding and distinct from the final blessedness of the world to come. Such a belief meets us not only in the early Christian eschatology, but also in that of the later Jews, where it was probably due to a combination of the simpler eschatology whose horizon is bounded by this world and the hope of earthly triumph, and a more developed eschatology which distinguishes two worlds or æons, and places the true salvation in the latter (Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 178). While the term is often used loosely to describe carnal ideals of the future, whether limited in duration or not (as when reference is made to the chiliastic views of the Jews in Christ's time), it should properly be restricted to those opinions which, making the above distinction between the two æons, hold to a preliminary period of blessedness in the former. Hence those modern millenarians (like Seiss, *The Last Times*, 211) who identify the Millennium with the world to come, use the term in a sense altogether different from that which we are now discussing.

As thus defined, the doctrine of the Millennium is not found in OT. The prophets look forward to a state of blessedness and glory for Israel, to be introduced, either by the advent of J" Himself (Is 40^{9-11} 52^{7-12}), or of the Messiah (Is 9^{6}, Zec $9^{9. 10}$). This state is variously described—sometimes in language which requires no more than the establishment of the redeemed Israel in the first place among the nations; at others, in words which imply a change of nature itself, and the creation of a new heavens and a new earth (Is $65^{17\text{ff.}}$. Yet note that even this picture does not represent the individual members of the redeemed Israel as immortal. Cf. Enoch 5^{9} 10^{17} 25^{6}, Apoc. Bar 73^{3}). But, however conceived, this blessed state bounds the horizon of prophecy (cf. Jer 33^{17-22}, Ezk 37^{25}, Jl 4^{20}). Especially in Daniel is the eternity of the Messianic kingdom emphasized. 'And in the days of those kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed' (2^{44}). 'And the kingdom and the dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High. His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom' (7^{27}, cf. 7^{14}).

In much of the Pseudepigraphical literature we find the same point of view. So Sibyll 3^{46-50}, Jub 32 (quoted by Drummond, 314), Ps-Sol 17^{4}, Sibyll 3^{766} 'And then will he raise up a kingdom for all time for all men'; Enoch 62^{14} 'And the Lord of spirits will abide over them, and with that Son of Man will they eat and lie down and rise up for ever and ever.' Doubtless it is true, as Drummond remarks (314), that these expressions do not necessarily imply strict eternity (cf. Bar 73^{1} with 40^{3}; and see Enoch 10^{10}), although, in the case of Enoch 62^{14} as of Daniel, this seems required by the context. But in any case the ideal which is set forth in these passages is final. The same view appears (Jn 12^{34}) in the objection to Christ's prophecy concerning His lifting up. 'We have heard out of the law that the Christ abideth for ever.' So in the Targ. Jon. (on 1 K 4^{33}) the Messianic time and the world to come are identified. (Cf. Mishna, *Berachoth* i. 5, and the literature cited by Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 177).

Side by side with this view, we find in the Pseudepigraphical books another, which distinguishes between the Messianic kingdom, which it regards as belonging to this present age, and the final consummation of all things in the world to come. Perhaps the first trace of this doctrine is in Enoch 91^{12-17}, a fragment assigned by Charles to B.C. 104–95, and by Dillmann to the time of John Hyrcanus. The seer has described the seven weeks into which he conceives the past history of the world to be divided (93^{3-10}). 'And after that there will be another week, the eighth, that of righteousness, and a sword will be given to it that judgment and righteousness may be executed on those who commit oppression, and sinners will be delivered into the hands of the righteous. And at its close they will acquire houses through their righteousness. And the house of the Great King will be built in glory for ever more. And after that, in the ninth week, the righteous judgment will be revealed to the whole world, and all the works of the godless will vanish from the whole earth, and the world will be written down for destruction, and all mankind will look to the path of uprightness. And after this, in the tenth week, in the seventh part, there will be the great eternal judgment, in which he will execute vengeance amongst the angels. And the first heaven will depart and pass away, and a new heaven will appear, and all the powers of the heavens will shine sevenfold for ever. And after that there will be many weeks without number for ever, in goodness and righteousness, and sin will no more be mentioned for ever' (Charles' tr. p. 268 ff.). Here we have a period of righteousness, in which the temple is to be rebuilt, and a missionary week resulting in the conversion of the world, preceding the final judgment, which introduces the new heaven. There is, however, no mention of a personal Messiah. Briggs (*Mess. Gosp.* 15, 16; cf. *Mess. Apost.* 9), calls attention to the parallel between this passage and the later Persian eschatology, which regards the final resurrection and judgment as preceded by two preparatory millenniums, in which the prophets Ukhshyat-ereta, or Aūshētar, and Ukhshyat-nemah, or Aūshētar-māh, of the Avesta and the Pehlevī literature of Zoroastrianism, prepare the way for the coming of the final redeemer Saoshyant or Sōshāns. It is, of course, possible that in this, as in the allied doctrine of the resurrection, Jewish thought may have been affected by Persian ideas. But our sources for the Persian eschatology are so late (the Bundahis, in their present form, dating not earlier than the 7th cent. A.D.; cf. West in *Sac. Books of East*, v. p. xli, cf. also vols. xxiv. xxxvii. and xlvii.) that we must use great caution in drawing conclusions.*

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* On Persian eschatology, cf. Hübschmann, 'Die parsische Lehre von Jenseits,' *Jahrb. Prot. Theol.* 1879, ii.; Fr. Spiegel, art. 'Parsismus,' in Herzog, *RE*^{2}; Jackson, 'The Ancient Persian Doctrine of a Future Life,' in *Biblical World*, 1896, pp. 149–163. For

In the later Jewish Apocalypses, as in Talm., we find the limitation of Messiah's kingdom clearly set forth: thus Apoc. Bar distinctly limits its duration to this present world. *Et erit principatus ejus stans in sæculum, donec finiatur mundus corruptionis et donec impleantur tempora prædicta* (40^{3}). The character of this kingdom is set forth in extravagant language (women bearing children without pain, the vine yielding 1000 branches, each branch 1000 clusters, each cluster 1000 grapes, each grape a cor of wine, etc., cc. 29. 73), which occurs also in Papias, and is applied to the Christian Millennium. Still more striking is 2 Es 7$^{28.\,29}$ 'For my Son the Messiah (so Syr. Æth. Arab. over ag. Lat. 'Iesus') shall be revealed with those that are with him, and shall rejoice with those that remain 400 years. And it shall come to pass after these years that my Son the Christ and all men who have breath shall die. And the world (*sæculum*) shall be changed into the ancient silence seven days as in the first beginnings, so that no one shall be left. And it shall come to pass after the seven days that the world which does not now wake shall be aroused, and the corruptible shall die. And the earth shall give up them that sleep in her, and the dust them that dwell in that silence, and the store-houses (*promptuaria*) shall give up the souls entrusted to them. And the Most High shall be revealed upon the seat of judgment,' etc. (cf. 12^{34}). Here, unlike Baruch, where the Messianic age forms a transition between this world and that which is to come (74$^{2.\,3}$, cf. Schürer, II. ii. 178), the contrast between the Messianic age and the world to come is emphasized in the sharpest way. The Messiah and all flesh die, and remain dead for seven days. The length of the Messianic kingdom is expressly limited to 400 years—a number explained in the Talmud as due to the combination of Gn 15^{13} (the sojourn in Egypt) with Ps 90^{15} 'Make us glad according to the days wherein thou hast afflicted us' (*Sanh.* 99*a*). Another passage cites Mic 7^{15} 'As in the days of thy coming forth out of the land of Egypt will I show unto him marvellous things' (*Tanchuma*, *Ekeb* 7, quoted Weber^{2}, 372). In the later Jewish theology the view of the Messiah's kingdom as limited became the prevailing one (Schürer, as above; cf. Weber, 373). Its duration was a favourite subject of speculation. The classical passages are *Sanh.* 97, 99*a*, where the following reckonings are given: three generations, 40 years (corresponding to the 40 years in the wilderness), 70 years, 100 years, 365 years, 400 years, 600 years, 1000 years, 2000 years, 7000 years (see the passages quoted at length in Gfrörer, ii. 252 ff.; also Weber, 371 ff.; Drummond, 315 ff.). The determining principle seems to have been either 'the analogy between the first and the last redemption, therefore 40 or 400 years,' or 'the symmetry of the final period with those which precede,' hence 2000 years, corresponding to the 2000 before and the 2000 under the law; or finally, 'the thought that the Messianic time is a time of joy, Israel's marriage—hence 1000 or 7000 years' (Weber, 373). Still another reckoning is based upon the idea of a Sabbatical week, in which six millenniums of work are followed by one of rest. This view, perhaps first found in Secrets of Enoch 33$^{1.\,2}$ (see Charles' note at the passage, and Index ii., *s.* 'Millennium'; also art. ENOCH in vol. i. p. 711^{a}), rests upon Ps 90^{4} (cf. Jub 4, *Sanh.* 97*a*) and meets us in the Christian Epist. of Barnabas (c. 15).

In early Christian eschatology we find a like difference of view. On the one hand, we find passages in which the horizon of prophecy is bounded by the second advent of Christ, which, like the day of J" of OT, is regarded as closing the present age, and introducing the world to come. In many passages it is expressly associated with the general resurrection and the judgment (Mt 13^{39}, parable of the Tares; Mt 25$^{31-46}$, the great judgment scene; Jn 5^{29} 6^{44}, Ac 17^{31}, cf. 10^{42}). It results, for the wicked, in 'eternal destruction from the face of the Lord and from the glory of his might' (2 Th 1$^{6-10}$), while it introduces the saints into 'an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away' (1 P 1$^{4-8}$, cf. 2 P 1^{11}). On the other hand, we find a view which distinguishes between the Coming of Christ and the end of the world, and inserts between the two a period of millennial reign, in which Christ will dwell with the saints upon the renewed earth, and in which the OT prophecies concerning the glory of Jerus. and the victory of Israel over the nations will find their fulfilment. This period is variously described in language more or less gross or spiritual. But its essential features are these: a preliminary victory of Christ over the forces of evil at the advent (the destruction of Antichrist); a double resurrection, first of the saints at the beginning of the millennial period, then of all men at the last day; an earthly kingdom, in which the saints reign with Christ on the renewed earth, and the OT prophecies find literal fulfilment; a last brief outbreak of the forces of evil, followed by the universal resurrection and final judgment.

The doctrine of the Millennium is set forth in NT in clear terms only in Rev, where it constitutes 'the most easily recognizable dogmatic peculiarity' (Holtzmann, *Hdcom.* iv. 319). It is here taught that after the victory of the Messiah and His army over the beast and his army, and the destruction of the latter with the false prophet and all his followers (ch. 19), Satan himself will be cast into the abyss, and confined there for 1000 years, 'that he should deceive the nations no more until the 1000 years should be finished' (20^{3}). This triumph is followed by the resurrection of martyr saints, who reign with Christ as kings and priests 1000 years (20^{4}, cf. 5^{10}). This is expressly called the first resurrection, it being stated that 'the rest of the dead lived not until the 1000 years should be finished' (v.^{5}). At the close of the 1000 years Satan is loosed for a little while. Then follows a last world-conflict of the powers of evil, at the close of which takes place the final resurrection and judgment, ending in the destruction of all evil, Death and Hades themselves being cast into the lake of fire. This is the second death (20^{14}, cf. 2^{11}). This passage is most naturally understood as teaching a pre-millennial advent of Christ, and an earthly reign (so most recently by Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, 2nd ed. p. 442). It is to be noted, however, that the reference is only to a reign of the martyrs, not, as the later theory represented, of all Christians. Those who reject this interpretation are obliged either to break the connexion between chs. 19 and 20 (so Briggs, who regards the two chs. as belonging to two different Apocalypses, *Mess. Apost.* 305), or else to deny to ch. 19 any reference to the second advent, seeing in it only such a preliminary advent for judgment as is referred to in 2$^{5.\,16}$ 3$^{3.\,10}$ (so Moses Stuart, who sees in it no more than a reference to the approaching destruction of heathenism, ii. 352). The most serious difficulty in the way of this interpretation is the reference to the resurrection of the martyrs. In NT the resurrection of the saints is always associated with the advent of Christ. The older interpretations of a symbolic resurrection (as that of Israel in Ezk), or of a spiritual resurrection (as

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a discussion of Persian influence on OT eschatology, Cheyne in *Expos. Times*, ii. (1890) pp. 202, 224, 248, and *Bampton Lectures for* 1880, p. 381 ff.; Moulton in *Expos. Times*, ix. 352 ff.; Stave, *Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum*, 1898, p. 145 ff.; on the eschatology of the Talmud, Kohut, *ZDMG*, 1867, p. 552 ff.

in regeneration), are rendered untenable by the explicit reference to the martyrs (cf. 6^{9-11} 19^{9}). Those who reject the idea of a physical resurrection are obliged, therefore, to think of a resurrection from Hades to heaven, taking place at the close of the martyr age, and introducing those who are thus specially honoured into a state of heavenly blessedness which continues till the close of human history. (So Briggs, *Mess. Apost.* 357, who quotes Mt $27^{52.53}$, Eph 4^{8}, 1 P 3^{19} 4^{6}, Jn 5^{25}; Moses Stuart, ii. 478. The case of Moses and Elijah might also be cited. Cf. Schürer, II. ii. 180, for similar ideas among the Jews). From this point of view, the significance of the Millennium, while introduced indeed in time by the martyr age, and corresponding in general 'with the duration of the Church as the triumphing institution of the world in the last complete period of human history' (Briggs, 357), is not earthly but heavenly.

Outside of Rev many interpreters find reference to a millennial kingdom in 1 Co $15^{23.24}$, where St. Paul seems to distinguish between the **Parousia** of Christ with the resurrection of the saints, and the end when He shall deliver up the kingdom to the Father. Between these two events they conceive to lie that reign referred to in v.^{25}, which they identify with the period of 1000 years described in Rev 20 (so Olshausen, de Wette, Moses Stuart; Godet, *Com.* 1 *Cor.* Eng. tr. ii. 377 ff. *et al.*). Meyer distinguishes the two events in time, but rejects the identification of the intervening period with the Millennium of Rev 20. So Schmiedel, *Hdcomm.* ii. 161. On the other side, Heinrici, 1 *Kor.* 503 ff.; Weiss, *Bib. Theol.* 401; Harnack (art. 'Millennium,' *Enc. Brit.* xvi. 315); Briggs, *Mess. Apost.* 114, and the majority of modern interpreters. Those who find a pre-millenarian meaning in 1 Co $15^{23\text{ff.}}$ interpret in like sense Ph 3^{11} (St. Paul's hope of attaining the resurrection), 1 Th 4^{14-17} (which clearly refers, however, not to two resurrections, but to a resurrection of the faithful dead, to be followed immediately by the transformation of the 'quick'), Lk 14^{14} (the resurrection of the just), 20^{35} ('they that are accounted worthy to attain to that world, and the resurrection from the dead'), and Mt 19^{28} (the regeneration, when the apostles shall sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel). Premillenarian interpreters also refer to the period between the advent and the end, the promises in Mt 5^{5} (the meek shall inherit the earth), Mt $20^{8\text{ff.}}$ (the reward of the labourers), and Mk 10^{30}, Lk 18^{30} (the reward given to the disciples in this world, which is distinguished from that in the world to come; yet cf. Lk 20^{35}, where the resurrection introduces the world to come). For a temperate statement of the exegetical argument for premillenarianism, cf. H. Schultz in *JDTh*, 1867, pp. 120–127. On the other side, Salmond, *op. cit.* pp. 520, 561 ff., and the authorities cited above. See, further, under PAROUSIA.

Millenarian views were common, though by no means universal, in the early Church. They meet us in gross form in Papias, who quotes as a genuine word of Christ a prediction, generally agreeing with Apoc. Bar, concerning the remarkable fertility of the vine in the millennial kingdom (Iren. *adv. Hær.* v. 33; cf. Euseb. iii. 39); in more spiritual form in Barnabas, who, combining Gn 2^{2} with Ps 90^{4}, looks for a Millennium of Sabbath rest, following the present six millenniums of work, and introduced by the coming of the Messiah 'to put an end to the time of the wicked one, and to judge the ungodly, and to change sun, moon, and stars' (15^{5}). This he declares to be the true Sabbath rest for which Christians look—a time when, having been themselves justified, and having received the promise, lawlessness no longer existing, but all things having been made new by the Lord, they will be able to keep holy the Sabbath, having first been sanctified themselves (v.^{7}). At the close of this millennial period follows the beginning of the eighth day, which is the beginning of another world (v.^{8}). Hermas and 2nd Ep. Clement are also claimed as pre-millenarian, but without sufficient reason. There is no trace of the doctrine in either I Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, or the Epistle to Diognetus. The *Didaché*, indeed, restricts the resurrection at the Advent to those who are Christ's, but is silent as to what follows thereafter. 'And then shall appear the signs of the truth: first the sign of the outspreading in heaven, then the sign of the voice of the trumpet, thirdly the resurrection of the dead, yet not of all; but as it was said, The Lord shall come, and all his saints with him. Then the world shall see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven.'

The prevalence of millenarian views in the later Church was due partly to the Jewish Apocalypses, which were read and highly esteemed in the Christian Church (Papias, cf. Harnack, art. 'Millennium,' 315), partly to the explicit statement of the Apoc. of St. John (Justin, *Trypho*, 81). Hence we find later opponents of Chiliasm denying the authenticity of Rev (Dionysius *ap.* Euseb. vii. 25). While most common among the Jewish Christians, to whom their origin was attributed by later opponents (Cerinthus *ap.* Euseb. iii. 28; cf. *Test. XII. Pat.* [Jud. c. 25; Benj. c. 10]; Ebionites *ap.* Jerome, *Com. on Is.* lx. 1, lxvi. 20), such views early meet us among the Gentile Christians. Justin, while in certain passages apparently ignoring them (*Apol.* 52, *Trypho*, 45, 49, 113; cf. Briggs in *Luth. Quar.* 1879), elsewhere explicitly recognizes them. When asked by Trypho whether he really admits that Jerus. will be rebuilt, and expects that his people will be gathered together and made joyful 'with Christ together with the patriarchs and the prophets, and the men of our nation and proselytes who joined them before your Christ came,' Justin answers in the affirmative. While admitting that 'many who belong to the pure and pious faith, and are true Christians, think otherwise,' he declares that he and others 'who are right-minded Christians on all points, are assured that there will be a resurrection of the dead, and 1000 years in Jerus., which will then be built, adorned and enlarged as the prophets Ezekiel, Isaiah, and others declare' (80). For this view he cites Rev as follows: 'There was a certain man with us whose name was John, one of the apostles of Christ, who prophesied by a revelation which was made to him that those who believed in our Christ would dwell 1000 years in Jerus., and that thereafter the general and in short the eternal resurrection and judgment for all men would likewise take place' (81). With the exception of Justin, the Apologists show no trace of Chiliasm. The anti-Gnostic Fathers of the close of the 2nd cent., on the other hand, were pronounced Millenarians. Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* v. 32–35), Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* iii. 25), and later Hippolytus (*Com. in Dan.* 1772, p. 99) give us in their writings full descriptions of the millennial kingdom. Tertullian wrote an entire work on the subject (*de Spe Fidelium*), which has unfortunately perished. Doubtless the views of these Fathers were influenced by their opposition to the Gnostics, who with Chiliasm rejected also the entire Christian eschatology. But the adoption of chiliastic views by the Montanists, who looked for the speedy setting up of the millennial kingdom at Pepuza in Phrygia, soon brought them into disrepute. They were opposed in Rome by the Presbyter Caius, who attributed their origin to the arch-heretic Cerinthus (Euseb. iii. 28). In the East they were attacked by the Alexandrines, who, following the example set by the Gnostics, interpreted the passages cited by the Chiliasts allegorically (cf. Origen, *de Prin.* ii. 11). The attempt of the Egyptian bishop Nepos to enforce a literal interpretation was unsuccessful. Especially effective was the opposition of Dionysius of Alexandria, who wrote a book 'On the Promises,' in which he advocated the allegorical exegesis, and denied the Johannine authorship of the Apocalypse. Later Chiliasts, like Methodius of Olympus (*Banquets of the Ten Virgins*, ix. 5) and Apollinaris of Laodicea (Basil, *Ep.* 263), were unable to stem the tide.

In the West, Chiliasm was longer lived. Here the doubts as to the authenticity of the Apoc. found little hearing. Commodian (*Inst. adv. Gent. deos*, 43, 44) and Lactantius (*Inst.* vii. 24) were pronounced Chiliasts. Victorinus of Petau is so claimed by Jerome, although his commentary on the Apocalypse shows no trace of such views (yet cf. Briggs, *Luth. Quart.* p. 234). Jerome himself, while often speaking contemptuously of the Chiliasts as 'our half-Jews (*semi-Judæi*), who look for a Jerus. of gold and precious stones from heaven, and a future kingdom of 1000 years, in which all nations shall serve Israel' (*Com. on Is.* lx. 1, lxvi. 20), elsewhere (*Com. on Jer.* xix. 10) speaks of them with more respect, as holding views 'which, although we may not hold, we cannot condemn, because many ecclesiastical men and martyrs have taught the same.' Even Augustine, the strongest of all opponents of Chiliasm in the West, distinguishes between a gross and a more spiritual form, and admits that in his early days he himself had been an advocate of the latter (*de Civ. Dei*, xx. 7).

The final defeat of Chiliasm in the West was due to Augustine, who, in his *City of God*, identified the Millennium with the history of the Church on earth, and declared that, for those who belonged to the true Church, the first resurrection was passed already (*de Civ. Dei*, xx. 7–9). With the acceptance of this identification by the Roman Church, the power of Chiliasm was permanently broken.

Pre-millenarian views have, indeed, been revived from time to time, now in grosser, now in more spiritual form, and have never been without their advocates in the Church; but they have failed to win general acceptance. The Church as a whole, Protestant as well as Catholic, has either adopted Augustine's identification of the Millennium with the Church militant, or else looks for a future period of prosperity, preceding the second advent of Christ. The history of later Millenarianism lies beyond the scope of the present article.

LITERATURE.—The article 'Chiliasmus' by Semisch-Bratke, in Herzog, *RE*^{3}; Harnack, 'Millennium,' in *Enc. Brit.*; Fisher, 'Millennium,' in M'Clintock and Strong; Kellogg, 'Pre-millenarianism,' in Schaff-Herzog, in which last the later literature is given; Corrodi, *Krit. Gesch. d. Chiliasmus* (1781); Münscher, 'Entwickelung der Lehre vom Tausendjähr. Reich. in d. drei erst. Jahrhund.,' in Henke's *Magazin*, iv. 233. Specially for the Jewish Chiliasm, Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 178 ff.; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*; Gfrörer, *Das Jahrhundert des Heils*; Weber, *System der altsyn. Theol.* [2nd ed., under title *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talm.*, etc. 1897]. Much information concerning Jewish eschatology may also be obtained from Charles' ed. of Enoch (Oxford, 1893). For the biblical doctrine, cf. the Comm. on Rev, esp. Moses Stuart, ii. p. 355 ff., Exc. vi. p. 474 ff., on the Millennium; Düsterdieck in Meyer^4, 545 ff. [new edition by Bousset, 1896]; D. Brown, *Christ's Second Advent*, 1846–53; Schultz, *JDTh* (1867) pp. 121–127; Briggs, *The Messiah of the Apostles*, 341–358, where much information is given as to the history of interpretation; Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, 437 ff. For the early history of Millenarianism in the Christian Church, cf. Dorner, *Person Christi*, i. 240 ff.; Nitzsch, *Dogmengesch.* i. 400 ff.; Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, i. 167 note, ii. 294 ff.; Briggs in *Luth. Quart.* (1879), an answer to Seiss, *The Last Times* (Phil. 78), which latter gives a full statement of the literature from a pre-millenarian point of view; Terry, *Bibl. Apocalyptics* (N.Y., 1898).

W. ADAMS BROWN.

MILLET (דֹּחַן *dōḥan*, *κέγχρος*, *milium*). — The testimony of the ancient VSS, and the identity of the cognate Arab. *dukhn* = *Panicum miliaceum*, L., leave no reasonable room for doubt as to the grain mentioned once as an ingredient of the very complex bread made by Ezekiel (4^9). It has a seed not much larger than mustard, much used for feeding the smaller kinds of birds. It is also sometimes used, mixed with wheat and barley, to make bread. *Setaria Italica*, Kth., is also cultivated in the East, under the name of *dukhn*. Its seed closely resembles that of *Panicum miliaceum*. In addition to the above, *Sorghum vulgare*, L., has been proposed as the equivalent of *dōḥan*. This is a tall Gramen, with broad leaves, and a compact panicle, often a foot long, and 6 to 8 in. broad. The seeds are white, and larger than hemp seeds. They are extensively raised in the East as a cheap bread-stuff for the poorer classes. The Arab. name of this, *dhurah*, usually given in Eng. books *dourra*, seems to be ancient, and is never confounded with *dukhn*. The Arabs call the sorghum *dhurah beiḍâ* = 'white dhurah,' and *dh. ṣaifî* or *dh. ḳaiẓi* = 'summer dh.,' in distinction from *maize*, which is known as *dh. ṣafrâ* = 'yellow dh.,' or *dh. shâmîyyah* = 'Syrian dh.,' or *dh. kîzân* = 'dh. of *Kîzân*.' The sorghum is cultivated in the great central plains of Syria, and ripens in midsummer, having had no water since the cessation of the spring rains.

G. E. POST.

MILLO. — **1.** (הַמִּלּוֹא, always with the definite article, probably [but see below] 'the fill' [of earth]: 2 S and 1 K 11^{27} *ἡ ἄκρα*; 1 K 9^{15} [Aq. ?] *τὴν Μελὼ καὶ τὴν ἄκραν*, v.^{24} *τὴν Μελώ*; 2 Ch *τὸ ἀνάλημμα*). According to the brief notice in 2 S 5^9 (=1 Ch 11^8) 'and David built round about from (the) Millo and inward,' the Millo formed part of the original defences of the old Jebusite city, situated on the easternmost of the two hills on which Jerusalem stands: most probably it was an outwork or rampart of earth, which protected the northern entrance of the Jebusite fort. After the capture of the city and its subsequent extension by David, it became necessary to fill up that part of the Tyropœon valley, which separated the new from the old city at this point, in order to connect the two. To this end David built a new and larger Millo, of which traces remain to the present day (Schick, *ZDPV*, 1894, p. 68). With this agrees the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* VII. iii. 1, 2), that David, having crossed the ravine and seized the citadel (*τὴν Ἄκραν*), rebuilt the city and called it by his own name. He further states that David, 'having also surrounded the lower city (*τὴν κάτω πόλιν*), and joined the citadel to it, made them one body.' It would seem, however, that this important work was only planned or, at most, only begun by David; for we learn from 1 K 9$^{15, 24}$ (and especially 11^{27} 'Solomon built [the] Millo and shut in the ravine [RV 'repaired the breach'] of the city of David'), that the actual building was carried out by his successor. The Millo is mentioned again as forming an important part of the defences of Jerusalem in 701 B.C., when Hezekiah prepared to resist the attack of Sennacherib (2 Ch 32^5).

The above explanation is quite consistent with the old derivation of the word given by the Targums (מְלֵיתָא* 'a filling up'), and adopted by Gesenius (*Thes.* 787 f.), Schick, and others. The Millo would, on this view, be connected with the Hebrew root מָלֵא, but, as Grove (Smith, *DB*^{2} ii. p. 367) and Moore (Jg 9^6) have pointed out, its occurrence in connexion with the old Canaanite town Shechem (see below) makes it probable that it is an archaic, possibly Jebusite, form borrowed by the Israelites. See JEBUS and JERUSALEM.

2. The House of Millo (בֵּית מִלּוֹא = **Beth-millo**;

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* Elsewhere in the Targums מליתא corresponds to the Hebrew סֹלְלָה = the mound raised *against* a city by the besieging force.

B οἶκος Βηθμααλών [Βηθμααλλών]; A οἶκος Μααλλών). (*a*) Most probably the name of a place (Beth-millo) in the neighbourhood of Shechem (Jg $9^{6.\ 20}$). Some identify it with the tower of Shechem (vv.$^{46-49}$), but this view lacks support, as apparently the latter verses do not belong to the same narrative as the rest of the chapter. (See Moore, *ad loc.*). If we accept the rendering of the RV, we must take 'the house of Millo' as the name of a family or clan.

(*b*) (οἶκος Μααλώ; *domus Mello*), the place where Joash was slain by his servants (2 K 12^{20}), apparently in Jerusalem. See above, under **1**, and art. SILLA. J. F. STENNING.

MILLSTONE.—See MILL.

MINCE (derived by Skeat from Anglo-Sax. *minsian* to grow small, fail, but clearly connected with Old Fr. *mincer* to shred) is found in AV only in Is 3^{16} 'Because the daughters of Zion are haughty, and walk with stretched forth necks and wanton eyes, walking and mincing as they go,' where the meaning is 'taking short steps.' Cf. Shaks. *Merch. of Venice*, III. iv. 67—

> 'And turn two mincing steps
> Into a manly stride.'

J. HASTINGS.

MIND.—This aspect of the human soul, or of man's inner life, is not distinguished in the OT by any radical term, but only by derivatives such as בִּינָה, which has the meaning of 'prudence' or 'good sense' rather than 'knowledge' or 'understanding.' The term לֵבָב or לֵב, and its equivalent καρδία in the NT, include the intellectual as well as all other inward movements. (See HEART). The greater analytic precision of Greek thought and its closer attention to the intellectual element in our nature brought into the language of the NT such words as νοῦς with its congeners διάνοια, ἔννοια, νόημα; also σύνεσις, διαλογισμός, etc. But even there, they are not used with any psychological refinement or exactitude. It is quite impossible, for example, to follow Olshausen (*Opuscula Theologica*, p. 156) when he attempts to show that νοῦς and σύνεσις, with their corresponding verbs, as used in the NT, represent the Kantian distinction between *Vernunft* and *Verstand*, familiarized to us in English by Coleridge as that between *Reason* and *Understanding*—the former, the higher intuitive perception; the latter, the lower or dialectic judgment. It is plain that the terms are really interchangeable (Mk 8^{17}, Mt $13^{14.\ 15}$, 2 Ti 2^{7}). Some more abstract terms, such as 'thought,' 'minding,' 'thinking,' are used in the NT, almost indiscriminately, to represent the contents or products of the inward life, or what the OT calls 'the imagination of the thoughts of the heart' (Gn 6^{5}).

Of the two Greek words most frequently representing the notion, νοῦς may be held to denote the faculty of reflective consciousness, the organ of moral thinking and knowing; σύνεσις a peculiar force or acuteness in the exercise of that faculty. The leading word (νοῦς) occurs very seldom in the Septuagint. In the few places where it does, it represents לֵבָב or לֵב. In Is 40^{13} νοῦν Κυρίου stands for רוּחַ יהוה, and the rendering is retained in 1 Co 2^{16}. The OT Apocryphal writers have used it a few times and in a sense more distinctively Greek. In the NT its almost entire absence from the Gospels and from the writings of the older apostles (it occurs there only in Lk 24^{45}, Rev 13^{18} 17^{9}) shows how closely they adhered to OT phraseology from which the special notion represented by νοῦς was absent. To note its frequent use by St. Paul and that almost delicate antithesis in which he contrasts it with σάρξ in one connexion and with πνεῦμα in another, completes its history.

St. Paul uses πνεῦμα for the divine or spiritual power coming to the renewed man: for man's own highest sense of right or faculty of knowledge he uses νοῦς, as do the best classical writers. Accordingly, in sharp contrast with the 'flesh,' in which evil dwells, he calls the divine commandment 'the law of his mind' (Ro 7^{23}), and declares that 'with the mind' (v.^{25}) he serves it. This same faculty, when perverted or enthralled by inherent evil, becomes 'the fleshly mind' (Col 2^{18}), 'a reprobate mind' (Ro 1^{28}), 'corrupted mind' (1 Ti 6^{5}, 2 Ti 3^{8}).

The other antithesis is when the apostle takes νοῦς for deliberate, reflective consciousness—its proper sense—and contrasts it with πνεῦμα in the sense of *afflatus* or unconscious impulse coming from without or above (1 Co $14^{14.\ 15.\ 19}$). See, further, next art. and PSYCHOLOGY.

J. LAIDLAW.

MIND.—The verb to 'mind' is both trans. and intrans. As a trans. verb it means to 'give attention to,' Ro 8^{5} 'They that are after the flesh do mind the things of the flesh' (φρονοῦσιν); 12^{16} 'Mind not high things' (μὴ τὰ ὑψηλὰ φρονοῦντες, RV 'Set not your mind on high things'); Ph 3^{16} 'Let us mind the same thing' (τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν); 3^{19} 'Who mind earthly things' (οἱ τὰ ἐπίγεια φρονοῦντες). Intransitively it means to purpose, intend, Ac 20^{13} 'for so had he appointed, minding himself to go afoot' (μέλλων). Cf. Pr. Bk. 'Ye that mind to come to the holy Communion'; Golding's *Calvin's Job*, 562, 'Althoughe they protest that they minde to justifie him . . . yet neverthelesse they condemne him'; and Lk 14^{28} Rhem. 'For, which of you minding to build a toure, doth not first sit downe and recken the charges that are necessarie?'

The phrase 'to be minded' has the same meaning as the intrans. verb 'to mind,' as Ru 1^{18} 'When she saw that she was stedfastly minded to go with her'; 2 Ch 24^{4} 'And it came to pass after this that Joash was minded to repair the house of the LORD'; Ac 27^{39} 'They discovered a certain creek with a shore, into the which they were minded, if it were possible, to thrust in the ship' (TR ἐβουλεύσαντο, edd. ἐβουλεύοντο, RV 'they took counsel'); Ph 3^{15} 'Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded: and if in anything ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you' (φρονῶμεν, καὶ εἴ τι ἑτέρως φρονεῖτε).

There are many phrases of which the ptcp. 'minded' forms a part: 'carnally minded' (τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός, RV 'the mind of the flesh') Ro 8^{6}, and in the same verse 'spiritually minded' (τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος, RV 'the mind of the spirit'); 'double minded' (δίψυχος) Ja 1^{8} 4^{8}; 'feeble minded' (ὀλιγόψυχος, RV 'fainthearted') 1 Th 5^{14}; 'highminded' (ὑψηλοφρονεῖν, edd. ὑψηλὰ φρονεῖν, 'be highminded') Ro 11^{20}, 1 Ti 6^{17} (τετυφωμένος, RV 'puffed up'), 2 Ti 3^{4}; 'light minded' (κοῦφος καρδίᾳ) Sir 19^{4}; 'likeminded' (τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν, RV 'to be of the same mind') Ro 15^{5}, Ph 2^{2} (ἰσόψυχος), Ph 2^{20}; 'sober minded' (σωφρονεῖν) Tit 2^{6}.

J. HASTINGS.

MINES, MINING.—We are here concerned with this subject only so far as it relates to Bible history and Bible lands. Mines are but once referred to in OT, and for the reason that in Palestine proper they are unknown. In the Sinaitic peninsula it is otherwise. The remarkable passage in the Bk of Job (28^{1-11}), in which the process of mining and the miner's life are graphically described, must have been written by one who had a personal knowledge of the subject. Egypt and Arabia Petræa probably furnished to the writer the details on which the poem is founded. We shall take the passage as given in RV, with some notes from the *Speaker's Commentary*—

1. 'Surely there is a mine (vein AV) for the silver, and a place

for gold which they refine.' Two processes were known to the ancients—one by washing, described by Diodorus (iv. 2), as practised in Egypt; the other by smelting. The word here denotes the former.

2. 'Iron is taken out of the earth, and brass (copper) is molten out of the stone.'

3. 'Man setteth an end to darkness, and searcheth out to the furthest bound the stones of thick darkness and of the shadow of death.' The miner lets in light to the very abode of darkness (in the mine or shaft) by means of the lantern.

4. 'He breaketh open a shaft away from where men sojourn; they are forgotten of the foot that passeth by: they hang afar; they swing (or flit) to and fro.' This passage is also rendered in the margin, 'the flood breaketh out from where men sojourn,' suggestive of the sudden outburst of pent-up waters in the mine when a fissure is broken open: and after the waters are escaped 'they are minished, and gone away from man.' . . .

7. 'That path no bird of prey knoweth, neither hath the falcon's eye seen it; the proud beasts have not trodden it, nor hath the fierce lion passed thereby.' The mine is a path which none but man can discern. The ingenuity of man is contrasted with the instinctive sagacity of animals.

9. 'He putteth forth his hand upon the flinty rock: he overturneth the mountains by the roots'; apparently referring to blasting. Pliny describes various processes (*NH* xxxiii. 21).

10. 'He cutteth out channels' (*corrugi*, Pliny) 'among the rocks; and his eye seeth every precious thing.' Channels to drain the mine, while he carefully scans the mineral vein for traces of ore.

11. 'He bindeth the streams that they trickle not, and the thing that is hid bringeth he forth to light.' Descriptive of the alternative process to that in v.^{10} of damming up the waters in the river while the miner digs out the auriferous alluvial gravel—a process described by Pliny (*NH* xxxiii. 21).

The whole passage, though couched in poetic language, shows us that the processes of mining nearly 2500 years ago were not dissimilar to those practised in the time of Pliny, and even down to the present day, except in the use of machinery and of powerful explosives.

We shall now describe some localities where mining operations were carried on, and consider them under the head of the minerals produced.

Gold (זָהָב).—This was one of the earliest metals discovered by man, as may be gathered from its occurrence in the sepulchres of the most ancient races, worked into ornaments. Mining for gold was carried on in many countries in ancient times by the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Babylonians. In Upper Egypt it was worked in the country of the Bisharéeh Arabs, and between Coptos and Kossayr (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, i. 232, iii. 227). The gold occurs in quartz-veins amongst the Archæan rocks, from which it was extracted by breaking, grinding, and washing; criminals being employed and compelled to work under overseers taken from tribes speaking a different tongue. Gold was also worked by Ramses II. at Akita (Wady Ollagi) by means of shafts, but the mines had to be abandoned owing to want of water (Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 287). The gold which was so abundant in Palestine in the reign of Solomon (1 K $10^{14ff.}$) came from various countries—Spain, India, Arabia, and probably South Africa. The Phœnicians, according to Herodotus (vi. 47), worked mines for gold in the island of Thasos, but Spain was the country which yielded to these navigators the most abundant wealth in metals. Gold, according to Pliny, was found in the bed of the Tagus, and there were mines of it in Galicia, Asturias, and elsewhere (*NH* xxxiii. 4). The produce of Asturias formed the major part. The process of mining gold from shafts and galleries, as well as by washing the alluvia from the bed of streams, is described in what must be considered highly exaggerated language by Pliny (*NH* xxxiii. ch. 21); but in the *auri sacra fames* (Verg. *Aen.* iii. 57) human life was little accounted of, and both in Egypt and elsewhere the hardships and cruelties endured by those employed in mining must have been great indeed. The gold of Ophir may have come from India; but it is not improbable that some of the ancient workings visited by the late Mr. Theodore Bent in S. Africa may date back to the time of Solomon (J. Th. Bent, 'Ruins of Mashonaland,' *Rep. Brit. Assoc.* 1892, p. 543). See, also, art. GOLD.

Silver (כֶּסֶף), which Pliny calls 'the next folly of mankind' (after gold), was mined by means of shafts 'sunk deep in the ground,' and smelted in combination with lead ore or *galena* (Pliny, *NH* xxxiii. 31). Most of our silver comes from argentiferous *galena*. The finest ores were worked in Spain. In Upper Egypt silver mines were worked in the mountains bordering the Red Sea (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 235). See, further, art. SILVER.

Copper (נְחֹשֶׁת, **brass** [which see], which in Old Eng. means *copper*).—Copper mines were worked in very ancient times in Arabia Petræa. The earliest mining operations of which we have any record were those carried on by the Egyptian kings of the 4th, 5th, and 12th Dynasties in the Sinaitic mountains. In the Wady Magharah and at Sarabit el-Khadim copper ore was extracted from veins in the ancient rocks by means of shafts, under the auspices of the early Pharaohs (Brugsch, *Ancient Egypt*, i. 65; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, 64). It must have been this part of the Promised Land that is referred to in Dt $8^{7.9}$, for in Palestine proper copper is unknown. The ore also occurs in the Wadis Nasb and Khalig (in the latter somewhat extensively) in company with those of iron and manganese; while the smelting of the ores was carried on in the Wady Nasb near to the springs, where extensive slag-heaps may still be seen (Bauerman, *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* xxv. 27). Similar mines and slag-heaps occur in Wadis el-Marká and Sened, where a dyke rich in copper ore traverses syenite for a distance of nearly 2 miles (Holland, in *Ord. Survey of Sinai*, 224). The ore was extensively worked by the Phœnicians in Cyprus, where, according to Pliny, it was first discovered, and from which the island derives its name.

Tin.—This metal, which, when used as an alloy of copper, produces bronze, was wrought in very early times in Egypt, as bronze implements have been discovered in Thebes. Tin (בְּדִיל) is mentioned in Nu 31^{22} P, and also in Is 1^{25}; in the latter in a sense indicating its use as an alloy (cf. also Ezk $22^{18.20}$ 27^{12}, Zec 4^{10}). The word used by Homer (*Il.* xviii. 474 and 613), *κασσίτερος*, is the same as the Arabic *kasdeer*, probably derived from ancient Phœnician. Certain it is that these mariners brought tin from the Cassiterides, which embraced the Scilly Isles and the coast of Cornwall (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii.). One of the most remarkable facts connected with the early races in Europe and Asia was the extensive use of weapons and implements of bronze; and Sir John Evans shows that the use of bronze preceded that of iron in Egypt (*Ancient Bronze Implements*, pp. 7, 8). See, further, under TIN.

Iron (בַּרְזֶל).—Though iron ore is more extensively diffused in the rocks than any other, it seems to have come into general use later than copper, bronze, and tin. Iron ores are unknown in Palestine, except at the southern base of the Lebanon (Porter in Smith's *DB* ii. 87) and near Beirût; perhaps it was from these deposits that the celebrated Damascus steel was manufactured. The ore is scarce in Egypt, but one mine of rich hæmatite, discovered by Burton in 1822, was worked in ancient times in the eastern desert at Hammámi (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, iii. 246). Iron ores were mined, also, in the Wadis Nasb and Khalig, and in the mountain of Sarabit el-Khadim, associated with manganese and copper; also in Jebel Hadíd, all in the Sinaitic region (Holland, *Ord. Surv. Sinai*, p. 230). It is probable that these mining operations were carried on at the same time as those in search of turquoise stones during the early Pharaonic occupation—about B.C. 2500. Cf. also art. IRON.

Turquoise Mines.—Of all the ancient mines of which we have any knowledge in the countries we are dealing with, the most remarkable are those of Jebel Sarabit el-Khadim, and Wadis Sidreh and Magharah in the Sinaitic peninsula, from which turquoises were extracted by the early Egyptians. Amongst the lofty and precipitous cliffs of the Nubian sandstone, extensive galleries were opened out by colonies of slaves presided over by taskmasters, in the time of Sneferu of the 4th Dynasty of Manetho, and of Amenemhat II. of the 12th Dynasty, and his successor. The numerous inscriptions and cartouches on the walls of the mines, the steles and ruined buildings scattered over a considerable area of this mountainous region, indicate extensive mining operations at this early period, *c.* B.C. 2500. From recent examinations of these galleries, it appears that the turquoise stone ('mafka') occurs in thin threads and pockets in an ochreous matrix. But, notwithstanding the extent of these ancient works, the turquoise is a gem almost unknown amongst the Pharaonic ornaments in the tombs of Egypt, from which it is inferred that the stones have decomposed and crumbled away to powder. These old mines were reopened a few years ago by Major Macdonald, who employed Arab labour. The ruins of a church indicate inhabitants in early Christian times.*
E. HULL.

MINIAMIN (מִנְיָמִין).—**1.** A Levite, 2 Ch 31^{15} (*Βενιαμείν*).—**2.** Neh 12^{17} (B א* A om. ; א$^{c.a}$ *Βενιαμείν*) = **Mijamin** of 1 Ch 24^{9}, Neh 10^{7} 12^{5}. **3.** A priest who took part in the ceremony of the dedication of the walls, Neh 12^{41} (B א* A om. ; א$^{c.a}$ *Βενιαμείν*).

MINISH (from Low Lat. *minutiare* and Lat. *minutia* smallness, through Fr. *ménuiser* to make small, extenuate) has been displaced in mod. English by its derivative 'diminish.' It occurs twice in AV: Ex 5^{19} 'Ye shall not minish ought from your bricks of your daily task' (לֹא־תִגְרְעוּ), and Ps 107^{39} 'They are minished and brought low through oppression, affliction, and sorrow' (וַיִּמְעֲטוּ). Further examples from the older versions are: Wyclif, 1 K 17^{14} 'The stene of mele shal noght fayle, ne the vessel of oyle shal not be mynushid, unto the day in the which the Lord is to gyue reyn upon the face of the erthe' (1388 'schal not be abatid'); Tindale, Ex 5^{8} 'the nombre of bricke which they were wont to make in tyme passed, laye unto their charges also, and minysh nothinge therof'; Cov., Ezk 5^{16} 'I will encrease hunger, and mynish all the provysion off bred amonge you'; Great Bible, Ps 12^{1} 'For the faythfull are mynisshed from amonge the children of men'; Rhem., He 2^{7} 'Thou didst minish him litle lesse then Angels.' As the same Heb. verbs are frequently translated 'diminish,' it does not seem that the Revisers were justified in retaining this obsolete form in the two passages quoted. The Amer. Revisers prefer 'diminish' in both passages. But RV further introduces 'minish' into Is 19^{6}, Hos 8^{10}.
J. HASTINGS.

MINISTER.—In modern English this word is applied either ecclesiastically to the servant of God, or else politically to the servant of the crown or state. The eccles. use has come from the practice in the early Church of translating *διάκονος* by Lat. *minister*, and then making the title apply to all under the order of the presbyter.* See Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Ant. s.v.* But in AV, though the translation of *διάκονος* as well as of other words, 'minister' has always the primitive sense of 'servant,' 'attendant,' or 'officer,' as in classical Lat. *minister* had.

Thus Joshua is called Moses' minister (Ex 24^{13}, Jos 1^{1}), being first of all his personal attendant; and John Mark is called (Ac 13^{5}) the minister of Barnabas and Paul. The ministers of Solomon, at whose 'attendance' the queen of Sheba marvelled (1 K 10^{5}, 2 Ch 9^{4}), were not officers of state, but household servants; and the minister to whom Jesus handed the book (Lk 4^{20}) was the *ḥazzan* or attendant in the synagogue. St. Paul speaks of Christ as 'a minister of the circumcision' (Ro 15^{8}), in conformity with the Lord's own words that He was sent to be a servant to the lost sheep of the house of Israel; he also asks if Christ can be the minister of sin (Gal 2^{17}), by which he means its agent; and when he speaks of being himself a minister of Christ (Ro 15^{16}, 2 Co 11^{23}, Eph 3^{7}) or of the gospel (1 Col 1^{23-25}), he does not use the word in any other sense than the absolute sense of servant. The word 'servant' in AV means commonly modern 'slave,' and so 'minister' is modern 'servant.' The minister in biblical language is always a 'waiter on,' as Sir John Cheke translates the word in Mt 20^{26} 'Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister.'

Elyot (*Governour*, i. 13) says that 'in the message to kynge Pharo, Aaron rather as a ministre than a companyon wente with Moses.' Tindale's tr. of Mt 5^{25} is 'Agre with thyne adversary quicklye . . . lest . . . the judge delivre the to the minister.' Wyclif, who has 'minister' very often for 'officer,' as Jn $2^{5.9}$ 7^{32} 18^{18}, has 'domesman' here; the Geneva Bible has 'sargeant'; the 'officer' of AV is from the Rhemish. Cf. Udall, *Erasmus' Paraphrase*, i. fol. c., 'Finally entring in he satte emong the ministers warming him at the coles.' See next article.
J. HASTINGS.

MINISTER, MINISTRY.—**1.** IN OLD TESTAMENT.—These words are still employed by RV as the tr^{n} almost exclusively of *shērēth* and its correlates, which again are translated in the LXX almost exclusively by *λειτουργεῖν* and its correlates. The exceptions in the LXX are so rare as to be almost negligible; and yet the exclusiveness and some of the exceptions, when examined, are striking and suggestive. *Shērēth* is the word chosen to express ministration towards a higher being for the common weal; hence it expresses the ministration of the priests and Levites as a high function, for the common weal, in relation to God (*e.g.* Ex 29^{30}; and, ironically, the ministration to gods of wood and stone, Ezk 20^{32}): it stands also for the ministration Godward of the elemental angels as the forces of nature (Ps 103^{21} 104^{4}); and likewise of one human being to another of higher rank, again most frequently for some public good, as of Joshua to Moses (Jos 1^{1}).

To represent ministration looked at in this light—a high function for the common weal—the LXX most fitly chose *λειτουργεῖν* (*-ία, -ημα, -ός, -ικός, -ήσιμος*), derived, as it was, from *ἔργον* and the Attic λεῖτος (Ionic λήϊτος, Doric λάϊτος, 'pertaining to the λαός,' *the people*), and carrying with it, as it did, the remembrance of public duty discharged for the state by richer citizens at their own expense. That the idea of priestly ministration, though strange to the word in classical literature, was not strange to it in Alexandrian Greek, is proved by Egyptian papyri of the 2nd cent. B.C. (see Deissmann, *Beiträge aus den Papyri*, p. 137 f.); and it is found later on in the use of the word by Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Plutarch (see Deissmann, *ibid.*, and Cremer, *Lexicon*, Eng. tr. p. 764). Λατρεύειν (only twice for *shērēth*, Nu 16^{9}, Ezk 20^{32}, and each time of the priestly function) is mostly in LXX the representative of *'ābhad*, and differs from λειτουργεῖν in being not so much priestly service as the religious service of the entire congregation (Ex 3^{12}) or of the individual worshipper (2 S 15^{8}; cf. Ph 3^{3}, Ro 1^{9}). (It is true, on the other hand, that, almost in every case where the subst. λειτουργία appears, the original is *'ăbhōdāh*; but this may be because no abstract subst. had been formed from *shērēth*). When θεράπων stands for *shērēth* (ptcp.), as it once does, Ex 33^{11} 'his minister (RV) Joshua,' the idea present is *non-servile* attendance, like that of a squire in the Middle Ages. (Cf. Hom. *Il.* xvi. 244, the relation of Patroclus to Achilles; and Nu 12^{7}, He 3^{5}, the relation of Moses to God). Twice only does λειτουργεῖν represent the rare Aramaic *pĕlaḥ*, Ezr 7^{24} (-ος), 7^{19} (-ία), and in both cases in regard to the service of the sanctuary. Here the idea in the Aram. appears to be that of labour, as though it were the labour of ploughing. Διακονεῖν (-ία, -ος) as the rendering of *shērēth* is entirely confined to Esther, and occurs but two or three times even there. The idea in this word will be dealt with below. Not one of the instances in Esther touches the priestly function.

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* For a description of these mines, see *Ordnance Survey of Sinai* by Wilson and Palmer (1869), with notes by S. Birch and F. W. Holland; Lepsius, *Briefe aus Ægypten*, p. 336 (1852); Bauerman, *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* xxv. 31, 32; Maspero, *Dawn of Civiliz.* 354 ff., 473 ff. Bauerman believes that flint implements were used in cutting the rock.

* For the practice in the Scotch Reformed Church, cf. Calderwood, *The True History of the Church of Scotland*, 105—'Pastors, Bishops, or Ministers are they who are appointed to particular congregations, which they rule by the word of God, and over the which they watch. In respect whereof, sometime they are called Pastors, because they feed their Congregation; sometime *Episcopi*, or Bishops, because they watch over their Flock; sometimes Ministers, by reason of their service and office; and sometimes also Presbyters or Seniors, for the gravity in manners, which they ought to have, in taking care of the spiritual government, which ought to be most deare unto them.'

These remarks on the variations in the Heb. and LXX will suffice to show how *shērēth* and λειτουργεῖν have practically the monopoly of expression when the subject is priestly ministration, whether narrowly or widely interpreted.

2. IN NT.—While λειτουργεῖν is the word for ministration in the LXX, the word in NT is διακονεῖν. The exception in the OT is the rule in the NT. And this is a suggestive fact. The NT ministry is not one of the priest as distinct from the people: the exclusive class becomes a universal priesthood. Λειτουργεῖν and its correlates occur (in St. Paul, St. Luke, and He, and nowhere else) only about fifteen times in all, and not in any single case can they be made to apply to a literal priestly function on the part of the Christian ministry. Sometimes there is a literal reference to the Jewish ritual (Lk 1^{23}, He 9^{21} 10^{11}). Once Christ is spoken of in the same region in the light of fulfilment as 'minister, λειτουργός, of the sanctuary (in the heavens) and of the true tabernacle.' Once the word is used of prophets and teachers at Antioch, Ac 13^{2}, with reference, perhaps, to the offering of prayer in the face of the congregation. Twice there is, in connexion with St. Paul, the thought of sacrifice; but in Ph 2^{17} 'the Philippians are the priests, their faith is the sacrifice, St. Paul's life-blood is the accompanying libation' (Lightfoot, *in loco*); and in Ro 15^{16}, though St. Paul is the sacrificing priest, he is so only figuratively: his priestly function is preaching the gospel, and the sacrifice is the believing Gentiles. Its uses elsewhere concern the ministration to the wants of the poor saints, 2 Co 9^{12}, or of St. Paul himself, Ph $2^{25.\,30}$—the sacrifice of charity; or the service rendered to God by state officials, Ro 13^{6}, or by the angels of wind and fire, He $1^{7.\,14}$. The fact seems clear that the NT writers prefer διακονεῖν (-ία, -ος) because it connotes two things: the first, which λειτουργεῖν also connotes, *ministration Godward in the service of others*; the second, which λειτουργεῖν does not connote, *lowliness* in that ministration. In both these senses it is in the line of succession from classical usage. To the Greek the practically dominant connotation was a service relatively low and even menial. That διάκονος and δοῦλος breathed in classical Greek the same air is obvious from Plato's junction of διακονικάς with δουλοπρεπεῖς and ἀνελευθέρους (*Gorg.* 518 A), and from his identification of διακονεῖν and the work of δοῦλοι in tending cattle and tilling the soil (*Laws*, vii. 805 E). In NT the use is in no wise different. St. Paul employs both δοῦλος and διάκονος to define his relation to his Master (Ph 1^{1}, 2 Co 11^{23}) and to his converts δι' Ἰησοῦν (2 Co 4^{5}, 1 Co 3^{5}); and he tells how Christ Himself both took the form of a δοῦλος (Ph 2^{7}) and became a διάκονος of the circumcision (Ro 15^{8}), as though his Lord's own description of His position had impressed him with the parallel (Mt 20^{26-28}). And though, in the parable of the Wedding Garment, it is δοῦλοι that invite and διάκονοι that cast out, Mt $22^{3.\,8.\,10.\,13}$, the latter word appears to be preferred in v.^{13} because attendants at table are there spoken of, such attendants being either bond or free, Lk $12^{37\mathrm{f.}}$, Mt 8^{15}. This menial service of waiting at table (διακονεῖν) is cited by Christ, Lk 17^{8} 22^{27}, as the characteristic sign of the contrast between the relative positions of master and servant, and furnishes Him with a parabolic picture both of His own position among His disciples, Lk 22^{27}, and of the striking way in which the Great Master shall reward His servants' continued watchfulness, Lk 12^{37}. Even in secular Greek there was an inkling of the dignity of this menial humbleness in relation to the gods. Aristeides (*Orat.* 46, p. 198 f., quoted by Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, p. 203 f.) 'refuses to call [Athenian statesmen who had saved their country] διάκονοι of the state, but will gladly call them διάκονοι of the Saviour Gods who had used their instrumentality'; and Epictetus (Hort, p. 204) 'in several remarkable passages (*Diss.* iii. 22. 69; 24. 65; iv. 7. 20; cf. iii. 26. 28) makes it the dignity of a man to be a διάκονος of God. The Gospel gave the word a still higher consecration of the same kind . . . For [a Lord who had taken on Himself the form of a servant] every grade and pattern of service was lifted into a higher sphere. . . . Ministration (διακονία) thus became one of the primary aims of all Christian actions' (*e.g.* Eph 4^{12}, where 'the work of διακονία' is parallel with 'the edification of the body of Christ'), whether for apostles, 2 Co 4^{1}, or for evangelists, 2 Ti 4^{5}, or for the presbyter or episcopus, Col 4^{17}, or for the 'deacon' himself: whether the emphasis was (Ph 1^{1}) on government (ἐπισκοπή) or on service (διακονία), διακονία was 'the badge of all the tribe'; whether the service was to God, 2 Co 6^{4}, or to Christ, Col 1^{7}, 1 Ti 4^{6}, or to the gospel, Eph 3^{7}, or to the Church, Ro 12^{7}, or to the material wants of the poor saints, Ac $6^{1.\,2}$, 2 Co 9^{1}, He 6^{10}, or to St. Paul himself, officially Ac 19^{22}, Col 1^{7}, 2 Ti 4^{11}, or materially Philem ^{13}, 2 Ti 1^{18} (cf. Lk 8^{3}, women διηκόνουν to Christ and His disciples of their substance). In all cases there was διακονία to the Master for the benefit of others, Col 1^{7}. And so also in the technical sense of the word, the definite office, διάκονος (see DEACON). This office did not exclude teaching: such exclusion, in the presence of capacity, 'would have been contrary to the spirit of the Apostolic age' (Hort, p. 202). Stephen, one of the Seven, was a powerful preacher (Ac 6. 7); and whether the Seven (cf. Ac 6^{2} διακονεῖν τραπέζαις) were technically *deacons* or not, they must surely have suggested the office in the several churches later on: 'analogous wants might well lead to analogous

institutions' (Hort, p. 209). That teaching, however, was 'no part of the official duty' of a deacon, is suggested by a comparison of the qualifications required for a deacon at Ephesus and those required for a presbyter or episcopus (1 Ti $3^{2\text{ff.}\ 8\text{ff.}}$); while the injunction against talebearing in the men-deacons and backbiting in the women suggest a frequent contact with individual Christians and Christian families, a going in and out among them, a visitation from house to house. Thus they appear to have been 'the main instruments for giving practical effect to the mutual sympathy of the members of the body'; and the efficiency of the office was sensibly increased by being divided between the sexes (1 Ti 3^{11} compared with Ro 16^{1}).

Besides *λειτουργός* and *διάκονος* there is in NT a third word still (RV) occasionally translated 'minister,' viz. *ὑπηρέτης* (*-εῖν*), lit. an 'under-rower' in a galley, but used simply as 'servant,' and retaining no special connotation from its derivation, unless it be that of *subordination.* The verb is used of David's service of God, Ac 13^{36}, and Moses is called by Josephus God's *ὑπηρέτης* (*Ant.* III. i. 4). The subst. is found only twice in the canonical LXX, and *-εῖν* and *-εσία* once each, and all in the various senses of ordinary service. But in Wis the words occur eight times, and once (6^{4}) in a lofty sense,—kings the *ὑπηρέται* of God's kingdom. In this word the subordination comes out more distinctly than in the other two (cf. Xenoph. *Cyr.* vi. 2. 13=the orderly of a commander), but *διάκονος* and *ὑπηρέτης* are continually running into one another (1 Co 4^{1}, 2 Co 11^{23}). Of the five places where AV translated the subst. by 'minister,' three remain in RV: Lk 1^{2} ('m. of the word': cf. Ac 6^{4} '*διακονία* of the word'), Ac 26^{16} ('m. and eye-witness' for Christ), 1 Co 4^{1} ('m. of Christ': cf. 2 Co 11^{23} '*διάκονοι* of Christ'). RV appropriately gives 'attendant' or 'servant' elsewhere: so John Mark (Ac 13^{5}) is now the 'attendant' on Paul and Barnabas; possibly, as Blass suggests, for the secondary work of baptizing; and, as Ramsay suggests (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 71), 'the curiously incidental way' in which he is brought before the reader's notice (and, we may add, the word of subordination, chosen to describe his position) may serve 'to emphasize the secondary character of John Mark, in view of what was to happen in Pamphylia: he was not essential to the expedition: he had not been formally delegated by the Church of Antioch: he was an extra hand, taken by Paul and Barnabas on their own responsibility.' So also the 'minister' in Lk 4^{20} is now the 'attendant': he was the *ḥazzān* of the temple,—'a kind of verger,' see DEACON in vol. i. p. 575,—'whose office it was (Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 66 f.) to bring out the Holy Scriptures at public worship and to put them by again.' He was no Jewish anticipation of *deacon*, but was in every respect the servant of the congregation, having, *e.g.*, to execute upon those condemned to it the punishment of scourging (*Makkoth* iii. 12), and also to instruct the children in reading (*Shabbath* i. 3; but see EDUCATION in vol. i. p. 650^{a}). A similar use of the word occurs in Mt 5^{25} 'deliver thee to the *officer*,' *i.e.* one of the attendants or officials of the Sanhedrin, like lictors or sergeants-at-arms (Schürer, *HJP* II. 1. 187), the temple police, a special feature in the Fourth Gospel (Jn 18^{18} *e.g.*), from whom Jesus doubtless takes His parallel when in Jn 18^{36} He says, 'my *ὑπηρέται* would now be striving.' For Mt's *ὑπηρέτης* (5^{25}) Lk (12^{58}) gives *πράκτωρ*, the *avenger* of the tragedians (Æsch. *Eum.* 319), the *taxgatherer* of Demosthenes (778. 18), the *public accountant* of the papyri (3rd cent. B.C., see Deissmann, *Beiträge*, p. 152), who has now become an under-officer of justice.

J. MASSIE.

MINNI (מִנִּי, LXX *παρ' ἐμοῦ*, Aq. Symm. *Μενεί*).—Name of a country mentioned in Jer 51^{27} between Ararat and Ash-kenaz, and summoned to make war on Babylon. It is evidently equivalent to *Mann*, which figures frequently in Assyrian inscriptions in close connexion with *Urarṭu* (Ararat); and which the authors of the maps appended to *KIB* i. and ii. place somewhere between Lake Van and the Araxes, while Sayce (*JRAS*, 1882, p. 389) infers from the line of march of the Assyrian kings that this people must have lived on the S.W. shores of Lake Urmia. The Assyrian texts supply us with several names, both local and personal, connected with Mann. Their chief city was called Zirtu or Izirtu, and their chief fortress Ishtat (Assurbanipal, ed. S. A. Smith, i. 21); other cities were Izibia, Armed, Shuandakhul, and Zurzukka (Sargon, ed. Winckler, pp. 105, 107); tribes included in Mann were Umildish, Zikirtu, and Misianda (*ib.*). Shalmaneser II. in the year 830 A.D. attacked king Udaki of Mann (*KIB* i. 147), and his successor Shamsi-Ramman received tribute from this country (*ib.* 179). In Sargon's history the kings of Mann play an important part. He relates how, after the death of their king Iranzu, he put on the throne Iranzu's son Aza. Aza was shortly afterwards murdered by insurgents, who at the instigation of king Ursa of Urarṭu put Aza's brother Ullusunu on the throne. Sargon marched against the insurgents and defeated them, but on Ullusunu's submission received him into favour. Presently, however, Ullusunu again revolted, but the inscription is defective at the point where it originally recorded his fate (Winckler, *l.c.* and 89). Assurbanipal in his fourth campaign attacked Akhsheri king of Mann, seized his capital Izirtu, and laid waste 15 days' extent of country. After Akhsheri had been betrayed by his subjects, the Assyrian king set Akhsheri's son Ualli on the throne, but increased the tribute of Mann by 15 horses, and took Ualli's son Erishinni and his daughter to Nineveh (S. A. Smith, *l.c.* 23).—In the Vanic inscription of the kings Minuas and Argistis, whose dates can be approximately fixed for the last decade of the 9th and the first decade of the 8th cent. B.C., there are repeatedly allusions to the country *Ma-na-a*, and even to a king named Haza, probably a namesake of, though not identical with, Sargon's contemporary (Sayce, *l.c.* 607). These inscriptions imply with certainty that the country of Mann was raided by the kings of Van (=Urarṭu), but the language in which they are composed is perhaps still too obscure to give us much more information. Both sets of documents lead us to suppose that Mann was a province of considerable extent, and thickly populated; that it was alternately under Assyrian and Vanic domination, and suffered severely from the rivalry of these powers. The words that have been quoted have no obvious linguistic affinities, and it does not appear that any of the local names have been maintained.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

MINNITH (מִנִּית).—**1.** Jephthah smote the Ammonites 'from Aroer until thou come to Minnith,' Jg 11^{33} (B *ἄχρις Ἀρνών*, A *εἰς Σεμωείθ*, Luc. *Σεμενείθ*). According to the *Onomasticon* (*s.v.* 'Mennith') it was shown 4 Roman miles from Heshbon on the road to Philadelphia, but the name has not been recovered in this direction, which, as Moore points out, does not suit the requirement of the text that Minnith should be in Ammonite territory beyond Aroer, not in the immediate vicinity of Heshbon. A site called *Minyeh* is found south of Nebo, but this may be derived from another root, and in any case is much too far south. Tristram (*Land of Moab*, p. 140) could find no trace of Buckingham's *Menjah*, which was alleged to exist 7 miles east of Heshbon. **2.** In Ezk 27^{17} 'wheat of Minnith' is specified amongst the merchandise of Tyre which she traded in with Israel and Judah. Davidson (*Comm. ad loc.*) thinks there is something unnatural in the latter bringing an Ammonitish product to Tyre (but see Bertholet, *ad loc.*, who appositely refers to 2 Ch 27^{5}). Cornill emends חִטֵּי מִנִּית to חִטִּים נְכֹאת 'wheat, tragacanth' (cf. Gn 37^{25} 43^{11}). This corresponds with the LXX *σίτου . . . καὶ μύρων*.

C. R. CONDER.

MINT (*ἡδύοσμον, mentha*).—Mint is not mentioned in the OT, and only once in NT (Mt 23^{23} ‖ Lk 11^{42}) along with dill, rue, and cummin, as a tithable product. The ancient Greeks employed in medicine a plant called *μίνθος* or *μίνθη*, which likewise bore the name *ἡδύοσμον* = 'the sweet-smelling,' on account of its pleasant odour. It is believed by some to have been the peppermint, *Mentha piperita*, L. It is more probable that it was generic, and included *M. sativa*, L., the garden mint; *M. viridis*, L., the spear mint; *M. sylvestris*, L., the horse mint; and *M. aquatica*, L., the water mint; and perhaps *M. Pulegium*, L., the pennyroyal. A patch of garden mint is cultivated near almost every house in Bible lands, and the fragrant leaves enter into many of their salads and cooked dishes. It is known in Arab. as *na'na'*. It is the only species now cultivated and eaten. *M. sylvestris* grows wild everywhere by ditches and banks. *M. aquatica* grows in water. It is less common than the other. *M. Pulegium* is not uncommon in wet places. For illustrations from Rabbinical sources of the tithing of mint, see Wünsche, *Neue Beiträge*, 291, 443.

G. E. POST.

MIPHKAD, THE GATE (שַׁעַר הַמִּפְקָד; RV **Hammiphkad**; *πύλη τοῦ Μαφεκάδ*; *porta judicialis*).—A gate near the east wall of Jerusalem during the rebuilding of the city walls on the return from the Captivity (Neh 3^{31}). Its position was somewhere between the northern portion of the Ophel wall and the Sheep Gate, *i.e.* somewhere east of the temple buildings and adjoining palaces. It can be deduced as follows:—

On the dedication of the city walls on their completion (Neh $12^{31ff.}$), two great companies issued from the temple to the centre of the western wall of the city, and, separating near the Valley Gate, proceeded along the walls to the temple—one by the northern defences, and the other by the southern defences. The principal gates and towers they passed during their progress are enumerated. By the north they traversed the whole way along the wall, and, passing the towers of Hananel and Meah, and the sheep-gate, stood still in the prison-gate, *i.e.* to the north of the temple. The other company traversed the southern wall, and, passing the dung-gate and the fountain-gate (near Siloam), came down from the wall, and went up by the stairs of the city of David, even unto the water-gate eastward, *i.e.* to the south of the temple.

In the account of the rebuilding of the walls (Neh 3) the same gates and towers are enumerated, and, in addition, all that portion of the wall to the east of Jerusalem, from the fountain-gate, the pool of Siloam, the armoury, to the court of the prison; and another portion along the Ophel wall to the place over against the water-gate (of the temple) towards the east, and thence by the horse-gate and the east to the place over against the gate Miphkad, to the going up of the corner, unto the sheep-gate. This apparently indicates that the gate Miphkad, if not actually in the eastern city wall, was very near it, to the north-east of the temple.

The following passage seems to indicate that it was the place where the sin-offering was burnt outside the sanctuary, but inside the city walls: Ezk 43^{21} 'Thou shalt take the bullock also of the sin-offering, and he shall burn it in the appointed place (*miphkad*) of the house, without the sanctuary.'

Miphkad has three meanings (Ges. *Lex.*): (1) A number, or numbers; (2) a commandment or mandate; (3) an appointed place. It is used in connexion with the chambers of the house of the Lord, and the oblations and tithes: *e.g.* by the commandment (*miphkad*) of Hezekiah the king and Azariah the ruler of God's house, certain men are appointed overseers (2 Ch 31^{13}). It is used in connexion with David's numbering of the people of Israel (2 S 24^{9}, 1 Ch 21^{5}).

Lightfoot (ii. 27) points out that the Vulgate renders the gate Miphkad as the gate of judgment: this may perhaps refer to the hall of judgment in the Prætorium, situated in later days in the Antonia, to the north of the temple, or it may refer to the east gate of the temple (Ezk 35–39, Jl 2, Mic 4^{3}) overlooking the Valley of Jehoshaphat: both Moslems and Jews believe that the last judgment is to take place there. Brocardus speaks of a *Porta Judiciaria* over against the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The general opinion is that Miphkad was situated to the north-east of the temple (*PEFSt*, 1879, 176; 1883, 215; 1885, 61; 1889, 90; 1890, 47).

C. WARREN.

MIRACLE.—

i. The objective possibility of miracles.
ii. Their subjective credibility.
iii. Their evidential value.
iv. The miracles of the Gospels, their characteristics and their attestation.
v. Other Bible miracles:
  (*a*) In the Acts of the Apostles.
  (*b*) In the Old Testament.
vi. Christian miracles after the apostolic age.

i. THE OBJECTIVE POSSIBILITY OF MIRACLES.—**1.** It is a remarkable circumstance that the great stumbling-block at the present day to many persons who are anxious to accept the Christian creeds should be the statement of the very fact which was put forward in the apostolic age as the one convincing proof of their truth, viz. the fact of the Resurrection of Christ. The Christian miracles were once an 'aid to faith'; they are now regarded by many as a grave hindrance to the acceptance of Christianity. It is not hard to account for this. With the development of physical science, and with the largely increased knowledge of what we are accustomed to call the laws of nature, and still more with the growth of the conviction which is at the root of all science that nothing happens abnormally, but that in the physical world every effect has its cause, and that the same causes under the same circumstances will always produce the same effects, men have come to think that there is something about a 'miracle' which no scientifically educated person can believe. So it has come to pass that the argument based on the miracles with which Christianity was ushered into the world, has been more vehemently attacked than any other of the 'evidences' which are usually marshalled: so strenuous, indeed, has been the attack, that not a few theologians, in deference to the spirit of the age, while not conceding in so many words the impossibility of miracles, have relegated the miraculous to some obscure corner of the religious system which they profess and teach. And the *impossibility* of miracles is avowedly the foundation of much of the negative criticism to which the Christian documents have been subjected. The spirit in which Goethe said to Lavater, 'A voice from heaven would not convince me that water burned or a dead man rose again,' often finds expression in literature. Renan prefaces his *Vie de Jésus* by saying of the Gospels, 'C'est parce qu'ils racontent des miracles que je dis, Les Evangiles sont des légendes; ils peuvent contenir de l'histoire, mais certainement tout n'y est pas historique.' And Strauss is careful to distinguish the 'supernatural' element in the Gospels from 'the natural element *which alone is historically available*,' criticism of the documents being thus prejudiced at the outset by the assumption that no account which involves the miraculous can possibly be historical.

2. What then is a 'miracle,' and wherein consists the difficulty of believing that it has taken place? It is evident that precise definition is necessary, if we are to arrive at any conclusion of value in respect of a question like this. Let us start with the definition given by J. S. Mill: 'To constitute a miracle, a phenomenon must take place without having been preceded by any antecedent phenomenal conditions sufficient again to reproduce it. . . . The test of a miracle is, Were there present in the case such external conditions, such second causes we may call them, that whenever these conditions or causes reappear the event will be reproduced? If there were, it is not a miracle; if there were not, it is.'* Now from this definition it is apparent that to one who holds that there is nothing to be known save the sequences and coexistences of phenomena, that 'nature' is only a name for the sum-total of the mechanical and chemical forces of the universe (see NATURE), that there is, in short, no other mode of existence than that which can be perceived by the bodily senses, the occurrence of a miracle would be a violation of the law of causation, which demands a cause for each observed effect. No causes other than material can come within the cognizance of man, and therefore, since a 'miracle' has no material cause, it cannot be considered as within the field of possibility. To consistent and thoroughgoing materialism miracles are impossible. If, by any chance, some anomalous and extraordinary phenomenon were attested on unimpeachable testimony, which satisfied the definition that has been quoted from Mill of a 'miracle,' the conclusion that the materialist would be forced to adopt would be that the phenomenon in question was due to some hitherto unobserved combination of physical forces. It could not be a miracle, for a miracle, *ex hypothesi*, is a perturbation of the normal sequence of physical causation, and the materialist does not admit the existence or the possibility of any force adequate to produce such perturbation.

3. Materialism, however, is not the last word of philosophy. It is inconsistent with any form of religion, and need not be elaborately discussed here. All Theists recognize that the operation of spiritual forces is just as real, just as familiar, an experience as the operation of material forces. An obvious illustration of the intervention of spiritual force in the phenomenal world is afforded by the consequences which ensue in the visible order every time we exert our free will. Mind is not a mere function of the bodily organism, and thought is something distinct from those movements of the grey matter of the brain which seem to accompany it perpetually in our present experience. But mind, *νοῦς*, reason, is a *vera causa*—a cause which produces effects in the physical order, effects which are often far-reaching and important. The action of man's free will, of which the outward effect is the motion of his limbs, is not a violation of the law of causation: that law is true only of physical causes, and the physical sequence is perfectly observed, so far as we know. But the originating impulse comes from a region other than physical, even from the domain of spirit, where man lives his highest life and from which he catches his highest inspirations. We shall see presently that there is no complete analogy between such intervention of human will in the physical order, and that intervention of the Divine volition which we shall find to be the characteristic of a 'miracle'; but, although the analogy is incomplete, it is important to recognize that we have experience of an intrusion into the physical by the moral order every time that we exert our wills to move our bodies. There are forces other than physical to be reckoned with.

4. Thus among the agents which can produce effects in the physical order spiritual agents must be counted; and of these the highest is God. Our conception of the universe is partial and inadequate unless we realize that a great Spiritual Being is the ultimate source of all the manifold activities which it daily and hourly presents to our view. (See NATURE). And if, with this in our minds, we approach an anomalous phenomenon which seems to us to interrupt the continuity of physical sequence, we shall have to enumerate among possible explanations this other, that it is due to the direct volition of the Deity. If we are satisfied that this *is* its explanation, we call it a miracle, and Mill's definition of a miracle may be replaced by words of a thinker of a very different school. 'Miraculum,' said St. Thomas Aquinas, 'est præter ordinem totius naturæ creatæ; Deus igitur cum solus sit non creatura, solus etiam virtute propria miracula facere potest.'* It would not be easy to express oneself more succinctly than this. And it is important to observe that the very idea of a miracle, in this view, presupposes the existence of a supreme spiritual agent. To attempt to *prove* the existence of God by the aid of well-attested occurrences of 'miracle' is idle, because we have not any conception of the possibility of miracle apart from His existence and providence.

5. The possibility of miracle involves the existence of God; it does not at once follow that the converse is true, and that the existence of God implies the possibility of miracle. And we have now to consider whether, granting the existence of a Supreme Being who stands to nature in the relation of Author and Governor, its Creator and its Life, at once immanent in it and transcending it, there are any grounds in reason for denying the possibility of His miraculous intervention in the universe which He has made. The argument by which Spinoza attempted to subvert this possibility has become famous, and, inasmuch as almost all *a priori* arguments on the negative side are but variations of it, a summary of it is essential to the present discussion. In the article NATURE, Spinoza's view of the relation of God to the world is briefly explained. It was a kind of Pantheism, according to which the processes of the universe were the manifestations of its Spiritual Life, the exhibition, as it were, of the *natura naturans* unfolding itself in the *natura naturata*. Thus no place is left for free acts of the Divine volition. And Spinoza lays down as a thesis that 'nothing happens in nature which is in contradiction with its universal laws.' Proceeding, then, to define a miracle as an event in contradiction with the universal laws of nature, he has no difficulty in establishing the impossibility of any event of the miraculous order. The whole force of the argument, and at the same time its whole fallacy, is found in the ambiguity of the word *nature*. Spinoza's thesis that 'nothing happens in nature which is in contradiction with its universal laws' is true only if *nature* includes all that is, if it is understood as embracing the sum of all existence and of all force, material and spiritual, as including not only physical movements but the energy of man and of God. But if nature be taken in this large sense, it is quite unjustifiable to assert without proof that 'miracles are in contradiction with the universal laws of nature.' They are only, as Aquinas has it, 'præter ordinem totius naturæ *creatæ*'; miracles are contrary to the order of nature, only if nature be regarded as exclusive and independent of God.[*] The distinction is as old as Augustine, and must be carefully borne in mind: 'Portentum fit, non contra *naturam*, sed contra quam est *nota natura*' (*de Civ. Dei.* xxi. 8). Nature *as we know it* is not to be identified with nature *as God knows it*, with the 'nature' of which He is a part; and it is only of the latter that we can say that its laws are universally valid.

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* *Essays*, p. 224.

* *Summa*, I. cx. 4.

6. There is, however, a form of Spinoza's argument which has more plausibility than that just considered, based as the latter is on a palpable logical fallacy. For it may be argued that miracles are contrary to the very conception of God as the All-Wise. A miracle would be an introduction of disorder into that creation of which the only idea worthy of God is that of an unchangeable order. It would be a contradiction of God by Himself, for the law which is at variance with the miracle is as much the reflexion of the Divine will and purpose as the miracle itself.[†] God 'is not a man that he should repent' (1 S 15^{29}). His eternal decrees are unchangeable, and they are dictated by perfect wisdom. But a miracle is an *intervention* which can only be demanded by an imperfection in the existing order; and thus we have to suppose that the creation is, after all, but an imperfect expression of the Divine will. Here, it is urged, is something inconsistent with the infinite wisdom and power of Him who pronounced all, at the beginning, to be 'very good.' In a perfect system, any interference with the normal course of things could only be for the worse.

The answer is not far to seek, when we express our difficulty in such words as these last. For this world is not, however much we may desire it, the best of all possible, or even of all imaginable, worlds. At some remote epoch in man's history his progress was violently interrupted; his career was checked in its progress 'from strength to strength.' The free will, which was his greatest gift, became the source of his greatest misery. And his fall has left permanent traces on the fair universe of God. How evil could ever have entered into the world we do not know (see FALL); but as things are, man has not fulfilled the Divine intention for him. From the consequences of his sin he cannot be saved by the mere normal operations of natural law, by the orderly development of his own nature. That redemption can be brought about only by an act of Divine mercy, which may involve—which perhaps necessitates—a perturbation of the established order. But the real marvel is not the intervention of grace, but the sin which demanded it. For sin is ἀνομία, lawlessness (1 Jn 3^{4}); it is a violation of moral law, which may be—and we can see reasons which suggest that it *is*—a far greater anomaly than any apparent violation of physical law could possibly be. There *is* an incongruity which we cannot reconcile (see FALL) between our conceptions of an All-Wise and All-Good God and the existence of sin; but that incongruity being frankly recognized, there is no further difficulty in conceiving of God as intervening, in an exceptional way, at an exceptional moment, to save man from the consequences of his own rash acts.

7. There is, indeed, a point of view from which it would be impossible to conceive of such intervention taking place, without doing violence to our best notions of the Supreme. We are not to conceive of the relation between God and nature as that merely which subsists between an architect and his work (see NATURE), between a mechanic and the machine which he has made, and which, once made, is left to its own devices, unless it gets out of order.

> 'The reason why, among men, an artificer is justly esteemed so much the more skilful as the machine of his composing will continue to move regularly without any further interposition of the workman, is, because the skill of all *human* artificers consists only in composing, adjusting, or putting together certain movements, the principles of whose motion are altogether dependent upon the artificer. . . . But with regard to *God*, the case is quite different; because He not only composes or puts things together, but is Himself the Author and continual Preserver of their original forces or moving powers. And consequently it is not a diminution, but the true glory of His workmanship, that *nothing* is done without His *continual government* and *inspection*.'[*]

On the mechanical theory of nature, the word 'intervention' might seem to suggest imperfect workmanship or foresight on the part of the Creator; but that is not a theory with which, as Christians, we are concerned. One who upholds 'all things by the word of His power' (He 1^{3}) cannot be spoken of as *intruding*, either in nature or in grace. And thus, despite the associations which cling to the word 'intervention,' it is hard to get a better word to express a special and extraordinary manifestation of purpose on the part of Him who is ever immanent in nature. We do not imply by its use that God stands aloof from the affairs of the world, save on those few occasions which we call miraculous, but we mean that, at certain critical moments in the history of the human race, the uniformity of His rule has been departed from, 'lest one good custom should corrupt the world.' 'When,' says Augustine,[†] 'things happen in a continuous kind of river of ever-flowing succession, passing from the hidden to the visible, and from the visible to the hidden, by a regular and beaten track, they are called *natural*; when, for the admonition of men, they are thrust in by an unusual changeableness, then they are called miracles.'

8. There prevails, however, at the present day a widespread dislike to any conception which involves a break in the continuity of the physical order, and thus various hypotheses have been proposed, according to which miracles may be made to appear more or less 'natural.' Indeed, 'natural law in the spiritual world' has been accepted by some as the principle of the much desired *eirenicon* between science and religion. It will be instructive to consider in detail some of these hypotheses.

(*a*) In the discussion of the miraculous, stress has at times been laid on the principle that God works by means. 'Miracles,' says the Duke of Argyll, 'may be wrought by the selection and use of laws of which man knows and can know nothing, and which, if he did know, he could not employ.'[‡] And he suggests that much of the difficulty attendant on belief in supernatural agency is due to neglect of this truth. Most people seem to understand by supernatural power, power independent of the use of means, and the scientific mind cannot bring itself to believe in this. It is doubtful if this helps us much. The difficulty of accepting an alleged miracle as real would not be much lessened, if it were shown that natural means had been used for its accomplishment. For example, in several of the 'miracles' of the OT, it is distinctly asserted that natural forces were employed as means. Thus the dividing of the Red Sea and the supply of quails are asserted to have been brought about through the agency of a wind blowing in a particular direction (Ex 14^{21}, Nu 11^{31}). Now, if any incredibility attach to these events, it does not seem that the introduction of machinery renders them any more credible. For the introduction of this machinery does not remove the direct intervention of God; it merely shifts it back to an earlier stage. The wind brought the quails, but what brought the wind?

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[*] See Spinoza, *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, c. 6, and Mozley, *Miracles*, p. 215 ff.

[†] See Trench, *Miracles*, p. 73.

[*] Clarke, *First Reply to Leibnitz*, p. 15.

[†] *De Trin.* III. 6.

[‡] *Reign of Law*, p. 16.

> 'It is as real a miracle that the wind should come at the direct command of God, as that the quails should come without the wind. And so in every case. The immediate consequent of the special exertion of the Divine will is a miracle. Between the immediate consequent and the final result any number of "means" may be interposed; but this does not alter the miraculous character of the event—it only disguises it. A miracle is not the less a miracle because in the series of phenomena which we call an event there are present in addition to the one miraculous element a hundred elements which are not miraculous.'[*]

(*b*) Such events, however, as the dividing of the Red Sea and the supply of quails are not in themselves extraordinary; they can be classed as 'miracles' only because of the circumstances under which they happened, and should perhaps be rather described as 'special providences,' to use a common phrase whose meaning is discussed below. But can we conceive any way in which events which seem to be an interruption of the physical order may be brought under law? An ingenious illustration was put forward in this connexion by Babbage in his Ninth Bridgewater Treatise. He supposed the case of a complicated machine, so constructed that by turning the handle the first 100,000 natural numbers appear consecutively at regular intervals on a dial plate, but such that the next number is 100,100 instead of 100,001; after which apparent miracle the series goes on as before in arithmetical progression. Now, the exceptional numbers are not miracles or even anomalies; they were all provided for in the original construction of the machine; they are examples of law, unknown to the unscientific public, but known to the wise artificer. Peabody gave a similar illustration. He told a story of a church clock, so contrived that at the close of a century it strikes the years as it ordinarily strikes the hours. 'As 100 years come to a close, suddenly in the immense mass of complicated mechanism a little wheel turns, a pin slides into the appointed place, and in the shadows of the night the bell tolls a requiem over the generations which during a century have lived and laboured and been buried around it. One of these generations might live and die and witness nothing peculiar.' The anomalous striking of the clock at the close of the century would seem a miracle to the uninstructed public; and yet it was not *abnormal* in any true sense. Such analogies are obviously not apt in certain particulars. Not to speak of the comparison of nature to a machine, which, as we have already seen, is misleading, it is plain that the exceptional phenomena described above would react at regular intervals, however long. We cannot suppose that there is any such *periodic* law in the case of miracles, which, as *signs*, are in their very nature *unique*. And so the only service which such analogies render is to remind us of our unfathomable ignorance of the inner constitution of nature, and so to guard us from hasty dogmatic negations of the possibility of this or that alleged event.

(*c*) A better illustration, perhaps, than either of the above is the following, which was (like that of the numerical machine) suggested by Babbage. The science of mathematics teaches us that there are many curves made up of isolated points, in addition to a continuous curved line. To a non-mathematical mind it seems an absurd paradox to maintain that a single outlying point can be treated as lying on a continuous curve in its neighbourhood. But, in spite of the apparent absurdity, nothing is more certain than that it can be so treated. A curve, which to the eye appears to be discontinuous and broken, is known by the mathematician to follow an unvarying law. Now, it is not extravagant to suppose that our knowledge is at least as inferior to that of the Divine mind as the knowledge of geometry possessed by the beginner is inferior to the knowledge of the skilled mathematician. In short, apparent discontinuity may not involve any real breach of law, the whole progress of science tending as it does to bring what were formerly anomalous facts under the protection of general principles. And thus a 'miracle' may really be explicable by Supreme Intelligence as an illustration of law. These considerations do not *prove* that miracles are reducible to law, but show that there is nothing incongruous with daily experience in supposing that they may be so reduced.

9. The law of continuity, which is often appealed to as putting out of court the possibility of miracles, is—it must ever be remembered—nothing more than a convenient principle for the direction of scientific investigation. It may often deceive us; we may imagine that phenomena exhibit discontinuity, when a larger experience shows us that continuity has been most strictly observed. But it is even more important to recognize that it has no claim at all to be regarded as a constitutive principle of nature; it is not a fetish before which we must bow down, and which we must worship. The gap between the inorganic and the organic, between death and living matter, between animal life and human thought,—all these are chasms which cannot be bridged, so far as we know. In each case there is a *μετάβασις εις ἄλλο γένος*. The most evident breach of continuity that can be imagined is the Creation itself: to conceive an Infinite Creator calling into existence a finite world, is to conceive discontinuous action. And other points of singularity on the curve of development of life are to be found at the points where man became conscious of his powers and of himself, and, lastly, when, in the fulness of time, God became Man. Stupendous miracles, indeed! 'Tria mirabilia,' said Descartes, 'fecit Dominus; res ex nihilo, liberum arbitrium, et hominem Deum.'

10. We may put the case in another way. Conceive for the moment the existence of beings confined to two dimensions of space. Length and breadth they understand; of height they can have no conception whatever. They live their lives in a plane; that space has other possibilities in store would be to them the maddest of dreams. To move northward or southward, eastward or westward, would be within their power; but the terms 'upward' or 'downward' could have no meaning at all. To such beings the advent of a visitor from the third dimension of space would be a true 'miracle'; it would be a violation of all the laws by which their universe has been ordered in the past. For such visitation could be reduced by them to no law; the appearance or disappearance of the vision (which would be simply brought about by descending upon or rising from the plane of their being) would be inexplicable. The movements of a visitor who could thus intrude into their universe would remain for ever anomalous and extraordinary, inasmuch as the third dimension of space is for them inconceivable. *Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur.* By what right do we, the inhabitants of this solid earth, assume that space is necessarily limited to *three* dimensions, and three only? Why not four or five? Indeed, mathematical research does not get very far before it begins to suggest that the possibilities of space are infinite, though inconceivable. We cannot, in short, assert the *impossibility* of miracle unless we are prepared to assume that the laws of space which fetter and confine us in every region of outward experience are laws for the whole universe. It does not need a study of the Kantian philosophy to perceive that such an assumption is entirely unwarranted. But—it is only a possiblility, yet one worth pondering—if the existence of a world where space has *four* dimensions be credible (though not imaginable), it may well be that what we call miracles are to the inhabitants of that world the ordinary manifestations of 'natural' forces.[*]

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[*] Jellett, *Efficacy of Prayer*, p. 166.

11. Such considerations as these lead to a conclusion of considerable importance. They teach that the *wonderful* or *anomalous* or *extraordinary* character of any phenomenon is quite insufficient, *by itself*, to justify us in asserting that it must be due to the intervention of supreme spiritual powers. For there is always the possibility, not to be ignored, that it is due to unknown combinations of known natural forces, or to a natural force hitherto undetected. A remarkable verse in the Bk. of Wis (19^{18}) illustrates the anomalous combination of natural forces in a miracle, by likening it to the transposing of the melody played on a musical instrument to a different key: 'As the notes of a psaltery vary the character of the rhythm, even so did the elements, changing their order one with another, continuing always the same, each in its several sound.' And (as is pointed out in art. NATURAL) it is inevitable that what seems extraordinary to one man will not seem so to another. Cortes seemed a superhuman person to the Mexicans when he predicted an eclipse. To a dog, the actions of his master must repeatedly seem 'extraordinary,' *i.e.* anomalous and inexplicable to his faculties. Thus Locke[†] defines a miracle as 'a sensible operation, which, being above the comprehension of the spectator and *in his opinion* contrary to the established course of nature, is *taken by him* to be divine.' The definition is not entirely satisfactory, for it loses sight of the important consideration which has been under discussion, viz. that the anomalous character of the alleged occurrence does not by itself establish the operation of spiritual force; but it is valuable as bringing out clearly the inadequacy of any such criterion to serve as an objective or universal test of 'miracle.' To class all 'extraordinary' or 'abnormal' occurences as 'miracles,' is to make an unwarrantable assumption. In short, to use the technical language of scholastic theology, we must not include among *miracles* 'ea quæ natura facit nobis tamen vel alicui occulta,' viz. the effects of physical forces as yet unknown.

12. Further, the wholesome consciousness of the limitations of our knowledge will prevent us from describing miracles as 'violations of law,' a phrase too commonly used, without any clear conception of the meaning of the words employed. If law here means 'law of the universe,' of that sum of existence which includes God Himself, it is plain that such a phrase is self-contradictory; the *laws* of the Cosmos, in this view, are the general principles of wisdom according to which the world is ruled, and these are, strictly, inviolable. Thus, when Butler suggests that 'God's miraculous interpositions may have been all along by general laws of wisdom,'[‡] and that we shall be able to see this in a future state of wider knowledge, he means by 'laws of wisdom,' not physical sequences which have been observed to be invariable in our experience, but the reasons by which the Divine Being is guided in the action of His Providence. And his observation amounts to this, that although miracles, produced as they are by the direct intervention of the Divine volition, do not obey the ordinary rule that every physical effect may be accounted for by an antecedent physical cause, yet they are not, on that account, *lawless*. They are wrought for a worthy end, and in accordance with a wise plan. And Butler explains elsewhere[*] that there may be an inherent limit in the nature of things to the utility of miracles, beyond which they would produce injury and disadvantage; the general bad result of the interposition being greater than the particular benefit produced by it. Thus one of the 'general laws' which might be supposed to govern miraculous interposition would be a Law of Economy, that it should take place only at exceptional crises in the history of man or of the universe.

13. But, no doubt, when miracles are described as 'violations of law,' what is generally meant by law is *physical* law, the kind of law which is ascertained in the laboratory, and whose operation comes within the sphere of the bodily senses to observe. Such a law might be conceived as violated without any violence being done to our reason, for the sum of physical forces is not the entire Cosmos, or its most essential factor. But, as a matter of fact, observation could never demonstrate a violation of law in this sense, save to a being who was omniscient. For (see NATURAL) we have no title to assert that we know and can infallibly predict the outcome of a hitherto unobserved combination of physical forces; we cannot tell what is *above* nature, unless we know all that is *within* it.[†] As Huxley tersely wrote: 'If a dead man did come to life, the fact would be evidence, not that any law of nature had been violated, but that those laws, even when they express the results of a very long and uniform experience, are necessarily based on incomplete knowledge, and are to be held only on grounds of more or less justifiable expectation.'[‡] With our imperfect knowledge of the conditions of life, we are not justified in saying with confidence that the dead could not be restored to life by some, to us, unknown combination of physical forces. And thus the mere *marvellousness* of our Lord's miracles by no means justifies us in ascribing them to supernatural agency. All that the evidence in respect of their extraordinary character would justify would be that they were what He Himself called them, 'the works *which none other did*' (Jn 15^{24}). In this regard, suggestions have often been made to the effect that those phenomena which we now call miraculous may be all scientifically accounted for in the future, and shown to be the action of obscure natural causes, with whose action we are only partially acquainted. Archbishop Temple hints that 'the miraculous healing of the sick may be no miracle in the strictest sense at all. It may be but an instance of the power of mind over body—a power which is undeniably not yet brought within the range of science, and which, nevertheless, may be really within its domain. In other words, what seems to be miraculous, may be simply unusual.'[§] And so all that the anomalous character of these recorded events would prove would be, that Christ's healing acts were at least *relative miracles*, in Schleiermacher's well-known phrase, 'miracles if not for the purpose of science, at least for the purpose of revelation, arresting attention on the Agent, accrediting Him as God's messenger. singling Him out from other men and proving Him to be in possession of credentials deserving serious consideration ; miracles for Christ's own time if not for ours, and having for that time the function and value of genuine miraculous deeds.'

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[*] The argument suggested in this paragraph was developed in an ingenious essay, published anonymously in 1884, under the title *Flatland*.

[†] *Discourse on Miracles*.

[‡] *Analogy*, ii. 4.

[*] *Analogy*, i. 7.

[†] Augustine suggested that the miracle at Cana of Galilee is only the acceleration of a natural process: 'Ipse fecit vinum in nuptiis qui omni modo hoc facit in vitibus.' It is the *rate* of the process which is extraordinary.

[‡] *Hume*, p. 135.

[§] *The Relation between Religion and Science*, p. 195.

14. We are thus led round again to the conclusion that the true miracle, which shall enable us to see the finger of God in the matter, must be more than a *wonder*. The word *τέρας* is *never* used in the NT of a miracle, save in connexion with another word, viz. *σημεῖον*.* The miracles of Christ are not only *wonders*; that would not guarantee their quality: they are *signs* (see SIGN). They must not be separated from their context and viewed as the prodigies of a thaumaturgist; for they are capable of being interpreted as the manifestations of supreme spiritual force, only when the attendant circumstances are considered. Mozley puts the case thus:

> 'To say that the material fact which takes place *in* a miracle admits of being referred to an unknown natural cause, is not to say that the miracle itself does. A miracle is the material fact *as* coinciding with an express announcement, or with express supernatural pretensions in the agent. It is this correspondence of two facts which constitutes a miracle. If a person says to a blind man, 'see,' and he sees, it is not the sudden return of sight alone that we have to account for, but its return at that particular moment. For it is morally impossible that this exact agreement of an event with a command or notification could have been by a mere chance, or, as we should say, been an extraordinary coincidence, especially if it is repeated in other cases.'

Thus, then, in the case of an alleged event which would seem to satisfy the definition of a miracle given above by Mill, we have two possible explanations. One is that it is the result of unknown natural law; the other is that it is due to the intervention of supreme spiritual power. And the latter explanation is the one which we feel compelled to adopt, when the extraordinary event presents distinct evidence of *purpose*. A miracle, then, may be described as an event manifesting purpose, occurring in the physical world, which cannot be accounted for by any of its known forces, and which, therefore, we ascribe to a spiritual cause. It is an interference with the ordinary action of the forces of nature on the part of the Author of Nature—an event brought about, not by any observed combination of physical forces, but by a direct Divine volition. It is thus at once a *τέρας* and a *σημεῖον*.

15. These two characteristics enable us to distinguish miracles, so called, from other phenomena which resemble them in certain respects. For instance, as has been already said, an interference with the physical order on the part of the spiritual takes place every time we exert our free will. On every occasion of such exertion we demonstrate the possibility of material phenomena being influenced by a personal, conscious, free agent. The resulting action is a *σημεῖον* of the Intelligent Will which started the series of physical movements with a view to the fulfilment of foreseen purpose. We do not, however, call this a *τέρας*, a wonder, although it is truly a very wonderful thing. But there is no *sensible* interruption of the physical sequence; the continuity *seems* to be unbroken; and, so far as the powers of observation reach, it *is* unbroken. Once the initial impulse has been given, the power of the muscles is subject to physical laws, like any other physical force. An act of free will is not, strictly, comparable to a *miracle*, but to the action of Divine Providence in relation to mankind. All 'special providences,' or—to use a better phrase—all answers to prayer, are strictly due to the intervention of the spiritual in the physical order. We do not call these *miracles*, because there is no *apparent* interruption of the ordinary course of nature; but yet at some point in the physical series there has been the intervention of the Divine will. Our conception of God (see NATURE) is not that He stands aloof from the world save on those rare occasions where we speak of miraculous interposition, but that He perpetually directs and controls the forces of nature in accordance with His purposes. But these forces are not His *masters*; they are His *servants*. And we have no ground for assuming that He cannot, for a special purpose, combine, counteract, paralyze their energy as He wills. Here we have reached the point beyond which the analogy of man's free will does not carry us. For man's free will is subject to strict limitations in its exercise. One obvious limitation is that man's influence over foreign bodies is possible only through the instrumentality of his own body. Despite some recorded phenomena, it seems to be true that man's will can enter the physical series only through the medium of the grey matter of his own brain. We have no warrant whatever for extending any such limiting law to the action of the Divine will, nor indeed would it be consistent with the conception of a Supreme Agent who is immanent in nature, while transcending it. This is a fundamental difference, indicating, as it does, that the Divine volition is related to the forces of nature in a fashion very diverse from that in which the human volition is related to those forces. The result of the exercise of human will is a *σημεῖον*; it is not a *τέρας*.

16. It may be asked at this point (and the question demands an answer), If miracles are not impossible, can it be said that anything is impossible? Has the word *impossibility* any meaning, if the possibility of interruptions of the ordinary course of nature, of breaches of the law of physical continuity, be admitted? It has a meaning. There are certain permanent impossibilities which can neither be conceived nor believed, of which we cannot assert in any intelligible sense that they could become possible by the act of Omnipotence, viz. *logical* impossibilities, violations of the laws described by logicians as the laws of thought, the laws of identity, contradiction, and excluded middle. That A should be the same as not-A, that a thing should possess two directly contradictory attributes at the same time,—these are permanent impossibilities; their truth is inconceivable for any rational being. Such axioms are not like the axioms of mathematics, which depend for their validity upon the constitution of space, and which therefore may not be true in regions where the conditions of space are not the same as they are with us. We cannot impose the laws of space upon Him 'whose kingdom is where space and time are not.' But it is quite otherwise with the laws of thought, of that reason in virtue of which it is written that man was made 'in the image of God.' These laws we must consider to be of universal and permanent validity, unless we are prepared to surrender ourselves to intellectual chaos; and a violation of them must be counted by us as strictly *impossible*. It is evident that such violation is not *ejusdem generis* with those anomalies in the ordinary course of nature which we call miracles. There is no miracle recorded in the Bible or anywhere else which is in the least like a violation of the laws of thought: if there were, we could not believe it, no matter what the authority on which it were presented to us, for we should be prevented from doing so by the constitution of our own minds. Far from being violations of the laws of thought, miracles cannot (as has been shown) be accurately and with confidence described as violations of the laws of nature; they are not violations, for instance, of the law of causation, that every effect must have an adequate cause, because in each case, *ex hypothesi*, the cause that is assigned is the direct action of the Divine will. It is doubtful, even, if any of the Gospel miracles could be described as violations of the laws of space and time. But however that may be, the point necessary to emphasize is, that in asserting the possibility of miracles on the hypothesis of Theism, we are far from denying the impossibility of any such contradiction as a violation of the fundamental laws of thought would involve. Such a violation would be contradictory to reason; it is a misuse of language to say that the miracles of the Gospel are so.

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* Ac 2^{19}, an apparent exception, is a *quotation* from Jl 2^{30}.

17. The problem of the abstract possibility of miracles cannot be considered further here. Nothing has yet been said as to their probability, or credibility, or utility; but, before this section of the subject is closed, it may be worth while to remark that representative thinkers of many schools of thought have expressed their conviction that thus far the argument is impregnable. Thus Kant, the apostle of criticism, while allowing no value to miracles as credentials of a *moral* religion, distinctly concedes their possibility, and indeed their utility, under certain circumstances.[*] So, in like manner, Rousseau declared: 'This question, whether God can work miracles, seriously treated, would be impious, if it were not absurd; and it would be doing too much honour to him who would answer it in the negative to punish him; it would be sufficient to keep him in custody.'[†] And, once more, Huxley wrote: 'Denying the possibility of miracles seems to me quite as unjustifiable as speculative Atheism.'[‡] There is, indeed, a growing conviction among Christians and non-Christians alike that *a priori* speculation in theology, as in science, is worth very little; that the one hope of arriving at truth is to keep an open mind, and to welcome evidence from any and every quarter, without previous decision as to its value or worthlessness. It is in this spirit that an investigation into the evidence of the Christian miracles must be approached.

ii. THE SUBJECTIVE CREDIBILITY OF MIRACLES.—**1.** It would seem, from the preceding discussion, that the question whether miracles have ever happened or not is a mere question of fact. This question, like all similar ones, must be determined by evidence—the evidence of the senses if the 'miracle' is within the range of our own personal experience, the evidence of credible and sufficient testimony if it belongs to an age other than our own. In the case of the miracles which accompanied the dawn of Christianity, the former kind of evidence is not now to be had; we must have recourse to the testimony of others. And so it might be thought that the only problem for the scientific inquirer is to investigate the nature of the evidence which is forthcoming, its amount, its date, and its consistency, and to determine, if it may be, the character and veracity of the witnesses. A preliminary difficulty, however, was raised by the ingenuity of David Hume, which still remains to be dealt with.

In his famous essay on *Miracles*, Hume took up the remarkable position, that even if miracles happened, their occurrence could not be established by testimony; for, without troubling ourselves with any metaphysical discussion about their objective possibility, they may be seen to be *subjectively incredible*. Hume's case has often been argued since his day, but it is doubtful if any writer has ever presented it in a more plausible form than its original advocate; and it will therefore be best to take it in his own words:

> 'A miracle,' he says, 'is a violation of the laws of nature; and as a firm and unalterable experience has established these laws, the proof against a miracle, from the very nature of the fact, is as entire as any argument from experience can possibly be imagined. . . . It is no miracle that a man, seemingly in good health, should die on a sudden; because such a kind of death, though more unusual than any other, has yet been frequently observed to happen. But it is a miracle that a dead man should come to life; because that has never been observed in any age or country. . . . The consequence is that no testimony is sufficient to establish a miracle, *unless the testimony be of such a kind that its falsehood would be more miraculous than the fact which it endeavours to establish*. Or, briefly, it is contrary to experience that a miracle should be true, but not contrary to experience that testimony should be false.'

2. In this argument a careful observer will not fail to observe that the point to be proved is assumed at the outset. 'A firm and *unalterable* experience has established these laws . . . that has *never* been observed in any age or country.' Why, this is the very question at issue. (i.) The very thing that the believers in miracle assert is that experience has *not* always given negative testimony on the point. All the evidence (whatever it be worth) that has ever been produced to guarantee the occurrence of miracles must be reckoned as counter evidence in refutation of the ground on which it is asserted that miracles must be disbelieved. It is in the highest degree unscientific to sweep away all the positive evidence for any alleged fact in such a fashion. In matters of science a new trial must always be granted whenever there is any reasonable ground to suppose that new evidence has turned up, or that any fault can be found with the processes by which, from ascertained facts, inferences have been drawn. 'The question can only be stated fairly as depending on a balance of evidence; a certain amount of positive evidence in favour of miracles, and a negative presumption from the general course of human experience against them'[*]; it being always borne in mind that negative evidence is never so conclusive as positive, since facts of which there had been no previous experience are often discovered and proved by positive experience to be true. (ii.) Next, Paley's familiar criticism must not be forgotten. Paley points out[†] that Hume's argument turns on an ambiguity in the phrase 'contrary to experience.' The miracles of the Gospel are not contrary to experience in the sense that they contradict our own present experience, the witness of our own senses; they can only be said to be contrary to experience in the sense that we have never experienced anything like them. This unusualness is, of course, a distinguishing feature of miracles, a mark of their *signal* character (see SIGN); if they were ordinary occurrences, they would cease to be miracles, but the fact that they are thus unusual or extraordinary does not *in itself* make them incredible. These two considerations may be thus summarized. Hume says that miracles are contrary to experience. Now, if by experience he means *all* experience, his maxim is a plain *petitio principii*; and if he only means general experience, it sinks into the platitude that miracles are uncommon.[‡]

3. We refuse, therefore, to allow that Hume's argument is complete in logic. Viewed as an attempt to eliminate the *credibility* of miracles on the ground of the fallibility of human testimony, it is a failure. But we cannot fail to recognize the element of truth which has given the argument its plausibility. It is this. The course of nature is, as a rule, uniform. What is disturbed by the assertion that a miracle has taken place is the mechanical expectation of a recurrence, and we find it hard to get out of our scientific groove, in which everything does recur mechanically, because we so often regard nature as a mere machine — self-acting, whether self-created or no.[*] If nature were such a machine, the *improbability* (we are not justified in speaking of *incredibility*) of a miracle would be enormous, although even then there would be no reason why that improbability should not be overcome by adequate testimony. But the question as to the probability or improbability of miracle assumes quite a different aspect when we recognize that nature is the exhibition of the Divine will and purpose.

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[*] *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, p. 99, ed. Rosenkranz.

[†] *Lettres de la Montagne*, iii.

[‡] *Spectator*, Feb. 10, 1866.

[*] Mill, *Essays on Religion*, p. 221, where the illogical character of Hume's argument is plainly exhibited.

[†] Paley, *Evidences*, Introduction.

[‡] An ingenious practical illustration of the fallibility of Hume's principles as to the value of human testimony will be found in Whately's once famous pamphlet, *Historic Doubts concerning Napoleon Buonaparte*.

> ‘Hume's argument is far from being conclusive when the existence of a Being who created the present order of nature, and therefore may well be thought to have power to modify it, is accepted as a fact, or even as a probability resting on independent evidence. Once admit a God, and the production by His direct volition of an effect which in any case owed its origin to His creative will is no longer a purely arbitrary hypothesis to account for the fact, but must be reckoned with as a serious possibility.’ [†]

The question *is* one of balancing improbabilities, as Hume said, but we must now take into consideration, on the positive side, not only the mere evidence of the witnesses, but also whatever there is of *a priori* probability that the Supreme would intervene in such fashion. Such *a priori* probability undoubtedly exists in the case of a miracle like the Incarnation. There is, on the one hand, if you will, the improbability that an event thus anomalous and out of the established order should take place. There is, on the other hand, not only the witness of the Gospels and of the Church to the claims of the Christ, not only the striking fact that thus all the hopes and expectations of ages found their realization, but this other serious consideration as well. If God made man in His own image, and intended him at the first for holiness, there is an *a priori* improbability in the supposition that such Divine purpose would be for ever frustrate and in vain. The Fall demands the Incarnation and the Atonement; it demands a fresh act of Divine grace, which shall raise man out of the slough in which he is struggling. And so we can perceive a reason why, in the interests of morality and goodness, some such miracle as that of the Word who became flesh should appear in ‘the fulness of time.’ In other words, if we adopt Hume's way of looking at the question, though our belief in a miraculous occurrence depend ultimately on our regarding the testimony to it as so strong that its falsity would be more miraculous than the truth of the miracle in question, yet when thus balancing probabilities we must not forget to give due weight to the *moral* probability that the Author of Creation may desire at certain epochs to give a special manifestation of Himself, of His will, of His grace, to the creatures whom He has made.

4. It must be frankly conceded that such considerations have been at times made too much of. *A priori* speculation in theology, as we said above, is often misleading; and if we committed ourselves altogether to its guidance we might be led to conclusions which should forbid us to regard as reconcilable the benevolence of God and the misery and sin and sorrow with which this earth is afflicted. If it be regarded as *a priori* probable that a remedy should be provided for sin, why, it has been asked,[*] is it not also *a priori* probable that a remedy should be provided for disease? Why should not sin be just as permanent an inheritance of man as death? And to that the only answer is that we do not rely solely on *a priori* probabilities in religion; if they were contradicted at every turn by experience, we could not trust them. But when, as in the case of the miracle of the Incarnation, the *a posteriori* witness falls in with the *a priori* suggestion of reason, then the two kinds of evidence, derived respectively from abstract and concrete considerations, mutually corroborate and support each other. *A priori* reasoning may lead us astray, but that is no reason for believing that it never points to the truth. Indeed, to profess that there is *no* scope for moral and rational probabilities in God's government of the world, is to accept a creed more gloomy and more irrational than any which has yet been proposed to man.

5. It is not too much to say that the occurrence of miracle can hardly be certified to the intellect in a quiet hour of after-reflection, unless there be a convergence of both lines of evidence — the *a posteriori* of testimony, the *a priori* of antecedent probability. This is to say, that more and higher evidence is required to substantiate a miracle than is required to substantiate ordinary matters of fact. As the course of nature is generally uniform, we must grant that there is *some* special improbability attaching to the allegation that an event of the miraculous order has been witnessed. To overcome this special improbability it is needful, first, to adduce some seemingly adequate reason why the Creator should deviate from that observed course of action which (save in the specific cases of alleged miracles) prior experience proves to have been His rule; and secondly, that we should have stronger and more unimpeachable direct evidence than that which is required for an ordinary event. Certainly ‘le vrai n'est pas toujours le vraisemblable’; we must never reject any statement merely because it sounds improbable. We must try to discover if its falsity would be more or less improbable than its truth. But, granting the force of this proviso, we must also admit that *more* evidence is required for a miracle than for ordinary matters of fact.

Butler takes a different view, and his position is worthy of scrutiny. His words are as follows [†]:—

> ‘There is a very strong presumption against common speculative truths and against the most ordinary facts, before the proof of them, which yet is overcome by almost any proof. There is a presumption of millions to one, against the story of Cæsar, or of any other man. For suppose a number of common facts so and so circumstanced, of which one had no kind of proof, should happen to come into one's thoughts, every one would, without any possible doubt, conclude them to be false. And the like may be said of a single common fact. And from hence it appears, that the question of importance, as to the matter before us, is, concerning the *degree* of the peculiar presumption supposed against miracles; not whether there be any peculiar presumption at all against them. For, if there be the presumption of millions to one against the most common facts, what can a small presumption, additional to this, amount to, though it be peculiar? It cannot be estimated, and is as nothing. The only material question is, whether there be any such presumption against miracles as to render them in any sort incredible.’

Now, Mill pointed out very clearly [‡] the confusion of which Butler is here guilty: it is that Butler does not distinguish between two different kinds of improbability, which may be called respectively improbability *before* the fact and improbability *after* the fact. The antecedent presumption against any ordinary occurrence taking place, which it comes into my head to *imagine* taking place, is immense; but if a credible witness asserts that it *has* taken place, that improbability becomes as nothing. This is the improbability before the fact. In fact, that any ordinary event should take place is improbable *before* testimony has been given, but not a whit improbable *after* testimony. But the case of miracles is quite different: the presumption against a miracle is not merely a presumption against a specific event, but against that *kind* of event taking place. And this presumption remains, and must be allowed for even after testimony has been given. Butler really compares the improbability of miracles (which remains *after* testimony to their occurrence has been given) with the improbability of the truth of a random guess (which vanishes after testimony to its accuracy has been brought forward); and this is to compare two things not fairly comparable at all.

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[*] See Temple, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 216.
[†] Mill, *l.c.* p. 232.

[*] *e.g.* by Mill, *l.c.* p. 235 ff.
[†] *Analogy*, ii. 2.
[‡] *System of Logic*, ii. 173.

6. The truth is, that when estimating the difference between miracles and ordinary facts as matters of credit, we must not lose sight of our fundamental assumption of the existence and activity of supreme spiritual powers.

> 'A miracle,' says Mozley, 'is on one side of it not a fact of this world, but of the invisible world; the Divine interposition in it being a supernatural and mysterious act: and so the evidence for a miracle does not stand exactly on the same ground as the evidence of the witness-box, which only appeals to our common-sense as men of the world and actors in ordinary life, but it requires a great religious assumption in our minds to begin with, without which no testimony in the case can avail; and consequently the acceptance of a miracle exercises more than the ordinary qualities of candour and fairness used in estimating historical evidence generally, having, in the previous admission of a Supernatural Power, first tried our faith.' *

As we conceive the case, then, there must be, to certify the miracle—(*a*) *a posteriori* evidence greater in degree than would be required for ordinary matters of fact; (*b*) an *a priori* conviction of the Divine power, and an *a priori* faith in the Divine will to intervene. And this conclusion (to which we have been led on grounds of reason alone) receives remarkable confirmation from the circumstances of our Lord's miracles as recorded in the Gospels. The great miracle of the Resurrection was only witnessed by believers; there was no manifestation of the Risen Christ to the soldiers, to the priests, to Pilate (cf. Ac 10^{41}). It is a question, indeed, which may fairly be raised, whether the recognition of the Risen Lord would have been possible for the faithless, and whether unbelievers would have perceived any exceptional appearance at all in the Garden, in the Upper Room, or on the Galilæan mountain.† It is a question whether we have not here the supreme illustration of that strange limitation to the powers of the Incarnate Word described in the words, 'He could do there no mighty work' (Mk 6^{5}): 'He did there no mighty works because of their unbelief' (Mt 13^{58}). But, without entering into so difficult and sacred a field of inquiry, it is at least certain that miracles are not regarded in the Gospels as sufficient objectively in themselves to generate faith. 'If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded if one rise from the dead' (Lk 16^{31}), is the general teaching of the Synoptics.

iii. THE EVIDENTIAL VALUE OF MIRACLES.—**1.** We pass to the consideration of the evidential value of miracles. It is an 'acknowledged historical fact,' as Butler says, 'that Christianity offered itself to the world and demanded to be received upon the allegation . . . of miracles publicly wrought to attest the truth of it in such an age.' The Christian Church was founded on the basis of belief in a stupendous miracle, the resurrection of Christ: this was continually put forward by the early Christian apologists as chief among the credentials of the Gospel. Whether the reasoning of Nicodemus was logically valid or not, it unquestionably was accepted by thousands. 'We know that thou art a teacher come from God; for no man can do these signs that thou doest except God be with him,' Jn 3^{2}. (See SIGN). And it was largely due to the miracles which (it was alleged) accompanied the advent of Christianity, that Christian missionaries were able in the early ages to get a hearing for their message. But it has been urged that, granting the historical fact that this line of argument was once very attractive, it ought now to be set aside, for it is quite fallacious and inadequate. Miracles *as credentials* seem now to be at a discount, and the reaction against the exclusive attention to this aspect of their purpose which prevailed in the last century in English theology has perhaps gone too far. We have already said above that we do not claim for miracles that testimony to their occurrence is by itself sufficient to prove the existence of Divine power. The possibility of a miracle implies the existence of God, and no testimony would be sufficient to convince one who did not recognize the Divine existence that a miracle had ever occurred (see ii. § 6).* But a difficulty emerges, even in the case of a believer in spiritual force, which must now be considered.

2. A miracle, *i.e.* an anomalous intervention of spiritual force indicating purpose, supposed to be established by testimony, would merely prove the energy of superhuman *power*; it bears no necessary witness to superhuman *goodness*. It might be of Satanic origin, not of Divine, and it is not a credential which ought, by itself, to inspire belief, for it may be a delusion of the Prince of lies, rather than a manifestation of Him who is the Truth. Indeed the advent of antichrist is to be ushered in 'with signs and lying wonders' (2 Th 2^{9}). It is here that the context, so to speak, of the miracle is all-important. *Miracula sine doctrina nihil valent* is the principle which will resolve our difficulty. Certainly miracles, regarded merely as tokens of power, do not establish the goodness of the agent who works them; but if we are able to recognize this latter characteristic from the doctrines which he teaches, then the miracle will pronounce that those doctrines proceed directly from the Author of goodness. If the doctrine commends itself to the conscience as good, then the miracle seals it as Divine. As Pascal has it, 'Les miracles discernent la doctrine, et la doctrine discerne les miracles.'† And Pascal points out that this twofold test of power and of goodness, which must be applied to a miracle, is like the twofold test by which a prophet was to be tried according to the Pentateuchal Law. A prophet was not to be regarded as speaking in the name of Jehovah if (*a*) his prophecy was falsified by the event (Dt 18^{22}), or (*b*) if his teaching led the people into the ways of idolatry (Dt 13^{3}). He was to be tried by his doctrine no less than by the superhuman prescience which he exhibited. And so a miracle is not only to be regarded in the light of a *wonder*; it is also a *sign*—a sign of the character of the agent from whom it proceeds, not only in itself but in all the circumstances which lead up to and result from it. So the reply to the frequent query, 'Do the miracles prove the doctrine, or does the doctrine prove the miracles?' is strictly this: Miracles are a proof of the Divine origin of a doctrine, provided the doctrine be in itself worthy of a Divine author. No miracle could justify us in acting or teaching contradictory to conscience, or in referring such teaching to God. But if the moral teaching of one who professes himself to be a messenger from God be of surpassing excellence, then His possession of superhuman power corroborates His authority and justifies His claim. If it be historically true, *e.g.* that Jesus Christ rose from the dead, then this fact 'identifies the Lord of physical life and death with the legislator of the Sermon on the Mount. Miracle is the certificate of identity between the Lord of Nature and the Lord of Conscience—the proof that He is really a moral being who subordinates physical to moral interests.'[*]

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* *Miracles*, p. 102. It is especially the fault of the apologetic writers of the 18th cent. that they neglected this consideration. It is a fault from which Paley is not entirely free, but it appears most plainly in books like Sherlock's *Trial of the Witnesses*, which once had a wide vogue.

† See Westcott, *Gospel of the Resurrection*, p. 155.

* This is the contention of Spinoza: 'Porro quamvis ex miraculis aliquid concludere possumus, nullo tamen modo Dei existentia inde possit concludi.' As we agree with his conclusion here, it is unnecessary to quarrel with the argument by which he reaches it, but we do not regard it as convincing.

† *Pensées* 'Des Miracles,' a few pages in which there is perhaps more wisdom than in anything else ever written on the subject.

3. A miracle is not only a display of thaumaturgic power. This enables us to answer an objection raised by Matthew Arnold, who asked what possible evidence of authority would be shown by a man's turning a pen into a penwiper before our eyes.[†] And truly the answer is, None whatever! But then this applies only to miracles which are *τέρατα*, without being *σημεῖα*; whereas, in the view we have adopted, the true miracle is a vehicle of revelation, as well as an evidential adjunct.

'This guarantees the standing of miracles, gives them a secure position in connexion with revelation; and also it guarantees their quality; it requires them to possess characteristics congruous to the nature of the revelation with which they are associated. If it be a revelation of grace, the miracles also must be gracious. Any kind of miracle will not do; a definite ethical character is indispensable. They must tend directly to advance the interests of the Divine kingdom.'[‡]

When miracles are regarded as credentials, their inward meaning no less than their outward form must receive attention. Thus Augustine likens the man who sees the outward side of the miracle to one who, being unable to read, admires the fair writing of a manuscript which the student values rather for the message it brings him: 'est oculis laudator, mente non cognitor.'[§] No amount of evidence to the occurrence of a miracle, in short, is sufficient to justify us in inferring the intervention of Divine power, unless the miracle be one which our conscience assures us is not unworthy of God.

4. It hardly needs illustrations to explain that this is a test, which, though necessary to apply with all care and reverence, may yet be applied with some confidence. Many of the miracles recorded in the Apocryphal Gospels and in the *Acta Sanctorum* when submitted to this moral test are found at once to be lacking in the qualities which alone would justify their claim to be *credentials*. They are grotesque and absurd; they teach no definite lesson; they are associated with no word of wisdom; they are *signs* of nothing, save the poverty of imagination possessed by the romancers who invented them.

The alleged miracles of the infancy of Christ are purposeless and wanton, even when they are not deliberately cruel. There is an absence of dignity about them, for they are worked without any great or worthy object. And, speaking generally, if a recorded miracle does not serve any moral purpose, if it be unfruitful in any good result, if the teaching by which it is accompanied be not spiritually elevating, then it stands self-condemned, 'the story,' as Butler would say, 'being rightly proved false from internal evidence.' On the other hand, the miracles of the Gospel are not mere freaks of power; they have a definite moral purpose. They are examples and acted parables of the love of Christ; they are the works of Him 'who declares His almighty power most chiefly by showing mercy and pity.' 'As nature is an image of grace, so,' says Pascal, 'the visible miracles are but the images of those invisible which God wills to accomplish'; they are, as it were, sacraments of the Divine operation. Thus, then, if a miracle be looked upon merely as an act of power beyond the power of man, it would not prove that the revelation which it accompanies is from God; but if it bear marks of wisdom in regard to the time and circumstances of its introduction, and of goodness as regards its moral character and its fruits, there can be no further doubt about the matter. And when we so look at the Christian miracles, we see that the supposed alternative that they might be due to superhuman malevolence rather than to benevolence is only ingenious but not serious. For Christianity so completely opposes evil and is so identified with God's providential working both before and since its promulgation, that to say that its miracles might have been worked by Satanic agency is simply absurd.

It is not contended that the Gospel miracles are all alike the *evident* work of supreme wisdom and goodness. The blasting of the fig-tree (Mt $21^{19f.}$ ‖ Mk $11^{20f.}$) has often been described as being rather like a freak of power than a sign of love. But, not to speak of the many explanations of the purpose of such an act at such a moment which have been suggested, and passing by the lesson which it surely conveyed to the observers, that the Divine judgment on unfruitfulness is stern and final, it may be said at once that *this* miracle must not be detached from the others which were wrought by Christ. *Noscitur a sociis* is a maxim of prudence; and a miracle like this of the fig-tree is guaranteed, so to speak, by the company in which it is found, and by the character, otherwise known, of Him who worked it. Viewed as an isolated marvel, it would *not* serve as a sufficient credential of the claims of the Christ; viewed as one of the incidents of His Passion, as one of His *ἔργα*, it has a meaning full of instruction. And the same may be said of any other cases in which a similar objection might be raised.

5. It has been already pointed out (ii. § **6**) that miracles are not represented in the Gospels as sufficient of themselves in all cases to generate conviction. 'Though he had done so many signs before them, yet they believed not on him' (Jn 12^{37}). *All* the spectators at the Raising of Lazarus were not persuaded of the claims of Christ (Jn 11^{46}). Yet the miracles of Jesus are repeatedly said to have arrested the attention and quickened the faith of those who witnessed them (Mt 8^{27}, Lk 5^{8}, Jn 2^{11}). Not only the disciples, but the populace were impressed (Jn 6^{14}, Lk 7^{16}). 'Many believed on his name, beholding his signs which he did' (Jn 2^{23}), is a typical statement. And this aspect of His miracles, their witness to the truth of His claims, is emphatically asserted by Christ Himself. 'The very works that I do bear witness of me' (Jn 5^{36}). 'That ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins, I say unto thee, Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thy house' (Mk 2^{10}): the cure of the paralytic was a credential of His claim to be the pardoner of sin. When the tidings reached the disciples that Lazarus was dead, He said that it was well, for the miracle of his recovery would be the greater 'sign' (Jn 11^{15}). He rebuked the greedy multitudes, because they followed Him for what they might get, and *not* because of His signs (Jn 6^{26}). He upbraided Chorazin and Bethsaida because His mighty works had not drawn them to repentance (Mt 11^{20}). And St. John expressly states that the signs of Jesus were recorded 'that ye may believe' (Jn 20^{31}): the evidential function of miracles was not merely an accidental result, due to the credulity of the contemporaries of Jesus; it was a function, according to the Fourth Gospel, which miracles and the record of them were in some measure to fulfil throughout the Christian centuries (see, however, iv. § **7**).

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[*] Liddon, *Elements of Religion*, p. 73; see Trench, *Miracles*, p. 29 ff.

[†] *Literature and Dogma*, p. 95.

[‡] Bruce, *Miraculous Element in the Gospels*, p. 290.

[§] Serm. xcviii. 3.

But it is also to be observed that Christ more than once refused to work 'signs,' and that He often kept secret those which had been wrought. 'Tell no man,' He said to the leprous, the blind, the deaf, who had been healed (Mt 8^4 9^{30}, Mk 7^{36}). Herod 'hoped to see some sign done by him' (Lk 23^8), but no sign was forthcoming. The scribes and Pharisees who sought a sign were sternly refused (Mt 12^{38}). The faith which would be enkindled by signs, though it may be true faith, is not the highest. To believe Him 'for the very works' sake' is the lower stage of discipleship (Jn 14^{11}); though it, too, may find its reward (Jn 4^{48}). The highest faith is not that of Thomas, who believed when he saw the wound-prints, but that which can believe without seeing any sign (Jn 20^{29}).

In brief, miracles are represented in the Gospels as of considerable evidential importance, although they will not convince an unwilling heart (Lk 16^{31}), nor is the faith which they enkindle the purest form of spiritual allegiance.

iv. THE MIRACLES OF THE GOSPELS.—*Their Characteristics.*—**1.** A somewhat closer examination of the miraculous element in the Gospels must now be made. We have seen that miracles are *possible* objectively and in the abstract; that it is unreasonable to declare that no testimony can make them credible, albeit testimony of a high order may fairly be demanded; and that, when put forward as credentials, a scrutiny of their internal character is necessary as well as a scrutiny of the evidence by which they are substantiated. The miracles of the Gospel come well out of this last test; and we go on to ask, Are there any other leading characteristics which they present to our view besides this, that they are morally sublime?

2. A second characteristic is probably that they are *certain*, not *tentative* or doubtful. Many alleged cases of thaumaturgic power profess to be no more than this. Out of many trials there are a few successes. Such, doubtless, were the supposed cures wrought by the relics and at the tombs of martyrs. Nothing is alleged concerning them which is not alleged of various quack medicines, namely, that out of the thousands who use them a few will be found to assert that they have derived benefit. But the phenomenon presented by Christ's miracles as recorded by the evangelists is quite different. There is nothing in the narratives which in any way suggests that the Lord attempted cures in many instances and succeeded only in a few; we seem to be told of a 'standing miraculous power lodged in a person.'*

Here, however, we must speak with great caution. To assert that the miracles of the Lord were wrought without effort, as it were, and that they are to be ascribed to the exercise of His Divine nature rather than to the operation of His human nature enriched and glorified by His indissoluble union with the Father, is perhaps to go beyond the evidence. The power, the δύναμις which He put forth as He 'went about doing good,' is not spoken of as always present in the same fulness or as bearing no relation to the faith of those for whose sakes it was exercised. He said once that power had 'gone forth' from Him (Lk 8^{46}); He 'sighed' as He restored hearing to the deaf (Mk 7^{34}); and a mysterious limitation to His power to heal seems to be hinted at in passages such as Mt 13^{50}, Mk 6^5, of which something has been said above.† The truth is, that we so little understand the conditions of the Incarnation that we find ourselves at fault when we attempt to define closely the laws (if we may so speak) of Christ's miraculous activity. Considerations such as have been suggested hardly touch the miracles which He wrought upon *nature*, as distinct from those which He wrought upon *man*; and all that can be gathered on this subject with confidence from the Gospels resolves itself into this, that while there was a 'standing miraculous power' in Him, there was also a remarkable economy in its exercise, the reasons for which we cannot fully comprehend.

3. There is, indeed, an intimate connexion between the several miracles of Christ, arising from the fact that the greatest miracle of all is the Person of Christ Himself. Sin is the true ἀνομία, the true violation of law; and this finds its remedy in a corresponding miracle of grace, even the Incarnation. It is quite misleading to compare the evidence, say, for the raising of Lazarus with that for a miracle in the life of a mediæval saint; for the heart of the Christian position is that the circumstances were quite dissimilar. Christians assert, at the outset, that the Person of Christ is supernatural, or rather that the perfectly 'natural' humanity which He took upon Him was associated with the unearthly spiritual powers of the Godhead; and, that being so, it is natural, *i.e.* congruous, that His advent and ministry should be attended with works 'such as none other man did.' All through the Fourth Gospel, Christ's miracles are described as His ἔργα; they did not stand, as it were, in a class by themselves, but they constituted a part of that Divine manifestation which dwelt in Him. We say that His life being greater and larger than that of a mere man like ourselves, was irradiated by the awful light of His superhuman origin, and that therefore (as might have been expected) that superhuman origin betrayed itself by a superhuman energy of action, that, after a public life of superhuman works of mercy, He suffered, died, was buried, but rose again, appeared on several occasions to His followers, and finally in their presence ascended into heaven. This is not like the allegation of a single isolated miracle. The whole advent of Jesus Christ was miraculous, and therefore we refuse to isolate any one of His works from His life. 'Isolated events,' it has been profoundly said, 'are often incredible,' but the crowning miracle of Christianity is the Incarnation. If Christ were altogether an exceptional personage, there is nothing to stumble at in the miracles recorded of Him, which indeed then are seen at once in their true character as σημεῖα, or ἔργα,—His *signs* or His *works*,—but which refuse to rank themselves as θαύματα or prodigies which amaze and perplex. They are not *specimens* of His power, but *manifestations* of His Person.*

4. Another consequence of importance follows from these considerations. The miracles, the σημεῖα of Jesus Christ, are *essential* to the Gospel history. And this does not mean merely that Christianity is a 'supernatural religion,' and that it is impossible to retain its consoling and strengthening power over mankind if we reject the supernatural element, true and deeply important as this is. But it means that we cannot construct a consistent picture of the life of Jesus Christ from the Gospels, if we do not take account of His miraculous powers, however those 'miraculous' powers are to be explained. His miracles are not like the miracles in Livy or in the history of many of the mediæval saints, detached pieces that do not disturb the history, which goes on very well without them; but the whole history is grounded in them and presupposes them. Without making any assumption as to the date and manner of composition of the Synoptic Gospels, this fact stands out. We cannot contrive any theory by which we may entirely eliminate the miraculous, and yet save the historicity, in any intelligible sense, of those wonderful narratives. It is vain to say, as some have done, that possibly the original nucleus of the Gospels contained no miraculous stories. For what is the fact? Even if we attempt to reconstruct the original document which the Synoptic evangelists had before them when compiling their

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* Cf. Mozley, *l.c.* p. 168.

† This train of thought is carefully worked out in Mason's *Conditions of our Lord's Life on Earth*, pp. 95 ff., 108 ff.; cf. Gore, *Dissertations*, pp. 80, 140, 165; and Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 66.

* So Augustine: 'Mirum non esse debet a Deo factum miraculum . . . magis gaudere quam mirari debemus' (*in Joan.* Tract. xvii. 1).

Gospels, by the simple (though unscientific) process of rejecting everything as added which is not common to all three, and so arrive at the 'triple tradition,' we shall find that it still teems with miracle. The Feeding of the Five Thousand, the Raising of Jairus' daughter, the Stilling of the Storm, besides half a dozen miracles of healing, are still left.* We cannot, in short, by any artifice reach a primitive gospel which is not to a greater or less extent a miracle gospel, and so we cannot treat off-hand the Gospel history in the matter of rejecting miracles as we would treat the *Acta Sanctorum.* But if we admit *one* miracle, there is little intellectual hindrance to admitting twenty. There is no aid to faith in the mere reduction of the number of miracles. Matthew Arnold compared this modern tendency to saying that while it is extravagant to suppose Cinderella's fairy godmother to have actually changed the pumpkin into a coach-and-six, we may believe that she did change it into a one-horse cab.† The illustration is flippant, but it is just. There is nothing to be gained by the attempt to minimize the supernatural in the Gospel history. It is there, do what we will. 'Miracles play so important a part in Christ's scheme, that any theory which would represent them as due entirely to the imagination of His followers or of a later age, destroys the credibility of the documents not partially but wholly, and leaves Christ a personage as mythical as Hercules.'‡ We have, indeed, no warrant for insisting that any particular explanation or theory of the miraculous shall be accepted by a believer in the Gospels; but the *fact* of the miraculous, however we define it, remains. And a miracle reduced to its lowest terms, remains a miracle still.

5. Classifications, more or less instructive, of the miracles of Christ, have often been drawn up.§ We can here only briefly indicate their general character in respect of their claim to be regarded as due to power other than that of the ordinary forces of nature, as known or as conceivable to us. (*a*) There are, first, the miracles worked upon *man*, the miracles of healing. Some of these present no peculiar difficulty of credence to any one who is familiar with the remarkable phenomena of hypnotism, or more generally with the influence of a strong will over a weak one, though it would be rash to assert, and (in view of all the facts) is in itself improbable, that this is the whole secret in any case. Such, for instance, are the cures of the demoniacs (Mt 8^{28} 15^{21} 17^{14}, Mk 1^{23}), of the impotent man at the Pool of Bethesda (Jn 5^{9}), of the man with the withered hand (Mt 12^{10}), of the woman with the spirit of infirmity (Lk 13^{11}), of the dumb man with a devil (Mt 9^{32}), and of the man 'possessed with a devil, blind and dumb' (Mt 12^{22}). We find it increasingly difficult to accept any such explanations in the cases of the healing of the paralytics (Mt 8^{5} 9^{2}), of the deaf man (Mk 7^{32}), of the blind (Mt 9^{27} 20^{30}, Mk 8^{22}, Jn 9^{1}, the last of which is specially remarkable, and was so regarded at the time), of the dropsical man (Lk 14^{2}), of the fever patient healed with a touch (Mt 8^{14}), of the woman with the issue (Mt 9^{20}), of the lepers (Mt 8^{2}, Lk 17^{11}, the healing in the former case being brought about by a *touch*, in the latter case by a mere *word* of power), of Malchus' servant (Lk 22^{50}). And more wonderful (to our eyes) than any of these was the raising of the dead, the daughter of Jairus (Mt 9^{23}, though here it is noteworthy that the statement that the child was really dead was not made by Christ Himself), the widow of Nain's son (Lk 7^{11}), and Lazarus (Jn 11^{43}), in the last of which cases, at least, all doubt as to the fact of death is excluded by the attendant circumstances.

(*b*) We have, secondly, the *cosmic* miracles, as they have been called—those which were wrought upon nature. The Blasting of the Fig-tree (Mt 21^{18}), the Stilling of the Storm (Mt 8^{26}), and the Walking on the Sea (Mt 14^{25}), betray the energy of One who had power not only over man, but over the unintelligent forces of the universe. Certainly these cannot be explained, or explained away, by any hypothesis such as that which has been resorted to in the case of the healing of demoniacs or the like. And a controlling force of a quite extraordinary character seems to have manifested itself in the Feeding of the Four Thousand (Mt 15^{32}) and of the Five Thousand (Mt 14^{19}), as well as in that first 'sign' of all, the Transformation of water into wine at the marriage feast (Jn 2^{1}).

(*c*) Four cases have been left out of consideration, inasmuch as *if they stood alone* they might be explained as coincidences, the like of which happens in every one's experience. The great draughts of fish (Lk 5^{1} and Jn 21^{6}) and the finding of the stater in the fish's mouth (Mt 17^{24}, although here it is noteworthy that we are not told that the coin was actually found), as well as the recovery of the nobleman's son at Capernaum (Jn 4^{46}), are not in themselves *præter naturam*; but they receive their significance from their connexion with prophetic words of the Christ. They are (to take the lowest view) *σημεῖα* of His superhuman wisdom.

6. Thus, on a review of all the miracles of the Ministry of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels, although no doubt this or that isolated event might be plausibly referred to natural causes, yet undoubtedly there are some among the number which cannot be reasonably thus explained; and all, taken together, if they have been correctly reported to us, present a phenomenon for which we are driven to seek a cause other than the physical forces of the universe can provide.

7. *The Evidence.*—What is the value of the evidence for these phenomena? The Gospels received their present form, let us assume, between the years 60 and 90 A.D. That is to say, we have written testimony to the facts set down within half a century of their alleged occurrence. Is this testimony strong enough to outweigh the admitted improbability, *a posteriori*, of such anomalous and extraordinary events? The question about the Gospel miracles is often put in this form, but it is not the form in which it will be put by any one who appreciates what is the real problem at issue. For nothing has been said in the foregoing summary of the alleged resurrection of Christ Himself. It was *this* upon which the controversy as to His claims hinged in the early days of Christianity, and it was a true instinct which led the first preachers of the gospel to place it in the foreground. If He really rose from the dead, then it is plain that He cannot be judged by the standards which we rightly apply to the alleged doings of men like ourselves.* The miracles of the ministry, with rare exceptions, were not worked under circumstances which should fit them to be absolutely convincing credentials to the world of the Divine mission of Jesus. They were, speaking in general terms and with reservations which have been already explained (see iii. § 5), rather sacramental signs of His grace than proofs that He had the power to bestow it. But it was otherwise with the resurrection on the first Easter Day. *This* was a credential to which the Church continually appealed (Ro 1^{4} 4^{24}, 1 P 1^{20}), although it, too, was a σημεῖον of spiritual truth. And the evidence for this is not confined to the Gospels. It is presupposed in all the apostolic Epistles, as it is the burden of the apostolic sermons recorded in the *Acts* (cf. Ac 2^{32} 3^{15} 10^{40} 13^{34} $17^{3.\,31}$ 26^{23}); and not only is this the case, but the whole history shows that belief in the resurrection was the one source of the continued faith of believers after their hopes had been shattered by the crucifixion, and was, as a matter of fact, the foundation on which the edifice of the Christian Church was raised. Examine the evidence of the four 'undisputed' Epistles of St. Paul. These were all written before the year 58, *i.e.* about a quarter of a century after the crucifixion. St. Paul bears *direct* testimony to the fact of the resurrection, as believed in by all Christians of the day. 'To this end Christ died and lived again, that he might be Lord of both the dead and the living' (Ro 14^{9}); 'I delivered unto you . . . that which also I received . . . how that he hath been raised on the third day, according to the Scriptures; and that he appeared to Cephas; then to the Twelve; then he appeared to above five hundred brethren at once, of whom the greater part remain until now . . . ; then he appeared to James; then to all the apostles' (1 Co $15^{3\text{-}7}$). For circumstantiality, it would be difficult to surpass this last statement (cf. also Ro 1^{4} 8^{34}, 2 Co 5^{15}, 1 Th 4^{14}). Again, St. Paul is so confident of the fact of the resurrection of Christ that he uses it as a proof that we too shall live after death: 'if there is no resurrection of the dead, neither hath Christ been raised' (1 Co 15^{13}); he does not consider it necessary to add anything to this *reductio ad absurdum.* And, finally, the fact is so familiar that it is repeatedly appealed to in its symbolic and spiritual significance: 'that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life' (Ro 6^{4}; cf. Ph 3^{10}, Col 3^{1}).

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* This question has been carefully examined by Bruce, *l.c.* p. 101.

† *God and the Bible*, p. 23.

‡ *Ecce Homo*, p. 41.

§ See especially Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 480 ff.

* All through, however, we must bear in mind that it is not the *anomalousness* of the resurrection of Christ which is the significant matter. 'It is quite possible that our Lord's resurrection may be found hereafter to be no miracle at all in the scientific sense. It foreshadows and begins the general resurrection; and when that general resurrection comes we may find that it was, after all, the natural issue of physical laws always at work' (Temple, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 196).

8. This was the confident belief of St. Paul and of his correspondents years before the Gospels assumed their present forms, and (although we cannot here enter fully into the question) all attempted 'naturalistic' explanations of that belief are entirely inadequate. This is good evidence; it is quite different in degree from the evidence which might be brought for any of the Lord's miracles of healing, taken singly; indeed it is not too much to say that had not the evidence been entirely satisfactory to those who had the best means of judging, the Christian Church would not have lived for a year after the crucifixion. Thus it is the Church itself that is the abiding witness to the resurrection; otherwise we should have to believe a more 'incredible' thing than any 'miracle,' viz. that the greatest and most blessed institution in this world is based on the delusions of a few credulous and superstitious fanatics. The question to be answered is, *not,* Is the evidence of the Gospels for the miracles of the ministry sufficient by itself to inspire belief—*not,* Is the documentary evidence for the resurrection of Jesus provided in the Gospels and Epistles sufficient by itself to command our acceptance of it—*but,* How are we to account for the origin of the Christian Church on the basis of belief in the resurrection of Jesus Christ, supposing that belief to have had no foundation in fact? And to that question there is no satisfactory answer. We are driven back on the hypothesis that the belief grew out of the fact, and with that hypothesis all the existing evidence is in entire agreement. Leslie in his once famous tract, *A Short Method with the Deists,* may have laid too much stress on the evidence viewed in a purely juristic aspect, but there is real force in his argument that the four tests which may be applied to the testimony to the fact of the resurrection of Christ are tests which would satisfy a reasonable court of inquiry. The alleged fact was (1) one which could be judged of by men's senses; (2) it was public; (3) it was verified by a monument set up in observance of it, *i.e.* the Christian Church; and (4) this was set up immediately after the event.

9. We may now turn back to the miracles of the Gospel. They fall into line at once, if the miracle of the resurrection is a fact; they become σημεῖα and ἔργα (as they are represented by St. John to be) of the Christ. The evidence for *it* is, *prima facie,* evidence for *them.* True it is that St. Paul does not mention them at all in his letters, but it did not come within his purpose to do so. It was the permanent results, not the temporary incidents, as it were, of the Divine life on earth with which he and his correspondents were concerned. And yet it is worth observing that, so far is St. Paul from thinking that miracles are foreign to the Christian dispensation, that he claims the power of working them himself, and that in letters addressed both to strangers who did not know him and to friends who did. Christ wrought by him, he says, 'in the power of signs and wonders' (Ro 15^{19}); 'truly,' he writes to the Corinthians, 'the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, by signs and wonders and mighty works' (2 Co 12^{12}); among the Divine gifts of the Church are 'miracles (δυνάμεις), gifts of healings, divers kinds of tongues' (1 Co 12^{28}); and he asks the Galatians, 'he therefore that worketh miracles (δυνάμεις) among you, doeth he it by the works of the law?' (Gal 3^{5}). If it had not been a matter of acknowledged fact that some such Divine powers had attended his apostolic ministry, it would have been truly extraordinary that he should have claimed them. And, further, it is plain that he would never have claimed powers for himself of which he believed his Master to have been destitute, so that his omission of any mention of the Lord's miracles of healing cannot have any significance as regards St. Paul's belief in the supernatural character of Christianity.

10. To this mass of evidence, *a priori* and *a posteriori,* in favour of the miracles of the NT, the answer that is usually returned in our time is not that of Spinoza (though his presuppositions are more widely accepted than is always recognized), nor of Hume, but of Matthew Arnold, who, while declining metaphysical disquisitions as to their possibility or credibility, attempted to settle the controversy by declaring that at any rate 'miracles *do not happen,*'* and that the vast number of admittedly fabulous miracles recorded in ecclesiastical literature dispenses us from formal inquiry into the excellence of the evidence for those of one particular period. It is plain that the mere dictum, 'miracles do not happen,' has no application whatever in logic, unless the propounder of it is prepared to accept the principles either of Spinoza or of Hume; and these we have already examined. The force of the statement resides in this, that the modern world is very chary in receiving the report of any alleged miracle, because we know of so many cases in which like reports have proved untrue. But that 'miracles do not happen' within a certain area of experience, does not prove that they have never happened outside that area. The rule 'all or none' is a very unsafe rule for common life. Every case that arises ought to be judged on its own

* *God and the Bible,* p. 232.

merits. And the first question to be asked about the evidence for the NT miracles is, Were the witnesses predisposed to believe such things of Jesus Christ? In particular, was there any preconception in favour of His resurrection? Were it so, there might be considerable room for hesitation in accepting report of it, and the rapid dissemination of belief in it might be set down to a widespread credulity. Now (*a*) it is true that belief in the supernatural was quite common in the first century of our era, nor could men and women then have had the same intellectual difficulty in trusting the evidence for an alleged miracle that we, with our larger knowledge of the laws of nature, now experience. In particular, the lower classes of Roman society, though not ready to accept miraculous stories which interfered with their traditional beliefs, were steeped in an atmosphere of magic and superstition. But it was not so with the higher classes. The first century could not be called an 'age of faith.' Stoics and Epicureans alike were disinclined to believe in any irruption of the spiritual into the established physical order. (*b*) And when we turn from Gentile to Jew, when we consider the national prejudices alike of the first preachers as of the first hearers of the gospel, we see that nothing could have been more opposed to preconceived ideas than the doctrine of the Incarnation, with the resurrection as its appropriate and (so to speak) inevitable sequel (Mt $27^{64ff.}$, Lk 24^{26}, Jn 5^{18} 8^{58} 10^{33} etc.). *This* once recognized, there would, no doubt, have been no difficulty in believing that the 'works' of One like Christ should be superhuman, but this was not recognized at the first even by the faithful apostles. Prejudice in favour of the Incarnation, of the Resurrection, of the Ascension, there was none. The evidence cannot be set aside on the score that it grew up in the course of years as the outcome of presuppositions as to what the Messiah should be and do.

11. This was the theory of Strauss; but it is not tenable, for this reason, among others, that the interval of time which elapsed between the death of Christ and the composition of the records which described Him as a superhuman personage is not long enough to account for such legendary developments. The evidence is not like that for the miracles attributed to St. Anthony or to Ignatius Loyola, which are found only in the later and not in the earlier biographies. It is as nearly contemporary as we could expect. It does not *grow* as we advance from decade to decade in the history of the Church. The belief in a superhuman Christ is as deep-rooted in the letters of St. Paul written before the year 58 as it is in the Gospel according to St. John written at least thirty years later, although it is not expressed in the same way. The evidence is as good in degree and in kind as we could expect it to be, without the intervention of a special miracle by which scientific testings, not in the least necessary for the faith of the first century, should have been provided to satisfy the cravings for certitude of the nineteenth. It is fully detailed, delivered in transparent good faith, and under circumstances which would forbid a careless assent.*

v. OTHER BIBLE MIRACLES.—**1.** *The Acts of the Apostles.*—The miracles ascribed to the apostles in Acts stand on a somewhat different platform. Standing alone, the evidence for them would hardly be sufficient to compel their reception. But they must be considered in their relation to the advent of Christianity, and to the superhuman powers of the Founder of the Christian Church. The commission to the apostles (Mt 10^{8}) included the direction: 'Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils.' This does not suggest, it will be observed, that what we have called *cosmic* miracles came within the powers with which they were entrusted by the Lord, and we find no trace of such miracles in Acts. In the appendix to St. Mark (Mk 16^{17}) the remarkable promise is recorded: 'These signs shall follow them that believe: In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover.' With the exception of immunity from poison, instances are given in Ac of all these powers being enjoyed, not only by the original eleven and by St. Paul, but by many other disciples. Thus the gift of tongues found its fulfilment at Pentecost, and is alluded to by St. Paul in his Epistles. Prophecy, which was akin to this, is frequently spoken of as a 'sign' of an apostle. Agabus not only predicted a famine (Ac 11^{28}), but also warned St. Paul of what would happen to him at Jerusalem (Ac 21^{10}). Twelve unnamed Ephesian disciples on whom St. Paul laid his hands were endued with this gift (Ac 19^{6}), as were also the four daughters of Philip the Evangelist (Ac 21^{9}). And that 'wonders and signs' were wrought by the apostles is repeatedly asserted (Ac 2^{43} 5^{12} 6^{8} 8^{13}), and it is in entire harmony with St. Paul's own claims (see iv. § **9**). Among these were the expulsion of demons (Ac 5^{16} 16^{18}), the healing of the lame (Ac 3^{7} 14^{8}), of a paralytic (Ac 9^{34}), and of the sick (Ac 5^{16} 28^{9} 19^{12}, the cures in the last case being described as *δυνάμεις οὐ τὰς τυχούσας*, which operated through the medium of St. Paul's clothing). Two cases of raising the dead are recorded (Dorcas, Ac 9^{37}, and Eutychus, Ac 20^{9}). Visions and voices from heaven are spoken of (Ac $9^{3.\,10}$ $10^{3.\,11}$ 12^{6}), and the intervention of angels is mentioned (Ac 5^{19} 8^{26}). Two visitations of judgment, upon Elymas (Ac 13^{11}) and upon Ananias and Sapphira (Ac $5^{5.\,10}$), are brought about by St. Paul and St. Peter respectively. It is not necessary to discuss the healing virtue ascribed to St. Peter's shadow (Ac 5^{15}), or the deliverance of St. Paul from the viper (Ac 28^{3}); for in the former case nothing is said as to the success of the attempted remedy, and in the latter case no miracle is necessarily involved (but cf. Mk 16^{18}). But, on the whole, it is impossible to evade the consequence that the ministry of the apostles, according to the only records which we have got, was sustained by powers which are beyond the power of man or of nature as known to us. They fall into their place immediately if Christ was what He claimed to be, and the Church which He founded the minister of His grace; but on any other hypothesis they cannot be explained.

2. *The Miracles of the OT.*—Similar observations may be made about the miracles of the OT. It is evident that we cannot speak with the same confidence about these that we can feel when describing the miracles of Him who showed in His own person His superiority to death, of Him who is the Prince of Life. For they are narrated in ancient books, the origin of which in many instances is wrapped in obscurity. We cannot claim to have *contemporary* evidence for the miracles of the OT as we have for those of the NT. And so to one approaching the OT literature without any appreciation of its fulfilment in the Christ, some of the miracles therein recorded, while always possible to a believer in God, may perhaps seem to be guaranteed by no sufficient testimony to compel belief in occurrences so improbable in themselves. But for us 'Vetus Testamentum in Novo patet.' The obscurities of the older revelation find their explanation in the fuller light of the later. And if it be a fact that the law was a παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν, and that Israel was chosen by the Almighty as His instrument for the teaching of the world, then it ceases to be *a priori* improbable that, at exceptional crises in the history of the Hebrews, special manifestations of Divine power might be vouchsafed, which should enable men to say with boldness, 'This is the finger of God.' And, again, it is not to be forgotten that the use of the OT by Christ and His apostles sufficiently proves to Christians that the literature therein contained was a *unique* literature, and was produced under quite unique conditions of inspiration. Thus the records must, at the least, be treated with respect greater than that which we bestow upon books like the *Acta Sanctorum*, and we are entitled to place fuller reliance on the accuracy of the writers than would be justifiable in a history which came to us without any such lofty guarantee and claim. It is in such a spirit that we approach their accounts of miracles.

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* This is all worked out by Paley, *Evidences*, pt. i. ch. 2.

The OT miracles are chiefly grouped round two epochs—the Deliverance from Egypt, and the Reformation of Elijah and Elisha. It is true that these periods are described in greater detail than any other periods in the history, but nevertheless it can hardly be without significance that it is at these two great crises in the fortunes of Israel that the tokens of God's providence were most apparent to pious observers. Of the former cycle it should be observed that very few of the so-called miracles are difficult of credence, inasmuch as the majority of them are not (seemingly) in themselves out of the order of nature. The Ten Plagues (Ex 8–12), the Parting of the Red Sea (Ex 14^{21-31}), and of the Jordan (Jos 3^{14}, cf. 2 K $2^{7.14}$), the Water from the Rock at Rephidim (Ex 17^{5}), and at Kadesh (Nu 20^{7}), the Curing of the Waters of Marah (Ex 15^{23}, cf. 2 K 2^{21}), the Budding of Aaron's rod (Nu 17^{8}), the deaths of Nadab and Abihu (Lv 10^{1}), as of Korah and his company (Nu 16^{31}), did not involve any apparent breach in the continuity of the physical order. We can readily conceive how similar occurrences might be brought about through the operation of the ordinary forces of nature. None of these events, considered singly, would seem a prodigy to an impartial observer. It is the concurrence of so many circumstances of the kind which forbids us to deny their *signal* character, and conveys to us the conviction that here was the finger of God. And it is even more important to observe that these remarkable events were associated in many cases with a word of power from God's ministers. The *predictive* element, which we have spoken of above (see i. § **14**) as characteristic of so many of our Lord's miracles, is here conspicuous. The plagues are foretold; so was the dreadful death of the rebels in Korah's rebellion; and the division of the waters of the Red Sea is described as having been connected with prayer and invocation on the part of Moses. Here we come upon the most prominent aspect of miracle in the OT, viz. the element of *prophecy*, which includes *prediction*. However this feature may have been exaggerated in Christian apologetics in the past, and however we may try to reduce it to lower dimensions, it is impossible to eliminate it from the Hebrew literature. The function of a prophet was not confined to prediction, but this was certainly within his powers, as indicated from time to time in the history of Israel. And true prediction is essentially miraculous; it is beyond human powers, and it is a sign of a special revelation of God to man over and above that which is continually offered in His providence (see PROPHECY). Prophecy being admitted as possible, and the actual prophecies of the OT seers being certified, the 'wonders and signs' with which their ministry was accredited are deprived of much of that antecedent improbability which (as we have admitted) attaches itself to miraculous stories in general.

The miracles of Elijah and Elisha may be viewed in this light. They are, as it were, their credentials. Other prophets, both of OT and of NT, worked no signs indeed (Jn 10^{41}), and this shows that it was not the habit of the Hebrews to surround the figure of every prophetical personage with a halo of miraculous glory. But Elijah and Elisha lived in an age of spiritual upheaval: great wickedness and deep piety came into conflict. 'Let it be known this day that thou art God in Israel' (1 K 18^{36}) was the perpetual burden of Elijah's prayers. And perhaps nothing short of a miraculous sign would have satisfied the Israel of his day that the Lord was God. At the same time it may be freely conceded that the accounts of these two great prophets, Elijah and Elisha, stand somewhat apart from the general history of Israel. The miracles of Elisha are never alluded to in the OT after the story of their occurrence, and they are only once mentioned in the Apocr. (Sir 48^{14}). It cannot be said that the miracles ascribed to these prophets are *essential* to the history, nor can it be maintained that all of their miracles are on the lofty moral level which we have found to be conspicuously the case with the miracles of Christ. It is an hypothesis with a good deal of *prima facie* evidence in its favour that the miracle-stories of 1 K 17. 18, 2 K 1–6 are rather of the nature of Jewish Haggadoth than of sober history.* With even greater probability may this be said of the stories of Daniel and the den of lions, and the Three Children in the furnace of Nebuchadnezzar (Dn $3^{19f.}$ $6^{16f.}$). In the rest of the OT the miraculous element (if we exclude prophecy) is remarkably small. The song of the Bk. of Jashar, which speaks of the sun standing still at Gibeon (Jos 10^{12}), can hardly be taken as a scientific statement of fact; it is poetry, not prose. The somewhat similar story of the shadow moving backward on the sundial of Ahaz (2 K 20^{11}), is related in prose and interwoven with the history of Hezekiah, and cannot be dismissed so easily. But in the absence of fuller knowledge of the circumstances it would be impossible to be sure that in this there was anything 'supernatural,' beyond the foreknowledge which Isaiah seems to have had that this 'sign' would take place. The story of Balaam's ass speaking has been referred to its parallels, *s.v.* BALAAM;† and the episode of Jonah and the whale seems to be of a similar class. In the latter case, it has been urged, indeed, that our Lord's application of the story (Mt 12^{39}) forecloses all inquiry into its literal truth. But this is not the judgment of the most careful and devout scholars of our own time.‡

On the whole, then, while we maintain that the history of the Jews cannot be truly interpreted unless the special intervention of Providence in many a crisis of their national life be discerned, and while we distinctly recognize the miraculous nature of the Messianic prophecies of the OT, and are not slow to accept the allegation that *miracles* may have accompanied their progress, we cannot think that the evidence for several recorded miracles, such as Elisha making the axe-head to swim (2 K 6^{5}), the speaking of Balaam's ass (Nu 22^{28}), and the staying of the sun and moon at Gibeon (Jos 10^{12}), is at all sufficient to compel implicit credence in their literal truth.

vi. CHRISTIAN MIRACLES AFTER THE APOSTOLIC AGE.—**1.** The last section of this article must be far too brief for its subject, but something ought to be said of miracles recorded elsewhere than in the OT and NT, if our discussion of miracles in general is to be in any way complete. We have seen that the infant Church is described in Ac as having been favoured with miracles as well as with other gifts of the Spirit. When did these miracles cease in Christian history? Many different opinions have been held, one branch at least of the Church believing that there has been no cessation and that miraculous powers are still in her possession, it being often urged, on the other hand, that they died with the apostolic company. The chief reason alleged for this latter opinion is apparently based on the assumption that miracles are given only for evidential purposes, that their sole function is to certify the Divine character of revelation, and that when this has been sufficiently established their work is done, and that they may not be expected to continue. And, curiously enough but most unreasonably, it has been assumed that the apostles could not have worked any miracle save those recorded in Scripture, or at least that no record of such could be trustworthy. Between these extreme views are to be ranked the great body of old English divines, *e.g.* Dodwell and Tillotson, who held that miracles were occasional in the Christian Church until the time of Constantine, when, Christianity being established by the civil power, it no longer needed such supernatural assistance. Thus Fuller explains that 'miracles are the swaddling clothes of the infant Churches'; and yet another view has commended itself to many, viz. that the power of working miracles extended to but not beyond the disciples upon whom the apostles conferred it by imposition of their hands.*

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* See above, vol. i. p. 696^{b}, art. ELISHA.

† See vol. i. p. 234^{a}.

‡ See Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 414 f., and Gore, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 195 f., and cf. art. JONAH, above, vol. ii. p. 751.

2. According to Acts, the Divine powers promised by Christ to His Church were at least occasionally exercised, not only by the apostolic company but by other persons as well. It would not be surprising, therefore, if we found in the literature of the early 2nd cent. many references to miracles like those in Acts. And yet such references are few and scanty. Our records of the period are fragmentary, to be sure, but it is remarkable that they tell so little on the subject. With a few notable exceptions, of which something is said further on, there is no trace up to the end of the 2nd cent. of any miraculous gift still existing in the primitive Church save those of *prophecy* and *healing*, including *exorcism*, both of which are frequently mentioned.

(*a*) In Hermas (*Mand.* xi.) and in the *Didaché* the abuse of the grace of prophecy is spoken of, and a little later Justin (*Dial.* § 82) has the statement *παρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ μέχρι νῦν προφητικὰ χαρίσματά ἐστιν.* We observe here that the earliest notices of the power of prophecy imply also the presence of its counterfeit, and indeed prophecy is, of all the Divine 'gifts,' that which would most easily lend itself to imposture. And Justin's statement seems to imply his surprise that prophecy should have continued so long, for he says '*even up to the present*,' from which we might gather that instances of genuine prophecy in his day and in his neighbourhood were not very numerous.

(*b*) The gift of *healing* is also noted by Justin (*Dial.* § 39), though he does not give any instances within his own observation. Origen goes further (*contra Celsum*, iii. 24), and says that he has seen many persons rescued from delirium. But the commonest exemplification of this gift was displayed in the expulsion of demons; exorcism is regarded quite as a thing of course by the 2nd cent. Fathers. Justin (*Apol.* ii. § 6, *Dial.* §§ 30, 76) and Tertullian (*Apol.* 23, 37, 43, *de Idolol.* 11, etc.) speak in extravagant terms as to the certainty with which demons could be expelled by the prayers of the faithful. They allege these powers to be the common property of all Christian people, and to be susceptible of exercise at any moment and on any occasion. This is going far beyond the language of the Gospels and Acts, but it is here sufficient to observe that phenomena of this sort are often explicable without any recourse to supernatural agency (see above, iv. § 5).

3. Next, it is important to note that the early Fathers, although seeing the miraculous in the incidents of their daily life, place the miracles of the apostolic age on a pinnacle quite above the miracles of their own time. When we go to the 4th cent., we find Chrysostom saying that 'all the men of his time together' could not do as much as St. Paul's handkerchief (*de Sacerdot.* iv. 6), and he implies that in his day there were no raisings from the dead (cf. *Hom. in 1 Cor.* vi. 2). But, much earlier than this, Tertullian, after saying that the apostles had spiritual powers peculiar to themselves, adds 'nam et mortuos suscitaverunt quod Deus solus; et debiles redintegraverunt, quod nemo nisi Christus' (*de Pud.* c. 21)—language which would be strange if such occurrences were even occasional in his day. And of the miracles of the apostolic age, Origen only says that *traces* (ἴχνη) remain in his time (*contra Celsum*, i. 2). We find then (i.) that by the end of the 2nd cent. there is a growing suspicion that miracles are dying out, (ii.) that such miracles as are recorded are generally regarded as different in kind from those of the apostolic age, and (iii.) that in the earliest age of post-apostolic Christianity the 'miracles' are almost, without exception, of *prophecy*, *healing*, and *exorcism*.

4. The exceptional cases remain to be mentioned. (*a*) Eusebius records (*HE* iii. 39) that Papias related that in his time a man rose from the dead, as he had heard from the daughters of Philip the Evangelist, and that Justus Barsabbas was once delivered from the effects of drinking poison. The former of these occurrences may relate to some such occurrence as the raising of Dorcas (Ac 9^{37}), which the daughters of Philip may have witnessed, and the latter is not related in sufficient detail to enable us to draw any conclusion from it (cf. Mk 16^{18}). But it is significant that Papias' account seems to have been silent as to miracles which came within his own observation. The occurrences he mentioned were in the apostolic age, and he does not profess to speak as an eye-witness.

(*b*) The often quoted statement of Irenæus is more difficult to explain or to explain away. He speaks of prophecy, healing, and exorcism as impossible in heretical circles, but as common in the Church, and he adds, 'Yea, *even the dead were raised and abode with us many years*' (ἠγέρθησαν καὶ παρέμειναν σὺν ἡμῖν ἱκανοῖς ἔτεσι, *adv. Hær.* II. xxxii.). All that can be said about this is that no specific instance is produced; the language is rhetorical, and the statement occurs in the middle of a polemic against heretics. Nor are we furnished with details. Further, when Irenæus passes from the mention of the more common *miracula* to speak of raising the dead, the *tense* is suddenly and unexpectedly changed. Healing, exorcism, and prophecy, these are matters of present experience for him; but he speaks of resurrections from the dead in the *past* tense. Even the words quoted hardly mean more than that such events happened within living memory. Now Irenæus was a disciple of Polycarp, who was himself a disciple of St. John, so that if we view his statement thus it will not appear so extraordinary. The inference, in short, from the whole passage is that the *major* miracles no longer happened—an inference which is confirmed by all the available evidence.*

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* See Kaye's *Tertullian*, p. 49.

* See further, Mozley, *Miracles*, p. 295.

5. But if the miraculous powers of the Church seem to have grown less and less as the 2nd cent. went on, it must also be remembered that miracles of the most astounding character abound in the records of ecclesiastical history from the 4th cent. onward. On what grounds, it may be asked, do we reject these? Or *must* we reject them? Is there any reason why *these* should be rejected and those of the NT accepted? and on what principles is such differentiation to be made?

6. It is plain, at the outset, that miracles are always possible to the believer in God, and again that there is always a presumption against them to one who believes that God governs the world by general laws. This fact, that His rule is uniform for the most part, is what gives to miracles their *signal* character, their character as signs, and so forbids us to see 'miracle' in the ordinary activities of Providence. They are σημεῖα, and are therefore *a priori* unlikely to be of everyday occurrence. And the remarkable economy in the use of miracle displayed both in the OT and in the NT confirms us in the conviction that there is an antecedent probability against them as a general rule. This antecedent improbability may be overcome by the special circumstances of the case (as we have pointed out is true of the miracles of Christ), or by the strength of the evidence which may be adduced; but normally it has considerable force. Further, supposing true miracles occur, nothing is more certain than that they will provoke imitation and imposture, and will encounter the rivalry of a host of false ones. Pascal goes so far as to say that the existence of the false necessarily points to the existence of the true as their antecedent cause, without which they would never have gained a footing.* We need not accept this dictum in its integrity, but there is this of truth in it, that it shows on the one hand how unscientific it is summarily to reject the evidence for a given occurrence, merely because somewhat similar evidence has proved misleading in other cases; and, on the other hand, that we must always allow for a readiness to believe in miracle arising from previous (real or imaginary) experience of such interpositions of Divine favour. We say then, first, that while we do not in the least feel bound to reject medieval or modern miracles, we start with a determination to test the evidence for them very severely. If we draw conclusions as to the history of the Christian Church from what we read in the OT of the history of the Jewish Church, we shall expect to find miraculous interposition very rarely exhibited, and then only at great national crises, and not merely for the warning and instruction of individual souls.

7. This same law of Divine economy will bid us also to exclude from the category of miracles such events as may reasonably be referred to natural causes. Visions or voices which may be resolved into false perceptions or deceptions of the senses must be so classed. The extraordinary phenomena which are recorded as having accompanied the martyrdoms of Polycarp,† of Savonarola, of Hooper, may readily enough be explained as the operation of physical forces, a little exaggerated perhaps by pious enthusiasm. Stories like that of the Thundering Legion and the rain which followed the prayers of the Christian host may be true in the main, although the events of which they tell are not necessarily miracles in any other sense than that in which every answer to prayer is a miracle (see above, i. § 15). In other cases the recorded phenomena are too like the tricks of a thaumaturgist for sober piety to recognize in them the finger of God; and in many the alleged miracles are grotesquely absurd and utterly devoid of that character of σημεῖα which all true miracles have as revelations of the Divine will and purpose.

8. Next, in an overwhelmingly large number of the cases which remain, both of medieval and modern miracles, the evidence is entirely insufficient. There is no *a priori* probability in their favour, and very inadequate *a posteriori* testimony. In how few cases, outside the NT, have we got the evidence of the agent who is supposed to have worked the miracles! And it is to be feared that many stories of miracles worked by saints may be accounted for by the misguided piety of their biographers. All too soon in the Church's history a false criterion of sanctity grew up. It was supposed that the measure of a man's goodness was the amount of miraculous power by which his preaching was aided.* Now from the belief that the man who works miracles must be a good man, the transition is easy to the converse inference. This man was a good man, hence he must have worked miracles, and so it can be no harm to write down a few in his biography. He must have worked, if not these particular wonders, at least others very like them.† We thus find that the further removed in time the saint is from his biographer, the more is his life embellished with legend and glorified with miracle. We distrust the medieval records on these grounds. *Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*, we say. No criticism of this sort can be applied to the miracles of the NT; for here we have contemporary testimony of the principal persons concerned, and the miraculous is as prominent in the earlier as in the later canonical writings.

9. It is a suspicious circumstance that many of these medieval miracles happened so opportunely for the triumph of a particular party or the glorification of a particular individual. In one sense, indeed, it is very far from suspicious to read that a miracle came at the right moment, *i.e.* for the support of God's truth, but in another sense it *is* suspicious. If men are anxiously expecting a sign from heaven to guarantee the piety of a doubtful undertaking or the success of a hazardous cause, it is very likely that they will see the finger of God in what is really only the operation of His ordinary laws, and it is not improbable that they may be the dupes of unscrupulous persons who play upon their prejudices.

10. All these qualifications being made, a residuum of recorded cases is left, which it is difficult to explain. Men will view them differently, according to their predispositions. But it is not too much to say that no recorded occurrences in recent centuries seem to bear the character of σημεῖα in at all the same degree as the miracles of the Gospel, whether we have regard to the general circumstances under which they were worked, or the results, moral and spiritual, which were consequent upon men's belief in them. Quite apart from the adequacy or inadequacy of the evidence brought forward in their favour, or the possibility of 'natural' explanations, alleged miracles such as the apparition of the Blessed Virgin at La Salette, and the cures of pilgrims at the shrine which has been built at the spot, are lacking in the dignity and moral grandeur of the miracles of the Gospel. Whatever may be thought about them, it is plain that even if these and their like are really to be traced to the intervention of the Divine mercy which loves to reward a simple faith (and it does not seem to us that the evidence is sufficient to establish such a conclusion), yet they do not serve as vehicles of revelation as the miracles of the Gospel did. They may be *θαύματα, δυνάμεις, τέρατα*, but they are not *σημεῖα* of a new spiritual message to mankind, which it sorely needed to learn. And this is the essential characteristic of the miracles of the Christ.

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* *Pensées*, ii. 235 (ed. Faugères).

† See Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, ii. i. 516.

* See Mozley, *Miracles*, p. 180.

† Newman lays down a principle very like this (*University Sermons*, p. 345).

On the whole subject of this article cf. JESUS CHRIST, in vol. ii. p. 624–628; and see NATURAL, NATURE, PROPHECY, SIGN.

LITERATURE.—The subject has been treated by innumerable writers, but the following books are among the most important, and are easily accessible: Origen, *contra Celsum*; St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, I. cx.; Spinoza, *Tractatus Theologico-politicus, de miraculis* (on the negative side); Pascal, *Pensées*; Butler, *Analogy*; Hume, *Enquiry concerning the Human Understanding*, x. (on the negative side); Paley, *Evidences*; Babbage, *Ninth Bridgewater Treatise*; Trench, *Notes on the Miracles*; J. B. Mozley, *Bampton Lectures*; Lange, *Life of Christ*, ii. pp. 96–172 (Eng. tr.); J. S. Mill, *Three Essays on Religion* (negative); Duke of Argyll, *The Reign of Law*; Matthew Arnold, *Literature and Dogma* and *God and the Bible* (on the negative side); *Supernatural Religion* (negative); Temple, *Bampton Lectures*; Westcott, *Introduction to Study of Gospels, The Gospel of the Resurrection*, and *The Gospel of Life*; Bruce, *The Chief End of Revelation*, and *The Miraculous Element in the Gospels*; Newman, *Two Essays on Miracles*; E. A. Abbott, *Philomythus* (a reply to the last); Boedder, *Natural Theology*; Illingworth, *Divine Immanence*; A. T. Lyttelton, *Hulsean Lectures*.

J. H. BERNARD.

MIRIAM (מִרְיָם; LXX and NT Μαριάμ, Josephus Μαριάμνη). — **1.** The daughter of Amram and Jochebed, and sister of Aaron and Moses, being probably the eldest of the three. Though not mentioned by name, she was the sister who watched from a distance what would happen to Moses in the ark of bulrushes, and went and fetched her mother to act as nurse to her brother for Pharaoh's daughter (Ex $2^{4ff.}$ (E)). She took a leading part in the Exodus with her two brothers. She is called 'the prophetess, the sister of Aaron,' and she led the women in their chant of victory after the passage of the Red Sea (Ex $15^{20f.}$ (E)). We find her during the wanderings combining with Aaron against Moses at Hazeroth because of his marriage with a Cushite woman. They claimed to have the power of prophecy equally with him, though Moses stood upon a higher plane in the world of revelation, which ought to have made them afraid to rebel. Miriam and Aaron were both severely rebuked, but the chief punishment fell upon Miriam. 'The cloud removed from over the tent; and, behold, Miriam was leprous as white as snow.' Aaron at once confessed their sin, and begged Moses' forgiveness; whereupon Moses obtained Miriam's healing from God. She was, however, sentenced to exclusion from the camp for seven days, and the camp remained unmoved for that time (Nu 12^{1-16}). Towards the end of the wanderings Miriam died at Kadesh, and was buried there (Nu 20^1). Two allusions are made to Miriam in other books of the OT. As an incitement to the strict observance of the law of leprosy in Dt 24^8 the people are bidden to remember her case: 'Remember what the Lord thy God did unto Miriam, by the way as ye came forth out of Egypt' (Dt 24^9). In Mic 6^4 she is mentioned with Moses and Aaron as a leader with them of the people. Josephus asserts (*Ant.* III. ii. 4) that she was the wife of Hur, and grandmother of Bezalel. Jerome (*de Loc. Heb.* 108) says that her tomb was shown close to Petra in Arabia in his day. Josephus adds other details, which we need not trouble ourselves with; and the Koran identifies her with the Virgin Mary. The name 'Miriam' is of great interest to Christians as being the name by which the Virgin Mother of Christ was known.

2. A second Miriam is mentioned in 1 Ch 4^{17} (Heb.). It has been supposed by Bertheau that the last clause of 1 Ch 4^{18} should come before the three names of which this is one. If so, they would be the children of a daughter of Pharaoh.

H. A. REDPATH.

MIRMAH (מִרְמָה). — Eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 8^{10} (B Ἰμαμά, A Μαρμά, Luc. Μαρμιά).

MIRROR (מַרְאָה, רְאִי, גִּלָּיוֹן, *κάτοπτρον, ἔσοπτρον*).—Any surface so smooth and regular as to reflect uniformly the rays of light, produces, by the operation of simple optical laws, images of objects in front of or above it, which appear to the eye as if they were behind or beneath it. This property has been valued and applied as an aid to the toilet from very early times. The surface of a transparent substance like glass or still water may thus act as a mirror (Pr 27^{19}), and even a black surface if highly polished may do the same. The higher the reflecting power of a substance, however, the brighter and clearer the image which it gives. A flat mirror produces images of the same size as the objects, a convex mirror diminishes the images, while a concave one (if sufficiently near) gives magnified images, which are erect or inverted according to circumstances. Modern mirrors are commonly made of glass coated on the *back* with an amalgam of mercury and tin. Mirrors for scientific purposes, however, are either of polished 'speculum metal' (a special alloy of copper and tin) or of glass silvered in *front*. The words **'glass'** (in the sense of mirror) and **'looking glass'** occur in AV (see the places below); but as all mirrors used in biblical times were metallic, so far as we can judge, RV substitutes for these terms the more general one 'mirror' (see GLASS, 2).

Our knowledge of ancient mirrors is derived (*a*) from literary notices, and (*b*) from actual specimens that have been preserved.

(*a*) Under the first head we note only references to material, manufacture, and the like. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 26) describes what seems to have been an attempt to make glass mirrors at Sidon, but nothing is said as to the success of the experiment. Alexander of Aphrodisias, a writer of the 3rd cent. A.D., refers (*Problem.* i. 132) to glass mirrors coated with tin (Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, p. 737, n. 2), and an Egyptian mirror made of glass is said to be in the museum at Turin (*ib.* n. 1). In Pliny's day, however, only metallic mirrors were in use. The ordinary material for them was an alloy of copper and tin, and the best of this kind were made at Brundusium. Silver mirrors were the finest, and were first made by one Pasiteles in the time of Pompey. The effects of the various kinds of curvature in mirrors were also known (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. 45, xxxiv. 48). Seneca describes the phenomena of reflexion in a concave mirror (*Nat. Quæst.* I. iv. 3), and speaks of gold and silver mirrors large enough to give an image of a whole human figure (*ib.* I. xvii. 8).

(*b*) The ancient mirrors still existing may be classified as—

(1) *Egyptian*. These are made of an alloy of copper, highly polished, and are nearly circular with ornamental handles of wood, stone, or metal. They are described and figured in Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 350 ff. (2) *Etruscan*. These have been found in great numbers in the ruins of Præneste and in other Etrurian burial-places. They are round or pear-shaped, with handles attached, and are remarkable for the elaborate engravings of mythological scenes on their backs. See Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, i. 78 ff., and the plates in the other 4 vols. (3) *Roman*. The mirrors of this class are mostly circular. Some have handles and some are without them. The term for the latter variety was *orbis* (Mart. IX. xvii. 5). Among those found at Pompeii some are square (Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeii*^{4}, p. 453). (4) *Greek*. Specimens of these were unknown till 1867. They are of two kinds: circular discs with handles in the form of

statuettes, and box mirrors consisting of two discs which fit into one another and are sometimes hinged together, the outer surface of the polished disc being ornamented in low relief and the inner surface of the other being engraved.

LITERATURE.—De Witte, *Les miroirs chez les anciens*; Bauermeister, *Denkmäler des Classischen Alterthums*, iii. 1690–3; Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, p. 669 ff.; Collignon, *Manuel d'Archéologie Grecque*, 346 ff.; Mylonas, Ἑλληνικὰ κάτοπτρα; Seyffert, *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, by Nettleship and Sandys, *s.v.* 'Mirror'; Guhl and Köner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, 184, 499.

The following are the Scripture allusions to mirrors. In Ex 38^{8} the laver of the tabernacle is said to have been made of 'the mirrors' (AV 'looking glasses,' AVm 'brasen glasses') of the serving women.* This implies that they were made of metal (see BRASS). The Heb. is מַרְאָה (LXX *κάτοπτρον*), a word which is elsewhere rendered 'vision.' In Job 37^{18} the sky is compared for strength to a molten 'mirror' (רְאִי, LXX *ὅρασις ἐπιχύσεως*, AV 'looking glass'). The whole verse embodies the ancient conception of the sky as a hard metal-like solid. The verb at the beginning ('spread out' AV and RV) is רָקַע 'to beat, beat out,' from which comes the term רָקִיעַ ('firmament') applied to the sky (see COSMOGONY). In Is 3^{23} 'hand mirrors' (AV 'glasses') are named among the articles of female luxury denounced by the prophet. The Heb. is גִּלָּיוֹן, and the general idea of the word appears to be that of a smooth flat surface. It occurs again in Is 8^{1}, where it is rendered 'tablet' in RV and 'roll' in AV. In late Heb. it came to mean the blank margin of a book. In the former passage, however, LXX understands by גִּלְיוֹנִים garments of some thin transparent material, and renders by *διαφανῆ Λακωνικά*.

In Apocr. and NT *ἔσοπτρον* takes the place of the usual classical word for mirror, *κάτοπτρον*. In Wis 7^{26} wisdom is called the unspotted 'mirror' of the working of God. In Sir 12^{11} the persistent malice of an enemy is compared to the rust on a 'mirror' (AV 'looking glass'), which it is difficult to wipe away completely—a metallic mirror being clearly referred to. In 1 Co 13^{12} the spiritual knowledge of the present life is likened to the dim perception of images in a 'mirror' (AV 'glass'). In Ja $1^{23ff.}$ the Christian law of liberty is described figuratively as a 'mirror' (AV 'glass'). The careless hearer of the law, who does not obey it, is compared to one who looks at himself in the mirror and forgets the reflected image as soon as he has turned away from it, while the obedient disciple is likened to one who keeps gazing steadfastly into the mirror, and who thus has the image of what he ought to be always before the eye of his soul.

The verb *κατοπτρίζεσθαι* occurs once (2 Co 3^{18}). Here AV has 'beholding as in a glass' the glory of the Lord, RV 'reflecting as a mirror,' and RVm 'beholding as in a mirror.' The translation of the word is closely connected with the interpretation of the context, and the two renderings in RV mark the wide divergence which exists among scholars and commentators with regard to the passage. For the new translation 'reflecting' there may be quoted Chrysostom, Theodoret, Luther, Bengel, Billroth, Olshausen, and, more recently, Schmiedel, and Mayor (on Ja 1^{23}). The old rendering 'beholding' is supported by Grimm, Winer, Meyer, Heinrici, Beet, and Denney, and should, we think, be preferred. The idea of 'reflexion' does not accord well either with the context or with the usage of *κατοπτρίζεσθαι* in other writers. The simple physical fact that *one who beholds a bright light reflected in a mirror has his own face illumined by it at the same time* is taken as an illustration of the transformation of the Christian's character, which comes about through beholding the glory of God reflected in Christ, or the glory of Christ reflected in the gospel. JAMES PATRICK.

MISAEL (B Μεισαήλ, A Μισ-).—**1.** 1 Es 9^{44} = MISHAEL, Neh 8^{4}. **2.** Thr ^{66} (LXX, Dn 3^{88}), elsewhere MISHAEL, the Heb. name of one of Daniel's three companions in captivity; called MESHACH in Babylon (Dn $1^{6ff.}$).

MISAIAS.—See MASIAS.

MISGAB (הַמִּשְׂגָּב with art.; B Ἀμάθ, Aא τὸ *κραταίωμα*).—Mentioned along with Nebo and Kiriathaim in the oracle against Moab, Jer 48 [Gr. 31]^{1}. Perhaps it is not intended as a proper name. The same Heb. term occurs in Is 25^{12}, where both AV and RV tr. 'high fort' (cf. 2 S 22^{3}, Ps $9^{9\ bis}$ 18^{2} $46^{7.\ 11}$ 48^{3} $59^{9.\ 16.\ 17}$ $62^{2.\ 6}$ 94^{22} 144^{2}, Is 33^{16}). C. R. CONDER.

MISHAEL (מִישָׁאֵל [the derivation is disputed. It comes either from מִי אֲשֶׁר אֵל = מִי שֶׁ אֵל 'Who is what God is?' or from מִי שֶׁוֶּה אֵל 'Who is like God?' In either case it is sufficiently near such Assyrian forms as *Mannu-ki-ilurabu*, *Manum-ki-Ashur*]; LXX Μισαήλ, Μεισαήλ, and [Lv 10^{14}] *Μισαδαί*).—**1.** According to Ex 6^{22} Mishael belonged to the Kohathites, and stood fourth in descent from Levi. At Lv 10^{4} he and his brother Elzaphan are ordered to carry from before the sanctuary out of the camp the dead bodies of Nadab and Abihu, who have perished because of their presumption. Both of the passages in which Mishael is mentioned are attributed to P. **2.** A man named Mishael was one of Ezra's supporters in his great work of reform. He was amongst those who stood at the scribe's left hand on the great pulpit of wood from which the law was read aloud to the people, Neh 8^{4}. These men, twelve in number, one for each tribe (as Ryle appears to think), or thirteen (MT and LXX), or fourteen (Guthe on 1 Es), have been supposed to be the chief priests of the course which was at that time performing the temple service. But there is nothing in the text to support this. Almost certainly they were either Levites or laymen. **3.** One of Daniel's three companions, Dn $1^{6f.\ 11.\ 19}$ 2^{17}. See MESHACH. J. TAYLOR.

MISHAL (מִשְׁאָל).—A town of Asher, Jos 19^{26} (Μαασά), given to the Gershonite Levites, 21^{30} (B Βασσελλάν, A Μασαάλ) = 1 Ch 6^{74} [Heb. ^{59}], where, perhaps by a clerical error, it is called מָשָׁל **Mashal.** In this last instance B has Μαασά, A^{a} Μασάλ. The site is unknown. It is only an inference from the context when Eusebius (*Onomast.* 280. 139) says *Μασὰν συνάπτει τῷ Καρμήλῳ κατὰ θάλασσαν.* C. R. CONDER.

MISHAM (מִשְׁעָם).—Eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 8^{12} (B Μεσσαάμ, A Μισαάλ, Luc. Μεσοάμ).

MISHMA (מִשְׁמָע; in Gn 25^{14} Michaelis points מַשְׁמָע).—**1.** A son of Ishmael, Gn 25^{14} (A Μασμά, Luc. Μασμάν) = 1 Ch 1^{30} (B Μαμά, A Μασμά). The tribe of which Mishma is the eponym has not been identified. The name has no connexion, according to Dillmann, either with the Μαισαιμανεῖς of Ptolemy (VI. vii. 21), or with the place called *el-Mismîye* in the Lejjâh, south of Damascus. He thinks that a trace of the name may remain in one or other of the two places—*Jebel Misma'*, south-east of *Kâf*, east of the *Wâdy Sirḥân*, in the latitude of Idumæa, or another *Jebel Misma'* farther south, towards *Teimâ*, where inscriptions have been found. **2.** The eponym of a Simeonite family, 1 Ch 4^{25} (B A Μασμά). J. A. SELBIE.

MISHMANNAH (מִשְׁמַנָּה).—A Gadite chief who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^{10} (B Μασεμανή, A Μασμάν).

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* On this passage see Ismar Peritz in *JBL*, 1898, Pt. ii. p. 145 f.

MISHNA.—See Talmud.

MISHNEH (מִשְׁנֶה), 2 K 22^{14}, 2 Ch 34^{22}, Zeph 1^{10} RVm.—See College.

MISHRAITES (הַמִּשְׁרָעִי). — A family of Kiriath-jearim, 1 Ch 2^{53} (B Ἡμασαραείμ, A —είν). No place of the name of *Mishra'* is mentioned in OT, and the MT of the closing verses of 1 Ch 2 is involved in considerable uncertainty. See Kittel in *SBOT*, *ad loc.*

MISPAR (מִסְפָּר).—One of the exiles who returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^{2} (B Μαλσάρ, A Μασφάρ), called in Neh 7^{7} **Mispereth** (מִסְפֶּרֶת, B Μασφεράν, A Μαασφαράθ, א Μασφαράδ).

MISPERETH.—See preceding article.

MISREPHOTH-MAIM (מִשְׂרְפוֹת מַיִם, Μασερών, Μασρεφωθμάειμ, Μασερεθμεμφωμάιμ).—One of the places to which Joshua (11^{8}) chased the Northern Canaanites after their defeat near Lake Merom. The older explanation, following the Jewish commentators, was to translate the words 'burning of waters,' and to refer them to local hot springs or smelting-works (cf. Ges. *Thes.*). This ignored the fact that the words are Canaanite in origin, probably assimilated to like-sounding Hebrew words.

Others gave the site as Zarephath (1 K 17^{9}) on the ground of the similarity of name, and because 'Zarephath belongeth to Zidon,' which place occurs in the verse from Joshua.

Most probably we should revert to a suggestion of Thomson (*Land and Book*, ch. xv.), who identified it with Musheirifeh or 'Ain Meserfi, a site on the coast, S. of Ras en-Nakhurah or the Ladder of Tyre (Seetzen, ii. 109; Scholz, *Reise*, 154).

This position would agree much better than Zarephath with the only other passage in which the name occurs (Jos 13^{6}). There the Zidonians, who are not yet dispossessed, are said to extend from Lebanon to Misrephoth-maim. We should scarcely expect Zarephath, a place which lay between Tyre and Zidon, to be given as the S. point of the dominion of Zidon, while the Ladder of Tyre might well be so named. A. C. Welch.

MITE.—See Money.

MITHKAH (מִתְקָה, Ματεκκά B, Μαθεκκά AF, Methca Vulg.).—One of the 12 stations following Hazeroth, Nu $33^{28.29}$. See Exodus and Journey to Canaan, vol. i. p. 805*a*, § iii.

MITHNITE (הַמִּתְנִי). — 'Joshaphat the Mithnite' appears in the catalogue of David's officers in 1 Ch 11^{43} (B ὁ Βαιθανεί, A ὁ Μαθθανί). This gentilic name would imply the existence of a place called מתן (however we may vocalize that word), which, however, is nowhere mentioned in OT. Kittel (in *SBOT*, *ad loc.*) suggests that the LXX (A) and Vulg. (the latter has *Mathanites*) readings appear to have מֶתֶן in mind, in which case the gentilic name would be vocalized הַמִּתְנִי.

MITHRADATES.—1. (A Μιθραδάτης, B -ριδ-, AV Mithridates), 1 Es 2^{11} (LXX ^{10}) = Mithredath, Ezr 1^{8}, the treasurer of Cyrus king of Persia. 1 Es, by translating his title גִּזְבָּר correctly with γαζοφύλαξ, shows itself independent of the LXX of Ezr, which renders it as a proper name Γασβαρηνός. **2.** (BA^{a} Μιθραδ-, A^{*vid} B^{ab} Μιθριδ-, AV Mithridates), 1 Es 2^{16} (LXX ^{15}) = Mithredath, Ezr 4^{7}, a Persian officer stationed in Samaria under Artaxerxes.

MITHREDATH (מִתְרְדָת, Pers. = 'given by Mithra, *or* the sun'; Μιθραδάτης; 1 Es 2^{11} Μιθριδάτης B, v.^{16} B^{ab} A*; *Mithridates*).—**1.** The Persian treasurer, whom Cyrus commanded to deliver to Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah, the sacred vessels taken from the temple by Nebuchadrezzar (Ezr 1^{8}).

2. Apparently a Persian officer stationed in Samaria. Together with his colleagues he wrote to Artaxerxes (Longimanus) to hinder the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem (Ezr 4^{7}). The correspondence between the Samaritans and the Persian court probably took place in the interval between the missions of Ezra and of Nehemiah.

MITRE.—1. The word used in AV for מִצְנֶפֶת (LXX μίτρα or κίδαρις), the official head-dress of the Heb. high priest (Ex $28^{4.37.39}$ 29^{6} $39^{28.31}$, Lv 8^{9} 16^{4}; cf. also Ezk 21^{26}). RVm has 'turban,' except in Ezk 21^{26}, where AV has 'diadem' and RV 'mitre,' without marginal note. The head-dress of the ordinary priest was מִגְבָּעָה (AV bonnet, RV headtire). The mitre of the high priest was, like the headtire of the subordinate priests, of fine linen, and was made from a piece, said by the Rabbins to have been sixteen cubits long, rolled into a sort of turban. Hence its name, from צָנַף 'to wind.' On the front of the mitre, just above the high priest's forehead, was the sacred crown (see Crown, 2). The precise shape of the mitre is, however, disputed. It is frequently represented as lower, rounder, fuller at the sides, and resting more lightly on the head than the headtire of the ordinary priests, which was shaped somewhat like a helmet (so Braunius, *de Vest. Sacerd. Heb.* lib. ii. cap. 21). On the other hand, Bähr (*Symb.* ii. p. 110) maintains that it was higher and longer, though perhaps, as Maimonides seems to imply, with the top bending over. The description of Josephus (*Ant.* iii. vii. 6, 'The (high priest's) hat was similar to that used by all the priests, but above it was sewn another embroidered with blue') has given trouble to archæologists; and Philo (*de Vit. Mos.* iii. 11) seems to speak of a third part of the head-dress, besides mitre and crown, which he calls κίδαρις or diadem. The language of OT is, in fact, quite indefinite as to the shape of the mitre, and Philo and Josephus may either have misinterpreted its expressions, or have had in mind later embellishments. The mitre was as representative of the priestly dignity as the crown or diadem was of the royal. Hence in Ezk 21^{26} 'Remove the mitre; and take off the crown' (RV), may signify the desolation of both priesthood and monarchy.

2. Another word (צָנִיף) from the same root is in Zec 3^{5} tr^{d} 'mitre' in AV and RV (RVm 'turban or diadem'), and is applied, apparently as a synonym of the technical word described above, to the head-dress which the prophet saw placed on Joshua the high priest. It is also found in Job 29^{14} (AV 'diadem,' RVm 'turban') in a figurative description of a righteous man arrayed in the garments of nobility; in Is 3^{23} (AV 'hoods,' RV 'turbans') as an article of elaborate female attire (cf. μίτρα in Jth 16^{8}, Bar 5^{2}); and in Is 62^{3} Ḳerê (AV and RV 'diadem') as a symbol of the honour which J″ will place upon His people. See Head-dress.

G. T. Purves.

MITYLENE (Μιτυλήνη), or Mytilene (as usually spelt on coins, cf. Blass on Ac 11^{14}), the chief town of Lesbos, lies on the E. side of that island, about 10 or 12 miles from the coast of Asia. M. itself was originally built on a small island, and perhaps joined to Lesbos by a causeway which formed two excellent natural harbours, one on the N. and the other on the S. St. Paul on his return from his

Third Missionary Journey had arrived at Troas from Philippi, and, after a week's stay at the former place, had preferred travelling by land to Assos, while the ship rounded the promontory of Lectum and picked him up on its S. voyage. His motive for going by land may have been to remain longer with the disciples at Troas, or to be assured of the complete recovery of Eutychus. After St. Paul was taken on board at Assos, the ship sailed to Mitylene (Ac 20^{14}) and stayed there for the night. This was the usual practice for vessels in the Ægean Sea, where, during the summer, the N. wind blows during the day but falls in the afternoon. An early start would be made each morning before sunrise, so as to get the full benefit of the wind. After leaving Mitylene (Ac 20^{15}) the travellers sailed to a point opposite Chios, probably near Cape Argennum.

M., which has in later times given its name to the whole island of Lesbos, was a town of some importance in early history. It joined the Athenians in the Peloponnesian war, revolted from them, and was punished by almost complete annihilation. It made an alliance with the Macedonians under Alexander the Great, it offered a stubborn resistance to the Romans in the Mithridatic war, and was afterwards made a free city by Pompey. There is no record of any Christian church existing in the island at the time of St. Paul's visit. M. formed part of the eastern half of the Roman empire, and was conquered in A.D. 1462 by the Turks, under whose power it has since remained.

LITERATURE.—Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 291 ff.; Bouillet, *Dict. Univ.*, *s.v.*; on the present town see Tozer, *Islands of the Ægean*, 121, 134 f., and on the ancient city, *ib.* 136.

C. H. PRICHARD.

MIXED MULTITUDE, an expression used to describe certain people who accompanied the children of Israel out of Egypt Ex 12^{38}, and 'fell a lusting' at Kibroth-hattaavah Nu 11^{4}. It is also used of those who were separated from among the Israelites after their return from captivity Neh 13^{3}. In Ex 12^{38} the Heb. is עֵרֶב רַב, LXX ἐπίμικτος πολύς, Vulg. *vulgus promiscuum innumerabile*, Targ. Onk. 'many strangers,' Syr. עָרובא סגיאא. The VSS agree in giving to ערב the sense of a mingled people, as it is rendered in other passages (see further on), and to רב its common meaning of 'many,' so that 'mixed multitude' represents adequately the original in this passage. But in Nu 11^{4} Heb. has a different word, הָאסַפְסֻף (the א being quiescent) occurring only in this passage. It is probably a contemptuous term for a gathering together of the people, and there is no further indication of multitude than that implied in any gathering. The LXX and Vulg. omit the adjectives πολύς and *innumerabile*, but otherwise render as in Exodus. The earlier English translations indicate the difference in the original. Wyclif has in Ex 12^{38} 'the comoun of either sex unnoumbrable' (where the influence of the Vulg. is evident), and Nu 11^{4} 'the comoun forsothe of either kynde.' Tindale in Ex has 'moch comon people,' and also Coverdale; but in Nu Tindale's 'the rascall people' was perhaps a little too forcible, and Coverdale has 'comon sorte of people.' The rendering of AV puts out of sight a variation in the original indicated in the earlier translations, and RV has not (as in some similar cases) brought it back into view.

A similar criticism of AV and RV applies to Neh 13^{3}. There the Heb. is כָּל־עֵרֶב, the LXX renders the noun as before, but Vulg. has *omnem alienigenam*, which Wyclif renders by 'alien,' and the early English versions 'every one that had mixte himself therin,' a fair rendering of the Hebrew.

The same Heb. word occurs, but with the def. art. (הָעֶרֶב), Jer 50^{37} (σύμμικτος), Ezk 30^{5}, where it prob. means 'mercenaries,' and (the ע being pointed with Seghol) Jer 25$^{20.24}$ (σύμμικτος). Both AV and RV translate 'the mingled people' in these passages, in 25^{20} the people are in or near Egypt, in 25^{24} they are to the S.E. of Palestine on the borders of Arabia. The same Heb. consonants (differently pointed) denote Arabia; and for the parallel passages 1 K 10^{15}, 2 Ch 9^{14}, where both punctuations occur, see ARABIANS. The meaning of the Heb. word in the account given in Neh is evident. The strangers with whom Israel had contracted alliances, and the children of such alliances, formed the 'mixed multitude' or the 'mingled people.' The verb (in Hithpael) is used, Ezr 9^{2}, of these marriages, and Ps 106^{35} of 'mingling with the heathen.' A similar condition of affairs existed when the Israelites came out of their bondage in Egypt. The intercourse between Egypt and Israel continued, Solomon allied himself with Pharaoh's daughter, and the special permission for the children both of Edomite and Egyptian parents to enter into the congregation (Dt 23^{8}) shows that alliances between Israel and these nations were recognized. After the return from captivity a strict rule of severance from surrounding nations was enforced.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

MIZAR.—Ps 42^{6} [Heb.^{7}] reads, following the MT, 'O my God, my soul upon me* is cast down; therefore do I remember thee from the land of Jordan and the Hermons, from the mountain of Mizar' (so Driver, *Parallel Psalter*, and [substantially] AV and RV; AVm and RVm suggest as an alternative tr^{n} of the last expression מֵהַר מִצְעָר 'from the little hill [*or* mountain],' cf. LXX ἀπὸ ὄρους μικροῦ, and Vulg. *a monte modico*). The question is whether *miẓ'ar* is an appellative or a proper name. If the latter, Mt. Mizar must have been in the vicinity of (or perhaps a part of)† Hermon, but it cannot be identified. In the former sense (='a little thing,' 'a trifle') *miẓ'ar* occurs in Gn 19$^{20-22}$, where by one of J's characteristic etymologies the substitution of the name *Zo'ar* for the earlier *Bela'* is accounted for by Lot's plea, 'O let me escape thither, is it not a little one (מִצְעָר)? . . . therefore the name of the city was called *Zō'ar*' (צֹעַר, *i.e.* 'pettiness,' 'petty town,' see Dillm. *ad loc.*). Cf. 2 Ch 24^{24} מִצְעַר אֲנָשִׁים 'a small company of men'; Job 8^{7} רֵאשִׁיתְךָ מִצְעָר 'thy beginning was small'; Is 63^{18} לַמִּצְעָר 'for a little while'‡ [all].

It is possible that we ought to understand the word in this second sense in Ps 42^{6}, the reference being to Zion, 'the *little* mountain,' in contrast to the giant Hermon (so Smend, Wellhausen, Siegfried-Stade).§ The Psalm may be the expression of the feelings of an Israelite, who, when he has reached the northern boundary of the Holy Land on his way to exile, sends back his sighs to the temple-hill and its services. Of course this involves an alteration of the MT, but all that is necessary is to drop the ם in מהר, which may easily have crept into the text by accidental repetition of the final letter of חֶרְמוֹנִים. This would give the rendering, 'I remember thee, thou little mountain, from the land of Jordan and the Hermons.' Wellhausen-Furness (in *PB*), reading, as above, הַר instead of מֵהַר, tr. 'Therefore on thee do I think, thou diminutive mountain, above all the land of Jordan and of Hermon,' *i.e.* Zion is the one spot in all Palestine ('the land of the Jordan and of Hermon') which is ever present to the Psalmist's mind. Wellh. (in *SBOT*) remarks that the expression הַר מִצְעָר 'little mountain,' for הַר צָעִיר, is very strange.

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* See note in Driver, *Parallel Psalter*, p. 464.

† In which case 'the little hill of Hermon' of the Pr. Bk. may be *materially* correct, although as a *translation* of חֶרְמוֹנִים מֵהַר מִצְעָר it is, of course, quite inaccurate.

‡ 'Isaiah' elsewhere (10^{25} 29^{17}) uses מִזְעָר (a word confined to Book of Is) in this sense.

§ Cf. Ps 68$^{15f.}$, where the *high* mountains look askance at 'the mountain which God hath desired for his abode' (הָהָר חָמַד אֱלֹהִים לְשִׁבְתּוֹ).

J. A. SELBIE.

MIZPAH and **MIZPEH.**—A name of several places and towns in Palestine. In most cases it is spelt (in AV) Mizp*a*h, but in several instances Mizp*e*h. The same variety of reading, מִצְפָּה or מִצְפֶּה, occurs in the original. In three cases only is Mizpeh used with the definite article, viz. Mizpeh a town of Judah (Jos 15^{38}), Mizpeh a town of Benjamin (Jos 18^{26}), and 'the watch-tower of the wilderness' (2 Ch 20^{24}). In the other cases the article is omitted, viz. 'the Valley (*biḳ'ah*) of Mizpeh' (Jos 11^{8}), Mizpeh of Gilead (Jg $11^{29\ bis}$), Mizpeh of Moab (1 S 22^{3}); but in these last two instances it would in any case be without the article, as it is followed by a word in the genitive.

Mizpeh (מִצְפֶּה) is derived from צָפָה *to look out, to view*; from the same root are derived the proper names Zephath (Jg 1^{17}), Zephathah (2 Ch 14^{10}), Ramathaim-zophim (1 S 1^{1}; an impossible name),* the field of Zophim (Nu 23^{14}). The Targum translates both Mizpeh and Zophim by סכותא 'place of view,' 'watch-tower' (?).† Mizp*e*h is used to denote either a town (Jos 15^{38} 18^{26}, Jg 11^{29}, 1 S 22^{3}) or a watch-tower (2 Ch 20^{24}, Is 21^{8}). In the two cases where it is used to denote a watch-tower, it is translated so both in AV and RV, and by LXX τὴν σκοπιάν; in the other cases the AV and RV render it as a proper name.

Mizpah is always used with the article except in Hos 5^{1}. It is used only in connexion with the land of Mizpah, near Mount Hermon (Jos 11^{3}), the site of the heap of stones of witness on Mount Gilead, and the sanctuaries of J″ in Benjamin and near Shiloh. It is possible, then, that Mizpah represents an aboriginal name connected with a sanctuary, and hence the play upon the word *Mizpah*, and its root *zāphāh* ('to look out *or* view'), between Laban and Jacob (Gn 31^{48}).

The LXX gives a variety of readings for Mizpeh and Mizpah.

(1) Mizpeh—
  (*a*) B Μασσώχ, A Μασσηφά. The valley of Mizpeh in the Lebanon (Jos 11^{8}).
  (*b*) Μασφά. Town of Benjamin (Jos 15^{38}).
  (*c*) B Μασσημά, A Μασφά. Town of Benjamin (Jos 18^{26}).
  (*d*) Μα(σ)σηφά. Town of Moab (1 S 22^{3}).
  (*e*) B τὴν σκοπιάν, A τῆς σκοπιᾶς. Mizpeh of Gilead (Jg 11^{29}).
  (*f*) τὴν σκοπιάν. The watch-tower (2 Ch 20^{24}, Is 21^{8}).
(2) Mizpah—
  (*a*) ἡ ὅρασις ('that which is seen,' 'a vision'). The scene of the covenant between Jacob and Laban in Gilead (Gn 31^{48}).
  (*b*) B Μασσευμάν, A Μασσηφάθ. The land of Mizpah under Hermon (Jos 11^{3}).
  (c_1) Μασσηφά. The Mizpah of Gilead, where Jephthah spoke before the LORD, and where Jephthah's house was (Jg $11^{11.\ 34}$). Mizpah near Shiloh, where Israel met before the LORD (Jg $20^{1.\ 3}$). Mizpah of Benjamin, where Gedaliah ruled Israel (2 K 25^{23} [B Μασσηφάθ], Jer $40^{6\text{-}15}$ $41^{1.\ 10}$ [Gr. $47^{6\text{-}15}$ $48^{1.\ 10}$]). Mizpah near Shiloh (Jg $21^{1.\ 5.\ 8}$).
  (c_2) B Μασσηφάθ, A Μασηφάτ, Μασσηφά. Mizpah of Benjamin, where Israel met before the LORD (1 S $7^{5\text{-}16}$). Mizpah of Benjamin, where Gedaliah ruled Israel (2 K 25^{23}).
  (*d*) Μασφί. Mizpah of Benjamin, where Gedaliah had ruled Israel (Neh 3^{19}).
  (*e*) Μασφά. Mizpah of Benjamin in time of Asa (2 Ch 16^{6}).
  (*f*) ἡ σκοπιά. Mizpah of Gilead (Jg 10^{17}). Mizpah of Benjamin in time of king Asa (1 K 15^{22}).
  Josephus gives Μασφά (*Ant.* VI. iv. 3, VIII. xii. 4) for Mizpah of Benjamin, Μασφαθή (*Ant.* V. vii. 9) and Μασαφθά (X. ix. 2) for Mizpah both of Benjamin and Gilead; see also *Ant.* VI. ii. 1.

These differences of name may give some indication of the views held by the LXX as to the location of the various Mizpehs and Mizpahs. The two in the Lebanon and the town of Judah have special names; the remainder, viz. Mizpah or Mizpeh of Gilead, Shiloh, Benjamin, and Moab, are given under the names of Μασφά, Μασσηφά, and Μασσηφάθ. But Mizpah of Gilead is once translated as 'the watch-tower,' and Mizpah of Benjamin is given (in 2 Ch 16^{6}) as Μασφά, and in an identical passage (in 1 K 15^{22}) as 'the watch-tower.' The inference may be drawn that, according to the view of the LXX, there was a Mizpeh or 'watch-tower' in Gilead, not far from the meeting-place of Jacob and Laban, and this may have given rise to the play upon the word in naming 'the heap of witness' Mizpah. As Mizpeh was a watch-tower over the land of Gilead, so the Lord was 'the watch-tower' or 'witness' to the covenant at Mizpah; and thus the two names would be bound together; and when the ark of the covenant in after-ages was stationed at Shiloh, Gibeah, the meeting-place of the people before the Lord, would be the Mizpah, while the nearest high place or 'watch-tower' which for military purposes they would constantly have in use would be Mizpeh. The Rabbins took a similar view as to the word 'Ramathaim-zophim,' to which they gave the impossible translation 'Ramotha of the scholars of the prophets,' regarding the prophets as watchmen.

There are at least seven distinct places alluded to under the names of Mizpeh and Mizpah, namely—

1. Mizpah (הַמִּצְפָּה, Samar. המצבה, *i.e. maẓẓēbāh* = the pillar).—One of the names of the pillar (*maẓẓēbāh*) and heap of stones (*gal*) put up by Jacob and his brethren in the mountain of Gilead in token of God being a witness to the covenant made that day between Jacob and Laban (Gn $31^{46\text{-}52}$).* The other names were Jegar-sahadutha (which see) and Galeed, the former being the western Aramaic for the 'heap of the testimony,' the latter being the Hebrew equivalent of the same (see GALEED, GILEAD).

The name Mizpah, if it had the sense of a place where the Lord watched between two parties to a covenant, may have come to be applied to the places where the people held solemn assembly for deliberation in time of difficulty near the sanctuary of Jehovah, and it thus would be likely to be found near every place where the ark of the covenant or tabernacle remained for any time in addition to its original position in Gilead. It appears in connexion with the battles between all Israel and the Benjamites a few years after the death of Joshua, and is then evidently near Bethel and Shiloh, and again it appears in its original position some 150 years after in the time of Jephthah.

There is no record showing to what extent this ancient sanctuary in Gilead was used during the times of the Judges, when the ark and tabernacle were at Gilgal and Shiloh, but at the time that the children of Israel were oppressed by the children of Ammon, and in their misery put away their false gods, the Ammonites were encamped in Gilead and all Israel at Mizpah (Jg 10^{17}). It is apparent from the context that this was the original Mizpah of Gilead and not that of Shiloh or Benjamin, and from the expression 'before the Lord in Mizpah' it is surmised that the ark was present with the host of Israel (*Speaker's Comm.* on Jg 11^{11}). If this were so, it was sent over without the consent of the tribes of Israel on the western side of Jordan (Jg 12^{1}), as Jephthah's action in fighting the Ammonites without the assistance of western Israel was called in question by them. The whole account would lead to the inference that the eastern tribes assembled as a solemn conclave at the ancient scene of the covenant between Jacob and Laban at Mizpah, and then elected Jephthah as their captain-general to lead them to victory against the Ammonites, without any recourse to Shiloh. He then in the spirit of the Lord passed over Gilead and Manasseh, and over Mizpah of Gilead, and from Mizpah of Gilead to the children of Ammon (Jg 11^{29}). The LXX give the term 'watch-tower' both for the Mizpah where the eastern tribes of Israel encamped (Jg 10^{17}) and for the Mizpah over which Jephthah passed. On Jephthah's return from his victory over the Ammonites he came to his house at Mizpah, which the LXX render Μασσηφά, as they name the spot near the sanctuary where the tribes gathered before the Lord. There would thus appear, in the view of the LXX, to have been the Mizpah adjoining the sanctuary where the tribes gathered before the Lord and where Jephthah dwelt, and the Mizpeh on high ground near where the tribes encamped and where Jephthah passed over with them.

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* See Comm. *ad loc.* and art. RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM.

† Neither סכותא nor מצפה is necessarily a watch-*tower*; 'מ = 'place of watching,' which may have been merely a hill.

* On this passage see Dillmann's note. The name 'Mizpeh' comes in very strangely. It is plain that there is an allusion to the *maẓẓēbāh* of the preceding context, as well as a desire to explain the origin of a Watch-Tower in the neighbourhood. See art. JACOB, vol. ii. p. 529.

The topographical indications as to the position of Mizpah of Gilead are meagre. It was in the mountains of Gilead (Gn 31^{23}), and it was north of the *Jabbôk*, because Jacob crossed that torrent after parting with Laban. It was a well-indicated boundary, to be used in succeeding ages between the Hebrews and the Aramæans (Gn 31^{52}). It was in the vicinity of a Mizpeh, watch-tower, or commanding situation (Jg 11^{29}). Beyond this there can be little but conjecture. There is one indication, however, which seems to limit the line of Jacob's journey east and west: he was coming from Padan-aram in the north-east, and with his herds and flocks would naturally travel along the level tableland to the east of the broken country falling towards the Jordan Valley, near the line of the present *Derb el-Hajj*, which avoids crossing the *Jabbôk* by making a little detour to the east. Whether he came by Damascus or by Bozrah, he would arrive north of the *Jabbôk* by passing through the vale in which *Jerash* is situated. It is suggested that this is the site of the meeting of Jacob and Laban. From the abundance of its waters, enough for an enormous city, this site must from the earliest times have been a resting-place for herds and flocks on their travels. Near to these waters (1960 ft.) are the commanding situations or Mizpehs, *Neby Hûd* (2400 ft.) and *Jebel Hakârt* (3480 ft.), and to the west are dolmens near the village of *Sûf*. Sir George Grove has suggested that the site of Mizpah at *Jerash* is also identical with those of Ramath-mizpah and Ramath-gilead (which see); and this seems to be the most satisfactory identification.

2. Mizpah (הַמִּצְפָּה).—The events related in Jg 19 to 21 concerning the extermination of all the Benjamites save 600 by united Israel, though placed chronologically after the time of the Judges, are, from the mention of Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron (20^{28}), usually considered (so far as the account is historical) to have occurred about 20 years after the death of Joshua, at a time when there were no Judges in the land and the Israelites forsook the Lord and served Baal and Astarte (2^{13}). Josephus also places these events at the commencement of his account of the Judges (*Ant.* v.).

The tabernacle with the ark had been set up at Shiloh in Ephraim, 10 miles north of Bethel, before the death of Joshua, and remained there as its chief and permanent residence until the death of Eli; but it would appear from the account here given (Jg 20. 21) that the ark of the covenant was carried about from place to place in time of war to the spot where the people assembled, and in later years to where the Judge resided (*Speaker's Comm.* on Jg 20). The positions of the places mentioned, so far as they are at present identified, are: Gibeah (*Tell el-Fûl* ?), 4 miles north of Jerusalem; Bethel (*Beitîn*), 6 miles north of Gibeah; and Shiloh (*Seilûn*), some 10 miles north of Bethel. A Levite was on his way to the house of the Lord, probably at Shiloh (Jg 18^{31} 9^{18}), possibly at Bethel, when he turned aside to spend the night at Gibeah of Benjamin close to Ramah (*er-Râm*), and here his concubine was outraged to death by Benjamites of that city. This deed united all Israel against Benjamin, and they gathered together as one man unto the Lord at Mizpah (in AV it is given as Mizpeh throughout), Jg 20^{1}.

In order to understand the account, the question 'where was Mizpah?' requires to be answered. It has usually been understood * that the Mizpah here spoken of and that where Samuel gathered the people together (1 S 7) were identical. But there is no necessity for this conclusion: and the confusion of the two places renders the accounts of the occurrences unintelligible. The Mizpah of Samuel was in the heart of Benjamin near to Jerusalem, and it would have been impracticable for all Israel to have gathered together on this occasion before the Lord, at such a crisis, in the midst of the people with whom they were about to wage a war of extermination (but see Budde, 'Richter,' in *Kurzer Hdcomm. ad loc.*). The two Mizpahs may have been quite distinct: they were the places of assembly of the people in solemn conclave near a sanctuary or where the tabernacle and ark were, and in this particular case Mizpah would appear to have been some place of assembly between Shiloh and Bethel, probably close to Shiloh, where the tabernacle was. This is accentuated by the statement (20^{3}) that the children of Benjamin heard that the children of Israel had gone up to Mizpah: suggesting certainly that Mizpah was outside the boundaries of Benjamin.

3. The Mizpeh (Jos 18^{26}), elsewhere the Mizpah.—Mizpah of Benjamin is first (?) mentioned in the early days of Samuel (1 S 7^{5}). At this time Shiloh had fallen from its position as the sanctuary of J″ (1 S 4^{4}, Jer 7^{12} 26^{9}) on account of the wickedness of Israel, the ark of the covenant had been captured by the Philistines, had been released by them, and abode in Kiriath-jearim twenty years (1 S 7^{2}), during which time the children of Israel had fallen into idolatry and suffered severely at the hands of the Philistines, and then repented, and at the exhortation of Samuel put away the baals and Ashtaroth, and served the Lord only. Then Samuel with all the authority of judge and prophet gathered all the children of Israel to Mizpah to pray for them unto the Lord, as Jôshua had gathered the tribes together to Shechem (Jos 24^{1}).

The question again arises, Where was this Mizpah where the tribes gathered together before the Lord, and drew water and poured it out before the Lord, and fasted and confessed their sins? There is diversity of opinion as to the position of Samuel's residence, Ramah or Ramathaim-zophim (?); but that which lends itself most readily to the account of Samuel's life is a few miles north of Jerusalem, either *Nebī Samīl* or some point on the high ridge north of *Sháfât* (so van de Velde, Dillm., Tristram, G. A. Smith, etc.); and here Samuel built an altar, which may have been in connexion with the tabernacle, and this Mizpah may have been in close proximity to Samuel's residence. If this were so, the position near *Sháfât* is most suitable, as it will be shown that in after-years Mizpah appears to have been located not very far north of Jerusalem and overlooking it.

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* *e.g.* by Moore (*Judges*, p. 423), Budde (*op. cit. supra*), Buhl (*GAP* 168), and the majority of recent scholars.

We can now follow the changes which, upon the views adopted in this article, took place in the position of the Mizpah. First, it named the spot of the covenant between Jacob and Laban in Gilead; secondly, we find it attached to the place of gathering of the people before the Lord in Shiloh, where the tabernacle was; then again we find the people gathering together before the Lord at the original 'heap of witness' in Gilead in the time of Jephthah; and, lastly, it names the spot where Samuel gathered Israel before the recently-erected tabernacle near Ramah to serve God and resist the Philistines, and subsequently to choose the first king over Israel. Here the tabernacle remained for about fifty-seven years, until the dedication of the temple of Jerusalem; and in process of time the name Mizpah appears to have clung to this spot, for we find that king Asa built Geba and Mizpah (2 Ch 16^{6}); and it is to be noted that the LXX call it in one case Μασφά and in the other τὴν σκοπιάν (1 K 15^{22}). During the days of the temple of Jerusalem the sanctuary at Mizpah would lose prestige; but it must have retained the affection of the people, for during the Captivity, when Jerusalem lay desolate, Mizpah became the seat of government of the ruler of Judæa (Gedaliah) under the king of Babylon, 2 K 25^{23}, Jer $40^{6\text{ff.}}$ 41^{1}.

At the time of the rebuilding of the temple the district of Mizpah and men of Mizpah are spoken of, and it is alluded to as 'the seat of the governor on this side the river' (Neh 3^{7}). The account (in Jer 41^{5}) of the pilgrims who were met by Ishmael out of Mizpah on their way southward from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria with offerings to the house of the Lord, shows that Mizpah was on the high road from Shiloh to Jerusalem.

In the time of the Maccabees, Mizpah (Μασσηφά) appears again as a place of solemn conclave, 'where the Israelites assembled themselves together and came to Mizpeh over against Jerusalem, for in Mizpeh was there aforetimes a place of prayer of Israel' (1 Mac 3^{46}). The expression 'over against Jerusalem,' taken in conjunction with the fact stated in Jer 41^{5} that Mizpah was on the north road leading from Shiloh to Jerusalem, seems absolutely to fix Mizpah to a spot immediately north of and close to Jerusalem, as will be seen also to have been the view taken by Josephus. For the relation of Mizpah to Nob, and the view held by some that the two places are identical, see art. Nob.

4. 5. The land of Mizpah (אֶרֶץ הַמִּצְפָּה, τὴν Μασεύμα, *terra Mispha*, Jos 11^{3}). The valley of Mizpeh (בִּקְעַת מִצְפֶּה, A τῶν πεδίων Μασσηφά, *campus Masphe*), Jos 11^{8}.—These two places, which, according to Dillm. (*Jos. ad loc.*) and Buhl (*GAP* 240), should perhaps be regarded as one and the same, are mentioned in connexion with the battle which took place at the waters of Merom, when Joshua led Israel against Jabin king of Hazor and the northern tribes. Joshua chased them (Jos 11^{8}) unto great Zidon, and unto Misrephoth-maim, and unto the valley of Mizpeh eastward. On his return he burnt Hazor, which, though not identified, is generally supposed to have been situated somewhat to the north of the waters of Merom (Lake *Hûleh*). Joshua would thus, on going eastward from Zidon, have gone into the valley between the two Lebanons and have arrived at the *buḳa'* or valley (*biḳ'ah*) of Lebanon under Hermon. We read (Jos 11^{17}) of Baal-gad in the valley (*biḳ'ah*) of Lebanon under Hermon (Jos 11^{17} 12^{7}), and the Hivite lived under Hermon in the land of Mizpah (Jos 11^{3}). At the present time the only *biḳ'ah* or *buḳa'* (Arabic) of any extent in the neighbourhood is the great plain between the two Lebanons, reaching from the foot of Hermon to Baalbek. It would therefore appear that, whether these two places are identical or not, they are both near to Hermon. If the land of Mizpah may be taken to be all the country around Hermon, then the valley (*biḳ'ah*) of Mizpeh may be the southern portion of the valley of the Lebanon. For other conjectures see Dillm., *Jos. ad loc.*

6. Mizpeh (הַמִּצְפֶּה, Μασφά, *Mispha*), a city of Judah (Jos 15^{38}) in the Shephēlah or lowlands, in a group of sixteen, some of which have been identified both in the north and south of the Shephēlah. It is given together with Dilean and Joktheel, neither of which has been identified; and there is no clue to its position, and no account is given. *Tell es-Sâfieh*, the *Blanche Guarde* or *Alba Specula* of the Middle Ages, has a name equivalent to Scopos or Mizpeh, but it has been suggested that this is Gath (so G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 227). Robinson (*BRP* ii. 31) suggests that the valley of Zephathah, 2 Ch 14^{10} (same root as Mizpeh), may have been near *Tell es-Sâfieh*.

7. Mizpeh Moab (מִצְפֵּה מוֹאָב, Μασσηφὰ τῆς Μωάβ, *Maspha quæ est Moab*) is mentioned only once (1 S 22^{3}), as the place where the king of Moab was staying when David consigned his parents to his care. At this time the territories of Moab did not extend north of the river Arnon, the whole of the old Moabite country beyond having been allotted to Reuben. As Mizpeh means a lofty place where one can see far and wide (Gesenius, *Lex.*), the only suitable position in Moab appears to be the fortress of Moab (Kir of Moab), which commands the passes going down to the Dead Sea (Luhith and Horonaim). David probably brought his parents from Adullam down by the pass of Ziz to En-gedi, and thence round by the southern end of the Dead Sea up the pass of Horonaim to Kir of Moab (now Kerak). There can, however, in the absence of further information, be no certain clue to the situation of Mizpeh Moab.

LITERATURE.—*BRP* i. ii.; Stanley, *S. and P.*; *SWP* ii.; *PEFSt*, 1875-1877; Schwarz; Lightfoot, *Syrian Stone Lore*; Conder, *Heth and Moab*, 175; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 120, 586, 589; Buhl, *GAP* (Index); Poels, *Hist. du sanctuaire de l'Arche*, 1897; the Commentaries of Dillm. on *Genesis* and *Josua*, of Moore and Budde on *Judges*, and of H. P. Smith on *Samuel*, *ad ll.citt.*

C. WARREN.

MIZPEH.—See preceding article.

MIZRAIM.—See EGYPT in vol. i. pp. 653^{a}, 655^{b}.

MIZZAH (מִזָּה).—A 'duke' of Edom, descended from Esau and Basemath the daughter of Ishmael, Gn $36^{13.\ 17}$ (A Μοζέ) = 1 Ch 1^{37} (B Ὀμοζέ, A Μοχέ). The clan of which he is the eponym has not been identified.

MNASON (Μνάσων [? Cypr. spelling of Attic Μνήσων—Blass]; א Ἰάσων), of Cyprus, with whom St. Paul and his companions lodged on the occasion of the apostle's last visit to Jerusalem (Ac 21^{16}). He is described as an 'early' (ἀρχαῖος) disciple, by which we may perhaps understand one who had been a disciple from the time of Pentecost (cf. ἐν ἀρχῇ, 11^{15}). Nothing further is known of him, though from his Greek name he was probably, if not a Gentile Christian, at any rate an Hellenist, with whom it would be natural and prudent for St. Paul to lodge, looking to the feelings which existed among the Jewish Christians against him (vv.$^{20.\ 21}$, and see Meyer). For an interesting address on Mnason, in which the utmost is made of these scanty notices, see M'Laren, *Week-Day Addresses*.

G. MILLIGAN.

MOAB, MOABITES (in MT 'Moab' is מוֹאָב; on Moabite Stone מאב; LXX Μωάβ, ἡ Μωαβεῖτις, -βῖτις; Josephus, Μώαβος; Vulg. *Moab*; 'Moabite(s)' is

בְּנֵי מוֹאָב, מֹאָבִי, מוֹאָבִי; LXX *Μωαβείτης, -βίτης*; Vulg. *Moabita*; Assyr. *Ma'aba, Ma'bu, Mu'âba*).—

- i. The Name.
- ii. The Territory.
- iii. The Language.
  - (*A*) Proper Names.
  - (*B*) The Moabite Stone. (*a*) Notes on the Text; (*b*) Translation; (*c*) Notes on the Translation; (*d*) Features in which the language of the Moabite Stone differs from the Hebrew of OT.
- iv. The Religion.
- v. People and History.

Literature.

i. NAME.—The MT gives no etymology, but in Gn 19[37] (J) LXX adds after 'she called his name Moab,' *λέγουσα, Ἐκ τοῦ πατρός μου, i.e.* מֵאָבִי 'from my father.' The presence of an etymology of Ammon in the following verse favours the LXX text, which is adopted by Jos. *Ant.* I. xi. 5, Jerome, de Wette, and Ball, *SBOT*. Other etymologies suggested are מֵי אָב=מוֹ אָב 'seed of a father' (Ges. *Thes.*; Fuerst, *HWB*); or from יאב 'to wish for' (Maurer, *Cursus*, p. 130), referring to the attractive character of the land. The last is the only one that is possible, and it is scarcely probable. 'Moab' serves indifferently as the name of the land or the people, the Moabites occupying Moab throughout the whole period during which they are known to history. Probably 'Moab' was first the name of the land and then of the people.

ii. TERRITORY.—'Moab' was the high tableland east of the Dead Sea and the southernmost section of the Jordan. Its western frontier is clearly defined by these natural boundaries: to the south lay Edom and the desert; to the east, Ammon and the desert; to the north, before the conquest by the Israelites, probably Ammon, after the conquest Israel. Towards the desert there could be no clearly-defined boundary, and the frontiers between Moab, Edom, Ammon, and Israel shifted with the balance of power; but, roughly speaking, the territory inhabited by Moabites, and forming the Moabite state when not encroached upon by foreign aggression, was the cultivated plateau (specially known as *ham-Mîshôr*, 'the Level' or 'Plateau,' *HGHL* 53; or *Mîshôr* of Medeba, Jos 13[9. 16]; or *Sharon*, 1 Ch 5[16], *HGHL* 548) from the southern end of the Dead Sea to a line some miles beyond its northern extremity. Kir of Moab is nearly as far south as the southern end, and Heshbon and Jazer (wh. see) are some distance beyond the northern end of the Dead Sea. This plateau is divided by the deep chasm of the Arnon. The northern part of this territory is claimed by some documents for Reuben or Gad, and was at times under the dominion of Israel (cf. below, *History*). The extreme area of Moab might be reckoned at 50 miles long by 30 broad, 1500 sq. miles, about as large as Hampshire, but the cultivated plateau is only about 10 or 12 miles broad.

Conder (*Heth and Moab*, p. 124) describes Moab as 'a plateau about 3000 feet above the Mediterranean level, or 4300 feet above the Dead Sea. The western slopes are generally steep. The lower formation is the Nubian sandstone . . . above this a dolomitic limestone, with bold precipices in some places, forms the upper part of the hills, and is capped by a soft marl full of flints . . . the general aspect of the Moabite mountains rising to the plateau is barren in the extreme. The sandstone varies from purple to a light tawny colour, and the ridges are divided by deep narrow ravines. . . . In spring the rounded, shapeless hills are covered with grass and wild flowers, and parts of the plateau are now sown with corn; but the number of trees in Moab might be counted with the fingers of one hand. . . . Moab is a land of streams.' According to *HGHL* (p. 535) the plateau is broken by 'deep, wide, warm valleys,' with springs and brooks; and 'eastward the plateau is separated from the desert by low rolling hills.' Conder states that gazelles, wild oxen, wolves, jackals, hyænas, vultures, and eagles are found on the plateau. But the appearance of the country to-day must be very different from that which it presented when it was the seat of a powerful and prosperous state. The prophets dwell upon the 'cities of Moab'; and in their days this land of streams was carefully cultivated, dotted here and there with fortified towns and villages. Its roads and ruins still witness to ancient fertility and populousness. Although the existing remains are largely Greek and Roman, they show the former capabilities of the country, and fairly represent the prosperity of Moab in OT times.

The population must have been considerable. Conder estimates the present population of the *Belka*, of which Moab is a part, at about 19,000. Hampshire in 1891 had 666,250 inhabitants. Perhaps 500,000 would be the highest possible estimate of the population of Moab in its most flourishing days. One remarkable feature of the country is its great wealth of cairns, stone-circles, dolmens, and menhirs. Conder states that 700 of these rude stone monuments were found by the *Palestine Exploration Fund* surveyors in 1881: he is doubtful whether as many similar monuments exist in all the rest of Palestine.

In addition to the plateau itself, Moab comprised the southern corner of the eastern part of the Arabah or valley of the Jordan, the *'arbôth Môab*, the low hills skirting the plateau east and south, and pasture land beyond these hills out into the deserts. The climate, natural products, etc., are those of Eastern Palestine, in which part of Moab is usually included.

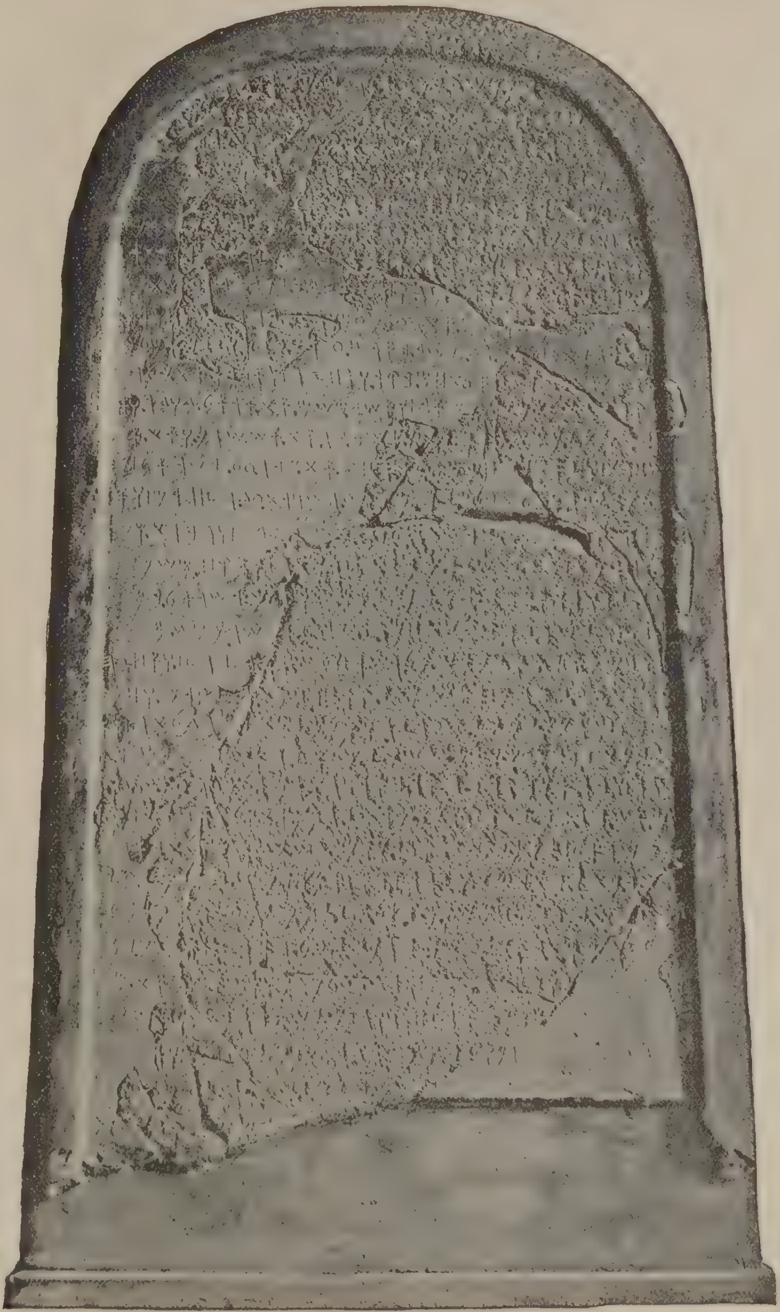
The following cities, etc., are mentioned as at one time or another Moabite; the names in italics are probably variants of those in ordinary type, which respectively precede them; they are sometimes placed slightly out of alphabetical order to show the connexion. Names in capitals are found only on the Moabite Stone. For details see the separate articles on these names.

Ar-of-Moab, Arnon, Aroer, Ataroth, Bayith, Beer-elim, Beser, Beth-bamoth, *Bamoth*, *Bamoth-baal*, Beth-baal-meon, *Beth-meon*, Beth-diblathaim, Beth-gamul, Beth-jeshimoth, Beth-peor, Bozrah, Dibon, *Dimon*, Eglaim, Eglath-shelishiyah, Elealeh, Heshbon, Holon, Horonaim, Jahaz, *Jahzah*, Jazer, Kerioth, Kir-of-Moab, Kir-heres, *Kir-hareseth*, Kiriathaim, Kiriath-huzoth, KRḤH (? Ḳorḥah), Luhith, Madmen, Medeba, Mephaath, Misgab, MḤRT (? Moharath), Nebo, Nimrim (waters of), *Nimrah*, Nophah, *Nobah* (?), Peor, Pisgah, Sela, Sibmah, SRN (? Sharon), Zoar, Zophim.

iii. LANGUAGE (Proper Names and Moabite Stone).—Our knowledge of the language is derived from the Moabite proper names in OT, etc., and from the Moabite Stone. Both show that Moabite is 'simply a dialect of Heb.' (Stade, i. 113). Where it differs from biblical Hebrew it agrees either with Phœnician or Canaanite, which is also very closely allied with Hebrew; or with Arabic, the language of the eastern neighbours of Moab. According to Hommel (*AHT* 275), the spelling on the Stone has a strong affinity with that of the Minæan inscriptions; *e.g.* the Moabite *Mehdeba'*, *Neboh*, are more akin to Minæan than to Heb., which writes *Mêdebâ*, *Nebô*.

The close connexion with Heb. is shown by the following resemblances—the details of differences are given below. The forms of almost all the proper names are consistent with their being of Hebrew origin. This might be partly accounted for by the fact that, for the most part, they are known to us only from Heb. sources. But the Stone is undoubtedly a Moabite document, and almost all its words, inflexions, and idioms occur in OT. For instance, it has two characteristic Heb. idioms—

1 אנך · משע · בן · כמש * * * · מלך · מאב · הד
2 יבני | אבי · מלך · על · מאב · שלשן · שת · ואנך · מלכ
3 תי · אחר · אבי | ואעש · הבמת · זאת · לכמש · בקרחה | במ * ·
4 שע · כי · השעני · מכל · ה*לכן · וכי · הראני · בכל · שנאי | עמר
5 י · מלך · ישראל · ויענו · את · מאב · ימן · רבן · כי · *אנף · כמש · באר
6 צה | ויחלפה · בנה · ויאמר · גם · הא · אענו · את · מאב | בימי · אמר · * * * *
7 וארא · בה · ובבתה | וישראל · אבד · אבד · עלם · וירש · עמרי · את * * * *
8 * · מהדבא | וישב · בה · ימ* · וחצי · ימי · בנה · ארבען · שת · * * *
9 בה · כמש · בימי | ואבן · את · בעלמען · ואעש · בה · האשוח · וא * *
10 את · קריתן | ואש · גד · ישב · בארץ · * * *ת · מעלם · ויבן · לה · מלך · *
11 שראל · את · עטרת | ואלתחם · בקר · ואחזה | ואהרג · את · כל · ה * * * *
12 הקר · רית · לכמש · ולמאב | ואשב · משם · את · אראל · דודה · וא *
13 חבה · לפני · כמש · בקרית | ואשב · בה · את · אש · שרן · ואת · א * * *
14 מחרת | ויאמר · לי · כמש · לך · אחז · את · נבה · על · ישראל | ו *
15 הלך · בללה · ואלתחם · בה · מבקע · השחרת · עד · הצהרם | וא *
16 זה · ואהרג · כל * · שבעת · אלף * * * * * * * * * * * | וגברת · ו * *
17 ת · ורחמת | כי · לעשתר · כמש · החרמתה | ואקח · משם · א * *
18 לי · יהוה · ואסחב*הם · לפני · כמש | ומלך · ישראל · בנה * *
19 יהץ · וישב · בה · בהלתחמה · בי | ויגרשה · כמש · מפנ * *
20 אקח · ממאב · מאתן · אש · כל · רשה | ואשאה · ביהץ · ואחזה ·
21 לספת · על · דיבן | אנך · בנתי · קרחה · חמת · היערן · וחמת
22 העפל | ואנך · בנתי · שעריה · ואנך · בנתי · מגדלתה | וא
23 נך · בנתי · בת · מלך · ואנך · עשתי · כלאי · האש* ין · בקר *
24 הקר | ובר · אן · בקרב · הקר · בקרחה · ואמר · לכל · העם · עשו · *
25 כם · אש · בר · בביתה | ואנך · כרתי · המכרתת · לקרחה · באסר
26 * * * ישראל | אנך · בנתי · ערער · ואנך · עשתי · המסלת · בארנ * *
27 אנך · בנתי · בת · במת · כי · הרס · הא | אנך · בנתי · בצר · כי · ע * *
28 ש · דיבן · חמשן · כי · כל · דיבן · משמעת | ואנך · מל *
29 * * מאת · בקרן · אשר · יספתי · על · הארץ | ואנך · בנ *
30 י · * *ד א · ובת · דבלתן | ובת · בעלמען · ואשא · שם · את · * * *
31 צאן · הארץ | וחורנן · ישב · בה · ב * * * וד * * א * *
32 אמר · לי · כמש · רד · הלתחם · בחורנן | ואר * * *
33 * * בה · כמש · בימי · ועל * * * משם · עש |
34 *ת · שדק | ואנ



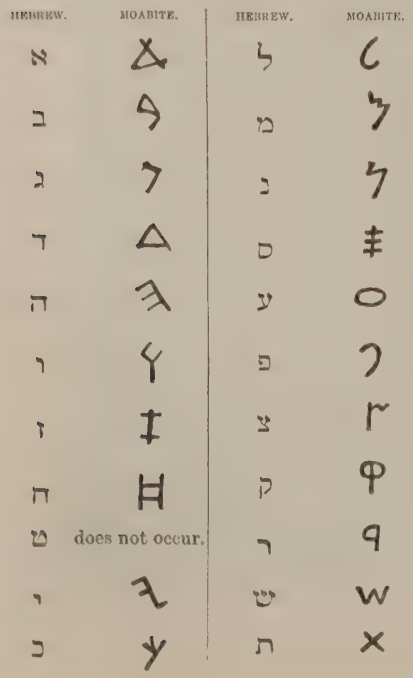
THE MOABITE STONE.

the *waw consecutive* with Impf., only certainly elsewhere in Phœnician (*Ges.-Kautzsch*, Eng. tr., 136 n.; cf. König, *Syntax*, 510 f.); and the use of the Inf. Abs. to emphasize a finite tense (אבר אבר in l. 7),—not, however, peculiar to Hebrew. The characters on the Stone are very similar to those of the Siloam inscription.

(*A*) *Proper Names.*—In addition to the names of cities given at the end of the section on *Territory*, the following proper names are found in OT and Moabite Stone (the latter in italics). (1) *PERSONS*:—Balak, *Chemosh-melek* or *Chemosh-gad*, Eglon, Ithmah, Mesha, Orpah, Ruth, Sanballat (?), Shomer or Shimrith, Siḥon (?), Zippor; also in inscriptions (see *History*), Kammusu (Chemosh)-nadab, Kmshyhy (Chemoshyehi = 'Chemosh gives life,' Baethgen, p. 13), Mutsuri, Salmanu. (2) *DEITIES*:—Chemosh, *Ashtar-Chemosh*. (3) the *RIVER* Arnon.

(*B*) *Moabite Stone.*—This Stone was a monument erected by Mesha king of Moab, *c.* 850, to commemorate his victories over Israel. In 1868 a Prussian traveller, the Rev. F. A. Klein, discovered the upper portion of it, about 3½ ft. high, by 2 ft. broad and 2 ft. thick, with rounded top, amongst the ruins of Dibon (*Dibân*). In 1869 a rough squeeze was taken by an Arab for M. Clermont-Ganneau. There is also a copy of ll. 13–20 made for him by another Arab. Then the Stone was broken up by the Arabs in the hope of making more profit out of the fragments. Two large fragments and 18 small ones were recovered. From these, with the addition of reconstructions from the squeeze of the missing portions, a restoration of the Stone has been made, and placed in the Jewish Court of the Louvre at Paris. There is a facsimile of this restored Stone in the British Museum. The text is printed on p. 404.

Moabite Alphabet—



HEBREW.	MOABITE.	HEBREW.	MOABITE.
א	𐤀	ל	𐤋
ב	𐤁	מ	𐤌
ג	𐤂	נ	𐤍
ד	𐤃	ס	𐤎
ה	𐤄	ע	𐤏
ו	𐤅	פ	𐤐
ז	𐤆	צ	𐤑
ח	𐤇	ק	𐤒
ט	does not occur.	ר	𐤓
י	𐤉	ש	𐤔
כ	𐤊	ת	𐤕

(*a*) *Notes on the Text.*—The following abbreviations are used in what follows:—

Cl = Clermont-Ganneau, *La Stèle de Mésa*, 1887 (a review of *SS*).
G = Ginsburg, *Moabite Stone*, 1871.
L = Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, 1898, p. 415, etc.
N = Nordländer, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab*, 1896, apud *SH*, only referred to when differing from *SS*.
SH = Socin (with Holzinger), *Zur Mesainschrift, Berichte der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1897, only referred to when differing from *SS*.
SS = Smend and Socin, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab*, 1886.

The differences of opinion given here relate to what and how much can be actually seen on the fragments, squeeze, etc., of the Stone. Conjectures as to letters entirely missing or quite illegible will be referred to under the translation. Dots over letters signify that, in the opinion of the authority quoted, they are indistinct. As *G* had not access to the squeeze or any reproduction of it, *G* cannot be cited for its readings.

1. After כמש—*SS*, מלך; *Cl*, *G*, נ̈ר̈; *Cl* suggests as alternatives שלך or שלם from Phœnician parallels; *L*, מ̈לך.

3. After במ—*SS*, ש ע · ם; *Cl*, nothing distinct; *L*, ש̈ע̈ · ם̈.

4. In לבן * ה—*SS*, מ; *Cl*, *G*, *N*, ש; *L*, מ̈.

5. In אנף*—*SS*, *L*, י; *Cl*, *G*, ח; *N*, נ.

6. After אמר—*SS*, כרבר; *Cl*, only part of a כ visible; *L*, כ̈ר̈בר.

7. After את—*SS*, כ̈ל̈א̈ר̈; *Cl*, *G*, only אר; *L*, [ר]א̈ כ̈ל̈.

8. At the beginning—*SS*, *Cl*, *G*, *L*, ץ.

In *ים—*SS*, *G*, *L*, ה; *Cl*, ד or ר, possibly *ים should be joined with חצי, and the combination read as a proper name.

After · שת—*SS*, *L*, ו̈י̈ש̈.

9. After וא—*SS*, בן; *Cl*, nothing distinct; *L*, *N*, *SH*, ב̈ן̈.

10. In ת * * *—*SS*, *L*, עמר; *Cl*, nothing distinct.

After · מלך—*SS*, י; *Cl*, not visible; *L*, *N*, *SH*, י̈.

11. In * * *ח—*SS*, עם · ם; *Cl*, not visible; *L*, *SH*, עם · ם.

12. In * וא—*SS*, *L*, ם; *Cl*, not distinct.

13. In * * *א—*SS*, נ̈ש̈י̈; *Cl*, *N*, nothing distinct; *L*, [?י] נ̈ש̈.

14. In *ו—*SS*, *L*, א̈; *Cl*, *N*, not visible.

15. In * וא—*SS*, *Cl*, *L*, ח̈.

16. In * כל—*SS*, ם; *Cl*, ה̈; *G*, ה; *L*, ם̈; *N*, nothing distinct.

After אלף—*SS*, ו̈מ̈ב̈נ̈ן̈ · מנברן · [אלף]; *Cl*, נ̈ב̈ר̈ן̈ ן[אלפ], nothing else distinct, nothing on squeeze where *SS*, see the ן after ומבנ, neither can there be a מ in this word; *G*, ן[אלפ]; *L*, ן * * ו · נ̈בר̈ן̈ ן[אלפ].

In * *ו—*SS*, בנ; *Cl*, *L*, nothing distinct.

17. In * *א—*SS*, ר̈א; *Cl*, nothing distinct; *L*, [א]ר̈.

18. In הם *ואסחב—*SS*, י; *Cl*, *G*, *L*, *N*, *H* (in *SH*) only a dot. Note size of Moabite *yod*.

After בנה—*SS*, *L*, א̈ת̈.

19. After * * מפנ—*SS*, י ו̈; *Cl*, nothing distinct; *L*, ו̈ י̈ *N*, ? י̈.

23. In * האש—*SS*, ו; *Cl*, not distinct; *L*, ו̈.

In * בקר—*SS*, ב; *Cl*, *L*, *N*, *SH*, ב̈.

24. In * · עשו—*SS*, *L*, ל; *Cl*, only visible with the eyes of faith. *G* does not give ל in facsimile, but prints it in Heb. Text, without any indication that it is restored and not read.

26. At the beginning—*SS*, ם · ן̈; *Cl*, neither visible nor consistent with the amount of space or the traces visible; *L*, *; *N*, י.

In * * בארנ—*SS*, *L*, ו̈ ן; *Cl*, ו̈ ן̈; *G*, ן.

27. In * *ע—*SS*, *L*, ן י; *Cl*, nothing distinct; *G*, *z* in facsimile, צ in Heb. Text.

28. In * מל—*SS*, *L*, כ̈; *Cl*, *N*, not visible.

29. At beginning—*SS*, ח̈י; *Cl*, ח̈י̈; *L*, * ח.

In * בנ—*SS*, *L*, ח.

30. At beginning—*SS*, י · מהר . . . א; *L*, י · [מה]ר[ב] א.
At end—*SS*, *L*, נקד; *Cl*, *H* (in *SH*), ן . . . .; *G*, ם.

31. After בה—*SS*, אמר · ודרן · דרן · בן; *Cl*, ב * ? ? * ? ור ? אנך; *L*, אמר * * ור * * בנ * ·; *N*, בני · חור[ן].

32. In * * *ואר—*SS*, ד · ואלת; *Cl*, not visible, and too much for the available space; *L*, ד · ן * *.

33. In בה * *—*SS*, יש apparently by some misunderstanding, as, according to *Cl*, no portion of either fragment or squeeze exists before the ב; *L*, * *.

In * * *ועל—*SS*, ארה; *Cl*, [ת]י; *L*, רה *.

34. In ת *; *SS*, *Cl*, ש; *SS* suggest that possibly ם may be represented and not ש; they discover before this letter traces of a י; Socin thinks that the letter in שרק read as ר may be ב; *G*, ש; *L*, י.

(*b*) *Translation.*

Words in ( ) represent Moabite words, some or all the letters of which are not clear enough to make it certain what they are. Words in [ ] represent conjectural restorations where the text has entirely, or almost entirely, disappeared. Words in [( )] represent conjectural restorations of words, in which one or more, but not all the letters, can be distinctly read. OT names are given in AV spelling; in other cases the consonants are given, without supplying vowels. Words required by English idiom but not by Hebrew are in italics. Symbols as in Notes on Text. In some cases the Hebrew order has been preserved, and the English order is shown by subscript numerals.

1. I *am* Mesha, son of Chemosh (-melech, *SS*, *L*, *or* -gad, *Cl*, *G*), king of Moab, the D-
2. ibonite | My father was king over Moab thirty years and I became ki-
3. ng after my father | And I made this high-place of Chemosh in ḲRḤH | *as a token of gratitude* for (the deliverance *wrought* for M-, *SS*, *L*)[a]
4. esha, because He saved me from all the (king, *SS*, *L*, or 'despoiler,' *Cl*, *G*) s, and because He caused me to see *my desire* upon all that hated me—Omr-
5. i, king of Israel, and[b] he oppressed Moab many days, because Chemosh (was) angry with lan—$_2$
6. d$_3$ his$_1$ | And his son succeeded him, and he also said, I will oppress Moab | In my days, he spoke (thus, *SS*, *L*) [Let us go, *G*]
7. But I saw *my desire* upon him and upon his house, and Israel perished for ever[c]. Now Omri annexed (all the lan-
8. d) of Medeba, and *Israel* occupied it, his days and half his son's days, forty years, and (resto-$_2$
9. red)$_3$ it$_4$ Chemosh$_1$ in my days | And I built[d] Baal-meon, and I made in it the 'ShWḤ[e], and I (built)
10. Kirjathaim[f] | And the men of Gad occupied the land of (Ataro)th from of old, and built$_6$ for$_7$ himself$_8$ the$_1$ king$_2$ of$_3$ (I-)$_4$
11. srael$_5$ Ataroth | And I fought against the town[g] and took it | and put to death all the (people of, *SS*, *L*)
12. the town, a *pleasing* spectacle for Chemosh and for Moab | and I removed thence 'R'L[h] of DWDH[i], and I
13. [?][j] it, before Chemosh in Kerioth | and I settled in it—*Ataroth*—the men of ShRN, and the (men of)
14. MḤRTh | And Chemosh said to me, Take Nebo[k] against Israel | and I (w-)
15. ent by night, and fought against it from break of dawn till noon | and I (t-)
16. ook it, and put them[l] all to death, seven thousand (men, *SS*, *Cl*, *G*, *L*) (and boys, *SS*;...... *Cl*; and......s, *L*) | and women, and (girl, *SS*,...... *Cl*, *L*)
17. s and female slaves[m] | for I had made it taboo[n] to 'ShTR[o] Chemosh | and I took thence (?
18. ?)[p] s of YHWH and I (?)[q] them before Chemosh | And the king of Israel built ([r])
19. Jahaz, and occupied it while he fought against me | And Chemosh drove him out before (me and, *SS*, *L*)
20. I took from Moab two hundred men, of all its clans[s], and led them[t] against Jahaz, and took it
21. to add *it* to Dibon | I built QRḤH, the walls of the forests[u], and the walls of
22. the 'PhL[v] | And I built its gates, and I built its towers | And I[w]
23. built the house of *the* king,[x] and I made sluices[y] [(for the reservoirs for the water, *SS*)] in the (midst) of
24. the city | And there was no cistern in the midst of the city in ḲRḤH, and I said to all the people, Make (for)
25. you, each *of you*, a cistern in his house | And I hewed the MKhRThTh[z] for ḲRḤH by means of the prisoners
26. *taken from* Israel | I built Aroer, and I made the road by the Arnon, (and, *SS*, *L*, *Cl*)
27. I built Beth-bamoth, for it had been destroyed | I built Bezer, for (it was in ruins),[aa]
28. ....[bb] (men) of Dibon, fifty, for all Dibon was loyal | And I (reign-
29. ed)......... a hundred in the cities[cc] which I added to the land | And I bui(lt)
30. [(Medeba)] and Beth-diblathaim | And *as for*[dd] Beth-baal-meon, there I placed (flocks)[ee]
31. .... sheep of the land | and Horonaim, wherein dwelt (the Son of Dedan, and Dedan said, *SS*).[ff]
32. .... Chemosh said to me, Go down, fight against Horonaim, and I went (down and[gg])......
33. ....? Chemosh in my days and ? ......[hh] from thence ? | ......
34. ....? ?—and (I)..........

(*c*) *Notes on Translation.*

3. *a.* The Moabite of 'the deliverance *wrought* for Mesha' is MSh' MSh'.
5. *b.* More idiomatically, 'Omri, king of Israel, who oppressed'; cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, Eng. tr. p. 341 n.
7. *c.* So *SS*, Nöldeke (1870).
G, 'In my days' he [the king of Israel] said, '(*Let us go*) and I will see my desire on him and his house'; and Israel said, 'I shall destroy it for ever.'
9. *d.* *i.e.* 'extended and fortified.'
9. *e.* 'ShWḤ only occurs here and perhaps line 23, which, with 24 f., deals with the water supply of ḲRḤH; perhaps reservoir; *SS*, 'Teich.'
10. *f.* *Kirjathaim* and *Diblathaim*, 30 end in *N* in the Moabite text.
11. *g.* 'town,' *SS*. 'Wall,' *G*, Nöldeke.
12. *h.* 'R'L, perhaps also in 17 f., probably = Heb. אֲרִאֵיל Is 29^1 (AV, *Ariel*) Kethibh of Ezk 43$^{15.16}$, *Ḳerê* אֲרִיאֵל, not found elsewhere, usually rendered 'altar-hearth' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*).
12. *i.* DWDH, apparently the name of a deity worshipped by the Israelites of Ataroth; not mentioned elsewhere, unless the same as the sun-god *Dodo*; cf. the proper name *Dudu* in the Amarna tablets. All these names, as well as *David* = 'Beloved.' It is curious that, of the three or four places in which 'R'L occurs, it is connected with the City of David in Is 29^1 and with DWDH here. Cf. ARIEL and DAVID.
12 f. *j.* Read ואסחבה; cf. l. 18. In 2 S 17^{13} סחב = 'drag,' so here *SS*, *L*, 'schleppen'; in Jer 15^3 = 'tear,' so here Neubauer. *G* translates 'offered.'
14. *k.* *Nebo*, spelt NBH.
16. *l.* The sense is the same, whether we read כלם 'all of them,' or כלה, *lit.* 'all of it.'
17. *m.* *female slaves*, רחמת, so *SS*, *L*; cf. Jg 5^{30} רַחַם רַחֲמָתַיִם 'a damsel, two damsels.'
17. *n.* *made it taboo*, החרמתה, חרם = 'devote' to a deity, usually by slaying men or animals; cf. Jos 6^{17}.
17. *o.* 'ShTR = Babylonian *Ishtar*; cf. on Religion.
17 f. *p.* How much is visible is doubtful, but we may restore 'R'LY; cf. *h*, 'altar-hearths of.'

18. *q.* ‘dragged’ or ‘tore’; cf. *j.*
18. *r. built*; cf. *d.*
20. *s. its clans*, רשה.

Either רש is for ראש *head*, so *L*, which may be interpreted ‘chiefs,’ Nöldeke, *i.e. SS*, chiefs and their followers, ‘clans’; cf. רוֹשׁ for רֹאשׁ *poppy*, Dt 32^{32}.

Or for רָשׁ *poor*, Ps 82^{3}, also written רָאשׁ Pr 10^{4}, so *G.*

20. *t. led*, lit. *carried.*

21. *u. walls of the forests*, perhaps enclosing wooded hills, or gardens; or the walls on the side towards the forests.

22. *v.* ʽPhL = Heb. עֹפֶל either *hill*, *SS*, *L*, RV of Is 32^{14}, 2 K 5^{24}, or *citadel*, Neubauer, in Neh $3^{26f.}$ = a quarter of Jerusalem.

22. *w.* ‘*I.*’ The letters of this word are partly in 23.

23. *x.* Neubauer, ‘house of Moloch.’ *y. sluices*, כלאי, so *SS* (?), *L* (?), a sense suggested by the use of כלא in Heb. for ‘shut in’; or *L* (?), Driver, construct of כִּלְאַיִם ‘both’; *G*, ‘prisons,’ from Heb. בֵּית כֶּלֶא = ‘prison.’

25. *z. I hewed* (KRTY) *the* MKhRThTh, *i.e.* a ‘cutting’ of some kind; *SS*, ‘ich schnitt ein (?) die Einschnitte (?)’; *L*, ‘I hewed timber’; *G*, ‘I dug the ditch.’

27. *aa. ruins* reading עין, plural of עי ‘heap.’

28. *bb.* The beginning of l. 28 is lost; the ש is probably the lost letter of איש (collective) ‘men.’

29. *cc. in the cities*, so *SS*, *L*, Neubauer; but *G*, ‘Bikran’; Nöldeke, ‘cattle.’

30. *dd. And as for Beth-baal-meon*, so, *SS*, the | is probably equivalent to a stop; moreover, *Beth-baal-meon* is probably the same as *Baal-meon*, which was built in l. 9. But *G* and Neubauer neglect the |, and make *Beth-baal-meon* the last of the list of towns beginning with *Medeba.*

30. *ee.* (*flocks*), so *SS*, *L*, translating the reading נקד, Neubauer ‘shepherds,’ as Heb. נֹקֵד, 2 K 3^{4}, RV ‘sheepmaster,’ of Mesha, and Am 1^{1}.

31. *ff.* (*the Son of Dedan*, etc.), so *SS*, translating their reading; the text as seen by *Cl* and *L* is too fragmentary to admit of probable restoration.

32. *gg. and I went* (*down and*), translating *SS*, *L*'s וארד ו; if with *SS* we further read אלת, we should restore with them אלתחם ‘fought,’ so Neubauer [and made war].

33. *hh.* The readings of *SS*, עלארה; *L*, על*רה, point to a place-name ʽL'DhH (ʽEleadeh).

(*d*) *Features in which the language of the Moabite Stone differs from the Hebrew of OT.*

(*α*) אנך 'NK for ‘I’ without the final י Y of the Heb. אנכי. As elsewhere the Stone always expresses the silent consonant of final vowels, אנך can scarcely be אנכי written defectively. The same form is found in Phœn., *L*, *s.v.*

(*β*) The feminine singular ends in ת instead of ה as in Hebrew.

(*γ*) The plural is formed by *Nun*, as in Aramaic and Arabic, instead of by *Mem*, as in OT Heb. שלשן 2, מלכן 4, ימן 5, רבן 5, ארבען 8. So occasionally in OT.

(*δ*) The form שת 2, 8, ShTh for Heb. שנת ‘year,’ as in Neopunic inscriptions (*L*, p. 379).

(*ε*) In ויענו 5, ‘and he humiliated,’ and אענו 6, ‘and I humiliated,’ the last radical is apparently a Waw with full consonantal force, whereas the corresponding radical in Heb. is a silent He.

(*ζ*) The affix for ‘his,’ ‘him,’ is ה. ארצה 6, ויחלפה 6, בנה 6, 8, בה 7, ובבתה 7, ימה 8, etc., as occasionally in Heb., *e.g.* אהלה ‘his tent,’ Gn 9^{21} (see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 91 *e*).

(*η*) Line 8, מהרבא MHDB', for Heb. מידבא MYDB', Medeba.

(*θ*) The form אלתחם ‘fight against,’ line 11.

Heb. uses the Niph. (in three cases the Qal) in the sense of ‘fight.’

אלתחם, if parsed as Heb., must be taken as Hithpa'el, the ת of the prefix and the first radical ל being transposed, a transposition only occurring in Heb. when the first radical is a sibilant. This transposition, however, regularly occurs for all first radicals in the Arabic 8th conj. *iqtatala*, which is equivalent in sense to the Heb. Hithpa'el. See, further, Driver, *Sam.* xciii.

(*ι*) The inscription belongs to the primitive stage of Hebrew writing, in which doubtless most of the OT books were originally written, in which the *scriptio defectiva* was used, and no distinction was made between *medial* and *final* letters of alphabet. Silent consonants, however, are used for final vowels, אבי ‘my father,’ l. 2; בה = Heb. בו, etc.; in the affixes, יהם (?), l. 18, ית, l. 22; and in ריבן, ריבני.

(*κ*) The following words, in addition to proper names, do not occur in the OT: אשות, l. 9; רית, l. 12; מכרת, l. 25 from Heb. √כרת; שרק (?), l. 34.

(*λ*) According to the readings of *SS* in ll. 11, 16, 26, the prefixed preposition מ is used to express the genitive.

iv. RELIGION.—Up to a certain point the Moabite religion was henotheistic, and the relation of Chemosh to Moab was exactly that of J″ to Israel (see CHEMOSH). On the strength of a winged sun-disk on the gem containing the name *Chemoshyeḥi*, Baethgen regards Chemosh as God of the Sunshine, and a manifestation of Molech. The Greeks identified Chemosh with Ares. Sanctuaries to Baalpeor (wh. see), and possibly Nebo (wh. see), and other gods, neither destroy the parallel with Israel, nor prove that Moab failed to pay a special, unique homage to Chemosh. Even the occurrence on the Stone of a deity Ashtar- (or *Ishtar-*) chemosh would not destroy the parallel with Israel. Ashtar-chemosh (see ASHTORETH in vol. i. p. 171ᵃ) is usually distinguished from Chemosh; and probably El Shaddai, El Elyon, Jahweh Ẓeba'oth, are not sufficiently similar compounds to be urged against this view. But if inscriptions of Solomon or Ahab were preserved, they might name other deities beside Jahweh. According to Baethgen, *Ashtar-chemosh* is a name which claims for Chemosh the attributes of Ishtar. Chemosh had his temples, priests, sacrifices, and offerings. The inhabitants of conquered cities were ‘devoted’ to him, *i.e.* massacred in his honour (Stone, ll. 12, 17). Mesha sacrificed his firstborn to Chemosh, as Ahaz offered his son to Molech.

But there is no extant evidence that any Moabites regarded Chemosh as *the* one God, in a monotheistic sense; or that there was any attempt by priestly legislation to purify the ritual from superstition and immorality; or that there was any ethical or spiritual movement parallel to the ministry of the prophets in Israel.

v. PEOPLE AND HISTORY.—The *patriarchal narratives* in Gn preserve a tradition, which may be unhesitatingly accepted as historical, to the effect that Moab was very closely akin to Israel, and that up to a certain point the history of Israel is also the history of Moab. Moab is the son of Lot and the brother of Ammon, Lot is the nephew of Abraham, and accompanies him in the migration first from Ur and then from Ḥaran. In other words, Lot (*i.e.* Moab with Ammon), Ishmael, the Bnê Keturah and Edom, once formed with Israel that loose confederation of kindred tribes which bore the common name *Hebrews*, and followed Abraham from Mesopotamia into Canaan. According to these narratives, Lot shared for a time the nomad life of the other Hebrews in Western Palestine, but was the first of the allied clans to leave the confederacy. Lot settled in Sodom and Gomorrah, but after the calamity which overwhelmed those cities the Bnê Lot betook themselves to the pasture-lands E. of Jordan, and, as the separate political organizations of Moab and Ammon, occupied the territory in which they remained till they disappeared from history. Thus Moab passed from the nomad stage into that of agriculturists and city-dwellers at a much earlier date than Israel. Possibly the *Khabiri* of the Amarna tablets are the Hebrews at their first entry into Palestine before the confederacy began to break up.

We do not know the exact limits of the territory first occupied by Moab, but it probably stretched northward from the Arnon, along the eastern banks of the Dead Sea and the Jordan. We read in Dt 2^{10} 'the Emim dwelt therein "[in the land of Moab]" aforetime, a people great, and many, and tall, as the Anakim: these also are accounted Rephaim, as the Anakim; but the Moabites call them Emim.' J″ gave this land to Moab as He gave the land of the Horites to Edom. In Gn 14^{5} the Emim are at Kiriathaim, a town north of the Arnon, spoken of later on as Moabite. The statement is quite consistent with the position of ch. 14, as the birth of Moab, *i.e.* its first appearance as a distinct tribe, is not related till 19^{37}. If we could trust the synchronisms with Babylonian and Elamite history based on the names in 14^{1}, the incident happened shortly before the restoration of Babylonian supremacy by Hammurabi, B.C. 2200; and Moab made its appearance somewhat later (*HCM* p. 161 ff.). But the archæological relations of Gn 14 are still quite uncertain (cf. L. W. King, *Letters, etc., of Hammurabi*, Introd.). The antiquarian note, Dt $2^{10\text{ff.}}$, is a late addition, and, according to Holzinger on Gn 14^{5} and Steuernagel on Dt 2^{10}, the Emim are purely legendary (cf. EMIM).

The OT says nothing more about Moab till the time of the Exodus. From the Amarna tablets and other Egyptian, Babylonian, and Assyrian monuments we gather that Babylonia and the Hittites exercised great influence in Syria before *c.* B.C. 1400; and that for some time before that date Syria was an Egyptian province, but that, apparently, about 1400, Egyptian authority was breaking down throughout Syria. Moab is not mentioned in the Amarna tablets at present published (Winckler, Petrie). It lay rather out of the way of the main routes between Syria and Egypt and the East, and especially was not on the Egyptian line of march into Palestine. Possibly, therefore, both as to politics and culture, the relations of Moab with the great empires were slight and superficial. On the other hand, Moab commanded the great routes from Western Palestine and Northern Syria into Arabia (*HGHL* 430, 597 ff., 626); and probably during this early period and throughout its history Moab remained in touch with its Arab kinsfolk: thus the Mesha inscription shows traces of the influence of Arabic. Yet there is evidence of the connexion of Moab with Egypt. According to Sayce (*Patr. Pal.* 153), Moab was included in the Canaanite province of Egypt at the time when the Amarna tablets were written; but Edom then encroached on what was afterwards Moabite territory. Ramses II. (*c.* 1300) fought several campaigns to restore the Egyptian dominion in Syria. In the list of his conquests on the base of one of six colossal figures at Luxor there occurs the name *Muab* (*Patr. Pal.* p. 21). *Karhu*, in a similar list at Karnak (*Patr. Pal.* p. 237), is probably the ḲRḤH of the Moabite Stone. Other traces of Egyptian influence E. of Jordan are a monolith near the Lake of Tiberias bearing the cartouche of Ramses II., now known as the Stone of Job (see vol. i. p. 166^{b}); and the delineation of a local deity *Akna-zapu*, 'Yokin of the North,' with the full face and crown of Osiris (Sayce, *Egypt of the Hebrews*, p. 81).

We now come to the biblical accounts of the *Exodus*, which include statements as to the fortunes of Moab in the period immediately preceding the appearance of Israel in Eastern Palestine. According to these, Moab, shortly before the advent of Israel, was deprived of its northern territory, at least, by an Amorite king, Sihon; and though Israel occupied the land of Moab, it was conquered, not from the Moabites, but from Sihon. But the historicity of this account is disputed. We will first give the narrative as it stands, and then the criticism of it.

The original authority for the narrative is the section of E, Nu $21^{21\text{-}31}$ (Wellh. J), which contains the account of the defeat of Sihon, and the conquest of his dominions. V.^{26}, sometimes held to be a later gloss, states that 'Sihon, king of the Amorites, had fought against the former king of Moab, and taken all his land out of his hand, even unto Arnon'; and vv.$^{27\text{-}30}$ give, on the authority of 'them that speak in proverbs,' *i.e.* the composers or reciters of 'taunt songs,' celebrating the discomfiture of Israel's enemies, the following poem, probably taken from the Book of the Wars of J″, quoted in v.^{14}:—

'Come ye to Heshbon,
Let the city of Sihon be built and established;
For a fire is gone out of Heshbon,
A flame from the city of Sihon.
It hath devoured Ar of Moab,
The lords of the high places of Arnon.
Woe to thee, Moab!
Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh.
He hath made his sons fugitives,
And his daughters captives
To Sihon, king of the Amorites.
We have shot at them; Heshbon is perished even unto Dibon,
And we have laid waste even unto Nophah,
Which reacheth unto Medeba.'

According to Dillmann, the speakers are Israelites, who, in celebrating their victory over Sihon, describe his recent conquest of Moab. Unless v.^{26} is a gloss, Sihon's war against Moab, and Israel's against Sihon, rest on substantially the same authority. The latter is frequently referred to by the Deuteronomic writers; it is also alluded to in P's account of the division of Canaan, Jos $13^{21.27}$ (unless these verses are P^{3}), in the late passage Jg $11^{12\text{-}28}$ (R^{JE}, Budde, Moore), in Neh 9^{22}, and in Ps 135^{11} 136^{19}. The poem is quoted in Jer 48^{45} (a late addition, Corn., Giesebr.), but there is no reference to Israel's war with Sihon. Thus the tradition is comparatively early, and was continuously recognized; moreover, the narrative is not intrinsically improbable.

On the other hand, neither J nor P mentions the Sihon episode (unless Jos $13^{21.27}$ are rightly assigned to P^{2}), and none of the accounts of Moab's relations with Israel suggest that Israel had avenged Moab by conquering its oppressor. Hence, though the narrative is accepted by Dillmann (on Nu 21), Cornill (*Hist. of the People of Israel*, p. 45), etc., it is regarded as unhistorical by Stade (*Gesch. Isr.* 117 f.), Addis (on Nu 21), etc. According to the latter, the poem refers to the conquest of a *Moabite* king, Sihon, by Israel in the 9th cent. (cf. SIHON).

If we accept E's narrative, we may follow Cornill (*Hist.* p. 45) in reconstructing the history somewhat thus: Sihon expelled the Moabites and Ammonites from the most fertile parts of their territory. The conquered either invited the Israelites, then occupying the country about Kadesh, to come to the rescue, or welcomed them as allies when they appeared on the scene. But, after the Israelites had overthrown Sihon, they kept for themselves the territory he had taken from Moab.

Nu $25^{1\text{-}5}$ (JE), according to which the women of Moab led the Israelites into immorality, and the Israelites worshipped Baal-peor as guests at Moabite sacrificial feasts, is entirely in accordance with E. Similarly Dt $2^{2\text{-}25}$, in stating that J″ forbade Israel to attack Moab, and that Moab allowed the Israelites to pass through its territory, and furnished them with provisions; and Jg 11^{25} (R^{JE}?), in stating that Balak did not fight against Israel, are following either E, possibly in a fuller form than we have it, or some equivalent account. The futile attempt of Balak to induce Balaam to curse Israel occurred, according to current analysis, both in J and E, and seems also to imply that up to that point no hostilities had taken place between Israel and Moab. Possibly, however, the whole Balaam section belongs to E, with the exception of the episode of the speaking ass, which may be J, but may originally have had nothing to do with Balak or Moab (cf. BALAAM and the analysis in NUMBERS). In P, Nu 31^{8}, Jos 13^{22}, Balaam is connected with Midian, and P may have followed a lost section of J.

On the other hand, there is a series of passages which suggest hostile relations between Moab and Israel at this time. Ex 15^{15} (JE), the Song of Triumph after crossing the Red Sea, speaks of the dismay of the Moabites at that event. Dt 23^{3} states that Moab did *not* furnish Israel with provisions; it does not mention any war between them; and, according to Jg 11^{17} (R^{JE}?), the Israelites were refused permission to pass through Moab. But, curiously enough, it is in Jos 24^{9}, the E-speech, that we find the explicit statement, 'Balak ben Zippor, king of Moab, arose and fought against Israel; and he sent and called Balaam ben Beor to curse you.' Perhaps at an earlier stage of the Wanderings, before Sihon attacked Moab, the Moabites feared Israel, and refused to admit them into Moab; after the conquests of Sihon, Moab was glad to obtain the help of Israel, but again became hostile when Israel refused to restore to Moab its former territory.

Whether Israel took the land north of Arnon from Sihon or from Moab, it was always debatable ground, and stimulated and aggravated the quarrels that naturally arose between neighbours. The northern frontier of Moab retired or advanced as the power of Israel waxed or waned. The most important incident narrated as to the relations of Israel and Moab, in the period of the *Judges*, is the occupation of Jericho by the Moabites, the assassination of their king, Eglon, by the Benjamite Ehud, and the consequent slaughter of the Moabites and the recovery of the territory of Jericho for Israel, Jg 3^{12-30} (J ?, in Dt setting). The occupation of Jericho implies that Moab had reconquered the country north of the Arnon, as far as opposite Jericho (cf. EHUD, EGLON). LXX (not all MSS) and Syr. insert Moab in the post-exilic (Budde, Moore) list of the oppressors from whom Jephthah delivered Israel. The conjecture, though late, was natural, and probably correct. Moab would take advantage of so good an opportunity, and was always closely connected with Ammon. The author of Jg 11^{12-28} was certainly under the impression that Moab was concerned in the controversy. The Book of Ruth assigns its story to the period of the Judges, and illustrates the friendly relationships which sometimes existed between the neighbouring peoples. Perhaps the obscure verse 1 Ch 4^{22} (a late addition, Kittel, *SBOT*) is intended to refer to this period. The Heb. includes in the list of Judahites 'and Jokim, and the men of Cozeba, and Joash, and Saraph, who had dominion in Moab, and Jashubi-lehem'; LXX and Vulg., followed by Kittel, read for 'Jashubi,' 'and they returned,' *i.e.* probably to Bethlehem when unable to retain power in Moab. Vulg. has the remarkable translation, 'Et qui stare fecit solem, virique mendacii, et Securus, et Incendens, qui principes fuerunt in Moab, et qui reversi sunt in Lahem; hæc autem verba vetera,' apparently on the lines of ancient Jewish exegesis, which sees here a reference to Elimelech, Mahlon, and Chilion of the Book of Ruth (Bertheau). But the original meaning, and intended period, and the value of the verse, are quite uncertain. Another hopelessly corrupt and obscure passage, 1 Ch 8^{8} (late addition, Kittel; according to Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, the names are ancient), seems intended to refer to this period, cf. Ehud, 8^{6}, and furnishes another statement as to Israelites, here Benjamites, settling in the Field of Moab, whether as part of an Israelite colony or as *gērîm* of Moab, does not appear. Further, the Israelites, Jg 10^{6} (R^{D}), worshipped Moabite gods.

Any account which can now be given of Moab is necessarily one-sided. Our information is chiefly from Israelite sources; and our only Moabite document, the Mesha inscription, happens to be wholly taken up with a war with Israel. But the consequent impression that Moab was chiefly occupied with its relations with Israel would obviously be a mistake. Their dealings with other neighbours, *e.g.* Ammon and the nomad Arabs, must have been equally important to them—to say nothing of their own private affairs. Here and there we have a gleam of light on such subjects. In the list of Edomite kings, Gn 36^{31-39} (J usually, but Dillm. P), 1 Ch 1^{43-51}, we read, Gn 36^{35}, of a Hadad ben Bedad, who defeated Midian in the Field of Moab, which suggests that at some period, probably that of the Judges (Ewald, in the time of Gideon), part of the Moabite territory was occupied by Edom. Two of the capitals of these kings, Avith and Dinhabah, have been identified with sites in Moabite territory; cf. DINHABAH. Whether the Midianites were present in 'the Field of Moab' as invaders (Moore on Jg 6^{1}) or allies is not clear. In Nu 21–25, read continuously, Midian appears in about the same district as the ally of Moab; the references to Midian may be P and R^{P}, and yet be based on older documents. It is not clear that Moab and Midian were combined in any of the sources. To this period may also be assigned the capture of ḲRḤH by Ramses III. *c.* 1280, during one of his Syrian campaigns (Sayce, *Patr. Pal.* p. 165).

Passing to the united monarchy, *Saul to Solomon*, in addition to the account of Saul's victory over Nahash king of Ammon (1 S 11), Moab, Ammon, and Edom are mentioned (1 S 14^{47}) amongst the enemies against whom Saul fought successfully; he clearly did not conquer Moab, since David's parents found an asylum there (1 S 22^{3-5}); according to Ru 4^{18-22}, Ruth the Moabitess was an ancestress of David. During the civil war between David and Eshbaal, Moab must have been able to hold its ground, or even to aggrandize itself at the expense of Israel. Hence, perhaps, David's war with Moab, in which 'he smote Moab, and measured them with the line, making them to lie down on the ground; and he measured two lines to put to death, and one full line to keep alive. And the Moabites became subject to David, and paid tribute' (2 S 8^{2}). Part of the spoil of Moab, as of that from other conquests, David dedicated to J″ (2 S 8^{12}). Probably instead of the 'two lion-like men of Moab,' slain by one of David's warriors (2 S 23^{20}), we should read with Klostermann and Budde, partly following the LXX, 'two lions in their lair.' In the parallel passage, 1 Ch 11^{22}, Kittel reads 'two sons of Ariel from Moab.' Bertheau, who adopts a similar reading, understands Ariel as the name of the king of Moab (cf. ARIEL). In 1 Ch 11^{46}, in a passage which Kittel ascribes to an ancient source, no longer extant, Ithmah the Moabite is mentioned among David's mighty men. Kautzsch and Budde ascribe 2 S $8^{2.\,12}$ to late editors. According to 1 K $11^{1.\,7.\,33}$ (D^{2}, Kautzsch), Solomon had Moabite women in his harem, erected a temple to Chemosh, and worshipped him.

How long Moab remained tributary we do not know. It is next mentioned as rebelling against Ahab; and it has been supposed that it remained subject to Solomon till his death, and was transferred to Israel after the formation of the Northern Kingdom. But the silence of our meagre and fragmentary authorities as to any prior revolt does not prove that Moab remained in subjection till the time of Ahab. The express mention of the revolt of Edom from Solomon is slightly against the supposition that a revolt of Moab at that time has been passed over. Further, the fact that Jeroboam's capital was at first E. of Jordan shows that Israel then was in strong force in the east, and makes it possible to suppose that Jeroboam succeeded in wresting the suzerainty of Moab from Rehoboam. On the whole, it is more likely that Moab recovered its independence at this time; or, if not then, soon after, at some point in the period, after Jeroboam, during which Israel was distracted by foreign and civil wars and frequent changes of dynasty. The disaster which almost blotted out Reuben as a tribe may have been suffered at the hands of Moab, at this or at an earlier date.

2 Ch 20^{1-30} narrates a campaign of Moab, Ammon, and Edom against Jehoshaphat, in which the invaders massacre each other. The passage is probably a Midrashic adaptation of 2 K 3, and in its present form rests on no older authority than the Midrash of Kings used by the Chronicler.

The period of *Omri-Ahab-Jehoram* is specially important, because we can supplement the Bible account by the Moabite Stone, the text and translation of which are given above, in the section on *Language*. In the Moabite Stone (ll. 1–8) Mesha tells us that, in the reign of his father, Chemosh-melek (?) of Dibon, Chemosh was angry with Moab, and Omri and his son oppressed Moab, subjected and occupied it forty years. This brings us to the point at which Kings first refers to Moab. 2 K 1^1 $3^{4.5}$ states that Mesha king of Moab was rich in sheep, and paid to Israel a tribute (? annual) of 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams (AV), or their wool (RV); and that when Ahab died he rebelled against the king of Israel. According to Mesha (l. 8), the revolt took place in the middle of Ahab's reign. Probably the war of Israel with Syria, which cost Ahab his life, afforded the opportunity for the revolt of Moab. It is not clear how we are to combine the inscription and 2 K 3. We may suppose (Cornill, p. 107; Wellh. *Hist.* etc. Eng. tr. p. 460) that Mesha's victories took place at the time of the revolt, before the events of 2 K 3; or that, at first, Moab simply asserted its independence, and that Mesha's conquests were made after the retreat of Jehoram; or that the inscription is a comprehensive account of Mesha's achievements both before and after Jehoram's campaign, his reverses being ignored, just as Kings makes no mention of the loss of Israelite cities to Moab. In 2 K 3 we read that Jehoram, at the head of a general muster of Israel, and with Jehoshaphat of Judah and the king of Edom as allies, marched round the southern end of the Dead Sea, a route which suggests that Israel was very weak on the east of the Jordan; that the Moabites fell into an ambush, and were defeated; that the allies captured and destroyed the cities and laid waste the land, and at last shut up Mesha in Kir-hareseth. After an unsuccessful sortie, Mesha 'took his eldest son . . . and offered him for a burnt-offering upon the wall. And there was great wrath against (RV), *or* upon (RVm), Israel; and they departed from thence and returned to their own land.' Possibly the Israelite account disguises a defeat as a voluntary withdrawal; but the prophets' accounts of the superstition of their fellow-countrymen show that they may have been afraid to press the siege after what they believed to be an irresistible appeal to Chemosh. But the retreat was a disastrous blow to the prestige of Israel. Probably the retiring army suffered heavy loss; and the Moabites would certainly be emboldened to make further additions to their territory at the expense of the eastern tribes. The relations of Edom and Moab in this narrative suggest the existence of bitter hostility, which must have led to other wars between the two neighbours. Nothing is said of Edom in the inscription, possibly because part of it is lost.

The inscription suggests that the revolt arose (ll. 6, 7) through hostile measures of Ahab.* Mesha recovered the territory occupied by Omri, and fortified Ba'al-meon and Kiriathaim. He then threatened the Gadites—the Reubenites are never mentioned, and had apparently disappeared—in their long-occupied territory of Ataroth. In defence, the king of Israel fortified the city of Ataroth. But Mesha took Ataroth and Nebo, and massacred their inhabitants. The king of Israel fortified Jahaz, but it shared the fate of Ataroth. Mesha seems also to have conquered Horonaim. After his victories he fortified many cities, and provided them with a water supply, and executed other public works, largely, no doubt, by means of Israelite prisoners, as in l. 25.

According to the cities mentioned in the inscription as conquered or held by Moab, its territory stretched along the whole eastern coast of the Dead Sea, from Kir in the south to Horonaim and Nebo in the north. The silence as to Heshbon may possibly be due to the loss of part of the Stone; but as Mesha's father reigned in Dibon on the Arnon, probably Mesha's conquests did not include Heshbon.

According to 2 Ch 24^{26}, one of the assassins of Joash of Judah had a Moabite mother. The story of Elisha (2 K 13^{20}) mentions Moabite raids in Israel.

2 K 14^{25} states that *Jeroboam II.* recovered the border of Israel from the entering in of Hamath to the sea of the Arabah, *i.e.* the Dead Sea. Probably he recovered the suzerainty over Moab (so Cornill, p. 122, 'succeeded . . . in subduing all Moab'). 1 Ch 5^{1-17} seems to imply a tradition of an effective Israelite occupation of territory between Jabbok and Arnon in the time of Jeroboam II. Am 2^{1-3} may refer to Israelite conquests in Moab at this time, though it only refers expressly to the feud between Edom and Moab. Possibly the Israelite victories over Moab in Nu 24^{17} (Balaam's oracles) belong to this period, though they might refer to the wars of Omri or even David.

Another trace of the hostility of Moab to both Israel and Judah, in the period of the two kingdoms, is the unsympathetic attitude of both J and E to Moab; the most striking example being the account of the birth of Ammon and Moab.

In the period from Jeroboam II. to the *Fall of Samaria*, the catastrophes of Israel, especially the deportation of the eastern tribes by Tiglath-pileser, and, in a less degree, that of the inhabitants of the rest of the Northern Kingdom, left Moab free to aggrandize itself. All the evidence seems to show that, in the century and a half after the fall of Samaria, the prosperity of Moab reached its climax. Apparently its rulers were wise enough to observe the essential condition of continuous prosperity, and submitted to the suzerainty of Assyria; cf. *COT* ii. 49. Salmanu the Moabite occurs in the Nimrud Clay Inscription of Tiglath-pileser as one of the tributaries of Assyria; and it is perhaps this Salmanu, and not the Assyrian Shalmaneser, who is to be identified with the Shalman who sacked Beth-arbel in Hos 10^{14} (so Sayce, *HCM* p. 482).

In a fragment, indeed, of Sargon II. (Kellner, *Isaiah*, p. 34), Moab is mentioned as allied with Philistia, Judah, and Edom in a conspiracy against Assyria; but on the great Taylor Prism, which gives Sennacherib's account of his campaign against

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* The translation of these lines is doubtful, cf. above.

Hezekiah and his allies, Kammusu-nadab (Chemosh-nadab) of Moab brings tribute to the Assyrian king, and does homage to him. Mutsuri (probably 'the Egyptian') king of Moab is mentioned as attending the court of two successive kings of Assyria, Esar-haddon and Assurbanipal, in company with twenty-one other subject kings, including Manasseh of Judah (Sayce, *HCM* p. 450 ff.). In the last days of Jerusalem, Moab had transferred its allegiance to Babylon; Moabites fought for Nebuchadnezzar against Jehoiakim, 2 K 24^{2}. At the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah, according to the original text of Jer 27^{3}, Moabite envoys came to Jerusalem to arrange a revolt against the Chaldæans; and later on Jewish refugees found an asylum in Moab, Jer 40^{11}; and Ezk 25^{8-11} also implies that the prosperity of Moab continued after the fall of Jerusalem.

Much light is thrown on the condition of Moab in this period by the references to Moab in Am, Is, Mic, Zeph, Jer, and Ezk; although there is much difference of opinion as to the dates of the passages in question. For Am and Ezk, see above; it may be noted also that in Am the ruler of Moab is called שפט 'judge.' Mic 6^{5} merely refers to the story of Balaam and Balak, probably in a different form from that in which we now have it. Zeph 2^{8-10}, which threatens Moab and Ammon because they have despised and harassed the Jews, is commonly regarded as exilic (cf. ZEPHANIAH).

The *Is-Jer oracles on Moab* present a very complicated question. Is 15 f. and Jer 48 are two independent editions of an older lament over some ruinous catastrophe which befell Moab. Cheyne ('Isaiah' in *PB* p. 168) thinks the enemy of Moab may have been either Nebuchadnezzar, Assurbanipal, or Jeroboam II. Cheyne, Duhm, Giesebrecht, etc., hold that the later editions of the lament were compiled and inserted in Is and Jer by late post-exilic writers; Duhm refers Jer 48 to the time of Alexander Jannæus and John Hyrcanus. But many critics (*e.g.* Cornill and Driver) regard Is 15 f. as the work of Isaiah, and Jer 48 as that of Jeremiah—substantially. In the lament the territory of Moab has reached its maximum, and extends from Jazer, Sibmah, and Heshbon to the southern end of the Dead Sea. Thus the poem is probably later than Mesha, and does not refer to the conquest of Moab by Omri, or the campaign of Jehoram; the Stone does not mention Heshbon. Hence the disaster to Moab was probably an invasion by Jeroboam II., a view possibly confirmed by Is $16^{1.5}$, which is often interpreted as meaning that the king of Judah was ruling over Edom; while 2 K $14^{7.10}$ suggest that, some time before, Amaziah of Judah had recovered the suzerainty of Edom. The lament shows that, since Mesha, Moab had made steady progrêss, and advanced its border beyond Heshbon; that it possessed numerous 'cities,' *i.e.* walled towns, and doubtless many villages; that it was fertile, well-cultivated, and, probably, densely populated; and that it had reached a comparatively high level of civilization, not very different from that of Judah. Jeroboam ravaged the country in the same fashion as Jehoram; and perhaps some districts and cities were occupied by Israelites, but Moab as a whole probably remained autonomous under a native ruler appointed by Jeroboam. If Nu 21^{21-30} refers to this invasion (see above), the king of Moab at this time may have been named Sihon. The author of the lament shows marked sympathy for Moab; Israel was generally hostile to the Southern Kingdom after the extinction of the house of Omri, and Moab and Judah were drawn together by a common enmity to Samaria. A token of their mutual good feeling was Solomon's temple to Chemosh, which was not interfered with till the time of Josiah. However severely Moab suffered at the hands of Jeroboam II., it recovered speedily, and became more prosperous than ever, so that Isaiah (?) and Jeremiah (?) do not hesitate to adapt and expand the pictures of the pride and prosperity of Moab, and the lists of its numerous cities, in their descriptions of the doom that threatened Moab at the hands, first of the Assyrians and then of the Chaldæans. The attitude of Is 15 f. is still sympathetic; but Jer expresses the bitter resentment inspired by the alliance of Moab with the besiegers of Jerusalem in 48^{10} 'Cursed be he that doeth the work of J″ negligently, and cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood.' Jer also (48^{11}) testifies to the continued prosperity of Moab and its consequent corruption: 'Moab hath been undisturbed from his youth; he hath settled on his lees; he hath not been emptied from vessel to vessel; he hath not gone into captivity: therefore his taste remaineth in him, his scent is not changed.'* Jeremiah, or an editor, has incorporated Nu $21^{28f.}$ as vv.$^{45f.}$.† Cf. Jer 9^{26} 25^{21} 27^{3}; ISAIAH, BOOK OF; JEREMIAH, BOOK OF.

In Is and Jer we see Moab, at the height of its prosperity, suddenly seized in the grip of an overwhelming calamity: here the curtain falls upon its history. The land is still for some time called Moab, and the name lingered on even into the Christian era; the term Moabite is occasionally applied to cities or people of the district, and doubtless survivors of the old race were still to be found in the land; but there seems no evidence of the existence of Moab as a state, even a dependent state, *after the Exile*, and we know that at the time of the Maccabæan revolt Moab was occupied by the Nabatæan Arabs (1 Mac 9^{32-42}.; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xiii. 3, 5, xvi. 4, XIV. i. 4). A comparison of the last two passages shows that Josephus uses 'Moabites' for the Nabatæan Arabs, which explains the statement in *Ant.* I. xi. 5, that the Moabites were still a very great people in his time. 1 Mac never names the Moabites, even in such passages as 5^{1-8} (cf. Bevan, *Dan.* p. 199; Baethgen, *Ps.* p. 260). The comparative silence of post-exilic literature as to Moab suggests an early date for its disappearance; even in Neh 4^{7} the Arabians have taken the place of Moab as the allies of Ammon. Possibly Moab, in its pride, unduly tasked the patience of Nebuchadnezzar and was overthrown, and the bulk of its population deported; then the Arabs may have occupied Moab and absorbed the remnant of the people; or the Nabatæans may have conquered Moab (cf. ARETAS). Then Is 15 f., Jer 48, if late editions of an earlier lament, may have been inspired by the report of this great catastrophe; Ezk 25^{8-11} states that Moab shall be conquered by the children of the East, *i.e.* Arabs.

The post-exilic references to Moab are as follows:—In the apocalyptic Is 24–27, variously dated from the time of the Exile to that of Alexander the Great, Moab is the one Gentile people mentioned by name (25^{10}) as doomed. Unless the section is contemporary with Jer 48,‡ 'Moab,' like 'Edom' and 'Babylon,' in later times is used as a type of the enemies of God (Cheyne, 'Isaiah' in *PB* p. 204). Ezr 9^{1}, Neh 13^{1} are mere references to ancient literature. Sanballat the Horonite (Neh 2^{10} etc.) may have belonged to Beth-horon; even if he belonged to Horonaim, he may have been one of its Arabian conquerors; and if a Moabite, merely an individual who survived the ruin of the state. In Dn 11^{41} Moab may be merely the country, or else combined with Edom and Ammon through the influence of older literature. Similar considerations may explain the occurrence of Moab in the late psalms (60^{8} 83^{6} 108^{9}), unless the lists of peoples in these psalms are fragments from older poems. The references to Moabites in Jth are entirely unhistorical, and due to a use of older literature.

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* If Bozrah is *Bosrah esh-Sham* in the Ḥauran, the territory of Moab had extended far to the N.E.; but cf. BOZRAH.

† Unless Jer 48^{2} 'In Heshbon they have devised evil against her,' *i.e.* Moab, is a deliberate modification of the ancient poem, connected with the insertion of Nu $21^{28f.}$; it seems better to read with Giesebrecht, 'Against Heshbon they have devised evil,' omitting עליה 'against her.'

‡ Cf. Jer $48^{43f.}$ with Is $24^{17f.}$.

See also arts. AMMON, EDOM, GAD, ISRAEL, JUDAH, REUBEN.

LITERATURE.—The Commentaries on passages referring to Moab, and the Histories of Israel on the relations of Israel to Moab; Wellhausen, art. MOAB in *Encycl. Brit.*^{9}; Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéol. Orient.* ii. 185–234.

For the Geography—Tristram, *Land of Moab*; Conder, *Heth and Moab*; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 517–573; Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* 319–334; Buhl, *GAP* 45–50; *Picturesque Pal.* ii. 193 ff.

For the Religion—W. R. Smith, *RS* 376, 460; Baethgen, *Beiträge z. Sem. Religionsgesch.* pp. 13 ff., 79, 89, 210, 238, 256–261.

On Moabite Stone, see above; also in Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam.* lxxxv ff.; and for other literature, in Ginsburg and Lidzbarski.

W. H. BENNETT.

MOADIAH.—See MAADIAH.

MOCHMUR (Μοχμούρ B, Μουχμούρ ℵ*; *Machur* Old Lat., *Peor* Syr.; A omits; Vulg. Jth 7^{10} omits LXX 7$^{17-19}$).—A wādy (χείμαῤῥος) on which CHUSI, near EKREBEL, was situated, apparently S.E. of Dothan (Jth 7^{18}).

MOCK, MOCKINGSTOCK.—The verb to mock is both trans. and intrans. Used transitively it has two distinct meanings: (1) To *ridicule*, as 1 K 18^{27} 'Elijah mocked them, and said, Cry aloud'; Job 12^{4} 'I am as one mocked of his neighbour' (RV 'one that is a laughing-stock to his neighbour'). (2) To *deceive, beguile*, Jg 16^{10} 'And Delilah said unto Samson, Behold, thou hast mocked me, and told me lies,' Job 13^{9} 'As one man mocketh another, do ye so mock him?' (RV 'as one deceiveth a man, will ye deceive him?'). So Shaks. *Rich. III.* IV. iv. 87—

> 'A mother only mocked with two sweet babes';

and *Macbeth*, I. vii. 81—

> 'Away, and mock the time with fairest show.'

The only meaning of the intrans. verb is to *ridicule*, as Job 21^{3} 'Suffer me that I may speak; and after that I have spoken, mock on' (from Gen. Bible; Cov. 'laugh my wordes to scorne'); Pr 1^{26} 'I will mock when your fear cometh'; Ac 17^{32} 'And when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked.' The phrase to 'mock at' occurs in Pr 30^{17}, La 1^{7}. Tindale has 'mock out,' *Expositions* 39, 'their sophistical glosses, feigned to mock out the law of God, and to beguile the whole world'; and 'mock with,' *Works*, i. 205, 'So shamefully doth the covetousness and ambition of our prelates mock with the law of God.'

Mock was once common as a subst.: thus in Matt. Bible, marg. note to Gn 3^{22} 'Here thys worde *lo* is taken as a mocke as it is in 1 K 18'; Joy, *Apologye to Tindale*, 14, 'This saith Tindale yroniously in a mok as though it were false that oure soulis as sone as we be dead shulde go to heven'; Shaks. *Henry V.* I. ii. 285—

> 'For many a thousand widows
> Shall this his mock mock out of their dear husbands;
> Mock mothers from their sons, mock castles down;
> And some are yet ungotten and unborn
> That shall have cause to curse the Dauphin's scorn.'

The only example in AV is Pr 14^{9} 'Fools make a mock at sin.' Cf. He 6^{6} Tind. 'For as moche as they have (as concerninge them selves) crucified the soune of God a fresshe, makynge a mocke of him.'

The subst. 'mocking' (=mod. 'mockery,' which also occurs) is found in Ezk 22^{4} 'Therefore have I made thee a reproach unto the heathen, and a mocking to all countries,' and He 11^{36} 'And others had trials of cruel mockings and scourgings.' Cf. Shaks. *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. ii. 59—

> 'We are wise girls to mock our lovers so.
> They are worse fools to purchase mocking so.'

Mockingstock is used in 2 Mac 7^{7} 'to make him a mocking stock' (ἐπὶ τὸν ἐμπαιγμόν, RV 'to the mocking'), and 7^{10} 'After him was the third made a mocking stock' (ἐνεπαίζετο). So Raleigh, *Hist. World*, V. v. 7, 'Philip . . . was taken by the consul; made a mocking stock; and sent away prisoner to Rome.'

J. HASTINGS.

MODERATION.—For moderation in eating and drinking, see TEMPERANCE. The word itself occurs but once in AV, Ph 4^{5} 'Let your moderation be known unto all men.' The Greek is τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ὑμῶν. This adj. ἐπιεικής occurs also in 1 Ti 3^{3}, Tit 3^{2}, Ja 3^{17}, 1 P 2^{18}; in the first passage AV gives 'patient,' RV 'gentle,' in the others both versions give 'gentle.' The neut. form (τὸ ἐπιεικές) does not occur again, but it is common in class. writers as equivalent to ἐπιείκεια. This subst. itself [WH ἐπιεικία] is found in Ac 24^{4} (AV and RV 'clemency'), and in 2 Co 10^{1} (AV and RV 'gentleness'). Both adj. and subst. occur in Apocr., chiefly of the 'gentleness' of God.

But 'gentleness' is not the exact idea. Both τὸ ἐπιεικές and ἐπιείκεια expressed in class. Greek the spirit that declines to exact its legal right. In *Eth.* v. 4 Aristotle points out that *justice* is one thing, *equity* (ἐπιείκεια) another, and in i. 13, 17 f. he gives a full description of ἐπιείκεια as that which looks to the spirit and not the letter, the intention and not the act, the whole and not the part, etc. This is in exact agreement with what is undoubtedly the derivation of the word, εἰκός 'reasonable,' 'becoming,' and the idea in Ph 4^{5} may be expressed in Matthew Arnold's phrase 'sweet reasonableness,' or in a single word 'considerateness.'

In the trans. of the word two mistakes have been made. On the one hand, there was a time when the word degenerated into the expression of respectable behaviour, and respectable behaviour is always the pursuit of a middle course, *in mediis tutissimus.* Hence Thuc. (i. 76) makes τὸ ἐπιεικές equivalent to τὸ μετριάζειν 'moderation.' This idea was seized by the AV translators at Ph 4^{5} (they seem to be alone in thus translating the word), and a modern translation (Ferrar Fenton, *The NT in Current English*) has 'good conduct.'* Cf. Lightfoot on Ph 4^{5}.

On the other hand, there has been an influence on the word (perhaps on the Gr. word itself, certainly on its trans.) of εἴκω to yield. Thus Moule, though he says (*Camb. Bible, in loc.*) that the connexion with τὸ εἰκός 'the equitable' is more probable, allows εἴκω a place, and in his *Philippian Studies*, p. 228, he translates by 'yieldingness,' explaining it to mean 'selflessness, the spirit which will yield in anything that is only of self, for Christ's sake.' This trans. is represented in Tindale's 'softenes' (followed by Cov., Cran., and Matt.), as well as by RVm 'gentleness'; Luther's *Lindigkeit* (followed by Weizsäcker) leans too much in this direction, and even the RV 'forbearance,' which is the favourite rendering since Lightfoot adopted it. 'Gentleness' and 'forbearance' are too passive. The 'considerateness' of the Bible, whether applied to God or man, is an active virtue. It is the spirit of the Messiah Himself, who will not break the bruised reed nor quench the smoking flax, and it is the spirit of every follower who realizes that 'the Lord is at hand.'

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* Perhaps this is also the idea contained in Vulg. *modestia*, if that word is used in its earliest classical sense of 'sobriety,' 'moderation.' But the Rhemish 'modesty' is a mistranslation (no more than a transliteration, perhaps), for 'modesty' was never used in English in this sense. Sir Thomas Elyot uses it so in *The Governour*, i. 267, but he explains that he is adopting the classical sense of the word: 'In every of these thinges and their semblable is Modestie; whiche worde not beinge knowen in the englisshe tonge, ne of al them which understode latin, except they had radde good autours, they improperly named this vertue discretion.' Wyclif did not adopt 'modesty,' but used 'temperaunce *or pacience*' (*var. lect.* 'tholmoundness').

J. HASTINGS.

MODERN VERSIONS.—See VERSIONS.

MODIN (Μωδεΐν or Μωδεεΐν; but also Μωδεείμ, 1 Mac 2^{23} etc., Jos. *Ant.* XII. vi. 1, etc., *Onomast.* Euseb.—rendered by Jerome, *Modeim*; Μωδαείμ, 1 Mac 16^{4}; Μωδιείμ, 2 Mac 13^{14}: Talmud מודיעים and מודיעית—Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 99).—This was the ancestral home of the Maccabæan family (1 Mac $2^{17.\ 70}$), and its interest is derived solely from its connexion with their illustrious history. Unable to endure the outrage upon Jewish faith and feeling perpetrated by Antiochus Epiphanes in Jerusalem, the priest Mattathias retired hither in B.C. 168. But the emissaries of the persecutor followed him; and at last, stung to action alike by the insulting orders of the king's officer and the shameful compliance of a renegade Israelite, he raised his hand on behalf of religion and fatherland. The blow he struck initiated that struggle for freedom which, under the leadership of his heroic sons, forms such a brilliant chapter in the closing history of his people (1 Mac $2^{1.\ 15.\ 23}$; Jos. *Ant.* XII. vi. 1, 2; *BJ* I. i. 3). When Mattathias died he was buried in Modin (1 Mac 2^{70}), and here also each of his sons, with their mother, was finally laid to rest (1 Mac 9^{19} 13^{25-30}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. xi. 2, XIII. vi. 6, etc.). Judas encamped by Modin the evening before his successful night-raid on the army of Antiochus Eupator (2 Mac 13^{14}); and here John and Judas, the sons of Simon, rested overnight before going forth to the defeat of Cendebæus (1 Mac 16^{4}).

Simon, the last of the five brethren, built at Modin a splendid sepulchral monument, to perpetuate the memory of his heroic family. 'It was a square structure, surrounded by colonnades of monolith pillars, of which the front and back were of white polished stone. Seven pyramids were erected by Simon on the summit for the father and mother and the four brothers who now lay there, with the seventh for himself when his time should come. On the faces of the monument were bas-reliefs, representing the accoutrements of sword and spear and shield, "for an eternal memorial" of their many battles. There were also the sculptures of "ships"—no doubt to record their interest in that long seaboard of the Philistine coast, which they were the first to use for their country's good. A monument at once so Jewish in idea, so Gentile in execution, was worthy of the combination of patriotic fervour and philosophic enlargement of soul which raised the Maccabæan heroes so high above their age' (Stanley, *Hist. of Jewish Ch.* iii. 318).

This famous structure continued in a state permitting recognition down to the 4th cent. of the Christian era (Williams, *Holy City*, i. 96), and so long there could be no question as to the site of Modin. Then all trace of the tomb seems to have been lost, and for many centuries the situation of the town was unknown. At different times the home of the Maccabees has been sought at *Latrûn*, at *Soba*, and even away to the S. of Anathoth. It is unnecessary to discuss the arguments in favour of these proposed identifications. The ancient Modin is certainly represented by the modern *el-Medyeh*, a village standing on the E. of *Wady Mulaki*, about 13 miles W. of Bethel, on one of the lower ridges by which the mountain range lets itself down towards Lydda. Struck by the resemblance between the ancient and modern names, and also by the name *Ḳabûr el-Yehûd*, 'Tombs of the Jews,' given to a remarkable series of tombs near by, the late Dr. Sandreczki, of Jerusalem, called attention to the place in 1869; and subsequent investigation has gone to confirm his suggestion. The identification has been opposed by le Camus (*Rev. Biblique*, i. 109 ff.) on insufficient grounds (cf. Buhl, *GAP* 198).

Modin was near the plain (1 Mac $16^{4.\ 5}$); the monument built by Simon was clearly visible from the sea (1 Mac 13^{29}); and we learn from Euseb. and Jerome, that Diospolis (Lydda) was not far distant. *El-Medyeh* itself is hidden from the sea by the slope of the hill; but immediately to the south a rocky eminence, *er-Ras*, with ancient remains, commands a view of the lower hills, the plain of Sharon, and the sea, while Lydda is seen at a distance of not over 6 miles, reposing among her fruitful olives. On the opposite side of the Wādy, about half a mile west of the village, there are several tombs, one, associated with the name *Sheikh el-Gharbâwi*, claiming special interest on account of its size and construction. At one time it was thought this might prove to be the tomb of the Maccabees; but later investigation revealed its Christian origin. To these tombs Conder gives the name *Ḳabûr el-Yehûd*. Of the ruins ¼ mile to the south, called by Sandreczki *Ḳabûr el-Yehûd*, he speaks as *Khirbet el-Medyeh*. Guérin says an old inhabitant of the village gave the name *Khirbet el-Medyeh* to the whole group of ruins. The tomb of the Maccabees is not yet identified. The place is about 16 miles from the coast. At this distance, to one looking from the sea, towards evening, with the sun behind him, such a monument would stand out with great distinctness, even if the details of the carving could not be plainly traced.

LITERATURE.—*PEF Mem.* iii. 341 ff.; Stanley, *History of Jewish Ch.* iii. 267, 318; G. A. Smith, *HGHL*¹ 212 n.; Conder, *Judas Maccabæus*, 84, 176; Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 209 f.; Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. 55 ff., 404 ff., *Galilée*, i. 46 ff.

W. EWING.

MOETH (Μωέθ).—1 Es 8^{63} = **Noadiah** of Ezr 8^{33}. See NOADIAH, No. 1.

MOLADAH (מוֹלָדָה).—A city in the south of Judah, Jos 15^{26} (B Μωλαδά, A Μωδαδά); reckoned to Simeon in 19^{2} (B Κωλαδάμ, A Μωλαδά) and 1 Ch 4^{28} (B Μωαλδά, A Μωλαδά); peopled after the Captivity by Judahites, Neh 11^{26} (BA om., ℵ$^{\text{c a mg}}$ Μωλαδά). In the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomast. s.v.* 'Arad') a place called *Malatha* is located 4 Roman miles from Arad (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 2). This site is clearly the present *Tell el-Milḥ*, 'hill of salt,' and is that of an early town, but the modern name has no connexion with the Heb. *Moladah*, the site of which is unknown (cf. Buhl, *GAP* 183, who rightly points out that instead of 4 Roman miles from Arad, as Eusebius states, *Tell el-Milḥ* and Arad are double that distance apart) in spite of the identification with *Tell el-Milḥ* which is adopted by Robinson (*BRP*² ii. 201), Guérin (*Judée*, iii. 184 ff.), and others.

C. R. CONDER.

MOLE.—Two words are tr^d in AV 'mole.' 1. תִּנְשֶׁמֶת *tinshemeth*. This occurs twice in the list of unclean creatures: (*a*) As the name of a *bird* (Lv 11^{18} LXX πορφυρίων, AV 'swan,' RV 'horned owl,' m. 'swan'; Dt 14^{16} LXX ἶβις, AV 'swan,' RV 'horned owl.' See SWAN, OWL). (*b*) As the name of a 'creeping thing' at the end of a list of lizards (Lv 11^{30} LXX ἀσπάλαξ, Vulg. *talpa*, AV 'mole,' RV 'chameleon'). The authority of the LXX and Vulg. favours the rendering 'mole.' No true mole exists now in Palestine. The word ἀσπάλαξ probably refers to the mole-rat *Spalax typhlus*, Pall., a rodent, the appearance and habits of which closely resemble those of the genuine mole. It is about the size and shape of a common brown rat, but with much shorter legs. The forelegs are adapted for digging. The head is flattened from above downwards, with a wedge-shaped snout, which acts as a shovel in perforating the soil, and raising the hillocks which occur every few feet along the burrow. The fur is greyish-brown. The eyes are hardly to be made out at all, being quite rudimentary. The animal is nocturnal in its habits, and seldom seen above the surface. It is called by the Arabs *khuld*, plainly the cognate of *ḥôled*, which EV tr. 'weasel.' See CHAMELEON, WEASEL; and Dillmann on Lv 11^{30}.

2. חֲפֹר פֵּרוֹת *ḥăphôr pêrôth* (to be read חֲפַרְפָּרוֹת *ḥăpharpārôth*, see Dillm. *ad loc.*), *τὰ μάταια*, *talpæ*. This expression is tr^{d} in EV (Is 2^{20}) 'moles.' The LXX *τὰ μάταια*='the vain things,' sheds no light on the meaning. But the root *ḥâphar*= Arab. *ḥafar*, 'to dig *or* burrow,' and *pārôth* recalls Arab. *fâr*, generic for 'rats' and 'mice.' The compound name may be that of some *digging* or *burrowing* animal. There is a large number of such creatures in the Holy Land, of which we note: fam. *Muridæ*, the rats and mice, including numerous species of *Acomys*, the Porcupine mouse; *Mus*, the true rats and mice, of which there are a considerable number; *Cricetus*, the hamster; *Gerbillus* and *Psammomys*, the sand rats; *Spalacidæ*, the mole rats; *Dipopidæ*, the jerboas; *Myrcidæ*, the dormice, etc. It is most probable that the Heb. *ḥăpharpārôth* is generic for all such animals as burrow in waste places, as 'bats,' in the same passage, is generic for the well-known winged tribe of dwellers in caves and ruins.

G. E. POST.

MOLECH, MOLOCH (הַמֹּלֶךְ *ham-Molech*, always with the article except in 1 K 11^{7}, Μολόχ, Vulg. *Moloch*).—The Heb. pointing does not represent the original pronunciation, but is intended to suggest *bōsheth*, 'shame'; just as *-baal* in Ishbaal and Meribaal was changed to *-bosheth* in Ishbosheth and Mephibosheth. Originally the word was simply *ham*-**Melech**, 'the king.' We find also the forms **Milcom** (מִלְכֹּם), **Malcam** (מַלְכָּם, Ἀμελχόμ, *μελχόμ*, *μολχόμ*, *μελχόλ*, *μολχόλ*, *Melcom*), and **Malcan**; see below.

i. *Table of the occurrences of Melech, etc., as divine names.*—(*a*) Cases in which MT uses the pointing *Molech* to show that it regards *Melech* as the name of a false god. Lv 18^{21} $20^{2.\,3.\,4.\,5}$ *ἄρχων*; 1 K 11^{7} A *μελχό*, B *βασιλεύς*, Luc. *μελχόμ*; 2 K 23^{10}, Luc. *μελχόμ*; Jer 32^{35} *τῷ Μολὸχ βασιλεῖ*.

(*b*) Cases in which *Melech* is pointed as a common noun 'king' by MT, but is regarded as a divine name by other authorities. Is 30^{33} EV 'the king,' with LXX and Vulg.; Is 57^{9} EV 'the king,' with Vulg.; LXX has entirely different reading. In both, Cheyne, Duhm, Siegfried-Stade (*Lex.*) have *Melech*. In Am 7^{13} EV 'the king's sanctuary,' so LXX and Vulg., it has been suggested that 'king' should be *Melech*, but this is improbable.

(*c*) Cases where MT points MLKM as the divine name, *Milcom*: 1 K $11^{5.\,33}$, *τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν*; 2 K 23^{13} A *ἀμελχόμ*, B *μολχόλ*.

(*d*) Cases where MT points MLKM as *Malcam*, 'their king'; but other authorities regard it as the divine name, *Milcom*: 2 S 12^{30} (=1 Ch 20^{2}) AV, RV 'their king,' so Vulg.; RVm *Malcam*, *i.e. Milcom*, so LXX; 1 Ch 20^{2} AV, RV 'their king,' RVm *Malcam*, so LXX and Vulg.; Jer $49^{1.\,3}$ (cf. Am 1^{15}) AV, RVm 'their king,' so Targ.; AVm *Melcom*, RV *Malcam*, so LXX *μελχόλ*, and Vulg.; Am 1^{15} (cf. Jer $49^{1.\,3}$) EV 'their king' with LXX; but Aq., Symm., Vulg., and Syr. *Melchom*, etc.; Am 5^{26} RV 'your king,' so Symm. and Theod.; AV 'your Moloch,' with LXX *τοῦ Μολόχ*; Aq. and Syr. *Malchom*; cf. SICCUTH; Zeph 1^{5} AV, RV *Malc(h)am*, so LXX MSS *ap.* Field, *μολόχ*, *μελχόμ*, Vulg. RVm 'their king,' LXX B, etc.

(*e*) **Malcan,** in 2 S 12^{31}, the reading of the Kethîbh, מלכן MLKN, was probably intended to mean 'he passed them through the fire to Melech'; but the reading מַלְבֵּן *malbēn*, 'brick-kiln,' of the *Ḳerê*, *i.e.* as RVm 'made them labour at the brick-kiln,' is probably correct; so Budde, H. P. Smith, LXX *πλινθεῖον*, Vulg. *typo laterum.*

ii. *Relation of the forms Melech, Milcom, etc., to one another.*—Baethgen (*Beiträge*, p. 15) maintains that though Milcom was originally only a dialectic variety of Molech, yet Molech and Milcom were regarded as two distinct deities, and supports his contention by the statement in 2 K $23^{10.\,13}$ that, at Topheth in the valley of the Bĕnê Hinnom, children were passed through the fire to *Molech*, while, opposite Jerusalem 'on the right hand of the mount of corruption,' the Mount of Olives, there was a high-place for *Milcom.* The argument implies that vv.$^{10.\,13}$ belong to the same source: thus Kamphausen (Kautzsch's *AT*) refers both to the Deuteronomic author of the pre-exilic Book of Kings. Benzinger (*Könige*), however, refers them to different sources, and regards *Melech* (MT *Molech*) in 10 as a title of J″ (cf. below). *Melech* and *Milcom* were originally variants of the name of the same deity, they are both applied to the god of Ammon; cf. 1 K 11^{7} (*Melech* here may be a mistake), 2 K 23^{13}; but at different sanctuaries and among different peoples, one or other name may have been specially used, with the natural result that the *Melech* of one sanctuary or one people would be popularly distinguished from the *Milcom* of another. *Malc(h)am* and *Malc(h)an* (if read) are only mistaken pointings of *Milcom.* The deity as worshipped by different peoples would be differentiated through various causes; the sense of the special bond between the national god and the nation would encourage the view that this national god was not the same as any deity worshipped elsewhere; this view would be supported by dialectic differences between the forms of the name, *e.g.* the Phœnician *Milk* and the Ammonite *Milcom*, and by such expansions of the name as the Phœnician *Melḳart* (=מלך קרת *Milk* of the City) and the Palmyrene *Malachbel*; cf. below.

The references to *Milcom* (1 K $11^{5.\,33}$, 2 K 23^{13}; cf. Am 1^{15} above) and *Molech* (1 K 11^{7}) as the 'abomination' or 'god' of the Ammonites, show that *Milcom* or *Molech* was the national god of Ammon, and stood to Ammon in the same special henotheistic relation in which Chemosh stood to Moab, and J″ to Israel. The analogy suggests that in practice such a relation by no means excluded the worship of other gods. But the *El* in the name *Pudu-ilu*, king of Ammon, on Sennacherib's 'Taylor Prism' inscription, is merely a general term for 'god,' equivalent to *Milcom*; and the same may be true of the *baal* in *Baalis*, king of Ammon, Jer 40^{14}. Baethgen, indeed (*Beiträge*, p. 16), suggests that *Baalis* is a compound of *Baal* and *Isis*, either as a double name asserting the identity of the two, or with the meaning 'Spouse of Isis,' *Isisgemahl.* But Grätz explains *Baalis* as בֶּן־עֲלִים 'son of delight' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*). The reading בעלים *Baalim*, of some MSS, and of Jos. (*Ant.* X. ix. 2), is clearly a mistake. No details of the worship of Milcom are given; Jer 49^{3} 'his priests and his princes' implies that the priesthood was numerous and important. In 2 S 12^{30} the reference to Milcom's crown weighing a talent implies the existence at Rabbah of a great statue of Milcom from which the crown was taken. Perhaps the 'Chemarim' or priests of Zeph 1^{4} were priests of Molech (cf. CHEMARIM). None of the passages which speak of child-sacrifice connect it either with Milcom or the Ammonites, and we do not know how far the Ammonite worship of Milcom resembled the Phœnician worship of Melech.

iii. The worship of Moloch (*Melech*) in Israel and the relation of Moloch to J″ raise difficult questions: the following facts are clear:—

(*a*) There was a high-place for Milcom, the god of Ammon, on the Mount of Olives, 1 K 11[5. 33], 2 K 23[13], the erection of which was ascribed to Solomon; 11[5. 33] are regarded as Deuteronomic, but may embody an authentic tradition.

(*b*) 'Passing children through the fire to ham-Melech' is forbidden in Lv 18[21] 20[2. 3. 4. 5], Dt 18[10] (Melech not named). 2 K 16[3] states that Ahaz 'made his son to pass through the fire,' so 21[6] of Manasseh.

The Deuteronomic author of 2 K 17[17] states that the Israelites of the Northern Kingdom passed their children through the fire. From 2 K 23[10], Jer 7[30-32] 19[1-13] we learn that such sacrifices were offered at Topheth (wh. see), in the valley of Ben Hinnom, outside Jerusalem; cf. Ps 106[37. 38], Ezk 16[20. 21] 23[37-39]. Similarly, the account of the proposed sacrifice of Isaac points to the existence of a practice of offering firstborn sons to J″, which practice was forbidden by the prophetic revelation; cf. Ex 22[29] E, and Jephthah's vow, Jg 11[31]. This view might imply either that J″ and Melech were originally one, and afterwards differentiated by prophetic teaching; or that two distinct deities, J″ and Melech, were popularly identified. It can scarcely be that *Melech* was used as a mere title of J″ in connexion with child-sacrifice, without any reference to the Phœnician Melech.

(*c*) From Jer 19[5], where the children sacrificed at Topheth are said to be offered to *Baal*, it appears that the deity thus worshipped was known both as *Baal* and *Melech*.

(*d*) In Is 6[5] J″ Zebaoth is described as *ham-Melech*, 'the king,' and is frequently spoken of as the 'king of Israel,' Is 44[6], cf. Jer 8[19] 'her king,' Mic 2[13] 'their king.' Further, the occurrence of such names as *Malchiram* 1 Ch 3[18], *Malchishua* 1 S 14[49], *Ebed-melech* Jer 39[16], *Nathan-melech* 2 K 23[11], *Regem-melech* Zec 7[2], point to the use of *Melech* as a divine name. Ebed-melech, however, was an Ethiopian; Nathan-melech, a eunuch, and therefore probably a foreigner; and Regem-melech was a Babylonian Jew.

These facts are variously explained. (1) Melech and Milcom are regarded as absolutely identical, and the child-sacrifices to Melech as part of the worship of Milcom borrowed from the Ammonites. But Melech is probably to be distinguished from Milcom, cf. above; and in 2 K 16[3] the practice of child-sacrifice is not said to have been borrowed from the Ammonites, but from the Canaanites, cf. Dt 12[31].

(2) The worship of Melech by child-sacrifice was borrowed from the Canaanites, and was distinct from the worship of Milcom. This would be supported by 2 K 16[3] and by the identification of *Baal* and *Melech* in Jer 19[5]. Probably the Tyrian Baal, whose worship Jezebel introduced into the Northern Kingdom, was Melech or Melḳarth.

(3) Whichever of the two previous views be accepted, the Melech in question was quite distinct from J″. The use of *Melech* as a title or even name of J″ no more identified Him with the Phœnician *Melech*, than the use of the title or name *Baal* identified J″ with the Tyrian *Baal*. As Schultz says (*OT Theol.*, Eng. tr. i. 233 n.), 'In the oldest sources of the Semitic religion, the god who became J″ for the Israelites may not have been different from the one who became Moloch for the Canaanites. But, since the time when Israel and the Hamites separated, there was at any rate no kinship between J″ and Moloch, not to speak of identity.'

(4) The Melech to whom child-sacrifices were offered was simply J″ under another name (Benzinger on 2 K 23[10]; Smend, *AT Theol.* 271). When J″ says, Jer 19[5], of the child-sacrifices to Baal, 'which I commanded not, nor spake it, neither came it into my mind,' the statement seems to imply that those who offered these sacrifices thought that they were obeying a command of J″, cf. Ezk 23[37-39].

iv. *Range of Worship.*—Melech is found as a divine name, not only in Ammon and Israel, but in all Semitic peoples of whose religion we have any considerable knowledge. The Assyrians and Babylonians had a god *Malik*; the Sepharvites had *Adram-melech* and *Anam-melech*, 2 K 17[31]. The Phœnicians worshipped *Melḳarth* = *Melech Ḳiriath*, 'king of the city,' at Tyre, Carthage, etc. The Palmyrenes worshipped *Malach-bel* (Baudissin, *Studien*, p. 193 ff.).

It is generally stated that the Moabite *Chemosh* was a form of *Melech* (Baethgen, *Beiträge*, p. 238; Movers, *Phön.* p. 333 f.). This seems probable on general grounds, on account of the wide extent of the worship of Melech amongst the Semites, and the connexion of Baal and possibly J″ with Melech; and the intimate racial and political relation of Moab and Ammon. But the express testimony is hardly conclusive. In Jg 11[24] Chemosh is spoken of as the god of the Ammonites, in a passage often ascribed (Budde, Moore) to R^{JE}, who should have been well informed on the subject. But the whole passage hopelessly confuses Ammon and Moab; the reference to Chemosh may be a slip; or the passage may originally have referred to Moab and have been very imperfectly adapted to its present context; or it may be late post-exilic. *Melech* in l. 23 of the Moabite Stone is treated as a divine name, 'Moloch,' by Neubauer and Sayce (*HCM* 367, 373), but is more probably to be translated 'king' with Smend and Socin.

On Sennacherib's 'Taylor Prism' an Edomite king *Malik-rammu* is mentioned, in which *Malik* is doubtless a divine name, showing that Melech was worshipped in Edom.

This widespread worship of *Melech* is regarded as an inheritance of the separated Semitic peoples from the primitive stock; but it can scarcely be assumed that his attributes and worship were the same amongst all the different races. Indeed, as in the case of the Ammonite Milcom and the Phœnician Molech or Melḳarth, different peoples considered that they were worshipping different gods. Amongst the Greeks and Romans 'king' or 'the king' is not a divine name (Baethgen, *Beiträge*, p. 263), though an occasional title of various gods.

v. *Attributes.*—Melech, like *Baal*, *Adon*, *Marna*, implies the recognition of the sovereignty of the god over his people. The offerings by fire, the identity with Baal, and the fact that in Assyria and Babylonia *Malik*, and at Palmyra *Malach-bel*, were sun-gods, suggest that *Melech* was a fire- or sun-god (Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia*, p. 176 f.).

Melḳarth at Tyre was identified with Hercules, at Carthage with Saturn. Such names as *Milk-baal*, *Milk-Astart*, *Milk-Osir*, suggest identification with *Baal* (as shown otherwise), *Astarte*, *Osiris*. As in the case of Baal and other Semitic deities, *Melech* had a feminine counterpart *Milkat*, cf. *Milcah*, Gn 11[29].

vi. *Worship.*—Melech was doubtless worshipped in a similar fashion to other Semitic gods. The feature which seems peculiar is the practice of sacrificing children as burnt-offerings, which is found amongst the Israelites, Phœnicians, and

Sepharvites, 2 K 17^{31}; cf. Mesha's offering of his firstborn to Chemosh.

The theory of some Rabbis, that 'passing through the fire' meant merely a ceremonial purification by walking between two fires, is contrary to all the evidence. But the case of Isaac (Gn 22^{10}) seems to show that in Israel the child was slain before the fire was kindled. Diodorus Siculus (xx. 14) describes child-sacrifices at Carthage, at which the victim was placed on the hands of a colossal image, from which it rolled off into a pit of fire. Kimchi's description (on 2 K 23^{10}) of the hollow brazen image of Molech within a sevenfold temple outside Jerusalem, and of the placing of the victim in the hands of Molech, is a mere mediæval conjecture based on Diodorus or on some other record of the Carthaginian sacrifices.

The object of these offerings was probably to propitiate the deity, or show devotion to him, by the gift of the most precious possession. Movers (*Phön.* 328–330), however, holds that the children offered were supposed to be purified from all fleshly corruption and to attain union with the deity.

In the NT, Molech is mentioned only in St. Stephen's quotation, Ac 7^{43}; cf. Am 5^{26}.

See also articles AMMON, BAAL, CHEMOSH, MALCAM.

LITERATURE.—Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Sem. Rel.* pp. 11, 15, 20, 22, 37 ff., 84, 234–238, 254, 263; Baudissin, *Studien zur Sem. Rel.* i. pp. 5, 29–36, ii. 152–215, 246, 'J″ et Moloch'; Dillmann, *AT Theol.* pp. 49, 56, 85, 98, 120, 161; Buchanan Gray, *Studies in Heb. Proper Names*, p. 146 ff.; Kuenen, 'J″ en Moloch,' *Theol. Tijd.* 1868, 539 ff.; Movers, *Die Phönizier*, 1841–56, pp. 322–414; Schultz, *OT Theol.*, Eng. tr. i. 233 f.

W. H. BENNETT.

MOLID (מוֹלִיד).—The name of a Judahite family, 1 Ch 2^{29} (B Μωήλ, A Μωδάδ). Kittel (in *SBOT*) points out that the reading of B, namely ΜΩΗΛ, has originated from ΜΩΗΔ (Λ and Δ being often confused), and that Μωήδ, *i.e.* מוֹלִיד=מוֹעֵיד, the two letters ע and ל being similar in the oldest script.

MOLLIFY (from *mollis* 'soft') is used literally 'to soften,' in Is 1^{6} 'mollified with ointment,' and Wis 16^{12} 'mollifying plaister' (μάλαγμα). Cf. Purchas, *Pilgrimage*, 213, 'When they have killed a great beast, they cut out all the veines and sinewes . . . and likewise all the Suet: which done, they dive them in water to mollifie them.' The figurative use seems to be quite as old, and was common about 1611, though not found in AV. Thus Tymme, *Calvin upon Genesis*, p. 605 (on ch. 28), 'It may be, that he was thus sent away, that the cruell mind of Esau, by so miserable a sight might be mollified and aswaged' (Lat. *ad mollitiem flecteretur*). So Tindale, *Prol. to 1 Jn*, 'The lusts of the flesh are subdued and killed, and the spirit mollified and made soft.' Cf. Knox, *Works*, iii. 93, 'O! hard ar the hartis whome so manyfold, most sueit, and sure promissis doith not molefie.' And in the Preface to Rhem. NT, 'Moreover, we presume not in hard places to mollifie the speaches or phrases, but religiously keepe them word for word, and point for point, for feare of missing or restraining the sense of the holy Ghost to our phantasie.'

J. HASTINGS.

MOLOCH.—See MOLECH.

MOLTEN SEA.—See TEMPLE.

MOMDIS (A Μομδείς, B Μομδεῖος), 1 Es 9^{34} = MAADAI, Ezr 10^{34}.

MONEY.—The nature and origins of money, the importance and principles of the science of Numismatics and kindred topics—for which the student is referred to the authoritative writings of Jevons, Walker, Ridgeway, Babelon (*Les origines de la monnaie*, 1897), Lenormant (*La monnaie dans l'antiquité*, 2nd ed. 1897), Poole (art. 'Numismatics' in *Encycl. Brit.*^{9}), and others—fall without the scope of an article on the money in circulation among the Hebrews in the various periods of their national life. This more limited, but still sufficiently extensive, section of ancient numismatics we propose to study under the following heads:—

A. UNCOINED MONEY BEFORE THE EXILE.

1. Money in Palestine before the Conquest. The principal weight-standards of antiquity.
2. Hebrew money from the Conquest to the Exile. Sterling value of the Shekel.

B. COINED MONEY FROM THE EXILE TO THE REIGN OF NERO.

3. The Coinage of Darius and his successors. The 'Shekel of the Sanctuary.' Coins of the Phœnician cities.
4. The Coinage of the Ptolemies and Seleucids, and of the autonomous cities of Phœnicia, to the death of Simon Maccabæus.
5. The first Jewish Coinage (copper) under John Hyrcanus. The question of the so-called Maccabæan shekels. Bronze (copper) Coins of the Hasmonæan princes.
6. Coins of the Idumæan princes.
7. The Roman Imperial Coinage, including the Coins of the Procurators.
8. Coins of preceding §§ mentioned in the NT.

C. THE COINS OF THE REVOLTS.

9. The Coinage of the First Revolt (A.D. 66–70).
10. The Coinage of the Second Revolt (A.D. 132–135).
11. Appendix. The purchasing power of money in Bible times.

Literature.

A. UNCOINED MONEY FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE EXILE.

§ 1. *Money in Palestine before the Conquest. The principal weight-standards of antiquity.*—The oldest traditions of the Hebrews, as these have come down to us, do not reach back to the time when trade was still carried on by the primitive system of barter. Already in the patriarchal age the existence of a metallic currency is assumed (cf. Gn 17^{13} 'he that is bought with thy money,' כַּסְפֶּךָ, *lit.* 'thy silver,' and 23$^{13\text{ff.}}$ cited below); and rightly so, for, as we now know, the land of Canaan was even at this early period far advanced in the arts of civilization, including the use of the precious metals as media of exchange. For the century immediately preceding the Hebrew conquest we have the contemporary evidence of the Tel el-Amarna letters, which show not only that gold and silver were in daily use as money, that is, as media in terms of which all other merchandise was valued, but also that already the 'narrowing lust of gold' had asserted its empire over men (see Hugo Winckler's or other rendering, *passim*). The value, in other words, the purchasing power of these metals, was determined by their weight—a fact which renders some acquaintance with the metrology of the ancients an indispensable preliminary to the study of their money. Fortunately, the question of the origin and interrelation of the weight-standards of antiquity—one of the most complicated in the whole range of Oriental archæology—will be discussed in the article WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. It will suffice, therefore, in this place to sketch in the barest outline the results of the most recent metrological research, taking as our guide the elaborate treatise of the veteran metrologist, Friedrich Hultsch, *Die Gewichte des Alterthums nach ihrem Zusammenhange dargestellt* (Leipzig, 1898; cf. C. F. Lehmann, *Sitzungsberichte der archäolog. Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, 1888, and esp. the same scholar's *Das altbabylonische Maas- und Gewichtssystem*, Leyden, 1893; also G. F. Hill, *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, 1899, p. 26 ff.).

Proceeding from the simpler to the more complex, we begin with the weight-system of *Egypt*, a system characterized by extreme simplicity. Two weights only were in use from very early times—the **ket** (also transliterated kat, kitě, qedt, etc.), of 140 grains, and its multiple the **deben** (also transliterated uten, tabnu, etc.), equal to ten ket, or a little over 1400 grains (Hultsch, 1403·5 grs.). The Rhind mathematical papyrus, which dates from the Hyksos period, contains, according to an excellent authority, the earliest reference in Egyptian literature to the metals as standards of value. 'It is not known,' says Mr. Griffith in his important essay, 'Notes on Egyptian Weights and Measures,' in *PSBA* xiv. p. 436 ff., 'how far back into antiquity true money, *i.e.* pieces of definite weight and value, can be traced. About the time of the 18th Dynasty we know that the precious metals were kept in dust, in ingots, and in ornamental forms, but more especially in *rings*, and it is almost certain that the important weight-name *uten* has the root-meaning of a ring or coiled wire. It is well known not only that the metals were bought and sold by weight, but further, that goods of all kinds might be valued at a certain weight of metal in order to be exchanged against each other.' One of the most frequently reproduced of contemporary illustrations of the daily life of the Egyptians is the weigher with his balance[*] and scales, the stone weights of various animal forms (ox, or ox-head only, gazelle, etc.) in the one scale balancing in the other the rings of precious metal, which appear to have had 'a uniform diameter of about 5 inches' (Erman, *Egypt*, 464).

The Egyptian temple inscriptions contain numerous lists of the amount of tribute paid to successive Pharaohs by the kings and peoples of Syria, the best known being that inscribed on the walls of the great temple of Amon at Karnak by order of Thothmes III. (frequently published; see histories of Brugsch, Petrie, etc., under Thothmes). From the mass of detail in this list three typical entries may be selected as having an important bearing on the topic of this section. (1) The tribute of Naharina in Thothmes' thirty-third year (B.C. 1471 acc. to Mahler's chronology) consisted, *inter alia*, of 45 deben 1 ket of gold; (2) that of 'the great Khita,' or Hittites, comprised among other items 8 silver rings weighing 301 deben; (3) in the thirty-fourth year 'the tribute of the princes of the land of Retennu,' or Palestine, shows, *inter alia*, 55 deben 8 ket of gold. From these and similar fractional weights ($45\frac{1}{10}$ deben, $55\frac{4}{5}$ deben, and, since we know that the gold and silver rings were accurately adjusted to definite weights, the curious number 301 deben) metrologists have long suspected that the tribute here specified had been re-weighed before being entered as above by the Egyptian recorder, *its original weight having been in terms of another system and in whole numbers* (J. Brandis, *Das Münz-, Maas-, und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien*, 1866, p. 91 ff.; Fr. Hultsch, *Griechische und römische Metrologie*, zweite Bearbeitung, 1882, 374 ff. [this work to be often cited in the sequel as Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2}]; id. *Gewichte des Alterthums*, 1898, 25 ff.). This second weight-system in use in Syria and Palestine in the 15th cent. B.C., it was inferred, could only be that known as the *Babylonian* system. This inference was raised to a certainty by the discovery of the Tel el-Amarna clay tablets, which conclusively proved the exclusive use of the Babylonian weights by all the peoples of Mesopotamia and Syria at the date in question.[†] Here we find not only the sovereigns of Babylonia, such as Kallimasin (see Winckler's *Tel-el-Amarna Tablets*, $2^{15.\ 21}$ $5^{24.\ 27.\ 32}$) and Burnaburyash ($7^{11.\ 14}$), reckoning their gold and silver by **shekels, minas,** and **talents,** but also the kings of the West, such as Dushratta of Mitanni ($17^{50.\ 51.\ 61}$) and the king of Alashia, which is Cyprus (25^{10} 26^{9} 27^{18} 33^{6}—in three cases the metal is *copper*), employing the same system.[*]

This system, which is based on the **mina,** with its subdivision ($\frac{1}{60}$th) the **shekel** and its multiple the **talent** (60 minas), was in use in Babylonia from time immemorial. From the evidence of inscribed stone-weights dating from the reigns of Gudea and Dungi, *i.e.* from the first half of the third millennium B.C., Dr. C. F. Lehmann has recently proved in numerous essays (see esp. *Das altbabylonische Maas- und Gewichtssystem*, 1893) that what may be called *the common trade mina* was a weight averaging 491·2 grammes = *circa* 7580 grains. The sixtieth part of this trade mina was the shekel of *c.* 126 grains,[†] while the talent consisted, as above indicated, of 60 minas, or 3600 shekels. The temple accounts from Tello further show that about B.C. 2000 the shekel was subdivided into 180 *shé* (G. Reissner, 'Altbabylonische Masse u. Gewichte,' in the *Sitzungsb. d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissensch.* 1896, pp. 417–426). Side by side with the above series of trade weights was a parallel series of the same denominations, but of double the weight. The latter are known as the **heavy** shekel (252 grains), mina, and talent respectively, to distinguish them from the **light** shekel (126 grs.), mina, and talent first mentioned. All these were employed for the weighing of ordinary merchandise. For weighing the precious metals, on the other hand, important alterations were made in the scale. Thus, for gold, the shekel of 126 (and 252) grains[‡] was retained, but a new mina of 50, instead of 60, shekels was created, the talent of gold, however, still comprising 60 of these new minas of *c.* 6320 (12,640) grains, and therefore 3000 shekels, as compared with the trade talent of 3600 shekels. For silver, as money, the weights were on a different scale, being to the weights for gold just enumerated in the ratio of 4 : 3; in other words, the light Babylonian silver shekel = 168 grains, the mina of 50 shekels = 8400 grs., and the talent = 60 minas (with, as before, their respective *heavy* denominations of double these weights). It has been customary since Brandis (see *op. cit.*) to account for this double scale for the precious metals by the long-prevailing ratio of gold to silver in early times, viz. 40 : 3, which means that an ingot of gold was worth 13⅓ times its weight in silver. The extreme awkwardness of this proportion for everyday transactions, if the metals were to be weighed on one and the same standard, scarcely needs to be pointed out. Hence, in order that a given weight of gold might be exchangeable for a whole (not a fractional) number of bars or wedges of silver, the weight of the silver shekel (mina, talent) was raised till it stood to that of the gold shekel in the proportion of 4 : 3. The practical result of this alteration was that a given weight of gold was always equivalent to *ten times the same weight of silver* (1 gold shekel = 10 silver shekels, 2 minas of gold = 20 minas of silver, etc.).[§]

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[*] For the construction of the Egyptian balance, see Flinders Petrie, *A Season in Egypt*, p. 42, and pl. xx.; also art. BALANCE in this Dictionary, by the same authority.

[†] The importance of this testimony was first noted by C. F. Lehmann, 'Aus dem Funde von Tel-el-Amarna' in the *Zeitsch. f. Assyriologie*, iii. 391–393.

[*] The statement $8^{19ff.}$ is noteworthy. Burnaburyash complains that the king of Egypt had sent him nominally 20 minas of gold, but, when tested, this quantity had shrunk to 5 minas of fine gold!

[†] Throughout this article fractions have been avoided, except where special accuracy seemed to be required.

[‡] The reader is reminded that an ounce troy weight contains 480 grains; the light Babylonian gold shekel, therefore, is slightly over ¼ oz. troy, and *only three grains heavier than an English sovereign* (see Table, below).

[§] The equation of the two metals may be stated more explicitly thus: 1 gold shekel of 126 grs. = 126 × 13⅓, or 1680 grs.

This extremely convenient ratio between the respective denominations was not, however, universally adopted in the East. The great mercantile cities of the Phœnician coast when, at a later period, they began to strike coins, employed a heavy silver shekel of *circa* 224 grains—hence universally known as the **Phœnician shekel**—with its companion light shekel of 112 grains. This shekel was one of the most widely spread of all the weights of antiquity, being found not only throughout Syria, but in Western Asia Minor, and even in Greece (for further details and discussion as to origin, etc., see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES). It stands, as a glance will show, to the heavy Babylonian silver shekel in the proportion of 2 : 3;* consequently with gold to silver in the ratio of 13⅓ : 1, the gold shekel of 252 (126) grains is equivalent to *fifteen* Phœnician silver shekels of 224 (112) grains, since 252 × 13⅓ = 224 × 15. On the Phœnician silver standard, as on the Babylonian, 50 shekels went to the mina, and 60 minas to the talent.

In addition to all the above weights on the **common standard**, we find still another parallel series on the so-called **royal standard**—the origin of which can only be conjectured,—the latter being simply the common weights raised by a certain percentage. Thus the gold shekel on the royal standard weighs 130 (and 260) in place of 126 (and 252) grains. The first of these weights, the light royal shekel of 130 grains, plays an important part in the subsequent history of the gold coinage of Western Asia (see below, § 3).†

The Babylono-Phœnician weight-system, as outlined above, clearly stands in an intimate relation to the Egyptian. Happily, the long-standing feud between Assyriologists and Egyptologists as to the relative antiquity of the two systems does not here concern us, but the fact remains that the Babylonian gold shekel of 126 grains is exactly 9/10ths, the Babylonian silver shekel of 168 grains 6/5ths, and the Phœnician silver shekel of 224 grs. 8/5ths of the Egyptian weight-unit, the ket of 140 grains—results which cannot be the 'accident of an accident.'

§ 2. *Hebrew money from the Conquest to the Exile. Sterling value of the shekel.*—The evidence of the tribute-lists of Thothmes III. and other Egyptian monarchs, confirmed by the more explicit data of the Tel el-Amarna letters, may now be taken as proving beyond a doubt that, in taking possession of the land of Canaan, the Hebrews settled among a people long accustomed to the use of gold and silver as the recognized media of exchange, and to the use of the balance for estimating the amount of each metal to be given or received. We have not yet been fortunate enough to recover inscribed Canaanite weights of this early period, so that one is compelled to admit at the outset that we have no *direct* witness to the weight of the ancient Hebrew shekel.‡ Still the facts adduced in the foregoing section regarding the wide diffusion, in space and time, of the Babylono-Phœnician weight-system, afford at least a strong presumption in favour of our accepting it as the system by which money was reckoned in Old Testament times. This presumption is confirmed by the following testimonies of the historian Josephus. In the fourteenth book of his *Antiquities* he informs us that Crassus robbed the temple of a beam of solid gold 300 minas in weight, and adds the following important sentence: '*ἡ δὲ μνᾶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἰσχύει λίτρας δύο ἥμισυ*' (XIV. vii. 1, ed. Niese, § 106). The Hebrew gold mina, therefore, was equal in weight to 2½ Roman pounds, or 12,630 grains (taking the *libra* [λίτρα] according to the best authorities at 5053 grains = 327·45 grammes, see Hultsch, *Metrol.*² 159–161), which gives 50 shekels of 252·6 grains, the exact weight of the heavy Babylonian shekel (§ 1). In another passage of the same work, Josephus informs us that the Hebrew silver shekel is equivalent to 'four Attic drachms' (*Ἀττικὰς δέχεται δραχμὰς τέσσαρας*, *Ant.* III. viii. 10, N. § 194), by which is meant, as will be shown in the sequel (§ 7), four Roman denarii of 55–56 grains each. This is in complete agreement with the weights of the best specimens of the extant silver shekels, which weigh 218–220 grains, as near an approximation as ancient silver coins in general show to the theoretical standard (in this case 224 grs.).* These conclusions are summed up in the following table, which gives the scale by which it is assumed, throughout this article, that gold and silver were weighed from the conquest of Canaan to the extinction of Jewish nationality, the weight of the shekel being given to the nearest large fraction:—

GOLD STANDARD.

	HEAVY.	LIGHT.
Shekel . . .	252⅗ grs. troy 1	126⅓ grs.
Mina = 50 shekels	12,630 ,, ,,	6,315 ,,
Talent = 3000 ,,	758,000 2 ,, ,,	379,000 ,,

SILVER STANDARD.

	HEAVY.	LIGHT.
Shekel . . .	224½ grs. troy 3	112¼ grs.
Mina = 50 shekels	11,225 4 ,, ,,	5,660 ,,
Talent = 3000 ,,	673,500 5 ,, ,,	336,750 ,,

Notes.

1. The standard weight of the English sovereign (20 shillings) is 123·274 grains troy. The ordinary or heavy gold shekel, therefore, weighed a little more than *two* sovereigns.
2. Since a pound avoirdupois contains 7000 grains, the Hebrew gold talent weighed *c.* 108 lb., *rather less than a hundredweight* (112 lb.).
3. Rather more than the weight of an English half-crown (218 grs.).
4. As the pound troy contains 5760 grs. the silver mina may be taken as = *circa* 2 troy pounds, or more precisely 1⅝ lb. avoirdupois.
5. *Circa* 96¼ lb. avoir., a heavy load for a man to carry (see 2 K 5²³).

At this point the question naturally suggests itself as to the value in sterling money of the Hebrew shekel as gold and silver unit respectively. Since the English sovereign is only eleven parts pure gold to one part alloy, the mere comparison of the respective weights of sovereign and shekel, as in the preceding table, note 1, is not sufficiently accurate for our present purpose. We prefer, therefore, to base our calculations on the price at which the Royal Mint buys its gold, viz. £3, 17s. 10½d. (934·5 pence) per ounce of 480 grains. This gives us as nearly as possible £2, 1s. sterling as the value of the Hebrew gold shekel. The gold mina, accordingly, we value at £102, 10s., and the talent at £6150.

The calculation of the intrinsic value of the silver shekel must be even more carefully set about. By many previous writers the important fact has been overlooked, that the silver currency of this country is but money of account, our only standard being gold. In other words, the coin which we call a shilling, of which the standard weight is

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of silver, since gold was to silver in the ratio of 13⅓ : 1. Dividing this amount of silver into 10 equal parts, we see that 1 gold shekel of 126 grs. = 10 silver shekels of 168 grs.

* 224 (112) : 336 (168) :: 2 : 3.

† Professor Ridgeway, in his elaborate work, *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight-Standards* (1892), has endeavoured with much ingenuity and learning to prove (1) that this light shekel of 130 grains lies at the basis of all the weight-systems of antiquity, and (2) that originally 'it was nothing more than the amount of gold which represented the value of the cow, the unit of barter throughout all Europe, Asia, and Africa.'

‡ Whatever may have been the standard of weight in use among the Hebrews *before* the conquest, there need be no hesitation in affirming that from that epoch onwards the Hebrews adopted the standards of the country in which they settled.

* See also the discussion of 'the shekel of the sanctuary,' § 3.

87·272 grains, is not worth that weight of silver at so much an ounce,[*] but has its value legally fixed as the twentieth part of the gold unit or sovereign. Hence, in order to arrive at even an approximate valuation in our currency of any weight of silver anciently used as money, whether coined or uncoined, we must know in each case the ratio then existing between gold and silver. In the period of Hebrew history with which we are now dealing, this ratio, as we have already learned, appears to have been fixed as 13·3 : 1, which resulted in the convenient adjustment that one gold shekel of 252 grains was equal in value to fifteen silver shekels of 224 grains (§ 1). This gives us, without further calculation, the value of the Hebrew or Phœnician silver shekel as $\frac{1}{15}$th of 41 shillings, or 2s. 8⅘d., say 2s. 9d. The same proportion holds with regard to the silver mina and shekel, which are $\frac{1}{15}$th of the same denominations in gold, viz. £6, 16s. 8d. and £410 respectively. It will be convenient to have these values in tabular form for easy reference.

VALUES OF ANCIENT HEBREW MONEY IN STERLING MONEY.[†]

	GOLD.	SILVER.
Shekel . .	£2 1 0	£0 2 9 nearly
Mina . .	102 10 0	6 16 8
Talent . .	6150 0 0	410 0 0

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that throughout the whole period ending with the return from the Exile there can be no question of coined money. For every transaction of the least importance the balance had to be employed, and the tale of silver duly determined by weight. Thus, in the incident of Abraham's purchase of the cave of Machpelah, though its present record may be late, we have a lifelike picture of how business was done in pre-exilic times. The price having been fixed in approved Oriental style, 'Abraham,' we read, '*weighed* to Ephron the silver which he had named, four hundred shekels of silver, current (money) with the merchant' (כֶּסֶף עֹבֵר לַסֹּחֵר Gn 23[16]), *i.e.*, as a late Targum has correctly paraphrased it, in 'good silver passing at every (banker's) table and receivable in all transactions.' The weights employed were of stone, and were kept in a bag (hence Pr 16[11] אַבְנֵי כִיס 'the weights [lit. stones] of the bag'). From the earliest of the prophetic writings onwards, we find repeated warnings against the use of unjust weights (Am 8[5], Mic 6[10f.], Pr 11[1] 20[10. 23]), and both the Deuteronomic and the Levitical codes find it necessary to issue strict injunctions against the falsification of the balance and its weights (Dt 25[13-16], Lv 19[35. 36]; cf. Ezk 45[12], to be read in the light of the Gr. text). It is somewhat remarkable, however, that we nowhere find any attempt to regulate the fineness of the silver, which clearly shows that there was as yet no thought of a proper coinage, the essential characteristic of which is the guarantee by the State of the quality as well as the quantity of the metal. It must not be thought, however, that it was necessary to have recourse to the balance for every transaction however small. On the contrary, there is ample evidence that the precious metals circulated in the form of ingots of known weight. Saul's servant, for example, had with him an ingot[‡] of the weight of a quarter of a shekel (1 S 9[8]). In the case of large sums, and especially in official and legal payments where great accuracy was necessary, as well as in cases where the parties concerned were not well known to each other, the money was invariably weighed. Hence the word *shāḳal* (שָׁקַל), to 'weigh,' is used as synonymous with 'pay' (Ex 22[16], 1 K 10[39], Is 55[2] etc.). In illustration of this extensive use of the balance in the most varied transactions, it will suffice to refer to such additional passages as 2 K 12[10. 11] RV (where the money is both 'told' and 'weighed out'), Jer 32[9. 10], Is 46[6], Ezr 8[25. 26].

The custom of wearing ornaments of an accurately determined weight—such were Rebekah's gold nose-ring of half a shekel weight and her bracelets of ten shekels, Gn 24[22]—would naturally tend to facilitate their use on occasion as money. The 'wedge (lit. tongue) of gold of fifty shekels weight' purloined by Achan was probably an ornament of some sort (Jos 7[21]). The ring-money so popular in Egypt, to which allusion has already been made (§ 1), does not appear to have been current among the Hebrews.[*] The nature of the piece of money—for such it surely must have been—called *ḳĕsîṭah* (קְשִׂיטָה Gn 33[19], Jos 24[32], and Job 42[11] only) is quite unknown. From the fact that the oldest versions render it by 'lamb' or 'sheep,' it is a plausible conjecture, but nothing more, that the *ḳĕsîṭah* may have been a piece of precious metal, the value of which was in some way indicated by its having a lamb stamped upon it[†] (see art. KESITAH, and add to the reff. there given, Hultsch, *Metrol.*² pp. 460–63, who attempts to determine its value from utterly insufficient data, and Ridgeway, *Metal Currency*, pp. 270–72 [with illustrations], who concludes 'that the *qesitah* was an old unit of barter like the Homeric ox, and as the latter was transformed into a gold unit so the former was superseded by an equivalent of silver').

Before we pass from this section, it may be added that the predominant use of the shekel as the monetary unit in ordinary transactions has led to its frequent omission in statements of price in the OT. Joseph, for example, was sold for 'twenty (shekels, AV *pieces*) of silver,' Solomon paid for his Egyptian chariots 'six hundred of silver' apiece (see complete list of such omissions in Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 15). It is worthy of note, finally, that the mina (מָנֶה in Ezk 45[12] by AV transliterated 'maneh,' elsewhere in OT and NT 'pound') does not occur in any pre-exilic writing.[‡] The price of a chariot we have just seen was '600 shekels,' not '12 minas'; Achan's wedge weighed '50 shekels,' not '*one* mina,'—examples might be multiplied indefinitely,—while large sums are quoted by talents and shekels only. From among the latter may be singled out Solomon's annual revenue of 666 talents of gold (1 K 10[14], 2 Ch 9[13]) = £4,095,900, as also the incredible total of David's Temple Fund, which, according to the Chronicler, amounted to the colossal sum of one thousand and twenty-five millions sterling (£1,025,000,000)![§]

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[*] This is the fallacy which vitiates the calculation of the values of the NT silver coins given in the margins of our AV (see below, §§ 7, 8).

[†] These figures give merely the intrinsic value of the metal; its purchasing power, as compared with these sums to-day, was many times greater (see § 11).

[‡] It is an anachronism to speak of it as a coin, as in the *Internat. Crit. Comm.* (1899) *ad loc.*

[*] G. Hoffmann, in *Zeit. f. Assyriol.* ii. (1887) 48 f., has proposed to render the obscure word בֶּצֶר of Job 22[24. 25] (AV gold, RV treasure, RVm 'Heb. ore') by 'ring-gold,' *i.e.* gold circulating in the form of rings, but on insufficient grounds.

[†] Compare the Assyrian ingots stamped with 'the head of Istar of Nineveh,' to which Babelon refers in *Les Origines de la Monnaie*, p. 58, and those apparently stamped with a plant, to which Mr. Pinches has called our attention. These stamped ingots were the precursors of true coins. (Cf. now, Johns, 'Did the Assyrians coin Money?' *Expos.* Nov. 1899).

[‡] For this and other reasons the MT of 2 Ch 9[16] giving 'three hundred (מאות) of gold,' viz. shekels, is to be preferred to, and to be substituted for, the text of the parallel passage 1 K 10[17] 'three minas (מנות) of gold,' and not *vice versa*, as most modern critics. This disposes of the hasty inference which several writers have drawn from these passages, that in the time of the Chronicler the mina was computed to contain 100 light shekels or drachms (cf. below, §§ 3, 4).

[§] 'One hundred thousand talents of gold and a thousand thousand talents of silver' (1 Ch 22[14]).

B. Coined Money from the Persian Period to the Reign of Nero.

§ 3. *Invention of the art of Coining. Money of Darius and his successors. The 'Shekel of the Sanctuary.'*—Modern research tends to confirm the statement of Herodotus (i. 94), that coins are an invention of the Lydians. To the reign of Gyges [*c.* 700 B.C.] may perhaps be ascribed the earliest essays in the art of coining (Head, *Hist. Numorum*, p. xxxiii; to this work, to Babelon, *Les Origines de la Monnaie*, and the other works mentioned at the head of this article, the student is referred for full discussion of the question as to the invention of coining, the process employed, etc.). Wherein, it may be asked, does a true coin differ from the ingots of gold and silver of specified weight so long in use in the ancient world? We answer that an ingot becomes a coin when it receives the impression of an official mark—called by numismatists the 'type' of the coin—which serves as a public guarantee of its weight and fineness, and hence of its value in the currency of the country. When the last band of Jewish exiles left for the land of their captivity (B.C. 586) true coins had circulated in western Asia Minor and Greece for about a century, but there is no evidence that this economic revolution had affected Palestine. Forty years later (B.C. 546 or 548, acc. to Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur altorient. Gesch.* 131) Cyrus gained his decisive victory over Crœsus king of Lydia, who had reorganized the currency of his kingdom (Head, *Coinage of Lydia and Persia*, 19 f., *Hist. Num.* 546), introducing a gold stater, the famous *κροίσειος στατήρ*, of the weight of the light Babylonian gold shekel (126 grs.), and a corresponding silver stater or shekel[*] of 168 grs. Lenormant, Head, and others consider that Cyrus continued the issue of these coins from the mint at Sardis; but Babelon has shown that this view is untenable (*Les Perses Achéménides*, Introd. ii f.), and that the royal coinage of Persia was first issued by Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 522–485). Darius' coins were of two denominations—(1) a stater of pure gold (*χρυσίον καθαρώτατον*, Herod. iv. 166), weighing 130 grs. and circulating throughout Asia and Europe under the designation *στατὴρ δαρεικός* or daric;[†] and (2) a silver coin of almost 87 grs., known as the *σίγλος μηδικός* or Median shekel.[‡] The former was the light Babylonian shekel on the royal standard (see § 1),—otherwise one half of the corresponding heavy shekel (260 grs.) represented at this period by the popular gold coin known as the stater of Phocœa (Babelon, *op. cit.* iv f.; Head, *op. cit.* 506; see also footnote),—while the latter, the *siglos*, was one half of the light Babylonian silver shekel on the same standard. *These were in all probability the first coins to circulate among the Jews.* No 1 of the plate of illustrations shows a gold daric of the Persian kings, the type of which is fairly constant throughout. The obverse represents the king as an archer, bearded, crowned with the *cidaris*, and kneeling right; clad in long robe with left knee bare, he holds a bow in his outstretched left hand, and in his right a spear. The reverse is not occupied by a 'type' but by an irregular oblong 'incuse.' The type of the *siglos* closely resembles that of the daric, but is less constant. In sterling money the daric (130 grs. of pure gold), on the basis of calculation adopted in § 1, was worth £1, 1s. 1d., say *one guinea*, and, since the gold unit was equal to twenty of the silver unit[*] (on the basis of 13·3 : 1; cf. Xen. *Anab.* i. 7. 18), the *siglos* was worth a fraction more than a shilling.

The daric and siglos, we have said, are the first coins that can possibly have circulated in Palestine, which formed part of the fifth satrapy (Babelon, *op. cit.* xx f.). Is there any reference to either in the Hebrew literature of the period? Our Revisers reply in the affirmative, since in six passages of the historical work Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah (see Driver, *LOT*^{6} 516) they have substituted 'darics' for the 'drams' (*i.e.* drachms) of AV (1 Ch 29^7, Ezr 2^{69} 8^{27}, Neh $7^{70.\,71.\,72}$). The original has דַּרְכְּמוֹן except in 1 Ch 29^7, Ezr 8^{27}, where we find אֲדַרְכֹּן.[†] The first passage must be set aside as a pure anachronism. Of the remainder, Neh $7^{70\text{ff.}}$ and its parallel Ezr 2^{69} bring extracts from an earlier document recording the contributions for religious purposes given on the occasion of the return under Cyrus, *i.e. nearly twenty years before the introduction of the daric*, while Ezr 8^{27} refers not to money but to the weight (1000 *'adarkônîm*)[‡] of 'twenty basins of gold.' Since, then, the *darkemon* is clearly a weight and not a coin, it scarcely can be anything but the word *δραχμή*, the standing designation among the Greeks for the $\frac{1}{100}$th part of the mina. This conclusion is confirmed by the following considerations: (1) Lucian's Greek text has *δραχμάς* throughout; (2) *darkemon* was the recognized Semitic transcription of *δραχμή*, as is proved by a Phœnician inscription from the Piræus, in which a colony of Sidonians there (prob. in the 3rd cent. B.C.) vote two sums of twenty *darkemonîm* (דרכמנים)[§] each to defray the expense of a gold crown and a gilded stele in honour of a countryman, 'Shemabaal, son of Magon.'

In attempting to estimate the value of the *darkemon* or drachm as the weight in terms of which the contributions are entered in Nehemiah's lists, we would lay stress on the fact above indicated, that the drachm is essentially the hundredth part of the mina—in other words, *a half-shekel.* Now if, as we believe, the Hebrew gold shekel *par excellence* was the *heavy* shekel of 252–260 grains, and if, as is most probable, the original entries were made on the Persian or *light* Babylonian royal standard, of which the shekel was 130 grs. (the weight of the later daric), we can understand why a Jewish author—or, it may be, editor—to avoid possible ambiguity, should have altered the original light shekels into the equivalent drachms (either being $\frac{1}{100}$th of the Hebrew gold mina). If this be so, the total amount of gold contributed by 'the Tirshatha (1000 drachms), the chief of the fathers (20,000), and the rest of the people (20,000),' is equal to 41,000 drachms, darics, or guineas.[*] In the same way the mina (EV pound), by which the silver contributions are reckoned, can hardly be other than the Perso-Babylonic royal mina, of which the later *siglos* was the hundredth part. Since the latter was in value $\frac{1}{20}$th of the daric, its mina was equal to five darics, and the total contributions (4200 minas, Neh $7^{71.\ 72}$) to 21,000 darics, that is, to *circa* as many guineas.

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[*] It is of great importance, in view of subsequent discussions, to observe that the word *στατήρ*, *stater* (from *ἵστημι* in the sense of 'to weigh'), is the true Gr. equivalent of the Semitic *sheḳel*, of which *σίγλος* (see below) is a transliteration.

[†] The word *daric* (*δαρεικός*) has probably no etymological connexion with Darius (Old Pers. *Dārayavauš*), but is rather to be traced to the Assyrian *darîku*, applied to a piece of money in the reign of Nabonidus.

[‡] The *siglos*, it must be observed, is in reality a half-shekel, being $\frac{1}{100}$th of the Babylonian silver mina. Inasmuch as the term stater, as the equivalent of shekel, represents $\frac{1}{50}$th of the mina, the Greeks applied the term *δραχμή*, drachm, to the half-stater, or $\frac{1}{100}$th part. From this point of view, the daric—while a stater or shekel on the *light* Babylonian standard—might be regarded as a drachm on the *heavy* standard (see below).

[*] This proportion of 20 to 1, first adopted by Darius, is still maintained in most currencies at the present day (cf. sovereign and shilling, 'Napoleon' and franc, etc.).

[†] For the conflicting views of scholars as to the etymology of these words, see *sub* דרכמון in *Oxf. Lex.* (Brown-Briggs-Driver) and reff. there. Also Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 46; Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2} 485 n. 2.

[‡] The interesting corruptions in the Greek text of A and B (*ὀδονδραχμανειν—ὀδονχαμανειμ*) seem to prove that the original here was דַּרְכְּמוֹנִים *darkĕmônîm*, as in the other passages just cited.

[§] In line 3, owing probably to a slip of the engraver, the word is written דרכנים. On the strength of this, Ed. Meyer in his detailed discussion of Neh $7^{70\text{ff.}}$ in his *Entstehung d. Judenthums*, 196 ff., takes דרכנים as = gold darics and דרכמנים as = Attic (silver) drachms; but it is much more likely that the same denomination, viz. Attic *gold* drachms, is intended throughout (cf. the interesting parallels from the Greek *Corpus* given by Lidzbarski, *Handb. d. nordsemit. Epigraphik* (1898), pp. 124 and 160. The inscription itself, *ib.* pl. viii. 6, in square characters, p. 425. Other literature *apud* Bloch, *Phön. Glossar.* p. 6).

The shekel (173 grs.) of this mina, of which the siglos is the half-shekel (see above), is perhaps intended in the reference Neh 5^{15} to the table allowances of Nehemiah as a high official of Artaxerxes I. Longimanus (see Babelon, *op. cit.* p. 6 f., for the coins of this sovereign). The satraps of the Great King enjoyed to a limited extent (Lenormant, *La monnaie dans l'antiq.* ii. 16 f., and esp. Babelon, *op. cit.* xxi ff.) the privilege of issuing silver (not gold) coins in their own name. With one of these, Bagoas, satrap of Egypt (*c.* 345–343) under Artaxerxes III. Ochus, is generally identified the Bagoses of Josephus (*Ant.* XI. vii. 1, N. § 297), who under the circumstances there recorded imposed a tax of 50 shekels upon every lamb offered in the daily sacrifice. These must have been either Persian shekels, as above, or, since Bagoas' Egyptian coinage is entirely on the Phœnician standard (see *ap.* Babelon, pp. 52–55), shekels on the Hebrew-Phœnician standard (224 grs.).

Since the document known as the Priests' Code (P) is now universally recognized as having first received public sanction under the governorship of Nehemiah (*c.* 444 B.C.), we have reserved for this section the discussion of the monetary unit adopted therein for various important payments, viz. the so-called **'shekel of the sanctuary'**[†] (שֶׁקֶל הַקֹּדֶשׁ, more probably 'sacred shekel'), regarding which so much has been written and so many conjectures hazarded. The expression occurs in the following passages of P only: Ex $30^{13.\ 24}$ 38^{24-26}, Lv 5^{15} $27^{3.\ 25}$, Nu $3^{47.\ 50}$ 7^{13-86} (14 times) 18^{16}, and in these it is used not only of silver and gold but of spices (Ex $30^{23f.}$) and presumably copper (38^{29}). This confirms the impression we derive from Lv 27^{25} ('*all thy estimations* shall be reckoned according to the shekel of the sanctuary') that part of P's aim is to introduce a uniform shekel for all transactions.[‡] From the numbers given Ex $38^{25ff.}$, an easy calculation proves that 3000 'sacred' shekels went to the talent. What, then, is the value of P's shekel? Let us examine (1) *The testimony of the text and the versions.* In four of the passages cited (Ex 30^{13}, Lv 27^{25}, Nu 3^{47} 18^{16}) the 'shekel of the sanctuary' is defined as consisting of 20 gerahs (עֶשְׂרִים גֵּרָה הַשֶּׁקֶל), words which Ezekiel had already applied to his shekel (45^{12}).[§] Now the gerah—whether its original meaning be a seed-grain generally, or specially the seed of the carob tree (Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 317) or the lupin (Ridgeway, *op. cit.* 217)—was most probably a small Babylonian weight (cf. the *giru* of Nebuchadnezzar's inscriptions, used in connexion with money, see Muss-Arnolt, *Lex. s.v.*), identified by Talmudic writers with the מָעָה or obol, by which it is rendered in the Targum of Onkelos. The same identification is adopted by the LXX (εἴκοσι ὀβολοί).[*] The obol is, of course, the sixth of the Attic drachm, at this period = *c.* 11·23 grs., twenty of which give us a shekel of 224 grs. (cf. Josephus' statement (*Ant.* III. vi. 7) that the Heb. talent = 100 (Attic) minas, *i.e.* 3000 shekels = 10,000 drachms or 60,000 obols; hence 1 shekel = 20 obols).

(2) *The testimony of the New Testament and Josephus.*—In the 1st cent. the amount of the tax paid by every adult Jew for the maintenance of the temple services had long been fixed at half a shekel, which, since the tax was ultimately based on Ex $30^{13ff.}$ (see next paragraph), must necessarily have been the 'sacred' shekel. Now, on a well-known occasion in the life of our Lord (Mt $17^{24ff.}$), the amount due by two persons was paid by a stater, which can only be a tetradrachm of Antioch or of Tyre (see §§ 4, 7, 8), both of them slightly reduced from the standard weight of 224 grs.[†] Josephus, also, in his references to this tax, uses in one place (*Ant.* XVIII. ix. 1) the same word as the evangelist (τὸ δίδραχμον; cf. Mt 17^{24}), in another (*Wars*, VII. vi. 6) the equivalent δύο δραχμάς, while in a third (*Ant.* III. viii. 2) he writes σίκλου τὸ ἥμισυ, the half-shekel. (3) *The testimony of the Talmud.* The Talmud repeatedly lays down the canon that all sums mentioned in the Pentateuch are to be reckoned in the money of Tyre (כֶּסֶף צוֹרִי, see reff. in Zuckermandel, *Ueber talmudische Gewichte u. Münzen*, pp. 5, 15); and in particular in *Bekhoroth* viii. 7, with reference to the very passages we are discussing, we read that 'all payments according to the sacred shekel are to be made in Tyrian (*i.e.* Phœnician) currency,' in other words, according to the Hebrew-Phœnician shekel of 224 grs. On the strength of this threefold testimony, we are justified in maintaining that 'the shekel of the sanctuary' is nothing but *the ancient silver shekel of the country*, fifteen of which (at 224 grs.) we saw (§ 1) to be equivalent to the gold shekel of 253 grs. It was 'sacred,' not only as having been associated with the payment of the priestly dues from time immemorial, but also as being the specifically *Hebrew* shekel, just as the Hebrew language was distinguished from all others as 'the sacred tongue (לְשׁוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ).' Some epithet of the kind was required in early post-exilic times to distinguish this shekel from the Perso-Babylonic shekel of 168–173 grs. (see next paragraph), which may well have been the only shekel then officially recognized in Judæa, a province of the Persian empire.

The date of the institution of the temple tax of half a shekel, above referred to, has been the subject of much discussion. It does not appear to have been contemplated by the original framers of the Priests' Code,[‡] since we find the community, immediately after ratifying that code, charging themselves 'yearly with the third part of a shekel for the service of the house' (Neh $10^{32\ \text{Heb.}\ 33}$). Since the Hebrew-Phœnician shekel is never divided otherwise than by halves and quarters, this must be the official Perso-Babylonian shekel ($\frac{1}{3}$ = 56–58 grs., worth *c.* 8½d.). At a later date, certainly before the time of the Chronicler (*c.* 300 B.C.; cf. 2 Ch 24^{5-9}), the tax was raised by the priestly authorities—appealing, no doubt, to the passage in Exodus—to half the native shekel (112 grs., worth *c.* 1s. 4½d.).

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[*] The first being the *weight* of the whole, the second its equivalent in the later coinage of Darius, the third the same in sterling money.

[†] This rendering probably presupposes that the standard weight was kept in the temple in accordance with a well-attested ancient custom. But this hardly suits the exilic or early post-exilic origin of P.

[‡] In this, as in so much else, P continues the policy of Ezekiel, who appears to contemplate a simplification of the standard measures (45^{10-12}).

[§] Hence it is possible that the words in question are everywhere in P a gloss introduced from this passage of Ezekiel.

[*] The LXX gives the same rendering to the obscure אֲגוֹרַת כֶּסֶף 1 S 2^{36} only (AV a piece of silver, LXX ὀβολοῦ ἀργυρίου). This word is probably to be restored in the Marseilles sacrificial tablet (*CIS* i. 165; Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigraphik*, 428), line 12, where Driver (*Authority and Archæology*^{1}, 1899) renders '10 g[erah] each.' (In 2nd ed. '10 a[gōrāhs?],' with note that perhaps same as the gerah). Lenormant (*La monnaie*, i. 107) thought he had discovered the word *giru* in an Egyp. papyrus.

[†] The effective weight of good specimens of the extant half-shekel lies between 108 and 110 grs.

[‡] Were Ex 30^{11-16} a late addition to the code, inserted with a view to legalizing the half-shekel tax, as some modern critics hold, the fact of its being an *annual* contribution would surely have been emphasized.

The daric and siglos, we have said, were the first coins to have legal currency in Judæa. But soon after Nehemiah's time another silver coinage made its appearance. In the second half of the 5th cent. the wealthy commercial cities on the Mediterranean seaboard had begun to issue silver money under their native kings.* Aradus, Sidon, Tyre, and Gaza were among the greatest trade centres of the period. The 'men of Tyre,' we may be sure, were not the only traders that brought 'all manner of ware' to Jerusalem (Neh 13^{16}), and the coins followed the trade. One of the earliest of these is a fine double-shekel of Sidon (423 grs.) in the British Museum (see Plate No. 2).

Rev. A Phœnician galley with mast and sails.

Obv. King of Persia in his chariot, driven by his charioteer. AR. Wt. 423 grs.

Of no city or sovereign, however, are the coins of such importance to the student of Jewish numismatics as those of Tyre. Have we not seen that all the moneys mentioned in the Pentateuch were to be paid in Tyrian—rather, in a wider sense, Phœnician—currency? The earliest coins of Tyre take us back to near the middle of the 5th cent. B.C., the latest date from the reign of Septimius Severus. No. 3 of our Plate shows an early, not perhaps the earliest, specimen of a tetradrachm of Tyre (a shekel of *c.* 220 grs.), the real 'shekel of the sanctuary.'

Obv. Melkarth (the Tyrian Hercules) holding a bow, and riding over the waves on hippocamp or sea horse; beneath, a dolphin.

Rev. Owl bearing over left shoulder the Egyptian crook and flail (the symbols of Osiris).

The reverse is of great interest as showing the range of the mercantile relations of Tyre and the resulting influence of Athens on the one hand, and of Egypt on the other (cf. Babelon, *op cit.* Introd. clxxxix). The influence of Athens on Palestine at this early period is still more strikingly shown by the coins of Gaza, which not only imitate the type and *legend* of the coins of Athens, but are struck on the Attic standard.

§ 4. *Coinage of the Ptolemies and Seleucids and of the semi-autonomous cities to the time of Simon Maccabæus.*—At the date of his conquest of Asia, Alexander the Great introduced his international currency in the three metals, gold, silver, and bronze.† The principal coins are the gold stater or didrachm of 133 grs. actual weight; for silver the tetradrachm (266 grs.) and the drachm (66½ grs.). These weights introduce us to a new standard, the Euboic-Attic,‡ on which the currency of Athens was based—from this time onwards to the 3rd cent. A.D. the most widely spread of ancient monetary standards. Coins with Alexander's types were struck, even long after his death, by various cities of Syria and Palestine.

After years of varying fortune on the field of battle, Ptolemy I. finally succeeded (B.C. 301) in adding Palestine to his Egyptian dominions. The Jews were still, however, but 'a feeble folk,' content to use the coins that issued in great abundance from the royal mints at Alexandria and the cities of the seacoast. This was all the more practicable, since Ptolemy (from B.C. 305), alone among the successors of Alexander, coined on the light Phœnician standard (see Poole, *The Ptolemies* [Brit. Mus. Cat. of Gr. Coins], 1883, Introd. xxiii f.; Head, *Hist. Num.* 711 ff.; Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2} 646 ff.). No. 4 of our Plate is a typical coin, a tetradrachm or double-shekel of the Ptolemies.

Obv. Head of Ptolemy I. diademed.

Rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Type, eagle* on thunderbolt. AR. Wt. 224 grs.

Tyre, which passed into the hands of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus in B.C. 275, still possessed a flourishing mint, its coins bearing as adjunct, in addition to the Ptolemaic types, the monogram of the city with the club of the Tyrian Hercules (see Poole, *op. cit.* Plate IV. 8). Sidon, Acco (named Ptolemais by Philadelphus), Gaza, Joppa, were all Ptolemaic mints,† from which, especially from the three latter, the peaceful Jewish community derived their supply of shekels. The yoke of the Ptolemies pressed lightly, for the greater part of the century (B.C. 300–200) at least, upon the Jews. According to the highly embellished story of Joseph, the nephew of the high priest (Onias II.), told in detail by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 4), the tribute in the reign of Ptolemy III. Euergetes did not exceed twenty shekels of silver (*ib.* XII. iv. 1, Niese, § 158). To obtain the modern equivalent of a Ptolemaic talent of silver (6000 drachms of 56 grs.), we must, in accordance with the principles laid down in § 2 of this article, first translate the silver into gold, which is our only standard. Now the ratio of gold to silver in the Ptolemaic system is 12½ : 1, eight gold drachms being equivalent to a mina (100 drachms) of silver (cf. Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2} 646 f.). We thus obtain, at the mint price of gold £3, 17s. 10½d. per oz. of 480 grs., 9s. 1d. as the value of the gold drachm, £45 for the gold mina (3 Mac 1^4), 8¾d. for the silver drachm (*ib.* 3^{28}), and £218 for the silver talent, twenty of which amount to £4360. The total revenue of Ptolemy's Asiatic possession, Cœle-Syria, and Phœnicia, and Judæa, and Samaria amounted—if the figures (*Ant.* XII. iv. 4, N. 175 f.) are to be trusted—to 8000 talents, raised by Joseph to 16,000, almost three and a half million pounds sterling! On the same standard are to be reckoned the numerous other sums mentioned throughout the story.

When we reflect that the Ptolemaic silver shekel is a double-drachm or stater (of 112 grs.)—the latter term, when the didrachm fell into disfavour, the Greeks applied to the tetradrachm—we understand how the Alexandrian translators of the Pentateuch so frequently render the Hebrew shekel, which weighed 224 grs., by *δίδραχμον* as well as by *σίκλος*, instead of by the more exact *τετράδραχμον* (in LXX only Job 42^{11}).‡ Similarly the *béḳa'* (בֶּקַע) or half-shekel is in the two passages where it occurs (Gn 24^{22}, Ex 38^{26}=LXX 39^2) rendered by *δραχμή*.

In B.C. 198 Antiochus III. succeeded in wresting Palestine from the feeble grasp of the youthful Ptolemy Epiphanes; it now became a province of the Syrian empire. The Seleucids, like all the successors of Alexander save the Ptolemies, continued his coinage on the Attic standard, retaining, for some time at least, even his name and types, to which the anchor was added—the family badge or cognizance of Seleucus, the founder of the dynasty. Gold coins are comparatively rare; the commonest silver coins are the tetradrachm (at this period as high as 265 grs.) and the drachm, to which fall to be added bronze coins of numerous denominations.[*] For half a century (*c.* 150–100 B.C.) the Phœnician standard appears alongside of the Attic (Babelon, *op. cit.* clxxxiii). The mints are numerous; besides Antioch and other cities of Northern Syria we still have Sidon, Tyre, Ptolemais, Ascalon, and others.[†]

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* The brilliant sketch of M. Six, 'Observations sur les monnaies phéniciennes,' in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1877, p. 177 ff., is still of value alongside of the more recent and exhaustive work of M. Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides, Cypre et Phénicie*, 1893. Cf. Head's résumé in *Hist. Num.* 665–676; and, of older works, Brandis, *Das Münz- Maas- und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien*, 1866 *passim*.

† The chief authority is still Ludwig Müller's *La Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*, 1855 (cf. Head's conspectus, *Hist. Num.* 310 ff.).

‡ For which see Head, *op. cit.* xl–xliii and p. 309 f. Acc. to Hultsch (*Gew. d. Alt.* pp. 66–68), the shekel or stater of this standard was $\frac{1}{50}$th of a mina of 60 light Phœnician shekels = 134·7 (112½ × 60 ÷ 50) grains, which is found as early as the 12th Dynasty in Egypt, whence, through Phœnician intermediaries, it was carried to Greece and Asia Minor. This gives *c.* 269·5 and 67·36 grs. for the Attic tetradrachm and drachm respectively, and for the mina and talent 6735 and 404,100 grs. respectively.

* The special badge or 'crest' of the Ptolemies, as the anchor was of the Seleucids (see below).

† See Poole, Table III. *Mints and Dates*, p. xcvi ff., for complete list of Phœnician and Palestinian mints to B.C. 198.

‡ The later translators, Aquila and Symmachus, prefer *στατήρ* (cf. Mt 27^{27}).

Antiochus treated the Jews with great consideration, even with kindness. Taxes were remitted, in some cases permanently, in others for three years, with one-third abatement thereafter; while a grant of 20,000 drachms, in addition to allowances of wheat and salt, was made from the imperial treasury to defray the cost of the temple service (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 3, N. 138 ff.). From this time onwards to the date of the complete rupture with Antioch the taxes and other official payments must have been settled in Attic drachms (see below) from one or other of the coast mints. For ordinary transactions and for the sacred dues, the former Ptolemaic currency, based on the native standard, probably still held the field. We give (No. 5) a tetradrachm of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, with whose accession, in B.C. 175, we approach a turning-point in the fortunes of the Jews.

Obv. Head of Antiochus Epiphanes (looking) right, diademed, with fillet border.

Rev. **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ** [king Antiochus, divine, illustrious]. Zeus (looking) left, seated on throne, naked to the waist, and holding a Nike, who crowns him, in right hand, while left rests on sceptre. In exergue a monogram. Wt. 259 grs.

The portrait of Antiochus is considerably idealized;[‡] the titles on the reverse show that the coin was struck about the middle of his reign (Babelon, *op. cit.* xxiii.), probably before he had set up 'the abomination that maketh desolate' in the Jewish temple (Dn 11^{31} 12^{11}).

Several of the more important cities of the Seleucid empire were about this time permitted to issue a series of semi-autonomous bronze coins, distinguished from the royal bronzes of the same minting-places by having, besides the royal portrait on the obverse, the name of the issuing city (**ΤΥΡΙΩΝ**, לצר אם צדנם)[§] on the reverse.

To the earlier part of Antiochus Epiphanes' reign belong the intrigues of Jason, brother of the high priest Onias III., who offered Antiochus the large sum of 440 talents for the high-priestly office, with 'a hundred and fifty more, if it might be allowed him . . . to set up a (Greek) place of exercise and (form) a body of youths (to be trained therein), and to register the inhabitants of Jerusalem as citizens of Antioch' (2 Mac 4^{9}). Jason in his turn was outbid by Menelaus, who offered the impecunious monarch 'more than Jason by 300 talents of silver' (*ib.* v.^{24}). These and the other sums mentioned in 1 and 2 Maccabees (1 Mac 11^{28} $13^{16, 19}$ $15^{31, 35}$, all talents; 2 Mac 3^{11} 4^{19} [read 3300 drachms] etc.) are to be reckoned as Syrian-Attic drachms and talents. In endeavouring to reach an approximate valuation of these sums, it must be remembered that the Syrian currency is on a silver, ours on a gold standard. The gold of the Seleucids, even in the shape of coins, was always bullion, and varied in its ratio to silver between 10 : 1 and 12½ : 1 (see Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2} §§ 30 f.). Now, if we take the normal weight of the Attic drachm at 67·367 grs. (=4·366 grammes), we have as the sterling value of the gold drachm at the mint price 10s. 11⅛d., and of the talent (6000 drachms) in round numbers £3280. At the ratio of 10 : 1 this gives £328 for the silver talent, at 12½ : 1 £262, the mean value being £295, for the silver drachm 11¾d., which is considerably higher than the estimates of previous writers. The large sums deposited in the temple (400 talents of silver and 200 talents of gold, 2 Mac 3^{11}) would thus amount to £118,000 and £656,000 respectively, a total of over three-quarters of a million.

§ 5. *The first native coinage; the problem of the so-called 'Maccabæan shekels'; the bronze coins of the Hasmonæan princes.*—The latter half of the 2nd cent. saw the once powerful empire of the Seleucidæ rent by internal dissensions and hasting to its fall. Already the Jews, under the brave sons of Mattathias the Hasmonæan (חַשְׁמוֹנִי), had taken the field in defence of the national religion, and had proved themselves so dangerous as foes that Demetrius II. (145–139/8 B.C.) recognized them as likely to prove not less valuable as allies (1 Mac 13^{36-40}). The privileges then granted by Demetrius, amounting to political autonomy under the suzerainty of Syria,—not, as is often represented, to complete independence,—were confirmed by his brother Antiochus VII. Sidetes (B.C. 138–129) in the famous rescript preserved in 1 Mac $15^{5 f.}$. 'Now therefore,' it runs, according to the best text, 'I confirm unto thee [Simon] all the exactions which the kings that were before me remitted unto thee, and *I give thee leave to coin money for thy country with thine own stamp* (*ποιῆσαι κόμμα ἴδιον νόμισμα τῇ χώρᾳ σου*),' etc. Did Simon avail himself of the privilege here recorded of issuing money in his own name? This has hitherto been the *quæstio vexatissima* of Jewish numismatics. For some time past, however, the attribution to Simon the Hasmonæan (less correctly, the Maccabee) of the well-known silver shekels and half-shekels with the legends *Shéḳel Yisrāel* and *Yerûshalēm Ḳĕdôshah*, and the dates 'year 1' to 'year 5,' has been an accepted numismatic doctrine, so much so that very convincing reasons will naturally be expected to justify the present writer's rejection of it. These reasons may be stated here in preference to a later section. They are (1) *the principles of the rights of coinage in antiquity.* These cannot be here set forth in detail (see esp. Lenormant's classical work, *La monnaie dans l'antiquité*, ii. § 1, 'Le droit de monnayage,' etc.); it must suffice to emphasize the fact that the right to coin money of the standard metal, whether gold or silver, was the exclusive prerogative of the sovereign power. Just as the Persian kings, for example, guarded most jealously their exclusive right to coin gold, which was their standard, so the Seleucid sovereigns, coining on the silver standard, permitted certain privileged cities to strike bronze coins only (see previous section, and cf. Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, cxi, cxliv). The resumption of a silver coinage with a special era by the cities of Phœnicia, at a slightly later period, was tantamount to the assertion of their complete

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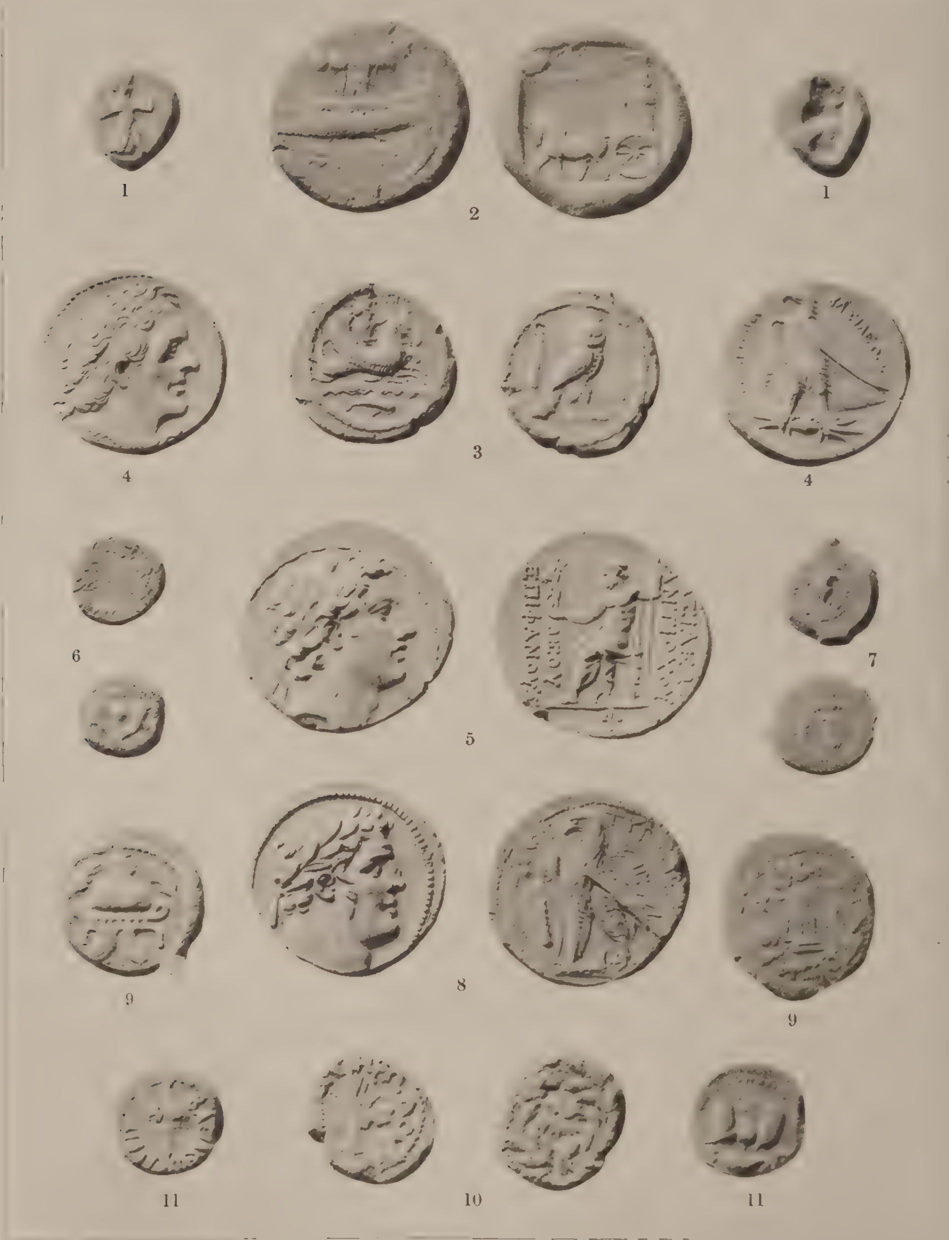
[*] See the standard work of E. Babelon, *Les Rois de Syrie*, 1890; also P. Gardner, *The Seleucid Kings of Syria* (Brit. Mus. Cat. of Gr. Coins), 1878. Cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* 637 ff., where the older literature is given.

[†] From the royal Seleucid coins struck in the cities just named must be carefully distinguished the coins of these and other cities issued by them on their obtaining a measure of autonomy, which increased as the power of the Seleucids declined (see below).

[‡] On the coin-portraits of this famous figure in Jewish history see Babelon, *op. cit.* xcii ff., and Plates XII.–XV.

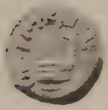
[§] The title here assumed by Tyre is noteworthy, 'mother (city) of the Sidonians,' a reply to the, historically more justifiable, pretensions of Sidon to be the 'mother-city of Tyre.' Similar rivalries were common in the Roman period. Also of interest, in view of the legend on the later Jewish shekels, is that on the bronze coins of Gebal-Byblus, גבל קדשת 'Gebal the holy.'

COINS CURRENT IN PALESTINE *c.* B.C. 500–A.D. 135



1. Persian gold daric, § 3.
2. Double shekel or octadrachm of Sidon, § 3.
3. Shekel or tetradrachm of Tyre, § 3.
4. Tetradrachm of Ptolemy I., § 4.
5. Tetradrachm of Antiochus Epiphanes, § 4.
6. Small bronze of John Hyrcanus, § 5.
7. Small bronze of Alexander Jannæus, § 5.
8. Shekel or tetradrachm of Tyre, § 5.
9. Bronze coin of Herod the Great, § 6.
10. Bronze coin of Herod Antipas, § 6.
11. Bronze coin of Agrippa I., § 6.

COINS CURRENT IN PALESTINE *c.* B.C. 500–A.D. 135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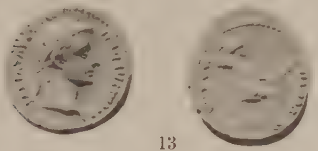
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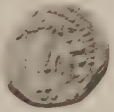
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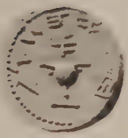
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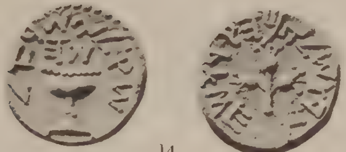
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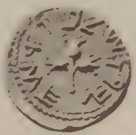
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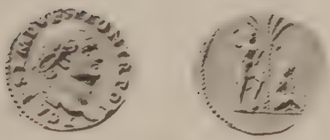
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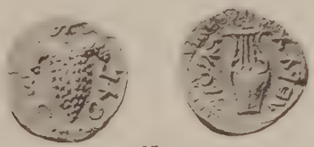
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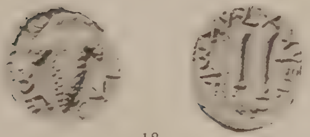
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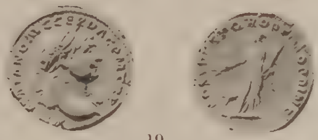
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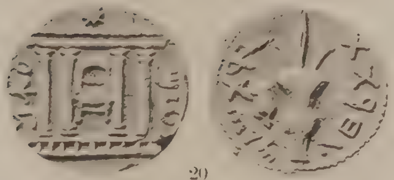
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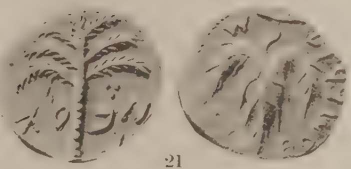
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12. Small bronze (quadrans?) of Pontius Pilate, § 7.
13. Denarius of Tiberius, § 8.
14. Shekel of year 5 (A.D. 70), § 9.
15. Half-shekel of year 1 (A.D. 66–67), § 9.
16. Aureus of Titus, § 9.
17. Drachm of Cæsarea Cappadociæ, re-struck, § 10.
18. Denarius of Trajan, re-struck, § 10.
19. The original of No. 18, § 10.
20. Tetradrachm of Antioch, re-struck as Jewish shekel, § 10.
21. Bronze coin of second revolt, § 10.

independence. The admitted fact that the only other silver coins of the Jews date from a time of asserted independence, at least suggests a similar date for the shekels in question. (2) *The shekels of years* 1 *to* 5 *cannot be fitted into the chronology of this period.* Since Simon died in the year B.C. 135, five years backwards Demetrius II. was still on the throne. Accordingly supporters of the Maccabæan theory are compelled to *assume* that Antiochus Sidetes was merely confirming a right that had already been usurped by Simon. On the other hand, if the dates run from B.C. 142 (see 1 Mac 13^{42}), two years are left without any coins. Whereas on the theory advocated in this article (see, further, § 9), that these coins belong to the first revolt, A.D. 66–70, we understand both why there should be only shekels of five years, and why those of the fifth year should be so rare. (3) *The silver coinage ceases, ex hypothesi, with Simon.* No reason for this can be given on the hypothesis we are combating. Subsequent Hasmonæan princes, such as John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannæus, were men of greater wealth and power than Simon: why should they have been content to issue only bronze coins, if Simon had already struck in silver? (4) There is, further, the more technical argument from *the size, fabric, and style of the coins in dispute.* They do not resemble the contemporary silver coins of the Seleucidæ nearly so much as they do the imperial coins of the 1st cent. A.D. (see § 9, below), nor do they show any points of contact with the types or legends of the bronze coins of Simon's successors. The palæographic argument from the forms of the old Hebrew characters is of little weight either way; it is almost impossible to distinguish between the genuinely archaic and the intentionally archaistic in Semitic epigraphy. We believe, then, that if Simon availed himself of the right, which was soon withdrawn (1 Mac 15^{27}), of issuing coins, these can only have been of bronze. No such coins, however, can with certainty be ascribed to Simon.

The first native Jewish coinage dates from the reign of Simon's son and successor, John Hyrcanus. The earliest coins, however, that can with any confidence be said to have been struck at Jerusalem are some small bronzes—*hemichalki,** according to M. Babelon—of Antiochus VII. of dates B.C. 132 and 131 (see Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 76; Babelon, *op. cit.* Nos. 1166–7, pl. xxii. 1; Gardner, *op. cit.* 75, pl. xx. 14). The coins of Hyrcanus are of small size, three specimens in the British Museum averaging 28 grs., and undated. In place of a type the field of the obverse is occupied by an inscription in the old Hebrew character, see plate No. 6.

Obv. יהוחנן הכהן הגדול וחבר היהודים A (*John, the high priest and* (*with*) *the commonwealth* (?) *of the Jews*) within a wreath of olive leaves.

Rev. A double cornucopiæ with a poppy head in the centre. Æ.

The initial A of the obverse is probably the first letter of the name of his suzerain Alexander II. Zebina (B.C. 128–123), who introduced the double cornucopiæ as his monetary badge, and from whose coins it was borrowed by Hyrcanus. The earlier coins of Hyrcanus were issued, as the above example shows, in his own name and that of the *ḥeber* (חֶבֶר) of the Jews; his later issues, however, read: John the high priest, *head of the ḥeber of the Jews* (ראש חבר היהודים). The word חבר, now generally pronounced as above, has been a fruitful subject of speculation among historians and numismatists, since its precise significance is unknown. A summary of the more important of the interpretations proposed is given by Madden (*Coins*, p. 77; cf. Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 284 f.). Only two need be mentioned here.

(1) *Ḥeber* is the Heb. for the γερουσία or senate of the books of Maccabees and Judith, the later Sanhedrin (so Geiger, Levy, Madden, etc., and most recently Wellhausen, *Isr. u. jüd. Gesch.* [1894], 236).

(2) *Ḥeber* denotes the whole body of the people. This view has found an able advocate recently in Prof. Eb. Nestle (*ZATW*, 1895, 288 ff.: חבר = ἔθνος), who seeks to prove the equation stated in the title of his paper, and this other: ראש חבר = ἐθνάρχης, a title frequently given to the Hasmonæan princes in the books of Maccabees. Neither of these views quite commends itself to the present writer. On the one hand, it is difficult to account for the mention of a body like the γερουσία, which our best authorities regard as of little or no importance at this epoch (see Wellh. *loc. cit.*, and Holtzmann-Stade, *Gesch.* ii. 398); on the other hand, it is not less difficult to see why the more familiar words עַם, קָהָל, etc., were passed over if Nestle is right. The LXX, we believe, supplies the key. In Pr 21^{9} ($=25^{24}$) the Heb. בֵּית חֶבֶר (lit. house of association, *i.e.* one shared with another) is rendered ἐν οἴκῳ κοινῷ, while κοινωνέω and κοινωνός are elsewhere employed to render derivatives of the root חבר. We consider, then, that the חֶבֶר of the coins is the equivalent of the Gr. expression τὸ κοινόν in one of its various significations. Of these the following are the most probable: (*a*) *respublica*, commonwealth, community.* τὸ κοινόν in this sense is synonymous with ἡ πόλις (Aristotle, *ap.* Bonitz, *op. cit.*), and may be illustrated by the expressions τῷ πολιτεύματι τῶν ἐν Βερενίκῃ Ἰουδαίων, *CIG* iii. No. 5361 (date B.C. 13), quoted by Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 246, and τὸ σύμπαν τῶν Ἰοππιτῶν πολίτευμα, 2 Mac 12^{7}. In favour of this interpretation may be adduced the fact that the contemporary bronze coins of the semi-autonomous cities, as we saw above, combine the royal name with that of the people (**ΤΥΡΙΩΝ**, etc.; see list in Babelon, ci). (*b*) Public authorities, officers of state (*Staatsbehörden*), perhaps the executive. In support of this rendering we would appeal to the use by Josephus in his *Life* (*passim*) of the expression τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, apparently in the sense of 'the executive authorities of the people of Jerusalem.' A comparison of § 52 (Niese, 266 f.) with § 60 (N. 309 f.) seems to show conclusively (1) that the κοινόν must have been a body with functions resembling those of an executive of the δῆμος, and (2) that the former is to be taken as synonymous with οἱ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πρῶτοι, by which expression, at the first mention of his appointment as governor-general of Galilee (§ 9), Josephus designates the nominating body, which in all succeeding references he names τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἱερ. (*c*) The meaning 'confederation,' which κοινόν so frequently has in the constitutional history of the Greek states, may also be suggested; but, with our lack of knowledge regarding the constitution of the Jewish State at this period, it is best to leave the solution of the equation חבר = κοινόν an open question.

Aristobulus (B.C. 105–104), in his few extant coins, retains the earlier legend of his father: 'Yĕhûdah high priest and the commonwealth (?) of the Jews.' They were all apparently struck before he assumed—first of the Hasmonæans—the title of king (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xi. 1). The powerful Alexander Jannæus (Heb. יַנַּאי, contracted from יְהוֹנָתָן, יוֹנָתָן) during his long reign (B.C. 104–78) issued a plentiful supply of bronze coins. Some of these are remarkable (1) for the appearance for the first time of the royal title, and (2) for the introduction of a Greek legend. Thus (No. 7)—

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* The χαλκοῦς was a copper coin, eight of which were equivalent to a silver obol (⅛ drachm).

* See Liddell and Scott; Schweighäuser, *Herod. Lex.*; Bonitz, *Index Aristot. s.v.*

Obv. יהונתן המלך *Yĕhônāthān ham-mélek*, Jonathan the king. Type: a half-opened flower (another series has the same legend with each letter between the rays of a star, which serves as type).

Rev. **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.** Type: an anchor with two cross-timbers within a circle.

Besides these regal coins, Alexander issued a series of pontifical coins with the legend 'Jonathan (written יהונתן and יונתן) the high priest and the commonwealth (?) of the Jews.' On the reverse is the double cornucopiæ with the poppy-head, which, like the anchor on the regal series, shows the continued influence of the Seleucid coinage. For full details of the numerous varieties of Alexander's coins as for those of John Hyrcanus, the student is referred to Madden and the other writers mentioned in the bibliography at the end of this article. The only other Hasmonæan prince whose coins are of sufficient interest to warrant mention in this summary is Antigonus (B.C. 40–37), the protégé of the Parthians and the last of the dynasty. These inform us that Antigonus bore the name of his illustrious ancestor, Mattathias, and they are the first Jewish coins to show a date: שא and שב, *i.e.* 'year (שָׁנָה) one' and 'year two' of his unfortunate reign. 'The Asmonean dynasty commenced with a Mattathias, with the coins of a Mattathias the Asmonean dynasty concludes' (Madden). All these native coins, we must repeat, were from first to last of bronze, and all, with the exception of some of those of Antigonus, of very small size, viz. 2 and 3 of Mionnet's scale, *i.e.* about ·5 and ·6 in. in diameter. Further research, and in particular much patient weighing, of the extant coins will be required before we can pronounce with confidence on the denominations they represent—in other words, on their relation to the standard silver money. The smallest coins, at least, can scarcely be other than the *perûṭah* of later Jewish writings, the *lepton* of the NT (cf. § 8).

The money *par excellence* (כֶּסֶף, ἀργύριον) of the Jews during the greater part of the Maccabæan period was obtained from heathen mints, as, with the decline of the central power, the cities of the coast one after another recovered their autonomy. Tyre, in particular, began in B.C. 126—from which its new era is dated—to issue an important series of silver and bronze coins with considerable variety of types. The principal denominations were the tetradrachm or heavy shekel, and *longo intervallo*, the didrachm or light shekel, which was doubtless in considerable demand among the Jews for the payment of the temple tax. The weights are at first well maintained, at *c.* 220 and 110 grs. respectively. No. 8 illustrates a Tyrian shekel or tetradrachm of the Hasmonæan period.

Obv. Head of the Tyrian Hercules (see 2 Mac 4^{19}), laureate (looking) right.

Rev. **ΤΥΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ.** Eagle, left, on rudder, and bearing a palm branch over left shoulder. In the field, date and a club (symbol of Tyre).

§ 6. *Bronze coinage of the Idumæan dynasty.*—In the year B.C. 37, with the help of the Roman legions, Herod, the son of Antipater, 'by birth an Idumæan, by profession a Jew, by necessity a Roman, by culture and choice a Greek,' succeeded in securing the throne which Rome had promised him a few years before. Nothing could better show the condition of vassalage under which Herod held his kingdom than the fact that for all his enormous wealth, as evidenced not only by his princely gifts to foreign cities and his lavish expenditure at home, but by the great sums of coined money (ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου) which he bequeathed at his death (*Ant.* XVII. viii. 1), he was restricted by the suzerain power to a coinage exclusively in bronze. The Hebrew of the legends is now displaced by Greek, while, in addition to the familiar Hasmonæan types of the anchor and the cornucopiæ, we have such new types as the tripod,—another favourite Seleucid emblem,—the helmet, the Macedonian shield, the pomegranate, the caduceus, etc. One of the most interesting of Herod's coins is that represented by No. 9.

Obv. Metal helmet with cheek pieces; in the field above, a star; on either side, a palm branch. (Others with the same type have only one branch to left, above).

Rev. **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ.** Type: a tripod; in the field to left **LΓ** [=year 3],* and to right the monogram of **ΤΡ.** Æ 6. Wt. *c.* 104 grs.

The coins of Archelaus are identified by the title ἐθνάρχης on the reverse, a title borne by Archelaus alone of all the Herodian princes. On the deposition of Archelaus, Judæa and Samaria were placed directly under the Roman government (see § 7 for coins of the Roman procurators). His brother, Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee (Lk 3^1; cf. Lk 23^7), founded the city of Tiberias on the Sea of Galilee, where most, if not all, of his coins were struck, and whose name, given in honour of his patron, Tiberius, he placed on the reverse (see No. 10)—

Obv. **ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ.** Palm leaf (or branch); in the field right and left, **L–ΛΓ** (year 33 = A.D. 29–30).

Rev. **ΤΙΒΕ ΡΙΑC** within a wreath. Æ 6.

In an article devoted rather to an exposition of the principal varieties of money in circulation among the Jews than to a catalogue of coins, we must be excused from entering into an examination of the coins of Philip the tetrarch (Lk 3^1), and especially of the long and complicated series of Agrippa II., the last of the Herods.† A word must suffice even for those struck by Agrippa I. during his short reign (A.D. 41–44) over the reunited territories of the great Herod. According to de Saulcy these all bear the same date, 'year 6,' *i.e.* according to the Jewish method of computation the year A.D. 41–42, reckoning from the first year of Caligula A.D. 37.‡ (See No. 11.)

Rev. **ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΑΓΡΙΠΑ** (*sic*). Type, umbrella with tasselled fringe.

Obv. Three ears of corn united on one stalk; to right and left **LS** (year 6). Æ 4. Wts. 38–47 grs.

These were the last Jewish coins legitimately and constitutionally struck in Jerusalem. In allusion to his alliance with Claudius, Agrippa struck elsewhere coins with the interesting legend **ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΜΕΓΑC ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑC ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙCΑΡ** (friend of Cæsar, cf. Jn 19^{12}). On the death of Agrippa, Judæa was once more, and finally, incorporated with the Roman empire.

§ 7. *Imperial coinage of Rome, including coins of the Procurators, and of the autonomous cities of Palestine.*—When the Romans entered upon their career of conquest in the East, they found, as the universal silver unit, the Attic drachm, now reduced to about 62 grains. The corresponding Roman unit was the denarius, also reduced from $\frac{1}{72}$ to $\frac{1}{84}$ of the Roman pound, *i.e.* to 60 grains. It followed as a matter of course that the two coins were identified, with a slight advantage in favour of the denarius. Henceforward, in Greek and Roman writers, 'Attic drachm'[*] and 'denarius' are convertible terms (see Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2} 250 f.); a tetradrachm is now, in ordinary speech, the equivalent of four, an Attic talent of 6000 denarii. Since Pompey's conquest of Syria, B.C. 65, the denarius had circulated in Palestine alongside of the tetradrachms of Antioch and Tyre, both tariffed by Pompey at four denarii. In B.C. 15 Augustus carried through his thoroughgoing reform of the currency, retaining the gold and silver coinage in his own hands, while the senate was accorded the exclusive right of striking copper coins, the distinguishing mark of which was the letters S. C. (senatus consulto) on the reverse. The principal coins of the Augustan currency were—in gold, the *aureus*; in silver, the *denarius*; the *sestertius* (=4 asses or $\frac{1}{4}$th denarius) and *dupondius* of fine brass (*orichalcum*); finally, the *as* ($\frac{1}{16}$th denarius) with its half (*semis*) and quarter (*quadrans*), all in copper. All government payments, such as taxes and tolls, fines imposed by a Roman court, and the like, were calculated in this currency throughout the empire. We learn, however, from the Palmyra tariff, regulating the amount of toll or custom to be paid on various articles of merchandise, that while the amounts were *calculated* according to the denarius and as, payment of sums under a denarius was accepted in the native copper currency[†] (see, further, § 8).

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* The symbol L to denote ἔτος (year) is first found in the Ptolemaic papyri. The monogram is probably the initial letters of ΤΡίχαλκον, indicating that the coin is of the value of three chalki, the chalkus, in the Greek system, being a copper coin, eight of which were equivalent to an obol (⅛ drachm). For coins of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes with similar monograms of value, and for details as to the weights of the Seleucid bronzes generally, see Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, clxxxv ff.

† 'Unter allen numismatischen Kreuzen sind die Jahreszahlen auf den Münzen Agrippas II. eins der peinlichsten.' So wrote Mommsen in 1871 (*Wiener Num. Zeits.* iii. 451). For the latest attempt to adjust the chronology of this prince, see Carl Erbes 'Das Todesjahr Agrippa's II.' [year of death fixed at 86 instead of 100 A.D.] in *Z. f. wiss. Theol.* 39 (1896), pp. 415–435.

‡ See, however, for the chronology of Agrippa I. and for the possibility of coins of seventh to ninth years, Unger: 'zu Josephus' in *Sitzb. d. philos.-philolog. Classe d. k. b. Akad. d. Wiss. zu München*, 1896, 394 f.; cf. Reichardt *apud* Madden, *Coins*, 132.

In A.D. 6 Archelaus was deposed by Augustus, and Judæa became a Roman province under an imperial procurator, with headquarters in Cæsarea. Neglecting the copper coins of the Herodian princes, which had merely a local circulation, we may group the principal denominations circulating in Palestine during this period as follows:—

A. Imperial aurei and denarii, with 'superscription' in Latin.

B. Roman provincial silver and copper from the mint of Antioch, to which were added, after A.D. 17, the issues of the mint set up at Cæsarea Cappadociæ.

C. Silver and copper from the mint of Tyre.

D. Copper coins from the procurator's mint at Cæsarea.

A. The aureus and, in particular, the denarius were the standard coins of the empire, circulating everywhere. As first fixed by Julius Cæsar, the **aureus**[‡] weighed 126·3 grs. ($\frac{1}{40}$th of *libra* or pound) of pure gold. This represents, at the mint price of gold, a sterling value of £1, 0s. 6d. In Augustus' later years, however, and under his successors to the time of Nero, the effective weight of the coins never exceeds $\frac{1}{42}$ pound or 120·3 grs. (see Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2} 309 ff.), equal to 19s. 6d.[§] Under Nero the weight fell to 115 grs. (18s. 8d.). The pieces of gold swallowed by the wretched fugitives from Jerusalem at the time of the great siege were aurei, the supply of which was so great after the capture of the city that—if we can believe Josephus (*BJ* v. xiii. 4)—the value fell from twenty-five denarii, the legal tariff, to twelve. The **denarius** (δηνάριον, originally the equivalent in silver of ten copper asses,—hence its name) from Augustus to Nero weighed $\frac{1}{84}$ libra or 60 grs., and was now = 4 sestertii or 16 asses. By Nero it was reduced to $\frac{1}{96}$ or 52 grs., still retaining, however, its legal value of $\frac{1}{25}$ of the aureus. The many conflicting estimates of the value of the denarius (the **penny** of our EV) which are to be met with in works of repute, render it imperative to discuss this subject more fully. King James's translators give the value thus: 'The Roman penny is the eighth part of an ounce [which it was not till after A.D. 60], which, after five shillings the ounce, is sevenpence halfpenny' (Mt 18$^{28\text{ marg.}}$). This method has two grave defects: (1) it attempts to value the denarius in terms of a constantly fluctuating quantity, the price of silver; and (2) even at the market price of silver at any given date, by this method we should only have the price of the denarius as bullion, not as a coin with a fixed legal currency. In order to express the value of the denarius in terms of our English standard (gold), we must start from its value relative to its own gold unit, viz. as $\frac{1}{25}$th of the aureus. The denarius accordingly varied in value with the aureus from 9·83d. to 9·37d., of which 9½d. may be taken as a sufficiently accurate mean value for ordinary calculations.[*]

B. Throughout the western half of the Roman empire the denarius was the only legal silver coin. In the East, however, the system based on the Greek drachm was continued, the coins on this standard, chiefly tetradrachms and drachms, being issued for Syria and part of Asia Minor from the two imperial mints of Antioch and Cæsarea of Cappadocia. From the former mint[†] were sent forth tetradrachms with Greek legends, which, though actually weighing 220–230 grs., were tariffed by the imperial government at only three denarii (see Mommsen, *Röm. Münzwesen*, 37 f., 715 f.; Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2} 595). Antioch, moreover, shared with Rome the honour of having a mint for the issue of senatorial copper distinguished by their Latin legends, and, in particular, by the letters S. C., within a wreath, on the obverse. The two denominations issued, which also had legal currency throughout the Syro-Cappadocian monetary province,[‡] are generally identified with the sestertius and the as (Mommsen, *op. cit.* 718; Madden, *Coins*, 301 f.). The coins of Cæsarea[§] (from A.D. 17) are principally drachms and didrachms on the Phœnician standard. Vast numbers of the former must have circulated in Palestine in the 2nd cent. (see below, § 10), but they can scarcely have reached that country in any number in the time of our Lord (see **drachm**, next §).

C. The great mint of Tyre continued to issue silver and bronze, the former mainly tetradrachms,[‖] without interruption down to the eve of Nero's innovations, on the old Phœnician standard (220–224 grs.). In Josephus' day the Tyrian tetradrachm was, at least in popular usage, accepted as equivalent to four denarii (τοῦ Τυρίου νομίσματος δ τέσσαρας 'Αττικὰς δύναται, *BJ* ii. 21. 2, N. 592). It is the stater of the NT (see next §).

D. The procurators who governed the province of Judæa from A.D. 6 to the outbreak of the great rebellion of A.D. 66, of whom Pontius Pilate, Felix, Festus, and Gessius Florus are the best known, issued copper coins in the emperor's name,* probably at Cæsarea. These are of small module, and apparently all of one denomination (the quadrans (?)). Under Augustus they are dated according to the era of Actium, B.C. 31,† but under Tiberius by the years of his reign. Though Roman coins, they avoid all representation of living creatures, in deference to the susceptibilities of the Jews. The legend of the obv. generally runs, **KAICAPOC** or **TIB. KAICAP.**; or in full, **TIBEPIOY KAICAPOC**, as on the coins of Pilate. Thus illustr. No. 12—

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[*] In Josephus δραχμὴ 'Αττικὴ or 'Ατθίς is everywhere the denarius.

[†] For this important inscription in Greek and Aramaic, discovered in 1881, see de Vogüé, *Jour. Asiat.* 1883; Schroeder, *Sitzb. d. Berl. Akad.* 1884, 417–436; and esp. Dessau in *Hermes*, xix. 486–533 for Greek text, and Reckendorf in *ZDMG* 42, 1888, 370 ff., for the Aramaic text.

[‡] *Scil. nummus*, the χρυσοῦς [στατήρ] of Greek writers, including Josephus; in the Mishna דִּינָר זָהָב (=*denarius aureus*), also דִּרְכּוֹן.

[§] The mean of these two values is a sovereign, at which the aureus may be reckoned for the first half of the 1st cent. A.D.

[*] After Nero it would not exceed 9d.

[†] For the coins of Antioch in detail see Warwick Wroth's [Brit. Mus.] *Catalogue of the Gr. Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria*, 1899, pp. lviii and 158–232.

[‡] On the other hand, the *municipal* coins of Antioch had only local currency, and do not concern us here.

[§] For coins in detail see Wroth, *op. cit.* pp. xxxvi f. and 45–93. For some interesting constitutional questions raised by the money of Antioch and Cæsarea, see Pick, *Zeit. f. Numism.* xiv. 1887, p. 294 ff.

[‖] For specimens of those struck B.C. 15–A.D. 57, and therefore in use among the Jews till the destruction of Jerusalem, see Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, No. 2093 ff.

Obv. **TIBEPIOY KAICAPOC LIS** (year 16=A.D. 29–30). Type, a *simpulum*.

Rev. **IOYΛIA KAICAPOC.** Three ears of corn bound together. Æ 3. The date shows that this coin was struck by Pontius Pilate.

In order to complete this sketch of coins circulating in Palestine in the first century of our era, a single reference must be made to the money of the numerous cities (*e.g.* Samaria-Sebaste and the cities of the Decapolis) to which Rome had granted the right to strike 'autonomous' bronze coins. The circulation of these, it is true, was local and restricted, yet they are full of interest to the historical student,‡ who is referred to the classical treatise of M. de Saulcy, *La Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, 1874.

§ 8. *Money of the New Testament.*—Under this head it is proposed to bring together the references to money and coins in the NT, at the same time avoiding all unnecessary repetition. In the NT, as in the OT, 'money' is still *par excellence* silver money (*ἄργυρος, ἀργύριον*), although all three metals are in circulation (cf. Mt 10^9 *χρυσὸν—ἄργυρον—χαλκόν*). Large sums are expressed in **minas** (*μνᾶ*, AV **pound**) and **talents** (*τάλαντον*). The latter is no longer a weight of silver, but the Roman-Attic talent, which comprised 6000 denarii or drachms (Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2} 252, and Index 'Talent'). It was thus equal to 240 aurei, or £240 (see previous §). The **mina** (Lk 19^{13-25}) is the sixtieth part of the talent, 100 denarii, or £4. Of specific coins, the **aureus** is only indirectly referred to in the passage above referred to: 'provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses' (Mt 10^9). On the other hand, the denarius (*δηνάριον*, EV penny) is mentioned sixteen times in all in the NT, and constantly as the *dînar* (דִּינָר) in the Mishna. Its value in our Lord's time may with sufficient accuracy be set down as 9½d., as was shown in the previous section.§ Our Revisers unfortunately have still adhered to the ridiculous rendering '**penny**' instead of admitting the more accurate 'shilling,' as proposed by the American translators, and retaining 'penny' for the as‖ and 'farthing' for the quadrans (see below). The Roman taxes were reckoned and paid in denarii (cf. *τὸ νόμισμα τοῦ κήνσου*, Mt 22^{19}); the 'image and superscription' (Lk 20^{24}) of a contemporary denarius of the emperor Tiberius is given in our plate, No. 13.

Obv. TI. CÆSAR DIVI AVG. F[ilius] AVGVSTVS. Head of Tiberius, right, laureated.

Rev. PONTIF. MAXIM. Livia seated r., holding sceptre and flower.

The Greek **drachm** (*δραχμή*; in later Hebrew זוּז *zûz*, also זוּזָא, by which Onkelos renders correctly the quarter of the shekel, 1 S 9^8) is only once mentioned by name (Lk 15^8 'ten pieces of silver'). Its value at this time was neither 7½d. as AVm, nor 8d. as RVm, but was the same as that of the denarius in ordinary transactions. In government payments, however, as we saw above, it was tariffed at ¾ of the denarius. The 50,000 'pieces of silver' (*ἀργυρίου*, Ac 19^{19}) at which the magical books were valued, are also to be understood as denarius-drachms,* the universal unit of calculation. In a previous section it has been shown that the *δίδραχμον*, or double-drachm, was the Gr. equivalent of the half-shekel, the whole shekel being a tetradrachm of Tyrian currency, The **didrachm** was very rarely coined at this time, and indeed was at all times much rarer than the tetradrachm. Hence it must have been very common, if not the usual custom, for two persons to unite in paying 'the tribute money' (*τὰ δίδραχμα*, Mt 17^{24})—the annual contribution of every male adult Jew to the maintenance of the temple services—by means of a Tyrian or other tetradrachm on the Phœnician standard. This last is the **stater** (*στατήρ*, Mt 17^{27}, AV piece of money, RV shekel †) found in the fish's mouth, which Peter was instructed to pay as 'tribute money' for the Master and himself. The contributions of Jews in foreign lands were collected and changed into gold pieces (דַּרְכּוֹנִים *darkônîm*, *Sheḳalim* ii. 1, which are not darics but aurei; cf. *Bab. bath.* x. 2) for convenience of transport (see, further, Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. ix. 1, N. 312, where *τὸ δίδραχμον* is used precisely as by St. Matthew for 'half-shekel'). After the destruction of Jerusalem the half-shekel, otherwise two drachms or denarii (*δύο δραχμάς*, Jos. *BJ* VII. vi. 6), was appropriated by the Roman authorities for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Jos. *l.c.*). The 'thirty pieces of silver' (*τριάκοντα ἀργύρια*, Mt 26^{15} $27^{3ff.}$), for which our Lord was betrayed, are in all the circumstances more likely to have been thirty Phœnician tetradrachms—hence=120 denarii (£4, 16s.)—from the temple treasury (cf. Zec 11^{12} in LXX), than thirty denarius-drachms.

We come now to the copper coins of the NT, and find mention of three different denominations. (1) The lowest of these is the **lepton** (*λεπτόν*, Mk 12^{42} = Lk 21^2 the widow's 'mite'; Lk 12^{59} 'thou shalt not depart [out of prison] till thou hast paid the very last "mite"' [*τὸ ἔσχατον λεπτόν*=Mt 5^{26} *τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην*, 'the uttermost farthing']). The coin mentioned in these three passages can only be the *pĕrûṭah* (פְּרוּטָה), so often spoken of in the Mishna as proverbially the smallest Jewish coin (so Lk 12^{59}). In at least two places (*Ḳiddush.* i. 1, *Ediyy.* iv. 7) it is expressly declared to have been tariffed as ⅛th of the Italian or Roman as (אסר אטלקי *iṣṣâr* (or *aṣṣâr*) *iṭalḳî*), in other words the half of the Roman quadrans. This agrees precisely with the much discussed note — whether original or marginal — in Mk 12^{42} *λεπτὰ δύο ὅ ἐστιν κοδράντης*, 'two lepta, which makes a quadrans,' as it accords with 'the unanimous tradition of the Hellenistic metrologists' (Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2} 605, n. 6). It must be sought for among the minute bronzes of the Hasmonæan and Herodian princes, some of which do not weigh more than 15 to 20 grains. Since it is ⅛th of the as, or $\frac{1}{128}$th part of the denarius, its legal value was about ⅓rd of an English farthing. The two remaining bronzes may best be examined together; they are (2) the **kodrantēs** (*κοδράντης*, Mt 5^{26}, Mk 12^{42} already cited), and (3) the

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* The emperor's peculiar relation to the procuratorial provinces explains why this coinage was not issued in the name of the senate in accordance with the agreement of B.C. 15. See, further, Pick, *loc. cit.*

† See for this question Pick, *l.c.* p. 307 f.; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 80, and cf. Madden's tables.

‡ This is well shown by the use made of these coins by Schürer in his great work. See *HJP* Index under 'Coins.'

§ The real test, however, of the value of this or of any other coin is its purchasing power, for which see the appendix to this article.

‖ 'Let *ἀσσάριον* (Mt 10^{29}, Lk 12^6) be translated "penny," and *δηνάριον* "shilling," except in Mt 22^{19}, Mk 12^{15}, Lk 20^{24}, where the name of the coin should be given.'

* This use of *ἀργυρίου* is often met with in Josephus.

† The OT word שֶׁקֶל was in later Hebrew displaced by סֶלַע *sela'*, stater or tetradrachm, which in the Mishna contains four זוּזִים *zûzîm*, or drachms.

assarion (*ἀσσάριον*, Mt 10^{29} 'are not two sparrows sold for a farthing?'* Lk 12^{6} 'are not five sparrows sold for two farthings?' Cf. Vulg. nonne quinque passeres veneunt *dipondio*?). The kodrantes is undoubtedly the Roman quadrans (the fourth part of the as, value about ⅛ farthing)—from which, of course, the name is derived—since in the one passage (Mk 12^{42}) the note is clearly intended for Roman readers, and in the other (Mt 5^{26}) the popular perutah-lepton of Lk 12^{59} is replaced by St. Matthew, familiar as a tax-gatherer with the Roman system of accounting, by the lowest denomination in the Roman scale. With regard to the assarion (from the Latin *assarium*, a by-form of *as*) we are on less firm ground, for, in the existing uncertainty as to how the copper of the Hellenistic system was adjusted to that of the Roman system, we must not hastily identify the Hellenistic assarion with the Roman as. The former passed into the contemporary Hebrew as the *iṣṣar* (אִסָּר, see Mishna, *passim*; cf. אסרא of the Palmyra tariff, and the *aṣṣārā* of the Peshiṭta and Palestinian Syriac, Lk 12^{6}), and the authorities of the Mishna repeatedly refer to the dînar or zûz (the denarius-drachm) as containing 6 *maoth* (מָעוֹת obols), and 24 *iṣṣarîm*, from which it is evident that in the 2nd cent. at least the issar-assarion was a different coin from the as. We venture to think that the key to the difficulty is to be found in the distinction between the 'current' and 'tariff' value of a coin, to adopt expressions employed in the East at the present day. In ordinary transactions the drachm and the denarius were equal in value, the former containing 6 obols, 24 dichalki or 48 chalki, and the latter 8 dupondii, 16 asses or 64 quadrantes. Since 24 issarim-assaria also went to the denarius-drachm, we must infer that the Græco-Roman name assarion *was popularly applied to the old dichalkus.* But all government dues and official payments were calculated on the Roman denarius-as system (see the rescript of Germanicus Cæsar, A.D. 17–19, quoted in the Palmyra tariff *δεῖ πρὸς ἀσσάριον ἰτα*[*λικόν*]—elsewhere *εἰς δηνάριον—τὰ τέλη λογεύεσθαι*, Col. IV^{a} 41 ff.), with the proviso added that small dues amounting to less than a denarius (*τὸ δὲ ἐντὸς δηναρίου τέλος*) might be defrayed in the native copper † (*πρὸς κέρμα* = עָרְפָּן; cf. same word in Peshiṭta Jn 2^{15}). Now the Romans, it will be remembered, tariffed the tetradrachm at 3 denarii (*i.e.* 1 drachm = ¾ denarius); accordingly a tax of the latter amount, ¾ denarius, might be paid either in Roman copper, if available, *i.e.* by 6 dupondii or 12 asses, or 48 quadrantes, or in native copper on the drachm-system, in this case by 6 obols (a drachm), or 12 tetrachalki (half-obols), or 48 chalki. By government tariff, therefore, the *dupondius was made equal to the obol, the as to the tetrachalkus, and the quadrans to the chalkus.* These equations are confirmed (*a*) by the ancient gloss: *ὀβολός* hoc duopundium (*Corp. Gloss.* ii. 378, cited by Kubitschek, art. *Ἀσσάριον* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyl.* vol. ii.); and (*b*) by the Peshiṭta rendering of *κοδράντης*, viz. *shamônâ*, which is the Talmudic שָׁמִין *shāmîn*, *Ḳiddush.* 12*c*,‡ *i.e.* the *eighth* part (of the obol), in other words the chalkus.§ We assume, then, that just as in Alexandria at the present day we have the 'piastre tariff' and the 'piastre current,' the former equal to two of the latter; so in NT times there was the current issar-assarion, which was the dichalkus, and the tariff or Roman as—distinguished from the other as the *iṣṣar iṭālḳî* of the Mishna and the Palmyra tariff; cf. ΑΣ(*σάριον*) ΙΤ(*άλικον*) on coins of Crete of the 1st cent. (Svoronos, *Num. de la Crète ancienne*),—which was double the value of the former. The quadrans, finally, was always a tariff coin, represented by the imperial coins of the procurators (40–45 grs.), but popularly known by the name of its tariff equivalent, the Greek chalkus (Heb. *shâmîn*).*

C. THE COINS OF THE REVOLTS.

§ 9. *Coins of the First Revolt* (A.D. 66–70).—In the year A.D. 66 began the struggle against the might of imperial Rome, which ended in the destruction of both temple and city, August A.D. 70. To these five years (spring 66–67 to autumn 70–71) of the so-called 'first revolt' must be ascribed the first issue of silver money from a Jewish mint. These are the famous shekels and half-shekels of which we now give the illustration (Nos. 14, 15 of plate) and description.

Obv. שקל ישראל [*shéḳel Yisrāēl*, the shekel of Israel] in old-Heb. characters. Type: a jewelled chalice with knop on stem; above the cup שה [contraction for שנת ה year five]; border of dots.

Rev. ירושלים הקרושה [*Yĕrûshāláyim ha-ḳĕdóshah*, Jerusalem the holy] in same characters. Type: a flowering lily; border of dots.

Obv. חצי השקל [*ḥăẓî ha-shéḳel*, the half-shekel] in old-Heb. characters. Type: a broad-lipped chalice with knop on stem, on either side a pellet (of incense?); above the cup א [= year 1]; border of dots.

Rev. ירושלם קרשה [*Yĕrûshâlēm ḳĕdôshah*]. Type and border as in shekel.

The shekels and half-shekels of the first year are distinguished from those of the following years (1) by the chalice having a broad projecting lip instead of a jewelled rim; (2) by the letter א alone, without ש; and (3) by the *scriptio defectiva* of the reverse legend, the adjective 'holy,' further, being without the article. No Jewish coins have given rise to so much discussion, or have been assigned to so many different periods of Jewish history as these.† The time of Ezra and Nehemiah, the age of Alexander the Great, and the principate of Simon Maccabæus have all been proposed, the last in particular, by almost all recent writers on Jewish history and archæology. The main grounds on which this date must be pronounced untenable have been given in a former section (§ 5). The explicit testimony of the coins themselves, with the uniform legend 'Jerusalem the holy,' proves, according to a well-known numismatic canon, that the authority under whose auspices the coins were struck was that of an independent and autonomous city. Now Jerusalem enjoyed the requisite independence only on two occasions,‡ and on both the independence was not constitutional but usurped. These two occasions coincide with the first and second revolts. The latter is out of the question, since the coins of that period are now known in great detail (see next §). There remains only the period of the first revolt, A.D. 66–70.[*] We maintain, therefore,—and in this contention we claim the support of a growing body of expert opinion (Imhoof-Blumer, Babelon, Reinach, and others),—that the coins in question were struck by the same executive authority (*τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν*, Jos. *Life, passim*) as was responsible for the defence of the city and the general conduct of the war. This attribution is confirmed by the comparative frequency of coins of the first three years, by the rarity of coins of the fourth year, and by their almost complete absence in the fifth year (April to August A.D. 70), all corresponding in the most complete manner with the success and gradual collapse of the Jewish power in the course of the revolt. Further, the fabric and module of these shekels present a remarkable similarity to those of the tetradrachms of Nero and Vespasian, issued about the same time from the mint of Antioch.[†] It is possible, as Reinach suggests, that the immediate purpose of the new coinage was to supply, for the first time in Jewish history, native 'shekels of the sanctuary' for the various religious dues.[‡]

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* See above for improved rendering of the American Revisers.

† For this see Dessau's paper cited above (*Hermes*, xx. p. 520); cf. *ZDMG* 42, p. 412.

‡ Where it is added: 'two perûṭahs make a shāmîn,' another confirmation of Mk 12^{42}.

§ This identification of the quadrans with the chalkus has already been suggested on other grounds (see Madden, *Coins*, p. 300 f.).

* This explains how the quadrans does not appear in a Hebraized form in the Mishna, like the as and the dupondius (פוֹנְדְּיוֹן), which the Vulgate inserts in Lk 12^{6}. The coins of Herod with a X (*χαλκοῦς*) on the obverse within a circle (Madden, p. 111), which weigh 43–48 grs., are also probably quadrantes-chalki. For the circulation of the quadrans in the East, see the Blass-Ramsay controversy over Mk 12^{42} in the *Exp. Times*, x. (1898–99) *passim*.

† Besides the discussions in the numismatic works mentioned in the bibliography to this article, see Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 379 ff.

‡ The most recent theory of all, that these shekels were struck by 'the [hypothetical] republic of Jerusalem' set up by Gabinius, B.C. 57/6–53/2 (Unger, 'zu Josephus iv., Die Republik Jerusalem,' *Sitzb. d. philos-philolog. Classe d. Akad. zu München*, 1897, p. 199 ff.), is based on too many hazardous combinations to command our confidence.

The question of the copper coinage of the two revolts is too intricate a subject for detailed discussion here (see Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 383 ff. for the conflicting views of numismatists). Only two sets of bronze coins can now, in all probability, be assigned to the same period as the silver shekels. These are (1) a set of small coins distinguished by the legend חרות ציון (*ḥērûth Ziyyôn*, emancipation of Zion) round a vine leaf, and on the obverse, in old-Hebrew characters, 'year two' and 'year three' (illustr. Madden, p. 206). (2) A series of copper coins of three denominations, of which the distinguishing mark is the legend לגאלת ציון (*lig'ullath Ziyyôn*, the redemption of Zion) on the reverse; the obverses have the following: (*a*) שנת ארבע חצי (year four—a half), (*b*) שנת ארבע רביע (year four—a quarter), and (*c*) שנת ארבע (year four) alone. The principal types (see Madden, p. 71 ff.) are the *lûlab* (לוּלָב, a sort of bouquet composed of twigs of the myrtle and willow with a palm leaf; see Lv 23^{40}) and *'ethrog* (אֶתְרֹג, a citron), which were carried in either hand at the feast of Booths. The obverse of the third group (*c*), however, is the chalice, which serves to connect the whole series with the shekels of the first revolt. The coins just described are generally known as 'the copper shekels of the year four,' it being *assumed* that they represent ½, ¼, and ⅛ shekels respectively. If this be so—the view is by no means beyond question—these coins will be specimens of 'siege money,' tokens issued by the authorities to be redeemed by silver money after the victory—which never came.

Perhaps no coins of antiquity have been more frequently reproduced in illustrations than the numerous coins struck by Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, and the Roman senate to commemorate the subjugation of Judæa (see Madden, pp. 207–229; de Saulcy, *Numism. de la Terre Sainte*, p. 79 ff.; Pick, *Zeit. f. Numism.* xiv. 1887, 328 ff.). One of these, an aureus of Titus, is shown in No. 16.

Obv. T. CAES. IMP. VESP. PON. TR. POT. Head of Titus, right, laureated.

Rev. No legend (other coins have JUDAEA CAPTA and the like). Palm tree; to left: Titus, with left foot on helmet, holding spear in right hand, with left resting on parazonium;[§] to right: Judæa as a Jewess seated on the ground.

§ 10. *Coins of the Second Revolt*, A.D. 132–135.—The history of the Jewish community in Judæa during the sixty years that followed the destruction of their temple is very imperfectly known; in particular, the antecedents of the shortlived but sanguinary rebellion which broke out in the 16th year of Hadrian's principate.[*] The conflicting and fragmentary evidence seems to warrant either of two alternatives. Either the Jews were goaded to revolt by coercive measures on Hadrian's part, and by the founding of Ælia Capitolina with its heathen temple, on the occasion of his visit to Jerusalem A.D. 130;[†] or on a former visit in A.D. 117 (see for this Dürr, *op. cit.* p. 63, following Epiphanius) the Jews had received permission to rebuild the temple, and were now incited to revolt by Bar Cochba, whose Messianic claims had been approved by R. Aḳîba, the most respected religious leader of the time. The founding of Ælia Capitolina would thus fall naturally after the suppression of the revolt. The numismatic evidence seems rather favourable to the second alternative.

The distinguishing feature of the silver coins of the 'second revolt' is the fact that they are all, probably *without a single exception*, imperial denarii, drachms, and tetradrachms from the mints of Rome, Cæsarea, and Antioch respectively, which have been re-struck with Jewish types and legends. On most of them some trace, more or less, of the original legend, and even in some cases of the head of the emperor—from Galba to Hadrian inclusive—has survived. Where such is not the case, we may assign as the cause the success of the process of re-striking rather than the use of native flans. Our knowledge of these coins has recently been enlarged by a valuable find a few miles from Hebron, which has enabled a German numismatist to undertake an exhaustive study of all the known specimens (see L. Hamburger, 'Die Silbermünzprägungen während des letzten Aufstandes der Israeliten gegen Rom' in Von Sallet's *Zeitsch. für Numismatik*, xviii. (1892) pp. 240–347).

The activity of the Jewish moneyers during the short period of the revolt is very remarkable, since, according to Hamburger's data, no fewer than twenty-four different classes of silver coins have to be registered (*op. cit.* p. 246). From these we learn that the leaders of the revolt were the secular chief, 'Simeon, Nasi (or Prince) of Israel,' and the religious head of the nation, 'Eleazar the (high) priest.' The latter has been variously identified as Eleazar of Modein, whose priestly descent, however, is uncertain; Eleazar ben Azariah (Hamburger), and most recently Eleazar ben Ḥarsom (Schlatter, *op. cit.* 54 ff.; 'assez plausible' is Bacher's verdict, *REJ*, 1898). The Simeon of the coin-legends can hardly be other than the pseudo-Messiah known as Simon bar Cochba (בַּר כּוֹכְבָא *bar Kôkĕbâ*, 'son of the star,'[‡] in allusion to Nu 24^{17}), whose real name was probably Simeon bar Kozēba, *i.e.* native of Kozēba, a place on the road to Jericho (cf. Buhl, *Geogr.* 176).

The following, apart from graphical details, is substantially Hamburger's arrangement of the silver coins of Eleazar and Simeon, the three larger groups being determined by the *legend of the reverse*.

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[*] This date was first advocated by Ewald in the *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1855.

[†] Cf. our illustrations with plates xxi. and xxii. of Wroth, *Greek Coins of Galatia*, etc.

[‡] For weights of extant shekels and half-shekels, see Madden, *Coins*, p. 286 *n.* 5.

[§] A short sword attached to a belt round the waist; see Rich, *Dict. of Antiq. s.v.*

[*] Besides the well-known histories of Grätz (vol. iv.), Mommsen (*Provinces*, etc. ii. 223 ff.), Gregorovius (*The Emperor Hadrian*, 1898, unfortunately not brought down to date), and Schürer (*HJP* I. ii. 287 ff., with ample reff.), see Durr, *Die Reisen Hadrians*, 1881, and Schlatter, *Die Tage Trajans u. Hadrians*, 1897 (an attempt to construct a connected history from the scattered notices in later Jewish literature). For the Roman forces engaged in suppressing the revolt (which were more numerous than has hitherto been supposed), see, besides Pfitzner, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserlegionen*, J. Offord in *PSBA*, 1898, pp. 59–69.

[†] This visit is commemorated by the coins of Hadrian with the legend ADVENTVI AUG. IVDAEAE (see Cohen, *Description de monnaies impériales*, ed. 1, p. 176 f.; Madden, p. 251 f.).

[‡] The star on some of the tetradrachms has generally been supposed to refer to this.

I. **Coins** (denarii, drachms, and tetradrachms) **of 'the year one * of the redemption of Israel'** —שנת אחת לגאלת ישראל.

i. Denarius - drachms with the name of 'Eliezer the priest' אלעזר הכהן.

ii. Tetradrachms with legend 'Jerusalem' round the conventional representation of the 'golden gate' (?) of the temple (see below).

II. **Coins** (as before) **of the 'year 2 of the emancipation of Israel'**—שב לחרות ישראל.

This group is composed of two main classes of denarius - drachms of Simeon, viz.—

iii. *A*. D.-d. of Simeon, with his name, contracted (שמע) or in full (שמעון), within a wreath.

B. D.-d. of Simeon, with his name always in full round a bunch of grapes.

Each of these may be arranged in four subclasses, according to *the type of the reverse*, viz.—

(*a*) *Rev.* Sacrificial flagon, with small palm branch above.
(*b*) *Rev.* Three-stringed lyre.
(*c*) *Rev.* Two trumpets.
(*d*) *Rev.* Palm branch.

iv. Tetradrachms of the same year with *obv.* legend 'Jerusalem.'

v. Tetradrachms of the same year with *obv.* legend 'Simeon.'

III. **Undated coins of 'the emancipation of Jerusalem'**—לחרות ירושלם.

vi. D.-d. of Simeon, falling into two classes (*A* and *B*), each into four sub-classes (*a*)–(*d*) as under division iii. above.†

vii. Undated tetradrachms of Simeon.

From the great variety of coins above represented we have selected three from group III. for illustration — a re-struck drachm, denarius, and tetradrachm (this last showing no traces of the original) from the British Museum collection.

Obv. שמעון round a bunch of grapes.

Rev. לחרות ירושלם round a three-stringed lyre (class vi. *B b* of Hamburger's classification above). Plate No. 17.

This is a re-struck drachm of Trajan from the mint of Cæsarea Cappadociæ; on the *reverse* may be seen **AYTOKP. KAIC.** of the legend of the original *obverse*, and on the present obverse **[ΔΗ]ΜΑΡΧ** from the original reverse legend (see Wroth's *Catalogue*, p. 54 ff.).

Obv. As above (Plate No. 18).

Rev. Same legend; type, two trumpets (= Hamburger's vi. *B c*).

A re-struck denarius of Trajan; on the obverse are clear traces of the back of the emperor's head, with the ends of the ribbons with which the wreath was fastened, while the reverse shows the arm of Arabia as a female holding a branch over a camel. No. 19 shows the original denarius of A.D. 105.

Obv. שמעון. Type of uncertain significance (by Madden, 'a conventional figure of the Beautiful Gate of the Temple; below, Solomon's colonnade' [?]); above, a star.

Rev. לחרות ירושלם. Type, a *lûlab* (see previous section) with small *ethrog* as adjunct. (No. 20).

A tetradrachm of class vii. above; weight of specimen, 213 grs.

Hamburger has not dealt with the copper coins of this period in the same systematic way. The following arrangement is here proposed, and will be found to embrace most of the coins.

I. **Bronze coins of 'the first year of the redemption of Israel.'**

i. Coins of 'Eleazar the priest,' written in bizarre fashion on either side of the stem of a palm-tree. *Rev.* type a bunch of grapes (see Madden, 198 ff., who refers these coins to an Eleazar of the first revolt). It is now evident that these cannot be separated from the Eleazar silver coins of the second revolt.

ii. Various denominations of 'Simeon, prince of Israel,' with, as types, palm, vine leaf, *diota* (two-eared jar), lyre, etc. (Madden, 203 ff.).

II. **Bronze coins of 'year 2 of the emancipation of Israel.'**

iii. *Obv.* שמען (*sic*) and שמע on either side of a palm-tree.

Types of *Rev.* (*a*) bunch of grapes, (*b*) vine leaf.

iv. *Obv.* ירושלם arranged as in iii., and with same *rev.* types.

III. **Undated bronzes of 'the emancipation of Jerusalem.'**

v. *Obv.* שמעון arranged as above, and with same *rev.* types.

vi. *Obv.* ירושלם arranged as above, and with same *rev.* types.

From the relative sizes (Æ 4 and 6) and weights of the bronzes with the bunch of grapes and the vine leaf respectively as obv. types (see No. 21), it is evident that the former are one half of the latter, perhaps 'current' chalki and dichalki respectively (see § 8). The types of these revolt coins, silver and copper alike, in almost all cases have a reference to some characteristic product of the country (palm, vine, grapes), or to the paraphernalia of the temple-worship (lyre, flagon, trumpets).

The fall of Bethar, the modern Bittir, a few miles S.W. of Jerusalem, where Simeon and his frenzied followers made their last despairing stand, had been preceded by the recapture of Jerusalem, on the site of which Hadrian built his new city of Ælia Capitolina. The coins commemorating its foundation are given by Madden, p. 249 ff., and de Saulcy, *Numism. de la Terre Sainte*, p. 63 ff.

Our task is done. Yet the writer cannot forbear to call attention once more to the most striking feature of Jewish numismatics, and to a reflexion which it suggests. Not once in the whole course of their history did the Jews enjoy, *as a constitutional and legal right*, the privilege of coining money in either silver or gold. — Is not this a remarkable testimony to the fact that the true mission of the Hebrew race lay in another than the temporal sphere, even the spiritual? 'Out of Zion' *went* 'forth the Law, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem.'

§ 11. *Appendix. The purchasing power of money in Bible times.*—Throughout this article an approximate estimate in sterling currency has been given of the moneys of the various standards we have met with in the course of the history of the Hebrew race. A much more adequate idea of their real value, however, would be gained if we knew their purchasing power in these ancient times. Considering the compass and variety of our Scriptures, it is somewhat remarkable how few indications are to be found of the prices of the ordinary articles of commerce. The purchase of land is probably more frequently mentioned than any other (Gn $23^{11ff.}$ 33^{19}, 2 S 24^{24}, 1 K 16^{24}, Jer $32^{7ff.}$, Mt 27^{7}), but in no case have we definite information as to the size of the ground acquired. From Is 7^{23} we learn that a good vineyard was valued at the rate of a thousand vines for 'a thousand silverlings' or silver shekels, a sum (*c.* £135) which represents the yearly rent (though this is not certain) of Solomon's vineyard at Baal-hamon (Ca 8^{11}). This monarch paid '600 shekels of silver' (*c.* £80) for an Egyptian chariot, and a quarter of that sum for a horse (2 Ch 1^{17}); in each case, no doubt, a high price. A better indication of the value of money in antiquity is the rate of wages paid. Micah's private chaplain received but ten shekels a year (Jg 17^{10}). He had, however, 'everything found' in addition, as had the angel Raphael when he accepted service with Tobit for a drachm a day (Tob 5^{14} $^{(\text{Gr. }15)}$ *δραχμὴν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τὰ δέοντά σοι*). In NT times a denarius (9½d.) was a fair day's wages for a labourer (Mt $20^{2\text{ff.}}$). Labourers in Cicero's time got only 12 asses (*c.* 7d.), but soldiers received a denarius. The price of slaves naturally varied not only according to age and capacity, but also according to the supply. The normal value, according to the Priests' Code, was 30 shekels, over £4 (Ex 21^{32}). Joseph was sold for twenty (Gn 37^{28}). The former price differs but little from the average of 120 drachms in the age of the Ptolemies (Jos. *Ant.* XII. ii. 3). A talent was a high price even for an educated slave 'in the flower of his youth' (*Ant.* XII. iv. 9), while ninety slaves for that amount (2 Mac 8^{11}) represent the other extreme. The truest indication of all would be the price of the standard food-stuffs, especially wheat and barley, but unfortunately the biblical data are scanty in the extreme. In 2 K 7^{1} a seah (about 1½ peck) of fine flour was sold for a shekel (2s. 9d.), and two seahs of barley at the same price. This could only be considered cheap in comparison with the previously existing famine prices (2 K 6^{25}).* Another 'famine' price is found Rev 6^{6}: a choenix (about a quart) of wheat for a denarius, and three of the same measure of barley at the same price. From these two passages (2 K 7^{1}, Rev 6^{6}) we learn this at least, that in the period of the monarchy flour was twice as dear as barley meal, while in the 1st cent. A.D. the price of wheat was to that of barley as 3 : 1. In any case the prices in Revelation are very high, about twelve times the ordinary prices, to judge from those of the 2nd cent. as given in the Mishna. Thus a seah of wheat is there priced at a denarius (*Erubin* viii. 2), about 16s. a quarter.† Little can be learned from the contradictory statements of Josephus (*Wars*, II. xxi. 2, and *Life*, 13) regarding the price of oil, beyond the fact of its extreme cheapness in Galilee during the war with Rome. The low price of the sparrow, finally, is familiar to every reader of the Gospels, two being sold for a 'current' issarassarion, or a farthing and a half (see § 8), and five for three English farthings.

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* In the sequel, 'year one,' 'year two' denote that the Hebrew words are written in full; 'yr. 1,' 'yr. 2' represent the contractions שא, שב.

† This gives in all sixteen possible varieties of denarius-drachms issued in Simeon's name, only fifteen of which have as yet been recovered.

LITERATURE.—Indispensable for the study of Jewish numismatics is F. W. Madden's exhaustive corpus, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, which has taken the place of his earlier work, *History of Jewish Coinage*, 1864. Hardly less so are B. V. Head's *Historia Numorum*, 1887, which covers the whole field of Greek numismatics, and Fr. Hultsch, *Griechische und Römische Metrologie*, 2te Bearbeitg. 1882. Other standard works are, besides the general works of Eckhel and Mionnet:—F. de Saulcy, *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque*, 1854; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, trans. from the Italian by Werlhof, 1855; Levy, *Gesch. d. jüdischen Münzen*, 1862; de Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, 1874 (complement of his *Recherches*, dealing only with non-Jewish coins of Palestine); Merzbacher in the *Zeitschrift f. Numismatik*, Bd. iii.–v., 1876–78 (specially on the 'Maccabæan' shekels); Th. Reinach, *Les monnaies juives*, 1887; Hamburger, *Z. f. Numism.* xviii. 1892 (see § 10). The standard works on the Persian, Phœnician, Ptolemaic, Seleucid, and Roman coins respectively are given in the body of the article.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

MONEY-CHANGERS (EXCHANGERS, CHANGERS, BANKERS).—In the preceding article it has been shown how various were the standards according to which money was reckoned in the course of Jewish history. In the 1st cent. of our era, for example (MONEY, § 8), we find coins of the Roman system (*denarius*, *as*, etc.) side by side with coins of the Greek system (*drachm*, *tetradrachm*, etc.). The Jews, moreover, according to the testimony of their own Rabbis, were required to pay the sacred dues in coins of still another standard, viz. the Phœnician. When to these facts is added the circumstance that Palestine and Jerusalem, in particular, were visited by vast numbers of Jews 'out of every nation under heaven' (Ac 2^{5}), each of whom required to be furnished with the current coins of the country, it will be admitted that there was great need for 'the tables of the money-changers.' The words denoting this important class of the community in NT are three in number: (1) *κερματιστής* (from *κέρμα*, a small coin, then money generally, Jn 2^{15}), Jn 2^{14} only, AV and RV 'changers of money,' parallel to and synonymous with (2) *κολλυβιστής* (from *κόλλυβος*, originally a small coin, apparently one fourth of the *χαλκοῦς* [Hultzsch, *Metrol.*^{2} p. 228], then the 'commission' or agio paid to the money-changer), Mt 21^{12}, Mk 11^{15}, AV and RV 'money-changers,' Jn 2^{15} 'changers.' According to some we should distinguish the *κερματιστής* who gave small change (*κέρματα*) for the larger coins, copper and silver, etc., from the *κολλυβιστής* who 'changed foreign money at an agio (*καταλλαγή*), or provided gold to be remitted abroad' (Smith's *Dict. of Antiq.*^{3} 'Argentarii'). The Jews, however, expressed both words by the post-biblical שֻׁלְחָנִי *shulḥānî* (from *shulḥān*, table), which is merely the Hebrew equivalent of (3) *τραπεζίτης* (from *τράπεζα*, the table or stand at which the changer sat and on which he ranged his money, Mt 21^{12}, Mk 11^{15}, Jn 2^{15}, AV and RV 'tables,' but Lk 19^{23} 'bank'*), only Mt 25^{27}, AV 'exchangers,' RV 'bankers.' The business of the Jewish *shulḥānî* was threefold: (1) he changed the larger denominations (*tetradrachm*, *denarius*, *drachm*) into their equivalent in the copper money in which the minor purchases of the average household were made, or, it might be, the gold *aureus* into silver coin, and *vice versa*. (2) He exchanged all money that had not legal currency in Palestine into such as had. (3) The wealthier members of the class received money on deposit for the purpose of investment, on which interest (*τόκος*, Mt 25^{27}, Lk 19^{23} AV 'usury,' RV 'interest') at fixed rates was paid. They also negotiated drafts on correspondents abroad. This third department will be dealt with more in detail under USURY.

The 'money-changers' are introduced in the NT, in respect of the first two departments of their business, in the incident (or incidents) of the clearing of the temple courts (Mt $21^{12\text{ff.}}$, Mk $11^{15\text{ff.}}$, Jn $2^{13\text{ff.}}$). The practice had grown up of allowing the *shulḥānîm* to set up their stands or 'tables' (שֻׁלְחָן) in the outer court or 'court of the Gentiles' for the convenience of the numerous worshippers, especially of those from foreign countries—a practice which evidently led to much unseemly wrangling, and even to acts of downright dishonesty (cf. Mt 21^{13}, Mk 11^{17}, Lk 19^{46}). A special and important branch of the money-changer's work was the providing of the half-shekel or didrachm (MONEY, § 8) required annually of every adult male for the maintenance of the public services of the temple.

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* MT is here corrupt. Cheyne emends: 'A homer (10 bushels) of lentils for 50 shekels, and a quarter of a cor (2½ bushels) of carob-pods for 5 shekels,' *Expos.* July 1899.

† Cf. *Baba Mezia* v. 1, where a kor (30 seahs) of wheat is bought for 25 and sold for 30 denarii, also 16s. a quarter. In Cicero's time wheat was sold at Rome at the rate of 3 sestertii the modius, which is under £1 a quarter.

* The Latin *mensa* and *mensarius* afford a complete parallel; cf. our own 'bank' cognate with 'bench.'

From the Mishna treatise *Shĕḳālîm* we learn that one month (15th Adar) before the Passover festival accredited *shulḥānîm* set up their tables in the provinces to receive the contributions of the provincials, removing ten days later to the capital (see, further, TRIBUTE MONEY). While in their ordinary transactions the changers were probably not over-scrupulous as to the amount of commission they charged, in the case of the half-shekel the amount of the agio (קוֹלְבּוֹן, *κόλλυβον*) was fixed at 4 per cent. This seems the natural inference from the data in *Shĕḳālîm* i. 6, 7, which we understand to mean that the price of the Tyrian tetradrachm or stater (Mt 17^{27}), which contained 24 *ma'oth* (מָעוֹת) or obols, was 25 obols, the extra obol (1 in 25, or 4 p.c. = *c.* 1½d.) being the agio. This we saw (MONEY, § 8) was probably the usual method of paying the tax. For a single half-shekel or didrachm of silver apparently only half an obol was charged (see *Shĕḳ.* i. end *). A commission of 4 p.c. seems to have been usual in secular transactions also. In *Me'ilah* vi. 4 we read of an *aureus* (=25 *denarii*) being spent, although the total of the purchases amounts to only 24 *denarii*. Clearly the remaining *denarius* was retained as agio. The changers had always to be on their guard against false money, hence the saying—

אֵין דֶּרֶךְ שׁוּלְחָנִי לִתֵּן אִיסָּר עַד שֶׁיִּטּוֹל דִּינָרוֹ

'it is not the custom of the money-changer to give change (lit. an issar or as) until he receives [and has tested] his denarius!' A. R. S. KENNEDY.

MONSTER.—The only occurrence of this word is in La 4^{3}, where in AV תַּנִּין *tannîn* (LXX *δράκοντες*) is tr^{d} 'sea monsters,' RV 'jackals.' Post prefers *wolves*; see DRAGON, vol. i. p. 621^{a}. Amer. RV prefers 'monster' to 'dragon' in Is 27^{1}, Jer 51^{34}.

The adj. 'monstrous' is applied in Wis 17^{15} to the apparitions which terrified the Egyptians during the plague of darkness,—'were partly vexed with monstrous apparitions (*τέρασιν φαντασμάτων*, Vulg. *monstrorum timore*), and partly fainted.'

A monster (Lat. *monstrum*, a divine omen, from *monere*, to warn) is anything which attracts the attention from being out of the ordinary course of nature. The 'sea monsters' above are so on account of their size, while the adj. 'monstrous' is used of the apparitions, because of their warning or ominous character. Cf. Udall, *Erasmus' Paraphrase*, i. fol. lxvi, 'It semeth a monstreous thing unto them which chaunced to the Prophete Jonas: they shall have a lyke monstre, but more wondreful.'

The tr. of Ps 71^{6} in Pr. Bk. is, 'I am become as it were a monster unto many,' on which Davies (*Bible English*, 183) remarks, 'We might suppose that the Psalmist meant that he was an object of horror and detestation, but he is affirming that his preservation through so great trials and dangers appeared miraculous to many.' Driver (*Parallel Psalter*) translates, 'I am become as it were a portent unto many,' and in a footnote explains, 'Attracting attention on account of my extraordinary sufferings,' comparing Dt 28^{46} ('for a sign and for a portent'). So most commentators. Shakespeare often uses the adj. of that which attracts attention because of its magnitude, as *I Henry IV*. II. iv. 530, 'the sheriff with a most monstrous watch is at the door'; *II Henry VI*. IV. vii. 88, 'O monstrous coward.'

J. HASTINGS.

MONTH.—See TIME.

MONUMENT.—This word occurs in Is 65^{4} 'A rebellious people . . . which remain among the graves, and lodge in the monuments' (וּבַנְּצוּרִים יָלִינוּ, RV 'and lodge in the secret places,' RVm 'vaults'). The EV word 'monuments' means 'tombs.' The Rhemish NT often uses the word in this sense, after the Vulg. *monumentum*. Thus Mt 23^{29} 'You build the Prophets sepulchres, and garnish the moniments of iust men'; Lk 8^{27} 'There mette him a certaine man that had a devil now a very long time, and he did weare no clothes, neither did he tarie in house, but in the monuments.' So John's disciples (Mk 6^{29}) 'tooke his body, and they put it in a monument'; and our Lord's sepulchre is called a 'monument' in Mt 27^{60}, Lk 23^{53}, Jn 19^{42}, Ac 13^{29}. Cf. Shaks. *Tit. Andronicus*, II. iii. 228—

> 'Upon his bloody finger he doth wear
> A precious ring, that lightens all the hole,
> Which like a taper in some monument,
> Doth shine upon the dead man's earthy cheeks,
> And shows the ragged entrails of the pit.'

The translation of Is 65^{4} is uncertain, owing to the uncertainty of the reference. The Heb. word means literally '*guarded* places.' The LXX renders the two clauses in one, *ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις κοιμῶνται διὰ ἐνύπνια*; the Syriac follows this interpretation, which is explained by Jerome as a method of obtaining oracles in dreams by what is known as *incubation* (*κοιμῶνται*), *i.e.* spending the night in subterranean sacred places. W. R. Smith (*RS*^{2}, 198 f.) points out that 'the whole N. Semitic area was dotted over with sacred tombs, Memnonia, Semiramis mounds, and the like, and at every such spot a god or demigod had his subterranean abode.' See also A. van Hoonacker's art. on 'Divination by the 'Ôb amongst the Ancient Hebrews' in *Expos. Times*, vol. ix. 1898, p. 157 ff., and the artt. DIVINATION, WITCHCRAFT. J. HASTINGS.

MOOLI (A Μοολί, B -ει, AV Moli), 1 Es 8^{47} (LXX ^{46}) = MAHLI, Ezr 8^{18}, son of Merari and grandson of Levi (see Ex 6$^{16.\ 19}$). The LXX in all places renders מַחְלִי in this way.

MOON.—The most common name used for the second of the great lights of heaven in the OT is יָרֵחַ,* written in Phœnician with the same consonants; in Assyr. *iriḫu*; Eth. *wareḫ*. The meaning of the word is regarded as uncertain, but there can be but little doubt that the root to which it belongs was originally of the class פ״ו, as is clearly indicated by the Ethiopic, and also by the Assyrian name for 'month,' which, being transcribed in the month-name Marcheswan with מ replacing the original *w* (*m* and *w* are interchangeable consonants in Assyrian), implies a connexion with the Assyrian word *ûrḫu* 'road,' and confirms the correctness of the suggestion of Ges.-Buhl that יָרֵחַ means 'wanderer,' and is connected with the cognate אָרַח 'to wander,' 'journey.' The less common word לְבָנָה designates the moon as 'the white one,' from the root לָבַן 'to be white.' There is also another word, namely חֹדֶשׁ, which is used to designate the new moon (see NEW MOON, and art. FEASTS in vol. i. p. 859^{b}).

Where first mentioned in the Bible (Gn 1^{16}), neither of the above words is used, the luminary being described as 'the lesser light' (parallel with the description there given of the sun as the 'greater light'). It is described as being placed in the heavens to rule the night, and also 'for signs, and for seasons, and for days and years'; and it was apparently as a time-measurer that it was principally looked on by the Hebrews, and also, to a somewhat less degree, by the Babylonians and Assyrians, to whom the chief character of the moon was a personal one, namely, that of the representative of the moon-god Sin (cf. *Sennacherib* = 'Sin has multiplied the brothers') and the moon-goddess (the moon as the consort of the sun) Aa. A further reference to the moon as the indicator of the (religious) festivals is to be found in Ps 104^{19} 'he appointeth the moon for seasons, and the sun knoweth his going down.'

Notwithstanding that the bright portion of the moon's disc, being always turned towards the sun, implied that it received its light from that body, the moon is represented in Gn 1 as having been created at the same time as the sun, and apparently as shining by its own light. It was also, with the sun, set in the heavens to give light upon the earth, and as the 'lesser light' to rule over the night, and to divide between the light and between the darkness, though this is, with reference to the moon, a very loose phrase, when we take into consideration the imperfect way in which it performs this office.

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* See this treatise for other details, especially chs. i. and ii. *E.g.* the priests, but not the Levites, were exempt from the payment of commission. Again, 'if one gives [to the changer] a tetradrachm (סֶלַע) and [after paying the half-shekel due] receives back a didrachm (שֶׁקֶל), he has to pay double agio' (הַנּוֹתֵן סֶלַע וְנוֹטֵל שֶׁקֶל חַיָּב שְׁתֵּי קוֹלְבּוֹנוֹת, *ib.* i. 7).

* According to Sayce (*EHH* 250), *Jericho* יר(י)חו means 'city of the moon-god.'

All these statements would, of course, lead one to suppose that the Hebrews had but a very imperfect knowledge of astronomy, and especially of the movements of the luminary in question, though they must have seen and noticed the regularity of its motions, and it apparently became for them, in course of time, a kind of emblem of constancy and everlastingness, hence the expressions 'peace as long as the moon endureth' (Ps 72^{7}), and 'established for ever as the moon' (Ps 89^{37}, likewise Ps 72^{7} 'as long as the sun and moon endure [lit. with the sun and in the presence of the moon] throughout all generations').

The calm, clear light of the moon seems to be noticed in the expressions 'fair as the moon,' parallel to the second member of the verse, 'clear as the sun,' both being comparisons referring to the Shulammite in Ca 6^{10}. Increase of the light of the moon to the equal of that of the sun is foretold for the day when the Lord should bind up His people's hurt, and heal their wound (Is 30^{26}). The influence of the moon on persons is apparently referred to in Ps 121^{6}, in the phrase, 'The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night,' where the smiting by the sun being undoubtedly sunstroke, the smiting by the moon may well be regarded as an early instance of the belief that the rays of the moon could exert an influence so baleful as to produce lunacy, or to cause that a person might become 'moon-struck.' That the moon was supposed to have this effect is hardly to be wondered at, as many people believe the same thing at the present time; and in ancient days it was supposed also that its rays could bring on epilepsy, as is illustrated by the Greek text of Mt 4^{24} and 17^{15}, where the original has *σεληνιαζομένους* and *σεληνιάζεται*, 'epileptic' (RV).

There is some uncertainty as to what is intended by the 'precious things put forth by the moons' in Dt 33^{14} (AV). The phrase has been supposed to refer to the produce of the months in their order, which is not improbable. An Assyrian tablet exists in which the produce of every month is enumerated in order, and as moon and month are convertible terms it is not unlikely that something of the kind is intended here, rather than omens derived from the moon's motions, such as are so often found among the numerous astrological forecasts of Babylonia and Assyria. In fact we should probably translate 'months,' not 'moons,' although יְרָחִים certainly contains a play upon יָרֵחַ 'moon,' in poetical parallelism with sun (Driver, *ad loc.*).*

With the nations around, the moon was, conjointly with the sun and the other heavenly bodies, regarded as a deity, and divine honours were paid it as such. Among the Babylonians and Assyrians the moon, as a deity, was apparently not called *iriḫu*, but Sin (possibly also pronounced Sen), and it is this word that we meet with as the first element of the name of the well-known Assyrian king Sennacherib.† Besides this, however, he was also called Aku, and it is in all probability this word that we find in the Babylonian royal name Eri-aku (Eri-eaku) or Arioch. Another not uncommon name of the moon-god among the Babylonians was Nannara, under which appellation he was worshipped at Ur (Mugheir or Muḳeyyer), a city probably possessing his oldest and most renowned temple.* The month Sivan was dedicated to the moon-god by the old inhabitants of Babylonia. Reference has already been made to the moon-goddess Aa, who was regarded as the consort of the sun-god Šamaš, and was probably the equivalent of the Ashtaroth-karnaim of the Phœnicians.†

The name of the moon-god seems to have been Sin, not only in Assyria and Babylonia, but in other parts of the ancient East also. Thus we have reference to this deity in the name of Mount Sinai, the peninsula of which, even at the end of the 6th cent. B.C., was devoted to the worship of the moon. Antoninus Martyr relates that, at the time of the worship of the deity in this district, the marble of which the idols were made changed colour, and ultimately became black as pitch, returning when the festival was over to its original hue, at which he wondered greatly. This was, of course, a symbolical festival, typifying the phases of the moon in its monthly journey, the change of the colour of the statues of the god being brought about artificially, but in such a way as to work upon the superstitions of the ignorant. The Phœnicians seem to have worshipped the new moon under the name of חדש *Ḥodesh* (Baethgen, p. 61). See NEW MOON. The moon-god was represented either standing with his attributes, or seated upon a horse. In Palmyra he seems to have been called Yarkhibol (=*Yareaḥ-baal*), and in the name Aglibol we have a reference to the moon as a 'young steer,' by the Assyrian equivalent of which it is designated in the hymn to the moon-god published in *WAI* iv. pl. 9. In an Assyrian inscription the name of an Arab, *Aa-kamaru*, leads one to ask whether we may not have here two old names of the moon-deity: Aa, the Babylonian goddess of the moon as the consort of the sun-god; and *kamaru*, an Assyrian transcription of the Arabic *ḳamar*, 'the moon.'

With the Egyptians there were several moon-deities, all masculine. The principal of these was Thoth, the god of knowledge, an attribute applied to him in consequence of the moon's character as time-measurer (for such is the meaning of its name in the Indo-European languages). Sefekh, a goddess associated with Thoth, in all probability typified the full moon. As the wanderer, the moon was called Khunsu or Khons. Isis, Muth, and Hathor, who wear as their crowns the disc of the moon, were evidently in some manner associated with that luminary.

The worship of the moon and the other heavenly bodies is mentioned and prohibited in Dt 17^{3}. Kissing the hand on seeing the moon (undoubtedly an act of adoration) is referred to in Job $31^{26f.}$, and sacrifices made 'unto the queen of heaven'‡ are spoken of in Jer 44^{17}. The moon- or crescent-shaped ornaments spoken of as adornments of 'the daughters of Zion' in Is 3^{18} (cf. Jg $8^{21.\,26}$), were probably due to the same idolatrous tendency which at the time often led the chosen people astray. See Crescents. T. G. Pinches.

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* Steuernagel, who retains 'moons,' thinks the allusion is to the *dew*, which is traced to the moon as *light* is to the sun.

† With regard to the etymology of the word Sin, it has been suggested that this is for Zu-en, 'knowledge-lord' (generally written En-zu-na—*i.e.* so as to be read Zu-en-na), one of his Accadian names.

* This is the Urie (=Uriwa, the Accadian form) of Eupolemus (*ap.* Eusebius, *Præp. Evan.* 9), who says that it also bore the name of Camarina, apparently from the same root as the Arab. *ḳamar* (see below).

† There is also a deity named Laban, mentioned as having been worshipped in the temple of Anu, in the city of Asshur. As the moon-god was the minister of Anu, the question naturally arises whether the word Laban may not, in this passage, be another name of Sin. If this be the case, Laban would be connected with לְבָנָה.

‡ See the elaborate article, 'Die Melecheth des Himmels,' by Kuenen, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 186 ff., and cf. the chapter on Al 'Uzza in Wellhausen's *Reste Arab. Heidentums*², p. 34 ff.

MOOSSIAS (B *Μοοσσειας*, A *Μοός· Σιάς*, AV Moosias), 1 Es 9^{31} = Maaseiah, Ezr 10^{30}.

MOPH.—See Memphis.

MORALITY.—See Ethics.

MORASHTITE (so correctly in RV, in place of *Morasthite* of AV; Heb. הַמּ(וֹ)רַשְׁתִּי; LXX in Jer *ὁ Μωραθειτης*, in Mic *τὸν τοῦ Μωρασθει* B, . . . *Μωραθει* A).—A gentilic adjective used to designate the prophet Micah (Mic 1^{1}, Jer 26 [Gr. 33] ^{18}), probably derived from Moresheth-gath (wh. see).

MORDECAI (מָרְדֳּכַי, Baer מָרְדְּכַי; *Μαρδοχαῖος*; *Mardochæus*, Ezr 2^{2} *Mardochai*; the name denotes 'belonging to Merodach, *or* Marduk,' a Babylonian deity).—**1.** One of the leaders of the people at the time of the return of the exiles under Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Ezr 2^{2}, Neh 7^{7}, 1 Es 5^{8}). From a comparison of the three lists it appears probable that the leaders were twelve in number.

2. The deliverer of the Jews in the Book of Esther. He is described as a Benjamite, the son of Jair, the son of Shimei, the son of Kish, one of the Jewish captives who had been carried away by Nebuchadnezzar in the days of Jehoiachin (Est $2^{5.6}$).* Mordecai lived in Shushan (Susa), the Persian capital, and brought up as his own daughter his cousin Esther, whose parents were dead (2^{7}). When Esther was taken into the royal harem, Mordecai forbade her to reveal her connexions or her nationality (2^{20}). He was nevertheless able to remain in close communication with her, and for this purpose he was constantly at the gate of the palace. Here he discovered the plot of two eunuchs against the king, and, by informing Esther of it, procured their execution, the only reward which he himself as yet received being the entry of his name in the royal chronicles (2^{19-23}). When **Haman** [which see] was exalted to the rank of chief minister, Mordecai aroused his wrath by repeatedly refusing to bow before him; and, to avenge the slight, Haman procured from the king a decree for the destruction of the Jews, Mordecai's fellow-countrymen (3). After Esther, who had heard from her maidens of the distress of Mordecai and the Jews, had sent to inquire the cause, Mordecai, by means of the eunuch Hathach, informed her of the king's decree, and bade her go to the king and seek for protection for her people, reminding her that she also would be one of the victims of the massacre (4). Meanwhile, however, Haman, mortified at the continued disrespect shown to him by Mordecai, determined to anticipate the massacre, and, preparing a high gibbet, went to the palace to obtain permission to hang Mordecai thereon. The king, who during a sleepless night had heard the chronicles read, and thus learnt that Mordecai's services remained unrewarded, consulted Haman, on his appearance, as to a fitting recompense for one whom the king wished to honour. In consequence of his own suggestion the vizier was then bidden to conduct his enemy in honour round the city, while his friends saw in this misfortune an omen of his coming overthrow by Mordecai (5^{9}–6). After the disgrace and death of Haman, Mordecai succeeded to his place, receiving the king's seal, being arrayed in gorgeous attire, and writing letters in the king's name to grant the Jews permission to defend themselves; while the fame of Mordecai throughout the empire led all the Persian officials to assist the Jews (8. $9^{3f.}$). Finally, Mordecai and Esther wrote two letters to all the Jews, enjoining that the feast of **Purim** should be everywhere celebrated on the 14th and 15th days of Adar; and that fastings and lamentation should be connected with the observance of the festival (9^{20-32}). The Bk. of Esther closes with an account of the fame and dignity of Mordecai, who stood next in rank to the king, and was recognized as the protector of his countrymen (10).

The apocryphal additions to Esther in the Greek version glorify Mordecai still more. In the LXX the book opens with the description of a dream which he had concerning two great dragons, and a great river springing from a little fountain. In the last chapter Mordecai interprets this dream, explaining the river of queen Esther, and the dragons of Haman and himself (Ad. Est 11^{2-12} 10). We find also a few more particulars regarding the conspiracy of the two eunuchs, and a prayer of Mordecai, in which he declares that his refusal to bow before Haman was prompted by zeal for the glory of God, and not by human pride (13^{8-17}). In later literature the first reference to the Bk. of Esther is in 2 Mac 15^{36}, where the 14th of Adar is called the Day of Mordecai.

As the general question of the historical character of the Bk. of Esther is discussed elsewhere [Esther], it will be sufficient to add here one or two comments on the position assigned to Mordecai. There is a certain inconsistency in the representation that Esther's Jewish descent was unknown (2^{20}), whereas Mordecai was recognized as a Jew ($3^{4ff.}$ 5^{13}), and was in frequent communication with the queen (2^{22} 4), and also in the fact that the king should bestow honour upon Mordecai the Jew after the race had been proscribed. On the other hand, it is a plausible view which regards Kish (2^{5}), not as the great-grandfather of Mordecai, but as his remote ancestor, the father of Saul, and holds Haman to be an Amalekite (so Jos. *Ant.* xi. vi. 5, 12; and Targ.); in this case the descendant of Saul is opposed to the descendant of his ancient enemy Agag. In profane history we hear of no great minister of Xerxes whom we can identify with Mordecai, but it must be admitted that the domestic annals of this reign are scanty. To connect the Jewish vizier with the influential eunuch Matacao, named by Ctesias (so Rawlinson), seems very precarious. During the last years of Xerxes, Artabanus, the commander of the bodyguard, was the chief minister.*

In Rabbinical literature Mordecai is a favourite character. The late Targum on Esther traces the descent of the 'righteous' Mordecai from Shimei, who cursed David, and from Jonathan the son of Saul: he knows the seventy languages, he receives supernatural warning of the danger of the Jews, and a long description is given of the pomp and splendour bestowed upon him after he became the king's minister. H. A. White.

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* The interpretation of v.^{6} is disputed, the relative 'who' being referred either to Mordecai himself, or to Kish, his great-grandfather. On chronological grounds it is practically impossible to suppose that any one carried to Babylon in B.C. 597 should be living in the reign of Ahasuerus (Xerxes) 485–465. If, on the other hand, we regard the Book of Esther as being in the main unhistorical, this difficulty ceases to be of weight. Grammatical considerations do not decide the question, for, though certainly it is more natural to refer the pronoun to Mordecai, the other construction cannot be regarded as impossible, if on independent grounds we are unwilling to convict the author of a great anachronism (comp. Bertheau-Ryssel, *ad loc.*; Kuenen refuses to lay any weight on this passage, *Hist.-Krit. Einl.* i. ii. 209).

* For a full account of Jensen's attempt to explain Mordecai (*Marduk*), Haman (*Humman*, the national god of the Elamites), and the other principal characters in the Bk. of Esther upon the theory that in that book we have a Judaized form of Babylonian legend, see Wildeboer, 'Esther,' in *Kurzer Hand-Comm.* 172 ff.; cf. *Expos. Times*, Aug. 1898, p. 498, and art. Purim (Feast of) in this Dictionary.

MORE.—In middle English there were two comparatives, 'moe' referring to number, and 'more' referring to size or importance; and the distinction between them was occasionally observed as late as the publication of AV in 1611. Thus Nu 22^{15} in the first ed. of AV reads, 'And Balak sent yet againe Princes, moe, and more honourable then they'; and 33^{54} 'To the moe ye shall give the more inheritance, and to the fewer ye shall give the lesse inheritance.' The Anglo-Saxon word was *mā*, originally an adv. and connected with Lat. *magis*, Goth. *mais*, Germ. *mehr*. This *mā* became in Eng. 'mo' with subscript e (whence 'moe' and 'moo') as *bān* became 'bone,' *drān* 'drone,' and the like (Earle, *Philology*, § iii.). The spelling is capricious even in Elizabethan writers. Shaks. varies between 'mo' and 'moe'; Tindale's favourite spelling is 'moo.' Ridley, *A Brefe Declaration*, has 'mo' on p. 163 (Moule's ed.), 'Therfore I wyll rehearse mo places of him than hertofore I have done of the other'; and 'moo' on p. 171, 'it should not nede . . . to bring in for the confyrmation of thys matter anye moo.' In AV 'mo' occurs once 2 S 5^{13}, and 'moe' 34 times.

'More' is really a double comparative, already formed in Anglo-Sax., *māra*. It is at least probable that it was originally confined to greater bulk or importance, but even early examples show that 'moe' and 'more' were used almost indiscriminately. Wright (on Shaks. *As You Like It*, p. 135) thinks that, as far as Shaks. and AV are concerned, all that can be asserted is that 'moe' is used only with the plural, 'more' with both sing. and plural. Modern editors of Shaks. (chiefly Rowe in 1709) and of AV (chiefly Paris in 1762 and Blayney in 1769) have changed 'moe' into 'more.' Scrivener restored 'moe' in his *Camb. Paragraph Bible*, but nothing seems to be gained by it. In Shaks., on the other hand, the form 'moe' is sometimes required by the verse. Thus in *Much Ado*, II. iii. 72—

> 'Sing no more ditties, sing no moe,
> Of dumps so dull and heavy;
> The fraud of men was ever so,
> Since summer first was leavy.'

Examples of 'more' in the sense of 'greater' are Ac 19^{32} 'the more part knew not wherefore they were come together'; 27^{12} 'the more part advised to depart thence also.' Cf. Mt 11^{11}, Wyc. 'Trewly I say to you, ther roose noon more than Joon Baptist amonge children of wommen; forsothe he that is lesse in the kyngdam of hevenes, is more than he'; Ro 9^{12}, Wyc. 'the more schal serve to the lasse'; Tind. *Expos.* 228, 'Locusts are more than our grasshoppers'; Shaks. *K. John*, II. i. 34—

> 'O, take his mother's thanks, a widow's thanks,
> Till your strong hand shall help to give him strength
> To make a more requital to your love!'

J. HASTINGS.

MOREH. 1. OAK(S) OF, RVm 'Terebinth(s),' AV [wrongly, with Targ. Onk.] PLAIN(S) OF: Gn 12^{6} אֵלוֹן מוֹרֶה, *τὴν δρῦν τὴν ὑψηλήν*, *convallem illustrem*; Dt 11^{30} אֵלוֹנֵי מוֹרֶה, τῆς δρυὸς (so Sam.) τῆς ὑψηλῆς, *vallem tendentem et intrantem procul*; Syr. has the impossible 'oak of Mamre' in both places. A sacred tree near Shechem, mentioned Gn 12^{6} as the scene of a theophany to Abraham, in consequence of which he built an altar there (J; but according to Ball, *SBOT*, 'unto the Oak of Moreh' is R^{J}). In Dt 11^{30} (late R) the Oaks of Moreh are named amongst other landmarks given to fix the position of Ebal and Gerizim.

Moreh is the participle of *hôrâh*, 'to give (divine) direction,' *e.g.* Is 9^{15} *nâbî môreh sheker*, 'a prophet who gives a false direction.' The oak, therefore, was connected with a sanctuary, whose priests gave oracles on questions asked by worshippers. According to Dillm., 'Gilgal' in Dt 11^{30} is to be taken as a common noun, 'a circle of sacred stones' or 'cromlech,' which was another feature of this sanctuary. There is nothing in the context, either in Gn or Dt, to tell us anything more of the position of the Oak of Moreh than that it was in the neighbourhood of Shechem. Buhl (*GAP* 202 f.) identifies 'Gilgal' in Dt with *Julejil*, some little distance to the east of Shechem, and concludes that the Oak(s) of Moreh were not close to Shechem. But, even if the identification be accepted, Gilgal and Moreh in Dt may be independent landmarks for Ebal and Gerizim, and Gilgal not defined by Moreh. Sam. adds in Dt after 'Oak of Moreh,' 'opposite Shechem,' a gloss suggested by Gn 12^{6}. It is not likely that *Mabortha*, according to Pliny and Josephus (*BJ* IV. viii. 1), the native name for the Greek city Neapolis, which replaced Shechem, has any connexion with Moreh. *Morthia* also occurs on coins as a title of Neapolis (cf. Smith's *DB*, *s.* 'Moreh'), but is probably connected with the Aram. *mârthâ*, 'mistress.' On the suggested identification of Moreh with Moriah, and with the sacred trees in Gn 35^{4}, Jos 24^{26}, Jg 9$^{6.37}$, cf. MEONENIM (OAK OF).

2. HILL OF, Jg 7^{1} only (גִּבְעַת הַמּוֹרֶה; A τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ἀβώρ, B Γαβααθαμωρα, Luc. ἀπὸ βουνοῦ τοῦ Ἀμωρα; *collis excelsi*. Targ. for הַמּוֹרֶה gives [illegible] 'that faces'). Mentioned in describing the position of the camp of the Midianites on the eve of their defeat by Gideon. RV translates MT of v.^{1b} 'and the camp of Midian was on the north side of them, by the hill of Moreh, in the valley' (RVm 'from the hill of Moreh *onwards* in the valley'). The text is probably corrupt. Moore proposes to read, 'While the camp of Midian was north of Gibeath ha-Moreh,' but suggests as a possible alternative, 'was north of him in Gibeath ha-Moreh.' Budde proposes, 'was beneath him north of Gibeath ha-Moreh.' Neither the well of Harod, mentioned as the site of Gideon's camp, nor the hill of Moreh, can be certainly identified. If 7^{1} and 6^{33} are referred to the same source (E; so Kautzsch, Budde), probably the 'valley' in 7^{1} is the 'valley of Jezreel' in 6^{33}, and the hill of Moreh is *Jebel Nebi Dahi*, sometimes called the Little Hermon, to the N.W. of the plain of Jezreel (G. A. Smith, *HGHL* p. 397; Buhl, *GAP* p. 202). Moore refers 7^{1} to J, and 6^{33} to E, and is inclined to connect the Hill of Moreh with the Oak of Moreh. The LXX seems to have read 'Hill of the Amorites.' See MORIAH. 'Hill of *Moreh*' suggests that the hill was the site of a sanctuary; cf. 1. See HAROD. W. H. BENNETT.

MORESHETH-GATH (מוֹרֶשֶׁת גַּת, *κληρονομίας Γέθ*) is mentioned only in Mic 1^{14}, in a group with Gath, Zaanan, Lachish, Achzib, Mareshah, and other towns of the Judahite-Philistine region. The daughter of Zion is advised to make a bridal speeding-gift (cf. 1 K 9^{16}, Ex 18^{2}) concerning Moresheth-gath. Micah is himself a Morashtite, that is, a citizen of Moresheth (Mic 1^{1}, Jer 26^{18}), which may or may not be the same place. Moresheth-gath may signify 'she that takes possession of Gath,' or 'that which Gath possesses,' or simply as a proper name, 'Moresheth of Gath,' with other possible variations. Or the word 'gath' in the combination may be the common noun 'winepress.'

In the *Onomasticon*, and in the Prologue of the Commentary of Jerome on Micah, *Morasthi* is said to be a village east of, and near by, Eleutheropolis. There is no sufficient reason for disputing this, though the site has not been identified. Or again, when we note that the context is full of puns on the proper names that are mentioned (vv.$^{13.14}$ etc.), we find it possible to regard

Moresheth-gath as a play upon the proper name Mareshah, leading up to the statement, 'I will yet bring in to thee him that taketh possession, O lady that inhabitest Mareshah' (^{15}), and so, virtually, as a mere variant of Mareshah. Wellhausen (*Kl. Proph. ad loc.*) takes גַּת as vocative, rendering, 'Thou must let go Moresheth, O Gath,' and this is favoured by *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* Nowack (*ad loc.*) thinks that neither this nor the usual construction gives a sense quite apposite to the context. W. J. BEECHER.

MORIAH, the land of (Gn 22^{2}), or the mountain of (2 Ch 3^{1}) (הַמֹּרִיָּה, הַמּוֹרִיָּה : in Gn, LXX *εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ὑψηλήν* [prob. a paraphr. of *conspicuous* : אֵלוֹן מוֹרֶה in 12^{6}, and אֵלוֹנֵי מוֹרֶה in Dt 11^{30}, are also rendered by LXX *ἡ δρῦς ἡ ὑψηλή*], Aq. *τὴν καταφανῆ* (connecting the word falsely with רָאָה; so Aq. Symm. for מוֹרֶה Dt 11^{30}), Symm. *τῆς ὀπτασίας,** Vulg. *visionis*, Onk. (paraphrasing) אֲרַע פּוּלְחָנָא 'land of *worship*,'† Pesh. דאמוריא 'of the Amorites': in 2 Ch, LXX *τοῦ Αμορεια*, Luc. *τῷ Αμορια*, Vulg. *in monte Moria*, Pesh. as in Gn, Targ. (late) 'the mountain of Moriah,' but with a long Midrash about its being the place where Abraham and others *worshipped*).—What was originally denoted by this designation is very obscure. It is indeed evident that in 2 Ch 3^{1} the Temple hill is referred to; but this does not settle the sense of the expression 'land of Moriah' in Gn 22^{2}: the Chronicler may, in common with the later Jews, have supposed that that was the scene of the sacrifice of Isaac, and borrowed the expression from Gn 22^{2}—perhaps to suggest (Baudissin, *Studien*, ii. 252) that the spot was chosen already by J″ in the patriarchal age. In Gn, however, even supposing—what certainly seems to be implied from the terms of v.^{14}—that the writer placed the sacrifice of Isaac on the Temple hill, he does not apply the name Moriah to it: 'the land of M.' is the name of the *region* into which Abraham is to go, and he is to offer Isaac on '*one of the mountains*' in it. The mountain on which Isaac is to be offered does not even seem to be mentioned as a central or important one, from which, for instance, the region might have derived its name: it is merely 'one' of the mountains in a region which, so far as the terms of this verse go, might be co-extensive with a large part of Palestine. It is remarkable that, though it is here implied that it is well known to Abraham, the region is not mentioned elsewhere in the OT. It is difficult, under the circumstances, not to doubt the originality of the text; and it must be admitted that—though it has the disadvantage of being the *proclivis lectio*,—the reading of Pesh. 'of the Amorites' (15^{16} 48^{22}, Jos 5^{1} *al.*) has some claims to be considered the original one.

Heb. pr. names, when accompanied by the art., have the presumption of possessing, or at least of having once possessed, an appellative force: but the meaning of מוריה is obscure; and the etymologies that have been proposed are far from satisfactory. It is at least certain that it does not mean 'shewn of Jah' (which—cf. מִקְנֵיָהוּ, מַעֲשֵׂיָה—would be מָרְאָיָה), or 'vision of Jah' (which would be מַרְאָיָה), neither of which forms could pass into מוֹרִיָּה. For various 'Midrashic' explanations of the name, see *B'rēshīth Rabbā, ad loc.* (p. 263 f. in Wünsche's tr.), or Beer, *Leben Abr. nach der Jüd. Sage*, pp. 59, 177 f.

It is held by the Samaritans (see *ZDPV* vi. 198, vii. 133; and above, *s.v.*), that GERIZIM was the scene of the sacrifice of Isaac; and the same opinion has been advocated by some modern scholars. The grounds for it are stated most fully by Stanley, *SP* pp. 251 f., and Grove in Smith's *DB*, *s.v.* MORIAH: Abraham saw the spot 'afar off,' 'on the third day' (v.^{4}) after leaving 'the land of the Philistines' (21^{34})—a statement which suits the distances much better if the goal of his journey were Gerizim than if it were Jerusalem; Gerizim, moreover, is an elevation which a traveller approaching from the S. might 'lift up his eyes' (22^{4}) and see conspicuously at a distance, which is not the case with Jerusalem. In view of the rivalry which prevailed in later times between the Samaritans and the Jews, the preference of the former for Gerizim does not count for much; and with regard to the other arguments it may be doubted whether, in a narrative which cannot be by an eye-witness or contemporary of the facts recorded, the expressions used are not interpreted with undue strictness. The presumption derived from v.^{14} is strong, that in the view of the narrator the Temple hill was the scene of Abraham's trial (cf. JEHOVAH-JIREH; and *HGHL* p. 334 *n.*). But of course Gerizim might, equally with Jerusalem, have been (so far as we know) within the undefined limits of the 'land of Moriah,' as it certainly would be within the limits of the 'land of the *Amorites*.'

S. R. DRIVER.

MORNING.—See TIME.

MORROW.—Both 'morn' and 'morrow' are formed from Anglo-Sax. *morgen*, the former by contraction, the latter by changing the *g* to *w* and dropping the *n* (whence *morwe*=*morrow*); and 'morning' is the same, with subst. suffix *-ing*. Thus 'morn,' 'morning,' 'morrow,' and 'tomorrow' (with prep. *to*='for' or 'on') are all one and the same word, and have all the same meaning. They mean either early in the day=mod. 'morning,' or next day=mod. 'tomorrow.'

The word 'morrow' about 1611 usually means next day ('tomorrow'), but sometimes it is used for 'morning.' Thus 1 S 30^{17}, Cov. 'And David smote them from the morow tyll the even'; Shaks. *Lucrece*, 1571—

> 'She looks for night, and then she longs for morrow.'

In AV בֹּקֶר *bōḳer* is translated 'morrow' in Lv 22^{30}, Nu 22^{41}, Est 2^{14}, Zeph 3^{3}, and 'tomorrow' in Nu 16^{5}, 1 S 9^{19}, Est 5^{14}. RV changes into 'morning' in Lv 22^{30}, Nu 16^{5} 22^{41}, 1 S 9^{19}, Est 5^{14}, but leaves the other two unchanged. Now *bōḳer* usually means 'morning,' and is mostly rendered so in AV; but the editors of the *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* believe that the meaning is 'tomorrow' in the following places: Ex $16^{19.\ 20.\ 23.\ 24}$ 29^{34} 34^{25}, Lv 7^{15} 22^{30}, Nu 16^{5} 22^{41}, 1 S 9^{19}, Zeph 3^{3}. If they are right, as they appear to be, some passages should have been left 'morrow' or 'tomorrow' by RV, and some that have 'morning' in AV should have been changed to 'tomorrow.' But as regards AV itself, it seems probable that, in every case in which 'morrow' is found, the translators intended to express what we now express by 'tomorrow.' J. HASTINGS.

MORTAR (מְדֹכָה, מַכְתֵּשׁ).—Probably the first kind of mortar may have been, as is generally supposed, two stones, between which the grain was pounded. Mortars in Syria and Palestine were anciently of wood, and the larger ones were cut out of the trunk of a tree, the *sindiyân*, or evergreen oak, being preferred.

The passage in Pr 27^{22} (on which see *Expos. Times*, March and April 1897, pp. 287, 336) does not, of course, refer to any custom in Syria or Palestine of pounding men in a mortar (מַכְתֵּשׁ). The reference seems to be to the custom of making *kibby*, a favourite dish in Syria (see MILL). The more the *kibby* is pounded, the more excellent it becomes. Hours are spent in beating it, and certain women are celebrated for their skill in preparing it. It is very hard work, and requires strong as well as skilful arms to make it.

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* The same interpretation is expressed by the reading of the Sam. text המוראה, and by the Sam. Targ. חזיתה 'of vision' (cf. Dt 11^{30} Sam. text מורא, Sam. Targ. חזבה 'of vision').

† Cf. Onk.'s rendering of v.^{14}: 'And Abraham *worshipped* and prayed there in that place; he said before J″, "Here shall the generations be *worshipping*": therefore it is said at this day, "In this mountain did Abraham *worship* before J″."'

In Syria at the present time there are two kinds of mortars used: small ones are made of wood, and the large ones of stone. The wooden mortars are generally used for pounding coffee or spices. They are often beautifully carved, and the pestle is sometimes 2 ft. long.* The stone mortars are now preferred for making *kibby*; they are large and very heavy, and the pestle is a heavy block of wood.

Lifting a stone mortar with one hand and raising it above the head, was a favourite test of strength among the young men of the villages of Lebanon a few years ago. W. CARSLAW.

MORTAR (AV morter).—In Gn 11³ it is said that the builders of the tower of Babel used slime or bitumen (חֵמָר) instead of mortar (חֹמֶר, Arab. *ḥŭmmăr*, asphalt or bitumen).

Asphalt or BITUMEN (wh. see) is found on the shores of the Dead Sea, and at Hasbeyah near Mt. Hermon, but it is not used in Palestine or Syria in building. The most common material in use for that purpose is clay (wh. see), and the ordinary Arabic word for mortar is *ṭîn*, which properly means clay. Walls of houses are plastered inside with clay, but the clay must be well trodden and mixed with water to a proper consistence, else, if too dry, it will not adhere, but crack and fall off. In Ezk 13¹⁰ the Arab. VS has 'dry clay' (*ṭăfâl*) instead of 'untempered mortar.'

Mortar made with lime is being more frequently used now than formerly. The lime is slaked in a long wooden box, and the liquid portion run off into a pit; when the pit is full, the lime is covered with sand. It is the opinion of the builders in Lebanon that the lime should remain in the pit for several months before being used. The lime in Lebanon is rich, and has no hydraulic properties; and during the rainy season a good deal of the lime in a building is washed away, even when the mortar seems to be hard. In making mortar the lime is usually mixed with ordinary clay, but a reddish clay containing some red oxide of iron is preferred. Sand is used for outside work on account of its colour.

For making plaster for coating the inside walls of houses, lime and sand are generally used now, mixed with straw or hemp cut small, instead of hair, which is never used. A cement for plastering the sides of cisterns is often made with lime, wood ashes, pounded calcareous spar, and sand. Over the coating just mentioned a finer one is put, consisting of lime and *ḥomra*, which is broken pottery ground very fine. All channels for running water are coated with lime and *ḥomra*.

Roofs and floors of houses are often laid with concrete, which is formed of lime, sand, and stones broken small. This has to be beaten constantly day and night till it has hardened. Some of the very old buildings in Lebanon are said to have been built with mortar in which oil took the place of water. W. CARSLAW.

MORTIFY.—To 'mortify' is to put to death. The word was once used literally, as in Erasmus, *Commune Crede*, fol. 81, 'Christ was mortified and killed in dede, as touchynge to his fleshe: but was quickened in spirite.' In AV it is used only figuratively, Ro 8¹³ 'If ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live' (*εἰ . . . θανατοῦτε*, RVm 'make to die,' Amer. RV 'put to death'); Col 3⁵ 'Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth' (*νεκρώσατε*, RVm 'make dead,' Amer. RV 'put to death'). The translation in both places comes from Tindale, and is adopted by all the versions; Wyclif's word is 'slay.' Cf. Tindale, *Prologe to Leviticus*, 'Baptism signyfyeth unto us repentaunce and the mortefyinge of oure unruly members and body of synne, to walk in a newe lyffe and so forth.' Fuller (*Holy State*, p. 70) exclaims of the ancient Fathers, 'O the holinesse of their living and painfulnesse of their preaching! how full were they of mortified thoughts, and heavenly meditations'; and (p. 81) he describes St. Anthony the monk as 'having ever (though a most mortified man) a merry countenance.' Hall, *Works*, i. 68, says, 'If we preach plainly, to some it will savour of a carelesse slubbering, to others of a mortified sincerity.' The biblical use of the word is clearly seen in Rogers, *Chief Grounds of Christian Religion*, one of the early Catechisms (1642): 'Q. *What is Sanctification?* A. The purifying of our whole nature. Q. *Which be the parts of it?* A. Mortifying and quickening.' J. HASTINGS.

MOSERAH, MOSEROTH.—Moserah occurs Dt 10⁶ (AB Μεισαδαί, F Μισαδαί, Vulg. *Mosera*), and is noted as the place where Aaron died and was buried. This passage is generally considered as a part of E's narrative of the journeyings. Moseroth occurs Nu 33³⁰· ³¹ (Μασσουρώθ B v.³⁰ and -ρούθ B v.³¹, and A in both vv., Vulg. *Moseroth*) as the first of the 8 stations following Hashmonah, on the route to Mt. Hor. For discussion of these names see EXODUS AND JOURNEY TO CANAAN, vol. i. p. 805, § iii., and Driver's notes on Dt 10⁶ in *Int. Crit. Com.* p. 119f. Trumbull (*Kadesh Barnea*, p. 128) thinks that *Jebel Madura* is the modern equivalent of Moserah, and would make that the burial-place of Aaron. A. T. CHAPMAN.

MOSES.—

A. Name.
B. Moses in the Old Testament.
  i. The Documents.
  ii. The Narrative in J.
  iii. The Narrative in E.
  iv. The Narrative in P.
  v. Moses in D, etc.
  vi. Moses in the OT outside the Pentateuch.
  vii. Reconstruction of the History.
C. Moses in the New Testament.
D. Moses in Tradition.
  Literature.

A. NAME.—מֹשֶׁה (*Mōsheh*); Josephus, Philo, ℵAB, etc., in LXX and NT generally Μωυσῆς, but occasionally, as in later MSS, Μωσῆς, etc.; *Moyses*; ܡܘܫܐ. The MT form and pointing imply the derivation from משה 'draw,' given in Ex 2¹⁰, which is not accepted. The form Μωυσῆς implies the derivation, given by Josephus (*Ant.* II. ix. 6, *c. Ap.* i. 31) and Philo (*Vita Moys.* i. 4), from the Coptic *mo* 'water' and *ushe* 'saved'; or *moü* 'water' and *se* 'taken,' a view once fashionable, but now mostly set aside in favour of the derivation from the Egyptian *mes*, *mesu*, 'son, child'; see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.**

B. MOSES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.—i. *The Documents.*—As the OT includes more than one tradition as to the life and work of Moses, these traditions are given separately below. The separation, however, of J from E cannot be effected with absolute certainty; and the division of JE material between J and E and the various editors is, in a measure, provisional. Some of the points as to which there is most doubt are placed in square brackets [ ]. In the main, the analysis of B. W. Bacon in his *Triple Tradition of the Exodus* has been followed here, as in the articles on EXODUS and NUMBERS (wh. see). As in art. EXODUS, corresponding features are marked with the same letter in the different documents. The general features of the character and work of Moses will be seen to be the same in all the documents, and are epitomized at the beginning of vii. The chief difference is in the relation of Moses and Aaron (see ii.–iv. (**a**)).

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* Brass mortars are now generally taking the place of the old wooden ones.

* Other derivations are from the Egyptian royal name *Amosis* by way of contraction, favoured by Renan (*Hist.* i. 160); and as act. ptcp. = 'saviour,' favoured by Seinecke (*Gesch.* i. 78). The pointing supports the latter view, but not the usage. See also Gesenius, *Thes. s.v.*

ii. *The Narrative in J.*—(**a**) It is doubtful whether J, at any rate in its earliest form, mentioned Aaron. Dillmann, indeed, regards the prominent position given to Aaron as a mark of J; and the analysis as given by Bacon, and in the articles AARON, EXODUS, finds Aaron in this source. But Wellhausen and Stade (i. 127) hold that J does not mention Aaron. If this is so, Moses stands alone in J, and some of the passages mentioning Aaron, given here as J, must be referred to other sources, while in other passages the references to Aaron are due to one of the editors (Holzinger, *Hex.* p. 76).

(**b**) J says nothing as to the parentage of Moses. Even if 'Is not Aaron the Levite thy brother?' in Ex 4^{14} is J, 'Levite' here is probably a title and not a gentilic name. The absence of any information on this subject may be original; or J's statement may have been omitted because of its identity with that of E; or suppressed because it contradicted E.

(**c**) In J, as we have it, Moses first appears as a fugitive in Midian. As Jacob (Gn 29^{2-10} J) met Rachel at the well, helped her to water her sheep, and was received as a *gēr* into her family; so Moses met the seven daughters of the priest of Midian, helped them to water their sheep, in spite of the shepherds, and became a *gēr* in the priest's family. He married Zipporah, one of the seven daughters, and had *one* son, Gershom, Ex 2^{15b-22}.

(**d**) After a time the king of Egypt, from whom Moses had fled,[*] died; J″ told Moses to return to Egypt, for all the men who sought his life were dead; Moses set out with his wife and son.[†] (**e**) At a caravanserai on the way, J″ sought to kill Moses because he was uncircumcised. Zipporah averted His wrath by circumcising their son,[‡] Ex 2^{23a} $4^{19.\ 20a.\ 24-26}$.[§]

(**f**) On the way, or even after Moses reached Goshen, the angel of J″ appeared to him in a bush which burned without being consumed, and J″[‖] said that He had seen the oppression of His people, and had come down to deliver them, and bring them to Canaan. Moses was to repeat this to the elders of Israel; and was to go with them to request Pharaoh that Israel might go three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to J″. Moses feared they would not believe that J″ had appeared to him. Whereupon J″ gave him three signs to convince them: a rod turned into a serpent, and back again into a rod; his hand made leprous, and then restored as his other flesh; water poured on the ground and turned into blood. At J″'s command, Moses now performed the first two signs in His presence. Then Moses objected that he was not eloquent; and J″ answered, 'I will be with thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt say' (Ex $3^{2-4a.\ 5.\ 7.\ 8a.\ 16.\ 17ac.\ 18}$ 4^{1-12}). [Moses still begged J″ to send some other messenger, and J″ in anger gave him Aaron as a spokesman to the people, Ex $4^{13.\ 14a.\ 15.\ 16}$].[*]

(**h**) Moses [with Aaron] delivered J″'s message to the Israelite elders, and showed them the signs. The Israelites believed. Moses [and Aaron] requested Pharaoh to let the Israelites go into the wilderness to sacrifice; Pharaoh refused, and increased their taskwork, whereupon they turned upon Moses [and Aaron] and reproached them; Moses, in turn, appealed to J″, Ex 4^{29-31} $5^{3.\ 5-23}$.

(**i**) At the command of J″, Moses inflicted upon the Egyptians *seven* plagues—the turning of the Nile into Blood; Frogs; Gnats (EV 'lice'); Murrain; Hail; Locusts; the Death of the Firstborn (for the last see next paragraph). As regards the first six—in each case Moses[†] asked permission for Israel to go to sacrifice to or serve J″, threatening the plague as the penalty of refusal; after Pharaoh's refusal—implied, not stated—the plague happened—nothing is said of any utterance or action of Moses or J″ as the immediate cause of the plague, except that J″ brings the locusts with an east wind, and removes them by a west wind. In the case of the Frogs, Gnats, Hail, and Locusts, Pharaoh sent for Moses [and Aaron] and begged for his intercession to remove the plagues, promising, after an attempt to obtain better terms, to grant Moses' request. After the cessation of each plague, he hardened his heart and withdrew his promise. In the case of the Locusts, however, Pharaoh was induced by his servants to make concessions on the mere threat, before the plague was actually inflicted; he offered to let the men go, without the women and children. Moses refused, and the plague followed, Ex $7^{14.\ 16.\ 17a.\ 18.\ 21a.\ 24.\ 25}$ $8^{1-4.\ 8-15a.\ 20-32}$ $9^{1-7.\ 13-18.\ 23b.\ 24.\ 25b-29.\ 31-34}$ $10^{1a.\ 3b-11.\ 13b.\ 14b.\ 15a.\ 15c-19}$.

(**j**) After the removal of the locusts, Pharaoh sent for Moses and offered to let all the Israelites, both old and young, go to sacrifice if they would leave their cattle behind. Moses refused, and Pharaoh, in great anger, bade him go, and declared that he should never see his face again. Moses answered, 'Thou hast spoken well, I will see thy face again no more,' and announced that all the firstborn of the Egyptians should perish, while no Israelite should suffer anything; and that in consequence all Pharaoh's servants should come to Moses, and entreat him and his people to go. After this utterance, Moses, in hot anger, left the presence of Pharaoh, Ex $10^{24-26.\ 28.\ 29}$ 11^{4-8}. [Then Moses directed the elders of Israel to kill the passover-lamb, and to put some of its blood upon their lintels and door-posts, that when J″ was slaying the Egyptians He might spare the Israelites, Ex $12^{21-23.\ 27b}$].[‡] At midnight J″ slew all the firstborn of the Egyptians; and the Egyptians, in a panic, made the Israelites start on their journey to the desert in such haste that they carried their dough with them unbaked. A mixed multitude went with them, Ex $12^{29.\ 30.\ 31b-34.\ 37-39}$.[§]

[Moses gave laws as to the Passover, etc. $13^{3a.\ 4-7.\ 11-13}$].[‖]

(**k**) Guided by J″ in a pillar, by day a cloud, by night a fire, Moses led the Israelites into the wilderness, towards the sea.[¶] Pharaoh, recovering from his terror, pursued them with his army. At his approach the panic-stricken Israelites turned upon Moses, and upbraided him for bringing them out of Egypt. He replied, 'Fear not, be still, and see how J″ will deliver you to-day. You shall never see again the Egyptians whom you saw to-day. J″ shall fight for you, and you shall hold your peace.' The pillar placed itself between the Israelites and the Egyptians. J″, by means of a strong east wind, drove back the waters, so that the Israelites passed over in the night; while from the pillar He 'discomfited' the Egyptians, so that they turned and fled; but they perished in the returning waters; and, in the morning, 'Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the seashore,' Ex 13$^{21. 22}$ 14$^{5-7. 10-14. 19b. 20b. 21b. 24. 25b. 27b. 28b. 30}$.

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[*] Probably stated in an omitted portion of J, unless Ex 2^{11-14} belong to J; cf. iii. (**b**).

[†] MT, sons; but in J Moses has only one son, so that the plural is R (cf. Ex 2^{22}).

[‡] An ancient account of the origin of circumcision; cf., however, CIRCUMCISION in vol. i. p. 443^{a} and Jos 5^{3}.

[§] Bacon's analysis, followed here, requires the transposition of the journey from Midian before the Theophany in the Burning Bush; the account of the latter in J gives no direction to leave Midian, and takes for granted that Moses is on his way to Egypt, *i.e.* implies what is given in these verses. Cf. EXODUS in vol. i. 807.

[‖] Here, as elsewhere, 'Angel of J″' and 'J″' are interchangeable.

[*] So Bacon, followed in AARON and EXODUS; Dillmann, Jülicher, and Cornill ascribe these verses to R; cf. (**a**).

[†] The introduction of Aaron into the J narratives of the plagues is due to R.

[‡] So Dillmann and Bacon; but, according to Addis, Cornill, etc., inserted by R, perhaps from source other than JE.

[§] The 600,000 in v.^{37} is probably R; so Addis, etc.

[‖] So Bacon; but mostly assigned to R. It may be J material, but owes its position to R; *i.e.* in the separate J the giving of laws was not an incident of the hurried flight.

[¶] Cf. art. RED SEA.

[Then Moses and the Israelites sang to J″—

> 'I will sing unto J″, for he hath triumphed gloriously:
> The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea,'

Ex 15^{1}].*

(**m**) From the sea, Moses led Israel on into the wilderness, where they found no water till they came to Marah ('bitter'), where the waters were bitter; and the people murmured against Moses. In answer to his prayer, J″ showed him how to make the waters sweet by using a certain tree. At their next camping-place, Elim, they found 12 springs and 70 palm-trees, Ex 15$^{22-25a. 27}$.†

(**p**) ‡ At Massah the people murmured against Moses because they were without water. He reproved them for tempting J″ . . . ,§ hence the place was called Massah ('temptation'), Ex 17^{3} and the references to 'tempting' and 'Massah' in vv.$^{2. 7}$.

(**q**) ‖ Moses brought the Israelites to Sinai, and they encamped before the mount. J″ came down upon Sinai, called Moses to Him, and bade him charge the people and the priests not to 'break through unto J″ to gaze . . . lest he break ¶ forth upon them.' Bounds were to be set round the mount, not to be passed on pain of death, Ex 19$^{2b. 20-22. 24. 11b-13. 25}$.

[Moses, Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and 70 elders went up, and beheld J″ afar off, and ate and drank a covenant-meal, Ex 24$^{1. 2. 9. 11}$].**

Moses, who alone was allowed to approach J″,†† received from Him Ten Commandments, 'the words of the covenant' concerning ritual, which he (Moses) wrote on two tables of stone. He remained with J″ forty days and forty nights, and neither ate nor drank, Ex 34$^{1-28}$.‡‡ [J″ told Moses that the Israelites had corrupted themselves, and that He intended to destroy them; but at Moses' intercession 'J″ repented of the evil which He said He would do unto His people.' When he reached the camp, Moses called to his side those who were faithful to J″; the Levites responded, and at his command massacred 3000 evil-doers, and thus consecrated themselves to J″, Ex 32$^{7. 9b-12. 14. 25-29}$].§§ J″ bade Moses and Israel go up without Him to Canaan; but, moved by their distress and prayers He relented, and said, 'My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest'; then He permitted Moses to see something of His glory, and proclaimed His name 'J″, J″, a God full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy and truth,' Ex 31$^{1. 3}$, Nu 11$^{10-12. 14. 15}$, Ex 33$^{12-23}$ 34$^{6-9}$.*

(**r**) Moses' father-in-law, Hobab the son of Reuel the Midianite, having come to visit him,† Moses invited him to accompany the Israelites to Canaan. At first he refused. But Moses told him that his local knowledge would enable him to guide Israel through the desert, and promised that he should share in the blessings promised to the Israelites. Whereupon he consented to accompany them,‡ Nu 10$^{29-32}$.

(**n**) (**o**) After the departure from Sinai,§ the Israelites, lacking food and reduced to manna, apparently a natural product of the desert, hankered after the flesh-pots of Egypt, and 'wept . . . every man at his tent-door.' Moses remonstrated bitterly with J″ for assigning him a task entirely beyond his powers! 'I cannot bear all this people by myself, it is too much for me. If thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, out of hand, if I have found favour in thy sight; and let me not see my wretchedness.' J″ bade him tell the people that they should have flesh for a month. Moses asked how he should find so much for 600,000 men. J″ bade him wait and see; and sent a wind which brought an immense flight of quails; but while the people were only beginning to eat them, J″ smote them with a plague, Nu 11$^{4-15. 18-23. 31-35}$.

(**y**) Perhaps the narrative of Dathan and Abiram given under E, with Kuenen, should be ascribed to J, with Cornill. Bacon analyzes the JE portions of Nu 16 into two narratives, J and E; and this analysis is adopted substantially in NUMBERS; cf. iii.

(**aa**) At Kadesh the people lacked water, and murmured against Moses, who at J″'s command procured them water by smiting a rock. The water was called 'The water of Meribah' ('striving'). Parts of Nu 20$^{1-13}$.

(**bb**) Moses sent Caleb and others into the southern highlands of Canaan as far as Hebron, to view the land. They reported that the land was fertile, but the inhabitants powerful. Nevertheless, Caleb encouraged the people to invade the land; but his comrades dissuaded them, and they were panic-stricken and refused to go forward. J″ proposed to destroy them and make Moses the ancestor of a greater nation; but spared them at his intercession. Yet because they had tempted Him ten times, none of the adults of that generation should enter Canaan, except Caleb, Nu 13$^{17b. 18b. 19. 22. 27 \text{ to } honey. 28. 30. 31}$ 14$^{1c. 8. 9. 11-24. 31}$. Moses promised Caleb Hebron as his future possession, Jos 14$^{6-14}$.‖

(**ff**) Israel marched along the borders of Edom to Moab, Nu 21$^{16-20}$; (**gg**) and conquered Heshbon and other Amorite cities, Nu 21$^{24b. 25. 31. 32}$; (**hh**) Balaam, sent for by Balak of Moab, to curse the Israelites, blessed them. Parts of Nu 22–24; (**ii**) When the Israelites sinned with Moabite women, Moses, at the command of J″, hung their chiefs before J″, Nu 25$^{1b. 2. 3b. 4}$.

(**ll**) Moses delivered final laws and exhortations to the Israelites, Nu 31$^{16-22}$ 32$^{1-43}$; (**nn**) J″ called Moses to the top of Pisgah, whence He showed him all Canaan. After Moses' death, J″ buried him in a valley of Moab, opposite Beth-peor, Dt 34$^{1b \text{ to } land. 4. 6a}$.

iii. *The Narrative in E.*—(**a**) It is generally agreed that Aaron and Miriam appeared in the original E-story, Miriam being specially conspicuous. But

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* So Bacon and EXODUS; usually assigned to E or R.

† So Bacon, Driver, etc.; others, *e.g.* Addis, refer vv.$^{22-25a}$ to E, and v.^{27} to P.

‡ For (**n**) and (**o**) see after (**r**).

§ J's account of how water was provided is omitted.

‖ In the transposition of passages, Bacon is followed; cf. EXODUS in vol. i. 809.

¶ There is no similarity between the Hebrew words for 'break through' (הרם) and 'break forth' (פרץ).

** So Bacon, and similarly Dillmann; most critics give these verses to E.

†† Ex 24^{2}.

‡‡ The references to a former set of tables and some other matters are R.

§§ These verses are often ascribed to R or E.

* Ex 33$^{12-23}$ or portions of it are often ascribed to R.

† There are probably traces of J's account of Hobab's coming in Ex 18. Bacon, etc., refer vv.$^{7. 10. 11}$ to J.

‡ This seems implied by Jg 1^{16} J.

§ No mention, however, of this in J.

‖ Nu 21$^{1-3}$, usually given to J, clearly connects with these incidents, but is probably from another stratum of J.

Aaron does not appear in the narrative of the plagues, the references in the present text being due to redactors, and his *rôle* is not clear; he scarcely seems to have been the brother and almost equal partner of Moses, perhaps not even the priest; but is chiefly conspicuous as opposing Moses and leading Israel in sin. He was perhaps represented as a chief amongst the elders.[*]

(**b**) Moses was born of parents of the house of Levi, at a time when Pharaoh had ordered that all male children born to Israelites should be put to death. He was hidden for three months, and then placed in an ark of bulrushes, amongst the flags by the Nile. His sister[†] watched him, and, when he was found and pitied by Pharaoh's daughter, the sister induced her to employ Moses' mother as his nurse. Later on he was taken into the princess's house and trained as an Egyptian noble, Ex 2^{1-10}. (**c**) But when he was grown up, and had learnt that he was an Israelite, he went to see how his people fared, slew an Egyptian who was ill-treating an Israelite, and when he found, on attempting the next day to reconcile two Israelites, that his deed was known, he fled to Midian, Ex 2^{11-15a}.[‡]

(**e**)[§] While Moses was keeping the flock of Jethro, his father-in-law, on Horeb, the mountain of God, God called to him, and announced Himself as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; ‘and Moses hid his face, for he was afraid to look upon God.’ God told him that He had heard the cry of the oppressed Israelites, and would send Moses to Pharaoh, that the Israelites might be released. Moses pleaded his unfitness for such a mission; and God promised to be with him, and gave him a sign, that the people, after escaping from Egypt, should worship Him on Horeb, Ex $3^{1.\,4b.\,6.\,9-12}$.[‖]

(**f**) God revealed to Moses His new name, YAHWEH, which is explained as equivalent to ’EHYEH (EV, ‘I am’), in the phrase ’EHYEH ’ASHER ’EHYEH (EV, ‘I AM THAT I AM’);[¶] warned him that Pharaoh would not release the Israelites till Egypt had been smitten with ‘all my wonders,’ and directed that, when the Israelites departed, their women should borrow jewels and raiment of their Egyptian neighbours. He gave Moses a rod, with which to work the wonders, Ex $3^{13.\,14.\,19-22}$ 4^{17}.

(**d**) Moses took leave of Jethro, and set out for Egypt ‘with the rod of God in his hand,’ Ex $4^{18.\,20b}$.

[(**g**) At ‘the mount of God,’ Aaron, sent by J″, met him; and he told Aaron all J‴s words, Ex $4^{27.\,28}$].[**]

(**h**) Moses [and Aaron] went to Pharaoh, and in the name of J″ bade him let Israel go; he refused, reproached them with keeping the Israelites from their labour, and bade Moses [and Aaron] get to their burdens, Ex $5^{1a.\,2.\,4}$.

(**i**) At the command of J″, Moses inflicted upon the Egyptians *five* plagues—the turning of the Nile into Blood; Hail; Locusts; Three Days' Darkness; the Death of the Firstborn (for the last see next paragraph). As regards the first four—in each case Moses worked the miracle by lifting up or stretching out the rod;[††] and Pharaoh's heart was hardened. It is stated that after the plagues of Locusts and Darkness J″ hardened Pharaoh's heart.[‡‡] The Hail destroyed both man and beast, Ex 6^{1} $7^{15.\,17b.\,20b.\,23}$ $9^{22.\,23a.\,25a.\,35}$ $10^{12.\,13a.\,14a.\,20-23.\,27}$.

(**j**) J″ announced to Moses that, after the infliction of a final plague, Pharaoh would let the people go; He bade him instruct them to borrow jewels of their neighbours. ‘J″ made the Egyptians favourably disposed towards the people. Moreover, the man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, and in the eyes of Pharaoh's servants, and of the people.’ . . .[*] Pharaoh sent for Moses [and Aaron] by night, and bade them depart with the Israelites. The latter borrowed jewels and raiment of their Egyptian neighbours, and started on their journey. They were armed, and carried with them the bones of Joseph. God led them to the wilderness of the Red Sea, to avoid the warlike Philistines, Ex 11^{1-3} $12^{31a.\,35.\,36}$ 13^{17-19}.

(**k**) Pharaoh pursued with 600 chosen chariots; the Israelites cried unto J″, who bade them go forward; Moses lifted up his rod: . . . the Angel of God placed himself between Israel and its pursuers . . . and took off their chariot wheels . . . [and when the Israelites saw what had been done they believed J″ and His servant Moses], Ex $14^{3.\,7\text{ in part. }10d.\,15bd.\,19a.\,20a.\,25a.\,31}$.[†]

(**l**) Miriam the prophetess [the sister of Aaron][‡] led the women in a triumphal dance, while they sang—

> ‘Sing ye to J″, for he hath triumphed gloriously:
> The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea,’

Ex $15^{20.\,21}$.

(**n**) J″ gave the Israelites ‘bread from heaven,’ *i.e.* manna, Ex 16^{4}.[§]

(**p**) They reached Horeb, where, finding themselves without water in the wilderness, the people strove with Moses, who, by command of J″, smote a rock, and water came from it. Hence the place was called Meribah (‘striving’), Ex $17^{1b.\,4-6}$ and the references to ‘striving’ and ‘Meribah’ in vv.$^{2.\,7}$.

(**q**) [‖]Moses went up to God, and received instructions for the people to purify themselves in preparation for a Theophany on the third day. This was done, Ex $19^{3.\,6b-9a.\,10.\,11a.\,14.\,15}$. On the third day there was a thunderstorm, and God descended on the mountain in a thick cloud, to the sound of a trumpet. Moses brought the people before the mountain to meet with God. Moses spake and God answered, Ex $19^{16.\,17.\,19}$. The people, terrified by the storm and the trumpet, fled from the mountain, and begged that they might hear God's words through Moses. Moses reassured them, and ‘drew near to the thick darkness where God was.’ God spake ‘all these words,’ *i.e.* the Ten Commandments.[¶] Moses reported them to the elders of Israel; and the people promised to obey them; and Moses told J″ their promise, Ex $20^{18-21.\,1-17}$ 19^{6b-8}.[**] At J‴s command Moses and Joshua went up to the mountain and remained there forty days and nights, leaving Aaron and Hur in charge of the people. But, meanwhile, Aaron, at the request of the people, made a golden calf as an image of J″; built an altar for it, and celebrated a feast to J″. At the end of the forty days, God gave Moses two tables of stone, written with the finger of God, and probably containing the Ten Commandments. As Moses and Joshua returned, they heard the noise of the feast; and when he came near, Moses saw the calf and the dancing. His anger waxed hot; he threw down the tables of stone, and broke them. He burned the calf, ground it to powder, and made the children of Israel drink water upon which the powder had been strewn; he reproached Aaron with his sin; and Aaron excused himself as having acted under compulsion. Then Moses returned to J″ and interceded for the people: 'This people have sinned a great sin, and have made them a god of gold! Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written.' And J″ answered: 'Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book. And now go, lead the people into the place of which I have spoken unto thee. Behold, mine angel shall go before thee: nevertheless, in the day when I visit, I will visit their sin upon them.' At these tidings the people mourned, and put off their ornaments, Ex $24^{12-14.\ 18b}$ 32^{1-6} 31^{18b} $32^{16-24.\ 30-34}$ $33^{4.\ 6}$. . . . Various laws were given by J″ to Moses, Ex 20^{22-26} 23^{10-33} 22^{29-31}.

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[*] Holzinger, *Hexateuch*, 175.

[†] Her name is not given.

[‡] Vv.$^{11-15}$, sometimes given to J.

[§] For (**d**) see after (**f**).

[‖] Omitting the reference to the bush in v.^{4b}.

[¶] Cf. GOD in vol. ii. 199.

[**] Often ascribed to R.

[††] Not mentioned, however, in connexion with the Darkness, Ex 10^{21-23}.

[‡‡] Ex $10^{20.\,27}$.

[*] According to this analysis, E's account of the Death of the Firstborn and the Institution of the Passover have been omitted; but doubtless the final plague of 11^{1} was the Death of the Firstborn, especially if $4^{22.\,23}$ are E (so Bacon, etc.).

[†] V.^{31}, usually assigned to J or R. E's account of the crossing of the Red Sea has been almost entirely omitted, probably because it was closely parallel to J's.

[‡] Perhaps R.

[§] Usually ascribed to J.

[‖] For transposition of passages see ii. (**q**).

[¶] Those usually so called.

[**] Bacon's order as in EXODUS is 20^{1-21} 19^{6b-8}; but if so, ‘these are the words’ in 19^{6b} have nothing to refer to.

Moses repeated these to the people, who promised to obey them; Moses wrote them down. The next day he built an altar and set up twelve *mazzeboth*, one for each tribe. Under his directions, certain young men offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings. Moses sprinkled half the blood of the victims on the altar; and then read to the people the Book of the Covenant, containing the laws just referred to. The Israelites again promised to obey these laws, and Moses sprinkled the people with blood: 'Behold the blood of the covenant which J″ has made with you concerning all these words,' Ex 24^{3-8}.

(**r**) Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, hearing what God had done for Moses and Israel, came to visit him at Horeb, and brought to him his wife and his two sons.* Jethro and Moses, together with Aaron and all the elders of Israel, partook of a sacrificial feast before God. Observing the continual concourse of the people to Moses 'to inquire of God,' Jethro advised him to appoint subordinates to deal with lesser matters. Moses accordingly appointed rulers of tens, fifties, hundreds, and thousands. Then Jethro departed to his own land, Ex 18.†

(**s**) ‡At this point, apparently, some account was given of the construction of the 'Tent of Meeting,' and perhaps of the Ark; for we are now told that Moses used to pitch the tent outside the camp, and worshippers used to go out to it. When Moses went out to the tent, the people stood at their tent-doors to watch him. As he entered, the pillar of God descended, and stood at the door of the tent; and the people prostrated themselves. Meanwhile, within, 'J″ spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend.' When Moses returned to the camp, Joshua, his minister, remained as attendant to the 'Tent of Meeting,' Ex 33^{7-11}.

(**t**) The Israelites, guided by the Ark, departed from the Mount of J″. When the Ark set forward Moses used to pronounce the blessing—

> 'Rise up, O J″, and let thine enemies be scattered;
> Let them that hate thee flee before thee';

and when it rested—

> 'Return, O J″, unto the ten thousands of the thousands of Israel,'

Nu $10^{33ab\beta.\ 34-36}$. §

(**u**) At Taberah, a consuming fire from J″, sent to punish the people for murmuring, was quenched at the intercession of Moses, Nu 11^{1-3}.

(**v**) At the command of J″, Moses went out to the Tent of Meeting with seventy elders; J″ came down in a cloud and spake to him, and 'took of the spirit that was upon him, and gave it unto the elders,' so that they prophesied. Two of the selected seventy, however, Eldad and Medad, had stayed in the camp; nevertheless the spirit came on them, and they prophesied. A young man ran to the Tent of Meeting to tell Moses, whereupon Joshua urged Moses to forbid them; but Moses replied, 'Art thou jealous for my sake? Would that all J″'s people were prophets, and that J″ would put his spirit upon them,' Nu $11^{16.\ 17.\ 24-30}$.*

(**w**) Miriam and Aaron attacked Moses, saying,† 'Has J″ spoken only by Moses, and not also by us?' J″ suddenly summoned Moses, Miriam, and Aaron to the Tent of Meeting, and declared to them, that while He made Himself known to prophets in visions and dreams, He would speak plainly to Moses face to face, and Moses should behold the form (*tĕmūnāh*) of J″. Miriam was smitten with leprosy, but healed at the intercession of Moses, Nu 12.

(**x**) At Rephidim, Amalek attacked Israel. Moses committed the direction of the battle to Joshua, while he himself, with Aaron and Hur, went up to the top of a hill, and held aloft the 'rod of God.'‡ When it was held up, Israel prevailed; when it was lowered, Amalek. But when Moses was exhausted, Aaron and Hur made him sit down while they held up his hands till sunset. Then Amalek was completely routed. J″ bade Moses record in a book the victory, and J″'s purpose to war against the Amalekites till they were exterminated. Moses built an altar called *J″-nissi*, 'J″ my banner,' Ex 17^{8-16}.

(**y**) Two Reubenite chiefs, Dathan and Abiram, rebelled against Moses because he sought to make himself a prince over Israel, and had failed to fulfil his promise to bring them into a land flowing with milk and honey. Summoned to appear before Moses, they declined; whereupon he went to them, bade the other Israelites separate themselves from the rebels, and appealed to J″ to punish them by a hitherto unknown chastisement—the earth should open and swallow them up—as a sign that he had J″'s authority for his leadership of Israel. Whereupon the earth opened, and swallowed them up with their households, and they went down alive into Sheol, Nu $16^{1b.\ 2b\beta.\ 13.\ 14.\ 15b.\ 25.\ 26.\ 27b-32a.\ 33.\ 34}$.§

(**z**) When the people reached Kadesh, Miriam died and was buried, Nu 20^{1}. (**bb**) Moses urged the people to invade the land; but, at their request, consented to send 12 men to survey it. These went as far as Eshcol, returned with a gigantic cluster of grapes and other fruit, but reported that the inhabitants were numerous and powerful. Whereupon the people cried out against Moses, and proposed to appoint a new captain, and return to Egypt.‖ . . . Moses bade the people return to the wilderness of the Red Sea; but, in spite of him, they advanced towards Canaan, but were attacked and routed, Dt 1^{19-46} (probably based on E), Nu $13^{18ac.\ 20.\ 23.\ 24.\ 26b.\ 27b.\ 29.\ 33}$ $14^{1b.\ 3.\ 4.\ 25.\ 39-45}$.*

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* Cf. ii. (**d**); 'after he had sent her back' in v.^{2} is a harmonistic addition to reconcile J and E.

† There are probable traces of J in this chapter.

‡ Cf. P (**q**).

§ Sometimes given to J.

* Often referred to a later stratum of E than Ex 18. The paragraph is probably an expansion of an older narrative containing only the prophesying of Eldad and Medad, Joshua's protest, and Moses' answer.

† Moses' 'Cushite wife,' v.$^{1a\beta b}$, is never again referred to, either in this chapter or elsewhere; and it is clear from the rest of the chapter that the controversy between Moses on the one hand, and Miriam and Aaron on the other, had nothing to do with any such matter; v.$^{1a\beta b}$ can hardly have been inserted by either R^{D} or R^{P}, but by R^{JE} from some older source; it is probably a fragment of an ancient narrative, the rest of which has been omitted because it was not considered edifying.

‡ V.^{9}.

§ *On* in v.^{1} is probably due to textual corruption. Bacon thinks the name occurred in a J version; this view is adopted in NUMBERS; cf. ii. (**y**).

‖ The immediate sequel is omitted.

(**cc**) Moses sought permission for Israel to pass peaceably through Edom, but without success, Nu 20^{14-21}. (**dd**) In the course of the journey from Kadesh, Aaron died, Dt $10^{6\ \textit{to buried}}$.

(**ee**) For murmuring at the hardships of their renewed march through the desert, the people were plagued with fiery serpents. Moses prayed for them, and was told to make a brazen serpent, and by looking at this the sufferers were healed, Nu 21^{4b-9}. (**ff**) Israel marched along the borders of Edom to Moab, Nu 21^{11b-15}; (**gg**) and conquered the territory of Sihon, Nu $21^{21-24.\ 27-30}$.† (**hh**) Balaam, sent for by Balak of Moab to curse the Israelites, blessed them, parts of Nu 22–24. (**ii**) Israel worshipped Baal-peor, and Moses bade the judges slay the offenders, Dt $25^{1a.\ 3a.\ 5}$.

(**kk**) J″ announced to Moses that he was about to die, and Moses appointed Joshua his successor, Nu $31^{14.\ 15.\ 23}$.

(**ll**) Moses delivered final laws and exhortations to the people. Ex 21^1–23^8, displaced by R^D to make room for D. Dt 1^1–4^{40} is probably an R^D expansion of E's farewell speech of Moses, parallel to that of Joshua in Jos 24. Dt $27^{1-8.\ 17-19}$.

(**nn**) Moses died in the land of Moab; his tomb was unknown. 'There hath not arisen a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom J″ knew face to face,' Dt $34^{5.\ 6b.\ 10}$.

iv. *The Narrative in P.*—(**a**) Aaron is Moses' brother, and Aaron and Moses are constantly coupled together. Miriam is ignored.‡ (**b**) Moses and Aaron were the children of Amram and Jochebed; Amram was the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, Ex 6^{14-27}, Nu 26^{58b-61}; § cf. 1 Ch 6^{1-3}. Moses' wife and children are ignored.‖

(**e**) (**f**) When Moses was 80 and Aaron 83 years old (Ex 7^7), God spoke to Moses in Egypt,¶ and revealed His new name—J″—thus: 'I am J″: and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob as El Shaddai, but by my name J″ I was not known to them'—and declared that He had heard the groaning of the Israelites under the oppression of the Egyptians; and that He would now fulfil His covenant with the patriarchs, by giving Canaan to their descendants. Moses told this to the Israelites, but they would not listen because their spirit was broken by their sufferings (Ex 6^{2-9}). (**g**) When J″ bade him demand from Pharaoh the release of the Israelites, he replied that he had not the gift of speech, and that, as the Israelites had not listened to him, it was not likely that he would make any impression upon Pharaoh. J″ replied: 'I have made thee a god to Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet . . . I will harden Pharaoh's heart . . . Pharaoh will not listen to you . . . so I will bring forth my people by great judgments,' Ex $6^{11.\ 12}$ 7^{1-5}. (**i**) At the command of J″, conveyed through Moses, Aaron inflicted *six* plagues on the Egyptians—his Rod changed into a Reptile;** all the Water in the land turned into Blood; Frogs; Gnats; Boils; the Death of the Firstborn (for which see next paragraph).

The first four wonders were wrought by means of Aaron's rod; but, in the case of the fifth, the Boils were caused by Moses appearing before Pharaoh and throwing soot into the air. In each case Pharaoh's magicians competed with Moses and Aaron; the magicians succeeded in turning Rods into Reptiles, Water into Blood, and in producing Frogs, so that Pharaoh was encouraged in hardening his heart against the request of Moses and Aaron; but the magicians failed to produce Gnats, and said, 'The finger of God is here'; but Pharaoh still hardened his heart. In the case of the Boils, the magicians themselves were smitten and fled from Moses; but J″ hardened Pharaoh's heart, so that he would not listen to Moses and Aaron, Ex $7^{8-13.\ 19.\ 20a.\ 21b.\ 22}$ $8^{5-7.\ 16-19}$.

(**j**) At the command of J″, Moses and Aaron instituted the Passover, which was observed for the first time* . . . The Israelites marched out of Egypt into the wilderness, Ex $12^{1-20.\ 28.\ 43-51}$ $13^{1.\ 2.\ 20}$.

(**k**) At the command of J″, Israel turned back and encamped by the sea, that J″ might harden Pharaoh's heart, and make him pursue Israel. All of which happened. Still, at the command of J″, Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, the waters were divided, and the Israelites 'went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground: and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left.' The Egyptians pursued into the sea, but Moses again stretched out his hand over the sea, and the waters returned and overwhelmed them; while the Israelites reached the further shore in safety, Ex $14^{1.\ 2.\ 4.\ 8.\ 9.\ 15ac.\ 16-18.\ 21a.\ 21c-23.\ 26.\ 27a.\ 28a.\ 29}$.

(**n**) (**o**) In the wilderness the Israelites hankered after the flesh-pots of Egypt, and murmured against Moses and Aaron; J″ sent them manna in the morning, and quails in the evening, Ex $16^{1-4.\ 6.\ 7.\ 9-14.\ 15b.\ 16b.\ 31}$.†

(**q**) After sundry journeys (Ex 17^{1a} $19^{1.\ 2a}$), the Israelites came to the wilderness before Sinai. The glory of J″ dwelt on Sinai, hidden for six days in a cloud, but (apparently) manifested on the seventh like fire glowing through the cloud. On the seventh day J″ called Moses into the cloud (Ex $24^{15b-18a}$), where he received instructions as to the tabernacle and its furniture, and the priests and their vestments and duties, Ex 25^1–31^{17b}.‡

Moses came down from Sinai with the two Tables; his face shone so that he veiled it § when he spoke to Aaron and 'the princes of the congregation.' He gave the Israelites J″'s commands, which they executed with great zeal; the tabernacle was constructed, furnished, and consecrated. The glory of J″ filled it, and the cloud covered it (Ex 34^9–40^{38}),‖ Aaron and his sons were consecrated as priests, and entered upon the work of their office; but two of the sons, Nadab and Abihu, offered before J″ 'strange fire, which He had not commanded; and fire went forth from the presence of J″ and devoured them.' From time to time J″ revealed various laws to Moses at Mt. Sinai, which make up the Book of Leviticus.

Moses and Aaron proceeded to organize the nation and its worship. A census was taken showing the number of the adult males, apart from the Levites, to be 603,505; a census of male

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* Nu 14^{41-45} is sometimes given to J, and probably contains R-additions.

† Vv.$^{33-35}$ (Og) are referred to R.

‡ Miriam in Nu 20^1 is E, and 26^{59} is R^P.

§ These passages are often referred to late strata of P or to R^P; even in that case they would probably be based on P; which throughout implies that Aaron and, therefore, Moses belong to the tribe of Levi.

‖ This gap is supplied by 1 Ch 24^{14-17}. Aaron's uncles and cousins are mentioned Lv 10^2.

¶ Cf. Ex 6^{28}, R^P.

** A wonder rather than a plague, but reckoned by P in the same series as the rest.

* P's account of the Death of the Firstborn, implied in Ex 12^{12}, has been omitted.

† R^P adds in vv.$^{17-30.\ 32-34}$ details as to the amount gathered, the observance of the Sabbath, and the placing of a pot of manna before the Testimony, *i.e.* the Tables in the Ark. Unless this chapter originally stood after the narrative of the events at Sinai (so Addis and Bacon), the reference to the tables is an anachronism due to an oversight.

‡ P contains a large number of laws revealed by J″ to Moses, and promulgated by him to the people. It is not necessary to enumerate these in an article on Moses. See under HEXATEUCH in vol. ii. p. 368.

§ According to 2 Co 3^{13} Moses veiled his face that the Israelites might not see the glory pass away.

‖ Part or all of Ex 34^9–40^{38} belongs to late strata of P; and Leviticus contains material from various strata; see EXODUS, LEVITICUS.

Levites, young and old, taken later, showed them to amount to 22,000, Nu 1^1–10^{10}.[*]

(**t**) On the 20th day, of the 2nd month, of the 2nd year, the cloud was taken up from over the Tabernacle, and the Israelites left the wilderness of Sinai, according to J″'s commandment given through Moses, Nu 10^{11-28}.

(**y**) Korah and 250 princes attacked Moses and Aaron for claiming a sanctity superior, *i.e.* an exclusive priesthood, to that of the rest of the congregation. This claim, apparently, was made by Moses and Aaron as Levites (so v.^{7b}, which has been transposed from v.^{3} 'Ye take too much upon you, ye sons of Levi').[†] Moses proposed that Korah and his company should officiate before J″ as priests, that He might show His will in the matter. They did so, and appeared supported by all the congregation. J″ threatened to destroy all Israel, except Moses and Aaron; but, at the intercession of Moses, the congregation were allowed to separate from Korah and his 250 princes, who were devoured by fire from J″. The congregation murmured and were smitten with a plague, which was stayed by an atoning oblation of incense made by Aaron, Nu $16^{1 \text{ to Korah}. 2-7. 18-24. 27 \text{ to side}. 35. 41-50}$.[‡] Twelve rods, one for each tribe, being placed before the Ark, Aaron's rod budded to show that the tribe of Levi was chosen for the priesthood. J″ ordered that Aaron's rod should be kept always before the Ark, Nu 17.

(**aa**) In the wilderness of Zin, the people, lacking water, murmured at Moses and Aaron. J″ bade Moses take Aaron's rod from before the Ark.[§] Moses did so, gathered the congregation together before the rock, saying, 'Hear now, ye rebels; shall we bring you forth water out of this rock?' He smote the rock twice with his rod, and the water gushed forth. But J″ rebuked Moses and Aaron for lack of faith, and told them that they should not be allowed to lead Israel into Canaan. Parts of Nu $20^{1a. 2-13}$.[‖]

(**bb**) At the command of J″, Moses sent from the wilderness of Paran Joshua and Caleb and ten others to survey the land. They went through the whole land, as far as Rehob on the borders of Hamath; and, after forty days, they brought back an evil report, that it was a land which ate up its inhabitants, and that all the people in it were giants. The congregation murmured against Moses and Aaron, who prostrated themselves before them. Joshua and Caleb protested that the land was a good land. But the congregation were about to stone Moses and Aaron, when the glory of J″ appeared in the Tabernacle, and J″ declared that of the grown men only Caleb and Joshua should enter Canaan. The other ten spies died at once by a plague, Nu $13^{1-17a. 21. 25. 26a. 32}$ $14^{1a. 2. 5-7. 10. 26-30. 34-38}$. (**dd**) When Israel, journeying from Paran, reached Mount Hor, Aaron died, and was succeeded by Eleazar, Nu 20^{22b-29}.

(**ff**) Israel marched along the borders of Edom to Moab, Nu 20^{22} $21^{4a. 10. 11a}$.

(**ii**) An Israelite brought in a Midianite woman; whereupon there came a plague, which was stayed by the execution of the guilty couple by Phinehas the grandson of Aaron. J″ bade Moses promise Phinehas 'an everlasting priesthood,' Nu 25^{6-15}. (**jj**) Moses and Eleazar took a second census, none of those included in the former census surviving, except Joshua and Caleb, Nu 26. (**kk**) J″ told Moses he was about to die; and, at J″'s command, Moses appointed Joshua his successor, Nu 27. (**ll**) Moses delivered final laws, etc., Nu 28–30. The Israelites defeated the Midianites and slew Balaam, Nu 31. (**mm**) Moses gave the territories of Sihon and Og to Reuben and Gad, Nu 32^{1-38}.[*]

(**nn**) Moses went up to Mt. Nebo and died there, at the age of 120, in full possession of all his faculties. The Israelites mourned him thirty days; and Joshua succeeded him, 'full of the spirit of wisdom; for Moses had laid his hands upon him,' Dt $34^{1a. 7-9}$.

v. *Moses in D*, etc.—The additions made by the Deuteronomic writers and the various editors to the Pentateuch simply expound, interpret, and harmonize the information given by the older sources, and add nothing to our knowledge of the character and work of Moses. The various songs, though probably included in J and E, or JE, etc., are really independent sources. Ex 15^{2-18} (Song at the Red Sea) is doubtless the oldest account of the great deliverance. It states, in accordance with J, that J″, through a mighty wind, which first held back and then let loose the waters, overwhelmed the Egyptians in the Dead Sea. The 'Blessing of Moses,' Dt 33, speaks of a Theophany from Sinai, Seir, Mt. Paran, of a Law given by Moses, who[†] was 'king in Jeshurun,' and connects Levi with Massah and Meribah, either because Levi was regarded as equivalent to Moses, or else following an otherwise unknown tradition.

vi. *Moses in the OT outside the Pentateuch.*—In the pre-exilic prophets, Hos 12^{13}, sometimes regarded as a later addition, states that J″ brought up Israel from Egypt, and preserved him, by a prophet; Mic 6^4[‡] refers to Moses, Aaron, and Miriam as the leaders of Israel in the Exodus; Jer 15^1 couples Moses with Samuel. In the post-exilic prophets Moses is referred to in Is $63^{11. 12}$, and the law of Moses in Mal 4^4, Dn $9^{11. 13}$. In the Psalter, Ps 105. 106 are a lyrical summary of the history of the Exodus; they are based on an edition of the Pentateuch, in which P had already been combined with JED, but which did not contain some of the latest priestly additions. Moses and Aaron are also referred to in 77^{20} as leaders of the people, and in 99^6—

'Moses and Aaron among his priests,
And Samuel among them that call upon his name.'

In Jos the Deuteronomic editors make frequent reference to the 'law of Moses,' *i.e.* D, which, according to them, was strictly observed by Joshua and the elders of his generation, *e.g.* 8^{30-35}. In Sam.-Kings, the Deuteron. editors seem to hold that this law was ignored till discovered in the temple in the reign of Josiah. In Ch, the priestly edition of the history, the law of Moses, *i.e.* the laws of the Pentateuch, was strictly observed by all good kings from David onwards.

In Jos 24^{1-10} (E) Joshua's farewell speech gives a brief summary of the history of the Exodus, beginning, 'I sent Moses and Aaron.'[§] There is a similar reference to Moses and Aaron in 1 S 12^{6-8} (E ?), Samuel's farewell speech. 1 Ch 23^{14-17} gives the sons and grandsons of 'Moses the man of God,' and states that they were reckoned with (יִקָּרְאוּ עַל) the tribe of Levi.

vii. *Reconstruction of the History.*—We can take as our starting-point certain facts as to which the ancient sources and most modern critics agree—(*a*) That Moses was the leader under whom Israel was delivered from bondage in Egypt and from peril of annihilation by the Red Sea, and was governed during its sojourn in the wilderness; (*b*) that through him Israel received a revelation, which was a new departure in the national religion, and the foundation of Judaism and Christianity; and (*c*)—practically another aspect of the last point—that he originated or formulated many customs and institutions from which the later national system was developed; that thus (*d*) Israel owed to Moses its existence as a nation; and (*e*) Moses is a unique personality of supreme importance in OT history.

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[*] From various strata of P.

[†] See NUMBERS, p. 570^b.

[‡] Korah, Dathan, and Abiram in vv.$^{24. 27a}$ = R. A later priestly writer has made additions, according to which Korah and the princes were Levites, who sought the priesthood, and specially attacked Aaron, $16^{1. \text{son} \ldots \text{Levi}. 8-11. 16. 17. 32b. 37-40}$.

[§] Nu 17^{10}.

[‖] Wherein the sin of Moses and Aaron lay is not clear. The LXX for 'shall we bring forth?' μὴ ἐξάξομεν, may imply that he doubted whether they could. Ps 106^{33} states that Moses 'spake unadvisedly (וַיְבַטֵּא) with his lips.'

[*] Probably R^p, but based on JE.

[†] Driver, Steuernagel, etc., prefer to refer 'the king' to Jahweh.

[‡] Perhaps written in the reign of Manasseh.

[§] Omitted by the LXX. In view of the general attitude of E to Aaron, the words 'and Aaron' are probably R, if the clause belongs to the text at all.

The following quotations will show the extent to which the general historicity of the Mosaic narrative is accepted; in (A) are placed those which minimize the historical element; the rest in (B):—

(A) Stade, who in his *GVI* was more sceptical about the sojourn of the people in Egypt than in more recent utterances, accepts Moses as a real person, thus: 'Like all founders of religions, he brought to his people a new, creative idea, which moulded their national life. This new idea was the worship of Yahwe as national God' (*Stammgottes*), p. 130. Cf. *Akad. Reden*, 105 ff.

Renan, *Hist. du Peuple d'Isr.* i. p. 161: 'Mais ce qui est possible aussi, c'est que tous ces récits de l'Exode, où la fable a pénétré pour une si large part, soient plus mythiques encore qu'on ne le suppose d'ordinaire, et qu'il ne faille, de tous ces récits, conserver que le fait même de la sortie d'Israël de l'Égypte et de son entrée dans la péninsule du Sinai.' Of Moses he says: 'La légende a entièrement recouvert Moïse . . . quoique son existence soit très probable,' p. 159.

(B) In Ewald's treatment of this period, *Hist. of Isr.* [Eng. tr.] ii. 15–228, his own view of the history is partly subordinated to an exposition of the narratives in the various sources; but he clearly accepted the historicity of the leading events. Thus, of the passage of the Red Sea, he wrote: 'Whatever may have been the exact course of this event, whose historical certainty is well established, its momentous results, the nearer as well as the more remote, were sure to be experienced, and are even to us most distinctly visible,' p. 75.

Wellhausen, *Hist. of Isr.* pp. 429–438: 'Moses . . . saw a favourable opportunity of deliverance. . . . At a time when Egypt was scourged by a grievous plague, the Hebrews broke up their settlement in Goshen one night in spring . . . on the shore . . . of the Red Sea . . . they were overtaken by Pharaoh's army. . . . A high wind during the night left the shallow sea so low that it became possible to ford it. Moses eagerly accepted the suggestion, and made the venture with success. The Egyptians, rushing after, came up with them on the further shore, and a struggle ensued. But the assailants fought at a disadvantage: the ground being ill suited for their chariots and horsemen, they fell into confusion and attempted a retreat. Meanwhile the wind had changed; the waters returned, and the pursuers were annihilated. After turning to visit Sinai . . . the emigrants settled at Kadesh.' 'A certain inner unity actually subsisted long before it had found any outward political expression; it goes back to the time of Moses, who is to be regarded as its author. The foundation upon which, at all periods, Israel's sense of its national unity rested was religious in its character. It was the faith which may be summed up in the formula, Jehovah is the God of Israel, and Israel is the people of Jehovah. Moses was not the first discoverer of this faith, but it was through him that it came to be the fundamental basis of the national existence and history.' 'From the historical tradition . . . it is certain that Moses was the founder of the Torah.'

The late W. Robertson Smith wrote, *OTJC*^{2}: 'Moses . . . is the father of the priests as well as the father of the prophets,' p. 303. 'He was a prophet as well as a judge. As such, he founded in Israel the great principles of the moral religion of the righteous Jehovah,' p. 305.

Smend, *AT Religionsgeschichte*^{2}, writes: 'The narrative of the Mosaic period contains certain leading features, the historicity of which there is no reason to doubt, viz. the sojourn in Egypt of the Israelites, or at any rate of a part of them; their flight from Egypt; their connexion with the tribes of the Sinaitic peninsula and with the holy mountain; their stay at Kadesh, and finally the conquest of the Amorite kingdom east of the Jordan. . . . Moses was not the lawgiver of Israel, but he was much more than that. By leading the Israelites out of Egypt, by unifying them in the wilderness, by conquering the land E. of Jordan, thus giving the Israelites a settled abode, and enabling them to become agriculturists instead of nomads, he created Israel. . . . Through him Yahwe became the God of Israel,' pp. 15–17.

Kittel, in his *Hist. of the Hebrews* [Eng. tr.], which applies Dillmann's critical views to the history, writes: 'Not only the Song (at the Red Sea), but all three main sources (J E P) have historic ground beneath them. The Passage through the sea is a historical fact, but this is a link of a chain which implies others, earlier as well as later. The abode in Egypt, the Exodus thence, the continued journeying in the Desert towards Sinai, are thereby all made certain,' i. p. 227 f. Similarly he accepts connexion with Midian and the sojourns at Sinai and Kadesh, pp. 229–234, and finds a Mosaic kernel in the Decalogue and the Book of the Covenant. Further: 'If the events of that period are, as a whole, beyond dispute, they demand for their explanation such a personality as the sources give us in Moses,' p. 239.

Cornill, *Hist. of the People of Isr.* pp. 41–43, writes: 'Moses, a Hebrew of the tribe of Levi, had by favourable providence had access to the learning and civilization of Egypt,' and led the Israelites out of Egypt. They were overtaken by the Egyptians at the Red Sea, but 'a mighty north-east wind lays dry the shallow strait, and they go through on the bottom of the sea, into the desert, into freedom.' . . . 'In Sinai . . . tradition locates the capital achievement of Moses, his religious reorganization of the people. It is one of the most remarkable moments in the history of mankind, the birth-hour of the religion of the spirit. In the thunderstorms of Sinai the God of revelation Himself comes down upon the earth: here we have the dawn of the day which was to break upon the whole human race, and among the greatest mortals who ever walked this earth Moses will always remain one of the greatest.'

Passing to details: Moses' connexion with the Levites is vouched for not only by the statements as to his birth, Ex 2^2 E, 6^{20} P, but also from the fact that the Levites of the sanctuary at Dan claimed to be descended from Moses;* and also by the designation of the Levites in Dt 33^8 as 'the people of thy holy one,' איש חסידך,† *i.e.* Moses. Perhaps *Mushi* (Ex 6^{19} [P]), as the name of a division of the Levitical clan Merari, denotes another group of Levites, who at one time claimed descent from Moses. 1 Ch 23^{14-17}, where it is stated that the sons of Moses were reckoned (יִקָּרְאוּ) to the tribe of Levi, is possibly a trace of some arrangement by which the Mosaic Levites were placed on the same level as the other Levites; the genealogical statement of the transaction would be that Gershom was a son of Levi and not of Moses. Cf. LEVI.

The E statement (Ex 2^{10}), that Moses grew up in Egyptian surroundings, is supported by the apparent identity of his name with the Egyptian *mesu*; but it is not likely, as Renan (*Hist. du Peuple d'Isr.* i. 142 ff.) supposes, that he was greatly influenced in his work as the medium of divine revelation to Israel, by any Egyptian training. The prephetic religion of Israel has little in common with that of Egypt. Moreover, the early narratives make it clear that the scene of what we may call his religious education was the desert between Egypt and Palestine. It was at Horeb or in Midian that God appeared to him; and the only human being by whose advice he was guided alike in religious and secular matters was his father-in-law, variously styled Jethro, the priest of Midian, Reuel, Hobab ben-Reuel, the Kenite. See HOBAB, JETHRO. It was at Horeb or Sinai that Moses received his fuller revelation; and throughout the earlier history J″ is specially connected with Sinai. Thus it appears that Moses, as an exile from Egypt, found among the Bedawîn of the wilderness of Sinai ‡ the human influences which helped to shape his subsequent teaching,§ cf. art. GOD in vol. ii. p. 200^a; there, too, he received the divine inspiration, which sent him back to Egypt to rescue his people. In that rescue and for the rest of his life, Moses was the mediator between J″ and Israel alike in things material and spiritual. Israel, in its better moments, recognized that J″ guided, protected, and championed His people through the leading and governance of Moses, and instructed them through his teaching. The tradition is equally clear that Israel had its evil moods in which it strove to shake itself free from the control of Moses, and that there were times when even he despaired of accomplishing the task which J″ had laid upon him. The repeated offers of J″ to annihilate Israel and make Moses the ancestor of a new nation, are probably a faithful reminiscence of importunate doubts as to whether Israel was worthy to be 'the people of J″,' *i.e.* to receive and entertain the Divine Presence by which Moses felt himself possessed and inspired. For then a nation was a necessary correlative of a religion. Would it not be better to leave Israel to its fate and to gather round himself some new community, just as centuries later Paul turned from the Jews to the Gentiles? But Moses' intense patriotism made such a course impossible. 'If thou wilt forgive their sin —; if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written.' Again and again he returned to the task of keeping the people true to their high vocation, alike by persuasion and chastisement; while he as constantly besought J″ to pardon their sin and bear with their frailty.

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* Jg 18^{30} (J ?), where the true reading is *Moses*, not Manasseh. The suggestion (Addis, *Hex.* p. 196 n.) that 1 S 2^{27} implies that a similar claim was made by the priesthood of Shiloh is not supported by the general sense of the passage, which, moreover, was probably not written till after the destruction of Shiloh.

† So Dillmann, Addis, etc.; Driver prefers to render, 'the man, thy godly one,' *i.e.* the tribe of Levi.

‡ Cf. the exile of the Egyptian Sanehat amongst the Bedawîn, Petrie, *Egypt*, i. 153.

§ The occurrence of J″ in *Jochebed* suggests that the name J″ was known in the tribe of Levi before the time of Moses; but this name is found only in P.

We may also trust the tradition that Moses led Israel first to Kadesh and then to the plains of Moab, but that he died before the invasion of Palestine. The tradition of some sin, of which exclusion from Canaan was the penalty, is too obscure to be interpreted, far less verified. The important and controlling element of Moses' work for Israel, and through Israel for the religion of the world, was the uniting of the various tribes as 'the people of J″,' and of J″ only, in the faith that J″ could control nature and history to His purposes. The mutual loyalty of the tribes to one another had an immense ethical value, of which their common loyalty to J″ was the bond and symbol. Hence an ethical character necessarily attached to J″ Himself. In a primitive age a new departure necessarily had a concrete embodiment; Moses therefore provided for J″ a sanctuary and a priesthood. The Tent of Meeting is mentioned by E (Nu 11 etc.); and, even apart from P, who has probably expanded ancient material, the Ark was evidently constructed by Moses; it is conspicuous in JE at the crossing of the Jordan, but entirely absent at the Red Sea. As to the priesthood, Moses clearly placed the care of the Ark and the Tent of Meeting in the hands of his own family. Joshua, indeed, was left in charge of the Tent, but only as the deputy of Moses, who was the real priest, or, as Philo says, high priest. Moses appears (see above) to have left the succession in the priesthood to his children; it is not clear how far P's statement that the family of Aaron was entrusted with the priesthood is derived from ancient tradition, but the ordinary analysis supports this view by giving Dt 10^6, Jos 14^{33} to E, but they may belong to R^P; see 'Joshua' in *PB*. Cf. ARK, TABERNACLE, etc.

The Pentateuch also states that Moses committed to writing certain laws and records: 'all the words of J″,' Ex 24^3 (E) — what these 'words' were is not stated; the ritual Ten Commandments, Ex 34^{28} (J); the register of the Stations in the Wilderness, Nu 33^1 (R^P); 'this law,' probably the original Deuteronomic Code, Dt 31^9 (R^D). The articles EXODUS, DEUTERONOMY, NUMBERS explain why even these sections, at any rate in their present form, are not attributed to Moses. Yet these passages warrant us in believing that many of the laws and institutions of the Pentateuch originated with Moses, or received his sanction, or are the natural application to later times of the principles involved in his government of Israel.

It is doubtful whether we can regard Moses as an author in the literary sense. His name is indeed found in the OT in connexion with various poems, viz. Ex 15^{1-18}, the Song of Triumph at the Red Sea; Dt 32^{1-43}, the Song of Moses; Dt 33^{2-29}; and some other poems in Ex–Dt.; Ps 90, the Prayer of Moses; and the whole Pentateuch and the Bk. of Job have been attributed to him by rabbinical and other theories. The reasons why this ascription of these books and poems to Moses has been for the most part abandoned will be found in the articles on the several books. It is not impossible that he may have composed narratives and poems, and that portions of such work are preserved in the Pentateuch, but we have no means of identifying them.

It will be obvious that the question, 'What new elements of cult and faith did Moses add to the religion of Israel?' can be only very partially answered. Later times rightly held that, in a sense, they were his debtors for their whole treasure of religious faith and life; they were not careful to distinguish between original Mosaism and its developments; but included both alike under the formula, 'J″ said to Moses.' Modern analysis has not yet succeeded in definitely and certainly separating the one from the other. It has been proposed to determine Mosaism by ascertaining the nature of the pre-prophetic religion of Israel. But our data for this calculation are inadequate; and even if it were successfully performed, we have still to discover the exact state of pre-Mosaic religion, and to establish some principle by which the credit for the advance from that to prophetic religion is to be distributed between Moses and other teachers, such as Samuel and Elijah. Moses' work was rather practical than didactic, the influence of an inspired life rather than the inculcation of abstract dogmas. He made the faith, the sanctuary, the Ark of J″ the rallying-point of a united Israel. This point is rightly emphasized by E and P in their statements that it was through Moses that the name YAHWEH was made known to Israel. What there was new to Israel in this name, as compared with the divine names they had hitherto used, we cannot at present determine. But, in the natural course of things, each of the tribes of Israel would have developed, like Ammon, Moab, and Edom, its own henotheistic religion. The devotion of so great a group of tribes to J″, and J″ only, and the survival of this common devotion when the political unity disappeared, under the Judges and again during the divided monarchy, was a distinct step from henotheism to monotheism. Moreover, the faith that the God whose sanctuary was Sinai could rescue Israel from Egypt, protect and provide for them in the wilderness, and put them in possession of Palestine, emphasized the truth that J″ was not the God of a country, but of a people; and the relation of a deity to a people is far more spiritual than the relation of a deity to a country—J″ is of a higher order than Baal. Hence the Mosaic faith, 'J″ is the God of Israel,' and the realization of that faith in the events of Israel's history during the leadership of Moses, constitute a distinct advance in spiritual monotheism.

Moses' personality cannot be exactly defined, for similar reasons. In the oldest tradition he stands in such isolated grandeur,* is so constantly thought of as the ideal ruler and prophet, that the traits of human, individual life and character are lost. Even points that seem characteristic are soon seen to belong to the Israelite ideal of the saint and prophet. His shrinking from his mission he shared with men like Jeremiah and Ezekiel. When Nu 12^3 (E^2 or perhaps R) states that Moses was meek (*'ānâw*) above all other men, it means that he was unique in his piety, for to be *'ānâw* came to be the characteristic grace of the godly man. On the other hand, his wife and sons vanish silently from the story, which cares nothing about his personal relations, and is interested only in the official successor to his leadership. The picture drawn of him in the Pentateuch is adequately sketched by saying, with Philo, that Moses is portrayed as supremely endowed with the human gifts and divine inspiration of king and lawgiver, priest and prophet.

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* For Aaron see ii.–iv. (a).

C. MOSES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.—The NT makes frequent reference to the history of Moses. For the most part, however, it adds nothing to the OT narrative. In some instances it follows a text differing from MT, or a tradition varying from the Pentateuch,* but these differences do not affect the general history of Moses. In other cases, the NT follows tradition in obtaining new features from the interpretation of the OT narrative. The simple טוב (EV 'goodly' of Ex 2^{2}) becomes, by a development from the LXX *ἀστεῖος*, the emphatic phrase *ἀστεῖος τῷ θεῷ* (EV 'exceeding fair'), Ac 7^{20}; cf. He 11^{23}. So, again, He 11^{24-26} 'Moses, when he was grown up, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter; choosing rather to be evil entreated with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; accounting the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt: for he looked unto the recompense of the reward. By faith he forsook Egypt, not fearing the wrath of the king: for he endured, as seeing him who is invisible.' Similarly, St. Stephen (Ac 7^{25-41}), in stating that Moses 'was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,' that he was about forty when he fled from Egypt, that he spent forty years in Midian, etc., follows traditions which are an obvious deduction from the OT statement that Moses was brought up as the 'son of Pharaoh's daughter,' and from the chronology of the Pentateuch.

There are, however, a few statements about Moses in the NT which can scarcely be conjectural expansions of suggestions found in the Pentateuch. They are, for the most part, derived from apocryphal works: 2 Ti $3^{8.9}$ 'Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses,' and 'their folly . . . came to be evident unto all men,' is said by Origen (on Mt 27^{8}) to be taken from an apocryphal Book of Jannes and Jambres; see JANNES AND JAMBRES (BOOK OF). Jude ^{9}, the contention of Michael and Satan over the body of Moses, is from another apocryphal work, the *Assumption of Moses*; see following article.

The NT constantly refers to the law of Moses, and to Moses as the founder of OT religion, and refers to the Pentateuch as 'Moses' (Lk 16^{29}). His prophetical status is recognized by the quotation in Ac 3^{22}. At the Transfiguration, Moses and Elijah appear as the representatives of the OT dispensation, and Christ and they speak of His approaching death as an 'Exodus' (Lk 9^{31}, cf. 2 Pe 1^{15}). While the NT contrasts the law with the gospel, and Moses with Christ (Jn 1^{17} etc.), yet it appeals to the Pentateuch as bearing witness to Christ (Dt 18^{15-19} in Ac 7^{37}), in a way which implies that what Moses was to the old, Christ is to the new dispensation. Similarly, the comparison between Moses and Christ in He $3^{5.6}$ implies that, though Christ was greater than Moses, He was, in a sense, a greater Moses, and that Moses was a forerunner and prototype of Christ.

D. MOSES IN TRADITION.—An immense mass of traditions gathered round Moses. Many of these are collected in Josephus, *Ant.* II.–IV., *c. Apion.*; Philo, *Vita Moysis*; Eusebius, *Præp. Ev.* 9; in the Targums and rabbinical commentaries; and in the pseudepigraphal works ascribed to Moses.† Traditions are also found in the Koran, and in other Arabian works. It is possible that there may be in this wilderness of chaff some grain of fact not otherwise known; but, speaking generally, the student of OT history may set the whole on one side.

> So Canon Rawlinson, *Moses, His Life and Times*, Pref. iii: 'Many legends have clustered round the name of Moses, some Jewish, others Mahometan, but these are almost always worthless, and throughout the following pages, excepting in a single instance, no notice has been taken of them. The writer's strong conviction has been that it is from the Scriptures almost entirely, if not entirely, that we must learn the facts of Moses' life and deduce our estimate of his character.'

Hence, with the partial exception of the Manetho traditions preserved by Josephus, to be noticed hereafter, these legends are mostly ignored by historians. The chief exception is Stanley, who, in his *Jewish Church* and the article 'Moses' in Smith's *DB*, interweaves legends with biblical data in his usual picturesque fashion.

Doubtless, however, the ideas which the Jews in the NT period had of Moses were somewhat influenced by such traditions—witness their currency in Philo and Josephus: these traditions, however, would not—and the NT shows that they did not—seriously modify the account given in the OT of the life and work of Moses. They supply details of names and numbers; narrate incidents that fill gaps in the story; and provide facts which explain obscurities. Further, by adding to the marvellous in the history of Moses, they attempt the superfluous task of increasing his unique spiritual importance. We can cite only a few examples. Thus Josephus* (*Ant.* II. ix. x.) gives many details of the childhood and youth of Moses. Pharaoh's daughter's name was Thermuthis; the infant refused to be suckled by Egyptian nurses; he was of divine form (*μορφῃ θεῖον*); the princess induced her father to put his crown on Moses' head, but Moses threw it down and trod on it, etc. etc. An account of a successful campaign against the Ethiopians, in which Moses commanded the Egyptian army, and married Tharbis, the daughter of the Ethiopian king, probably grew out of the reference to his 'Cushite wife' in Nu 12^{1}. The account of Moses' death (IV. viii. 49) concludes: 'As he was embracing Eleazar and Joshua, and was still talking with them, a cloud suddenly stood over him, and he disappeared down a certain valley. But he wrote in the Sacred Books that he died (*αὐτὸν τεθνεῶτα*), fearing lest men should venture to say that he had been deified (*πρὸς τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν ἀναχωρῆσαι*) on account of his extraordinary virtue.' Elsewhere (*c. Apion.* i. 26) he quotes Manetho to the effect that Moses was born in Heliopolis, and bore the Egyptian name of Osarsiph. Philo (*Vita Moysis*, i. 5) gives the details of his education in the learning of Egypt, Greece, Assyria, and Chaldæa. In i. 39 he has a version of the fight at Rephidim (Ex 17^{8-16}), in which Aaron and Hur are dispensed with, and Moses' hands are miraculously upheld. In iii. 39 he speaks of Moses' prophesying his own death, by divine inspiration, while yet alive, and being buried 'not by mortal hands, but by immortal powers,' and concludes, 'Such was the life, and such the death of Moses, king, lawgiver, high priest, and prophet, as it is recorded in the Sacred Scriptures.'

Although the Manetho traditions belong rather to the general history of the Exodus than to the personal career of Moses, something more may be said about them here. Josephus (*c. Apion.*) gives the traditions as to the Exodus preserved by

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* 2 Co 3^{13}, He 9^{4} (cf. Nu 17^{10}).

† See MOSES, ASSUMPTION OF.

* The many tedious expansions of the Bible story in Josephus and Philo, especially the speeches, which, after the manner of Thucydides, they put into the mouths of Moses and others, have of course no historical value.

Manetho, an Egyptian priest and historian of Heliopolis, during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, B.C. 285–246. In i. 26, 27, Manetho is quoted as stating that a priest of Heliopolis, named Osarsiph, afterwards Moses, raised a revolt of persons afflicted by leprosy and other foul diseases, who had been settled on the borders to deliver Egypt from the pollution of their presence. They were defeated and driven out of Egypt into Syria by Amenophis king of Egypt. In ch. 32 a similar story is quoted from Chœremon,[*] the leaders of the Jews being Moüses Tisithen and Joseph Peteseph. In ch. 34, cf. ii. 2, a third version of the story is quoted from Lysimachus.[†] According to i. 14, 15, 26, ii. 2, Manetho stated that Jerusalem was built by the followers of shepherd kings, Hyksos, when they were expelled from Egypt by Tethmosis; and, apparently, regards these Hyksos as the ancestors of the Israelites. It has sometimes been maintained that the story of the expulsion of the lepers is a truer version of the Exodus than that given in the OT; and some who reject Manetho's main story quote his names of persons and places. It is safer to regard his and other narratives as mere perversions of the biblical account (Stade, *Gesch.* i. 128; Seinecke, *Gesch.* i. 80).

The Mussulman legends are partly imaginative but tedious expansions of the Bible narrative, probably known only indirectly; partly pure myths. Thus, when Moses struck the rock, *twelve* streams gushed forth, one for each tribe (Koran, ii.). Sura xviii. gives a story of the journey of Moses with el-Khidr, the Unknown, which reads like a section of the *Arabian Nights*. The numerous legends about Moses illustrate the fact that the Moslems recognize Moses, in common with Jesus and Mohammed, as a prophet and apostle (Koran, xix.).

Cf. CHRONOLOGY OF OT, EXODUS TO CANAAN, ISRAEL (HISTORY OF), HEXATEUCH, EXODUS, LEVITICUS, NUMBERS, DEUTERONOMY, ,ARK, TABERNACLE, AARON, and articles on the various persons, places, and things mentioned in Ex–Dt; also MOSES (ASSUMPTION OF).

LITERATURE.—*Commentaries* on the Pentateuch, and sections referring to Pent. in the *OT Introductions*. Sections on Mosaic period in the *Histories* and *OT Theologies* cited in Literature under ISRAEL (HISTORY OF); also in the *OT Theologies* of Kayser-Marti, Oehler [Eng. tr.], Piepenbring [Eng. tr.]; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} pp. 254-430. See also G. Rawlinson, *Moses*; Baker-Greene, *Migration of the Hebrews*.

A list of pseudepigraphal books ascribed to Moses is given in Charles' *Assumption of Moses*, pp. xiv–xvii. For the Jewish and Mohammedan legends see Stanley, *Jewish Church*, i. 86–173, and art. 'Moses' in Smith's *DB*; also *Koran*, Suras ii., vii., x., xviii., xix., xx., xxvi., xxviii., xl.; Gustav Weil, *Biblical Legends of the Mussulmans*, tr^d as *The Bible, the Koran, and the Talmud*, and notes to Rodwell's tr^n of the Koran; d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale, Moussa ben-Amram*; P. I. Hershon, *Genesis, with a Talmudical Commentary*, see under 'Moses' in Index iii. For the Egyptian traditions of Manetho, Chœremon, and Lysimachus, and for Artapanus (*ap.* Eus. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 27), etc., see Ewald, *Hist. of Isr.* ii. 76–94. For the Archæology see Driver in *Authority and Archæology* (Hogarth), pp. 54–79.

W. H. BENNETT.

MOSES, ASSUMPTION OF.—The *Assumption of Moses* ['Ἀνάληψις Μωυσέως *ap.* Gelasius of Cyzicum (Mansi ii. 844)] is a Jewish writing originally composed in Hebrew or Aramaic early in the 1st cent. A.D. It is extant in a Latin translation preserved in a single palimpsest MS, which was discovered by Ceriani and edited by him in *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, vol. i. fasc. i. pp. 55–64 (1864). The best edition is that of Dr. R. H. Charles (1897): his division of the text into chapters and verses is here adopted, and his edition quoted by its pages [*e.g.* 'Charles 87'].

i. CONTENTS (Historical allusions not expressly named in the text are given in brackets).—I. In the year 2500 A.M., Moses, being 120 years old, calls Joshua and appoints him to be his successor, at the same time giving him the books, which he is to bury carefully in a safe place. II. Joshua shall give the people their inheritance (1, 2): afterwards they will be ruled by chiefs and kings, and God will fix the place of His sanctuary (3, 4), though the ten tribes will break off (5). But the people will fall into idolatry (6–9). III. Then a king from the East [*Nebuchadnezzar*] will burn their 'colony' [*Jerusalem*] and the temple, and will carry them captive (1–3). The ten tribes and the two tribes will mourn together and pray, and will remember the warnings of Moses (4–13). They will be in bondage about 77 years (14). IV. Then a certain one [*Daniel*] will pray for them (1–5), and some of them will be allowed to return, though the ten tribes will remain among the Gentiles (6–9). V. At a later period the priests, 'slaves, sons of slaves,' will fall into idolatry and iniquity through the wicked kings who are over them [*Antiochus and the Hellenizing Priests, such as Menelaus* (2 Mac 4^{50})]. VI. Then will come kings calling themselves priests [*The Hasmonæans*], who also will work iniquity (1). These in turn are to be followed by a king not of the race of the priests [*Herod*], who will tyrannize over them for 34 years (2–6): his children will reign for shorter periods (7), and a powerful king of the West [*Varus, governor of Syria*, B.C. 4] will conquer them and burn part of the temple (8, 9). VII. Here the history ends and the predictions begin: first will come rulers who will be hypocrites, gluttons, tyrannical, impious, boastful, proud . . . (This chapter is much mutilated in the MS). VIII. Another visitation of wrath will descend upon them, and the 'king of the kings of the earth' will crucify those who confess their circumcision and give their wives to the Gentiles, and will make them carry unclean idols and blaspheme. IX. Then there will be a man of the tribe of Levi whose name will be TAXO [*Eleazar* (see below)], who will take his seven sons into the wilderness to fast for three days and then die, rather than transgress the law of the Lord of lords. X. Then the Lord's kingdom will appear, and the angel [*Michael*] will be commissioned to avenge the enemies of Israel (1, 2). The Most High will arise, while the earth trembles and the sun and moon are darkened, and He will punish the Gentiles; but thou, Israel, wilt be blessed and mount up to the heavens, and thou shalt see thy enemies on the earth,[*] and shalt give thanks to thy Creator (3–10). But now Joshua is to keep these words safe: from the death of Moses to the Advent shall be 250 'times' (11–15). XI. When Joshua hears these words of Moses, he is much grieved. What sepulchre (he says) can be fit for Moses? How can I, Joshua, guide the 600,000 Israelites, or defend them from the Amorites, who will attack them when Moses is gone? XII. Moses then places Joshua in his own seat, and comforts him by reminding him of the providence of God . . . (Here the MS breaks off in the middle of a sentence).

ii. DATE.—It follows from the above analysis that the *Assumption* was written after Herod's death, but before any of his sons had reigned so long as their father, *i.e.* between B.C. 3 and A.D. 30. The most probable date is soon after the deposition of Archelaus in A.D. 6. (So Charles lviii, who also examines the views of other scholars).

iii. STANDPOINT AND TEACHING.—The value of the *Assumption of Moses* for modern students is expressed by the title of J. E. H. Thomson's work,

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[*] An Alexandrian living shortly before the Christian era (Ewald, *Hist. of Isr.* tr.^{4} ii. 85 n.).

[†] 'Otherwise unknown, but certainly still later than Chœremon,' Ewald, *op. cit.* ii. 86.

[*] Or, according to Charles' conjecture, *in Gehenna*.

'*Books which influenced our Lord and His Apostles*' (see Charles xxvii f.). The author is characterized by Dr. Charles as a Pharisaic Quietist. He was not a Sadducee, for he attacks the priests and expects a theocratic kingdom. He was not a Zealot, for he is significantly silent about the exploits of the Maccabees, and his ideal hero, Taxo [*Eleazar*], is one who will be passively faithful unto death. Nor was he an Essene, for he is keenly interested in the fortunes of the temple. 'He was a Pharisee of a fast-disappearing type, recalling in all respects the Chasid of the early Maccabæan times, and upholding the old traditions of quietude and resignation' (Charles li–liv). Hence he represents that tendency in Jewish thought which was most nearly allied to primitive Christianity.* It is this which gives real interest to the investigation of the many critical difficulties presented by the text of the book.

iv. THE LATIN TEXT.—The Milan Palimpsest (Bibl. Amb. c. 73 *inf.*), our sole witness for the text, appears to date from the 6th cent.† The *Assumption* occupies quire xvii, the preceding quires containing the unique fragments of the Latin translation of the *Book of Jubilees* (wh. see). But, though the whole volume is marked by peculiarities of writing and spelling due to the scribe, the two works were not translated at the same time or place, as is clear from the divergent renderings of Greek words. The Latin vocabulary of the *Assumption* includes *aedes* (ναός), *arbiter* (μεσίτης)‡, *colonia* (='a town')§, *nuntius* (ἄγγελος), *palam facere* (ἀποκαλύπτειν), *Summus* (Ὕψιστος), and transliterations such as *acrobistia* (=ἀκροβυστία), *clibsis* (θλίψις), *scene* (σκηνή). Important for the date is the rare use of *secus* for κατά 'according to,' parallels to which occur in Clem. Rom. *lat* 21^{7}, and in a non-Christian inscription found at Peschiera (*CIL* v. 4017). ‖

The MS (which is often very hard to read) was transcribed by Ceriani with wonderful accuracy.¶ But the Latin itself is disfigured by many corruptions, mostly due to the carelessness of transcribers, *e.g.* *ex tribus* for *patribus* (i. 8), *sub anulo* for *sub nullo* (xii. 9).** More serious are those which rest on mistakes in the underlying Greek. Dr. Charles has detected a notable instance in ii. 7, where *adcedent ad testamentum Domini et finem polluent* must correspond to προσβήσονται τῇ διαθήκῃ Κυρίου καὶ τὸν ὅρον βεβηλώσουσιν; here by reading παραβήσονται τὴν διαθήκην and ὅρκον (for ὅρον) we get the appropriate sense, 'they will *transgress* the covenant of the Lord and profane the *oath*.' No doubt there are cases of still deeper corruptions which arose in the original Semitic, but these are more difficult to discover and remove.

A full discussion of all the obscurities presented by the text as we have it would be impossible here: one point, however, must be noticed, as it affects the general understanding of the book. This is the interpretation of chs. viii. and ix., describing the 'second tribulation' of the Jews. As it stands, this section comes between the death of Herod and the final judgment, but the details of the persecution notably coincide with that which befell the Jews under Antiochus Epiphanes, a period which is very rapidly passed over in chs. v. and vi. owing to the author's dislike of the Hasmonæans. Dr. Charles, therefore, in his Notes to pp. 28–30, supposes that the section has been misplaced, and that its real place is between chs. v. and vi. But this violent remedy is inadmissible: the final Theophany (ch. x.) comes in well after the story of the ideal saint Taxo (ch. ix.), but very badly after the description of the wicked priests and rulers in ch. vii. In the opinion of the present writer, the difficulty disappears if we regard the author of the *Assumption* as having filled up his picture of the final woes from the stories of the Antiochian martyrs. Dr. Charles himself says of ch. ix. (p. 34): 'Its purpose is to indicate the line of action which the Chasids or Pharisaic party of his own time should pursue. . . . It prescribes the duty our author would enforce on the Pharisaism of his own time. Just as his complete silence as to the Maccabæan uprising forms an emphatic censure of its aims, so his vigorous statement of the opposed and Chasid line of action is designed as a commendation of its character.'

The latter part of the above quotation refers especially to Taxo, who (as Dr. Charles points out, p. 35) has been evolved out of the story of Eleazar (2 Mac $6^{18ff.}$, 4 Mac 5^{3}). His seven sons correspond to the seven sons of the widow (2 Mac 7), and his cave of refuge corresponds to those of the Chasids (1 Mac 1^{53} 2^{31}). Various unsatisfactory explanations of the origin of the name *Taxo* have been put forward: they are given in Charles 35 f. What has hitherto escaped observation is that '*Taxo*' itself, when put back into the original language of the book, is nothing more than a slightly corrupted cipher for *Eleazar*. All that is necessary is to read *Taxoc* for *Taxo*. The letter may have fallen out in the Latin of the *Assumption*, as in *ore* for *orbe* (xii. 4), or in the underlying Greek, as in ὅρον for ὅρκον (ii. 7). Now TAXOC in the Latin implies ΤΑΞΩΚ in the Greek, and this in turn implies תכסוק in the Semitic original. This word means nothing as it stands, but if we take in each case the next letter of the Semitic alphabet, *e.g.* B for A, M for L, etc., we get אלעזר *Eleazar*, the very name which of all others is most suitable.*

Thus the future anticipated in the *Assumption* is a period of triumphant wickedness and oppression; but just when the saints have given an example of passive endurance, at once most hopeless and most splendid, the Most High will Himself intervene and deliver His people.

v. THE END OF THE WORK.—The Milan Palimpsest breaks off in the middle of a sentence, and the question arises how much is lost. The purely internal evidence would suggest that very little is lacking. Moses has finished his prophecy and is about to die: there is nothing more to be said. With this also goes the fact that all the leaves of the quire containing the fragment of the *Assumption* are preserved. If the missing portion consisted of several whole quires and not merely a single leaf or pair of leaves, it is somewhat strange that the final quire of the extant fragments is intact.†

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* Comp., for instance, Mk 3^{36} with *Assump.* xi. (*tunc parebit regnum* [*Dei*] . . . *et tunc Zabulus finem habebit*).

† A rough facsimile of a couple of lines is given in Volkmar's edition of the *Assumption*, p. 153.

‡ So d_2 in He 9^{15} (not elsewhere).

§ Cf. Clem. Rom. *lat*, p. 26^{11}.

‖ This use of *secus* must not be confused with the late and vulgar use of *secus* for παρά, *e.g.* *secus mare* Mt 13^{1} in latt. omn. (exc. afr.), examples of which are hardly found before the 4th cent. A.D. *Secus* for παρά occurs in *Jubilees* 16^{15} 49^{15} etc.

¶ Only in four places have we found ourselves unable to follow Dr. Ceriani. We read *acrobisam* (not *acrosisam*), MS p. $67a^{12}$; *iam* (not *tam*), p. $100a^{7}$; *eum* (not *cum*), p. $100a^{13}$; *incut* (not *in eut*), p. $100b^{7}$. The last word we take to be a mistake in the MS for *sicut*.

** The obscure phrase *in tempore tribum* (iv. 9) seems to the present writer like a corruption of *in tempore retributionis* (or *retribuendi*): cf. Hos 9^{7}. In the same verse Schmidt-Merx and Charles have already recognized that *natos* is a mistake of the scribe for *nationes*. In the very corrupt clause at the end of viii. 5 *suum* looks like a mistake for *suem*.

* We know from the parable in St. Luke ($16^{20ff.}$) that Eleazar (or, in the Greek form, *Lazarus*) is an appropriate name to give to the representative of the poor but pious Israelite.

† The *Stichometry* of Nicephorus does not greatly help us to discover how much is missing at the end. The number of στίχοι there given for the Ἀνάληψις is, ͵αυ′—*i.e.* 1400. If this be correct, about 1000 στίχοι are lost, equivalent to 20 leaves; but as the number assigned to the preceding work on the list (the Διαθήκη Μωυσέως) is on any hypothesis corrupt, too much reliance must not be placed on the figures for the *Assumption*.

But a number of Greek patristic references (collected in Charles 107–110) indicate that the book was in circulation with an Appendix containing the dispute of Michael and Satan over the body of Moses after the latter's death, followed by his triumphant 'assumption' into heaven. A detail of this dispute is alluded to in the canonical Epistle of St. Jude (v.^{9}). Especially clear is a quotation in Gelasius of Cyzicum: 'In the book of the *Assumption of Moses*, Michael the archangel, disputing with the devil, saith, *For from His holy Spirit we all were created.* And again he saith, *From before God went forth His Spirit, and the world was made.*'* The formula of quotation is identical with that used by the same author (*ap.* Mansi ii. 844) for quoting i. 14 of our *Assumption.*

It is difficult to decide whether the Latin of the *Assumption* ever contained the Appendix. On the one hand, it is hard to imagine how the book could have reached a Latin-speaking community without the Appendix having been associated with it. Yet the work could only have been spoiled by the addition, and there is a certain improbability that the accidental loss of a couple of quires from the Milan Palimpsest should improve the artistic unity of the book. The interest of the *Assumption* as we have it is wholly taken up with the fate of the chosen people, present and future, but the Appendix is concerned with the personal fate of Moses.†

LITERATURE.—Full Bibliography in Charles xviii–xxviii. Editions: Ceriani, *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, vol. i. fasc. i. pp. 55–64 (1864); Hilgenfeld, *NT extra Canonem receptum*, 1st ed. (1866), 2nd ed. (1876); Volkmar, *Mose Prophetie und Himmelfahrt* (1867); Schmidt and Merx, *Die Assumptio Mosis, mit Einleitung* . . . [Merx, *Archiv f. wissen. Erforschung des AT*, I. ii. pp. 111–152] (1868).

See also Rönsch in *Zeitschr. f. Wissen. Theol.* xi. 76–108, 466–468, xii. 213–228, xiv. 89–92, xvii. 542–562, xxviii. 102–104; Schürer, *GJV*^{3} iii. 213 ff. [*HJP* II. iii. 73 ff.]; C. Clemen in Kautzsch's *Apocr. u. Pseudepigr.* (1899).

F. C. BURKITT.

MOSOLLAMUS.—**1.** (A Μοσόλλαμος, B Μεσολαβώς, AV Mosollamon), 1 Es 8^{44} (LXX ^{43})=MESHULLAM, Ezr 8^{16}. **2.** (Μοσόλλαμος, AV Mosollam), 1 Es 9^{14}=MESHULLAM, Ezr 10^{15}.

MOST HIGH (עֶלְיוֹן, properly *upper* Jos 16^{5}, or *uppermost* Gn 40^{17}, Dt 26^{19} ('high'), 28^{1} ('on high'); Aram. עֶלְיָא Kt., עִלָּאָה Ḳerê, also in Dn $7^{18. 22. 25. 27}$ עֶלְיוֹנִין the Heb. form, as plur. of majesty: ὕψιστος).—An epithet, or title, of dignity, applied to God, and occurring in the OT as follows:—*God Most High* (אֵל עֶלְיוֹן) Gn $14^{18. 19. 20. 22}$, Ps 78^{35}; (אלהים עליון) Ps 57^{2} 78^{56}; *J″ Most High*, Ps 7^{17}; *the Most High* (עֶלְיוֹן, without the art., only in poetry), Nu 24^{16} (Balaam's prophecy), Dt 32^{8} (Song of Moses), Is 14^{14} (words put into the mouth of the king of Babylon), Ps 18^{13} (=2 S 22^{14}) 21^{7} 46^{4} 50^{14} 77^{10} 78^{17} 82^{6} 87^{5} $91^{1. 9}$ 92^{1} 107^{11}, La $3^{35. 38}$; as predicate, Ps 47^{2} 83^{18} 97^{9}.‡ And in Daniel: *God Most High*, 3^{26} 4^{2} $5^{18. 21}$; *the Most High*, $4^{17. 24. 25. 32. 34}$ 7^{25}; and in the expression 'saints of *the Most High*' (עֶלְיוֹנִין), $7^{18. 22. 25. 27}$. According to Philo of Byblus (*ap.* Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* i. 10 §§ 11, 12; cf. Lenormant, *Origines*^{2}, i. 540), there was in the Phœnician theogony a god *Eliûn*, father of heaven and earth, who was slain in an encounter with wild beasts, and afterwards divinized (κατὰ τούτους γίνεταί τις Ἐλιοῦν καλούμενος Ὕψιστος, καὶ θήλεια λεγομένη Βηρούθ, οἳ καὶ κατῴκουν περὶ Βύβλον, ἐξ ὧν γεννᾶται Ἐπίγειος ἢ Αὐτόχθων, ὃν ὕστερον ἐκάλεσαν Οὐρανόν, κ.τ.λ.). The *'Ēl 'Elyōn* of Gn 14 may stand in some relation to this Phœn. deity. El (God) was often distinguished by different epithets, bringing out different aspects of the divine nature, as in the patriarchal אל שדי (Gn 17^{1}), אל עולם (21^{33}), אל אלהי ישראל (33^{20}), אל ביתאל (35^{7}), and in the Phœn. אל חמן (*CIS* I. i. 8; Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigraphik*, 419); and so the Canaanite has here his *'Ēl 'Elyōn.* It may have been a deity whom Melchizedek recognized, in opposition to other inferior ones, as the *highest*, and in whose name, tradition told, he had blessed Israel's ancestor: the Israelitish narrator, not unnaturally, identifies him (v.^{22}) with J″. The statement, however, that a deity bearing this name was worshipped at 'Salem' has not, up to the present time (July 1899), received any confirmation or illustration from the inscriptions.*

In the other passages quoted, the title seems simply to give expression to the thought that J″ is the God who is *supreme*,—whether over the earth, as ruler and governor of the world (cf. Ps $47^{2. 8. 9d}$ 83^{18} 97^{9a} 99^{2}), or over other gods (95^{3} $96^{4f.}$ 97^{9b}; cf. also Cheyne on Ps 7^{18}; Schultz, *OT Theol.* ii. 129 f.; Smend, *AT Rel.-Gesch.* 470). Like 'God of heaven' (*LOT* 519, ^{6}553), it is a title which was undoubtedly in frequent use in post-exilic times (Cheyne, *OP*, 26,† 27, 41,† 83 f., 164, 314, 464); but it may be questioned how far, except when found in combination with other indications, it can be used as a criterion for the date of a psalm. In its Greek form (see Hatch and Redpath's *Concordance to the LXX*, under ὕψιστος), it occurs in the Apocrypha, 1 Es 2^{3} 6^{31} $8^{19. 21}$ 9^{46}, To 1^{4}‡ ^{13}‡ 4^{11},‡ Jth 13^{18}, Est 16^{16}, Wis 5^{15}‡ 6^{3}‡, Bar 4^{20} (A), 2 Mac 3^{31},‡ 3 Mac 6^{2} 7^{9}; and with particular frequency in Ecclus.,—much more frequently indeed than the corresponding Heb. form occurs in the recently discovered Heb. text of this book.§ It is also frequent (as a title) in the Book of Enoch (see Charles' note on 99^{3}), the Apoc. of Baruch (see Charles on 17^{1}), and 2 (4) Esdras. In the Assumption of Moses it occurs 10^{7}. In Rabb. literature it is stated by Dalman (*Worte Jesu*, 162 f.) to be exceedingly rare.

In the NT the use of the expression is almost confined to St. Luke, the occurrences being Mk 5^{7} =Lk 8^{28} (υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψ.: τοῦ ὑψ. om. in Mt 8^{29}), Lk 1^{32}‡ ^{35}‡ ^{76}‡ 6^{35}‡ (cf. Ps 82^{6}: not in the ‖ Mt 5^{45}), Ac 7^{48}‡ 16^{17}, He 7^{1} (from Gn 14^{18}).

S. R. DRIVER.

MOTE.—Mote is the word chosen by Wyclif and Tindale, and accepted by all the subsequent versions as the tr. of Gr. κάρφὸς in Mt $7^{3. 4. 5}$, Lk $6^{41. 42\ bis}$. The root of κάρφος is κάρφω to dry up, and it signifies a bit of dried stick, straw, or wool, such as, in the illustration, might be flying about and enter the eye. In its minuteness it is contrasted by our Lord with δοκός, the beam that supports (δέχομαι) the roof of a building. The Gr. word does not elsewhere occur in Mt, and in LXX only in Gn 8^{11} as the tr. of טָרָף, the adj. applied to the olive leaf which Noah's dove carried; 'plucked off' is the Eng. translation.

The origin of the Eng. word 'mote' is unknown. It means any small particle, as Hall, *Works*, ii. 136, 'Our mountaines are but moates to God'; especially a particle of dust, as Chaucer, *Wife of Bath's Tale*, 12, 'As thikke as motes in the sonnebeame.' The use of the word by Wyclif and Tindale led to its early application in the same connexion: thus Barlowe, *Dialoge*, 73, 'Woulde

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* From Mansi, ii. 857: ἐν βιβλίῳ δὲ Ἀναλήψεως Μωυσέως Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος διαλεγόμενος τῷ διαβόλῳ λέγει· ἀπὸ γὰρ πνεύματος ἁγίου αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐκτίσθημεν. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξῆλθε τὸ πνεῦμα αὐποῦ, καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐγένετο. The second part of the quotation is not given by Fabricius and Charles.

† Perhaps we may take as a parallel the transmission of the Epistle of Barnabas. The concluding chapters in our Greek MSS (chs. 18–21) are taken from the 'Two Ways' or some such source, and these chapters are wholly wanting in the Latin.

‡ Eight out of these 17 Psalms are Korahite or Asaphite Psalms.

* The combinations in *AHT* 155 ff. are purely hypothetical.

† The title 'high priest of God Most High' given to John Hyrcanus (*Rosh ha-shana*, 18*b*), and Hyrcanus II. (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. vi. 2): see further, Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 33 ff. On the *Assumption of Moses*, vi. 1 [not 17], cited *OP*, p. 27, see, however, Charles, *ad loc.*

‡ In these passages standing as a title, alone.

§ See 6^{37} 40^{1} marg. $41^{4. 8}$ 42^{2} $44^{2. 20}$ 49^{4} $50^{14. 16. 17}$ (alone); אל עליון $46^{5. 5}$ $47^{5. 8}$ 48^{20}.

God they were as prest to remove the balk out of their owne eyes, as they be prompte to aspye a lytle mote in other men's'; and Lever, *Sermons*, 119, 'You of the laytye, when ye see these small motes in the eyes of the clargye, take hede too the greate beames that be in your owne eyes.'

J. HASTINGS.

MOTH (עָשׁ *'âsh*).—The LXX tr. this word in Ps 38 (39)^{12} *ἀράχνη*, in Is 51^{8} *χρόνος*, in Hos 5^{12} *ταραχή*, in all other instances *σής*. There is no reason for these variations. The Arab. *'uth* is the cognate form of the Heb. word. In the NT *σής* only is used (Mt 6$^{19.20}$, Lk 12^{33}). There are many species of the *Tineidæ*, or 'clothes' moths,' in the Holy Land. They are small lepidopterous insects, which commit immense havoc in clothes, carpets, tapestry, etc. In this warm climate it is almost impossible to guard against their ravages (Is 50^{9}, Ja 5^{2} etc.). 'He buildeth his house as a moth' (Job 27^{18}) alludes to the frail covering which a larval moth constructs out of the substance which he consumes. 'Crushed before the moth' (Job 4^{19}) refers to the way in which woollen stuffs are riddled by the larvæ of moths, until they become so fragile that they break down to powder at a touch (but see Dillm. and Dav. *ad loc.*). Moths are mentioned in Sir 19^{3} 42^{13}.

G. E. POST.

MOTHER.—See FAMILY.

MOTION.—In 2 Es 6^{14} 'motion' is used loosely for 'commotion' (Lat. *commotio*). In Wis 5^{11} the meaning is 'movement': 'As when a bird hath flown through the air, there is no token of her way to be found, but the light air being beaten with the stroke of her wings, and parted with the violent noise and motion of them, is passed through' (*βίᾳ ῥοίζου κινουμένων πτερύγων*; RV 'with the violent rush of the moving wings'). Cf. Bacon, *Essays*, p. 176, 'In Beauty, that of Favour is more then that of Colour, and that of Decent and gracious Motion, more then that of Favour.' In Wis 7^{24} 'For wisdom is more moving than any motion' (*πάσης γὰρ κινήσεως κινητικώτερον σοφία*; RV 'more mobile than any motion,' after Vulg. '*Omnibus enim mobilibus mobilior*'), the reference is to the speed of thought. Farrar aptly quotes Cowper—

> 'How fleet is the glance of the mind!
> Compared with the speed of its flight,
> The tempest itself lags behind;
> And the swift-winged arrows of light.'

The only other occurrence of the word is in Ro 7^{5} 'For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sins, which were by the law, did work in our members, to bring forth fruit unto death' (*τὰ παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν*, RV 'the sinful passions,' RVm '*Gr.* passions of sins': this is Wyclif's tr. 'passiouns of synnes,' so also Rhemish NT; 'motions' comes from the Gen. Bible). The word was often used by writers of the day in this sense of mental or spiritual impulse or agitation. It became almost a technical expression in Scotch Reformed religion. Thus Knox, *Works*, iii. 286, 'When I feele any taste or motion of these promyses, then thinke I myselfe most happy'; Livingstone (in *Select Biographies* of Wodrow Soc., p. 305), 'He [Robert Bruce] did goe on, and celebrated the communion to the rest with such assistance and motion, as had not been seen in that place before'; Melvill, *Diary*, 16, 'Ther first I fand (blysed be my guid God for it!) that Spirit of sanctification beginning to work some motiones in my hart, even about the aught and nynt yeir of my age'; and p. 37, 'Onlie now and then I fand sum sweit and constant motiones of the feir and love of God within me.' Cf. also Bacon, *Essays* (Gold. Treas. ed. p. 38), 'There is in Mans Nature, a secret Inclination, and Motion, towards love of others'; p. 52, 'He that standeth at a stay, when others rise, can hardly avoid Motions of Envy'; and Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* II. i. 64—

> 'Between the acting of a dreadful thing
> And the first motion, all the interim is
> Like a phantasma or a hideous dream.'

In the Preface to AV 'motion' is used in the sense of 'proposal.' So Fuller speaks of Eliezer, Abraham's servant: 'Then concludes he, with desiring a direct answer to his motion.' Cf. Berners, *Froissart*, p. 208 (Globe ed.), 'And then he said to his cardinals: Sirs, make you ready, for I will to Rome. Of that motion his cardinals were sore abashed and displeased, for they loved not the Romans.'

In the Preface to AV occurs the verb to 'motion': 'In some Common-weales it was made a capitall crime, once to motion the making of a new law.' Cf. Milton, *Samson*, 222—

> 'They knew not
> That what I motioned was of God.'

J. HASTINGS.

MOUNT.—The subst. מֻצָּב *muzzābh* in its only occurrence (Is 29^{3}, unless Jg 9^{6} is another) is translated 'mount' in AV. The root of the word is [נָצַב] הִצִּיב to set up, and means a mound or intrenchment (Cheyne), palisade (Kay), RV 'fort.'

Another word translated 'mount' is סֹלְלָה *sôlĕlāh*, Jer 6^{6} 32^{24} 33^{4}, Ezk 4^{2} 17^{17} 21^{22} 26^{8}, Dn 11^{15}. RV retains the tr. 'mount,' but Amer. RV prefers 'mound' in all these places. Elsewhere this word is rendered 'bank' (2 S 20^{15}, 2 K 19^{32}, Is 37^{33}). See BANK. Its root is סָלַל to cast up, heap up, and it means an earthwork or rampart.

The only other occurrence of 'mount' in the sense of 'mound,' 'intrenchment,' is 1 Mac 12^{36} 'raising a great mount between the tower and the city' (*ὕψος*, RV 'mound').

This Eng. word 'mount' meaning an earthwork is the same as mount=mountain, and comes directly from Lat. *mons, montis*. Its use to describe an earthen defence seems due to confusion with 'mound,' a native word (Anglo-Sax. *mund*), which meant a protection or guard, and was used of a bodyguard of soldiers as well as a defence of earth or the like. The word 'mount' has gone out of use in prose. It has given up its own proper meaning of an elevation (same root as *e-min-ere* to be prominent) to 'mountain' (which came into English from Lat. not directly as 'mount,' but through the Fr. *montaigne, montaine*; Lat. *montanus*, 'hilly'). And it has restored the meaning of earthwork to 'mound,' from which that was borrowed. Its use in AV may be illustrated from Hakluyt, *Voyages*, ii. 122, 'They raised up mounts to plant their artillery upon'; Knox, *Hist.* 246, 'The English men most wisely considering themselves not able to besiege the Town round about, devised to make Mounts at divers quarters of it; in the which they and their Ordnance lay in as good strength, as they did within the Towne'; and Bunyan, *Holy War*, 69, 'Besides, there were Mounts cast up against it. The Mount *Gracious* was on the one side, and Mount *Justice* was on the other. Further, there were several small banks and advance-grounds, as *Plain-Truth-Hill* and *No-Sin-Banks*, where many of the Slings were placed against the Town.'

J. HASTINGS.

MOUNT, MOUNTAIN (Heb. הַר; Gr. *ὄρος*; Celt. *tor*?).—In Dn 2$^{35.45}$ the Aram. טוּר *ṭûr* is tr^{d} 'mountain.' The word הַר is also pretty frequently tr^{d} in AV 'hill,' as in Ps 2^{6} and 68$^{15.16}$. In most of these instances RV has with advantage substituted the rendering 'mount' or 'mountain.' See, further, on this subject, and on the distinction between הַר and גִּבְעָה, art. HILL. It is clear that the AV translators used 'mountain,' 'mount,' and 'hill' interchangeably. The distinction between these terms has never been clearly recognized, even down to the present day; and we cannot feel surprise that it was not so recognized by the translators of the AV. Thus, if we take the word 'mountain' to signify a range or group of high elevations, we are met by the same word as applied to Moriah, a single elevated summit amongst the hills of Palestine, the scene of Abraham's intended sacrifice, elsewhere called 'the mount' (cf. Gn 22^2 and 22^{14}). Yet, upon a general comparison of the passages in which these terms are used, it appears clear that the word 'mount' is more frequently applied to some specialized summit or elevation, such as Carmel (Jos 19^{26}), Hermon (Jos 11^3), Sinai (Ex 19^2 *et passim*, except v.^{3}), and Seir (Dt 1^2), while 'mountain' is used to designate an extensive district of elevated ground, such as those of Moab (Gn 19^{30}), South Canaan (Nu 13^{17}), Gilboa (2 S 1^{21}).

Amongst geographers, the terms 'mountain' and 'hill' are generally used as relative terms to designate the higher and lower elevations in special countries. Thus we apply the term 'mountain' to those of North Wales as being the highest elevations in S. Britain, though they are really lower in height than those of the Jura, which are generally called 'hills,' as being of less elevation than the neighbouring Alps. All that can be said on this point is that geographers have not settled the question at what elevation above the sea a 'hill' becomes a 'mountain.'

ORIGIN.—Without entering at any great length into the question of the mode of formation of mountains, which would be here out of place, it may be stated that in the great majority of cases they are referable to three natural modes of formation, namely (1) elevation, (2) erosion, and (3) accumulation: of these three modes we have examples in Palestine and the regions around.

1. *By elevation.*—Many mountain ranges owe their origin to direct elevation *en masse* at various ancient geological periods, above the surface of the ocean, or the general level of the adjoining lands. Some of these have been upraised at successive intervals of time, and from very early periods have preserved their dominant characters. To this class may be referred the Scandinavian and Grampian ranges, that of North Wales, the Bavarian (or Hercynian) Highlands, and the Sinaitic group between the Gulfs of Suez and of 'Akabah. This last probably existed as a part of an extensive tract of continental land in Palæozoic times, and has maintained its dominant position down to the present day during the general submergence of the adjoining regions in the Cretaceous and Tertiary periods. The Alps and Pyrenees received their final and probably most important upheaval in late Tertiary times.

2. *By erosion.*—In various parts of the globe mountain groups or ranges have been formed, owing to the erosion of valleys amongst previously existing tablelands. When the floor of the ocean has been upraised into dry land in the form of a plateau, consisting of approximately horizontal (or even inclined) strata, rain and river action sets in, owing to which channels of ever-increasing depth and breadth are eroded, thus carving the plateau into separate and independent mountain masses if the process is sufficiently prolonged. In this manner the great ranges of the Colorado in North America, the lesser group of Central and South Wales, the range of the Jura on the borders of Switzerland; and, in Eastern countries, those of Upper Egypt, Edom and Moab, and of Southern Judæa, have been formed. The Lebanon range owes its predominant position, with its culminating dome-like mass of Hermon (? Mount Hor, Nu $34^{7.8}$), which formed the northern limit of the land given to Israel, to direct elevation followed by erosion, by which the deep valleys and ravines have been worn down through an original tableland in late Tertiary and post-Tertiary times. The range of Edom and Moab, stretching from the Gulf of 'Akabah to the shore of the Dead Sea, is doubtless originally due to the elevation of the Arabian tableland from the bed of the ocean along one or more lines of fracture (or 'fault') in the crust of the earth, but has subsequently been carved out into many distinct summits by river erosion at a period when the rainfall was more abundant than at present (see ARABAH); and amongst these Mount Hor (*Jebel Haroun*), the scene of Aaron's death, is the most conspicuous example (Nu $20^{25.27}$).

3. *By accumulation.*—To this third class of mountains nearly all those of modern volcanic origin may be referred. During eruptions of volcanoes, either upon the surface of the land or upon the floor of the sea, molten lava is poured forth in sheets or streams from the throat of the crater in each case, together with solid blocks of lava, showers of ashes, and *lapilli*, which spread over the flanks of the mountain and adjoining tracts, and ultimately rise in piled-up masses to varying heights in the form of truncated cones or domes. The most familiar examples are the groups of Auvergne in Central France, and the isolated Mounts of Vesuvius and Etna. The regions adjoining Eastern Palestine present numerous examples of volcanic mountains. In the region east of the Upper Jordan, called in the NT Trachonitis, but now known as the Jaulân and Ḥaurân, there are several distinct volcanic cones rising above the general surface of the country;[*] and still farther eastwards, in the wild region of the Lejah, a grand range of volcanic mountains dominates the wide expanse of lava-fields of Bashan. Similar features are to be observed in parts of Central Arabia, and were little known until brought to our knowledge by a recent traveller.[†] Here, not far from the cities of Mecca and Medina, a group of volcanic mountains rises above the expanse of the Arabian Desert, from which lava-floes descend to the plain. In all these districts of Arabia volcanic action has long been extinct; perhaps even before the appearance of man.[‡]

From the above account it will be seen that in strictly Bible lands we have representatives of mountain forms owing their origin to the various modes of natural operations which in past ages have diversified the surface of our globe.

A few special biblical references to mountains may be noted. 'Mountain of God' (הַר אֱלֹהִים) in Ps 68^{16} is general=*a God's mountain*, indicating greatness or majesty. On the other hand, Sinai or Horeb is called 'the mountain of God' in a special sense (Ex 4^{27} 18^5 24^{13}, 1 K 19^8; cf. הַר יהוה in Nu 10^{33}). The 'mount of congregation' (RV; better, 'mountain of meeting *or* assembly, הַר מוֹעֵד) in Is 14^{13} refers to the dwelling-place of the gods, which the Babylonians located in the far north. See CONGREGATION in vol. i. p. 466^b. Mountains are frequently alluded to in connexion with theophanies; they melt at the presence of J″, Jg 5^5, Ps 97^5 etc.; they are called on to cover the guilty from His face, Hos 10^8, Lk 23^{30} ‖; they leap in praise of J″, Ps $114^{4.6}$; they are called on to witness His dealings with His people, Mic 6^2 etc. etc. Mountains were resorted to as hiding-places in time of war, Jg 6^2, Mt 24^{16} ‖; they were hunting-grounds, 1 S 26^{20}; grazing-places for cattle, Ps 50^{10}

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[*] G. Schumacher, 'The Jaulân,' *PEFSt*, 1866–1888.

[†] C. M. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, 2 vols. (1888).

[‡] The age of these volcanic eruptions is discussed in the present writer's 'Physical Geology of Arabia Petræa and Palestine,' *PEF Mem.* p. 98 (1886).

etc.; places of illicit worship, Is 65^{7}, Ezk 6^{13}; beacon stations, Is 30^{17}; lurking-places for ambuscade, Jg $9^{25.\,36}$. Mountains are typical of difficulties, Zec 4^{7}. Their removal is spoken of by our Lord as a type of what is possible to strong faith, Mt 17^{20} ‖.

E. HULL.

MOURNING (אָבַל 'mourn'; אָנָה 'sigh *or* groan'; נָהָה 'lament'; סָפַד 'wail' (*κόπτεσθαι*); *θρηνεῖν*, *πενθεῖν*) in Scripture is sometimes attributed in a figurative sense to *Nature*,—the withering of the pastures beneath and the blackening of the sky above, the wasting of the fruit-trees, and the destruction of the beasts of the field, of the fowl of the air, of the fish of the sea, being at once the effects of God's judgments upon her for man's sin and the manifestations of her sorrow and grief as the sharer of his punishment and misery (Jer 4^{28}, Hos 4^{3}, Jl 1^{10-12}). In a like figurative sense it is attributed to *nations*, and especially to Israel, as when the prophet (Jl 1^{8}) summons the daughter of Zion to repentance, and bids her 'lament like a virgin girded with sackcloth for the husband of her youth'; or when, in a time of famine, Judah is said to mourn (Jer 14^{2}), and the people assembled at the gates are in deep mourning, and sit humbly on the ground; or when, again, it is predicted (Zec 12^{10-14}) that, in the day of the outpouring of the Spirit of grace and supplication upon the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, 'they shall look unto me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him as one that is in bitterness for his first-born' (RV). With a moral connotation, too, expressive of sorrow for sin, or distress for the miseries of the nation, it is ascribed to individuals, as to Daniel (10^{2}), to Ezra (10^{6}), and to Nehemiah (1^{4}), while Ahab in penitential mourning rends his clothes and puts sackcloth upon his flesh, and fasts like a man sorrowing for the dead (1 K 21^{27}).

Mourning in the literal sense, as the expression of sorrow for the dead, appears in Scripture not only with all its ordinary natural manifestations, but also with the large body of conventional and formulated grief which usage had gathered round it among the Israelites as among other Oriental peoples. However ready to submit to the will of God without murmur or complaint, the Oriental is demonstrative in the social and public manifestations of his sorrow, and has reduced the expression of his grief for the dead to a system which tends to crush out natural feeling. In Jer 16^{6-8} and Ezk $24^{16.\,17}$ together there is a fairly complete list of the mourning customs of Israel.

Weeping is the most general and most strongly marked expression of pain or mental emotion, and is the primary and, indeed, universal expression of mourning for the dead. This, like other manifestations of deep emotion, is more under control among civilized than uncivilized peoples, and more restrained among the staid and unimpassioned people of the West than the lively and excitable children of the East. 'Englishmen,' says Darwin (*The Expression of the Emotions*, p. 155), 'rarely cry except under the pressure of the acutest grief.' 'Egyptian funerals,' says Maspero (*The Struggle of the Nations*, p. 511),—and his description of Egyptian mourning finds frequent parallels among the Hebrews,—'were not like those to which we are accustomed,—mute ceremonies, in which sorrow is barely expressed by a furtive tear: noise, sobbings, and wild gestures were their necessary concomitants. Not only was it customary to hire weeping women, who tore their hair, filled the air with their lamentations, and simulated by skilful actions the depths of despair, but the relatives and friends themselves did not shrink from making an outward show of their grief, nor from disturbing the equanimity of the passers-by by the immoderate expressions of their sorrow.' Of weeping for the dead the books of the Old and New Testament are full. It was considered unnatural not to weep for the dead. 'Weep for the dead,' says the Son of Sirach, 'so as not to be evil spoken of' (Sir 38^{17}). Whatever the position of woman in the ancient Hebrew cult, there is evidence that mourning was performed both for women and by women. In proof that women were mourned for, we have the notices recorded in Genesis of the care and interest taken by the patriarchs in the burial of their wives. Isaac was comforted after his mother's death (Gn 24^{67}); and grief for a mother was always bitter (Ps 35^{14}). We have also Barzillai's words to David, 'Let thy servant, I pray thee, be buried in the grave of my father and *mother*' (2 S 19^{37}). In NT times we have the case of Dorcas, around whose remains, in the short interval before interment, all the widows for whom she had done so much stood weeping (Ac 9^{39}). Abraham, as we have noted, wept for Sarah (Gn 23^{2}); Jacob when deceived by the report of Joseph's death (37^{35}); Joseph for his father (50^{1}); the camp of Israel for Moses (Dt 34^{8}); David and his men for Saul and Jonathan (2 S 1^{12}); David at the grave of Abner, for the child of Bathsheba, for Amnon, for Absalom (3^{32} 12^{21} 13^{36} 18^{33}); the mothers of Bethlehem for their murdered innocents (Mt 2^{18}); Jesus at the grave of Lazarus (Jn 11^{35}), where His weeping was restrained and silent (*ἐδάκρυσε*), and over the coming doom of Jerusalem (Lk 19^{41}), where He wept aloud (*ἔκλαυσε*). **Wailing** is sometimes added to weeping, to express a deeper intensity of grief, as in the case of the mourners gathered in the death-chamber of Jairus' daughter (Mk $5^{38.\,39}$). Wailing like the jackals, and mourning as the ostriches (Mic 1^{8}), is expressive of the bitterest sorrow; and groaning like the bear, the dove, or the crane (Is 38^{14} 59^{11}), of a grief more restrained. *Exclamations of grief* were common along with wailing (Jer 22^{18}, Am 5^{16}, 1 K 13^{30}). Vociferous grief, as Maspero points out above, was specially characteristic of the Egyptians. It was heard as a great cry in Egypt that night when all the first-born were stricken (Ex 12^{30}), and it no doubt entered into the 'grievous mourning' which the Egyptians made for Jacob as they escorted the remains of the patriarch to his last resting-place in the cave of Machpelah (Gn 50^{11}). Of such mourning a striking illustration is given (Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 119) from a wall-painting in an Egyptian tomb. In the funeral procession here represented, a master of the ceremonies, followed by eight women, precedes, and four men with long staffs follow the shrine; 'all making gestures of mourning by beating their breasts and their mouths while wailing (the interrupted sound has a peculiarly melancholy effect), or by throwing dust on the head.'

The excitable Eastern temperament, however, was not content with weeping and wailing and exclamations of grief. **Beating the breast** (Is 32^{12}, but text dubious) was one of the commonest forms of lamentation. Beating the breast and the mouth, as we have just seen, was a feature of the mourning of the early Egyptians. The bewailing which accompanied the weeping for the daughter of Jairus (*ἐκόπτοντο*) probably included the beating of the breast (Lk 8^{52}), and so also the lamentation (*κοπετόν*) made by devout men for Stephen (Ac 8^{2}). Of Joseph it is recorded that he fell upon his dead father's face and *kissed* him (Gn 50^{1}), although this is a solitary instance in Scripture. See art. KISS. Tamar is represented (2 S 13^{19}) as *laying her hand upon her head* and going her way, crying as she went. To *tear the hair and the beard* (Ezr 9^{3}), to *rend the clothes* and *put on sackcloth and filthy* *garments* (2 S $3^{31.32}$, Est 4^3), to *sit among the ashes* (Job 2^8), and to *sprinkle earth or dust or ashes upon the head* (2 S 13^{19}, Rev 18^{19}), were actions in which sorrow and grief more or less naturally or conventionally expressed themselves. To *go bent as under a load* (Ps 35^{14} $38^{6.7}$), to *go barefoot and bareheaded* and to *cover the lips* (Ezk $24^{16.17}$, Mic 3^7), were less demonstrative tokens of mourning. *Mutilation of nose, brow, ears, hands* is mentioned by Herodotus (iv. 17) as being practised by the Scythians in token of mourning for a departed king. Such mutilation was forbidden by the law of Moses (Lv 19^{28}, Dt 14^1), although we read of making bald the hair and cutting off the beard (Is 15^2), and even of lacerating the body, as a sign of vexation and grief (Jer 41^5). Among the Arabs it was customary in mourning, especially for the women, both to scratch their faces till the blood flowed and to shave off the hair; and it looks as if, in spite of the Deuteronomic prohibitions, similar practices had come into vogue among the Israelites (Driver, *Deuteronomy*, p. 136).

Fasting, more or less strict, seems to have been an invariable accompaniment of mourning, and mourners denied themselves recreation and other enjoyments. When it is said that the men of Jabesh-gilead fasted seven days in grief for the death of Saul and Jonathan (1 S 31^{13}), we must suppose the fast to have been less strict than usual among Orientals, and that some food was allowed to the mourning people. From the Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, 16*a*) we learn that lentils were allowed during the period of mourning. It was customary for friends and neighbours after an interval to come and comfort the mourners and urge food upon them (2 S $12^{16.17}$), and food was also distributed at funerals (Jer 14^7 RV, Ezk 24^{17}, Hos 9^4), especially to the poor (? Job 4^{17}). 'The bread of mourners,' the bread partaken of by the nearest relatives of the deceased during the period of mourning, was accounted ceremonially unclean and defiling (Hos 9^4). It has been discussed whether this mourners' meal of the days of the prophets was not in some way connected with a funeral feast. The subject is obscure, but in Dt (26^{14}) the Israelite, speaking of the tithe, is represented as saying, 'I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I put away thereof, being unclean, nor given thereof *for the dead*.' If we adopt the rendering 'for the dead,' the passage may be taken as pointing to the custom for the friends of the deceased to testify their sympathy with the mourning relatives by sending bread or other food for their refreshment, as we have just observed. If we render 'to the dead,' the passage would rather point to the widespread custom of placing food in the grave with the dead—a custom common among the Egyptians, and found among the later Jews in 'the messes of meat laid upon a grave' (Sir 30^{18}). See the subject discussed in Driver, *Deuteronomy*, pp. 291, 292. That funeral feasts became an institution of later Judaism is clear, for Josephus (*BJ* II. i. 1) records that the custom of giving funeral feasts 'is an occasion of poverty to many of the Jews, because they are forced to feast the multitude, for if any one omits it he is not esteemed a holy man.' To this day it is a custom among the Jews to dispense alms with a liberal hand during the week of mourning in honour of the departed.

In a time of mourning it was a good custom to send messages of condolence to the bereaved (2 S $10^{1.2}$); and friends were wont to gather to comfort them in their sorrow (Jn 11^{19})—a custom which prevails to this day in Syria in the bands of mourners who assemble from neighbouring villages to join in the lamentations. Funeral orations were common in later times. **Elegies,** as we learn from Scripture, were composed to be sung for the dead. David composed his well-known elegy to honour the memory of Saul and Jonathan (2 S 1^{17}), and another for the gallant Abner (2 S 3^{33}). Such an elegy was composed by Jeremiah for king Josiah, and the 'singing men and women' sang dirges for him, continued, as it would appear, through a course of years (2 Ch 35^{25}). Of this character were the Lamentations of Jeremiah, called in the Talmud and elsewhere by the very name (קִינוֹת), 'elegies,' 'dirges,' full of the bitterness of grief, as they were, for Jerusalem destroyed by the Chaldæans. See LAMENTATIONS (BOOK OF), and, on the rhythm of such *ḳînôth*, POETRY. When a young person dies unmarried, modern Syrians make the funeral lamentation more pathetic by first going through some forms of a wedding ceremony.

The chief mourners naturally were the relatives of the deceased,—husband (Gn 23^2), widow (Job 27^{15}), father and mother (Mk $5^{38.40}$), brother (Lk 7^{13}), sons (Gn 25^9 *et passim*). Among the well-to-do it was common to hire *professional mourners.* They accompanied the dead body to the grave, moving onwards with formal music (cf. Mt 9^{23}), and singing dirges to the dead. They were both men and women. We have already noted the presence of both in Egyptian funeral processions, and, as has been just observed, they were 'singing men and women' that lamented Josiah. It is men skilful in lamentation whom Amos (5^{16}) summons to pronounce a dirge over the moral ruin of their country. It is men that are spoken of in Ecclesiastes (12^5) as the wailers that go about the streets. It was male flute-players that were present lamenting the death of Jairus' daughter (Mt 9^{23}). On the other hand, it is the women whose profession it was (מְקוֹנְנוֹת) to attend at funerals, and by their skilled lamentations to aid the real mourners in giving vent to their grief, whom Jeremiah has in view when he says, 'Call for the women who chant dirges, and send for cunning (Heb. 'wise') women that they may come' (Jer 9^{17}). They are still required for such service, and are skilful in interweaving family references and in improvising poetry in praise of the departed. These professional mourning women are met with both in ancient and modern Arabia (Trumbull's *Studies in Oriental Life*, p. 153 ff.); and Maspero (*Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 684) mentions that among the ancient Chaldæans old women performed the office of mourners, washing the dead body, perfuming it, and clothing it in its best apparel.

The period of mourning for the dead is variously given. The ordinary time, however, as we have already noticed, was seven days. All that was in a house or tent along with a dead body was unclean for seven days, and the bread which the mourners ate was, as we have seen, defiled. The period of mourning prescribed by Jewish authorities for a parent is a year. Of this time the first thirty days are considered the most important, and of these, again, the first seven are most stringently observed. The first seven days after a death are known as the *Shiva*, during which the mourners, as has already been indicated, are not permitted to cook anything for their own use, and are required to avoid all forms of amusement and recreation, not even listening to music. On hearing of the falsely reported death of Joseph, Jacob mourned for him many days (Gn 37^{34}), and he himself in turn was mourned by the Egyptians threescore and ten days (Gn 50^3), including, however, forty days of his embalming. Herodotus (ii. 86, 88) tells us that the Egyptians had seventy-two days of mourning for the dead. Joseph's own mourning for his father is said to have lasted seven days (Gn 50^{10}). The children of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab, as they had wept for Aaron when he died upon Mt. Hor (Nu 20^{29}, Dt 34^{8}). Of Judith it is said (Jth 16^{24}) that the house of Israel mourned for her seven days. 'Seven days,' says the Son of Sirach (Sir 22^{12}), 'are the days of mourning for the dead; but for a fool and an ungodly man, all the days of his life.' The prescribed period of mourning for a father and mother expires on the eve of the first anniversary of the death. The anniversary itself is invariably observed with strict solemnity by the Jews. It is said that hundreds of Israelites who profess none of the orthodox beliefs of Judaism, and recognize none of its ceremonial laws as binding upon them, yet keep this anniversary, attending the synagogue for the only time in the year, and distributing money among their poor and afflicted co-religionists. The scriptural instance of commemorating the dead on the anniversary of their death is that of the daughters of Israel who went yearly to lament the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite, and kept up the celebration four days (Jg 11^{40}).

LITERATURE.—Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. p. 193 ff.; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* p. 163 ff.; art. 'Trauer bei den Hebräern' in Herzog, *RE*^{2}, and 'Mourning' in Kitto, *Cycl.*; Thomson, *Land and Book* (S. Pal. and Jerus. See 'Funerals and Mourning' under 'Manners and Customs' in Index); Mackie, *Bible Manners and Customs*; Peritz, 'Woman in the Ancient Hebrew Cult' (reprinted from *JBL*, 1898, Part ii.); continuation of art. in *JQR* on 'Death and Burial Customs among the Jews,' by A. P. Bender. Cf. also W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} (see 'Mourning' in Index); Schwally, *Leben nach dem Tode*; Well., *Reste*^{2}, 177 ff.; Driver on Am $5^{2.\,16}$ and p. 232 ff.; and Bertholet, *Isr. Vorstell. v. Zustand nach dem Tode.* T. NICOL.

MOUSE (עַכְבָּר *'akbār, μῦs, mus*).—'The mice that mar the land,' of which the Philistines made golden images (1 S $6^{4.\,5}$), were probably the short-tailed field mice, or 'voles,' *Arvicola arvalis*, Desm., which are universal in Palestine. The kind of mouse that was eaten (Is 66^{17}) may be the hamster, *Cricetus phœus*, Pall., which is edible. The mouse forbidden as food (Lv 11^{29}) is probably a generic or family name. See, further, Dillm. on Lv 11^{29} and W. R. Smith, *RS*^{1} 275. Tristram found 25 species of rats and mice, six of sand rats, three of jerboas, and four of dormice, in Pal. and Syria. Immense numbers of the warrens of these rodents are found even in the deserts. Their food is provided for them by the vast number of bulbs and corms of crocus, iris, squill, asphodel, cyclamen, erodium, etc.

On the question whether the mouse was anciently used as a symbol of pestilence, see J. Meinhold, *Die Jesajaerzählungen*, p. 34 ff. G. E. POST.

MOUTH (פֶּה the commonest term, also חֵךְ 'palate,' 'roof of mouth'; Aram. פֻּם Dn 4^{31} + 5 t. in Dn; LXX and NT *στόμα*).—פֶּה *peh*, the ordinary Heb. word for 'mouth,' means also 'language,' 'corner,' 'edge,' 'skirt,' and any opening such as of a well Gn 29^{2}, sack Gn 42^{27}, the earth Nu 16^{30}, a cave Jos 10^{22}, grave Ps 141^{7}. חֵךְ *ḥēk*, 'palate,' is used where the reference is to the sense of taste or to the interior of the mouth, as when the tongue cleaves to the roof of the mouth, Job 12^{11} 20^{13}, Ps 137^{6}, Ca 7^{9}, but in Hos 8^{1} this is the word that is used in connexion with the blowing of the trumpet.

The way in which the Bible constantly uses the organ of speech in the sense of 'language' is a conspicuous instance of its employment of the concrete for the abstract. Thus enforced silence is the laying of the hand upon the mouth, Jg 18^{19}, Job 29^{9} 40^{4}, Mic 7^{16}, Tit 1^{11} (see LIP). So freedom of speech is the enlarged mouth, 1 S 2^{1}, Ps 35^{21}, Is 57^{4}, Eph 6^{19}. Similarly, to receive a message or be instructed as to what to say is to have words put into the mouth, 2 S 14^{3}, Jer 1^{9}. Humiliation is the mouth laid in the dust, La 3^{29}.

In this figurative usage the final form is personification where the mouth is regarded as an independent agent, with feelings, purposes, and actions of its own. Thus it has free-will offerings to give Ps 119^{108}, God is asked to set a watch before it Ps 141^{3}, it selects its food Pr 15^{14}, uses a rod Pr 14^{3}, and has a sword Rev 19^{15}. Such a familiar use of personification with regard to the lips, mouth, and voice would have an influence on the Jewish mind in the discussion of such subjects as 'The angel of the Lord' and 'The voice of the Lord' (*bath-ḳôl*), and would prepare the mind to apprehend the meaning of *the word made flesh.* See art. LOGOS. G. M. MACKIE.

MOWING.—See AGRICULTURE.

MOZA (מוֹצָא).—**1.** Son of Caleb by his concubine Ephah, 1 Ch 2^{46} (B *Ἰωσάν*, A *Ἰωσά*). **2.** A descendant of Saul, 1 Ch $8^{36.\,37}$ (*Μαισά*) $9^{42.\,43}$ (B *Μασσά*, A *Μασά*, Luc. *Μωσά*).

MOZAH (הַמֹּצָה with art.; B *Ἁμωκή*, A *Ἁμωσά*).—A town of Benjamin, mentioned next to Chephirah, Jos 18^{26}. A possible site is the ruin *Beit Mizzeh*, close to *Kulonieh* (*i.e. Colonia*), west of Jerusalem. The Heb. *Tsade* becomes the Arabic *Zain* in some cases. The modern name means 'house of hard stone.' There is a good spring at this site. (See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.; Buhl, *GAP* 167; Guérin, *Judée*, i. 262 f.). C. R. CONDER.

MUCH is used in AV with more freedom than we now permit. It is quite common, for example, with collective nouns. These are nearly always either 'cattle,' as Ex 12^{38} 'And a mixed multitude went up also with them; and flocks, and herds, even very much cattle'; or 'people,' as Nu 20^{20} 'Edom came out against him with much people.' But we also find 'much goods,' Lk 12^{19}, and 'much alms,' Ac 10^{2}. Cf. Rhemish NT, Lk 10^{2} 'The harvest truely is much, but the workemen few.'

Again, 'much' is an adv. and qualifies an adj. in Philem ^{8} 'Though I might be much bold in Christ' (*πολλὴν ἐν Χριστῷ παρρησίαν ἔχων*), RV 'Though I have all boldness in Christ.' Cf. Pref. to Pr. Bk. 'Here you have an order for prayer . . . much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the Fathers.' So Cranmer in Pref. to Great Bible, 'Concernyng two sundry sortes of people it seemeth much necessarie that some thyng be sayde in the entrie of thys booke by way of a Preface or Prologue'; and Udall's *Erasmus' Paraphrase*, fol. xxxiv. 'This disease [leprosy] emong the Jewes was counted muche abhominable, and is thought to be suche, that no Physician can heale it.'

In the Pref. to AV 'much' occurs in the sense of 'nearly,' 'Much about that time.' The word is often so used by Shaks., as *Meas. for Meas.* III. ii. 242—'Much upon this riddle runs the wisdom of the world,' and IV. i. 17—'Much upon this time have I promised here to meet.' J. HASTINGS.

MUFFLERS.—This term occurs only once in the Bible, as tr^{n} in Is 3^{19} (EV) of רְעָלוֹת *rĕ'ālôth*, in the midst of a list of articles of female attire and adornment. The LXX, which, however, does not apparently include all the items enumerated in the Heb. text, perhaps tr. by *τὸν κόσμον τοῦ προσώπου αὐτῶν*; Vulg. has *mitras*. It is generally agreed that some kind of veil is intended (so Siegfried-Stade, Dillm., Del., Guthe [in Kautzsch's *AT*, 'Kopfschleier']). Delitzsch derives רְעָלוֹת from a root [רָעַל], Aram. רְעַל 'to be loose *or* flaccid,' 'to hang down *or* hang over loosely,' and pronounces the veil spoken of to be more costly and of better quality than the ordinary one worn by maidens, which is called צָעִיף. Dillmann compares the Arab. *ra'l* (see also Mishna, *Zabim*, vi. 6, where רעלות is applied to the veils worn by Arab women), and describes the veil in question as consisting of two pieces, one starting above the eyes and thrown back over the head and neck, the other beginning below the eyes and falling down over the breast. See, also, art. DRESS in vol. i. p. 627^{b}.

J. A. SELBIE.

MULBERRY TREES (בְּכָאִים *bĕkā'îm*, κλαυθμών, ἄπιοι, *pyri*).—**1.** The Heb. word is the name of a tree (2 S $5^{23.\,24}$ = 1 Ch $14^{14.\,15}$), to the identity of which we have no clue. From a confusion with the root בָּכָה *bākāh*, 'to weep,' עֵמֶק הַבָּכָא 'the valley of Baca' (Ps 84^{6}) has been often tr^{d} 'the valley of weeping.' Neither of the LXX renderings supports the claim of the *mulberry*, κλαυθμών signifying 'a place of mourning,' and ἄπιοι 'pear trees.' The tree is supposed by different writers to have been the balsam tree (so *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*), the poplar (Arab. *shajaret el-bok*, 'the bed-bug tree'), and the pear. Abu el-Fadli mentions a tree, with an Arab. name similar to *bĕkā'îm*, which has been identified with *Amyris* or *Balsamodendron*. But this tree grows only in tropical countries, and could never have flourished in the Plain of Rephaim. There is no support to the tr^{n} 'mulberry' or 'poplar.' We must therefore be content to remain uncertain as to the identity of *bĕkā'îm*, and it would perhaps be best to transliterate it. See, further, BACA (VALLEY OF).

2. Although it is thus probable that the mulberry is not mentioned in the canonical books of OT, the blood (juice) of the fruit of this tree (*μόρον*) is said to have been mingled with that of the grape (1 Mac 6^{34}), and shown to the elephants of Antiochus Eupator, to enrage them and excite them to war against the Jews.

3. The *sycamine* (Lk 17^{6}) is the 'black mulberry' (see SYCAMINE).

G. E. POST.

MULE. Three Heb. words are tr^{d} 'mule' in AV. **1.** רֶכֶשׁ *rekesh*. This word (which is really a rare synonym of סוּס) is tr^{d} only twice in AV 'mules' (Est $8^{10.\,14}$, RV 'swift steeds'), once 'swift beast' (Mic 1^{13}, RV 'swift steed'), and once 'dromedaries' (1 K 4^{28}, m. 'mules' or 'swift beasts,' RV 'swift steeds'). See DROMEDARY.

2. יֵמִם *yēmim*. This word occurs only once (Gn 36^{24}), and refers to something which Anah (wh. see) found when feeding his father's asses in the desert of Edom. Mules would not have been a likely find in such a place. The LXX tr. it by τὸν Ἰαμείν, a proper name, showing that the signification was not understood. The Vulg. tr. it *aquæ calidæ* = RV 'hot springs.' Such springs exist at Callirrhoë and elsewhere around the Dead Sea. Callirrhoë is called by the Arabs *Ḥammâmîm Suleimân* = 'the hot springs of Solomon.' The springs below *Umm-Ḳeis* (Gadara) are known as *Arḍ el-Ḥamma* = 'land of hot springs.' *Yēmim* may be a dialectic modification of this local term. The Arabs attach great medicinal value to such hot springs, and such a discovery would be considered well worthy of record.

3. פֶּרֶד *peredh*, ὁ ἡμίονος, *mulus*. This is the common word for 'mule' in both AV and RV. It occurs once in the feminine פִּרְדָּה *pirdāh*, ἡ ἡμίονος, *mula* (1 K $1^{33.\,38.\,44}$). Mules were forbidden (but see below) in the Levitical law (Lv 19^{19}); but this, like many minor provisions of the law, was not in force in the era of the kings. David seems to have been the first to ride one, as also to introduce the horse (2 S 8^{4}), contrary to the previous practice of the people, and the sentiment reflected in the prohibition of Dt 17^{16} (where see Driver's note). Mules became common during David's reign, and were ridden by his sons (2 S 13^{29}). Absalom rode a mule in war (2 S 18^{9}). Solomon rode one when he was proclaimed king (1 K 1^{33}). He received tribute in mules (1 K 10^{25}). The subsequent monarchs kept them (18^{5}). The Gentiles, riding on mules, are to honour Israel (Is 66^{20}). The Phœnicians imported them from Togarmah = Armenia (Ezk 27^{14}). Mules are mentioned in Jth 15^{11}. They are still used as riding animals by high functionaries. The Governor-General of the province of Beirût often goes to the seraglio on his spirited and sure-footed mule. The late Governor-General of Lebanon, Rustem Pasha, had a very fine riding mule, which he much preferred to a horse. Mules were also used as beasts of burden (1 Ch 12^{40}, 2 K 5^{17}). A good pack-mule brings a much higher price than a pack-horse. He is longer-lived, much surer of foot, and will carry a heavier burden. In the later days of the Heb. State, the law against mules (which may have been interpreted as forbidding the *breeding* but not the *use*; see Dillm. on Lv 19^{19}) seems to have been quite disregarded, as so strict a legalist as Ezra allowed his returning people to bring 245 of them from Babylon (Ezr 2^{66}; see Ryle's note). They are now universally used in Bible lands.

G. E. POST.

MUNITION is used in AV in the orig. sense of the Lat. *munitio* (from *munio*, to fortify), a fortified place of defence, a stronghold or entrenchment. The places are Is 29^{7} 'all that fight against her and her munition' (מְצֹדָתָהּ, RV 'her stronghold,' which is Coverdale's word); 33^{16} 'his place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks' (so RV, Heb. מְצָדוֹת סְלָעִים); Nah 2^{1} 'keep the munition' (so RV, Heb. נָצוֹר מְצֻרָה, Amer. RV 'fortress'); 1 Mac 14^{10} 'He provided victuals for the cities and set in them all manner of munition' (ἔταξεν αὐτὰς ἐν σκεύεσιν ὀχυρώσεως; RV 'furnished them with all manner of munition,' RVm '*Gr.* implements of munition'); also marg. of Dn $11^{10.\,38.\,39}$. Cf. South, viii. ser. 5, 'No defence or munition can keep out a judgment, when commissioned by God to enter.' This meaning of the word is retained in AV from the Geneva Version; in 1611 the commoner meaning was that of the Fr. *munition*, *i.e.* military stores, provision for an army or fortress. Thus Shaks., *K. John*, v. ii. 98—

> 'What penny hath Rome borne,
> What men provided, what munition sent,
> To underprop this action?'

J. HASTINGS.

MUPPIM (מֻפִּים).—A son of Benjamin, Gn 46^{21} (Μαμφείν), called in 1 Ch $7^{12.\,15}$ 26^{16} **Shuppim** (שֻׁפִּים), in Nu 26^{39} **Shephupham**, and in 1 Ch 8^{5} **Shephuphan.** The proper form of the name can hardly be determined. See Ball and Kittel (on Gn and Ch in *SBOT*) and Dillm. on Nu 26^{39}. See, further, separate articles on the above variant forms.

MURDER.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, vol. i. p. 522^{a}.

MURRAIN.—See PLAGUES.

MUSHI (מוּשִׁי, in 1 Ch 6^{4} מֻשִׁי).—A son of Merari, Ex 6^{19} (Ὁμουσεί), Nu 3^{20}, 1 Ch 6^{19} [Heb. ^{4}] (B Ὁμουσεί, A Ὁμουσί), 6^{47} [Heb. ^{32}] (B Μοσεί, A Ὁμουσί), 23^{21} (B Ὁμουσεί, A Μουσί) ^{23} (B Μουσεί, A Μουσί) 24^{26} (B Ὁμουσεί, A Μουσί) ^{30} (B Μοουσεί, A Μουσί). The patronymic **Mushites** (הַמּוּשִׁי) occurs in Nu 3^{33} 26^{58} (B ὁ Μουσεί, A ὁ Ὁμουσί).

MUSIC.—

i. Occasions when used.
ii. Nature of Hebrew music.
iii. Musical instruments.
  1. Stringed: (*a*) the *kinnōr*; (*b*) the *nebel*;—the terms *gittith*, *'ălāmōth*, *nĕgînōth*; (*c*) the stringed instruments named in Dn.
  2. Wind: (*a*) the *ḥālîl* or flute;—the terms *nekeb* and *nĕḥîlōth*; (*b*) the *'ugab*; (*c*) the *mashrōḳîthā*; (*d*) the *symphōnia*; (*e*) the *shōphār* or *ḳeren*, the horn; (*f*) the *ḥăçōçĕrāh* or trumpet.

3. Percussion: (*a*) the *tōph* or tabret; (*b*) the *mĕẓiltaim* or *ẓelẓĕlîm*, cymbals; (*c*) the *mĕnaʿanʿîm*; (*d*) the *shālishîm*.

Literature.

i. OCCASIONS WHEN USED.—The most cursory glance at the books of the OT shows the devotion of the Hebrews to the art of music. It is unlikely that it was so predominantly a sacred art as would at first sight appear from the Bible. The sacred writers look at everything more or less from a religious point of view; but we have quite sufficient evidence that music was loved by all classes of the people, and was practised in the home and in the fields. The favourite instruments had been invented long before the institution of the national religion and its ceremonies (Gn 4[21]); Laban the Syrian was aggrieved that Jacob had stolen away without the usual song of leave-taking (Gn 31[27]); and Job (21[12]) refers to the performance of music as a common feature in an unsophisticated prosperous life (cf. Nu 21[17]). In the headings of some of the psalms we have probably traces of popular secular songs: thus Ps 45 is to be sung to the tune of 'The Lilies,' 60 to that of the 'Lily of the Testimony,' etc. We have references also to vintage songs (Is 65[8]; cf. title of Ps 57. 58. 59. 75), which would not always be as sacred as Isaiah's (Is 5), and to music performed at feasts (Am 6[5]), and at processions (1 S 18[6]). Wherever there was a dance, or wherever two or three joined together in some common occupation, the movement would suggest rhythm, and rhythm melody. Dancing and music emerged spontaneously, and were practised together under all sorts of conditions. The *ḳinâh* or wailing song was also familiar to the Hebrews. See LAMENTATIONS (BOOK OF).

But the consecration of music to the service of religion led to its being developed and cultivated with greater zeal and earnestness. Even if we cannot accept all the details in the statements of the historical books, at least as applying to the dates to which they are referred, they are not altogether valueless. We may allow for exaggerations in respect to figures, and we must transfer descriptions of the worship in the first temple to that of the second, but the tradition reveals the fact that sacred music was raised by the Israelites to the dignity of an art, and was treated accordingly.

It is in Chronicles that we have the fullest account of the musical arrangements in the temple service. According to 1 Ch 15[16-24], David organized the Levitical chorus and orchestra. Heman, Asaph, and Ethan (? Jeduthun) were appointed chief conductors (under the king himself), giving the beat with their cymbals; seven Levites played on *nebels* על עלמות, *i.e.* of a high pitch (?; see p. 460[b]), while six accompanied on *kinnōrs*, whose description is quite uncertain (עַל־הַשְּׁמִינִית, lit. 'on the eighth'). The whole of the choristers and players were divided into 24 classes, and are said to have been 4000 in number, with 288 leaders. Even the name of the director of the choral rehearsals is given. Although such minute details must be unhistorical, one feature is probably correct for all periods of the history, *i.e.* the large proportion of experts (מְבִינִים) compared with pupils (תַּלְמִידִים). The whole of these forces were employed to add extraordinary impressiveness to the ceremonies at the consecration of Solomon's Temple (2 Ch 5[12]).

After idolatrous kings had occupied the throne, Hezekiah and Josiah made it an important part of their task to restore 'the instruments and songs of David.' Among the exiles who returned from Babylon, and took part in consecrating the foundations of the second temple and the walls of Jerus., were the descendants of the great Levitical choristers (Neh 12[27]), and in vv.[45-47] we are informed that from that time divine service was regularly performed as instituted by David, the people contributing the necessary support for the singers.

ii. NATURE OF HEBREW MUSIC.—We know nothing whatever of the nature of the music performed by these singers and players. What ancient instruments have been preserved have either been too frail to admit of being handled, or have refused to emit any sound. Besides, even if we could reproduce the ancient harps and flutes, etc., we should require to know the method of blowing or of tuning them. Nor can we learn anything from the music still performed in the synagogues. It is possible that the trumpet-calls now in use originated at an early date, but that does not take us far. The hymn-tunes are certainly comparatively modern, and their composition shows traces of the country and period in which they have originated. Of a musical notation there is no trace. Much ingenuity has been lavished on the attempt to interpret the accents from a musical point of view. It has been suggested that they were signs of musical phrases, or that they were even a kind of figured bass; but these are only far-fetched guesses. Not only were they of late origin, but their purpose was wholly different. They are guides to the proper recitation or cantillation of the text. Even to this extent they do not furnish any reliable information as to ancient usage: meant to preserve tradition, they are themselves subject to tradition, and are interpreted differently in different synagogues.

Under the circumstances, it is possible to form only a very general and vague idea of the character of Hebrew music. It was evidently of a strident and noisy character. The melody was apparently often reduplicated in octaves. Harmony in our sense of the term was almost certainly unknown, though it does not follow that the accompaniments were wholly unisonous. It is hardly possible to conceive of players on harps and lyres not adding something of the nature of a chord. They could not fail to discover that certain notes produced a pleasing effect when played together or in arpeggios. The psalms show by their construction that they were intended to be sung antiphonally,—in some cases (*e.g.* Ps 13. 20. 38 etc.) by two choirs, in others by a choir and the congregation, the part taken by the latter being limited to the singing of a simple constantly recurring phrase or refrain (*e.g.* Ps 136. 118[1-4]). The leaders would possess the tradition of the music, and would impart it to the general body of the chorus.

The psalms must have been chanted, but it is most unlikely that the chants bore any resemblance to what we understand by the term. Our irrational and exceedingly artificial method of rushing over any number of syllables on a fixed note would hardly commend itself to a people to whom their sacred songs formed a living expression of their deepest feelings. The elaborate provision made for instructing the chorus suggests the existence of a system, which, along with a certain uniformity, admitted of some flexibility in its application. We can quite well imagine a chant which would allow of a greater number of notes being used in the longer verses, and which would vary slightly in character with the changing sentiment of the text. In point of fact, however, this is wholly conjectural, and the vocal method of the Hebrews is a lost and unknown art.

iii. MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.—We know a little more about the instruments employed by the Hebrews. It is true that the OT, while it contains numerous references to them, gives us no definite information as to their form or construction, and that this defect is not supplied by the existence on Jewish ground of any sculptures or pictures, such as have been found in Egypt or Assyria. It is also true that the inferences drawn from etymology, the translation of Heb. names in the Greek versions, the statements of the Church Fathers, and the records of ancient nations, fall very far short of affording us definite and precise information, and have given rise to an endless diversity of opinion on almost every detail. Yet in spite of this we can form a general idea of the nature of a Jewish orchestra, and of the construction of the instruments of which it was composed. We consider them under the usual division into String, Wind, and Percussion Instruments.

1. *Stringed Instruments.*—Of these the *kinnōr* and the *nebel* (RV 'harp' and 'psaltery') are the most important, and may be described as the favourite national instruments. The *kinnōr* is indicated as having been the older, and is said to have been invented by Jubal, the second son of Lamech (Gn 4[21]). It is the only stringed instrument mentioned in the Hexateuch. The *nebel* first occurs in 1 S 10[5], where it is found among the instruments played by the prophets who met Saul.

There is now a general consensus of opinion that these were species of the lute or lyre and the harp, but there is no agreement as to which was which, and many scholars have given up the attempt to distinguish between them, contenting themselves with describing the various instruments to which the names may have been applied. In any case, even if we attempt to reach greater precision, we must admit that we come very far short of certainty, and that a considerable proportion of our conclusions is more or less conjectural.

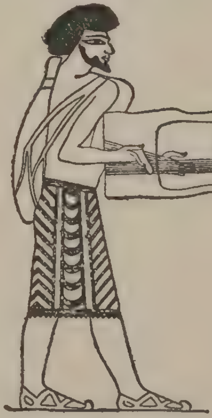
It is clear, however, that the *kinnōr* and the *nebel* were not identical, and that the names were not used indifferently for the same instrument. They seem to be confused in one or two places in the LXX (cf. Ps 149[3]); but in the great majority of instances כִּנּוֹר is rendered by *κιθάρα* or *κινύρα*, and נֵבֶל by *ψαλτήριον*, *νάβλη*, or *νάβλον*. The few cases in which they are identified can be satisfactorily accounted for by supposing that the translators were not musical experts, or felt that in the particular passage the difference was trivial. But the great mass of evidence shows that they were different, and were known to be different.

Before trying to distinguish them, however, we may note certain common features. They were mainly, if not exclusively, used to accompany vocal music. They were *par excellence* the כְּלֵי שִׁיר (Am 6[5]). They are said to have been the sole accompanying instruments in the temple service, though this is doubtful. Their use was associated principally with joyful and exultant strains (the captives hung up their *kinnōrs* in their time of dejection, Ps 137[2]), but it is perhaps straining poetical language unduly to confine it exclusively to those.

In 2 Ch 9[11] it is said that the *nebel* and *kinnōr* under Solomon were constructed of almug or algum, a wood which it is impossible to identify with any certainty, but which was at all events very valuable and much sought after (see art. ALGUM TREES, and Cheyne and Hommel in *Expos. Times*, viii. 470, 525). According to Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. iii. 8), the framework was fitted with electrum, *i.e.* either a mixed metal or amber, which in any case could have served only for decorating the body of the instrument. The strings (מִנִּים) were originally made of twisted grass or plant-fibres, then of gut, and in later times of silk and metal.

(*a*) The *kinnōr* (כִּנּוֹר, a mimetic word derived from the rustling sound of the strings) has been identified with a number of instruments: the *tanbur* or *tinbur*, a kind of guitar; the lute (*al-'ood*), which is closely allied to the guitar; the *trigon*, a small, easily portable triangular harp; a large harp provided with 47 strings; and the lyre. We can at once delete several of these if we remember the hints given in the OT. The *kinnōr* was portable; it was played during marches and processions, and was hung upon the willows by the Babylonian captives. It was therefore not a harp of the larger sort. As against the view that it was a *trigon*, it is urged that the latter could not have been the favourite instrument of a people so musically gifted as the Jews. It was small, and from its construction weak in tone, and would have contrasted unfavourably with the larger and fuller-toned harps and citterns which intercourse with other nations had rendered familiar. The guitar or lute, again, is open to several objections. It is not known to have been current among Semitic nations in early times. We have a representation of one lute-shaped instrument in Nineveh; it has a small oval body and a very long neck, exactly like those depicted in Egypt; but this one example, most probably derived from Egypt, does not furnish adequate support for the theory that the lute was familiar to the Semitic peoples, and may therefore have formed the model of the *kinnōr*. Besides, it is hardly conceivable that such a slim long-necked instrument could have been easily portable, and a favourite for processional music.

But the strongest evidence we have for the nature of the *kinnōr* is to be found in the LXX. The translators, except in a very few cases, render כִּנּוֹר by *κιθάρα*, or by *κινύρα*, which is explained by Greek writers as equivalent to *κιθάρα*. Unless we suppose that the LXX wrote in utter ignorance of the shape of the *kinnōr*, this fact is decisive against either the lute or the harp. It would have been impossible for even the most careless or inexpert writer to confound the lute with its long neck and finger-board, or the harp, with the *kithara* or the lyre. It is probable that the *kinnōr* presented differences from the *kithara*, but it is unnatural to suppose that these should have been so great as to make the rendering of the LXX wholly inappropriate.



PLAYING THE LYRE.
(Middle Empire).

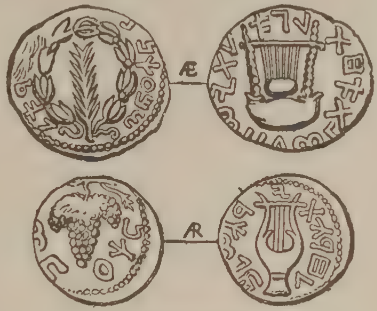
Now numerous lyre-shaped instruments, *i.e.* instruments with resonance-body at the base, side arms of wood, and cross-bar at the top from which the strings descend to the sound-box, or string-holder resting on it, are found on the monuments.

A very ancient one is depicted in an Egyptian tomb, and dates from the 12th Dynasty. It represents a Semitic immigrant with an eight-stringed *kithara*, which he holds in a horizontal position under his right (?) arm; he plucks the strings with the fingers of the left hand, while he uses a plectrum with the right. The body of the instrument is really a quadrangular-shaped board with the upper half cut out. There is also a picture of a player on the *kithara*, accompanying two harpists, in a grave at Thebes belonging to the period between the 12th and 18th Dynasties. Here, again, we have the ruder form characteristic of the Semitic *kithara*. Later the *kithara* becomes quite common, and is more artistically constructed. It generally has a square, sometimes an urn-shaped sound-box, from which rise arms of various design and thickness, bound together by a wooden cross-bar. These arms are often of different lengths, and the cross-bar therefore slopes downwards, thus serving to give the strings their proper pitch. The strings radiate from the sound-box in the form of a fan, and vary in number from 3 to 12.

The *kithara* was, however, not properly an Egyptian but an Asiatic instrument. We have already seen that the oldest known to be depicted in Egypt was played by a Semitic immigrant. The very earliest representation of a stringed instrument is that discovered at Telloh in Southern Babylonia. It is of a large size, but the frame shows a sound-body beneath, on which are set the two upright posts and the cross-bar of the lyre. The number of the strings is great enough to suggest that a harp was meant, but the model, which is exceedingly rude, is that of the *kithara*. Many specimens have been also found at Khorsabad, Kouyunjik, and Nimrud, which strongly resemble those of the immigrant Semites in Egypt. They are, however, more fully developed and have a larger sound-box at the base. They differ in form and in number of strings at the same period. A twelve-stringed *kithara*, shown on a bas-relief at Khorsabad, is remarkable for its rectangular form and the exceptional fulness of its sound-box.

HARPER AND CHOIR.
(*c.* B.C. 3000).

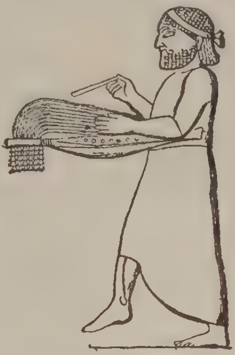
The evidence of Jewish coins also points to the similarity of the *kinnōr* to the *kithara* or lyre. The representations of instruments found on them are unmistakable. The strings are fixed in a strong oval body resting on a kettle-shaped or vase-like sounding-box; the frame is simple and nearly square. The projecting arms are curved and joined by a cross-bar to which the strings, which vary in number from 3 to 6, are fixed. The figures thus resemble the Greek lyre or *kithara*. It is not likely, however, that they simply depict foreign importations, and that they cannot therefore be relied upon as evidence for the ancient *kinnōr*. Oriental conservatism was at its strongest in matters affecting the cultus of the Israelites, and though the *kinnōr* may have been modified in certain details, it is unlikely to have been wholly supplanted. We may assume with great probability that these coins represent Jewish instruments, and in that case the biblical *kinnōr*.



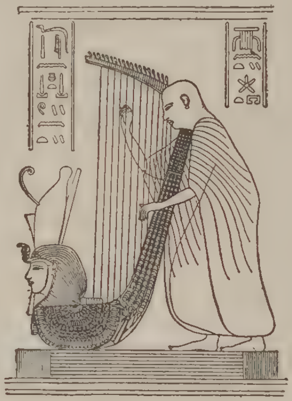
JEWISH LYRES.

We may then sum up, following Weiss. The ancient versions render *kinnōr* by *kithara*: the *kithara* was of Asiatic origin, was introduced by Semites into Egypt, and was in common use in Western Asia; and the representations on Jewish coins of the 2nd cent. before Christ clearly resemble the Greek *kithara*. The view is therefore very credible, that we should regard the ancient Heb. *kinnōr* as a simple and primitive form of the *kithara*.

(*b*) The *nebel*. If we suppose the *kinnōr* to have been a *lyre*, then it almost necessarily follows that the *nebel* was a *harp*. We can hardly imagine this instrument, so familiar to all early nations, to have been absent from the Jewish orchestra. Many other suggestions have been made, mostly based on the etymological meaning of the word (נֵבֶל 'a skin *or* bottle'). It has been identified with the bagpipe, with some sort of wind instrument, and with the lute, guitar, or mandoline; but none of these suppositions is satisfactory. The lute was held to be supported by reference to the Egyptian *nfr*, which denotes a lute with two or three strings and a very long neck; but the identification of *nbl* with *nfr* is now abandoned, and the lute, as has been said, is not known to have been a popular Semitic instrument. A somewhat more likely supposition is that the *nebel* was a kind of dulcimer. This instrument occurs in a monument of the time of Assurbanipal (B.C. 668–626), on which is depicted an Assyrian orchestra of 11 performers. Of these, 7 are harpists, 2 flautists, one a drummer, and one a dulcimer player. This dulcimer is said by some to have been the *nebel*, the chief reason being that its Arabic name, *santir*, is a corruption of the Greek *psalterion*, which in turn is the equivalent of the Heb. *nablion* or *nebel*. But *psalterion* was a general name for several kinds of instruments, and was especially applied to every stringed instrument which was played upon with the fingers of both hands, instead of by one hand and a plectrum held in the other. Therefore the Greek name for a harp was also *psalterion*. The Greek translation does not, therefore, decide in favour of the dulcimer, and the very fact that *psalterion* was a generic term would make it particularly appropriate as a designation of the harp, which varied so much in size and shape. That a corruption or derivative should be applied to a stringed instrument of another kind is quite intelligible. The description of the *nabla* by Ovid (*Ars. Am.* iii. 327), the statement by Josephus (*Ant.* VII. xii. 3) that the *nebel* had 12 strings and was played without plectrum, and, as we shall see, the distinction drawn by the early Fathers between instruments with a sound-body below and those having a resonance-board above the strings, all point to the harp.



ASSYRIAN DULCIMER.
(*c.* B.C. 640).

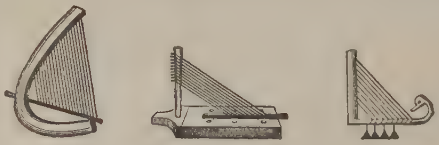


PRIEST PLAYING HARP.
(Tomb of Ramses III.).

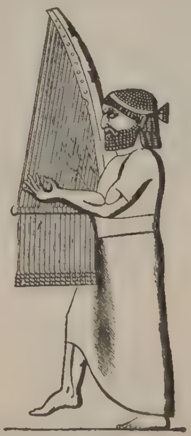
The Egyptian monuments present us with a great variety of harps. The earliest form shown is very primitive; it is in the shape of an archer's bow, possesses no sound-box, and has but a limited number of strings. As early as the 5th Dynasty, however, improvements began to be effected; the upper part, to which the strings were affixed with pegs, was broadened and developed into a sound-body, and the frame began to be more or less elaborately ornamented. While playing, the musician knelt, and the frame rested on his shoulder. As time advanced, harps were still further developed. The lower part of the frame was converted into a sound-body, which was broadened at the base so that it could rest on the ground unsupported by the player. Some harps were placed on a stool, or raised upon a stand or limb attached to the lower part. The players of these large instruments stood during the performance. While we cannot deny the possibility or even the probability of the Hebrews having been familiar with such harps, they were not the common or popular *nebels*, which were easily portable.

Now, smaller portable harps did exist in Egypt in a great variety of forms. One is bow-shaped with a transverse string-holder; a second has a quadrangular flat-shaped sound-box pierced with holes, while the strings are stretched from a string-holder resting on the sounding-board to a post rising at right angles from one end of the latter; and a third, ornamented with a bird's head, is quite triangular, the upright post being at once string-holder and sound-box. Another instrument is very common in Upper Egypt. It resembles a mandoline, with the neck bending abruptly upwards from the sound-body; the strings, which are from three to five in number, are not attached to the body of the instrument itself, but to a string-holder attached to its centre. At the upper end of the neck are pins for stretching and tuning the strings.

We might have regarded one or other of these smaller harps as furnishing the model of the *nebel* but for one fact. They all have the sound-box at their base. But we have already come to the conclusion that the *kinnōr* had its resonance-body beneath; and if we are to follow the description given by the Fathers (Augustine on Ps 42, Jerome on Ps 149^3, Isidore *Etym.* III. xxii. 2), who distinguished between instruments with the sound-body beneath and those possessing it above, we must look for a harp that satisfies the latter condition. And this we find, again among a



EGYPTIAN HARPS.



ASSYRIAN HARP.

Semitic people, in Assyria. On the bas-relief at Kouyunjik there are seven of these harps. They are portable, are triangular in shape, and are supported by a belt worn by the player. The resonance-frame slopes upwards and forwards from the player and is pierced by holes, and the strings descend from it to a bridge or string-holder beneath which they fall. The performer plays while marching, using both hands without plectrum. While, of course, certainty is out of the question, this Assyrian harp seems to satisfy the requisite conditions best, and is most likely to have been the biblical *nebel*.

It is highly probable that there were different species of *kinnōrs* and *nebels*, but whether these are designated in the OT or not is unknown. In one case this is almost certain. The נֵבֶל עָשׂוֹר of Ps 33[2] and 144[9], or simply עָשׂוֹר Ps 92[3], was in all likelihood a ten-stringed harp.

The meaning of the word גִּתִּית (*Gittith*) in the headings of Ps 8. 81. 84 is wholly obscure. The LXX and Vulg. suggest the rendering 'Song of the vintage'; but it may be derived from Gath, and may refer to a mode, or singers, or instruments named after that town. Ewald understands it to be 'the March of the Gittite guard.'

The meaning 'Gittite instruments' is rendered not improbable if we translate עַל־עֲלָמוֹת (1 Ch 15[20] and 46 times in Ps) with Wellhausen 'on Elamite instruments.' This term is, however, more generally taken to mean 'with women's voice' (lit. 'on *or* acc. to damsels'; RV 'set to' 'עַל as name of a tune, which is quite possible), *i.e.* soprano, and to refer to instruments of a higher pitch.

Nĕgînōth (נְגִינוֹת) has sometimes been taken to denote a particular kind of instrument, but it is a general term for string music. In Ps 68[25] we have שָׁרִים contrasted with נֹגְנִים, *i.e.* the singers with the players.

(*c*) This division of the orchestra is supplemented by instruments which occur only in the Book of Daniel (3[5ff.]). These are the *pṣanṭērîn* (פְּסַנְטֵרִין), the *ḳitharis* (קִיתָרֹס), and the *ṣabbekha* (סַבְּכָא). The *pṣantērîn* * is the Greek ψαλτήριον, and that is all we know definitely about it. It has been identified by some with the *magadis*, but this is itself only a general term for an instrument (most commonly, however, a lyre) which could be played in octaves; and with a dulcimer because of the retention of the word in the Arabic *santir*. But *pṣantērîn* may just as well have kept its original force, and have denoted a harp played with both hands. There is nothing to lead us to identify it with the dulcimer represented on Assyrian monuments. The *ḳitharis* † is the Greek κιθάρα.

The *ṣabbekha* ‡ is the Greek σαμβύκη. But the *sambuca* is itself a word of very varied import. Stainer (*Mus. of the Bible*, p. 39) concludes that it was a large and powerful harp of a rich quality of tone, perhaps similar to, if not identical with, the great Egyptian harp. Weiss (*Mus. Inst.* p. 67) goes to the opposite extreme, and holds that it was a small *trigon* characterized by a high shrill tone, and used to accompany female voices. Chappell (*Hist. of Mus.* p. 255) summarizes the various meanings given to the word in Greek writers: it was either a *trigon*, a *barbitos* or many-stringed lyre, a *lyrophœnix* or Phœnician lyre, a Greek lyre, a *magadis*, a pipe, a dulcimer, or a siege-ladder; in short, anything made of elder-wood. It was not, however, a 'sackbut,' *i.e.* a trombone.

2. *Wind Instruments.*—(*a*) Of these the one in most general use was the flute or *ḥālîl* (חָלִיל). It has been denied that it was ever used to accompany sacred song, but this is very doubtful. In 1 S 10[5] and 1 K 1[40] it is played in descending from and ascending to the High Place, and its tones accompanied the festal processions of pilgrims from the country (Is 30[29]). In the second temple it was played before the altar on twelve days: the day of killing the first and that of killing the second Passover, the first day of unleavened bread, Pentecost, and the eight days of the Feast of Tabernacles (*Erachin* ii. 3, *Succah* v. 1). While the singers required to be Levites, other distinguished Israelites might perform on the instruments. The flute was also used at marriage feasts and funerals: in the time of Christ, even the poorest were expected to provide two flautists at a funeral.

Flute-like instruments date from the very earliest times. From the first, two kinds are met with—the long flute, played by blowing in one end and held straight before the player, and the oblique flute, played by blowing in a hole at the side. Both these kinds are depicted on the Egyptian monuments. Double flutes are also shown in the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments; they were probably preferred as giving the performer a greater range or compass. The material of which flutes were made was at first the reed, then wood of various kinds, and lastly bone and ivory.

Wood-winds were of two kinds: those with and those without reeds or vibrating tongues. The former are represented by the oboe and clarinet, the latter by the flute proper. From specimens found in Pompeii and elsewhere it is known that the Greeks were familiar with reed instruments, especially those provided with a single tongue, and therefore of the clarinet class. If we are to trust the evidence of ancient myths (cf. legend of Apollo and Marsyas), the Greeks owed this instrument to the Phrygians, who may have acquired the double flute from the Assyrians.

Whether the *ḥālîl* was a single or double flute, or a flue or reed pipe, we do not know. It is certain that the Hebrews had every opportunity of becoming acquainted with all these kinds, but we have no information on the subject. In any case, the number of notes was limited to those produced by stopping the holes with the fingers, as the keyed flute is entirely a modern invention.

It has been held by some that *neḳeb* (נֶקֶב Ezk 28[13] AV and RV 'pipes') designates the double flute; but this is inconsistent with the context, and is altogether erroneous. A. B. Davidson renders the word 'grooves.'

Again, *nĕhîlōth* (נְחִילוֹת) in the heading of Ps 5 is a term of very uncertain meaning.

(*b*) The *'ugab* (עֻגָב or עוּגָב) is a somewhat uncertain term. The LXX renders the word variously, κιθάρα (Gn 4[21]), ψαλμός (Job 21[12] 30[31]), and ὄργανον (Ps 150[4]). It is not a general term for a musical instrument (ὄργανον), as we can see from the context. Some writers think it to have been a *syrinx* or Pan's pipe, others a bagpipe. But we have really no evidence in support of either view. If עגב means *to blow in* (which, it must be confessed, is pure conjecture), then the noun would denote wind instruments in general, and this gives a good sense in all the above passages. Thus Jubal (Gn 4[21]) is the inventor of string and wind instruments, and in Ps 150 *minnim* and *'ugab* represent the same divisions of the orchestra.

(*c*) *Mashrōḳîthā* (מַשְׁרוֹקִיתָא) is another of the instruments mentioned in Dn (3[5. 7. 15]). The name is derived from a verb meaning *to hiss*, and is therefore applicable either to the oblique flute or Pan's pipe. Of course the hissing effect is more pronounced in playing the *syrinx*, and it is most probably the instrument meant.

(*d*) The *symphonia* (סוּמְפֹּנְיָה) is also mentioned in Dn (3[5. 15]) alone. The Greek συμφωνία, from which this word is derived, did not originally denote an instrument, but a concordant interval. Tradition applies it to the bagpipe. Originally the form of this instrument may have been developed from the double flute, one of the pipes being shorter and being used for the melody, while the longer furnished a droning bass accompaniment. We are told by Athenæus (Lib. x. p. 439) that Antiochus Epiphanes used to dance to the sound of the *symphonia*. To this day the Italians have a bagpipe called *zampugna* or *sampogna*, and a *chifonie* or *symphonie* was an instrument of the same class used in the Middle Ages. In Rome this instrument was introduced in the time of the Empire under the name of *tibia utricularis* or *chorus*, and soon became highly popular. Seneca (*Ep.* 76) is indignant at the applause bestowed on a bagpipe player.

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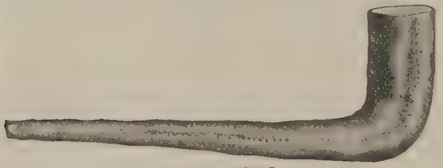
* In Dn 3[5. 10. 15] the word is spelt פְּסַנְתֵּרִין, in v.[7] פְּסַנְטֵרִין.

† Dn 3[5. 7. 10. 15], *Kethibh* קיתרס, *Ḳerê* קַתְרֹס (as in Targums).

‡ Baer reads שַׂבְּכָא.

(*e*) The *horn* (שׁוֹפָר *shōphār*, קֶרֶן *ḳeren*; AV *trumpet*, and so confused with *ḥăẓōẓĕrah* except where they occur together, when שופר is rendered *cornet* [see Driver, *Joel and Amos*, p. 146]) originally consisted of a ram's horn. It was afterwards sometimes made of metal, but the actual ram's horn was always retained for certain purposes. It had a loud piercing tone, was of limited compass, and was wholly unsuited to concerted music. It was used to summon the people to attention, and for making signals. The first mention of it in the OT is at the giving of the law (Ex 19). Its blasts proclaimed the year of Jubilee (Lv 25[9]). The 'blowing' (תְּרוּעָה), commanded in Nu 29[1], was probably performed on the *shōphār*, as it is still employed at that festival. It was also blown at the feast of the New Year and on fast-days. In time of war the *shōphār* summoned and assembled the army (Jg 3[27] and often), and the prophet foretold that it should announce the recall of the people from exile (Is 27[13]).



MODERN SHŌPHĀR

The *shōphār* is retained in the service of the modern synagogue: it is blown during the services on New Year's Day (except when that happens to be a Sabbath), at the conclusion of the Day of Atonement, on the 7th day of the Feast of Tabernacles, and during the entire month of Elul, after the recital of the supplications. The modern *shōphār* is a real ram's horn, curved at the end, but otherwise straightened by heat.

(*f*) The *trumpet* or *ḥăẓōẓĕrah* (חֲצֹצְרָה) is the only Heb. instrument of which we have an indubitably authentic representation. On the Arch of Titus two specimens are depicted along with the golden Table of Shewbread. Some little difficulty has been caused by their not tallying perfectly with the description given by Josephus (*Ant.* III. xii. 6). He says that the trumpet (*asósra*) was nearly a yard long, a little wider than a flute, with a slight expansion near the mouthpiece, to catch the breath, and ending in a bell, just as in the war-trumpets. This description corresponds with the form of trumpet shown on a coin of the time of the emperor Hadrian, which bears the inscription לחרות ירושלם 'Deliverance of Jerusalem.' The instruments on the Arch of Titus, of which we do not see the mouthpiece, are very long, being supported by rests, and gradually swell out into a long and not very wide bell. See, further, TRUMPET.

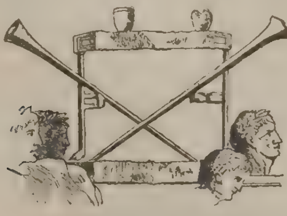
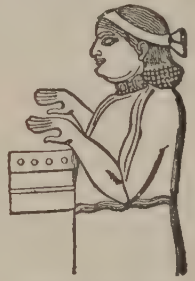


TABLE OF SHEWBREAD AND TRUMPETS.
(From Arch of Titus).

The Silver Trumpets are said to have been made by Moses of beaten silver (Nu 10[2]); they were blown by priests; and they belonged to the sacred vessels. The nature and meaning of the signals is indicated in Nu 10[2-10].

3. *Percussion Instruments.*—(*a*) The *tōph* (תֹּף) or tabret is first mentioned in Gn 31[27]. The LXX and other Greek versions render this word by τύμπανον; in Arab. we have *duf*, in Spanish *aduffa*. This instrument was a small hand-drum. The *duf* of the Arabs is made of a circle of light wood, over the edge of which is stretched a piece of goat-skin. The wood is pierced with five openings, in which thin metal discs are set, in order to give greater effect to the drum-beat. The *duf* is about 10 in. in diameter, and 2 in. in depth. It is usually played by women to accompany their dances and processions at weddings and public festivals.

The hand-drum is frequently represented both in Egyptian and Assyrian monuments. Sometimes we have an approach to the modern use of the drum. In some cases it is attached to the player by a belt fastened round his waist, while his hands act as drumsticks. One form of this instrument is slightly bulged, like a little barrel. Perhaps the rudeness of the drawing alone accounts for its somewhat square appearance.



ASSYRIAN HAND-DRUM.

The modern Egyptian *tabls* are of two kinds. The one is like our common military drum, but not so deep; it is hung obliquely. The other is a kind of kettledrum, of tin-copper, with a parchment face; it is generally about 16 in. in diameter, and not more than 4 in depth in the centre, and is beaten with two slender sticks.

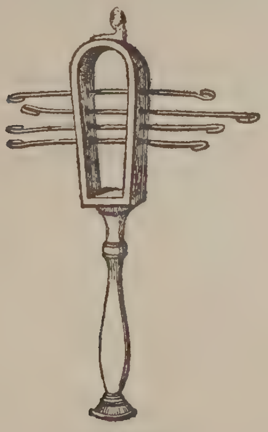
(*b*) *Cymbals* are mentioned in the OT under two names, *mĕẓiltaim* (מְצִלְתַּיִם) and *ẓelẓĕlim* (צֶלְצְלִים); the latter only occurs in 2 S 6[5] and Ps 150. In Zec 14[20] the RV translates מְצִלּוֹת הַסּוּס by 'the bells of the horses,' but there is no absolute necessity for departing here from the commoner rendering. The Egyptians at the present day decorate the breast-leather and head-stalls of their horses with coins and other ornaments, and a metal disc would be better suited for inscriptions than a bell. The word used elsewhere for a bell is פַּעֲמוֹן. In 1 Ch 15[19] we are told that cymbals were made of brass.

Two varieties of cymbals have been found in

Egypt and Assyria: the one similar to a modern soup-plate, but having a somewhat larger rim; the other conical in form, with a handle at the peak. The flat cymbals have a hole through which a thong or cord was passed, and were played by clashing the instruments together sideways: of the second kind, the one was brought down on the top of the other. In Egypt, Greece, and Rome, as well as among the Hebrews, the cymbals were used by the conductor to mark the time.

It has been supposed that the צלצלי שמע of Ps 150[5] (AV 'loud cymbals') were castanets, or metal discs fixed to two fingers of one hand; but this is by no means certain, though such castanets are still used.

(*c*) The *mĕna'an'îm* (מְנַעַנְעִים) are mentioned in 2 S 6[5], where the RV renders 'castanets,' and in marg. *sistra*. The latter suits the root-meaning, and is supported by the Vulg., where we have *systra*. The *sistrum* consisted of two thin metal plates, bent together at the top, and fitted with a handle at the bottom. The plates were pierced with holes, through which rods were passed having rings at their ends. This instrument was used in Egypt to call attention to the various acts of public worship, or to scare away malign influence.


EGYPTIAN SISTRUM.

(*d*) The word *shālîshîm* (שָׁלִישִׁים) occurs, evidently as an instrument of some sort, in 1 S 18[6]. It can hardly mean a *trigon* (but see Wellhausen, 'Psalms' in *PB* 230, and references in Driver, *Joel and Amos*, 236 n.); but what it does mean we do not know. We have no evidence of the existence of the triangle (to which it has been referred) in Assyria or Egypt.

LITERATURE.—Pfeiffer, *Über die Musik der alten Hebräer*; Saalschütz, *Form der heb. Poesie*, etc.; Leyrer, art. 'Musik' in *PRE*[2]; Riehm's *HWB des bibl. Alterthums*; Ambros, *Gesch. der Musik*; Fetis, *Hist. de la Musique*; Naumann, Rowbotham, and Chappell's *Histories of Music*; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* (ii. 222 ff.); Wetzstein in Del., *Commentary on Isaiah*; Stainer, *The Music of the Bible*; Edersheim, *The Temple*, etc.; Wellhausen, *The Psalms, with App. on the Music of the Ancient Hebrews* (in the 'Polychrome Bible'); Benzinger, *Heb. Archäologie*, 271 ff.; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 270 ff.; Köberle, *Die Tempelsänger im AT*; Büchler, 'Zur Gesch. d. Tempelmusik und der Tempelpsalmen' in *ZATW*, 1899–1900. But especially, J. Weiss, *Die musikalischen Instrumente in den heiligen Schriften des Alten Testaments*, 1895.

JAMES MILLAR.

MUSTARD (*σίναπι, sinapis*).—The conditions to be fulfilled by the mustard are that it should be a familiar plant, with a very small seed (Mt 17[20], Lk 17[6]), sown in the earth, *i.e. annual*, growing larger than garden herbs (*λάχανον, olus*, Mt 13[31]), having large branches (Mk 4[32]), or, in the more exaggerated language of Luke (13[19]), becoming a 'great tree,' attractive to passing birds. The wild mustards of the Holy Land, *Sinapis arvensis*, L., the field mustard or charlock, and *S. alba*, L., the white mustard, are familiar weeds, growing in every part of the country. They would have been called *σίναπι* in the time of Christ, as they are now called *khardal=sinapis*. The cultivated mustard is *Sinapis nigra*, L. The seed is well known for its minuteness. The plant grows to a size larger than the garden herbs, with which it is compared. The mustards are annuals, reproduced with extraordinary rapidity wherever the seed finds a lodgment, a particular which seems to be implied in the parable. In fat soil they often attain a height of 10 or 12 ft., and have branches which attract the passing birds. Many plants which attain a far less size than these are called *shajar*='tree' by the Arabs. One of the many examples of this is in the plants of the Borraginaceous genus *Arnebia*, which are only a few inches to a foot in height, but are known as *shajaret el-arneb*='the rabbit tree.' It would not seem at all strange to any native to speak of a mustard plant as *shajaret el-khardal*='mustard tree.' Finally, they are favourites of the birds, which alight upon them to devour their seeds. The Greek word *κατεσκήνωσεν* does not refer to nesting, but to a temporary rest. We may, then, justly conclude that the traditional and obvious interpretation meets all the reasonable demands of the passage.

Owing to the expression 'great tree' (Lk 13[19]), some have sought for an arboreal plant. *Salvadora Persica*, Garcin, has been suggested by Royle, on the authority of Ameuny, who states that this plant is found all along the banks of the Jordan, near Damascus, and is called by the Arabs *khardal* ='mustard.' We unhesitatingly reject this plant for the following reasons. (1) It is not found in the localities mentioned, but only around the Dead Sea. It would have been quite unknown to most of the hearers of the parable, and to them only by chance. (2) We have not heard it called *khardal*, and doubt the fact of its being generally known by this name. But, admitting that it is known locally by this name, as attested by Ameuny, it would not have suggested itself at once to the simple hearers of the parable. (3) Its seed is never sown in gardens, while it is expressly stated that the mustard seed was so planted (Lk 13[19]). (4) It is a perennial shrub, and therefore not a plant conspicuous by its rapid propagation from seed, a point of prime importance in the parable. (5) Although a taller plant than the mustard usually is, it would not suit the literal requirements of a 'great tree.' It is a shrub, seldom more than 6 to 8 ft. tall, and grows in thickets. It would require as much exaggeration to call it a 'great tree' as to so designate the mustard. (6) *Salvadora Persica* could, by no stretch of the imagination, be called an *herb*, while of mustard it is expressly said that it is *μεῖζον τῶν λαχάνων*, 'the greatest among herbs' (Mt 13[32]).

G. E. POST.

MUTH-LABBEN.—See PSALMS.

MUTILATION. — See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, vol. i. p. 525[b].

MYNDUS (Μύνδος) was a city of Caria, situated on the extreme western extremity of the peninsula on whose southern coast lies Halicarnassus. It plays very little part in ancient history; and its only importance seems to have lain in the silver mines beside it, which were worked in ancient and in mediæval times. From them the site derives its modern name, Gumushli. It was one of the places to which letters in favour of the Jews were sent by the Romans about B.C. 139, 1 Mac 15^{23}; cf. DELUS, COS, CNIDUS, HALICARNASSUS. This fact proves that Myndus must have been a self-governing and independent city at that time, and not one of the cities of the Carian confederacy; see CARIA. It also shows that Jews went there, and the silver trade would naturally attract persons with their financial instincts. On the site, see Paton in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1887, p. 66; 1896, p. 204. W. M. RAMSAY.

MYRA (Μύρα or Μύῤῥα), a city of Lycia.—The name is used in neuter plural, Ac 27^{5}, where, however, many authorities have feminine singular. The same doubt between neuter plural and feminine singular exists in Ac 21^{1}, where the Western Text adds after Patara καὶ Μύρα, *et deinde Myram*; some MSS Μύραν in *Acta Pauli et Theclæ*, 40 (but ἐν Μύροις, *al.*); the form in Strabo p. 666 and Ptolemy v. 3, 6, is Μύρα, of doubtful gender and number: but Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xxxii. 2, 17, Ptolemy viii. 17, 23, use the plural form; Athenæus ii. 53, p. 59, *CIG* 4288, and Basil *Epist.* 218, have ἐν Μύροις: the Byzantine lists frequently have gen. Μύρων, probably never Μύρας. Many late writers, Theophanes pp. 465, 483 (de Boor), Glykas p. 587, Basil Sel. *Vit. S. Theclæ*, i. p. 272, Cedrenus pp. 511, 512, Zonaras iii. p. 589, use the plural form; and Malalas varies, p. 365 τῇ Μυρᾳ, p. 448 τὰ Μυρα. Constantine Porph. *de Them.* i. p. 36 avoids the name, but says it is called from the sacred μύρα (suggesting thus the reason why the Christian writers preferred the neuter plural form); Stephanus mentions that both the feminine and the neuter forms were in use; but there is hardly any authority for Μύρα fem. sing. in any case except accus.; and even there it is inferior. The literary form therefore was certainly τὰ Μύρα, but there was evidently also a popular form τὴν Μύραν (with which compare Λύστραν - Λύστροις Ac $14^{6.\,8}$ $16^{1.\,2}$, *Clupeam-Clupeis* Wölfflin's note on Cæsar *Bell. Afr.* 3, 1), which has given rise to the modern Dembre. In the words where double declension exists, the tendency to acc. sing. fem. and plural in other cases is marked.

Myra was not one of the greatest cities of Lycia in the Greek period, but rose to importance under the Empire, and became the capital of Lycia under the Byzantine Empire and in the ecclesiastical organization. The reason for its growth lay in the development of navigation. In the older system of sailing by hugging the coast from point to point, Myra was merely one out of many coast towns, and had nothing to give it special importance. But as the bolder method became common of running direct between the Lycian and the Egyptian coasts, keeping off Cape Akamas, the western point of Cyprus, the two harbours that were found most convenient were Myra at the north end of the course and Alexandria at the south. There had been an immense development of trade between the East Ægean coasts and Egypt under the Ptolemies (compare Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, p. xxxiii): under the Roman rule Egyptian export trade was diverted towards Italy and Rome (which was to a considerable extent fed on Egyptian grain). As the prevailing wind in the eastern Mediterranean is westerly, the corn-ships for Rome could not make a direct voyage towards the west, but had to use the protection of the irregular coasts of Asia Minor and Crete and the local coast-winds. For that purpose they must either take the long circular course round the Syrian coast, or sail direct across to Lycia; and the steadiness of the western winds tempted to the direct crossing.

Examples of this direct course, showing that it was regarded as quite usual, are—(1) the Alexandrian corn-ship (Ac 27^{38}) for Rome, which St. Paul found in Myra, Ac 27^{6}; (2) an ideal voyage, founded, of course, on contemporary facts, is described in Lucian's *Navigium s. Vota.*: an Italian corn-ship, sailing from Alexandria, sighted Akamas on the seventh day, but the strength of the west wind prevented it from clearing the cape, and it had to run for the Syrian coast (Cyprus offering no harbours, but only open roadsteads); in ten days from Sidon the ship reached the Khelidonian Islands east from Myra (compare St. Paul's fifteen days, according to the Western Text, from Cæsarea to Myra), and afterwards it failed to keep the proper course in shelter south of Crete* (Ac 27^{7}), and ultimately on the seventieth day from Alexandria took refuge in the harbour of Piræus, where its great size attracted many visitors, and gave the opportunity for Lucian's Dialogue; (3) Gregory Nazianzen, sailing from Alexandria direct for Greece, ran across the Parthenic Sea (the Levant, defined by Ammianus xxii. 15, 2, as another name for the Issiac Sea), till he came near Cyprus, 'and under Cyprus cut the wave in a straight course for Hellas' (*Carmen de vita sua* 128 ff., *Orat.* xviii. 31); he set sail in November, and apparently took twenty days to Rhodes (*Carmen de rebus suis* 312).

The maritime importance of Myra continued into the Middle Ages. Tomaschek quotes from the pilgrim Sæwulf the description of it as *portus Adriatici* (*i.e.* the eastern half of the Mediterranean, compare Ac 27^{27}) *maris, sicut Constantinopolis est portus Ægæi maris.*† The town by the harbour, strictly speaking, was Andriake, while Myra was 20 stadia or 2½ miles inland; but commonly the port town is called Myra. It was a well-protected harbour; but storms in the neighbourhood are mentioned, such as that which destroyed the Arab fleets in A.D. 807 (Theophanes, p. 483, de Boor); compare others mentioned in *Acta S. Nicolai* (under Constantine), and in Lucian's *Navigium* at the Khelidonian Islands.

As Myra was at one end of an unusually long sea-course, the sailors paid and discharged their vows there to the deity that protected their course. The ancient name of this deity is not known: Tozer, in a note to Finlay's *History of Greece*, i. p. 124, suggests Poseidon. The Christians put in his place St. Nicolas, who was bishop of Myra under Constantine; and that saint became the great sailors' patron for the Levant, as St. Phocas of Sinope was for the Euxine. According to the story, Nicolas was born at Patara and buried at Myra; and the pilgrim Sæwulf touched at these two ports on his return from the Holy Land, just as St. Paul did in the Western Text of Ac 21^{1}.

See the descriptions in Benndorf *Lykia*, Spratt and Forbes, Beaufort, Fellows, Leake, Texier, etc.; Tomaschek *Historische Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter* (*Wien. Akad. Sitzungsber.* 1891); Ramsay *St. Paul the Trav.* pp. 298, 319.

W. M. RAMSAY.

MYRRH.—Two words in Heb. are rendered in AV 'myrrh.' **1.** מֹר *môr*. The LXX tr. it variously: σμύρνα (Ex 30^{23} etc.), κρόκινος (Pr 7^{17} B), στακτή (Ca 1^{13} etc.). The Arabs call it *murr*. It is a gum resin from *Balsamodendron Myrrha*, Nees, a shrubby tree, which grows in Yemen and the adjacent regions of Africa. The leaves are ternate, with obovate, obtuse leaflets, denticulate at tip, and the fruit ovate, smooth, somewhat larger than a pea. *Murr* occurs in pieces of irregular form, composed of more or less agglutinated tears, usually covered with the dust caused by their attrition. The colour varies from pale reddish-yellow to red or reddish-brown. The odour is balsamic, and the taste bitter and acrid. Myrrh is astringent, stimulant, and antiseptic. It is used in medicine as an astringent and emmenagogue, and its powder is an ingredient of many dentifrices. The tincture is used in gargles, and the powder as a stimulant to foul and indolent ulcers. It was one of the gifts of the Magi (Mt 2^{11}). It was used as a perfume (Ps 45^{8}, Pr 7^{17}, Ca 1^{13} 5^{5}), for the purification of women (Est 2^{12}), for embalming (Jn 19^{39}), and as an anodyne (Mk 15^{23}).

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* ἔδει τὴν Κρήτην δεξιὰν λαβόντας, κ.τ.λ., Lucian, *l.c.*

† The same passage is referred to in vol. ii. p. 449.

2. לֹט *lôṭ*, *στακτή*, *stacte*. This Heb. word is the same as the Arab. *lâdhan* or *ladhân*, and the Gr. *λήδανον* or *λάδανον*, Lat. *ladanum* or *labdanum*. This is a resinous exudation of various species of *Cistus* ('rock rose'), particularly *C. villosus*, L., which grows abundantly along the coast and in the mountains of Syria and Palestine. It is a low shrub, of the order *Cistinæ*, with pink, rose-like flowers, in umbel-like cymes. The leaves are elliptical to obovate-oblong, and more or less wavy. A drink like tea is made from the somewhat aromatic leaves. The exudation is sometimes collected from the beards of goats. In Cyprus men with leathern breeches go through the ladanum thickets, and the resin which adheres to their garments is scraped off and moulded into rolls. It is also collected by a kind of rake or whip, with a double row of leather thongs. It has rubefacient properties, and was formerly a constituent of warming plasters. *Lôṭ* is mentioned only twice (Gn 37^{25} AV and RV text 'myrrh,' RVm 'ladanum,' 43^{11} AV and RV 'myrrh'). *Στακτή* is mentioned in Sir 24^{15}. The Turks still value it as a perfume. G. E. POST.

MYRTLE (הֲדַס *hădaṣ*, hence הֲדַסָּה *Hădaṣṣah*, the Jewish name of Esther).—The Arabic has three words for the myrtle, *rîḥân*, *'âs*, and *hadaṣ*, the last of which is identical with the Hebrew. *Hădaṣ* occurs six times in the OT. In three of these (Neh 8^{15}, Is 41^{19} 55^{13}) the LXX has *μυρσίνη*, in the rest *ὀρέων* = 'of the hills' (Zec $1^{8. 10. 11}$, where the translators must have had the reading הֶהָרִים instead of הַהֲדַסִּים). The myrtle, *Myrtus communis*, L., is an evergreen shrub, usually from 3 to 4 ft. high. Occasionally, in moist soil, it attains a height of 8 ft. It flourishes from the sea-level to an altitude of 4000 ft. The southernmost range of Lebanon is called *Jebel Rîḥân*, from the abundance of this shrub on its flanks. It grows on bare hillsides and by watercourses in beautiful green clumps.

Being so low a shrub, it is quite improper to speak of it as forming groves. A variety is cultivated, especially in Damascus, which often reaches a height of 10 or 12 ft., but never attains the proportions of a tree. The translation 'myrtle *trees*' (Zec $1^{8. 10. 11}$) is unwarrantable, as the original has not the word *trees* עֲצֵי (const.), but simply הֲדַסִּים = 'myrtles.' The flowers are white, about an inch broad, and of a delicate, pretty structure. The berries are first white, and then turn to a bluish-black. They are sweetish-astringent in taste, and are much liked by the natives, who call them *ḥanblâs*, a corruption of *ḥab el-âs* ('the berry of the myrtle'). The leaves are lanceolate, dark green, and fragrant, especially when pressed and rubbed between the thumb and fingers. The natives use them as follows:—(*a*) The dried leaves are pounded in a mortar, sifted, and the powder mixed with oil is used to anoint the bodies of young infants, or the dry powder is dusted over the surface to toughen the skin, and prevent excoriations from the friction of the clothing. (*b*) The beds of infants are sometimes stuffed with the dried leaves, from a belief in their medicinal virtue. Both the berries and the leaves are sold in the markets, but the writer has never seen the flowers sold, nor has he heard of fragrant water being distilled from them, as alleged by some.

G. E. POST.

MYSIA (*Μυσία*) was the name customarily used for the north-western part of Asia Minor, bordering on the Hellespont and the Propontis, and bounded east and south by Bithynia, Phrygia, and Lydia. The Troad is sometimes included in it, and sometimes distinguished from it. Under the late Roman empire the name fell into disuse, and Hellespontus was substituted for it as the title of a province in the fourth and following centuries. The boundaries were vague and undeterminable; and the uncertainty led to the proverb *χωρὶς τὰ Μυσῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν*, applied to what cannot be defined. Of places mentioned in the Bible, ASSOS and TROAS were in Mysia, ADRAMYTTIUM on the border between it and Lydia. It formed part of the Roman province Asia.

Mysia is mentioned only in Ac $16^{7. 8}$. St. Paul, with Silas and Timothy, being prevented by the Spirit from preaching in Asia, turned northward with the intention of entering Bithynia, with its great, populous, and civilized cities, hardly inferior even to Ephesus; but when they came so far north as to be opposite Mysia (*κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν*: for this use of *κατά* compare Herodotus i. 76, Thucydides vi. 65 and 104, Ac 27^{7}; but see Blass on Ac $16^{7f.}$), they were ordered not to enter Bithynia; and they then turned towards the west, passing through but not preaching in Mysia, till they reached the coast at Troas.

A tradition existed that, on this journey through Mysia, Paul and Silas had founded a church at a place named Poketos, between the Rhyndacus and Cyzicus, as is mentioned in the *Acta S. Philetæri* (*Acta Sanctorum*, May 19). This is hardly consistent with Ac 16^{7}, but is not absolutely contradictory, as, though not regularly evangelizing in Mysia, it is clearly possible that Paul and Silas might convert individuals on the way either at Poketos or at Troas. But the tradition is late, for the *Acta Philetæri* profess to be only of the 4th cent., and may be later. An ancient Mysian tradition existed, assigning to a certain Onesiphorus the evangelization of part at least of Mysia: Onesiphorus was martyred at Parium under the proconsulate of Adrian, and this date is a strong proof of trustworthiness, for Adrian was actually proconsul of Asia about A.D. 109–114. It is unlikely that the recollection of so obscure an officer could have been correctly preserved except in a true old tradition: see *Expos. Times*, 1898, p. 495. W. M. RAMSAY.

MYSTERY.—The term 'mystery' opens up a wide and interesting, though somewhat obscure, field of inquiry to the Christian theologian. Much of it is, however, extra-biblical, and must therefore rather be indicated than discussed in this place. We shall consider, first, the NT use of the word *μυστήριον*; second, the chief features of the Greek mysteries; and, third, the question how far the latter influenced the language of the NT.

i. NT USE OF THE TERM *Μυστήριον*.—The meaning of this word in classical Greek was *anything hidden or secret*, especially in the plural *τὰ μυστήρια*, the sacred rites above referred to, from which all who had not passed through a ceremony of initiation were excluded. The root verb *μύω* is formed by that act of closing the lips which it primarily signifies (though it is applied also to the closing of the eyes), and appears alike in the Latin *mutus*, and our own (colloquial) 'mum.' 'Mummery' is a curiously parallel formation to the Greek 'mystery.' They find their point of contact, doubtless, in the mystery-plays of the Middle

Ages. The verb *μυέω*, most frequently met with in the passive, means to initiate into the mysteries, —*οἱ μεμυημένοι* are the initiated, cf. 3 Mac 2^{30},—and then generally to instruct. St. Paul says, Ph 4^{12} *μεμύημαι*, RV 'I have learned the secret.'

That which is hidden or secret may, it is evident, be (1) absolutely so, that is, in its own nature inaccessible or incomprehensible, or (2) completely hidden, that is, as yet unrevealed, or (3) partially or comparatively secret or obscure, due to some want of clearness in the medium of communication, as when the expression is figurative instead of being literal.

The first of these, which is emphatically the modern signification of 'mystery,' as that which *cannot* be known, is practically foreign both to classical and biblical Greek. With regard to it, Cremer (*s.v.*) quotes two remarks of the Scholiast on Aristophanes (*Ran.* 459, *Av.* 1073) bearing out this statement; and though Lightfoot on Col 1^{26} apparently finds this meaning in two passages (1 Co 15^{51}, Eph 5^{32}), of which the one seems to fall under (2) and the other under (3), he admits that the 'idea is quite accidental, and must be gathered from the special circumstances of the case, for it cannot be inferred from the word (*μυστήριον*) itself.' This is not, of course, to say that in religion, in the Christian religion itself, there are no difficulties, nothing transcendental or mysterious in the ordinary sense. On the contrary, such difficulties must ever attach to man's thoughts of the infinite and the divine, but it is not upon these elements that the attention of the biblical writers is concentrated. If they are thought of at all, it is rather as the unrevealed than the incomprehensible, the result of seeing through a glass darkly, until the time when man shall know even as also he is known. In the third of the significations noted above, *μυστήριον*, it has been remarked (Thayer-Grimm, *Lexicon*, *s.v.*), like רָזָא and סוֹד in Rabbinic writers, denotes the mystic or hidden sense, that which is conveyed in a figure, parable, or vision.

'It is plain,' says Principal Campbell (*Dissertations on the Four Gospels*, ix. pt. i.), 'that, in this case, the term *μυστήριον* is used comparatively; for, however clear the meaning intended to be conveyed in the apologue, or parable, may be to the intelligent, it is obscure, compared with the literal sense, which, to the unintelligent, proves a kind of veil. The one is, as it were, open to the senses; the other requires penetration and reflection. Perhaps there was some allusion to this import of the term when our Lord said to his disciples, "To you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God; but to them that are without, all these things are done in parables" (Mk 4^{11}). The apostles were let into the secret, and got the spiritual sense of the similitude, while the multitude amused themselves with the letter, and searched no further.'

Thus we have the 'mystery of the seven stars' (Rev 1^{20}) and the 'mystery of the woman' (Rev 17^{7}). The difficulty or obscurity is here of a subjective character, while that in the case of the second of the three senses which we have distinguished, and which is the most prominent throughout the NT, is objective. In the case of the latter, *μυστήριον* is correlative to *ἀποκάλυψις*, the *secret* to the *discovered* or *revealed*. In so far as revelation has taken place, the 'mystery' is a knowledge of that which had been secret but is so no longer; while yet unrevealed, *ἀποκάλυψις* is a possibility only which awaits the time at which it shall become actual and the hidden pass into knowledge. The latter sense is naturally most conspicuous in the passages of the Apocr. in which the word occurs, whether referring to the secret purpose or will of men (To $12^{7.11}$, Jth 2^{2}, 2 Mac 13^{21}) or of God (Wis 2^{22}), or simply to secrets in general (Sir 22^{22} $27^{16.17.21}$). In the NT the same meaning is perhaps conveyed in 1 Co 13^{2} 14^{2}, while in 1 Co 15^{51} *μυστήριον ὑμῖν λέγω* we see the mystery in the act of passing out of the one stage into the other.

The great 'mystery' of the NT is the Divine plan of salvation, hitherto hidden from the world, but now made known in Christ (cf. Ro 11^{25}, Eph 6^{19}, Col 1^{26}, 1 Ti $3^{9.16}$). In this sense the apostles and ministers of Christ become *οἰκονόμοι μυστηρίων θεοῦ* (1 Co 4^{1}; cf. Col 2^{2} 4^{3}, also [WH] 1 Co 2^{1}). It is the 'mystery of his will' (Eph 1^{9}), the 'mystery of God, even Christ' (Col 2^{2} RV), the 'mystery of Christ,' that is, respecting Christ (Col 4^{3}), the 'mystery of the gospel' (Eph 6^{19}), but everywhere it is the 'dispensation of the mystery which from all ages hath been hid in God who created all things' (Eph 3^{9}). It is noteworthy that, out of 26 (or 27) occurrences of *μυστήριον* in the NT, 10 should be within the comparatively brief compass of Eph and Col. The saving purpose of God, hitherto a mystery because unrevealed, is still such where it is not yet received, as by those destitute of *πίστις* or *εὐσέβεια* (1 Ti $3^{9.16}$), or in so far as it has not been grasped, *e.g.* in its extension so as to include the Gentiles (Eph $3^{3.4}$). Nor is the term confined to Divine secrets. 'It expresses sometimes those of a different and even contrary nature. Thus the apostle, speaking of the antichristian spirit, says, "The mystery of iniquity doth already work" (2 Th 2^{7}). The spirit of antichrist hath begun to operate; but the operation is latent and unperceived' (G. Campbell).

An interesting point, and one full of significance for the history of the Church, is the Vulg. rendering of *μυστήριον* by *sacramentum*. This is found in Dn 2^{18} 4^{6}, To 12^{7}, Wis 2^{22}, Eph 1^{9} $3^{3.9}$ 5^{32}, 1 Ti 3^{16}, Rev 1^{20}. Upon Eph 5^{32} is founded the doctrine that marriage is a sacrament. The association of ideas connecting the two words appears to be the reference to religion and the use of the symbol, whether in word or deed. Solemnity, awe-inspiring quality, marked both the mystery and the sacramental rite, whether we derive the latter from its legal or its military reference. Both came to be used in a very general and indefinite way, until the ecclesiastical signification of *sacramentum* became fixed. Their primary application, however, was obviously the reason why 'sacrament' was first used of baptism and then transferred to the Lord's Supper, while with *μυστήριον* the opposite process took place.

ii. THE GREEK MYSTERIES.—As the higher thought of Greece found expression in its philosophy, so, though all may not be true of them which the later writers report, it may be said that its deeper feelings found expression in the Mysteries. In these there was, first of all, an element of tradition; they gathered up reminiscences of nature-worship,—man's witness to his sense of dependence upon his natural environment,—and particularly those elements of it which still survived in village custom and observance. But they seem also to have fixed attention upon problems of which nature-worship offered no solution—those suggested by the enigma of death, a certain sense of sin, the thought of an offended Deity, the need of purification. It is still a question how much in the development of these institutions was of native growth, how much was derived from foreign sources, and still more what these foreign sources were. Leaving such discussions aside, and also the tempting subject of Orphism, which is 'credited with two great contributions to religion—the belief in immortality, and the idea of personal holiness' (L. Campbell), we note Lobeck's division of the multitude of rites which passed under the name of Mysteries into (1) civic mysteries, (2) fanatical rites, whether public or private, and (3) occasional functions, designed to meet individual and special needs.

Belonging to the first class, and under the patronage of the Athenian state, were maintained two forms of the worship of Demeter, the earth-mother—the *Thesmophoria* and the *Eleusinia*. The former were so called from the ancestral precepts (θεσμοί) by which the observances were strictly regulated. They constituted a festival of seed-time, lasted four days, were essentially a country rite; and those who took part in them were married women, the fruitfulness of married life being here, as elsewhere, associated with that of the soil. The most remarkable and elaborate of all the mysteries were, however, those celebrated at Eleusis, certainly in the beginning of the 6th cent. B.C., and perhaps at a much earlier period. They gathered up almost all the elements belonging to such rites which elsewhere are found separately; with the worship of Demeter they combined that of Dionysus; and some of their most profound and interesting features were probably derived from the kindred Orphic Mysteries. The Eleusinia included two annual celebrations—the Lesser Mysteries held at Agræ, a suburb of Athens, in the month Anthesterion (roughly corresponding to February), and the Greater observed at Eleusis in the month Boedromion (September). The latter, therefore, was the autumn festival, the hiding away of the seed; the former, the spring festival, celebrating its reappearance; the interval between the two being mythologically represented as the sojourn of Persephone, the daughter of Demeter, in the under-world. Every one who desired to be initiated at Eleusis had to pass through the ceremonies at Agræ, and probably a cycle of at least four stages, including two visits to each place, had to be observed. This might be spread over several years, so that it was said: παῖς μύστης καὶ ἐπόπτης ἀνήρ—it bridged over the passage from youth to manhood. The more important Mysteries (those at Eleusis) were under the control of a body of magistrates, but the active direction was taken by the ἱεροφάντης, who must be a descendant of Eumolpus, the Thracian bard, to whom the origin of the Mysteries was traditionally attributed. Candidates for initiation, having already qualified at Agræ, were called μύσται, and the leader or instructor of a group of such candidates was the μυσταγωγός. The privilege of participation, at first confined to Athenians, was afterwards extended to all, women as well as men, except slaves, Persians (the hereditary enemy, specially excluded), and infamous or criminal persons. They took an oath of secrecy, were subjected to certain ceremonial restrictions in respect of diet and behaviour, and received some sort of instruction which prepared them for the experiences which lay before them. In the ceremonies themselves, which lasted nine days, from the 15th to the 23rd of the month, 'four acts were distinguished: (*a*) κάθαρσις, the preliminary purification; (*b*) σύστασις, the rites and sacrifices which preceded and prepared the way for the actual celebration; (*c*) τελετή or μύησις, the initiation properly so called; and (*d*) ἐποπτεία, the last and highest grade of initiation' (Gardner and Jevons). Secrecy characterized only the last two stages. One of the most interesting features of the occasion was the sacred truce which was proclaimed at the beginning of the festival, and which was usually observed, though circumstances led to its abandonment during the latter portion of the Peloponnesian war. In the celebrations themselves, only two points can be absolutely fixed—the purification known as ἅλαδε μύσται ('To the sea, O *mystæ*'), which took place on the 16th of the month, and the day of Iacchus, the 20th; other features are more or less hypothetically placed (Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 207).

The probable order was as follows: On the first day, called ἀγυρμός, the assembling, the μύσται joined the group to which they were to be attached, and received the instruction already alluded to. On the second (the 16th) they went in solemn procession to the seacoast and bathed in the purifying waters. The third, fourth, and fifth days were occupied with various sacrifices, processions, and feasts. The last of these was known as 'the day of the torches,' because in the evening, just before sunset, the great procession of the *mystæ*, each group led by its δᾳδοῦχος, or torch-bearer, set out for the temple at Eleusis, where they seem to have spent the night in visiting the places associated with the wandering of Demeter in search of her daughter Persephone. This procession divides what may be termed the Athenian from the Eleusinian section of the Mysteries. The sixth day (the 20th) was specially sacred, and bore, as we have seen, the name of Iacchus, who was identified with Bacchus (Dionysus), and represented as the husband or son of Persephone, his statue being borne in the procession. The next two nights were occupied with the higher stages of the symbolical ceremony. These included a further purification, a progress through darkness unrelieved by either moonlight or torchlight, whence the *mystæ* passed into the lighted interior of the Great Hall of Initiation, where they were allowed to see and handle certain sacred objects which none but the ἐπόπται (those who had received final initiation, ἐποπτεία) ever beheld. It seems certain that there were some representations of a dramatic character illustrating the myths of the deities involved—miracle plays, as we might call them, in which the more profound lessons which those in charge meant to convey were communicated. The return to Athens was made in a jesting mood, both on the part of the *mystæ* themselves and on that of the general population, which may have been due to the reaction from the strain and solemnity of the preceding days. The ninth day was termed πλημοχόαι from certain peculiar libations with which the rite was brought to an end. Associated with these libations was one of the mystical formulas which were imparted in the course of the proceedings, were esteemed specially sacred, and throw light upon the original character of the festival. The ninth day formula was ὕε, κύε—the first a prayer for rain, the second for fertility; but the most notable of these sayings was that connected with the 'communication of the sacred things' (παράδοσις τῶν ἱερῶν)—'I have fasted: I have drunk of the potion: I have taken out of the casket, and after having tasted I have deposited in the basket: I have taken out of the basket again, and have put back into the casket.' The combination of sight and sound, of rhythmic movement, sacred association, mystic formula, and, above all, the obligation of secrecy, must have been deeply impressive, especially after being long looked forward to, and being made the object of careful preparation.

Later writers exaggerated many of the features of the Mysteries, whether as Christians they regarded them with suspicion and detestation, or in a wider interest supplemented by the help of imagination what history had left vague and obscure.

> 'High authorities,' it has been said (L. Campbell, p. 264), 'whose gravity and depth of mind cannot be disputed, bear witness with one voice to the elevating influence of the Eleusinian Mysteries. Sophocles dwells emphatically on the incomparable happiness of the initiated both in life and after death; and Plato, who had a far clearer vision both of God and immortality than any child of Eumolpus, can find no more fitting vehicle for his most transcendent thoughts than the imagery which he borrows from the contemplation of the Mysteries.'

This is not incompatible with the view that little or nothing of positive doctrine was conveyed in the Mysteries, from the symbolism of which each man was left to take what he would, according to the dictum attributed by Synesius to Aristotle—'He is of opinion that the initiated learned nothing precisely, but received impressions, and were put into a certain frame of mind.' Much has been done by excavations and the careful examination of contemporary inscriptions to throw light upon this interesting subject, but much more in this direction must be accomplished before we can claim to tread with confidence in a region the character of which rendered it peculiarly liable to be misunderstood and misrepresented.

iii. THE MYSTERIES AND THE NT.—That the writers of the NT have derived much of their language and imagery from the Greek Mysteries, and that a consideration of the different shades of meaning in which *μυστήριον* is employed in the NT indicates that they have in this reference their unifying element, has been maintained with much ability and ingenuity by A. S. Carman in a paper contributed to the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October 1893. The allusions which he recognizes in Scripture are to the following features of the Mysteries:—

> 'The word *μυστήριον* and other derivatives of the verb *μύω*; the word *τελετή*, or the allied adjective form *τέλειος* with the idea of maturity or perfection; the word *ἐποπτεία* and its derivatives with the associated idea of a personal experience of the Divine fellowship; certain specific allusions to the contrast of light and darkness with the derived ideas of *enlightenment*, *illumination*, and the like; the term *silence*; the ideas of reservation and revelation of religious truth; ideas associated with the office of hierophant, kerux, mystagogue, and the like; and certain formal uses of the expressions *touch*, *taste*, *handle*, *behold*,—associated with the mystic *paradosis*' (p. 623).

Carman refers to similar allusions in classical writers and the Church Fathers, but especially in the works of Philo Judæus, and then examines the principal passages of the NT, printing in italics the words in which allusion is supposed to be detected, as in the following example: He 6^{1-5} 'Let us *press on unto perfection*. For as touching those who were once *enlightened* and *tasted* of the heavenly gift, and were *made partakers of the Holy Ghost* and *tasted* the good word of God,' etc., where, on this assumption, reference is made to 'the perfective aim of the rites, the characteristic idea of enlightenment, the symbolic tasting, and the participation in the Divine nature' (p. 636).

The attempt thus to trace in the apostolic language direct allusion to the Mysteries is pronounced by Anrich, in his careful and scholarly treatise on the connexion of the Mysteries with Christianity, to be 'wholly unsuccessful' (p. 143 note). This writer regards the approximation of Christianity and the Mysteries, both in idea and usage, as having been introduced by the Gnostics, whose position in this respect Clement of Alexandria and Origen sought to legitimate in a modified form within the Church. For the pre-Gnostic use of *μυστήριον* and allied terms and ideas he turns with Hatch (*Essays in Biblical Greek*, pp. 57–62) to Jewish literature, especially the apocryphal books of the OT. In these 'the plans of a king or general are termed *μυστήρια*; they are his secrets, in so far that no one knows about them until he communicates them to his subordinates or puts them into operation' (Anrich, p. 144). 'This,' says Hatch, 'was a strictly Oriental conception. A king's "counsel" was his "secret," which was known only to himself and his trusted friends. It was natural to extend the conception to the secret plans of God' (p. 58). Hatch applies this conception to the explanation of the various passages in the NT, and finds it sufficient in every case except the two passages in Rev (1^{20} 17^{7}) and Eph 5^{32}, where he has recourse to the 'light which is thrown backwards on the NT by Christian writers of the 2nd cent.' (p. 59), in which light *μυστήριον* is seen to have a certain parallelism to *σύμβολον*, *τύπος*, or *παραβολή*.

It is doubtless an excellent rule to interpret NT language by reference to the LXX wherever possible; it is to adduce a known cause where others, however plausible or probable, have about them more or less of uncertainty. But may not the latter be unduly and unnecessarily ignored? If a writer under 'the constantly deepening impression produced by prolonged study of the subject that such allusions colour a large portion of those writings of the NT which had Gentile environment' is apt to push his theory too far, in accounting, for example, for the allusions in Eph and Col by the association of Ephesus with the impure rites of the predominant Diana-worship and the fact that Philippi was 'built upon the Thracian frontier, in the pathway of the original course of the Mysteries of Dionysus, and probably also of those of Demeter, as they spread throughout Greece' (Carman, p. 634; cf. Anrich, p. 144 note), may not another whose immediate object is to demonstrate the influence of the LXX underestimate indications of other influences? At least a side reference to the heathen Mysteries could scarcely be denied except upon the supposition, in itself somewhat unlikely, that the NT writers, and particularly St. Paul, were so ignorant of the Mysteries that the term had only its LXX association for their minds, or that the Mysteries had altogether failed to colour by imagery drawn from them the language of the time. The cautious words of Kennedy (*Sources of NT Greek*, p. 109) should be borne in mind: 'Several of the biblical meanings, though apparently moulded by the Greek of the OT, may have been common enough in the spoken language as found in Egypt, Asia Minor, and Syria. When it is borne in mind that there are literally almost no remains of the later spoken language except the LXX and the NT, in addition to the Comic writers, the supposition gains colour. At any rate, it shows us that we are not at liberty to make dogmatic assertions even in that sphere of the NT vocabulary where the influence of the LXX appears most powerful, the sphere of religious and theological terms.' That a writer like St. Paul, who alludes to the Greek games, the Greek theatre, the Roman camp, should have passed over a phenomenon which offered so many suggestive points of view as the Mysteries, is almost incredible. Hatch himself, in his *Hibbert Lectures*, ascribes to them great influence upon the language and institutions of the early Church. Clement of Alexandria sees and makes explicit use of the parallelism (*Protrept.* ch. xii.). Lightfoot (on Col 1^{26}) holds that there is a connexion between the language of St. Paul and the Mysteries, though he dwells on the 'intentional paradox,' that while 'the heathen mysteries were strictly confined to a narrow circle, the Christian mysteries are freely communicated to all.'

If Lightfoot were right in finding in Col traces of an incipient Gnosticism, and if, as Anrich says, the relation between the Greek Mysteries and Christianity began with Gnosticism, the special frequency of reference to the Mysteries in Col and Eph, already noted, would acquire a new significance. But it is fair to say that the present trend of opinion is to follow Hort in giving a Judaic rather than a Gnostic interpretation to the heresies referred to in these Epistles. The tendency to regard the Mysteries as ignored in the NT is possibly due in part to a disinclination to find in them any formative influence upon primitive Christian institutions. For such influence at this early stage it is not contended here; later, as Cheetham remarks (*Mysteries*, p. 74), the concern is not with words, but things. But, as he also says, 'when Mysteries were everywhere found, their terminology naturally came to be commonly employed, and to be applied to matters altogether foreign to its original usage.' The question is whether the analogy between the experiences of Christians and those who had undergone the mystic initiation was sufficiently close and striking to account for the former being expressed to some extent in terms of the latter even in the apostolic age. It must be admitted that the balance of authority on this point is somewhat doubtful; we must wait, as already remarked, for further light from inscriptions and other sources upon the usage of the time before it can be definitely decided. Meanwhile it cannot be called illegitimate, as it certainly is an enrichment of NT language, to surround such words as *μυστήριον*, *τέλειος*, *ἐπόπτης* with associations derived from so important an element of contemporary Greek life as the Mysteries.

Literature.—A great deal has been written upon this subject. Its modern treatment dates from the publication of the *Aglaophamus* of C. A. Lobeck in 1829. One of the most recent books is Canon Cheetham's Hulsean Lectures—*The Mysteries, Pagan and Christian*, in the preface to which a good account of the most important works is given. Special reference may be made here to W. M. Ramsay's article in *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed., to the chapters on the Mysteries in Gardner and Jevons' *Manual of Greek Antiquities* (1898); in Jevons' *Introduction to the History of Religion* (1896); and in Professor L. Campbell's *Religion in Greek Literature* (1898). Compare also Mommsen's *Feste der Stadt Athen in Alterthum* (1898), a revision of the same author's *Heortologie*; Anrich's *Das antike Mysterienwesen in seinem Einfluss auf das Christenthum* (1894); and Wobbermin's *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien zur Frage der Beeinflussung des Urchristenthums durch das antike Mysterienwesen* (1896). For the use of *μυστήριον* in the NT see Cremer's *Biblico-theological Lexicon*; Thayer-Grimm's *Lexicon*; Principal G. Campbell's *Dissertations on the Gospels*, ix. pt. i.; Hatch's *Essays in Biblical Greek*; and Carman's article, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. l. pp. 613-639.

A. Stewart.

N

NAAM (נַעַם).—The eponym of a Calebite family, 1 Ch 4^{15} (B *Νόομ*, A *Νάαμ*).—See Genealogy, IV. 50.

NAAMAH (נַעֲמָה 'pleasant'; *Νοεμά*).—**1.** Sister of Tubal-cain, daughter of Lamech and Zillah (Gn 4^{22}; Josephus, *Ant.* I. ii. 2). **2.** One of Solomon's Ammonitish wives, and mother of Rehoboam (1 K $14^{21.}$ [B* *Μααχάμ*, A *Νααμά*] ^{31} [Gr. 12^{24a}, B *Νααν́άν*], 2 Ch 12^{13} [*Νοομμά*]). According to the second Greek narrative, which follows 1 K 12^{24}, she was the daughter of Ana, *i.e.* Hanun, son of Nahash, king of the Ammonites (2 S 10^{1-4}, where, however, B reads *Ἀννών*). If Rehoboam were forty-one at his accession (1 K 14^{21}), and not sixteen as in the second Greek account, Naamah must have been married to Solomon before the death of David.

N. J. D. White.

NAAMAH (נַעֲמָה; *Νωμάν*; Luc. *Νομά*; Vulg. *Neema*).—A town of Judah in the lowland or Shephēlah, named in conjunction with Gederoth, Beth-dagon, and Maḳḳedah, and forming one of a group of sixteen (Jos 15^{37-41}). There is no notice of it elsewhere. Zophar the **Naamathite** (הַנַּעֲמָתִי) is mentioned in Job (2^{11} etc.), but there is nothing to connect him with this town.

It is proposed to identify Naamah with *Nâ'neh* (*SWP* ii. 408); Gederoth, Beth-dagon, and Maḳḳedah being respectively identified as *Katrah*, *Dejûn*, and *el-Mughâr* ('the caves'), villages on the northern border of Judah near Ekron and Jabneel. Nâ'neh is a small mud village on low ground 6 miles south of *Ludd* (Lydda).

C. Warren.

NAAMAN (נַעֲמָן; BA *Ναιμάν*; Luc. *Νεεμάν*; NT *Νεεμάν* (TR), *Ναιμάν* (WH) = 'pleasantness,' perhaps the name of the god Adonis [Lagarde, *Sem.* i. 32], cf. נִטְעֵי נַעֲמָנִים 'plantings of Adonis,' RVm of Is 17^{10}, where see Dillmann-Kittel's note).*—**1.** A Syrian warrior known to us only through the remarkable cure of his leprosy by the prophet Elisha, recorded in 2 K 5, and referred to by our Lord as a rebuke to Jewish exclusiveness, and an illustration of the anomalous manifestations of divine mercy (Lk 4^{27}). According to the Midrash, Naaman was the man who at the battle of Ramoth-gilead 'drew his bow at a venture' (1 K 22^{34}), and inflicted on Ahab his fatal wound—a tradition apparently accepted by Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. xv. 5), who describes the archer in question as *παῖς δέ τις βασιλικὸς τοῦ Ἀδάδου, Ἀμανὸς ὄνομα.* But this identification may have been a mere conjecture, due to the statement in 2 K 5^{1} that 'by Naaman J″ had given deliverance (תְּשׁוּעָה) unto Syria,'—an expression which may naturally be held to refer to the battle of Ramoth-gilead, since the issue of that engagement is expressly attributed in 1 K $22^{30ff.}$ to the counsel of J″ (although G. Rawlinson [in *Speaker's Comm.*] would rather connect it with Syrian successes against Shalmaneser II. [*Anc. Mon.* ii. 344, 361]), on the general principle recognized (nearly a century later) in Am 9^{7}.

With regard to the date of Naaman's visit to Israel as a suppliant for 'deliverance' of another sort, the sequence of the narrative would lead us to suppose that Ben-Hadad was king of Syria at the time; but no indication is given of the interval that had elapsed since Ahab's death, to enable us to determine who was king of Israel. Ewald (*HI* 4) prefers the reign of Jehoahaz, and Schenkel (*Bib.-Lex.*) that of Jehu. But the general view that Jehoram was king seems more probable, in view of the recent Syrian raids (2 K 5^{2}), the precarious friendship between the two kings (vv.$^{5-7}$), and the prevalence of paganism and unbelief (v.^{26b}, cf. vv.$^{7f.}$).

The miraculous character of Naaman's cure exposes it in some degree to the objections taken to Elisha's life as too 'thaumaturgic.' Nöldeke (Schenkel's *Bib.-Lex.*) comments on the absence of antecedent faith on the part of the sufferer, and sees no sign of spirituality in his conversion; but it is only the outstanding features of the incident that have been preserved to us, and on the whole the miracle must be acknowledged to be one of the most dignified in the life of Elisha. Even assuming that there was an ancient Semitic belief in the efficacy of running waters as a cure for leprosy, we find something analogous to this in the miracles of the NT (Jn 9^{6}, Mk 8^{23}). The narrative is 'thoroughly in keeping with the state of things in the time of Elisha' (Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* ii. 279). Its portrayal of Naaman's character is natural and lifelike. It does not conceal his pride and irritation at the slight offered to himself (2 K 5^{11}) and to his country (v.^{12} Damascus being famous for its noble streams), which was designed doubtless to induce a more humble and reverent spirit in his approach to the God of Israel (cf. vv.$^{5.6.9}$). Yet on the whole it depicts a manly and attractive character, which won for him the sympathy of the little Jewish maid who was the first to suggest his cure at the hands of Elisha, the warm friendship of his sovereign, who spared no expense (the gold and silver sent with Naaman are generally estimated at upwards of £10,000) and lost no time in seeking to obtain the remedy, and the affectionate devotion of his servants, who were anxious for his welfare and knew how to appeal to his better judgment. One of the most striking features of his character is his sense of gratitude (cf. the healing of the ten lepers in Lk 17$^{11-19}$), which led him to retrace his steps from the Jordan to Samaria, a distance of nearly 30 miles, to thank and reward his benefactor, and to devote himself henceforth to the worship of the God of Israel, which he does with a strength and decision of faith that has scarcely any parallel in the language of Gentile converts in the OT. This was a fulfilment of the hope expressed by Elisha (2 K 5^{8}), and justified the lofty attitude which he had assumed towards Naaman when he communicated with him only by messenger, bidding him wash seven times in the Jordan, showing, by this abstention from personal intercourse as well as by his refusal of the gifts customary at heathen oracles (Herod. i. 14. 50) and not forbidden to the prophets of J″ (1 S 9$^{6-9}$, 1 K 14$^{2f.}$, 2 K 4^{42}; ct. Mt 10^{8}, Ac 8^{20}), how little he had in common with the artful and obsequious sorcerers familiar to Naaman and his master (2 K 5$^{6.\,11}$).

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* Compare further the name נָעֳמִי (Naomi) in the Book of Ruth.

There are two points in which Naaman's conduct has given rise to controversy, viz. (1) his request for two mules' burden of earth to carry away with him for the purpose of offering sacrifice to J″; and (2) the desire to be forgiven when he attended his royal master as heretofore in the temple of Rimmon and bowed down with him. With regard to the first, Naaman simply shared the universal belief of those days, that the god of each land could be served only on his own soil; cf. the complaint of David (1 S 26^{19}) that he was being driven out to serve other gods. Further, the transportation of earth from the Holy Land in the Middle Ages for the Campo Santos of Italy; the erection of a Jewish synagogue (to which Calmet refers in *Comm. Lit.* vol. ii.) at Nahardea in Persia, composed entirely of stones and earth brought from Palestine; and even the preference shown for water from the Jordan in Christian baptism, are instances of a similar feeling in later times. As to the latter point, when we bear in mind that the obeisance in the house of Rimmon, on the part of Naaman (which he wished to be condoned), was purely external, arising out of his official position and his personal relation to the king ('he leaneth on my hand,' cf. 2 K 7$^{2.\,17}$), we see that it does not really imply any attempt to dissemble his convictions, and that his appeal to Elisha may be more reasonably attributed to a sensitive conscience than to a spirit of compromise. There is therefore no warrant for drawing a parallel between Naaman and those who from worldly motives profess a faith and conform to a worship in which they do not believe—a view which has led to much irrelevant discussion. See, further, art. ELISHA in vol. i. p. 695^{a}.

In many respects the story lends itself with singular aptitude to the illustration of evangelical and sacramental doctrine; and the passage has been frequently so employed in homiletical literature.

2. According to Gn 46$^{21.\,26}$ (cf. Nu 26^{41}), one of 'the sons of Benjamin' who came with Jacob into Egypt, but more precisely designated in Nu 26$^{38.\,40}$ and 1 Ch 8$^{3f.}$, cf. ^{7}, as a son of Bela and grandson of Benjamin, and as head of 'the family of the **Naamites**' (Nu 26^{40}, where נַעֲמִי is probably a textual error for נַעֲמָנִי; so Sam., cf. LXX Νοεμανεί). See NAAMITE. J. A. M'CLYMONT.

NAAMATHITE (נַעֲמָתִי, ὁ Μ(ε)ιναίων βασιλεύς, ὁ Μ(ε)ιναῖος).—The description of Zophar, Job's friend, in Job 2^{11}, 11^{1} etc. The name is unknown elsewhere, the rendering of the LXX being hypothetical only. The name Na'amah ('pleasant-town'?) is not infrequent in Syria and Palestine of later days. It indicates a town in the Shephēlah in Jos 15^{41}. W. T. DAVISON.

NAAMITE (הַנַּעֲמִי).—The patronymic of a family descended from Naaman, who is represented Nu 26^{40} as a grandson of Benjamin, but in Gn 46^{21} as son, though the LXX agrees with Nu (see NAAMAN, No. 2).

NAARAH (נַעֲרָה 'girl').—**1.** One of the wives of Ashhur the 'father' of Tekoa, 1 Ch 4$^{5f.}$ (B Θοοδά, A Νοορά, Luc. Νοερά). **2.** A town belonging to the tribe of Ephraim, Jos 16^{7} (נַעֲרָתָה, with ה *locale*; B αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῶν as if for וּבְנֹתֶיהָ, A Ναραθά, Luc. Ἀναιραθά). AV has **Naarath** (so also Dillm. and Buhl). The same place is called in 1 Ch 7^{28} **Naaran** (נַעֲרָן; B Νααρνάν, A Νααράν). According to the *Onomasticon* (Lagarde, 283. 142), there was a village Νοοράθ 5 Roman miles from Jericho (cf. the Νεαρά of Jos. *Ant.* XVII. iii. 1). This would suit well the ruin *el-'Auje* situated on the river of the same name. Guérin places the site farther up the river at *es-Sâmie*.

LITERATURE.—Guérin, *Samarie*, i. 210 ff., 226 f.; *PEF Mem.* ii. 392; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 163; Buhl, *GAP* 181; Dillm., *Jos. ad loc.* J. A. SELBIE.

NAARAI (נַעֲרַי; B Νααραί, A Νοορά).—One of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{37}, described as the son of Ezbai. In the parallel passage, 2 S 23^{35}, the name is **Paarai,** who is called 'the Arbite' (הָאַרְבִּי). It is impossible to decide with any confidence between the rival readings נַעֲרַי and פַּעֲרַי, or to say what is the relation of בֶּן־אֶזְבָּי to הָאַרְבִּי. See ARBITE, EZBAI, PAARAI, and cf. Kittel's note on 1 Ch 11^{37} in *SBOT*.

NAARAN, NAARATH.—See NAARAH, No. 2.

NAATHUS (A Νααθός, B Λάθος), 1 Es 9^{31}.—One of the sons of Addi. The name seems to correspond to Adna in Ezr 10^{30}. The form in B is due to confusion of Α and Λ, and to attaching the initial N to the preceding word (Ἀδδεῖν).

NABAL (נָבָל, Ναβάλ).—S. of Hebron lies one of the few fertile stretches of Judæa, where the soil, less stony than usual, succeeds in covering the limestone skeleton of the country (cf. G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geogr.* p. 305 f.). In this district, which was settled by the clan Caleb, were clustered Maon, Ziph, and Carmel, on the last of which Nabal lived as a sheepmaster. So it can be understood why, according to Jos. (*Ant.* VI. xiii. 6), he was a Ziphite, according to 1 S 25^{5} (LXX) a Carmelite, according to v.^{3} a Calebite. His shepherds drove the flocks (3000 sheep and 1000 goats), at the suitable season, to pasture on the uplands of Carmel. Annually the sheep-shearing was celebrated with a feast 'like the feast of a king,' v.^{36}. The farmer was of considerable wealth, but of a surly and niggardly temper.

In the desert adjoining this district, David, seeking refuge from Saul, arrived. Living in the wilderness of Maon (so read with LXX for Paran, v.^{1}), he and his men subsisted by levying blackmail from the sheepmasters of the richer plateau above them. From these they exacted a certain tribute in return for their services in protecting the grazing flocks against the wandering Bedawin of the desert. Accordingly, at one of the shearing-feasts 10 men appeared from David's camp to require this tribute. But Nabal was 'flown with insolence and wine,' and sent back an insulting taunt about the increase of masterless men in the district. His servants, knowing their master's intractable character too well to interfere directly, appealed to his wife, who had woman's wit enough to see and instantly to set about averting the danger. Abigail, having loaded several asses with (probably) something more than the expected tribute, set off to seek David. She met him already on the way to execute signal vengeance. Her subtle flattery (which suggested that one so 'senseless' [*nābāl*, see Driver, *Par. Psalt.* 457] was not worth his anger), her gifts, perhaps herself, softened the leader, and he returned to his camp gratefully acknowledging that she had saved him from a crime. In the morning the shock of discovering what peril he had run, following on his over-night debauch, frightened Nabal into some kind of fit, from which after a few days he died. Thereupon Abigail became wife to David.

A. C. WELCH.

NABARIAS (B *Ναβαρειας*, A *-ρι-*), 1 Es 9^{44}, appears to correspond to Hashbaddanah in Neh 8^{4} (נבריה for השברנה).

NABATHÆANS (*οἱ Ναβαταῖοι*, 1 Mac 5^{25} 9^{35}).—See NEBAIOTH.

NABOTH (נָבוֹת, *Ναβουθαί*).—A native of Jezreel, who in the time of Ahab owned land near that town. At that period Jezreel was the residence of the kings of Israel (1 K $18^{45f.}$, 2 K 8^{29}), having probably risen into importance through Ahab's policy of allying himself with Phœnicia. Naboth's land, which he cultivated as a vineyard, lay close to the royal palace (1 K 21^{1}, Heb.) or threshing-floor (*ib.* LXX). The statements are compatible, since the palace at Jezreel was near the city wall (2 K 9^{30}). On this piece of ground Ahab cast covetous eyes, since it lay convenient to his own property. Accordingly, he approached Naboth with the offer either to purchase his vineyard or to exchange it for ground of similar value. But, whether he was attached by sentimental ties to his family property, or whether he was governed by an unwritten custom that land should descend in the same tribe and house (cf. Nu 36), Naboth declined the proposal (1 K 21^{3}). Ahab, himself a Hebrew who understood his people's temper, was about to desist, however unwillingly (v.^{4}); but Jezebel, a foreigner with Phœnician ideas of royal authority, overruled him to grasp with the strong hand. She used his authority to have Naboth falsely accused of speaking evil of God and the king, and stoned to death by the local authorities (v.$^{5ff.}$). The deed made a lasting impression upon the popular mind. Elijah pronounced doom upon the tyrant (v.$^{20ff.}$); and the deaths of Joram and Jezebel, which took place at the hands of Jehu near this very spot, were regarded as Divine retribution upon the guilty house (2 K $9^{25f. 36f.}$). In 1 K 22^{38} (R) and by Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. xv. 6) it is even stated that, when Ahab's body was brought home from Ramoth-gilead, his blood was washed from the chariot by the pool of Jezreel.

This incident has many points of interest. It gives a tantalizingly inadequate glimpse into the existence of local tribunals in Israel at that period. It serves to prove the power of local customs, which none but the strongest kings dared override (contrast Josiah's conduct, 2 K 23). It shows how the opposition against Ahab's house arose from social as well as religious feelings, and that prophets like Elijah were influenced by such feelings. It gives, too, one of the sources from which sprang such condemnations of the kingdom as 1 S $8^{10ff.}$

LITERATURE.—Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* ii. 269; W. R. Smith, *Proph. of Isr.* 77, 87; Cornill, *Isr. Prophetismus*, 32 f.; Wellhausen, *Comp. d. Hex.* 287.

A. C. WELCH.

NABUCHODONOSOR (*Ναβουχοδονοσόρ*).—The Gr. form of the name Nebuchadrezzar (which see). This form is retained by RV in the following passages in the Apocrypha: 1 Es $1^{40ff.}$, Ad. Est 11^{4}, Bar $1^{9ff.}$. In To 14^{15} and throughout the Bk. of Jth the name is given as Nebuchadnezzar.

NACON.—The threshing-floor of Nacon (גֹּרֶן נָכוֹן; B *ἅλω Νωδάβ*; B^{b} *ἁλῶν* (*sic*) *Ὠδάβ*; A *ἁλωμένος Ναχών*; Vulg. *area Nachon*) is mentioned as the place where Uzzah the priest was slain for laying hold of the ark, when it was being brought from Ḳiriath-jearim to the 'city of David': owing to this mishap, the spot was re-named **Perez-uzzah** by David (2 S 6^{6}). Klostermann, however, comparing the use of the word *Nacon* (אֶל־נָכוֹן RVm^{2} 'to a set place') in 1 S 23^{23}, treats it as an appellative, and renders 'to a fixed threshing-floor'; but this is very improbable. On the analogy of other place-names (see Wellh. and Driver on 2 S 6^{6}), the second word should be a proper name; possibly, the parallel passage (1 Ch 13^{9}) has preserved the more original form, viz. CHIDON (כִּידֹן [גֹּרֶן]; B *τῆς ἅλωνος*; A adds *Χειλών*). See CHIDON.

J. F. STENNING.

NADAB (נָדָב).—**1.** (*Ναδάβ*) the eldest son of Aaron (Ex 6^{23}, Nu 3^{2} 26^{60} [all P], 1 Ch 6^{3} $^{[\text{Heb. } 5^{29}]}$ 24^{1}). Along with his father, his brother Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel, he accompanied Moses to Sinai, and 'saw the God of Israel' (Ex $24^{1. 9f.}$ [probably J]); was admitted, along with his three brothers, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar, and their father Aaron, to the priestly office (Ex 28^{1} [P]); and on the very day of his consecration (Lv $10^{12ff.}$ compared with ch. 9) he and Abihu perished (Lv $10^{1. 2}$, Nu 3^{4} 26^{61} [all P], 1 Ch 24^{2}) for offering 'strange fire' (אֵשׁ זָרָה, LXX *πῦρ ἀλλότριον*), *i.e.* strange to the requirements of the law. Wherein the transgression of Nadab and Abihu is supposed to have consisted is not clear. It is often suggested that 'strange' fire means fire taken from a common source instead of from the altar (cf. Lv 16^{12}, Nu 17^{11} $^{[\text{Eng. } 16^{46}]}$), but, as Dillm. remarks, in that case we should expect in Lv 10^{1} not וַיַּקְרִיבוּ אֵשׁ זָרָה but וַיִּתְּנוּ בָהֵן אֵשׁ ז׳. Perhaps אֵשׁ should be taken in the sense of אִשֶּׁה 'an offering made by fire,' in which case the offence may have lain in presenting an *unauthorized* (cf. אֲשֶׁר לֹא צִוָּה אֹתָם, 'which he commanded them not,' v.^{1}) offering. It is possible at the same time, but not certain (see Dillm.), that the writer may have had in view the prescriptions of Ex $30^{7ff. 34ff.}$ regarding the offering of incense. In v.$^{6f.}$ (which, however, probably belong to a later stratum of P) Aaron and his surviving sons are forbidden to mourn for the victims of the Divine judgment. There is not the slightest warrant for the idea (found in the Midrash and in Aphraates, *Hom.* 14, and repeated even in modern times) that the prohibition (v.$^{8f.}$) against the use of wine or strong drink by priests on duty implies that Nadab and Abihu were intoxicated when they committed their fatal offence. Any superficial plausibility which this notion might derive from the context is entirely taken away by the circumstance that v.$^{8f.}$ are really a fragment, having no connexion with either v.$^{6f.}$ or v.^{5}.

2. A Jerahmeelite family name, 1 Ch $2^{28. 30}$ (*Ναδάβ*). **3.** A Gibeonite family name, 1 Ch 8^{30} (B *Ἀδάδ*, A *Ναδάβ*) = 9^{36} (BA *Ναδάβ*).

4. A king of Israel, son of Jeroboam, 1 K 14^{20} (A *Ναβάτ*; the passage is wanting in B). He reigned for two years (*c.* 915–914 B.C.), 15^{25}. While engaged in besieging Gibbethon, which was then in the possession of the Philistines, he was assassinated by Baasha, who seized the throne and extirpated the dynasty of Jeroboam, v.$^{27ff.}$. In vv.$^{25.27}$ B has Ναβάθ, in v.^{31} Ναβάτ, while A has in all these passages Ναδάβ. J. A. SELBIE.

NADABATH (A Ναδαβάθ).—An unidentified town (?), east of the Jordan, in the neighbourhood of which a wedding party of the sons of Jambri was attacked, and many of them slain, by Jonathan and Simon the Maccabees, 1 Mac 9$^{37ff.}$. Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. i. 4) gives the name as Γαβαθά (cf. ℵ Γαβαδάν); Syr. has *Nabath*; Vulg. *Madaba* (*i.e.* Medeba), as in preceding verse.

NAGGAI (Ναγγαί, AV Nagge).—An ancestor of Jesus, Lk 3^{25}. It is the Greek form of the Heb. name נֹגַהּ **Nogah** (which see).

NAHALAL (נַהֲלָל, in Jg 1^{30} נַהֲלֹל **Nahalol**).—A town of Zebulun (Jos 19^{15}), given to the Levites 21^{35}. Its inhabitants were not expelled by the Zebulunites, but were made tributary, Jg 1^{30}. In all these three passages the LXX readings are corrupt (Jos 19^{15} [where AV has incorrectly **Nahallal**]: B Βαιθμάν, A Νααλώλ; Jos 21^{35}: B Σελλά, A Δαμνά; Jg 1^{30}: B Δωμανά, A Ἐναμμάν). The place seems to have been unknown in the 4th cent. A.D. A suitable site is *'Ain Mâhil*, north of Nazareth, on the hill which formed the limit of Zebulun to the east, above the plateau of Tabor belonging to Naphtali. Another site which has been advocated (*e.g.* by Schwarz, Knobel, van de Velde), is *Ma'lûl*, a village west of Nazareth, and on the south border of Zebulun. The towns of Zebulun are so little known that either site becomes possible. The substitution of *M* for *N* is not uncommon.

LITERATURE.—*SWP* vol. i. sheets v. vi.; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 387 f.; Dillm. on Jos 19^{30}; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 189.

C. R. CONDER.

NAHALIEL (נַחֲלִיאֵל 'torrent-valley of God'; B Μανα(να)ήλ [the letters in brackets are inserted above the line], A Νααλιήλ; the word is imperfect in F; Luc. Ναχαιήλ; Vulg. *Nahaliel*).—A station in the journey from the Arnon to Jericho (Nu 21^{19} [JE] only), either *Wādy Waleh*, a N.E. tributary of the Arnon (see Bliss's map in *PEFSt*, 1895, p. 204, and cf. p. 215), or the *Wādy Zerḳa Ma'in*, farther north, which runs into the Dead Sea (see G. A. Smith, *HGHL* p. 561 f.). The name does not occur in the itinerary of Nu 33.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

NAHALLAL, NAHALOL.—See NAHALAL.

NAHAM (נַחַם).—The father of Keilah the Garmite, 1 Ch 4^{19} (B Ναχέθ, A Ναχέμ, Luc. Ναούμ).

NAHAMANI (נַחֲמָנִי).—One of the twelve heads of the Jewish community, Neh 7^{7} (B Ναεμανεί, A Ναεμανί, Luc. Ναιμανί), omitted in the parallel passage Ezr 2^{2}. In 1 Es 5^{8} he is called **Eneneus** (RVm Enenis; B Ἔνηνις, A Ἐννήνιος, Luc. Νεμανί).

NAHARAI (נַחְרַי; Γελωρέ; *Naaraï*).—The armour-bearer of Joab, a native of Beeroth (2 S 23^{37}). In the parallel list (1 Ch 11^{39}) the name is written **Nahari** (נַחֲרִי; B Ναχώρ; A Νααραί; AV, RV Naharai), the form given by the AV at 2 S 23^{37}.

NAHASH (נָחָשׁ 'serpent,' Ναάς).—It is probable that all the passages in which this name is found refer to the same individual. He was king of the Ammonites at or before the beginning of Saul's reign, and did not die until David had been some years established at Jerusalem (2 S 10^{1}, 1 Ch 19^{1}). Such a length of reign is quite possible even if we accept the tradition that Saul reigned forty years (Jos. *Ant.* VI. xiv. 9, Ac 13^{21}), but there are many indications that this estimate is excessive. It was 'about a month after' Saul's election by lot at Mizpah (1 S 10^{27} LXX, reading כְּמַחֹדֶשׁ for כְּמַחֲרִישׁ, so Jos. *Ant.* VI. v. 1) that Nahash made that attack on Jabesh-gilead which called forth all Saul's latent capacities as a leader, and thus vindicated to all Israel the choice of the Lord. The later narrative, on the other hand, implies (1 S 12^{12}) that the attack of Nahash had been the immediate cause of the people's demand for a king. This discrepancy may be solved, of course, by supposing that Samuel refers to Nahash as having been a standing menace to Israel, and that the invasion of 1 S 11^{1} had been preceded by many similar incursions. Josephus (*Ant.* VI. v. 1) takes this view, and says that Nahash was in the habit of putting out the right eyes of all Israelites beyond Jordan that came into his power, 'that when their left eyes were covered by their shields they might be wholly useless in war.' The same writer asserts (*Ant.* VI. v. 3) that Nahash was slain on this occasion; but that is merely his inference from the completeness of the Ammonite defeat. We are not told anything more about Nahash until the notice of his death (2 S 10$^{1.2}$), where we learn that he had 'shown kindness to David in time past,' probably after he left Achish (1 S 21^{15}), and because they were both Saul's enemies (so Jerome, *Qu. Heb.*, *in loc.*, and 1 Ch 19^{2}). Again, when David was at Mahanaim, 'Shobi the son of Nahash of Rabbah of the children of Ammon' was one of those who befriended him (2 S 17^{27}). There seems no reason why we should suppose with Ewald (*HI* iii. 185) that this Nahash was only a member of the royal house, and not the king himself. These two notices seem to indicate some special connexion of Nahash with David, and lend some confirmation to Stanley's theory that the mother of David and his brothers had been originally wife of Nahash the king, and mother of Abigail and Zeruiah (2 S 17^{25});* see JESSE. It is fair to add that Wellh. (*Text d. BB Sam.* p. 201), followed by Gray (*Heb. Prop. Names*, 91), regards בַּת נָחָשׁ as a textual error introduced from בֶּן־נָחָשׁ of v.^{27}, which itself he thinks probably stood originally in the margin. Budde (*SBOT*, *ad loc.*) is inclined to think that Wellh. may be correct, although he himself emends נָחָשׁ to יִשַׁי (Jesse), which agrees with the facts (cf. 1 Ch 2^{16}) and is supported by Luc. Ἰεσσαί. N. J. D. WHITE.

NAHATH (נַחַת).—**1.** A 'duke' of Edom, Gn 36$^{13.}$ (A Νάχομ, D^{sil} E Νάχοθ) ^{17} (A *D* Νάχοθ, E Νάχωρ) = 1 Ch 1^{37} (B Νάχες, A Νάχεθ). The clan of which he is the eponymous head has not been traced. **2.** A Kohathite Levite, 1 Ch 6$^{26\,[\text{Heb. }11]}$ (BA Καῖναθ, Luc. Νάαθ), called in v.^{34} **Toah**, and in 1 S 1^{1} **Tohu.** Kittel (on 1 Ch 6^{26} in *SBOT*) holds this last to be most probably the original form of the name (so also Driver, *Text of Sam.* p. 3). As Kittel points out, תֹּחוּ might readily be corrupted into either תּוֹחַ or תַּחַת, and the latter again into נַחַת. **3.** A Levite in the time of Hezekiah, who was one of the overseers, under Conaniah and Shimei, in charge of the oblations and tithes and dedicated things, 2 Ch 31^{13} (B Μάεθ, A Νάεθ). J. A. SELBIE.

NAHBI (נַחְבִּי, B Ναβεί, A Ναβά).—The name of one of the twelve men sent by Moses to spy out the land, Nu 13^{14}. He was the representative of the tribe of Naphtali.

NAHOR (נָחוֹר; LXX and NT Ναχωρ: in AV Jos 24^{2}, Lk 3^{34}, **Nachor**).—**1.** The grandfather of Abraham, son of Serug, and father of Teraḥ (Gn 11$^{22-25}$

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* Another explanation makes of Nahash a female name, supposing her to be the *mother* of Abigail.

P, 1 Ch 1^{26}, Lk 3^{34}). **2.** Grandson of the preceding; son of Teraḥ, and brother of Abraham and Haran (Gn $11^{26.\ 27}$ P; cf. Jos 24^{2}). In Gn 11^{29} (J) he is said to have married Milcah, the daughter of his brother Haran; and in 22^{20-24} (J) twelve sons of Naḥor are enumerated, viz. eight by Milcah: Huz,—*i.e.* ʿUz, RV Uz, the people of Job's fatherland,—Buz (the tribe of Elihu, Job 32^{2}), Ḳemuel (the father of Aram), Chesed, Ḥăzo, Pildash, Jidlaph, and Bethuel (father of Laban and Rebekah; cf. Gn $24^{15.\ 24.\ 47}$ 29^{5}); and four by a concubine Re'umah: Ṭebaḥ, Gaḥam, Taḥash, and Maʿacah. In 24^{10} (J) the city in Aram-naharaim to which Abraham's servant goes to find a wife for Isaac, *i.e.* (27^{43} 29^{4}) Ḥaran, is called the 'city of Naḥor'; and in 31^{53} (JE) Laban, in concluding the covenant with Jacob, on the borders of Gilead, appeals to 'the God of Abraham, and the God of Naḥor,'—the God, that is, or rather, perhaps, the gods,* of their respective ancestors,—to judge between them. These are all the passages in which Naḥor is mentioned. His 'sons' are certainly in several cases (see BUZ, ʿUZ, ARAM, ḤAZO, ṬEBAḤ, MAʿACAH, CHESED),† and probably in most, not individuals, but *tribes* (cf. ISHMAEL, vol. ii. p. 503^{b}, 504^{a}; JACOB, p. 533^{b}–534^{a}): he is thus the unit from which were derived by the Hebrew genealogists a group of Aramæan tribes, resident on the E. or N.E. of Canaan, just as other groups of tribes were derived from Ishmael (Gn 25^{12-16}), or from Abraham's concubine Ḳeṭurah (25^{1-4}). Whether or not Naḥor was an historical individual, must remain an open question: his relationship to Abraham, whether real or assumed, served in either case as a measure of the degree of relationship which was held to subsist between the tribes referred to him and the descendants of Abraham (cf. above, *ll.cc.*). If the name be not that of an individual, it will naturally be that of a lost tribe, resident once about Ḥaran in Mesopotamia, of which the 'sons' of Naḥor were regarded as offshoots, and recollections of which were preserved by the Hebrews (cf. Ewald, *Hist.* i. 310 f., 268 f.): in this case, the marriage of Naḥor with his niece Milcah will represent the amalgamation of two kindred tribes (Dillm. on Gn 11^{29}, who compares 16^{1} 21^{1} $36^{2\text{ff.}}$). As contrasted with Abraham, the ancestor of the Israelites (and Edomites), Naḥor appears as the ancestor of a group of *Aramæan* tribes,‡ the most prominent members of which (on account of their connexion with Isaac and Jacob) are LABAN and Rebekah. The contrast between the two parallel branches appears plainly in Gn 31^{53} (quoted above), and Jos 24^{2} 'Your fathers dwelt of old time beyond the River, even Teraḥ, *the father of Abraham*, and *the father of Naḥor*: and they served other gods.' The allusion in the last cited passage is to the common home of the ancestors of the Abrahamidæ and Naḥoridæ, 'beyond' the Euphrates, *i.e.* in Aram-naharaim, or 'Mesopotamia,' between the Euphrates in the upper part of its course, and the Ḥabor (now the *Khabour*), in which was the ancient and important 'city of Nahor' (see above), the site of which is well known (see HARAN). There seems, it may be added, to be much probability in Dillmann's view (on Gn $11^{28.\ 31}$ 12^{1}; cf. $24^{4.\ 7}$) that, according to J, Ḥaran was the native and not merely the adopted home of Naḥor and Abraham (cf. above, vol. i. p. 15^{a}).

S. R. DRIVER.

NAHSHON (נַחְשׁוֹן [meaning doubtful] LXX and NT Ναασ(σ)ών), brother-in-law of Aaron, Ex 6^{23} P, descendant in the 5th generation from Judah, 1 Ch $2^{9\text{f.}}$, and prince of the tribe of Judah, Nu 1^{7} 2^{3} $7^{12.\ 17}$ 10^{14} P, is mentioned as one of the ancestors of David, Ru 4^{20}, 1 Ch $2^{10\text{f.}}$, and of Christ, Mt 1^{4}, Lk 3^{32}.

NAHUM.—

i. Name and Place in the Canon.
ii. The Prophet's birthplace.
iii. Contents of the Book of Nahum.
iv. Integrity and Authenticity of the Book.
v. Occasion and date of chs. 2 and 3.
vi. General characteristics of chs. 2 and 3.
Literature.

i. NAME AND PLACE IN CANON.—The Book of Nahum occupies the seventh place in the list of the so-called 'Minor Prophets' in the second division of the OT Canon. Its twofold title (Nah 1^{1}) at once indicates the subject-matter of the book, 'the oracle* of (concerning) Nineveh (RVm),' and furnishes us with the sum of our knowledge regarding its author, 'the book of the vision of Nahum the Elkoshite.' In our canonical Scriptures Nahum is not elsewhere mentioned; in extra-canonical Jewish writings he is referred to in 2 Es 1^{40} and by Josephus, who gives (*Ant.* IX. xi. 3, Niese, § 239 ff.) a free rendering of Nah 2^{8-13}, and assigns to him an impossible date (see below).

Several persons bearing the name Nahum are known to later Jewish history—among them an ancestor of Joseph of Nazareth (Lk 3^{25}), and a well-known teacher of the 2nd cent., 'Nahum the Mede' (for whom see Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, i. p. 359), more than once cited in the Mishna (*Shabb.* ii. 1, etc.). Another Nahum is there described as a scribe or copyist (הַלְבְלָר=*libellarius*, *Peah*, ii. 6). Traces of still another have been discovered by Clermont-Ganneau ('Épigraphes heb. . . . sur des ossuaires juifs,' in *Rev. Archéol.* Ser. III. t. i. No. 41). The name appears, also, to have been not uncommon among the Phœnicians (see Bœckh, *CIG* ii. 25, 26; *CIS* i. No. $123^{a3.\ b3}$).

Nahum (נַחוּם *naḥḥûm*—in some codices and editions less correctly נָחוּם *nāḥûm*—LXX and NT Ναούμ, in Josephus and *CIG* (above) inflected Ναοῦμος, -μου, Vulg. *Nahum*) signifies primarily 'full of consolation *or* comfort,'† then, perhaps, 'comforter, consoler' (Jerome, *consolator*), and is probably contracted from the fuller form נְחֶמְיָה 'J″ is full of consolation' (cf. נְחֶמְיָה *Nehemiah*, and the later Jewish name נחמיהו, Clermont-Ganneau, *Sceaux et cachets israélites*, No. 42 [1883]).

ii. THE PROPHET'S BIRTHPLACE.—Of the personality of the prophet, as has been said, nothing whatever is known‡ beyond the description of him in the title of his book as the **Elkoshite** (הָאֶלְקֹשִׁי, LXX Ἐλκεσαῖος, Vulg. *Elcesæus*), that is, in all probability, as a native of Elḳôsh.§ The OT, unfortunately, gives no clue to the situation of Elḳôsh. Four sites have been proposed at various times and with varying degrees of probability. (1) As a product of mediæval fancy, we may dismiss the identification of Elkôsh with the Christian village of *Alḳûsh*, about 27 miles (*c.* 43 kilometres)[*] due North of Mosul, where the tomb of the prophet is still shown (see Layard's description in *Nineveh and its Remains* (1849), i. 233). This identification, according to Assemani, does not date beyond the 16th cent. of our era, and is, moreover, easily accounted for by the subject-matter of the prophecy, just as the tomb of Jonah, whose book also deals with Nineveh, is shown at Nebi Yunus to the South of Mosul. (2) Equally inadmissible is the view of Hitzig and Knobel, that Elḳôsh was the original name of the town which in the 1st cent. bore the name of Καφαρναούμ (so the best authorities, see CAPERNAUM), *i.e.* probably כְּפַר נַחוּם 'the village of Nahum,' since, apart from the somewhat precarious etymology, there is nothing in the genuine portion of the Book of Nahum (see below) to suggest a Galilæan origin for its author. The objection of the Sanhedrin, moreover, expressed in the words, 'Search and see that out of Galilee ariseth no prophet' (Jn 7^{52} RV), could scarcely have taken so emphatic a form had Capernaum been associated in the popular mind with *our* Nahum. (3) A similar objection applies to the identification, dubious on other grounds, which we owe to Jerome. In the prologue to his commentary on Nahum, he writes: 'Helkesei[†] usque hodie in Galilæa viculus [est], parvus quidem et vix ruinis veterum ædificiorum indicans vestigia; sed tamen notus Judæis, et mihi quoque a circumducente monstratus.' The hamlet which was pointed out to Jerome by his guide as the ancient Elḳôsh is generally identified with the modern Elkôzeh in Northern Galilee, a short distance to the north-east of Ramieh. (4) Inasmuch as the date of Nahum's prophecy—long after the fall of the Northern Kingdom (see below)—rather points in the direction of a Judæan origin, the most probable location of Elḳôsh is that furnished by a collection of traditions known as the *Lives of the Prophets*, formerly ascribed to Epiphanius, from A.D. 367 bishop of Constantia, the ancient Salamis, in Cyprus.

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* The verb 'judge' is in the original a plural (though this, in view of Heb. usage, does not absolutely settle the question); cf. also Jos $24^{2\ end}$. The words 'the God of their father' (*i.e.* of Teraḥ), which in the Heb. follow awkwardly after 'judge,' are not in LXX, and are very probably a gloss, designed to identify expressly the God of Abraham with the God of Naḥor.

† In the genealogical scheme of P (Gn $11^{22.\ 23}$), Aram (the Syrians) and ʿUz are placed differently.

‡ Observe the epithet, 'the Aramæan,' applied to both Bethuel and Laban, Gn 25^{20} 28^{5} $31^{20.\ 24}$.

* This rendering of מַשָּׂא 'utterance, oracle' (cf. the common expression נָשָׂא קוֹל 'to lift up the voice') is certainly preferable to the AV and RV rendering 'burden.'

† The form *naḥḥûm* is intensive (see Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.* 1898, § 84*b*, *g*), from the intensive stem of נחם 'to comfort, console.' The common adjectives חַנּוּן 'full of pity,' רַחוּם 'full of compassion,' support by analogy the rendering given above, in preference to an original substantival signification, 'consolation, comfort' (so Orelli and others). From the same root are derived several other proper names, such as Nehemiah, Menahem, Nachman, etc.

‡ The numerous legends that gathered round his name have been collected by Carpzov in his *Introductio*, iii. 386 ff.

§ The Targum renders מִבֵּית קוֹשִׁי as if Nahum were 'of the family of Ḳôshi.'

This curious work exists in a double form, Greek and Syriac. The former was first published as a genuine work of Epiphanius by Torinus in 1529, in more recent times by Migne (vol. xliii.), Tischendorf (*Anecdota Sacra*, etc., ^{1}1855, ^{2}1861), Hall (*Journ. of Soc. of Bibl. Exegesis*, June 1886, p. 29 ff.), and, from two fresh MSS, Nestle (*Die dem Epiphanius zugeschriebenen* Vitæ Prophetarum *in doppelter Recension*,[‡] pp. 16–35). As to the Syriac form of these traditions, we find them not only appended to the respective prophets in Paul of Tella's Syriac translation (616-617 A.D.) of Origen's Hexaplar text of the Greek OT (see Ceriani's *Codex Syro-hexaplaris Ambrosianus photolithographice editus* in his *Monumenta Sacra*, etc., vol. vii. 1874), but in a more or less independent form in various quarters (see Budge, *The Book of the Bee* [1886], 74 ff.; Nestle, *Syriac Grammar* [1889], Chrestomathy, 86 ff.; translated, Budge, *ibid.* 69 ff.; Hall (from a Philadelphia MS) in *Journ. of the Soc. of Bibl. Exeg.* [1887], 28 ff.).[§]

The portions of the *Vitæ Prophetarum* relating to Nahum have been edited in Greek and Syriac with full critical apparatus by Nestle (*op. cit.* 43 f.). The former, in the oldest MS from 'the 6th or 7th century,' begins thus: Ναοὺμ ἀπὸ Ἐλκεσὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰσβηγαβαρὶν φυλῆς Συμεών, which corresponds to the Syriac: 'Nahum was from Elḳôsh (in the country) beyond Bêth Gabrê (בית גברא) of the tribe of Simeon.'[∥] Now Bêth-Gabrê, the Betogabra of Ptolemy, is beyond question the modern *Beit-Jibrîn*, the ancient Eleutheropolis—about half-way, as the crow flies, between Jerusalem and Gaza—an identification confirmed by the variant בית חורים (= Home of the Free) found in some of the Syriac MSS (Nestle, *op. cit.* 44, and the Chrestomathy, p. 89). Unfortunately, the uncertain authorship of the work in question prevents us from regarding the above statement as a genuine local tradition, as would have been the case had the *Lives of the Prophets* been a genuine work of Epiphanius, who was born near Eleutheropolis, and there ordained a presbyter. Still we do not hesitate to characterize this tradition as the most credible of the four here adduced. Nahum was thus, it is allowable to infer, a fellow-countryman of Micah, whose native place, Moresheth (Mic 1^1), according to Eusebius and Jerome, lay a little to the east of Eleutheropolis.

iii. CONTENTS OF THE BOOK OF NAHUM.—The genuine oracle of Nahum is preceded by a psalm (1^2–$2^{1.3}$) which still bears manifest traces of an original alphabetic or acrostic arrangement (see next section). It begins by asserting the qualities and attributes of J″ as 'a God jealous and avenging' (1^2; cf. RVm), passing into a fine description of the effect on the world of nature when J″ appears for judgment on His enemies (vv.$^{3.6.8}$).[*] To those, however, who truly wait upon Him,[†] J″ is true and faithful (v.^{7}). In the second part of the psalm (v.$^{9ff.}$), where the original alphabetic arrangement has largely disappeared, and where the present text is in some places extremely corrupt, the poet announces the destruction of the enemies of Judah; the yoke that has pressed so long and so heavily on the necks of God's people shall be broken, the enemies' gods cast down, and they themselves brought to an utter end. Already the bearer of the glad tidings is speeding over the hills of Judah (1^{15} [Heb. 2^1]); the final restoration of J″'s land and people is at hand ($2^{2\,[\text{Heb. }3]}$).[‡]

In chs. $2^{1.3}$–3^{19} we have the genuine 'oracle concerning Nineveh.'[§] It consists of two parts, corresponding to the present division of the chapters. (*a*) The first part may be described as a triptych, in which, with a few bold and effective strokes, the prophet-artist has painted in succession the siege, the capture, and the final overthrow of Nineveh, with its resulting desolation. First of all he portrays the approach of the besiegers in scarlet uniforms and with steel-mounted[∥] chariots ($2^{1.3}$), then the stubborn fights in the outplaces and broadways without the walls (v.^{4}). On this follows[¶] (v.^{5}) the hurried muster of the troops within, the rush to the walls to place in position the engines of defence (?; see MANTELET).[**] But the immediate source of danger is elsewhere, for the protecting dams and sluices are burst open (v.^{6}); the result is panic in the palace, which is immediately stormed, and the queen (?)[*] captured and carried off amid the lamentations of her maids (v.^{7}). In vain is every effort to rally the panic-stricken defenders (v.^{8}); the city is given over to be looted by the victors (v.^{9}). The final tableau shows the climax of the catastrophe. Nineveh has disappeared! Where stood the queen of cities there is now a 'wild and weary waste' (if thus we may imitate the alliteration (*būḳāh ūmĕbūḳāh ūmĕbullāḳāh*) of the original, v.^{10}); to the prophet's unfeigned delight, the Assyrian, once brave as a lion and as cruel, has passed away for ever (v.$^{11ff.}$).

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[*] So, according to the latest map of this district by Colonel Billerbeck, in the joint monograph by Billerbeck and Jeremias on 'The Downfall of Nineveh and the Prophecy of Nahum of Elkosh' (see the Literature at the end of article).

[†] This form of the word is itself suspicious, since it presupposes the LXX form of the *adjective* Ἐλκεσαῖος.

[‡] A separate off-print from his *Marginalien und Materialien*, 1893.

[§] For further details as to the origin and relation of the recensions see the exhaustive investigation of Professor Nestle (cited above), which the author kindly put at the present writer's disposal for the purpose of this article.

[∥] Nestle was the first to call attention to the important bearing of the Syriac reading in the *ZDPV* i. 122 ff. A translation of his communication appeared in the *PEFSt*, 1879, p. 136 ff.

[*] In v.^{8a} in place of the obscure and irrelevant מְקוֹמָהּ (MT) the parallelism requires us to read with most of the VSS בְּקָמָיו (Buhl, *ZATW* v. 181; cf. Davidson, *in loc.*).

[†] Adopting the reading of the LXX τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν = לְקֹוָיו (La 3^{25}; cf. Ps 25^3 69^7).

[‡] The references in the sequel to ch. 2 follow the verse-numeration of the EV, which is *one less* throughout than in the Hebrew.

[§] The words, 'Thus saith J″,' now found at the head of 1^{12}, are probably part of the original introduction to the oracle.

[∥] A conjectural rendering (cf. RV), the meaning of the original פְּלָדוֹת being unknown. The AV rendering 'torches' rests on a mistaken etymology.

[¶] The proposal of Billerbeck and Jeremias to insert ch. $3^{12\text{-}15}$ between 2^4 and 2^5 is quite unnecessary.

[**] Heb. הַסֹּכֵךְ, lit. 'the coverer,' RV 'mantelet,' apparently a military *terminus technicus*. An elaborate and technical account of the Assyrian 'siege artillery,' both for attack and defence, with numerous illustrations, is given in Billerbeck and Jeremias' monograph already cited.

(*b*) In ch. 3 the prophet, enamoured of his theme, returns to fill in certain details of the overthrow of this 'city of blood' (v.^{1}), and furnishes us with a graphic word-picture of the final attack (vv.$^{2.\,3}$)—

> 'Hark! the whip! Hark! the rattle of the wheels;
> And (see!) the prancing steeds and the bounding chariots,
> The horsemen charging (?),
> And the flash of the swords and the glint of the spears,
> And the masses of the slain and the heaps of the dead.'

And why has this fate overtaken Nineveh? Because of her unprincipled diplomacy, her harlotries, and her witchcrafts (v.^{4}). As punishment, she will be exposed like a vulgar adulteress to the gibes and insults of the nations she has so long oppressed (vv.$^{5.\,6}$). The prophet further dwells complacently on the thought that, in Nineveh's hour of doom and shame, there will be none to comfort her or to bewail her (v.^{7}). Let her not think she will fare better than No-amon, the mistress of Upper Egypt (v.$^{8ff.}$). With the measure wherewith she meted out cruelties unspeakable to the Egyptian capital, it shall be measured to Nineveh in her turn (v.^{10}). For her fortified outposts, with their effeminate defenders, already fall before the invader as readily as ripe figs fall into the mouth of one who but shakes the laden fig-tree (v.^{12}). Now is the time to prepare for the siege. 'To the mortar-tub and the brick-mould' is the prophet's sarcastic call (v.^{14})! The countless merchants of the city, a heterogeneous and unpatriotic throng, vanish as locusts vanish with the morning sun. And thus, to the accompaniment of a universal song of joy on the part of all that have suffered at her hands, the city of blood makes her final exit from the stage of history (v.^{19}).

iv. INTEGRITY AND AUTHENTICITY OF THE BOOK.—Until a very few years ago the authenticity of all three chapters of the Book of Nahum was regarded as beyond suspicion, even by scholars so 'advanced' as Kuenen (*Onderzoek*^{2}, ii. § 75); Wellhausen (*Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*^{2} [1893], p. 155), and Cornill (*Einleit.*^{2} 1892, p. 188). Since 1880, however, in various publications (*ZDMG* xxxiv. 559 ff., *Carmina Vet. Test. metrice*, 212, etc.) Bickell—in this following out indications given by Frohnmeyer and Franz Delitzsch—had maintained that Nah 1$^{2\text{-}6}$ was in reality an alphabetic poem, whose original structure was easily recoverable by means of various slight alterations and transpositions (see esp. *ZDMG*, *ut supra*). In 1893 a more successful attempt was made on the same lines by H. Gunkel in Stade's *ZATW* (xiii. 223 ff.). In this essay Gunkel succeeded, in the present writer's opinion, not only in proving more conclusively than Bickell had done the existence in vv.$^{2\text{-}9}$ of a clearly designed acrostic arrangement for the first half of the Hebrew alphabet (א to ל), but in establishing a strong probability that the same arrangement for the second half (מ to ת) originally appeared in the verses following (1^{9a}–2^{3} of the Hebrew numeration, see footnote above). Bickell has since issued a much improved edition of his restoration (*Beiträge zur Semit. Metrik*, 1894, being an off-print from the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy of Sciences), which in its turn has suggested to Gunkel a few emendations, incorporated in a note to his *Schöpfung u. Chaos* (p. 120 f.).[*] Finally, Nowack in his commentary (see the Literature at end of article) has adopted, and in some points has still further improved upon, the results of his predecessors. As regards the opening verses at least (vv.$^{2\text{-}9}$), the changes which the acrostic scheme demands are not more numerous or more radical than those required in several of the other alphabetic poems of the OT, as we propose to show (see small type below). An alphabetic psalm, however, must by its very nature be complete; hence we do not hesitate to affirm that in Nah 1^{2}–2^{3} we have the remains of an acrostic psalm, of which the first nine verses (א to ט) have suffered little, the next four or five (י to נ) considerably more, and the rest (ס to ת) so much that their restoration 'can never be more than an academic exercise,'—words which A. B. Davidson has applied rashly, as we think, to the whole of ch. 1. Each of the twenty-two verses consisted originally of two lines each, each line containing, as a rule, three or four accented words.

The following brief note will sufficiently indicate the plan of the psalm: the א-verse consists of v.^{2a} of the MT, *i.e.* of two lines of four words each, vv. 2$^{b.\,3a}$ (יהוה) being probably part of the מ and נ verses introduced here by an editor to qualify the general statement in v.^{2a} (Nowack). The ב-verse, two lines of three words each, extends from בסופה to end of v.^{3}; the ג-verse =v.^{4a} also of six accented words. At v.^{4b} a ד is needed, and here the VSS certainly had two different verbs, which renders the first אמלל suspicious; read perhaps דלל (Gray, Cheyne) or דאב (Now.). The ה-verse = v.^{5a}, ו = v.^{5b}; for ז it is only necessary to transpose ועמו to the head of 6^{a} and read לפניו; ח = 6^{b}, ט = 7^{a}. For י we would propose to read יידע (cf. Ps 138^{6}), or, as hitherto proposed, delete ו of וידע in v.^{7b}. Now in all these ten verses, involving only one serious interference with MT, we have surely something more than chance coincidences, namely, a conscious design which cannot be explained by the 'fact that the author allowed himself *here and there and perhaps half accidentally* to follow the alphabetic order' (Driver, *Expos. Times*, ix. (1897), p. 119—review of Nowack's *Kleine Propheten*).

Regarding the author of this psalm, we can only say that he lived at some period of the post-exilic history,[†] when the yoke of the heathen pressed heavily on the people of God, whose coming to judge the oppressor and vindicate His own could not be long delayed. The poem, it was felt at a later period, fitly expressed the general principle of God's avenging justice, of which the destruction of Nineveh was the most striking concrete illustration. Accordingly, it was prefixed as an appropriate introduction to the genuine 'vision of Nahum the Elkoshite.'

v. OCCASION AND DATE OF CHS. 2 AND 3.—The prophecy itself provides us with two fixed points between which its date must fall. These are the capture of No-amon (Thebes, $3^{8\text{ff.}}$) and the downfall of Nineveh itself. Regarding the former event, our *terminus a quo*, there need be no hesitation in identifying it with the capture and destruction of the capital of Upper Egypt by Assurbanipal in B.C. 664–663 (see Schrader, *COT* ii. 149 ff.; Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Geschichte*, ii. 149 ff.). An event of such far-reaching consequences for the Western world would long remain fresh in the minds of men, so that it is quite unnecessary, because of its mention by Nahum, either to assign the prophecy to a date B.C. 660 (so Schrader, *loc. cit.*, and Orelli), or with Wellhausen (*Skizzen*, etc. v. 160) to suggest whether the prophet may not refer to some later capture, regarding which history and tradition are alike silent.

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[*] The word of the original, הֻצַּב, is still unexplained (AV, RV as a proper name, Huzzab, but see margins). The Targum has already מלכתא 'queen.' See art. HUZZAB. The following העלתה should perhaps be read העתלה and understood as a loan-word from Assyrian, like טפסר 3^{17} and prob. מנזרים *ib.* = *maṣṣaru*, 'watcher' (see Jensen's review of Billerb. and Jerem. in *Theol. Ltztg.* 1895, p. 507). It would then correspond to the Assyr. *etellitu*, 'a lady (of rank).' See P. Ruben, *Academy*, 1896, p. 202, and more in detail *PSBA* xx. (May 1898) p. 173 ff. 'An Oracle of Nahum'; cf. *Expos. Times*, vii. (1896) p. 568, viii. p. 48.

[*] The English-speaking student will find a very lucid account of the proposals of these scholars, with some original suggestions, in G. Buchanan Gray's article, 'The Alphabetical Poem in Nahum,' *Expositor*, Sept. 1898.

[†] The artificiality of the acrostic form is generally supposed to point to a late rather than an early date for the poems which show this construction. If our psalm is really post-exilic, then 1^{15a} (Heb. 2^{1a}) is taken from Is 52^{7}. Other parallels, such as 1^{7} (restored text) = La 3^{25} 1^{15b} (שלם נדר) = Ps 61^{8}, partake too much of the nature of theological commonplaces to permit of an assertion of borrowing on the one side or the other, while almost all the points of contact adduced by older commentators (see esp. Strauss, *Nahumi Vaticin.*, Prolegom. xv f.) are quite illusory.

With regard, in the next place, to the *terminus ad quem*, we are now in possession, since 1895, of native cuneiform testimony to the manner and date of the final overthrow of Nineveh. In the course of his excavations in a mound near Hillah (Babylon), Father Scheil came upon a semicircular stele of Nabonidus (B.C. 555–538), now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople (publ. by V. Scheil in Maspero's *Recueil de Travaux*, etc., 1896, livr. 1, 2; L. Messerschmidt, *Die Inschrift der Stele Nabona'ids*, 1896; summary by Johns in *Expos. Times*, vii. (1896), p. 360 f.; also, with illustrations, by C. J. Ball in *Light from the East*, 1899, p. 212 ff.; cf. A. B. Davidson, *Nahum*, etc. 137 f.). In this inscription it is expressly stated that 'the aid of the king of the Umman-manda folk'—that is, either the Medes alone, or a mixed folk of which the Medes were the predominant constituent*—was invoked by Marduk, the great god of Babylon, in order to avenge the insults offered to him by the Assyrians in the days of Sennacherib. *The Medes alone* are credited with the destruction of the cities and temples of Assyria (column ii.), which agrees with the well-known statement of Herodotus (i. 103 ff.).

The date of the fall of Nineveh is also, for the first time, fixed for us within narrow limits. In col. x. Nabonidus informs us that the temple of the moon-god Sin at Harran (which had been destroyed by the Medes about the same time as Nineveh) was restored by him fifty-four years after its destruction. This restoration, as we know from another inscription, took place in the third year of Nabonidus' reign (B.C. 553). Hence we obtain 607 as the date of the destruction of Harran and—since Nineveh was doubtless the last to fall before the Medes—B.C. 606 as the nearest approach to the date of the fall of Nineveh.

These, then, are the two fixed points, viz. B.C. 664–663 and B.C. 606, between which the prophecy of Nahum must be placed. The upper limit, it will be seen, is fatal both to the earliest tradition known to us, according to which Nahum prophesied 115 years before the fall of Nineveh (Jos. *Ant.* IX. xi. 3), and to the conclusions of older scholars, such as Pusey, Nägelsbach, etc., who placed the prophecy in the reign of Hezekiah or the earlier years of Manasseh.

Another factor, which was of the greatest moment in former attempts to fix more definitely the date of our prophecy, must now be set aside, namely, the supposed references in ch. 1 to the political and religious condition of Judah under the later Assyrian kings.† This chapter, we have seen reason to believe, is no part of the genuine prophecy of Nahum—a conclusion which disposes at once of the views of two groups of scholars—(*a*) those who, like Kuenen (*Onderzoek*^{2}, § 75), Cornill (*Einleit.*^{2} 188), and Wildeboer (*Die Litteratur d. AT*, 1895, pp. 194, 197), lay stress on the fact that the yoke of Assyria was still heavy on the neck of Judah (1^{13}), and are therefore compelled to postulate a date *c.* 624, after which time the power of Assyria rapidly decayed, and Josiah was able to extend his borders at her expense; and (*b*) those who, like Robertson Smith (art. 'Nahum' in *Encyc. Brit.*^{9}), basing too exclusively on ch. 1, consider that the prophet had in his eye no *particular* assailant of Nineveh, but based his prophecy solely on the general principles of the divine moral government. With ch. 1 falls also the hypothesis advanced by the present writer in 1891 ('The Burden of Nineveh' in *Good Words*, 1891, 741 ff.)—and by H. Winckler independently in 1892 (*Altest. Untersuch.* 1892, 124 ff.)—based on a study of the relations between Assyria and Judah during the period in question, that the prophecy is to be placed *c.* 645 B.C., near the close of the rebellion of Samas-sum-ukin, viceroy of Babylon, against his brother Assurbanipal.

If, then, as we believe, chs. 2 and 3 alone constitute the genuine prophecy of Nahum, the task of determining its date is very materially simplified, for the situation portrayed in these chapters is scarcely open to doubt. It is the moment *between the actual invasion of Assyria by a hostile force and the commencement of the attack on its capital.* The 'mauler' or destroyer (adopting with most moderns Michaelis' reading מַפֵּץ for מֵפִיץ) is already on the march ($2^{1\,[\text{Heb.}\,2]}$); the frontier fortresses have opened their gates to the foe (3^{13}, where note the tenses). The latter, it is clear ($3^{14.\,15}$), has not yet begun to invest the city. Such was the situation when Nahum received the prophetic impulse to proclaim to the 'city of blood' (3^1) that the cup of her iniquities was full to overflowing. It is needless to attempt to disentangle the statements of classical historians as to the various attacks which Nineveh had to meet during the last years of her existence. The whole of the genuine prophecy palpitates with the conviction that the 'utter end' of the Assyrian is at hand. The closing verses of the prophecy, in particular, are strangely out of place, if the writer has in view any other but the final attack by the Umman-manda of Nabonidus' stele. B.C. 608–607, therefore, we consider to be the date of the vision of Nahum, an approximation as close as is attainable in the case of any book of the OT.

Nothing in these chapters, we may add, compels us to believe that Nahum was himself an eye-witness of the scenes he so vividly portrays. Communication, easy and frequent, had long existed between Nineveh and the tributary West-land, whose inhabitants were therefore well acquainted with her situation and defences. Such an acquaintance, joined to a poet's intuition and a seer's prophetic insight, is sufficient for all the facts.

VI. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CHS. 2 and 3.—The most striking characteristics of the poetry of Nahum are its intense force and its picturesqueness. Although, as Dr. Pusey has remarked, it is only in the original that 'the grandeur, energy, power, and vividness of Nahum can be fully felt,' still even in an English dress no one can be insensible to the onward rush of the movement in $2^{1\text{-}9}$, the graphic word-picture of $3^{2.\,3}$, the aptness and force of the figures of the lion and his cubs ($2^{11\text{ff.}}$), and of the locusts' flight (3^{17}), the pathos of 3^{18}, and similar features. 'Of all the minor prophets none seems to reach the sublimity, the fire, and the daring spirit (*audaces spiritus*) of Nahum,—such is the judgment passed on our prophet by Bishop Lowth in his classical work on *Hebrew Poetry*.

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* See Messerschmidt, p. 71 (a general term for northern peoples, *including* the Medes); Del. *HWB* p. 87^{b}. According to Ball, *op. cit.* p. 208 n., the Umman-manda are the 'Medes' of Astyages, who appear, he adds, 'to have been Iranian Scythians' (?).

† Such references were found in vv.$^{9.\,11}$ (the 'wicked counsellor'), ^{13} (the heavy yoke [of Assyria?]), ^{15} (the religious zeal of the Jews [under Josiah?]), etc., see the commentaries.

'Of all the prophets,' writes a more recent authority, 'he is the one who in dignity and force approaches most nearly to Isaiah' (Driver, *LOT*^{6} 336; cf. Kirkpatrick, *Doct. of the Prophets*, p. 250). It is unfortunate that in several passages even of the genuine prophecy the text is uncertain. The use by the prophet of so many apparently technical terms (cf. G. A. Smith's list, *The Twelve Prophets*, ii. 89) further helps to obscure his meaning.

The direct teaching of the book is mainly confined to ch. 1. Its leading thought we have already seen to be the attribute of J″ as 'a God jealous[*] (cf. Ex 20^{5} 34^{14}, Dt 4^{24}) and avenging,' who, though He suffer long, will assuredly 'take vengeance on his adversaries' (cf. Is 34^{8} 63^{4}, Dt 32^{35}). The elaboration of this aspect of the Divine nature serves to throw into higher relief the assurance that follows—

> 'The Lord is good to them that wait upon him (LXX).'
> 'In the day of trouble will He deliver them.'[†]
> '(Yea) the Lord knoweth them that put their trust in him.'

Passing to chs. 2 and 3, we note one important respect in which Nahum differs from all his predecessors in the prophetic office. His mind is so full of the iniquities and impending punishment of Nineveh, that he has no thought for the shortcomings of his own people. In this he presents a striking contrast to his contemporaries, Zephaniah and Jeremiah. Nahum's heart, it has been said, 'for all its bigness, holds room only for the bitternesses, the baffled hopes, the unappeased hatreds of a hundred years' (G. A. Smith, *op. cit.* ii. 90). In ch. 3, especially, the prophet's indignation burns with a white heat as he lays bare the moral gangrene at the heart of the Assyrian nation, the moral atrophy which was the real source of the weakness that made its sudden and complete collapse without a parallel in history (cf. Strabo, xvi. 1. 3: *ἡ μὲν οὖν Νῖνος πόλις ἠφανίσθη παραχρῆμα, κ.τ.λ.*). Wanton bloodshed, inhuman cruelty, commercial immorality, bad faith in her political relations,—in his denunciation of these Nahum gave voice less to his own personal conviction than to the outraged conscience of humanity. Assyria in his hands becomes an object-lesson to the empires of the modern world, teaching, as an eternal principle of the divine government of the world, the absolute necessity, for a nation's continued vitality, of that righteousness, personal, civic, and national, which alone 'exalteth a nation.'

LITERATURE.—The older commentaries are discussed by O. Strauss (see below); list of titles at close of art. 'Nahum' in Kitto's *Biblical Cyclop.*^{3} (1866). The chief modern commentaries are those on the Minor Prophets generally by Ewald, Pusey, Keil, Hitzig-Steiner^{4} (1881), Orelli (in Strack and Zöckler's series, Eng. tr., T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh), Wellhausen (translation and critical notes in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, pt. v. 3rd ed. [1899]); A. B. Davidson, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah* (in Cambridge Bible 1896—the best English commentary); Nowack (1897); G. A. Smith, *The Twelve Prophets*, vol. ii. (1898). To these may be added Farrar, *Minor Prophets* ('Men of the Bible' series), and Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets* (2nd ed.). A detailed commentary on the military references is supplied by the monograph of Ad. Billerbeck and Alf. Jeremias, 'Der Untergang Nineveh's und die Weissagungsschrift des Nahum von Elkosch,' in Delitzsch und Haupt's *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Bd. iii., 1898, pp. 87-188. A complete monograph, though now largely out of date, is that of Otto Strauss, *Nahumi de Nino Vaticinium* (1853).

For the more purely critical study of Nahum see the essays of Bickell, Gunkel, and G. B. Gray, on ch. 1 cited in the body of the article; also P. Ruben, 'An Oracle of Nahum' [1^{12}-2^{14}], in *PSBA* xx., May 1898, pp. 173-185. For the Versions in general, L. Reinke, *Zur Kritik der älteren Versionen des Propheten Nahum*, 1867. For the LXX, Karl Vollers, *Das Dodekapropheton der Alexandriner*, 1880, and Schuurmans-Stekhoven, *De Alexandrijnsche Vertaling van het Dodekapropheton*, 1887. For the Targum of Jonathan, in addition to Reinke, *op. cit.* p. 55 ff., see the critical edition with notes by M. Adler in the *JQR* vii. 1894, pp. 630-657. For the Syriac, M. Sebök, *Die Syr. Uebersetz. d. 12 klein. Propheten*, 1887.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

NAIDUS (A Νάειδος, B Νάαιδος), 1 Es 9^{31}, apparently=Benaiah, Ezr 10^{30}.

NAIL.—**1.** Heb. צִפֹּרֶן, Aram. טְפַר, Arab. *zufr*, a finger nail, Dt 21^{12},[*] Dn 4^{33}. In Jer 17^{1} the word refers to the diamond point of the graver or stylus. **2.** יָתֵד, Arab. *watad*, a pin or peg of wood, a tent peg. In Syria tent pegs are usually of oak, very roughly shaped and pointed. It was with one of these that Jael treacherously murdered Sisera, Jg $4^{21ff.}$ (see Moore, *ad loc.*). In Ex 27^{19} it is said that the pegs of the tabernacle were of copper. In old houses in Lebanon wooden pegs are driven into the walls of rooms, so that articles may be suspended on them. Sometimes the pin is drawn out by the weight of the article hung on it, having been driven into a mass of clay, used as mortar, between the stones of the wall. The 'nail in a sure place' (Is $22^{23.25}$) is one wedged firmly between two stones. **3.** מַסְמֵר (מַשְׂמְרוֹת Ec 12^{11}), Arab. *mismâr*, a nail, generally of metal. In 1 Ch 22^{3} it is said that 'David prepared iron in abundance for the nails'; 2 Ch 3^{9} mentions that 'the weight of the nails was 50 shekels of gold.' In the NT ἧλος is the corresponding word, Jn 20^{25}, see CROSS.

W. CARSLAW.

NAIN (Ναΐν).—This place is mentioned only once in Scripture, in Lk 7^{11}. The site of the ancient village[†] is well authenticated; it is occupied by the modern *Nein*, a squalid, miserable collection of mud-hovels, situated on the north-western edge of *Jebel ed-Duhy*, or the 'Little Hermon,' where the hill slopes down into the plain of Esdraelon. The mountain is called *Jebel ed-Duhy* from an unknown Mohammedan saint, whose *wely* or sacred place is on the summit of its conical peak. Around the village are numerous rubbish heaps and stony ruins, which indicate that at one time it must have been a place of much greater importance. It does not seem to have ever been a walled and fortified place, for no indications of a wall can be seen. But Conder (*Tent-Work*, p. 122) supposes that by the phrase 'gate of the city,' in the Gospel narrative, we are to understand merely the ordinary entrance among the houses by the open path, just as we commonly speak of 'the gate of the valley' or the 'gate of the pass,' where no gate or wall actually exists. Stanley (*SP* p. 357) says that 'no convent, no tradition, marks the spot.' But he must have overlooked the rude little mosque so prominent among the houses, strangely enough called the 'Place of our Lord Jesus Christ,' which, from the significance of its name, must indicate the previous existence on the spot of a Christian chapel, which disappeared at an early period. The rough steep path leading up to the village is unchanged since that memorable day when our Lord traversed it with weary feet, and met the funeral procession of the widow's only son. And behind it, in the face of the rocks that project from the rugged side of the hill, may still be seen shadowy holes and caves, which doubtless mark the old place of sepulture to which the young man's dead body was being carried on its bier. No grander view can be obtained anywhere in Palestine than that which stretches around Nain, from its green nest on the mountain side, amply justifying its descriptive name, if this is to be derived (with the Talmud) from a Hebrew word נָעִים, signifying 'beauty' or 'pleasantness.' Within the circle of the surrounding hills some of the most stirring events in Old Testament history have occurred. Below is the extensive plain of Jezreel, which was the great battlefield of Palestine from the days of Nebuchadnezzar to those of Napoleon. Right across are the uplands of Nazareth; to the left are the bare limestone ridges of Gilboa; away in the distance is the white range of Carmel, with a blue gleam of the Mediterranean at its foot; while far up in the north is the snowy top of great Hermon, dominating all the wide view.

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[*] On the Divine attribute of jealousy see A. B. Davidson's note on 1^{2}.

[†] Adopting Bickell's restoration יַצִּלֵם.

[*] 'The paring of the nails corresponds to one of the acts by which an Arab widow dissolved her widowhood and became free to marry again' (W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 178; cf. *OTJC*^{2} 368; Lane, *Arab. Lex.* 2409; Wellhausen, *Reste*^{2}, 171).

[†] It must be distinguished from the Nain mentioned by Jos. (*BJ* IV. ix. 4), which was on the other side of the Jordan, probably in Idumæa.

The story of Nain has been told in the simplest and most touching manner by the evangelist. Every word is a picture: the desolation of the widowed mother, the compassion of Jesus, the significance of His action in touching the bier, and so becoming ceremonially unclean through this forbidden contact with death, showing that He raised the young man to life not by His absolute power as God, but by the power of His own suffering and death; the pathetic deliverance to the mother of her son, for she needed him most, instead of asking him to forsake all and follow Jesus as His disciple.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 356, 361; van de Velde, *Syria and Palestine*, ii. 382; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 115 f.; Buhl, *GAP* 217; Stanley, *SP* 357; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 188.

HUGH MACMILLAN.

NAIOTH (נָיוֹת Ḳerê; Kt. נוית, *i.e.* probably נָוַיָת *Nāwᵉyath* [like צָרְפַת *Zarᵉphath*, דָּבְרַת *Dābᵉrath*, etc.: see Driver on 1 S 19^{18}], though נְוִית and נָוֹית would both be possible: LXX Αναθ [5 times after ἐν, a ν having evidently dropped out in transcription, cf. Jg 16^{4} ἐν Αλσωρηχ for בנחל שרק], cod. A Ναυιωθ. No root ניה is known: the form *Nāwᵉyath* is thus much more probable than *Naioth*).—The name of a locality in Ramah, mentioned 1 S 19$^{18.\,19.\,22.\,23.\,23}$ 20^{1}, in which David and Samuel took refuge, when the former was pursued by Saul. This is really all that can be said about it: what the nature of the locality was, is entirely uncertain. It is an old explanation, not out of harmony with the context, that the term denotes the *home*, or cœnobium, of the prophets (cf. Targ. בית אולפנא 'house of instruction,' or school): but the philological basis of this interpretation is very insecure; for נָוֶה (of which נָוַיָת might be a fem. form) does not mean 'habitation' in general, but denotes in particular *an abode of shepherds* or *sheep* (see esp. 2 S 7^{8}; and cf. Is 65^{10}, Jer 33^{12}), or a *country* habitation, or domain (Job 5^{24}, Is 32^{18}, Jer 10^{25} 25^{30} etc.), and is only applied figuratively to other kinds of abode, in poetry (Ex 15^{13}, Is 33^{20}, Jer 50^{7}), or elevated prose (2 S 15^{25}): hence it is doubtful whether a word closely allied to this would have been chosen to denote a residence of prophets in a village or town. The absence of the art., not merely in the vocalized text (1 S 19^{18} etc.), but in the consonantal text (20^{1}), is also an objection to its being supposed to have had an appellative sense. Under the circumstances, we must be satisfied to know that *Nāwᵉyath* was the name of a locality in Ramah: the original signification of the name, and also the nature of the place denoted by it, are both uncertain. (Ewald's attempted justification of the rendering *school*, *Hist.* iii. 49 f., is far too conjectural to be probable: see Driver on 1 S 19^{18}). S. R. DRIVER.

NAME in EV corresponds to the Heb. שֵׁם, Aram. שֻׁם, and Gr. ὄνομα. The Hebrew word is of very ancient and obscure origin. Redslob (*ZDMG*, 1872, pp. 751–756), tracing it to the root *šmw* (= سمى = 'to be high'), argues that its fundamental sense is *height*, and hence (1) a *monument* (Gn 11^{4}, 2 S 10^{13}, Is 55^{13}) or mausoleum (Is 56^{5}), (2) *excellence, majesty, e.g.* Ps 54^{1}; and that 'name' in the sense of a mere *token of distinction* represents the last stage in the impoverishment of the original idea. Others (*e.g.* Lagarde, *Bildung der Nomina*, p. 160; W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, p. 213) connect it with the root *wšm*, which gives *sign* or *token* as the original meaning. In view of this uncertainty, it will be wise not to base too much in our discussion of the term on the etymology. The Greek term as used in NT has many meanings that are foreign to classical usage, but are due to the direct or indirect influence of the Hebrew term.

In discussing the present subject we have to consider, firstly, the significance of the term and the ideas expressed by it; and, secondly, the various customs connected with the giving of names.

I. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TERM.—**1.** In innumerable passages alike in OT and NT the term is used as by ourselves in reference to words by which persons, places, or objects are designated and distinguished from others. It is also by a familiar transference of meaning that it comes to mean *reputation* or *fame*; see *e.g.* 1 S 18^{30}, 2 S 7^{9} 23^{18}, and in consequence שֵׁם is sometimes translated in EV by 'renown' Gn 6^{4}, Nu 16^{2}, or 'famous' 1 Ch 5^{24}, Ru 4^{11} (cf. Job 30^{8} 'base' = Heb. בְּלִי שֵׁם = lit. nameless); it may even by itself and unqualified mean a good reputation, *e.g.* Pr 22^{1}, Ec 7^{1}, Sir 41^{12}; or, on the other hand, a false reputation, Rev 3^{1}. But the more peculiar senses of the term are due to the close relation that was supposed to exist between the name and the personality. It is a widely-spread belief among primitive and less developed peoples that one who knows a person's name has power over the bearer of the name; hence the reluctance to give a stranger one's name. It was but a modification of such belief that made the Hebrew frequently use 'name' as almost an equivalent of the 'personality' or 'character' or nature of the person or thing named; and consequently, when a writer wishes to express forcibly the nature of a person or place, he says he will be called so-and-so, or his name will be so-and-so. Thus when in the future Jerusalem is purged from injustice she will be called 'the city of righteousness' (Is 1^{26}); when J″ returns to the deserted city after the Exile, its name will be 'J″ is there' (Ezk 48^{35}). The nature of Egypt is summed up in the name that is given her, 'Rahab that sitteth still'; and the meaning of Is 9^{6} is that the child will actually be all that the name 'wonderful,' etc., implies; cf. further Pr 21^{24}, Is 63^{16}, and probably Is 62^{2} 65^{15}. Again, the Greek ὀνόματα is actually rendered by 'persons' in Ac 1^{15}, Rev 11^{13}, where the sense closely resembles that of the original term in Nu 1^{2} 26^{53}, Rev 3^{4}, in which cases EV adopts 'names' as its rendering. For instances from Gr. papyri see Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, 24 f.

2. It is not difficult to understand how 'name' may express the idea of authority (see *e.g.* Ex 5^{23}, 1 K 21^{8}, Est 3^{12}, Jn 5^{43}), but it is perhaps through this sense that a phrase arose the meaning of which is much less immediately obvious, especially in the EV. In Hebrew we frequently read of some one's name being called over something (נִקְרָא שֵׁם עַל פ׳); in EV this idiomatic phrase is generally translated so as to confuse it with the entirely distinct phrase 'to be called by some one's name' (נִקְרָא בְּשֵׁם פ׳). But the former phrase does not mean that the person or object referred to will bear the name of that person whose 'name is called over it': it means that it will come under his authority, pass into his possession. Thus Joab begs David to be present at the final scene in the siege of Rabbah, lest Joab take the city, and his name be called over it, *i.e.* lest the city pass under his authority and not David's (2 S 12^{28}). 'All the nations over which J‴s name was called' (Am 9^{12}) are all the nations which had once owned J‴s authority, *i.e.* had once formed part of the dominion of Israel—the people of J″. Israel in its confession (Is 63^{19}) says—We are become as they over whom thou never barest rule; as they over whom thy name was not called, *i.e.* as they who have ceased to be regarded as thy people and subject to thy authority. Women have the name of their husbands called over them, *i.e.* become subject to their authority at marriage, Is 4^{1}. With regard to the precise sense of 'name' in the phrase there may be difference of opinion: thus Driver (*Deuteronomy*, p. 306) interprets Joab's saying thus, 'lest I gain the credit of having captured it [Rabbah], and it be counted as my conquest.' But the meaning of the whole phrase is quite clear: in the further words of Driver, 'the phrase expresses . . . the fact of *ownership*—whether acquired by actual conquest or otherwise (cf. Ps 49$^{12\ (11)}$)—coupled at the same time with the idea of *protection*: and occurs frequently, especially with reference to the people of Israel, Jerusalem, or the temple. The passages are: Am 9^{12}, Jer 7$^{10.\ 11.\ 14.\ 30}$ 14^{9} 15^{16} . . . 25^{29} 32^{34} 34^{15}, 1 K 8^{43} (=2 Ch 6^{33})^{60} (all D^{2}), Is 63^{19}, 2 Ch 7^{14}, Dn 9$^{18.\ 19}$.' Cf., in the Apocrypha, Bar 2$^{15.\ 26}$, 1 Mac 7^{37}, and in NT Ac 15^{17} (cited by St. James from Am 9^{12}), Ja 2^{7}. We may allude to one other passage where 'name' probably means 'authority,' viz. Is 26^{13} (cf. 63^{19}). The words rendered by EV, 'by thee only will we make mention of thy name,' should contain an antithesis to the first part of the verse, 'O LORD our God, other Lords beside thee have had dominion over us,' and consequently must be translated 'but thee, (to wit) thy name (authority), alone will we (in future) mention (*i.e.* acknowledge)'; for the construction in the Heb. cf. Dillm. *in loc.*

3. We may pass on now to some of the special ideas that are expressed by the phrase 'name of J″' in the OT, 'name of Jesus,' etc., in the NT. The name of J″ as equivalent to the person of J″ is represented as the subject or the object of various actions: thus, for example, it sets men on high (Ps 20^{1}). It is loved (Ps 5^{11}), praised (Ps 7^{17}), sanctified (Is 29^{23}); it is described, *e.g.*, as being glorious, fearful (Dt 28^{28}), holy (1 Ch 29^{16}), everlasting (Ps 135^{13}). But in particular the 'name of J″' is used as a succinct expression for the revealed character of God for all that is known of him. Hence such frequent expressions as to declare (סִפֵּר, *e.g.* Ex 9^{16} 22^{22}), or to know (יָדַע, *e.g.* Is 52^{6}, cf. 64^{2}) the name of J″. J″ acts for his name's sake (*e.g.* Ezk 20^{9}) when he so acts that his hitherto revealed nature is not belied; *e.g.* when he vindicates his power by bringing the people out of Egypt. Wherever J″ records his name, according to the early law book (Ex 20^{24}), there men are to build an altar to him: what was meant by this 'recording of his name' may be seen by examining the various narratives of the building of altars, *i.e.* of the observations of this law (see *e.g.* Gn 12^{7} 22^{9} 26$^{24f.}$, Jg 6^{24} [in the light of the preceding narrative], 1 S 14^{35}); it was the indication, by a theophany or by some great success or delivery or the like, of the divine presence and favour; in other words, it was a self-revelation of J″ to men. From the time of Deuteronomy onwards Jerusalem became the one special seat of the divine presence in Israel; there, therefore, he is said to cause his name to dwell or abide (Dt 12^{11} and very often); hence the temple is a house for J‴s name, 2 S 7^{13}, 1 K 8$^{17-20}$ etc.; and even earlier the supremacy of Jerusalem among the shrines of the S. kingdom had become so great that Isaiah (18^{7}) speaks of Zion as the place of J‴s name, unless, with Cheyne (*Introd. to Book of Isaiah*, p. 313), we regard this verse as post-exilic.

4. Of the numerous shades of meaning connected with and probably springing out of the usage just noticed, we may refer to one or two. 'The name of J″' itself becomes a term to express a theophany in Is 30^{27} (also, according to Cheyne, post-exilic), where it is described 'as coming from far, burning with his anger, and in thick rising smoke,' etc.; with this passage we may perhaps compare 59^{19}. In Is 48^{9} the term is probably used in the transferred sense of the praise which the divine self-manifestation calls forth from men; note the parallel clause and a similar transference of meaning in the parallel phrase 'glory of J″' (see GLORY OF J″ 1, *ad fin.*). In Zec 14^{9} (cf. Is 56^{6}) the name of J″ is the manner in which men recognize the divine self-revelation—in other words, the worship of J″; Hitzig rightly interprets 'his name shall be one' as meaning that the unity of J″, which already exists in reality, will then also be acknowledged and recognized on earth.

But in virtue of its most characteristic and frequent usage 'the name of J″' belongs to a series of phrases, to which the 'glory of J″,' 'the face of J″,' 'the angel of J″' also belong, by which the Hebrews endeavoured to distinguish between the Deity in himself and the Deity as manifested to and coming into relation with men; or, in earlier times, between the Deity conceived as local and confined to Sinai, and on the other hand as accompanying his people in their journeyings. In the latter case, however, it is the 'angel of J″' that most frequently figures, and we need call attention only to one peculiar passage (Ex 23^{21}) in which both phrases are combined, and 'the name of J″' is said to be in the angel; the meaning of this appears to be, that though the angel is not J″ in his fulness (cf. v.^{34}), yet J‴s nature is so far in him that what would offend J″ will offend him. To the OT usage of the term 'name of J″' we have a parallel, striking at once in its similarity and its dissimilarity, in Phœnician. In an inscription (*CIS* 3^{18}) from Sidon we find mention of 'Ashtoreth the name of Baal (עשתרת שם בעל),' *i.e.* an Ashtoreth distinguished from other Ashtoreths by the fact that she was regarded as being a manifestation or representative of Baal. In this case, as in the parallel case of 'Tanith the face of Baal (תנת פן בעל),' Phœnician, in striking contrast to Hebrew, has made of the representation or manifestation a new and distinct deity.

5. Finally, in our survey of OT usage we have to notice that in Lv 24$^{11-16}$ the name (הַשֵּׁם) is used as a substitute for J″ according to a practice which became very customary in post-biblical Hebrew. It is, however, probable that we owe this usage to the scribes and copyists rather than to the author of the section in question (cf. Geiger, *Urschrift*, 273 f.).

6. When we turn to NT we find, as we should expect, that in several instances 'the name of the Lord' occurs in actual quotations from OT (see *e.g.* Mt 12^{21} 23^{39}, Ac 2^{21}, Ro 15^{9}, He 2^{12}), and that in others the phrases are of the same or nearly the same character as those current in OT (*e.g.* Mt 6^{9}, Jn 17$^{6.\ 26}$). The question is how far does OT usage serve to explain the NT term where, owing to new circumstances and conditions, it has to express ideas in large part new? Is it necessary to presuppose entirely different modes of thought to explain the NT term; or is it possible to explain its new meanings as the natural development out of the old?

Clearly, phrases which differ from the OT equivalents only by the substitution of 'Jesus' for 'J″' may be similarly interpreted unless cogent reasons for the contrary be forthcoming:

hence, *e.g.*, 'to prophesy in the name of Jesus' corresponds in NT to prophesy or speak in the name of J″ in OT. Such a phrase as 'to believe in the name of Jesus' differs somewhat more from OT usage, and yet is certainly in line with it. It very significantly alternates in the same writer with the phrase 'to believe in Jesus' (see *e.g.* Jn 1^{12} 2^{23} 3^{18}; $3^{16.\,18}$ 6^{40}); *i.e.* the name of Jesus is a parallel term to the word 'Jesus' itself, and is most appropriately used in the present phrase because 'the name of Jesus' briefly sums up the personality of Jesus as made known; to believe in his name is to believe in and accept his claims.

But a very different mode of interpretation has been recently advocated by Conybeare. Briefly stated, it is an assimilation of 'the use of the name of Jesus Christ to ancient magic' (*JQR* ix. 66); or again, in Conybeare's own words, 'Why did Jesus instruct his disciples to cast out demons in his *name*? Why do we end our prayers with the formula in the *name* of Jesus Christ our Lord? Why did the Christians glory in the *name*? Why were they persecuted for the *name*? The answer to all these questions is furnished by ancient magic' (*ib.* 581). 'In or by the name of Jesus Christ our Lord' is a 'theurgic formula,' and its use was due to the fact that Christians shared the ancient but still prevalent belief that a god or demon must come when his name is correctly pronounced in an invocation.

Conybeare has clearly shown that this magical view of the name was held by several of the early Fathers as well as by non-Christian and pre-Christian Greek and Latin writers; he has also collected much comparative evidence of the general existence of such a belief relative to names. Further, it may be admitted that in some cases and by some people the name of Jesus may have been regarded as possessing magical efficacy—see *e.g.* Mt 7^{22}, Ac 4^{7}; and again that the 'names' referred to in Eph 1^{21} (and, therefore, probably also in Ph 2^{9}) are names of angels, but that the reference is 'to the use in exorcisms of names of angels and patriarchs' is far from obvious. It is impossible here to discuss the very numerous passages concerned in detail; but the general reasons which appear to the present writer cogent against admitting Conybeare's mode of interpretation, except in a few isolated passages, may be briefly stated thus: (1) It is obviously inapplicable in many cases, *e.g.* Mt 18^{5}. (2) A number of the phrases, as we have already seen, are identical with, a number more are closely similar to, those found in the OT. The OT terminology may and probably should be traced back ultimately to the magical view of 'name,' but in itself expresses an immeasurably higher type of ideas. But the influence of the OT on both Jesus and the disciples was obviously so great that we have a right in ambiguous cases to adopt the higher interpretation suggested by OT usage rather than that suggested by popular Jewish and Greek superstition. To take a single instance, the analogy of OT instances would lead us to infer from the fact that Simon was surnamed 'Rock,' and the sons of Zebedee 'sons of thunder,' that the names were given because the persons in question possessed qualities described by these new names; and this is surely far more reasonable than to infer 'that the new names were supposed to impart to them (Simon and the sons of Zebedee) new qualities, or fortify their moral characters.' It is unquestionably a right principle to interpret the NT in the light of contemporary ideas; but it is a wrong application of this principle to neglect the most potent of these ideas—those, namely, of the OT. (3) The magical significance attached to the names by early Christian Fathers, which at first sight most favours the theory, is explicable by a misunderstanding, under the influence of Greek superstition, of a terminology which must have been but half intelligible to Greeks and Latins.

II. CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH THE GIVING OF NAMES.—1. *Personal.* A child received its name most frequently from the mother (Gn 4^{25} 16^{11} $19^{37f.}$ $29^{32f.\,35}$ [*] $30^{6.\,8.\,11.\,13.\,18.\,20.\,24.\,29}$ 35^{18} $38^{4f.}$, Jg 13^{24}, 1 S 1^{20} —all the foregoing are early narratives; 1 Ch 4^{9} 7^{16}), but frequently also from the father (see especially Hos $1^{4.\,6.\,9}$, Is 6^{3}, and in P Gn 5^{3} 16^{15} 17^{19} 21^{3}, but also in early narratives, Gn 4^{26} 5^{29} 35^{18} $41^{51f.}$, Ex 2^{22}, Jg 8^{31}; cf. further 1 Ch 7^{23}, Job 42^{14}). In Gn 38^{3}, 2 S 12^{24} the text varies (between 'he,' *i.e.* the father, and 'she,' *i.e.* the mother, 'called'). More rarely and under exceptional circumstances the child received its name from others; compare in this connexion the stories of Moses receiving his name from Pharaoh's daughter (Ex 2^{10}), Ruth's child from the mother's women neighbours (Ru 4^{17}), Solomon from a prophet (2 S 12^{25}). In some cases the verb which refers to the naming of the child has an indefinite subject; so certainly in Gn $25^{25f.}$, perhaps also in some of the cases referred to above as instances of naming by the father.[†] In most of the cases just cited 'naming' is immediately connected with birth, and we may perhaps infer that the name was, as a rule, in early times given immediately after birth, as is said to be the case with the modern Arabs (cf. Lane, *Arabian Notes*, ch. iv. n. 4). In later times the name was given at circumcision, *i.e.* on the 8th day after birth (Lk 1^{59} 2^{21}); but of this particular custom we find no trace in OT except in so far as the change of Abraham's name in connexion with the institution of circumcision may point to it (Gn 17 (P)). In the earlier period the name was chosen on account of its significance, and recorded some circumstance connected with the birth, some natural feature of the child, or the parents' wish concerning it, or their gratitude to God for the gift of it. This is clear from the meaning of the names (see following art.) and also from the numerous narratives cited above, which are good evidence as to general custom, though as accounts of particular instances they are mostly legendary rather than historical. The custom which was already frequent in the time of Christ (Lk $1^{5.\,9}$) of naming children after a kinsman, most generally the grandfather, cannot be traced back with any certainty before the 3rd or 4th cent. B.C. The only early evidence for kinsmen even bearing a common name is 2 S $21^{7f.}$; 2 S 13^{1} 14^{27}; 2 S 3^{3}, 1 K 15^{2}; 1 K 22^{40}, 2 K $8^{16\text{-}18.\,26}$; 2 K 11^{2} 8^{26}, 1 K 22^{26}. Of these five instances it will hardly be questioned that some are mere coincidences. Further, in only one instance, the third, is the relation of the two persons concerned direct; in others it is lateral, the cases being those of cousin or nephew and uncle. On the other hand, in the numerous early genealogies which we possess, we find no trace of the custom of naming after ancestors: thus no two kings of Judah (21 in number, and all of the family of David), and no two kings of the same Ephraimite dynasty, bear the same name, nor does the same name recur in any other early genealogy (see Zeph 1^{1}; Zec 1^{1}; Jer $41^{1.\,2}$; 1 S 9^{1} 14^{3}; 2 K 9^{2} 22^{3}; cf. v.^{12} and Jer 41^{2} 22^{14}). On the other hand, from the 4th cent. B.C. and onwards the custom became prevalent, not only among the Jews, but also among the Phœnicians, Nabatæans, and Palmyrenes.

For sake of distinction, the father's name was sometimes added; as in the case of David, the son of Jesse; and occasionally a person was called simply son of so-and-so, often in contempt (*e.g.* Is 7^4). But the familiar Arabic custom of making actual proper names out of such combinations as father of so-and-so, or son of so-and-so, did not exist among the Hebrews. Nor, again, have we any evidence that anything strictly corresponding to our family names was in use; though, of course, there were clan names, and a man might be described as being the 'man' or 'son' of such and such a clan (Jg 10^1). A woman did not change her name on marriage, though to her own name the description 'wife of so-and-so' was often added (Gn 12^{17}, Jg 4^4). Is 4^1 does not refer to such a custom: for its interpretation see above I. 2. It is not therefore to the family name, but to the memory of a deceased person, that the term 'name' refers in the very frequent phrases 'to blot out' or 'to take away' the name (with reference to childless people; cf. *e.g.* Nu 27^4, Dt $25^{6.\,7}$, 1 S 24^{21}; cf. in Aramaic, *CIS* ii. 113); it is the memory, not the actual name, of an ancestor that posterity preserves (cf. Is 56^5).

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[*] Also, no doubt, Gn 29^{34}, where we ought to read קָרְאָה = she called (so Ball in *SBOT*).

[†] On the cause of the ambiguity in these cases, cf. Davidson, *Syntax*, § 108*a*.

Several instances are recorded of change of name in mature life. But most of these instances are of a special character, and it is therefore difficult to feel sure that the custom was at all frequent. Thus we find (*a*) three or four instances in the legends of the patriarchs, Gn 32^{28} (J) $17^{5.\,15}$ 35^{10}, Nu 13^{16} (P); (*b*) two instances of the names of kings of Judah being changed (by their Babylonian conqueror) on their accession to the throne (2 K 23^{34} 24^{17}); (*c*) instances of Hebrews resident in a foreign country taking names of that country (Gn 41^{45}, Dn $1^{6\text{f.}}$); (*d*) some instances in NT of new names given denoting some striking quality of the person in question (Mk $3^{16.\,17}$).

On the other hand, after the contact of the Jews with the Greeks, it became quite common for a man to adopt a Greek as well as a Jewish name; in these cases a Greek name similar in sound or significance to the Jewish was often adopted, *e.g.* Jakim changed his name to Alcimus (Jos. *Ant.* XII. ix. 7; 1 Mac 7^5), and Saul to Paul. Peter is the Greek name with the same signification as Cephas in Aramaic. This was one cause of the custom unknown to early times of a man being referred to by two names at the same time, *e.g.* Thomas Didymus, Simon Peter, John Mark. In other cases the second of two names may denote a man's city, *e.g.* Judas Iscariot (=איש־קריות; cf. *Pirḳe Aboth*, $1^{3.\,4.\,5}$ $3^{9\text{f.}}$ etc.).

2. *Cities.*—Of the customs connected with the naming of cities we know little beyond what can be inferred from the meaning of the names (see following art.). But we must note that certain narratives trace back the names of cities to their founders or captors (Gn 4^{17}, Nu 32^{42}, Dt 3^{14}, Jos 19^{47}). But these are for the most part, if not entirely, name-myths. How far it points to a custom it is difficult to feel sure, because we are ill informed as to the extent to which the place names of the OT originated with the Hebrews. The Shemer after whom Samaria was named was probably a clan rather than an individual (Stade in *ZATW*, 1885, p. 165 ff.). In one instance the new name given by a king of Judah to a conquered town (2 K 14^7) was that of an old town of Judah. It cannot be inferred from 1 S 12^{28} that it was customary to name a city after its conqueror (see above, I. 2). In the Greek period, Hebrew (Semitic) names of places as well as of persons gave place to Greek names, *e.g.* Beth-shan became Scythopolis (Jth 3^{11}; cf. Jg 1^{27} LXX); but in this, as in so many similar instances, it is the Semitic name which has subsequently survived (mod. *Beisân*).

LITERATURE.—More especially dealing with the subject of § I. of the article:—Oehler, *OT Theol.* (Eng. tr.) i. pp. 181-185; Schultz, *OT Theol.* ch. xxviii. 2; Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgeschichte*², pp. 28 f., 102; Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semit. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 267 f.; Stade, *GVI* ii. 247 f.; G. Hoffmann, *Ueber einige phön. Inschriften*, pp. 47–52; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, pp. 141, 306; Sayce, *Hibbert Lecture*, p. 302 ff.; Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Theologie*, ii. 484 f.; F. C. Conybeare, 'Christian Demonology,' in *JQR* viii. 576–608, ix. 59–114, 447–470, 481–603 (esp. 581–589). More especially dealing with the subject of § II.:—Gray, *Studies in Heb. Prop. Names*, pp. 1–10; Benzinger, *Heb. Archäologie*, 124–131, 150–153; Nowack, *Lehrb. d. Heb. Arch.* 148 f., 165 f.; L. Löw, *Beiträge zur jüd. Alterthumskunde*, ii. pp. 92–110; Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 181-186.

G. B. GRAY.

NAMES, PROPER.—How much a name meant to the Hebrews is indicated in the article NAME. The importance attached to names makes the study of them a valuable means to appreciating the religious and social ideas of the Hebrews. An historical study of them enables us in some measure to trace the growth of ideas; a comparative study of Hebrew and other Semitic names brings to light many similarities and some dissimilarities in the Hebrews to their Semitic kinsfolk. In the present article it will be unnecessary to examine these names in any exhaustive manner; but, so far as space allows, the attempt will be made to indicate the large classes into which great numbers of names naturally fall, the degree to which the meaning of the names is ambiguous, the points of similarity and dissimilarity in Hebrew and the cognate languages, and the history of ideas and their prevalence, so far as the existing data permit these to be traced in the proper names. The meanings of particular names must be sought for under the several articles.

Proper names fall into two main divisions, according as they are names of *persons* or names of *places.* Of these the names of places are, generally speaking, much more ambiguous and difficult of interpretation. But the place names of the OT are also in all probability—once again speaking generally—more ancient than the personal names. It will be convenient, therefore, to deal with them first. It must not, however, be supposed that, in thus dividing the subject, any assumption is made that place names were always independent of personal names, or that the latter were derivative from the former. As a matter of fact, there are probably instances of both kinds—personal names that were originally names of places; place names that were originally names of persons. But certain broad differences in character between personal and place names do suggest that in the main the two classes grew independently of one another. And this is particularly true with regard to names of individual persons, if certain phenomena are rightly interpreted as pointing to the derivation both of some place names and also of some names of individual persons from clan names. But this is an obscure subject, which cannot be discussed here.

I. PLACE NAMES.—1. Obviously, the name of a place may have been long in existence before its first mention in extant records. All names of places in the Bible may therefore, except in those cases in which we have definite evidence to the contrary, have been in existence before the Israelitish conquest of the country. In other words, they may have originated with the Canaanites or other early inhabitants of the land, and not with the Israelites. In several cases we are not left to mere conjecture on this point. We have direct evidence of the pre-Israelitish existence of many names familiar to us in the OT. Thus the Tel el-Amarna tablets mention Aijalon, Hazor, Jerusalem, Lachish, Megiddo, Zorah, and others; the list (15 cent. B.C.) of Tahutmes III.'s conquests includes Abel, Ain, Gath, Migdal, Mishal; and other early Egyptian lists, Beth-anath, Luz, and Secu. The significance of these lists is not exhausted by the actual number of OT place names which they record, and thus directly prove to be pre-Israelitish. For, in the first place, the mention of Jerusalem proves the biblical writers (Jg 19[10], 1 Ch 11[4ff.], Jos 15[8] 18[16. 28]) ill informed in believing that name to be of Israelitish origin, and consequently lessens our confidence in their testimony relative to other names. And, secondly, some of the names actually found in these early records are typical of large classes of OT names. The consequence is, that it is only in the case of a very few names indeed that we can feel confident that they were of Israelitish origin. They must not therefore be indiscriminately used as evidence of Hebrew belief or custom. Fortunately, many of the place names refer to abiding features of the place, not to the changing customs of the inhabitants. To some of these we may turn first.

2. Many names refer to the physical features of the town or its surroundings. *Ramah*, the name of several places, means 'height'; *Geba, Gibeah*, and *Gibeon* mean 'hill.' Other names of similar significance are *Jogbehah* (√גבה = 'to be high'), *Sela* (= 'the cliff'), *Shechem* (= 'the shoulder of a hill'). A low-lying situation or the neighbourhood of some hollow seems to be referred to in *Beth-emeḳ* ('house of the valley'), *Ḥoronaim* ('the two hollows'), and perhaps *Beṭen* (lit. = 'the belly,' so Arabic بَطن). The nature of the soil gave rise to other names: *Argob* indicates a rich and earthy soil; *Eḳron*, 'barren'; *Ḥoreb* and *Jabesh*, 'dry'; *Carmel*, 'garden-land'; *Abel* (in several compounds), 'a meadow.' The numerous compounds with *En* (עַיִן) and *Beer* (בְּאֵר) imply the presence of a spring; *Ḥammath*, *Ḥammoth-dor*, and *Ḥammon*, of hot springs. The 'white' cliffs of the range are probably commemorated by the name *Lebanon*; the duskiness of its waters by *Ḳidron*; the blackness of the soil by *Ḥauran*. But these and other names (*Ḥachilah, Ẓalmon, Adummin, Mê-jarḳon*) which may refer to colour are more or less ambiguous.

3. A very considerable number of place names are names of plants, or are compounded with such names. The shrubs or trees referred to in such names are the acacia (*Abel-shiṭṭim, Beth-shiṭṭah*), the apple-tree (*Beth-tappuaḥ, En-tappuaḥ*, and *Tappuaḥ*), the palm-tree (*Tamar, Baal-tamar, Ḥaẓaẓon-tamar*), the terebinth or oak (*El-paran* = *Elath, Elah, Eloth, Elim*, and *Elon*), the pomegranate (the Rock of *Rimmon*, and probably also *En-rimmon, Rimmon, Rimmon-pereẓ*, and *Gath-rimmon*), the cucumber (*Dilan*), the olive-tree (the Ascent or Mount of *Olives*), the vine (*Abel-cheramim, Beth-haccerem, Eshcol*, and probably *Soreḳ* and *Masreḳah*), the juniper (*Rithmah*), the gadā-tree (*Eẓion-geber*), the almond-tree (*Luz*), the balsam-tree (valley of *Baca*), the sycamore-tree (*Gimzo*), thorn-bushes (*Aṭad, Shamir* and perhaps *Seneh*).

Another large group consists of names of animals, or words derived from animal names, viz. *Aijalon* (the stag), *Lebaoth, Laish* (the lion), *Beth-nimrah* (the leopard), *Ophrah* and *Ephron* (the gazelle), *Arad* (the wild-ass), *Ḥaẓar-shual*, the land of *Shual* and *Shaalbim* (the fox), *Ẓeboim* (the hyæna), *Telaim* and *Beth-car* (the lamb), *Parah* (the cow), *En-eglaim, Eglon* (the calf), *Ḥaẓar-ṣuṣah* (the horse), *En-gedi* (the kid), *Beth-hoglah* (the partridge), *Eṭam* (birds of prey), *Ir-naḥash* (the serpent), *Ḥumṭah* (the lizard), *Ẓorah* (the hornet), *Aḳrabbim* (scorpions), *Gudgodah* (the cricket). The derivation of a few of these is uncertain, but in most of them it is unmistakable. It is easy to understand how trees which always occupy the same position may have given a name to a place; it is less easy to feel sure that the other places derived their names from the abundance of animals in their vicinity. In recent times several scholars have been inclined to seek the origin of these names in totem clans.

4. Characteristics of a place more liable to change, *e.g.* its size, the occupation or cultus of its inhabitants, have given rise to other names. In these cases we can only be sure that the place corresponded to what the name says about it when the name was given; in other words, we can only be sure, in the case of all names about the date of whose origin we are uncertain, that the name was true to the place in an indefinite past.

The various compounds with *Ḥaẓar* or *Ḥaẓor*, *Ir*, and *Ḳiriath* indicate the character of the city at the time when these names were given, but clearly the Hazor of Jg 4[17] (cf. Amarna tablets, 154[41]) had grown into something more than a *Ḥaẓor*, *i.e.* a fixed settlement as contrasted with the mere encampments of nomads, but also as contrasted with the walled cities. Again, the various *Gaths* appear to have derived their names from the existence in them of a wine-press: *Rabbah* from its large, *Ẓoar* from its small size; *En-mishpaṭ* from having been a place for settling disputes.

5. But most important of the names due to characteristics liable to change are those referring to religious belief and practice. Thus several names of places preserve the names of various deities that were at some time worshipped in Canaan. Thus sun-worship has left its mark on *Beth-shemesh* ('temple *or* house of the sun'), *En-shemesh* ('spring of the sun'), *The ascent of Ḥereṣ* (*i.e.* 'the sun'), *Timnath-ḥereṣ* ('portion of the sun'); moon-worship, according to some, on *Jericho* (יְרִיחוֹ, יְרֵחוֹ, cf. יָרֵחַ = 'moon') and *Lebanon* (לְבָנוֹן, cf. לְבָנָה = 'moon'*). We can trace the worship of Babylonian deities not only in the Sinaitic peninsula where *Ṣin* and *Ṣinai* record the worship of the Babylonian moon-god Sin, but also in the land of Israel and its immediate proximity. *Nebo*, the name of a Babylonian deity, is also the name of a town (Nu 32[3]) and a mountain (Dt 32[49]) of Moab, and of a town of Judah (Ezr 2[29]); the worship of Anath, the female double of Anu, is reflected in *Beth-anath, Beth-anoth*, and *Anathoth*; the name of the Babylonian Bel is, perhaps, to be found in *Ebal* (*Academy*, June 27, 1896) and Ἀρβηλά (= Heb. רִבְלָה in Nu 34[11]; *Academy*, July 4, 1896). The name of the goddess Ashtoreth appears in *Ashteroth-ḳarnaim* and *Be-eshterah*; of the god Dagon in *Beth-dagon*. An old divine name (familiar in Arabic) is perhaps to be found in *Ḳishon* and *Elḳosh* (*ZATW*, 1897, p. 349).

A large number of names of places refer to the worship of a god by a general title, especially **Baal** or El, *e.g. Baal-meon, Baal-ḥaẓor, Penuel, Jezreel.* A peculiar feature of the compounds with Baal is that they are not as they stand properly names of places at all, but titles of deities ('owner of the township Meon,' 'owner of the palm-tree'). They have arisen by *abbreviation*, their original form having been *Beth-baal-meon* (which also actually occurs Jos 13[17], Mesha Inscr. l. 30), *Beth-baal-tamar*, etc. In some cases, however, *Baal* was omitted and **Beth** retained, and thus we find *Beth-meon* (Jer 48[23]). It is quite possible, therefore, that some of the numerous compounds with *Beth* which are not now of manifestly religious import were so originally. Names of the type *Jezreel, Jabneel* are probably to be translated 'Let El sow, build,' El being the genius of the place.

II. PERSONAL NAMES.—1. Personal names are either simple or compound. The latter in Hebrew generally consist of two, and only in a very few

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* But a more probable etymology of Lebanon has been suggested above, § I. 2.

(probably late) names of three elements. The greater number of the compound personal names—and in this respect these differ from place names—are sentences, *i.e.* they make some statement or express some wish, generally of a religious character. The simple names, many of which are very obscure, and also the compound names which are not sentences, generally refer directly or metaphorically to some personal feature or circumstance attending the birth. Some apparently simple names appear to have arisen by abbreviation from compound names, *e.g. Nathan* (from *Elnathan* or *Nathanel*), *Shama* (=‘he heard,’ from *Elishama*= ‘God heard’). The explanations of names found in the OT (*e.g.* Gn 3^{20} 4^{25} 5^{29} 16^{11} 32^{28}, Jg 6^{32}, 1 S 1^{20}, 1 Ch 4^{9}) do not generally coincide with their true etymological meaning, but arise from some similarity of sound to a word that gave what appeared subsequently a suitable significance to a man's name. Thus *Noaḥ* (נֹחַ) cannot be *derived* from the root beginning with a similar sound which is used in the explanation of it (יְנַחֲמֵנוּ Gn 5^{29}). The value of these narratives lies chiefly in the evidence they afford as to the *kind* of idea which names were generally selected to express. Thus the explanation of *Esau* (Gn 25^{25}) indicates that the personal features of the child, of *Jacob* (Gn 25^{26}) that the circumstances of the birth, of *Ichabod* (1 S 4^{21}) that the state of public affairs at the time of the birth, might suggest the choice of a child's name.

2. In classifying the personal names into their chief groups, it will be convenient to follow as far as possible at the same time a chronological order. As we have seen, simple Israelitish names are comparatively more frequent in earlier than in later times. Their origin, too, for the most part goes back to the early period. Most of the apparently simple names that can be first traced in later periods are really abbreviated compound names.

A. SIMPLE NAMES.—Of 28 names recorded in Jg 2^{6}–16, six or eight only are compound, the rest are simple. Several, though apparently personal, were perhaps really clan names. In 2 S 9–20 (time of David) the compounds number 22, the simple names 23. On the other hand, among the names of Jeremiah's contemporaries (3–4 centuries later than David) the compound are several times as numerous as the simple names. Among the simple names of the time of the Judges and David we find the following:—(*a*) Several *names of animals*—*Deborah* (‘bee’), *Gaal* (probably ‘beetle’), *Tola* (‘worm’), *Caleb* (‘dog’), *Naḥash* (‘serpent’). Names of this class very rarely appear in the later periods, except that at the time of Josiah we find four (*Ḥuldah*=‘the weasel,’ *Achbor* =‘the mouse,’ and *Shaphan* (2 persons)=‘the rock badger’); all of these are names of unclean animals, and may be due to a recrudescence of ancient superstitious practices of which we certainly find traces somewhat later; cf. Is 66^{17} (sacrificial eating of the mouse). In any case strictly *personal* names of this class are not numerous as compared with the clan and place names, and some of them may be indirectly derivative from a totem stage of society. Otherwise we may explain these personal names as the attempt to express metaphorically some characteristic of the child, or the hope that as it grew up it would possess the characteristic of the animal. This would without much difficulty account for *Deborah* (‘bee’), *Ẓibiah* (‘gazelle,’ cf. the comparison Ca 2^{9} 4^{5}), but not very obviously for some others. For names of this type among other Semitic peoples, cf. (for the Arabs) Hammer-Purgstall, *Ueber die Namen der Araber*, pp. 3, 4.

(*b*) *Names of trees.*—*Tamar* (‘the palm-tree’), the name of two women; cf. the comparison in Ca 7$^{7\text{f.}}$. Similar comparisons are to be found in Arabic poetry. *Elah* (2 K 15^{30}, 1 K 1^{6}) and *Elon* (‘the terebinth *or* oak-tree’), *Hadaṣṣah* (Est 2^{7} ‘the myrtle’), *Ḳeẓiah* (‘cassia’), and perhaps *Solomon* (cf. Wellh. *Is. u. jüd. Gesch.*^{3} p. 103, n. 1) are other instances. For Arabic instances, cf. Hammer-Purgstall, *op. cit.* p. 3.

(*c*) Other early simple names are *Baraḳ* (‘lightning’), *Lappidoth* (‘torches’), *Samson* (derived from *shemesh*=‘sun’), *Ẓadoḳ* (‘just’), *Barzillai* (from בַּרְזֶל=‘iron’).

B. COMPOUND NAMES.—The most numerous of these in OT are the compounds with Yah (= Yahweh); but they are not the earliest. The earliest are compounds with *'ab*(*i*) (‘father’), *'aḥ*(*i*) (‘brother’), *'amm*(*i*) (‘kinsman’), *'El*(*i*) (‘god’). Of these classes compounds with *'ab*, *'aḥ*, and *'amm* (=‘kinsman’) are not only early, but they seem to have ceased to be formed soon after the time of David, and fell wholly into disuse before the close of the Exile. On the other hand, compounds with *'El*, though found in the earliest periods of which we have records, for long furnished fresh formations, and were in frequent use after the Exile. Each of these classes requires some separate discussion.

(*a*) **Compounds with ab, ah, and amm.**—Interpretations of particular instances must be sought under the several articles. All that need be attempted here is to indicate the different views that have been held as to the relation of the two elements in the compounds, and as to the more precise significance of the term of kinship. In a name like *Abinadab*, are the two elements related to one another as construct and genitive, or as subject and predicate? In the former case, is the second element the name of the actual son of the person named, or of a quality, so that the whole name is equal to an adjective? In the latter case, is the *i* of *'abi* (ִ of אֲבִי) a binding vowel, or the 1st personal suffix? In other words, does *Abinadab* mean ‘father of Nadab,’ or ‘father of generosity’ (*i.e.* ‘generous’), or ‘the father is generous,’ or ‘my father is generous’? Every possible answer has been given by one or another at one time or another. Against the view that the relation between the two elements is that of construct and genitive, the following objection among others may be urged—(1) *'ab*, *'aḥ*, *'amm* all denote a *male* kinsman, but the names compounded with them are used indifferently of men and women; examples of such names of women—*Abigal*, *Abiṭal*, *Abishag*; (2) in some cases the elements appear in reverse order, *e.g. Aḥijah* and *Joaḥ*, *Eliab* and *Abiel*. There is little doubt that the relation is predicative; the names are sentences. It is a much more nicely balanced question to decide whether the *i* in *'abi*, *'aḥi*, *'ammi* be the binding vowel or the personal suffix; but in the judgment of the present writer the evidence inclines in favour of the former alternative.

A further ambiguity attaches to the names compounded with *'amm*. That element has often been rendered ‘people.’ But the parallelism of several of these names with the compounds with *'ab*, *'aḥ* (*e.g. Ammiel*, *Abiel*, *Ḥiel*), which is even more prominent in Sabæan proper names, the certainty that *'amm* had the sense of ‘kinsman’ in Semitic, and survivals of this meaning in Hebrew, have led most modern investigators to the conclusion that in several compounds (*e.g. Ammiel*, *Eliam*, *Amminadab*) *'amm* means kinsman. Yet a third view is that *'Amm* is the proper name of a deity (cf. *e.g.* Sayce, *RP*, 2nd series, ii. 123 f.).

In the case of all these names there has been some difference of opinion as to whether the term of kinship refers to the human kinsman (father, brother, uncle), or whether it is a divine title. Opinion prevails in favour of the second alternative. It seems not unlikely that names of this very early type, which are widely distributed over the Semitic field, originated in totemistic conceptions. It is remarkable that they disappear in the course of Hebrew history, though they continued in use to a late period among, *e.g.*, the Phœnicians and Aramæans.

(*b*) Before dealing with compounds with *'El*, we may briefly refer to a class of names which appear to have been adopted for a time by the Hebrews from the Canaanites among whom they settled, but to have been again almost entirely discarded soon after the time of David. These are **the compounds with Adon** (*Adoni-bezeḳ, Adoni-ẓedeḳ, Adonijah, Tob-adonijah*, and *Adoniḳam*); **Baal**, which has sometimes been mutilated by the scribes into *Bosheth*='shame' (*e.g. Meribbaal, Eshbaal*); **Melech** (*e.g. Abimelech, Elimelech, Malchiah*). The main question in the case of these names is whether Baal, Melech, Adon are titles applicable to any gods, and therefore to J″, or proper names of distinct deities. The question is of considerable historical importance; for if it be answered in the latter sense, the names are evidence that Saul and David and Jonathan were worshippers of other gods beside J″; since each of these princes gave names of this class to their children (see ISHBOSHETH, BEELIADA, MEPHIBOSHETH). This view was vigorously maintained by Kuenen, and has recently been revived by Hommel and Kerber; but the trend of scholarly judgment has been against it, and, in the opinion of the present writer, with justice. At the same time there can be little question that the ultimate entire disappearance of the Baal names and almost entire disuse of the compounds with Melech was due to the idolatrous significance which became attached to these words (cf. Hos 2[16] [Heb. [18]]).

(*c*) **Compounds with El.**—These names have been found in almost every Semitic language and dialect. They reach back to a remote antiquity; they continue in use to the latest period. It is possible that they were first used as place and clan names; but some of our earliest names of Hebrew individuals are of this type (*e.g. Eliab*, Nu 16[1b] (J), *Elḳanah*, 1 S 1[1]). In the case of these and the compounds with *Yah*, it is important to observe certain differences in the formation of the names. Thus, in the earliest times, compounds in which the divine name is the *first* element exceed in numbers those in which it forms the second element; this gradually changes until, from the times of Jeremiah onwards, the names in which the divine name forms the *second* element are many times as numerous as those in which it forms the first. We might perhaps attribute this change, which has the effect of removing the emphasis from the subject to the predicate, to the growth of the monotheistic idea—it being no longer necessary to emphasize what god was referred to when only one was believed in—and the desire to emphasize the activity or quality of God referred to by the predicate. At the same time it must be borne in mind that a similar tendency is (according to Hommel) to be traced in the names of the Sabæans and Babylonians who remained polytheists. In the history of the compounds with *'El*, it is to be remarked that at first they outnumbered the compounds with *Yah*, that from the time of David to the Exile they were quite eclipsed by the compounds of *Yah*, but that after the Exile they regain much in popularity, especially in certain circles [cf. the priestly list in Ezr 10[18-22]; the list of angels in Enoch, ch. 6 (Greek text, ed. Charles, p. 64); the list of princes in Nu 1[5-15] (P), in which several of the individual names are ancient, but which, as a list, is a late artificial compilation].

(*d*) **Compounds with Yah** before the time of David are very few, and are confined to families more or less closely connected with the worship of J″. In the time of David they grow frequent, and thenceforward never lose their popularity, but gradually drive out almost all other compounds save those compounded with *'El*, so that in the post-exilic period, and indeed as early as Jeremiah, Hebrew names consisted for the most part of (1) compounds with the divine proper name J″, or (2) the divine title *'El*, which had now become a virtual equivalent for J″, since J″ was regarded as the only true God, or (3) truncated names—verbs where the implicit subject was God. Special features of interest in names of this class are their rare occurrence among names of women, their almost invariable use for heirs to the throne, whether of Judah or Israel, their rare use as place names (*Ananiah* and *Jeshua* being almost the only instances).—An important question connected with the class is whether the names were *peculiar* to Israel. We find one or two foreigners with names of this type mentioned in OT. But *Uriah the Hittite* may have adopted this name on taking up his residence among the Hebrews; *Tobiah the Ammonite* lived at a time when the worship of J″ may have passed from Israel to some of the neighbouring peoples (cf. the case of the Samaritans). The decision really rests with the Assyriologists, who are not as yet agreed whether the -ia at the end of a great number of Assyrian proper names be a divine name or not.

It remains to add that many of the individual names can be paralleled in several other languages, especially those which refer to the gift of J″ or God (*El*); the thought that the god worshipped has given (viz. the child) is expressed in many Hebrew names, *e.g. Elnathan, Nethanel, Jonathan, Nethaniah, Jehozabad, Zebadiah*; and also in many names of other peoples, *e.g.* in the Phœnician *Eshmuniathan* ('Eshmun has given'), the Assyrian *Assur-aḫ-iddina* ('Asshur has given a brother'), the Sabæan *Wahabailu* ('God has given'), and the Palmyrene *Zabadnebo* ('Nebo has bestowed'). Nor is this parallelism confined to names so early in use as some of the Hebrew names just cited. Corresponding, for instance, to *Beẓalel* (perhaps='in the shadow of God') we have the Assyrian *Ina-silli-Bêl* ('in Bel's shadow'). But however great this similarity between the class of ideas expressed by the later Jewish names and by other Semitic names may be,—and it is certainly great,—they differ in this very important respect, that the Jewish names refer to one God only, viz. J″, and that by means of the proper name J″ or the one general term *El* only.

Much that has been said on the relative prevalence, at different periods, of different types of names, depends on the conclusion established by the present writer elsewhere, viz. that *lists* of names in P and Chronicles cannot, unless they are independently supported, be cited as evidence of early custom. Hommel's *Ancient Hebrew Tradition* has in no way affected this conclusion, except in so far as it has by certain analogies confirmed it; for it has not addressed itself to the data on which the conclusion rests. To the character of the individual names in these writings it is impossible to refer at length. But the names recorded only by P contain two classes of which no instance is found elsewhere in OT, viz. compounds with the divine name Shaddai and compounds with **Ẓur** ('Rock'), which appears to be a divine title. Hommel has discovered analogous names (*e.g. Ṣuri-addana*, cf. *Jehoaddan*) to the latter class in some South Arabian names of the 8th cent. B.C. or somewhat earlier. The compounds with **Shaddai** (*Ammishaddai, Ẓurishaddai, Shedeur*) still remain absolutely unique. It is a pure hypothesis of Hommel's that an Assyrian name which has been transliterated *Ammisatana*, but by others (*e.g.* Sayce in *PSBA*, Nov. 1897, p. 292) *Ammiditana*, has anything to do with *Ammishaddai*.

LITERATURE.—Nestle, *Die Israel. Eigennamen nach ihrer religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung* (1876); Gray, *HPN* (1896). To these two books reference may be made for the earlier literature and for further literature on special points. Grunwald, *Die Eigennamen des AT* (1895); Kerber, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung der heb. Eigennamen* (1897). For the names in Gn 1–11 see Budde's *Urgeschichte*; for other important special points, the articles of W. R. Smith on 'Animal and Plant Names,' in *Journal of Phil.* ix. pp. 75–100; Nöldeke in *ZDMG*, 1886, pp. 148–187 (review of Smith), and 1888, pp. 470–487 (review of Baethgen's *Beiträge*); Stade in *ZAW* (1885), pp. 175-185; Jacob, 'Are there Totem Clans in the OT?' in *Studies in Biblical Archæology* (1894); de Jong, 'Over de met ab ach zamengestelde heb. Eigennamen,' in the *Versl. en mededelingen der kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen* (Amsterdam), 1880, pp. 52–68; Renan, 'Des noms théophores apocopées,' in *REJ* v. 161 ff.; Jastrow in *Journal of Biblical Lit.*, 1894, pp. 19 ff., 101–127 (on (1) compounds with *Bosheth*=Baal, (2) compounds with *-yah*); Gilbert in *Hebraica* (April–July 1895); Gray in *Expositor*, Sept. 1897, pp. 173-190, and *Expository Times*, Sept. 1897, pp. 555–558 (replies to Hommel's *AHT*); Barton, 'Native Israelitish Deities,' in *Oriental Studies* of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia, 1894, and 'The Kinship of Gods and Men among the early Semites,' in *Journal of Bib. Lit.* xv. pp. 168–182. For comparative purposes, in addition to the recent Hebrew dictionary of Gesenius-Buhl and *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, the following will be found valuable: the notes in *CIS*; Fried. Delitzsch, *Prolog. eines neuen heb.-aram. Wörterbuch zum AT*, ch. vi. (for Assyrian parallels); Hommel, *AHT*, esp. ch. iii. (for Assyrian and South Arabian parallels); Ledrain, *Dict. des noms propres Palmyréniens*; Bloch, *Phönicisches Glossar*; Hammer-Purgstall, *Ueber die Namen der Araber*; and Wellhausen, *Die Reste des Arabischen Heidenthums*², esp. p. 1 ff.

Of literature that has appeared since the foregoing article was written, there may be mentioned: von Gall, *Altisr. Kultstätten*; Clay, 'Dr. Jastrow: Isr. and Assyr. Prop. Names' (in *The Lutheran Church Review*, xiv. pp. 196–201), containing an extract from a letter of Fried. Delitzsch (11th Mar. 1895) interpreting the -ia at the end of Assyr. names (see above) as a personal suffix; the articles 'Abi' and 'Ammi' in *Encyclopædia Biblica*. This question of *'ammi* has been most recently discussed by Hommel in *Die südarab. Altertümer des wiener Hofmuseums und ihr Herausgeber Prof. D. H. Müller* (Munich, 1899), pp. 21–34; and Glaser, *Punt und die südarab. Reiche* (1899), pp. 20–22, 24–28, 71. On some exilic and post-exilic names see Hilprecht, 'Notes on recently found Nippur Tablets,' in *PEFSt*, 1898, p. 54 f.; Gray, 'Nebo as an element in Hebrew Proper Names,' in *Expos. Times*, Feb. 1899, pp. 232–234.

G. B. GRAY.

NANÆA (Ναναία, 2 Mac 1¹³·¹⁵).—A goddess worshipped in Syria, Persia, Armenia, and other parts of Asia. Various forms of the name occur, such as *Anaitis* (Strabo, xv. 733), *Anæa* (*ib.* xvi. 738), *Aneitis* (Plut. *Artax.* 27), *Tanais* (Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 19). By the Greeks this goddess was identified sometimes with Artemis (so Plut. *l.c.*; Paus. iii. 16. 8), sometimes with Aphrodite (so Clem. Alex. *l.c.*). She seems to have represented the productive powers of nature, and in many places ἱερόδουλοι of both sexes were consecrated to her worship. In 2 Mac 1¹⁰⁻¹⁷ we have a legendary account of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, who is said to have attempted to plunder a temple of Nanæa in Persia, and to have been treacherously killed in the temple by the priests. This temple may be identified with the temple of Artemis (Polyb. xxxi. 2; Jos. *Ant.* XII. ix. 1), or Aphrodite (Appian. *Syr.* 66), in the province of Elymais, upon which Antiochus made an unsuccessful attack; but the statement that the king met his death here is certainly untrue (see also 1 Mac 6¹⁻⁴). The plea alleged to have been made by Antiochus, that he wished to marry the goddess Nanæa, may be illustrated by the conduct of M. Antonius at Athens (cf. Rawlinson, *Speaker's Comm. ad loc.*).

H. A. WHITE.

NAOMI (נָעֳמִי; LXX B Νωεμείν, A Νοεμμεί(ν) and Νοομμεί(ν), Luc. Νοομί).—The wife of Elimelech the Ephrathite, of Beth-lehem-judah, who was driven by famine into the land of Moab. There her husband died, and she was left with her two sons, who married two Moabite women. On the death of her sons, she determined to return to her own country, the land of Judah. On the way she bade her daughters-in-law go back, each to her mother's house, while she expressed a hope that they might each find another husband. Orpah followed her mother-in-law's advice, but Ruth in loving terms declared that she would not be separated from Naomi. The return of Naomi was a matter of surprise to the people of Bethlehem, and they said, 'Is this Naomi?' Her answer included a double play of words on her own name, 'Call me not Naomi ('pleasant'), call me Mara ('bitter'): for the Almighty hath dealt very bitterly with me . . . why call ye me Naomi, seeing the Lord hath testified (*'ānāh*) against me' (Ru 1²⁻²¹). For the rest of her history, and how she became the nurse of Ruth's child by Boaz, see under RUTH.

H. A. REDPATH.

NAPHATH-DOR.—RVm of Jos 12²³, 1 K 4¹¹. See DOR.

NAPHISH (נָפִישׁ).—A son of Ishmael, Gn 25¹⁵ (A Ναφές, *D* Ναφέθ)=1 Ch 1³¹ (BA Ναφές) 5¹⁹ (B Ναφεισαδαῖοι, A Ναφισαῖοι). The clan of which he is the eponymous head has not been traced. In the last cited passage (1 Ch 5¹⁹) we are told that along with others of the Hagrites this clan suffered an overwhelming defeat at the hands of the trans-Jordanic tribes (possibly in the time of Saul). In all probability it is their descendants who are mentioned amongst the Nethinim in Ezr 2⁵⁰ as 'the children of **Nephisim**' (RV, following *Kethibh* נְפִיסִים; B Ναφεισών, A Νεφουσείμ) or **Nephusim** (AV and RVm, following *Ḳerê* נְפוּסִים). In the parallel passage (Neh 7⁵²) the reading is **Nephushesim** (RV, following *Kethibh* נְפוּשְׁסִים; B Νεφωσασεί, A -είμ) or **Nephishesim** (AV and RVm, following *Ḳerê* נְפִישְׁסִים). The reading in 1 Es 5³¹ is **Naphisi** (B Ναφεισεί, A Ναφισί). See, further, Wellhausen-Bleek⁵, p. 585.

J. A. SELBIE.

NAPHISI (B Ναφεισεί, A Ναφισί), 1 Es 5³¹=Nephisim, Ezr 2⁵⁰; Nephushesim, Neh 7⁵².

NAPHOTH-DOR.—RVm of Jos 11². See DOR.

NAPHTALI (נַפְתָּלִי, Νεφθαλείμ) was the fifth son of Jacob, and the second borne to him by Rachel's handmaid Bilhah, Gn 30⁷ᶠᶠ·. He was thus full brother to Dan, with whose descendants his were afterwards closely associated.

נַפְתּוּלֵי אֱלֹהִים נִפְתַּלְתִּי, exclaimed Rachel at his birth: 'wrestlings of God have I wrestled.' She had prevailed in a great wrestling match with her sister, for the grace and blessing of God (Dillmann on Gn 30⁸), as evidenced in the birth of sons; therefore she called him Naphtali.

The information regarding Naphtali given in Scrip. is extremely scanty, and it is not greatly augmented by tradition. Targg. Pseudo-Jon. and Jerus. say that he was swift of foot, and that he was the first to tell Jacob that Joseph was alive. This may be due, however, to a certain understanding of Gn 49²¹. When the family went down into Egypt he had four sons (Gn 46²⁴). The Targg. above cited say that he was one of the five whom Joseph presented to Pharaoh (Gn 47²). According to 'The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' he died in his 132nd year. Like all his brethren except Joseph, he found sepulture in the land of Egypt.

According to the figures given in Nu 1⁴² 2³⁰, when the people were numbered in the wilderness of Sinai, the tribe of Naphtali occupied the sixth place with 53,400 men over 20 years old, 'able to go forth to war.' Before entering Canaan Naphtali had fallen to the eighth place with 45,400 (Nu 26⁴⁸⁻⁵⁰). The position of Naphtali in the march through the desert was with Dan and Asher, on the north side of the tent of meeting (Nu 2²⁹). These three together formed the 'camp of Dan,' numbering in all 157,600 fighting men.

When the host moved forward, they acted as rear-guard, setting forth 'hindmost by their standards' (Nu 2^{31}).

With the probable exception of Barak, Naphtali added no distinguished name to Israel's historic roll. The prince and representative of the tribe in the wilderness of Sinai was Ahîra' ben Enan (Nu 1^{15} 2^{29}). He having perished in the desert, the prince chosen to represent Naphtali in the division of the land was Pedahel ben 'Ammihud (Nu 34^{28}). The Naphtalite Nahbî ben Vophsî went with the spies from the wilderness of Paran (Nu 13^{14}). At the close of David's reign, Jeremoth ben 'Azriel was over the tribe (1 Ch 27^{19}). The mother of Hiram, the cunning artificer in brass, whom Solomon brought from Tyre, is claimed for Naphtali in 1 K 7^{14}, but in 2 Ch 2^{14} is given to Dan. That Barak belonged to Naphtali has been questioned on the ground that Jg 5^{15} seems to associate him with Issachar; but, owing to the confusion of the text (Moore, *Judges, in loc.*), this point is extremely doubtful, and it is natural to infer, from his residence in Kedesh (Jg 4^6) and his influence with the mountain tribes (Jg 4^{10}), that he was connected with Naphtali.

Naphtali was the last but one to receive his portion in the land of promise (Jos 19^{32-39}). This involved no disadvantage; the district that fell to him included some of the finest land in Palestine, rich and beautifully diversified. On the east it was bounded by the Sea of Galilee and the Upper Jordan. Josephus (*Ant.* v. i. 20) says it reached eastward to Damascus. This is improbable, and lacks corroboration. The northern border coincided with that of Israel's possession; while west, south-west, and south, Naphtali marched with Asher, Zebulun, and Issachar. These marches cannot be traced with certainty; but recent identifications of ancient sites, due chiefly to Col. Conder, make possible an approximation (see names of cities in Naphtali). Beginning at the confluence of *Wādy el-Bireh* with the Jordan, the line might run westward, following the northern side of the valley, including Adami (*ed-Damieh*, about 10 miles north of *Beisân*), to Tabor, the lower slopes of which are probably indicated by Aznoth-Tabor, 'the ears of Tabor.' It would then run northward by way of Ziddim (*Ḥaṭṭîn*) and Hukkok (*Yaḳûḳ*) to Hannathon (*Kefr Anân*); thence turning westward, taking in the lands of Ramah (*er-Râmeh*), until it touched the border of Asher, whence, running northward to almost opposite Tyre, it turned eastward, and again northward, dividing with Asher the districts now known as *Belâd Beshârah* and *Belâd esh-shuḳîf*, the larger portion of which fell to Naphtali. These boundaries include the land lying around the springs of Jordan. This, however, soon passed to Dan (Jos 19^{47}) by means of the raid described in Jg 18, which Naphtali does not seem to have either resisted or resented, possibly because of the close kinship of the tribes. Laish, held by its Phœnician inhabitants until attacked by Dan, and Hazor, which is subsequently found in the hands of Jabin, must be added to Beth-shemesh (not yet identified) and Beth-Anath (*'Ainitha*, 6 miles W.N.W. of *Ḳedes*), as cities out of which Naphtali did not drive the Canaanites. Kedesh in Galilee (Jos 20^7; see KEDESH-NAPHTALI) was set apart as a city of refuge, and this city, along with Hammoth-dor and Ḳartan, with their suburbs, was given to the Levite family of Gershon (Jos 21^{32}, 1 Ch 6^{76}).

The lofty region to the north-west of the Sea of Galilee formed by far the larger part of the territory of Naphtali. It is in every sense a pleasant land—a country of healthful air and noble scenery. It is plentifully watered, and, compared with the rest of Palestine, well wooded. Olive and lemon trees are specially abundant, while the fig, the mulberry, and the apricot are general. The vine is cultivated on many a sunny slope, and wide reaches of plough-land in the valleys yield fine crops of wheat and barley. The villages which dot the landscape give evidence of all the comfort and prosperity possible under the present government. *Jebel Jermuk*, cut off from the Safed hills by the tremendous gorge of *Wâdy Leimûn*, is the highest mountain in Western Palestine, reaching a height of nearly 4000 ft. To Naphtali also belonged the plain of Ijon, now *Merj A'yûn*, in the valley west of Hermon, and the upper valley of the Jordan, from the springs to the Sea of Galilee, both containing much excellent arable and pasture land. As if this were not enough for one whom the Lord blessed with such goodwill (Driver, *Deut.* p. 413), to Naphtali were assigned the broad fertile terraces by which the land lets itself down from Tabor to the Sea of Galilee, the fruitful level stretches before *Ḥaṭṭîn*, and the Plain of Gennesaret, a tract of unequalled richness and luxuriance on the north-west shore of the lake. To this, doubtless, allusion is made in Dt 33^{23}, where יָם should be rendered 'sea,' not 'west,' and is certainly the Sea of Galilee. The region has always been famous for its productiveness, 'insomuch that it invites the most slothful to take pains in its cultivation' (Jos. *BJ* III. iii. 2). It was one of the districts from which Solomon drew provisions, presided over for this purpose by the king's son-in-law Ahimaaz (1 K 4^{15}). 'To the inhabitants of such a land the more luxuriant vegetation of the hot lands on either side spread its temptations in vain . . . It is luxury where luxury cannot soften. On these broad heights, open to the sunshine and the breeze, life is free and exhilarating.

"Naphtali is a hind let loose."

This beautiful figure (Gn 49^{21}) fully expresses the feelings which are bred by the health, the spaciousness, the high freedom, and glorious outlook of Upper Galilee' (*HGHL*^{1} 420). The reading, 'Naphtali is a stretched out, *i.e.* slender, terebinth,' adopted by Ewald (*Hist. of Israel*, tr. ii. 291), Dillmann (*Genesis*, ii. 472), and others in preference to MT, is rejected by Delitzsch (*Genesis in loc.*), with apparently good reason. The figure of a *slender* tree seems to suit neither the territory nor its inhabitants. The latter appear to have been from the first a robust and numerous people; while neither in shape, nor in the character of its products, is the land at all open to such a description (*HGHL*^{1} 420, note). Delitzsch further points out that שְׁלֻחָה, in the meaning of stretched, slender, is uncorroborated and linguistically improbable. MT is supported by the Targg. and Sam., and is altogether appropriate to people nurtured amid the freedom of the mountains. 'He who giveth goodly words' seems to mark out Naphtali as possessing, in special measure, the gift of eloquence. Of this, however, there is no extant evidence.

His position as a border tribe exposed Naphtali to constant peril from marauding bands, and inroads of hostile neighbours. In conflict with those who sought the spoils of his fair territory, no doubt, was developed that alert, eager, fearless, warlike spirit, which shone so conspicuously under the leadership of Barak and Deborah (Jg 5^{18}), and which made the men of these uplands so formidable in later days. A thousand captains and a contingent of 37,000 men 'with shield and spear' were sent to David at Hebron (1 Ch 12^{34}). In Tiglath-pileser's first raid against Pekah, Naphtali fell into the hands of Assyria, and the people were taken into captivity (2 K 15^{29}; cf. 1 Ch 5^{26}, Is 9^1). The heroic zeal and bravery of the inhabitants of this region in the war of independence was worthy of the greatest traditions of the past (see GALILEE). Josephus, whose knowledge was intimate, testifies that they were 'inured to war from their infancy,' 'nor hath the country ever been destitute of men of courage' (*BJ* III. iii. 2). Much of our Lord's ministry was fulfilled within the borders of Naphtali; and of those chosen to be His companions and witnesses, the chief were natives of this soil.

There are but two towns of any consequence in the territory of Naphtali to-day, both 'holy cities' of the Jews: Tiberias, on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, with about 5000 inhabitants, where the tombs of Maimonides, Rabbi Aḳîba, and other great ones are shown, the ruins of the ancient city stretching 2 miles to the south; and Safed, with over 20,000 inhabitants, crowning the mountain north of the sea, dominated by the 'castle hill.' The castle itself, dating from Crusading times, was finally wrecked in the earthquake of 1837, which wrought such havoc both in Safed and in Tiberias. At *Meirôn*, a few miles north-west of Safed, are the ruins of an ancient synagogue, and the tombs of Hillel and Simeon Bar Yochai. This is a popular Jewish place of pilgrimage. Of the villages representing ancient cities, *er-Rameh* is perhaps the most prosperous; and on the ridge north of *er-Rameh* stands the hamlet of *el-Bukeiʿa*, the highest place of human habitation in Palestine, whose Jewish inhabitants claim to have held it in unbroken possession since Joshua's conquest.

Naphtali, Mount (הַר נַפְתָּלִי, ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Νεφθαλεί, Jos 20⁷) was the northmost of the parts into which the central range of Western Palestine was divided, named after the tribes that mainly occupied them—Mount Judah, Mount Ephraim, and Mount Naphtali. It is a mistake in either case to translate 'hill-country' (see, however, Driver in art. HILL-COUNTRY). The rendering 'mount' or 'mountain' is in accordance with immemorial usage in these lands. The modern *Jebel Safed* corresponds generally with the ancient *Har Naphtali*, and *Jebel Nâblus* with *Har Ephraim*: the name in each case is taken from the seat of government in the district. No one thinks of translating *Jebel Libnân* (Mount Lebanon) by 'the hill-country of Lebanon,' although the scenery there is as diversified as in any district in the southern range.

LITERATURE.—Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. *passim*; Merrill, *Galilee in the Time of Christ*; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* pp. 53, 392, 420; Henderson, *Palestine*, p. 102 f.; Douglas, *Joshua*, 103–105; Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, tr. ii. 290 ff.; Keil and Delitzsch, *Joshua*; Driver, *Deut.* 413; and art. GALILEE.

W. EWING.

NAPHTUHIM (נַפְתֻּחִים, Νεφθαλ(ι)είμ, *Nephtuim*, *Nephthuim*) is given in Gn 10¹³ and 1 Ch 1¹¹ as the fourth 'son' of Mizraim. Nothing definite is known of a place or people bearing this name. One view, as old as Targ. Jon., transposes the first two consonants, reads *Pentaschœnum*, identifies with Νέφθυς, and puts the situation N.E. of Egypt. An attempt to find an Egyptian etymology takes *na* as the plural article and *Ptaḥ* as the god's name, thus yielding *naptaḥ*, with a meaning 'they of Ptah,' an appropriate name for the district about Memphis, the centre of the Ptaḥ cult. This name, however, does not seem to have been in actual use, in native documents, to denote a place or people. The Ethiopian capital, Napata, mentioned by Ptolemy (iv. 7, 19) is a tempting parallel, but would be more likely to be assigned to Cush. The certainty of Pathrusim being the Egyptian *petersï* or 'southern land' led Erman to suggest a corruption from פתמחים for *petemhï* 'northern land.' If we are to admit corruptions, we may compare the Assyrian form *Naṭḫu*, given in Assurbanipal's Annals (Col. i. 94, 99), as a district, probably in Lower Egypt. This seems to represent the Egyptian *n-idḫw*, 'the marshes,' and is used in opposition to Patrusi. Herodotus (ii. 165) gives this name as Ναθῶ, and indicates that there were two such districts. The disappearance of *p* may be compensated by the change from *t* to *ṭ* in the Assyrian spelling. For other suggestions see Dillmann and Holzinger on *Gen.* and the references there; Steindorff, *Beitr. zur Assyr.* i. p. 600 f.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

NAPKIN is the EV trⁿ in Lk 19²⁰, Jn 11⁴⁴ 20⁷ (in Ac 19¹² [the only other occurrence of the Gr. word] 'handkerchief') of σουδάριον, which is really a Lat. word *sudarium** (from *sudor*, 'sweat'). The name refers to the use of this article to wipe off perspiration from the hands and face (cf. Quintil. vi. 3). In Lk 19²⁰ the man who had received the one pound, wrapped his lord's money in a *sudarium*, which may here mean either a species of head-dress like the Arab. *kûfiyeh*, or a towel or the like (the reader will recall instances in the *Arabian Nights Tales* of the wrapping up of money in a linen cloth and then concealing it, and also of the carrying of it in the folds of one's turban). The same uncertainty attaches to the meaning of the **handkerchiefs** (σουδάρια) which are said to have been brought in contact with the person of St. Paul and then used for the healing of the sick, Ac 19¹². The face of the dead was bound up with a napkin, Jn 11⁴⁴ (Lazarus) 20⁷ (Jesus). See, also, art. DRESS in vol. i. p. 627ᵇ. J. A. SELBIE.

NARCISSUS (Νάρκισσος).—In Ro 16¹¹ St. Paul salutes, among other Roman Christians, those 'of the household of Narcissus, which are in the Lord.' The name was common, especially among slaves and freedmen; cf. *CIL* vi. 4123 (in the household of Livia), 4346, 5206 HELICONIS NARCISSI AVGVSTIANI: 22875 NARCISSVS · AVG · LIB.; but it is best known as that of the notorious freedman of Claudius, who had been put to death by Agrippina shortly after the accession of Nero, some three or four years before this letter was written (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 1; Dio Cass. lx. 34). It was an obvious suggestion that the reference was to members of his household, but the fact that he was already dead when the letter was written seemed to make this impossible. Bishop Lightfoot has, however, suggested that the identification is still possible. When Narcissus was put to death, his property would be confiscated and become the property of the emperor, and his slaves would swell the imperial household, but be distinguished as the *Narcissiani*. We find servants of Livia called *Mæcenatiani*, as having come from the household of Mæcenas (*CIL* vi. 4016, 4032); we find also *Amyntiani* (4035; cf. 8738), *Agrippiani*, *Germaniciani*. The same explanation is given for the household of ARISTOBULUS (wh. see). The form Narcissianus occurs, but apparently not necessarily with this meaning, Murat. p. 1150, 4: TI · CLAVDIO · SP · F · NARCISSIANO. The following inscription is later, *CIL* vi.: D.M | T. FLAVIVS · AVG. LIB | NARCISSVS · FECIT · · ·, and lower down: T. FLAVIVS · AVG · LIB · FIRMVS · NARCISSIANVS · · · REFECIT. It may be possible to work this point out more completely when vol. vi. of the Berlin *Corpus* of Inscriptions is finished. An inscription quoted by Plumptre (*Biblical Studies*, p. 428) is of doubtful genuineness. The later traditions about Narcissus are quite valueless. He is made by Pseudo-Hippolytus (*de LXX Apostolis*, p. 955, ed. Migne), bishop of Athens, and is commemorated on Oct. 31.

LITERATURE. — Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 173; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. 425; *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. vol. xiii. p. 687.

A. C. HEADLAM.

NARD.—'Pure nard' is the AVm rendering for

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* It appears in the Targums as סידרא (Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* 1442).

'spikenard' (Mk 14^{3}, RVm 'pistic nard'). See SPIKENARD.

NASBAS (B Νασβᾶς) occurs only in To 11^{18} 'And Achiacharus and Nasbas his brother's son came,' namely, to the wedding of Tobias the son of Tobit. The AV gives in the margin the suggestion of Junius: 'Achiacharus, who is also called Nasbas' (*i.e.* Ἀχιαχαρ ὃς καὶ N. for Ἀχιάχαρος καὶ N.). The MSS and Versions offer the following variants (cf. Ball, *Variorum Apocrypha*): ℵ 'A. and *Nabad* his cousins' (but a second hand corrected οἱ ἐξάδελφοι into the singular); cursives 'A. and *Nabas* his cousins'; Itala 'A. and *Nabal* his maternal uncle' (Cod. Sangerm. 15: 'Achiacar in *Navis* soceri illius'); Syr. 'A. and *Laban*, his sister's son' (לבן omitted in the *Thes. Syr.* col. 1886); Vulg. 'Achior and *Nabath* the cousins of Tobias.'

The question whose brother's or sister's son Nasbas was, whether of Tobit (so Vulgate and others) or of Achiacharus, which could not be settled by the data in the Book of Tobit, is now decided in favour of the latter view through the newly published *Story of Aḥiḳar and his Nephew.* For there can be no doubt as to the identity of these personages; and it is now also certain that we must find the same person (Nasbas) in the *Aman* of the received text of To 14^{10} (see art. AMAN in vol. i. p. 79 and correct there, that the Syriac spells 'A*k*ab' [עכב] not 'A*ḥ*ab'); cf. further, Ball, *Variorum Apocrypha*, where the Sinaitic Text (ἐν τῷ ποιῆσαί με ἐλεημοσύνην) must be translated: 'because he gave me alms,' not 'because I did alms.'

The original form of the name is most probably *Nadab*, though it is not easy to say on palæographical or other grounds how all the variants could arise, especially the received form *Nasbas.* See J. R. Harris in the Introduction to *The Story of Aḥiḳar* (London, 1898, pp. xxix, xlv).

EB. NESTLE.

NASI (B Νασεί, A Νασίθ, AV Nasith), 1 Es 5^{32} = Neziah, Ezr 2^{54}, Neh 7^{56}.

NATHAN (נָתָן '(whom God) gave'; Ναθάν).—**1.** Successor of Samuel in the line of prophet statesmen (Sir 47^{1}). When first introduced into the history (2 S 7$^{1\text{-}17}$, 1 Ch 17$^{1\text{-}15}$) he is already David's chief spiritual adviser (cf. 1 K 1^{27} *Ḳerê*). The incident is a remarkable one, whether we regard it as indicative of the prophetic as contrasted with the priestly policy in religious affairs (Ewald, *HI* iii. 131), or as marking an epoch in the development of the Messianic ideal. The transfer of the seat of government from Hebron to Jerusalem was the first step towards the unification of the kingdom. It only remained to centralize the religious system as well, and so render Israel completely homogeneous. The building, therefore, of the temple at Jerusalem was something more than an expression of fervent piety; it was a stroke of far-reaching policy. At first, indeed, it was not altogether successful; but after the fall of the Northern Kingdom the temple became so inextricably associated with the religion of the Hebrews as to involve in its own ruin the system which it was designed to consolidate and preserve. The prophet historian represents Nathan's purely human impulse as favourable to the project. That very night, however, a Divine revelation warned him that the time was not yet ripe for this innovation, and bade him communicate to the king a consolatory promise, which is one of the most important Messianic prophecies in the whole OT. The conception of the Son of David, whose kingdom should have no end, struck the imagination of every subsequent Messianic prophet, and is the most prominent feature in NT retrospect. The significant variations of the Chronicles in this speech need not here be indicated. But Nathan fulfilled the prophet's truest function in that scene in which his idyllic parable awoke the conscience of his friend and master (2 S 12$^{1\text{-}15}$, Ps 51 title). As we read the words of restrained emotion in which Nathan lays bare the meanness and selfishness of David's sin, we feel that their effect must have been, in great measure, due to the peculiarly intimate relations of the king and the prophet. Doubtless it was a consolation to Nathan to be commissioned subsequently (2 S 12^{25}) to bestow on the first child of the now forgiven union his name 'in religion,' 'Jedidiah, after the meaning of Jah' (Ewald, *HI* iii. 168). The infant thus favoured was afterwards to owe his crown to the prophet's astuteness and promptitude. It was Nathan that first detected the plot of Adonijah, and suggested and carried through the plan of action by which it was baffled, and he took a leading part in the joyous coronation ceremony that followed (1 K 1). One is tempted to suggest that the far-seeing and enlightened statesmanship which marked the early years of Solomon's reign was a result of the teaching of Nathan. It is significant that his son Zabud was selected by Solomon as a special priest and 'king's friend' (1 K 4^{5}). The Chronicler ascribes to Nathan histories of David (1 Ch 29^{29}) and of Solomon (2 Ch 9^{29}). It remains to add that Jerome (*Qu. Heb.* on 1 S 17^{12}, 2 S 21^{21}, 1 Ch 20^{7} 27^{32}) identifies Nathan with David's nephew Jonathan. He says that he is called Nathan as a prophet, but Jonathan as a warrior, and that when called by the former name his father is not mentioned, since he was not a prophet.

2. Son of David, born at Jerusalem (2 S 5^{14}, 1 Ch 14^{4}). According to 1 Ch 3^{5} he was third son of Bathshua (Bathsheba), Solomon being fourth. But we should naturally infer from 2 S 12^{24} that Solomon was the first son of Bathsheba's that lived for any time. The princely family of Nathan is mentioned in Zec 12^{12} as a specific division of the house of David. St. Luke (3^{31}) traces the descent of our Lord from David through Nathan rather than through Solomon, as is done by St. Matthew. **3.** Father of Igal (2 S 23^{36}), or brother of Joel (1 Ch 11^{38}), who was one of David's heroes. The text of Chronicles is preferred by Rawlinson, but seems a corruption of that of Samuel. **4.** A Judahite (1 Ch 2^{36}). **5.** One of the deputation sent by Ezra to request Iddo to provide Levites, etc., for the temple (Ezr 8^{16}, 1 Es 8^{44}). **6.** One of those who had taken strange wives (Ezr 10^{39}), called in 1 Es 9^{34} **Nathanias.**

N. J. D. WHITE.

NATHANAEL.—**1.** (Ναθαναήλ) one of the 'captains over thousands,' who played a prominent part at Josiah's passover, 1 Es 1^{9}. **2.** (B Ναθανάηλος, A om.) a priest who had married a foreign wife, 1 Es 9^{22} = NETHANEL of Ezr 10^{22}. **3.** (Ναθαναήλ) an ancestor of Judith, Jth 8^{1}. **4.** See next article.

NATHANAEL (Ναθαναήλ, equivalent to נְתַנְאֵל ['God has given'; cf. the names *Dorotheus*, *Dositheus*, *Theodore*], *Nethanel* [which see], Nu 1^{8} etc.).—A man of Cana of Galilee (Jn 21^{2}), whom Philip, after having himself been called by Christ, induced to come into the Master's presence (Jn 1$^{45\text{ff.}}$). Our Lord describes him as 'an **Israelite** indeed,' *i.e.* one who valued the spiritual privileges, and sought to realize the ideal life of an Israelite; and as a man 'in whom there is no guile,' *i.e.* not sinless, but sincere and candid, open-minded, and single-hearted, one who was free from the guile of Jacob before he attained to the nobility of Israel. Nathanael showed his candour (1) by not allowing himself to be deterred from coming to see Jesus through his natural reluctance* to accept Nazareth, an insignificant townlet, mentioned by no prophet, as the place whence the expected Messiah would come forth; (2) by at once surrendering his prejudice when adequate evidence of Christ's supernatural power was received. His eventual faith in the Messiahship of Jesus could hardly have been due to the mere fact that Christ, unseen by Nathanael, had beheld him under the fig-tree, even assuming that he was seen there engaged in devotion or religious meditation. Christ alludes, doubtless, to some recent crisis or special incident in Nathanael's spiritual experience which had taken place while he sat under the fig-tree—an awakening, perhaps, to a higher ideal of life and duty, or a successful struggle with some strong temptation, or a devout longing for the coming of Messiah and His kingdom. He who had then not only seen, but seen into him, must be 'He that should come,' the Son of God (in Messianic sense, cf. Ps 2^{7}), and the (spiritual) king of Israel (Is 9^{7}).

The name of Nathanael occurs only once again in the Gospel history, namely, in Jn 21^{2}, where he is one of the seven to whom the risen Jesus manifested Himself at early dawn after a night of fruitless fishing. One expects to find Nathanael included (like the other disciples who were simultaneously called) among the Twelve apostles. Aug. (Hom. vii. on the *Gosp. of Jn.*) accounts for his non-selection by the assumption that Nathanael was learned in the law, and that Christ 'desired to transform the world through unlearned' apostles. Somewhat similarly, Gregory the Great (*Mor.* 33. 21) represents our Lord as 'passing over Nathanael in order to show, by the choice of apostles who had nothing praiseworthy of their own, that their sufficiency came not from themselves, but from above.' The now widely accepted† identification of Nathanael with **Bartholomew** is not known to have been adopted until the 9th cent., by the Nestorian Elias, of Damascus (*Assem. B.O.* iv. p. v).‡ To the considerations already adduced under BARTHOLOMEW in favour of this suggestion, may be added (1) Nathanael's apparent inclusion (Jn 21^{2}) among the 'disciples,' by whom, in the context (Jn $20^{24ff.}$ 21^{14}), the evangelist seems to mean apostles; (2) the fact of most of the other apostles bearing two names, and, in particular, the parallel case of Levi, who is so called in Mk 2^{14}, Lk 5^{27}, and whose other name, *Matthew*, signifies 'gift of Jehovah,' almost equivalent to *Nathanael*. The identification, however, cannot be regarded as more than a plausible conjecture, against which the absence of any hint of the identity in any early writer tells strongly, although not decisively. Nathanael has also been identified with (1) the friend of Cleopas in Lk 24 (Epiph. *Hær.* 23, without reason given); (2) Matthew (Thoma in *Genes. d. Jn. Ev.*), a supposition negatived by the diverse circumstances of Nathanael's call; (3) John himself (Spaeth in Hilg. *Zeitsch.* 1868), Jn 21^{2} being treated as a mistake of the alleged 'supplementer'; (4) Matthias (Hilg. *NT extra Can.* iv., and, doubtfully, Jn. Lightf. *Com. Ac. in. loc.*, who elsewhere, in his *Comm. on Mt. and Jn.*, prefers to identify Nathanael with Bartholomew); (5) Simon the Cananæan, from a misinterpretation of this surname, as if 'of Cana'; and (6) Stephen, owing to Jn 1^{51} and Ac 7^{56} (both the last conjectures mentioned by Chemnitius, *Harm. Evan.* 312; cf. Lipsius, *Apocr. Apos.* iii. 152).

LITERATURE (in addition to works quoted).—Kindler in *Thes. Theol.-Philol.* ii. 370 ff.; Trench, *Studies in the Gospels*; N. Marshall, Three Discourses on Nathanael in *Sermons*, vol. ii.; Newman, *Sermons*, vol. ii.; M'Laren, *Year's Ministry*, ii. 169.

H. COWAN.

NATHANIAS (Ναθανίας), 1 Es 9^{34} = Nathan, Ezr 10^{39}.

NATHAN-MELECH (נְתַן־מֶלֶךְ; Eng. as Vulg.).—An official in the reign of Josiah, whose name is used to designate one of the halls or chambers (לְשָׁכוֹת) of the temple (2 K 23^{11}; see EUNUCH). Gifts and offerings were received in these chambers (Neh $10^{39\,(40)}$), and they may have been assigned particularly to the control of those whose names are attached to them (Jer 35^{4} $36^{10.\,11}$). In the 'hall of Nathan-melech' Josiah deposited the horses of the sun (? a group of statuary) which he removed from near the temple entrance (2 K 23^{11}; translate, 'and he removed the horses . . . to the chamber of N.'). The express identification of the chamber suggests that it was a permanent repository for these horses rather than an 'office' to which they were handed over. Regarding its situation in the temple area, see PARBAR. The name נְתַן־מֶלֶךְ 'Melech gave,' is exactly paralleled by נְתַנְיָה and נְתַנְאֵל 'J″ gave,' 'El gave.' It is not necessarily a recognition of an idol god Melech (Molech), for Melech, 'king,' was no doubt a title of J″. But the name may be a trace of the idol-worship of the 7th cent. (Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, pp. 146–148). In the LXX מֶלֶךְ does not seem to have been taken as part of the proper name (Luc. Ναθὰν εὐνούχου τοῦ βασιλέως; B Ναθὰν βασιλέως τοῦ εὐνούχου).

W. B. STEVENSON.

NATIONS.—See GENTILES, GOIIM, RACES.

NATURAL.—Two different Greek words are thus rendered in AV and RV, which it is necessary here to distinguish. **1.** φυσικός, 'that which is according to the nature' (φύσις) of any organism, which is the outcome of its constitution. Thus St. Paul contrasts ἡ φυσικὴ χρῆσις with that which is παρὰ φύσιν (Ro 1^{26}); and in like manner the 'natural branches,' οἱ κατὰ φύσιν κλάδοι (Ro 11^{21}), are contrasted with the graft from a foreign stock. It is plain that it is impossible to decide finally whether or not any process is or is not φυσικός, unless we understand thoroughly the constitution of the φύσις. It is only because we assume that we certainly know the true τέλος of sex, that we unhesitatingly condemn as 'unnatural,' abominable practices like those condemned by St. Paul (Ro 1^{26}), despite the fact that they are widely prevalent in various parts of the world. Science assures us that they contradict the 'constitution of human nature,' the φύσις of man, and conscience acquiesces in the decision.

There is, however, little dispute as to what is *unnatural* for man, *i.e.* that which contradicts the whole system of man's nature, and is not merely repugnant to certain elements of it. But when we ask questions about the distinctions between what is *natural* and what is *supernatural* in the universe, difficulties emerge. Certainly (see NATURE, p. 493^{b}), if we understand by φύσις 'the sum of all that is,' nothing is strictly *supernatural*. But science usually employs the word 'nature' (described in art. NATURE, § 1) as equivalent to the complex of phenomena, the sum of material forces. And we have not yet exhausted the meaning of 'nature' in this sense, for we are not omniscient. Many things once considered supernatural are now found to be strictly the results of 'natural' processes, of hitherto undiscovered laws of the physical universe. The progress of science largely consists in enlarging the domain of 'natural' law. Hence of a given event, seemingly anomalous, it may be impossible for the observer to say with confidence that it is not the result of unknown natural law, and that it must be referred to supernatural intervention. The degree of confidence with which this can be asserted in any particular instance must be measured by the completeness of our knowledge of the circumstances and of the agents. And Butler's observation is profound, 'that there may be beings in the universe whose capacities and knowledge and views may be so extensive as that the whole Christian dispensation may to them appear natural, *i.e.* analogous or conformable to God's dealings with other parts of His creation; as natural as the visible known course of things appears to us. For there scarce seems any other possible sense to be put upon the word, but that only [of] similar, stated, or uniform' (*Anal.* I. 1 *sub fin.*). This, however, is only a speculation; the fact remains, that of certain alleged phenomena our knowledge of nature assures us that they are not in accordance with its ordinary laws as known to us, and that they must therefore be classified as *supernatural.* The classification is provisionally necessary, although it may not be scientific *sub specie æternitatis.* See MIRACLE (p. 383) for a fuller discussion of this point.

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* Some early writers, however (*e.g.* Cyril of Alex. *Comm. in loc.*), interpret Nathanael's words in Jn 1^{46}, not interrogatively, but as an acquiescence in Philip's statement contained in v.^{45}. Augustine (*in loc.*), while giving both interpretations, appears to prefer 'From Nazareth some good might come,' and deduces from the answer that Nathanael was a learned man, who had 'looked well into the prophets,' and perceived a hidden reference to Nazareth in their writings.

† Among others, by Ew., Mey., Lange, Keim, Wesl., Newm., Alf., Tren., Millig., Farrar, Westcott. The Apocr. *Judicium Petri* represents both Bartholomew and Nathanael as apostles.

‡ Elias is followed by Ebedjesu and other Nestorians (*Ass.* iii. 306). In the West the suggestion is found first in Rupertus of Deutz (12th cent., *Com. in loc.*), but did not excite much attention until the 16th cent., when it was approved by C. Jansenïus (*Com.* p. 142), and condemned by Baronius as 'levis conjectura' (i. 123).

2. ψυχικός is twice rendered by 'natural' in the RV, and twice by 'sensual.' The mind of man is frequently spoken of in the NT as twofold (see PSYCHOLOGY), embracing the πνεῦμα or νοῦς, the higher faculty which he enjoys as made in the image of God, and the ψυχή, the lower element which he shares with the beasts. The wisdom which is 'earthly' and 'devilish' is also ψυχική (Ja 3^{15}), and the ψυχικοί are described by St. Jude (v.^{19}) as πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες. In like manner St. Paul says of the ψυχικός that 'he receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God' (1 Co 2^{14}), and he contrasts the σῶμα ψυχικόν of this life with the σῶμα πνευματικόν of the life to come (1 Co 15^{44}). 'The natural man' and 'the natural body' are alike of the earth, earthy. It is questionable if the Revisers were well advised * in retaining the word 'natural' in these last passages as the rendering of ψυχικός; 'sensual' gives the meaning better, and the old rendering suggests to the reader a quite unwarrantable antithesis between the 'natural body' and that which is presumed to be 'supernatural.'

J. H. BERNARD.

NATURAL HISTORY.—In entering on the study of the natural history of the Bible we have to consider—

1. That, with the exception of Solomon † (1 K 4^{33}), the authors of the several books were in no sense naturalists. The allusions by 'Solomon' to objects of nature are so few and general as to give us no idea how far he had reduced his knowledge to a scientific form. There is no evidence in the Scriptures written after his day that he formulated and gave to the world a scientific treatise on these subjects. The imperfect descriptions of natural objects given by the Gr. and Rom. and Arab. naturalists many centuries later, make it quite improbable that any treatises of Solomon on plants and animals were such as, had they been preserved, would have enabled us to identify with accuracy the objects alluded to.

2. Apart from the question of the degree of knowledge of natural history possessed by the writers of the Bible, their allusions to natural objects are, for the most part, incidental and general, not scientific. Even in the lists of clean and unclean animals in Lv and Dt a large proportion of the names refer to classes and genera, such as the 'falcon, after its kind'; 'the raven, after its kind'; 'the hawk, after its kind'; 'the heron, after its kind,' etc. etc. It is clear from this that the class or genus was in the mind of the writer, and not an individual species, except in those cases in which there was but one well-known species in Bible lands, as the camel, the coney, the swine, etc.

3. The Heb. literature is confined to the canonical books. We have no sidelights from other books in that language to aid us in determining the objects referred to. In the case of objects mentioned but once or a few times only, it is often difficult or impossible to be certain as to what was intended. The LXX gives the judgment of its translators as to the Gr. equivalents in their day. This opinion may not be always well founded. And it is still more probable that in many cases they used a text very different from the MT. The cognate Arab. often sheds light, but in the more difficult cases it is of the least value.

4. The books of the Bible were written by numerous authors, in various parts of the East, and through a period of at least 1000 years. Any one who has endeavoured to collect the common names of plants and animals in any country, but especially in Bible lands, has been struck with the fact that a given name refers to different objects in regions not far apart. For example, in Lebanon the word *ḳaiḳob* is used for several species of maple. In Gilead it is used for *Arbutus Andrachne*, L., a tree known in the rest of Pal. and Syria as *ḳoṭlib.* The word *ballûṭ* is properly an acorn, but it is used also for the Portuguese Oak, *Quercus Lusitanica*, Lam., and another species of oak, *Q. Cerris*, L. Again, the same object has often different names in regions within Bible lands. The cedar of Lebanon has three names within the limits of N. Lebanon, *'arz*, *'ibhul*, and *tnûb.* The term *'arz* is also used for the Aleppo Pine. Again, some generic names, as Oak, have no names in Arabic. Some of its species have names, as *sindiân* for *Q. coccifera*, L., *mallûl* for *Q. Lusitanica*, Lam., *look* for *Q. Look*, Ky., *ballûṭ* for *Q. Cerris*, L. It is by no means impossible that the names of plants changed, either by the introduction of foreign terms, or the adoption of local designations into general literature. It may thus happen that a certain name, as *cedar* (Lv 14^4), refers to a plant different from that to which it was applied in later times. There may be many such cases.

5. It is certain that the writers of the Bible were not more precise in their designation of objects of natural history than writers in general literature to-day. When speaking of *grass*, *lilies*, *mustard*, *thorns*, *thistles*, *owls*, *bats* and other sorts of natural objects, of which there are numerous species, belonging perhaps to several genera, writers of the Bible must not be understood as having in mind a particular species. An attempt to find for every allusion to natural objects a particular species, results in confusion of thought, and endless and insoluble controversy. In many cases where individual species are intended, decisive evidence is not to be found as to what the species is. In such cases we have adopted the plan of presenting the evidence for one or more interpretations, and making no attempt at a decision. Fortunately, these are usually the less important animals and plants.

6. In some cases popular errors as to species appear in the EV. Such is the application of

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* They have also retained the rendering 'his natural face' for τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ (Ja 1^{23}), although they render the Greek literally in their margin.

† Supposing we have any productions of his pen in the OT, which is denied with practical unanimity by modern scholars.

the term 'mole' (Lv 11^{30}) to the mole rat, *Spalax typhlus*. There are no true moles in Pal. and Syria. But the *spalax* has the aspect and habits of a mole. Some imaginary animals, as the *satyr*, are spoken of in the Bible. It is as idle to look for their equivalents in nature as it would be when mentioned in profane literature. But some such monster is a conception well-nigh universal among mankind. In so far as possible it has been the aim of the author in these articles to give the evidences which establish or vitiate the claims of the names adopted in AV and RV, rather than the numerous and conflicting opinions of scholars. Those who may wish to enter into that phase of the question may easily find the topics in the indices of the large number of books on ancient and biblical natural history. Among the principal ancient and mediæval authors who have written on these topics are Pliny, Dioscorides, Theophrastus, Galen, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Herodotus, Abu el-Fuḍlî, Avicenna, and Ibn el-Bîṭâr. Their testimony, as well as that of others, has been summed up in the erudite works of Bochart (*Hierozoicon*), Celsius (*Hierobotanicon*), Rosenmüller (*Natural History of the Bible*), Hiller, Royle, Ursinus (*Arbor. Biblic.*), etc. Many naturalists have written of the Fauna and Flora of Bible lands. Prominent among them are Hasselquist, Russell, Ehrenberg, Hemprich, Michaelis, Schweinfürth, Ascherson, Hooker, Carruthers, Wood, Tristram, Houghton, and Boissier. Allusions to natural objects are frequent in all the standard works of travel, especially in Burckhardt, Robinson, Thomson, and Tristram.

Pal. and Syria are at the meeting-point of three continents, Asia, Africa, and Europe. Their animals and plants connect the Fauna and Flora of all. Furthermore, their surface is greatly diversified. Lebanon is over 10,000 and Hermon over 9000 ft. above the sea. A number of peaks of Amanus and Akher Dagh are nearly as high, as also the higher mountains of Sinai. The Jordan Valley is from a little below to 1294 ft. below the Mediterranean. In the 50,000 square miles between Sinai on the S., Taurus on the N., the sea on the W., and the Syrian desert on the E., are maritime plains, seaward and landward mountain slopes, alpine summits, tropical valleys, the quagmires and marsh thickets of the Ḥûleh, the salt lakes and marshes of Aleppo and Palmyra, the rolling plateaus of Moab, Gilead, and Bashan, the ancient lake bed of Cœle-Syria, and the arid Syrian desert. The natural result of these great diversities of surface and climate is a large number of species and varieties in proportion to the extent of the land.

A. ANIMAL KINGDOM.—i. *MAMMALS*.—Tristram (*Fauna and Flora of Pal.*) gives the number of mammals in the Holy Land at 113. This number, which has been considerably augmented by subsequent discoveries, is very large in proportion to the size of the country. A number of those mentioned in Scripture, as the lion, the unicorn, and the wild ox, are now extinct. The larger carnivora, once so numerous, are now rare. The leopard is found only in lonely retreats, while the bear is confined to alpine Lebanon and Antilebanon. The hart is no longer found in Pal., but still exists in Amanus. The pygarg (*Antilope Addax*, Dt 14^{5}) is now no longer found, or only on the borders of the desert. Others of the Scripture mammals which remain have become very scarce, as the wild goat, the coney, and the roebuck. The last is likely soon to become extinct. The following is a complete list of the scriptural and apocryphal mammals:—Antelope (RV;=Wild Ox, AV), Ape, Ass, Wild Ass, Badger (AV;=Seal or Porpoise, RV), Bat, Bear, Behemoth, Boar, Camel, Cat, Cattle, Chamois (Wild Sheep), Coney, Dog, [Dragon, RV Jackal, La 4^{3}], Dromedary (really young Camel, see DROMEDARY), Elephant, Ewe, Fallow Deer (AV;=Roebuck, RV), Ferret (AV; = Gecko, RV), Fox, Gazelle, Goat, Wild Goat, Greyhound, Hare, Hart, Hind, Horse, Hyæna, Jackal, Lamb, Leopard, Lion, Mole, Mouse, Ox, Wild Ox (AV;=Antelope, RV), Pygarg, Ram, Roe, Roebuck (AV;=Gazelle, RV), [Satyr], Sheep, Swine, Unicorn, Weasel, Whale (AV;=Sea Monster, RV), Wolf. Leaving out the duplications in the two VSS, and animals mentioned under different headings, there are in all 38 different ones, among which, however, are included the dragon and satyr, which are partially or wholly fabulous.

ii. *BIRDS*.—The order of the creation of birds in the Mosaic cosmogony (Gn $1^{20.\,21.\,22}$) corresponds with the order of their geological appearance, which is in the cretaceous period, after the reign of the reptiles. The aquatic species were the first to appear.* Birds are generally more highly organized than reptiles and fishes on the one hand, and less so than the higher mammals on the other. They all have feathers, and are oviparous. Hence they are readily distinguished, and seem to have been recognized by 'Moses' as a well-marked class. Some have thought that bats were included in OT among the birds, as they are mentioned at the end of a list of birds (Lv 11^{13-19}). But it is not clear that the writer so understood the matter, as the bats come between the birds on the one hand, and insects and reptiles on the other. The exclusion of the unclean birds in the lists of Lv 11 and Dt 14 implies that other birds were eaten. Of those that were eaten, however, only one, the *quail*, is mentioned by name. 'Fatted fowl' (1 K 4^{23}) is doubtful. It may perhaps be inferred that *doves* were kept for food in later OT times (Is 60^{8}), and *hens* in NT (Mt 23^{37}), also that *sparrows* were sold for food (Mt 10^{29}, Lk 12^{6}). The numerous allusions to fowling imply the use of birds so caught for food. The Bible alludes to the migration and singing of birds (Ca $2^{11.\,12}$, Ec 12^{4}, Jer 8^{7}), also to their nesting in the temple (? Ps 84^{3}). Pigeons, swallows, sparrows, and other birds find a secure sanctuary now in churches, but esp. in mosques. The Israelites were forbidden to take the mother bird with the young (Dt $22^{6.\,7}$), perhaps because the mother at such times will not avail herself of her power of concealment and flight. The object of the law was to cultivate a merciful regard for the maternal instinct, not merely to preserve game (another possible explanation is quoted by Driver, *ad loc.*). Allusion is made to the forsaking of the nest (Pr 27^{8}), also to flight (Hos 9^{11}, Ex 19^{4}, Dt $32^{11.\,12}$). More than 350 species of birds have been collected in the Holy Land. Some of these have brilliant plumage, as the Garrulous Roller, the Bee Eater, the Hoopoe, several Kingfishers, the Sun Bird, the White-throated Robin, Tristram's Grackle, the African Darter, etc. But the chief ornithological characteristic of the country is the large number of birds of prey, esp. of the larger kinds, as vultures, eagles, falcons, buzzards, and the fishing water fowl, as pelicans, cranes, herons, cormorants, darters, etc. The coast species resemble those of the maritime regions of the Mediterranean basin. The mountain systems of Lebanon and Antilebanon, with their continuations southward, parallel to the coast, divide the maritime region from that of the Syrian and Arabian deserts. The avifauna is nearly identical in both the mountain chains. That of the deep cleft of the

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* With this statement in the text the reader will do well to compare Driver's art. 'The Cosmogony of Genesis,' in *Expositor*, Jan. 1886. There on p. 28 a table exhibits the order of appearance thus: according to geology, Fishes, Reptiles (in Carbon. period), Birds; according to Gn, Fishes of all kinds and Birds, Reptiles (רֶמֶשׂ).

Jordan and Dead Sea contains a number of Indian and Ethiopian species. The following is a list of Scripture birds:—Bittern (AV; = Porcupine, RV), Cock, Cormorant, Crane (RV; = Swallow, AV), Cuckoo (AV; = Seamew, RV), Dove, Eagle, Fatted Fowl (?), Gier Eagle (AV; = Vulture, RV), Glede, Hawk, Hen, Heron (AV; = Ibis, RVm), Hoopoe, Ibis, Kite (AV; = Falcon, RV), Lapwing, Night Hawk, Osprey, Ossifrage (AV; = Gier Eagle, RV), Ostrich, Owl, Great Owl (AV; = Arrowsnake, RV), Screech Owl (AV; = Night Monster, RV; this refers to a fabulous being, see art. LILITH), Little Owl, Horned Owl (RV), Partridge, Peacock, Pelican, Pigeon, Quail, Raven, Sparrow, Stork, Swallow, Swan (AV; = Horned Owl, RV), Turtle Dove, Vulture,—in all 34, exclusive of duplicates. Many of these are generic or ordinal terms, including a large number of species.

iii. *REPTILES.*—These form a class in Scripture, being mentioned in Gn $7^{14.21}$, 1 K 4^{33}, Hos 2^{18}, and elsewhere, by the side of beasts, birds, and fishes, though naturally not a class in the scientific sense of the term, coextensive with the class of 'Reptiles' of modern naturalists. The four living Orders of Reptiles, *Testudinata* or *Chelonia*, the Turtles; *Loricata* or *Crocodilia*, the Crocodiles; *Sauria*, the Lizards; *Ophidia*, the Serpents,—are all represented in the biblical Fauna. The following reptiles are mentioned in Scripture:—Adder, Arrowsnake (RV; = Great Owl, AV), Asp, Basilisk, Chameleon, Cockatrice, [Dragon, *i.e.* sea monster, or in Ps 91^{13} a land serpent], Gecko, Leviathan, Lizard, Monitor (if this is the meaning of *kōaḥ* in Lv 11^{30}, see CHAMELEON), Serpent, Viper,—only 12; but several of these are generic or ordinal, and include large numbers of species. There are probably not fewer than 100 species of reptiles in Pal. and Syria.

iv. *AMPHIBIANS.*—These include Frogs, Toads, Newts, and Salamanders, all of which are represented in the Holy Land. The Frog, however, is the only member of the class mentioned in Scripture.

v. *FISHES.*—The class of Fishes is recognized in Scripture, but includes cetaceans and many reptiles. They were brought in on the fifth day, with other oviparous creatures, before the viviparous animals of the sixth day. No species of true fish is mentioned by name in the Bible. The only attempt at classification is into clean and unclean, the former having fins and scales, the latter not. The excluded families are the *Siluridæ*, the Sheath fish; *Raiidæ*, the Skates; *Petromyzidæ*, the Lampreys; *Squalidæ*, the Sharks; and *Murænidæ*, the Eels. Solomon 'spake of fishes' (1 K 4^{33}). Fish were especially abundant in the Nile (Nu 11^{5}, Is 19^{8}) and the Sea of Galilee. A number of the species in this lake are identical with those in the Nile, a fact noted by Josephus (*BJ* III. x. 8). They also abound in the Jordan and its affluents, and the streams which empty into the Mediterranean,—in all, 33 fresh-water species. The Mediterranean coast species have not been fully studied. They are, however, very numerous. The Dead Sea has none, a fact noted by Ezekiel (47^{10}), who illustrates the vivifying power of the holy waters descending from the altar by the fact that they can enable even the Dead Sea to swarm with fish. The Arabs have a prejudice against eating fish, hence the immense shoals in the interior waters. On the contrary, the people of the maritime regions are exceedingly fond of them, and the fishing industry is a large one at all the seaports. The government gains a considerable revenue from the tax on fish.

vi. *JOINTED ANIMALS.*—(*a*) *Insects.*—The Holy Land is emphatically a land of insects. They number thousands of species, and have as yet been very imperfectly studied. Those mentioned in Scripture are: Ant, Bee, Beetle (AV; = Cricket, RV), Cankerworm, Caterpillar, Crimson (= Cochineal), Flea, Fly, Gnat, Grasshopper, Hornet, Lice, Locust, Moth, Palmerworm, Scarlet (= Cochineal), Wasp,—in all, excluding duplicates, 16, of which, however, a number are generic or ordinal. (*b*) *Scorpions.*—Of these there are several species, none of which are distinguished by name. (*c*) *Spiders.*—Of these also there are numerous species, and countless individuals.

vii. *MOLLUSKS.*—Of these there are large numbers, both of land and water species. Few of them are mentioned in Scripture. The Snail, *Onycha*, [the operculum of several species of *Strombus*], Pearl [the product of diseased action in some species of *Meleagrina*], and other bivalves, Purple [an extract from a species of *Murex*], make up the meagre list of this immense sub-kingdom.

viii. *WORMS.*—Of these only the Horseleech, an Annelid, and the generic expression Worms, are given. The sub-kingdom is very extensively represented.

ix. *CŒLENTERATA.*—The Mediterranean Sea contains an abundance of species of Sea Anemones, Jelly Fishes, and Corals. Only the latter are mentioned in Scripture, with no intimation of species.

x. *PORIFERA.*—The Sponge is once mentioned (Mt 27^{48}‖) in connexion with the crucifixion of our Lord. The allusion is undoubtedly to the common sponge so familiar to all.

B. VEGETABLE KINGDOM: BOTANY.—The Flora of Pal. and Syria is exceedingly rich and varied, owing to the same causes which have been alluded to in connexion with the Fauna. In the region bounded by Akher Dagh on the N., Sinai on the S., the Mediterranean on the W., and the Syro-Arabian desert on the E., are 124 Orders, 850 Genera, and about 3500 Species of Phænogams and Acrogens. The experience of the writer leads him to believe that there are still many new species to be discovered in the mountains of N. Syria, and in the districts E. of the great north and south cleft of the Orontes, Cœle-Syria, the Jordan Valley, and the 'Arabah.

Syria and Pal. may be divided into six botanical regions. (1) The Maritime Plain. Its Flora resembles that of the other coasts of the Levant, but with a few species not elsewhere found. (2) The parallel mountain chains E. and W. of the great cleft, from the level of the Maritime Plain to an altitude of 4000 ft. These chains begin with Amanus, the northernmost peaks of which are divided from Akher Dagh by the valley of the Ak-Su, and the southernmost from Mt. Cassius by the valley of the Orontes. Mt. Cassius is the outlier of the Nusaireh chain, which extends from the valley of the Orontes to that of the Nahr el-Kebir (the ancient Eleutherus), which separates it from Lebanon. Lebanon extends from the Eleutherus to the Leontes. S. of the Leontes the hill-country of Galilee, Samaria, Judæa, and et-Tîh constitutes a more or less continuous chain, separated from Sinai by the sandy plain of Debbet er-Ramleh. A parallel chain, E. of the great cleft, begins with Kurd Dagh, and extends southwards under the names of Jebel Bil'âs, Antilebanon, Hermon, Gilead, Moab, and Edom, to the Red Sea at 'Aḳabah. A break occurs in Jaulân, where a tableland, dotted with extinct volcanoes of no great elevation, divides Antilebanon from Gilead. This plain is terminated on the E. by the range of Jebel ed-Druz (Hill of Bashan). These mountain ranges have a characteristic flora, and each section of them has its peculiar species. It would carry us far beyond the limits of this article to enumerate them. (3) The alpine summits of these ranges, principally those of Akher Dagh, Amanus, Cassius, Lebanon, and Antilebanon, have a flora remarkable for its specialization, and having little of the palæarctic character. (4) The tablelands of Aleppo, Cœle-Syria, Damascus, Ḥaurân, Gilead, and Moab. These have also many distinctly characteristic plants. (5) The deserts bordering these, and extending southward into et-Tîh and Sinai. These have already furnished a notable addition to the Flora, and doubtless contain many undiscovered species. (6) The chasm of the Jordan and Dead Sea, in which a tropical climate prevails, and where a number of Indian and Ethiopian types are found.

The most numerous Orders are *Ranunculaceæ*, 12 genera, 75 species; *Cruciferæ*, 72 gen. 240 sp.; *Sileneæ*, 10 gen. 129 sp.; *Leguminosæ*, 56 gen. 423 sp.; *Umbelliferæ*, 73 gen. 190 sp.; *Compositæ*, 115 gen. 457 sp.; *Borragineæ*, 26 gen. 110 sp.; *Scrophulariaceæ*, 17 gen. 131 sp.; *Labiatæ*, 31 gen. 207 sp.; *Chenopodiaceæ*, 24 gen. 64 sp.; *Liliaceæ*, 22 gen. 124 sp.; and *Gramineæ*, 92 gen. 238 species. Ranunculus has 33 sp., Silene 61, Trigonella 37, Medicago 26, Trifolium 56, Astragalus 124, Vicia 31, Galium 39, Anthemis 28, Verbascum 40, Linaria 24, Scrophularia 19, Veronica 24, Salvia 39, Stachys 25, Euphorbia 41, Allium 42, Cyperus 15, Carex 18. As might have been expected from the dryness of the climate, Ferns are few, being represented by only 15 gen. and 25 species. The Orchids are of the smaller kinds, numbering 11 gen. and 37 species.

The following Scripture plants cannot be determined with certainty, viz.: Algum (almug), baytree (not a tree at all), box, cockle, cypress, gall, fir, gopher wood, hemlock, oil-tree, pannag, poplar, sweet cane, and vine of Sodom.

The following are generic or ordinal, viz.: Bramble, brier, bitter herbs, bulrush, bush, flag, grass, hay, herb, lily, melon, nettle, oak, oil-tree, pulse, reed, rush, thistle, thorn, vetches (RVm for nettles), willow.

The plants which may be known with a fair measure of certainty are distributed in 35 Orders, as follows:—*Ranunculaceæ*, fitches; *Cruciferæ*, mustard; *Capparideæ*, caper; *Cistineæ*, ladanum; *Malvaceæ*, cotton; *Linaceæ*, flax; *Vitaceæ*, vine; *Rutaceæ*, rue; *Anacardiaceæ*, balm, balsam, bdellium (?), frankincense, myrrh, nuts (pistachio, Gn 43^{11}), teil-tree, terebinth; *Leguminosæ*, beans, juniper (*retem*), husks (carob), lentils, shittim wood (acacia), rye (*kirsenneh*); *Rosaceæ*, almond, apple, hazel (almond); *Myrtaceæ*, myrtle; *Lythrarieæ*, camphire (henna); *Granateæ*, pomegranate; *Cucurbitaceæ*, cucumbers, gourd; *Umbelliferæ*, anise (dill), coriander, cummin, galbanum; *Valerianaceæ*, spikenard; *Compositæ*, wormwood; *Styracaceæ*, styrax; *Oleaceæ*, olive; *Aquilariaceæ*, lign-aloes; *Ebenaceæ*, ebony; *Solanaceæ*, mandrake; *Labiateæ*, hyssop, mint; *Chenopodiaceæ*, mallows (saltwort, RV) (*malluaḥ*); *Laurineæ*, cassia, cinnamon; *Urticaceæ*, fig, sycamine, sycomore; *Plataneæ*, chestnut (plane-tree); *Juglandaceæ*, nut (walnut); *Coniferæ*, ash (*oren*), cedar, thyine wood; *Palmeæ*, palm; *Iridaceæ*, saffron; *Amaryllidaceæ*, rose of Sharon (narcissus); *Liliaceæ*, garlic, leeks, onion; *Gramineæ*, barley, millet, spelt, tare, wheat.

Of the above 65 species, 35 are cultivated plants. The foregoing analysis makes it clear that the Hebrews did not study plants as closely as animals, a fact illustrated among the Arabs of the present day.

G. E. Post.

NATURE.—Few words have been the source of so much confusion in theology as the word *nature*, for few words have been employed, as this has been, for a long period in two or three distinct, though related, senses. It will be best to begin our discussion by distinguishing between these different meanings.

1. The word 'nature' is commonly used in scientific investigation to describe the sum-total of physical forces—the whole range of the co-existences and sequences of phenomena. In this view it includes the entire domain of the inorganic and organic, the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms. Thus we speak of 'students of nature,' of 'natural science,' or natural philosophy, meaning thereby to describe those departments of human knowledge which are concerned with the material universe. Nature, in this sense, includes man in respect of that side of his life which he shares with the lower animals. The science which has to do with the diseases of his body is, *par excellence*, 'Physic.' And the progress of physiology suggests that not only the disorders of his body, but some at least of the maladies of his mind, are subject to physical law, and may be made the subject of scientific investigation like any other physical process.

2. Man, however, is possessed of a unique faculty which he does not share with the other inhabitants of this earth—the faculty of self-determining reason and of conscious will. To be able to make a *moral choice* is his supreme prerogative. He is not altogether the victim of breeding and of circumstance; he is a free agent. And this freedom of his enables him, within certain limits, to initiate movements in the visible order, and to control and guide the material forces of the universe. If we are to regard man in this point of view as a part of nature, we must widen our conception of *nature*, which will now include not only the kingdom of law, but the kingdom of freedom. Nature, in this second and enlarged sense, does not exclude the possibility of free will; it takes in the moral world; it recognizes moral no less than 'physical' law.

3. The word is often used in yet a larger sense. Nature is regarded as the sum-total of all that is, or was, or shall be. It is the *All*, the *Universe*. And, so defined, it is not exclusive of God, for (to the believer in Him) He is the *ens realissimum*, the most certain and the most real existence which we can conceive. Nature, in this view, is the kingdom of God, in whom and from whom it draws its life. All its operations are the manifestations of His ceaseless and omnipresent activity. If we use the word consistently in this its largest sense, it is plain that we must abandon the term *supernatural*. Nothing can be supernatural, nothing can be 'beyond' or 'above' nature, if nature is the sum of all that is. See Natural.

So far we have only attempted to define the various connotations which the word 'nature' may have. And it is to be observed that in whatever sense the word is used the idea is constantly personified, and attributes and operations are ascribed to nature which strictly are proper to persons. When we speak of 'bountiful' nature, we may be thinking of it in sense (1) or in sense (3), and we may have no intention to include or to exclude the idea of God as the Bountiful One. Thus Christ said, 'the earth beareth fruit *of herself*' (αὐτομάτη, Mk 4^{28}), not meaning thereby to suggest that the harvest is *not* the gift of God. And, on the other hand, it is not to be presumed that every form of words which seems to recognize *providence* or *compassion* in nature is intended to suggest a Personal and Benevolent Will behind it. For example, some recent theological writers have argued as if they held 'God' to be merely a synonym for 'nature,' and have identified 'God' not with the Personal Author and Governor of nature, but with the order of nature itself. This is to introduce a grave ambiguity into our theological nomenclature; but it is here instanced merely to illustrate the point that our idea of *nature* is necessarily affected and coloured by our idea of *God*, and that a definition of nature is hardly complete which does not convey to the mind some clear view concerning its relation to God. Something, therefore, must be said on this head.

Atheism dismisses the question by refusing to admit that it has a meaning. That there is no God, that there exists nothing but the successions and co-existences of phenomena, is the principle of speculative Atheism. Theoretically, there is no reason why Atheism should not recognize the free agency of man, and so admit the idea of nature in the *second* sense above described; but, as a matter of fact, Atheism is usually based on philosophical materialism, which can find no place for free will within its borders. That nature is self-created and self-acting is its fundamental thesis. Such a conception is utterly irreconcilable with religion in any true meaning of that ill-used word, and must not be further dealt with here.

But, granting the existence of a Supreme Person whose mind and purpose the operations of nature reflect, in what relation do we conceive Him to stand to the visible order of the world? The answer suggested by the first page of the Bible and by the first article of the Christian creeds is that He is its *Creator*, the 'Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible'; cf. Gn 1[1], Ex 20[11], Is 66[1], Jer 32[17], Ac 14[15], Rev 4[11]. The various 'proofs' of the existence of God, in particular that known as the 'cosmological' proof, are concerned with the justification to the intellect of this instinctive belief of mankind, which was present to the Hebrews, as it seems to have been present to every primitive race of men (see GOD). But this conception of God as the Creator of nature is not by itself a satisfying or complete conception of the Supreme. God is not to be regarded, if we are to follow Scripture, only as an Infinite and All-holy Being on whom the world depends for its creation. Reason certainly requires us to believe that the Creator of nature transcends nature; but the heart is not satisfied until it recognizes God not only as the Great Artificer, but as the present source of the world's life, as having entered into history, as never abandoning the universe which He has made. No one really cares to speculate about a Being who is relegated to an ever-receding past, an absentee Creator, pursuing (as it has been said) 'an eternal policy of non-intervention.' And yet such barren Deism is the logical outcome of exclusive attention to that conception of the Supreme which regards Him solely as *transcending* nature. This was the especial fault of most of the English theology of the 18th century, that it did not realize that (as Butler put it) God is no less nature's *Governor* than its *Author*.

It is thus apparent wherein the imperfection in Paley's famous illustration of the watchmaker and the watch consists. An artificer having once constructed a machine and set it going, leaves it to its own devices; the more perfect the machine is, the less will interference be necessary. But that is not a complete account of the relation of God to nature. The analogy breaks down hopelessly in this respect, that nature is not only the *creation* of God; it is also the sphere of His constant and beneficent activity. 'Of him,' but also 'through him and unto him are all things' (Ro 11[36]). And this conception of God as a Spirit dwelling in nature and manifesting Himself through nature is frequently expressed in Scripture. 'Whither shall I go from thy Spirit, or whither shall I flee from thy presence?' asks the Psalmist. 'If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in Sheol, behold thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me' (Ps 139[7-10]). Again, to the Psalmist God is the continual spring of life: 'Thou hidest thy face, they are troubled; thou takest away their breath, they die' (Ps 104[29]). So also Elihu declares, 'The Spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty giveth me life' (Job 33[4]). This conception of God, widely different from that taught by the Deism of the last century, is the conception which the progress of natural science and our increased knowledge of the secrets of nature is bringing more and more into prominence. That God is *in* nature as well as *above* nature, that He is at once an Indwelling Spirit and a Transcendent Personality, is the true theistic doctrine of science. Nature does not work independently of Him; all its operations are due to His ceaseless activity. He upholds 'all things by the word of his power' (He 1[3]). The course of history is not a blind mechanical process of evolution; 'the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men' (Dn 4[17]).

This is well said in one of the authorized *Homilies* of the Church of England: 'It is not to be thought that God hath created all this whole universal world as it is; and thus once made, hath given it up to be ruled and used after our own wits and device, and so taketh no more charge thereof; as we see the shipwright, after he hath brought his ship to a perfect end, then delivereth he to the mariners, and taketh no more care thereof. Nay, God hath not so created the world, that He is careless of it; but He still preserveth it by His goodness; He still stayeth it in His creation. For else, without His special goodness, it could not stand long in this condition.'[*]

Now, the problem which presents itself here is so to guard our language that it shall not be open to the charge of confounding God with nature. It is hard to steer clear of both Scylla and Charybdis, to avoid Deism on the one side, Pantheism on the other. Greek philosophy furnishes us with instructive illustrations of the difficulty of avoiding fatal error in this matter, if we attempt to construct our theology without the aid of revelation. If the Epicureans, with their conception of gods who lived at ease a life of undisturbed and dignified repose, went off in the direction of Deism, the Stoics, with their doctrine of God as the soul of the world, were Pantheistic. And this is really a more serious error than the other, because it effectually banishes all true religion. For religion involves belief in a Person, who not only is in constant and intimate relation to nature, but who also enters into communion with men. This is impossible if God be identified with nature, for with a mere abstraction no fellowship can be sought, and to it no worship can be addressed. Pantheism is as impotent as Deism to satisfy the intellectual and the emotional cravings of mankind.

Pantheism is a vague word, and requires closer examination than we have yet given it. Something has been said above of theories which resolve God into the complex of material forces, which identify God and nature, indeed, but by the elimination from the idea of God of its distinctive features, reason, intelligence, personality, goodness, and the like. Such theories, though from one point of view 'Pantheistic,'—for the only Supreme which they recognize is the Universe of Being,—are, from a truer point of view, 'Atheistic,' for they do not admit the existence of any spiritual being higher than ourselves. But idealist philosophies, such as that which was unfolded in the system of Spinoza, do not thus begin and end with the material forces of the phenomenal world; they begin and end with God, in whom as the Great All-pervading Spirit they find the explanation of all existence. Spinoza does not resolve God into nature, but he exalts nature to God, he treats all the operations of nature as the manifestations of supreme spiritual substance. For him, nature is the development of freedom, or, to use his own remarkable language, the processes of the universe

[*] Homily for Rogation Week, pt. i.

are the exhibition of the *natura naturans* (or God) unfolding itself (or Himself) in the *natura naturata* (or nature). It is plain that, on such a system as this, the 'laws of nature' are absolutely binding on the Divine Life; for the operations of these laws are the manifestations (and the only possible manifestations) of that Life. We have here, indeed, a spiritual interpretation of nature presented to us; every movement in the visible order is, as it were, a sacrament of the Divine Life. But such a doctrine is widely removed from Theism; for while it speaks of a Divine *Life*, it leaves no room for a Divine *Reason*, and *Will*, and *Personality*. The relation of the Supreme to nature is conceived in such systems rather as the relation of the vital principle to the living plant, than as the relation of the directing mind to the field of experience in which it operates. Certainly, this latter analogy is not complete or final. Our minds produce effects in the physical order only through the medium of our bodies, and even thus only within certain limits and under certain conditions; the power of supreme mind over the universe, which is the sphere of its manifestation, cannot be conceived as other than absolute (see MIRACLE). But yet is the analogy true so far as it goes, and it is in harmony with the few hints which Scripture offers on this great subject. The opening verses of St. John's Gospel speak of the creation of all things as the work of the Logos, and of Him as the Life of the world and the Light of men (Jn 1^{1-4}). The Logos is not a mere name for the impersonal order of nature; He is the Directing Intelligence which set in array its forces, and continues to guide and control them in their energy. And of the life of man St. Paul quotes with approval the saying of Cleanthes, 'We are also his offspring,' and declares, 'In him we live, and move, and have our being' (Ac 17^{28}). This is the rational and Christian view of nature and of humanity, and it is as widely divergent from Pantheism on the one hand as it is from Deism on the other. An important conclusion is thus reached. Theology, no less than science, leads to the conception of the *Unity* of nature. It is not a mere aggregate of independent forces; it is a totality, which is conceived as One because of the Unity of the Intelligence which created and governs it. Each part ministers to the welfare of the whole; in its growth only the 'fittest' survive, because, were it not for the elimination of the 'unfit,' nature would be not Cosmos but Chaos. It would be 'without form and void,' as in the days before the Divine Spirit moved upon the face of the waters (Gn 1^2). Nature is One, because of the Unity of its Author; 'I am J″ that maketh all things' (Is 44^{24}; cf. Rev 4^{11}). But *unity* does not necessarily involve *uniformity*. The Unity of Nature is an axiom of science and of religion; the Uniformity of Nature, *i.e.* the rule that 'the same physical causes will always produce the same physical effects,' far from being an axiom, is nothing more than an empirical maxim, convenient for scientific investigation, which has been found to hold good in an enormous number of instances, but which has no *a priori* necessity and no rational guarantee of universality. Nature is, indeed, governed by law and not by caprice: that we know and are assured of. But such a formula does not settle the matter. A wise and prudent man's life is also governed by law and not by caprice, and yet the intervention of his moral reason, of his power of choice, disturbs from time to time the semblance of uniformity in his conduct. For him the same physical antecedents do *not* always issue in the same physical consequences, because moral considerations—non-physical motives—may sway him now in this direction, and now in that. Thus in the case of man, who is a part, and an important part, of nature, the rule of uniformity does not hold absolutely. And when we remember that the Divine Will must be, at the least, as independent of physical law as is man's will, we see no ground for regarding the 'Uniformity of Nature' as a constitutive principle of the Cosmos. It is nothing more than a convenient way of saying that God's laws are *general* laws; that He does not depart from the usual methods of His rule, without the gravest reasons for intervention. See MIRACLE.

Such conceptions, such problems, are too abstract to occupy the mind of primitive piety. And, as a matter of fact, the word 'nature' does not once occur in the OT. The Hebrews saw the hand of Jehovah everywhere; they recognized that He had made 'the heaven and the earth and the sea, and all that in them is' (Ex 20^{11}), that the thunder was His voice and the lightning-flashes His arrows of destruction (Ps 18^{13}), that fire and hail, snow and vapour, and stormy wind fulfilled His word (Ps 148^8); but they had no thought of nature as a whole, a totality, which might be conceived of as an abstract idea, without any special reference to the particular phenomena which represent it in the concrete. The power of forming abstract ideas comes late in the development of mental life, and it was not until Hebraism came into contact with Hellenism that the idea of *φύσις* was introduced into Hebrew thought. In 4 Mac 5^7 we find Antiochus recommending Eleazar to consent to eat swine's flesh, on the ground that it is given to us by *nature*. And St. Paul argues that '*nature* itself teaches' us that a man's head ought to be uncovered, but a woman's covered (1 Co 11^{14}). In both of these instances nature is spoken of as a unity, and it is personified in a fashion which would have been unintelligible at an earlier period of Jewish thought. Again, the word *φύσις* is used occasionally in the writings of St. Paul and in the Bk. of Wis (as it is still) to describe the sum of the properties or characteristics of a species—the system of its constitution (as Butler would put it). *E.g.*, among the subjects on which *σοφία* is engaged are mentioned *φύσεις ζώων*, 'the natures of living creatures' (Wis 7^{20}), and St. Paul speaks of abominable vices as being *παρὰ φύσιν* (Ro 1^{26}), *i.e.* contrary to the nature of man; and in Ro 11^{24} of a wild olive-tree being grafted into a good olive-tree *παρὰ φύσιν*, *i.e.* contrary to *its* nature. The uncircumcised condition of the Gentiles is described as *ἡ ἐκ φύσεως ἀκροβυστία* (Ro 2^{27}), this being, as we would say, the *natural* state of man. Larger questions are suggested by the apostle's words, 'we were by nature (*φύσει*) children of wrath' (Eph 2^3), which are considered elsewhere. See FALL.

It is easy to understand how such expressions and such a usage of the word *φύσις* should grow up, once the conceptions of the world as a *system*, and of each animal and plant upon it as possessing a *constitution* of its own, became familiar. The word only gives rise to ambiguity when we are using it in reference to questions which touch theology; it then becomes necessary to ask whether he who employs it understands it in sense (1) as the complex of the mechanical and chemical forces of the Cosmos, in sense (2) which reckons man's will and reason as part of his *φύσις*, or in sense (3), the true religious conception, which ultimately refers every operation of phenomenal force to the Agency of Supreme Mind, directing and ordering it in wisdom.

LITERATURE.—Spinoza, *Ethics*; Butler, *Analogy and Sermons*; Kant, *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*; Spencer, *First Principles*; Duke of Argyll, *Reign of Law*; Seeley, *Natural Religion*; Fiske, *The Idea of God*; Illingworth, *Divine Immanence*. See under MIRACLE.

J. H. BERNARD.

NAUGHT, NAUGHTY, NAUGHTINESS.—The Eng. word 'naught' is formed from the Anglo-Saxon *na*, not, and *wiht*, a whit, a thing. At an early stage, perhaps under the influence of the verb 'ought,' the spelling 'nought' came in. Then the word was contracted to 'not.' Thus 'naught,' 'nought,' 'not' are all forms of the same word, and do not differ in meaning. In AV of 1611 the spelling is always *nought*, except in Lk 23^{11} 'Herod, with his men of warre, set him at naught,' and Scrivener (*Camb. Paragraph Bible*, p. xlvii) says that in this passage 'naught' is a mere error.

The meaning of 'naught' was originally 'not anything,' 'worthless.' But it soon came to mean 'bad,' 'vicious,' and this was the usual meaning in the 17th cent. Consequently in the 1638 ed. of AV the word is spelt 'naught' in 2 K 2^{19}, Pr 20^{14}, the Heb. being רַע *ra'*, 'bad'; elsewhere 'nought,' the Heb. being some expression of worthlessness rather than of wickedness. This distinction was preserved by Scrivener, and is found in most mod. editions of AV.

Examples of 'naught' or 'nought' in the sense of 'bad' are Udall's *Erasmus' Paraph.* i. fol. 54, 'Why therfore saye ye that that whiche is good of it selfe cummeth from Beelzebub, who by your owne judgement is al naught?'; Barlowe, *Dialoge*, p. 76, 'Why do ye then dispise the universall churche, because some of them be noughte?'; Mt 20^{16} Rhem. 'Is thine eye naught, because I am good?'

Naughty means 'worthless' in Pr 6^{12}, Heb. אָדָם בְּלִיַּעַל, usually 'a man of Belial,' here 'a naughty person,' RV 'a worthless person.' Cf. Tind. *Expos.* p. 7 'These and all such are naughty arguments.' Elsewhere it means 'bad,' Pr 17^4 'A liar giveth ear to a naughty tongue' (לְשׁוֹן הַוֹּת, RV 'a mischievous tongue'); Jer 24^2 'The other basket had very naughty figs' (רָעוֹת, RV 'bad'); Wis 12^{10} 'they were a naughty generation' (*πονηρὰ ἡ γένεσις αὐτῶν*, RV 'their nature by birth was evil'). So in Udall's *Erasmus' Paraph.* ii. fol. 284 the devil is called a 'naughtie lord.' Latimer (*Sermons*, p. 115) says, 'The herte of man is naughti, a croked, and a froward pece of worke.' In the Preface to his *Dialoge* (p. 35) Barlowe says, 'Where as is enmyte and contention, there is inconstancy and all noughty doyng.' Cf. also Mt 21^{41} Rhem. 'The naughtie men he wil bring to naught'; and Milton, *Areopagitica*, p. 16, 'Best books to a naughty mind are not unappliable to occasions of evill.'

Naughtiness occurs only in the sense of 'wickedness': 1 S 17^{28} 'I know thy pride, and the naughtiness of thine heart' (רֹעַ לְבָבֶךָ); Pr 11^6 'Transgressors shall be taken in their own naughtiness' (הַוָּה, RV 'mischief'); Wis 4^{12} 'The bewitching of naughtiness doth obscure things that are honest' (*βασκανία φαυλότητος*); Ja 1^{21} 'Lay apart all filthiness and superfluity of naughtiness' (*περισσείαν κακίας*, RV 'overflowing of wickedness,' RVm 'malice'). Cf. Udall, *Erasmus' Paraph.* ii. fol. 284, 'The whole world is set altogether on naughtynes'; Mt 22^{18} Rhem. 'Jesus knowing their naughtines, said, what do you tempt me Hypocrites?' and Ac 3^{26} Rhem. 'To you first God raising up his sonne, hath sent him blessing you; that every one should convert him self from his naughtines.' This word 'naughtiness' is effectively made use of by Driver as the rendering of the Heb. word *'āven* in the Psalms and elsewhere (*Parallel Psalter*, at Ps 7^{14} 10^7 etc., and note on p. 449 f.). See VANITY. J. HASTINGS.

NAVE.—The centre part of a wheel through which the axle passes. In AV 'nave' is the rendering of גַּב, which is also translated 'boss' of a shield in Job 15^{26}, and 'high place' AV, 'eminent place' RV, in Ezk 16^{31}. The Arabic name is *ḳab*, not unlike גַּב in sound. In RV חִשֻּׁר is tr. 'nave,' the word חִשֻּׁר meaning literally *the gathering* or *binding together*, and when applied to a wheel refers to that part which binds together the spokes, *i.e.* the nave. It is found only in 1 K 7^{33} (חִשֻּׁרֵיהֶם). גַּב is tr. in RV 'fello,' or the rim of the wheel. W. CARSLAW.

NAVE (*Ναυή*).—The Gr. form of the Heb. name **Nun** (which see). It occurs only in Sir 46^1 (AV).

NAVY.—1 K 9^{26-27} $10^{11.\ 22\ ter}$, all אֳנִי, a fleet, which elsewhere is found only in Is 33^{21}, אֳנִי־שַׁיִט, EV 'galley with oars.' See GALLEY. Also 1 Mac 1^{17}, 2 Mac 12^9 14^1, all *στόλος*. See SHIP; and for 'navy of Tarshish' 1 K 10^{22} see also TARSHISH.

NAZARENE (*Ναζαρηνός* from *Ναζαρά*, like *Μαγδαληνή* from *Μαγδαλά* [cf. Dalman's *Aramäische Grammatik*, p. 141, note 7]; *Ναζωραῖος* used exclusively in Mt, Jn, Ac, and probably so in Lk.* The form *Ναζοραῖος* occurs in some MSS).—This term is used in the Gospels, but only by those outside the circle of His intimate friends, to distinguish Jesus of Nazareth from others of the same name. In Ac it is also employed by St. Peter (2^{22} 3^6 4^{10}), by St. Paul (26^9), and by the risen Lord (22^8). In Mt 2^{23} the evangelist says that Jesus went to dwell at Nazareth, that 'it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, that he should be called a Nazarene' (*Ναζωραῖος*). Many interpretations of this passage have been given, none of them entirely satisfactory. The most important are: (1) that which connects it with the word נֵצֶר in Is 11^1; (2) that which assumes a play on the word 'Nazirite'; (3) Hitzig's view that it refers to the word נְצוּרֵי in Is 49^6; (4) that it has reference to a lost prophecy, or one that was only traditional and never written; (5) that the use of the plural *προφητῶν* precludes any reference to a single word, and that the evangelist alludes to prophecies asserting that the Messiah would be despised. Jerome, in his commentary on Is 11^1, objected to the first interpretation on the ground that the *ζ* of *Ναζωραῖος* does not correspond to the צ of נֵצֶר. The same objection applies to Hitzig's view. The objection to (2) is that Jesus was not a Nazirite; and to (4) that it is a counsel of despair. The last explanation (5) is already given by Jerome in his commentary to Mt 2^{23}, and is perhaps the most probable (cf. Weiss in Meyer's *Kommentar*^{9}, *in loc.*). Finally, the word *Ναζαραίων* is used in Ac 24^5 of the Christians. It is similarly employed by the Jews in the time of Tertullian: 'Unde et ipso nomine nos Judæi Nazaræos appellant per eum' (*adv. Marcionem*, iv. 8). After this, however, it practically disappears from literature in this sense until about A.D. 400, when it appears as the name of a Christian sect. G. W. THATCHER.

NAZARETH (*Ναζαρέθ*, *Ναζαρέτ*, *Ναζαράτ*, *Ναζαράθ*, *Ναζαρά*, mod. Arab. *en-Nāṣira*; on etymology and meaning of the name see Swete on Mk 1^9) was situated in a high valley running from S.S.W. to N.N.E. among the most southerly of the limestone hills of the Lebanon range just before it drops down to the Plain of Esdraelon. The base of the valley is about 1200 feet above the level of the Mediterranean, while the western hill (which is higher than the hills on the N. and E.), on which the town was built, rises to a height of 1600 feet. The floor of the valley is covered in the season with wild flowers, and the olive, fig, mulberry, lemon, pomegranate, almond, and quince flourish. Want of soil, however, causes many bare spots in the landscape, which is further characterized by the long irregular rows of cactus hedges. The climate is moderate on the whole, though it is hot in the summer and snow is not unknown in the winter. Like many other parts of Palestine, it is subject to severe storms. The old town of N. has entirely disappeared, but, judging by the rock-tombs that remain, it probably extended higher up the western hill than the modern village. It seems to have been a place of no importance for the national life (cf. Jn 1^{46}), although it was only a day's journey from the Mediterranean at Carmel, and about the same distance from Capernaum and Tiberias, while it was a three days' journey from Jerusalem. Roads go out from it to Sefurieh, Akka, Kefr Kenna, Tiberias, Mt. Tabor, Jaffa, and the Plain of Esdraelon; but no main line of traffic passes through it. The only permanent water supply comes from the Virgin's Spring (*'Ain es-Sitt Mariam*), which rises near the Greek church of Gabriel and is conducted by a canal of about 120 steps to its present outlet. Attempts have been made to secure a supply from other sources, but without much success. As the outflow from the Virgin's Spring in the summer is only about 170 gallons an hour,—an amount that scarcely suffices for the present population of 7500 people, even with the addition of stored rain-water,—the population of Nazareth could never have been very large. N. is not mentioned in the OT, Josephus, or the Talmud (but cf. Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, p. 190), and derives its importance entirely from its connexion with the life of Jesus. To 'a city of Galilee, named Nazareth,' Gabriel was sent to the Virgin Mary to announce the birth of Jesus (Lk 1^{26}), from Nazareth Joseph went up to be taxed in Bethlehem (Lk 2^{4}), and to it Mary and he returned after the birth of Jesus (Lk 2^{39}). Matthew represents Joseph and Mary as going to live at Nazareth after the birth of Jesus, that a prophecy concerning the Messiah might be fulfilled (Mt 2^{23}; see NAZARENE). At the age of twelve Jesus was still living at Nazareth (Lk 2^{51}), and according to Mark He came from Nazareth of Galilee to be baptized in the Jordan (1^{9}). To Nazareth He returned after the Temptation, only, however, to leave it for Capernaum (Mt 4^{12}). Finally, it was in the synagogue of Nazareth that He declared Himself the fulfilment of prophecy, and so enraged the people that they led Him out to the hill above the city and sought to throw Him down* (Lk 4^{16}, cf. Mk 6^{1}, Mt 13^{54}). From His close association with Nazareth, Jesus was often spoken of as 'the Nazarene' (see article above).

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* In Westcott and Hort's text *Ναζαρηνός* occurs in Mk 1^{24} 10^{47} 14^{67} 16^6, also in Lk 4^{34}, where it is probably copied from Mk or a common source. Apart from these instances it occurs only in Lk 24^{19}, where, however, the MSS A, D, etc., read *Ναζωραῖος*. It thus seems probable that *Ναζαρηνός* was the only form used in the original source of the Synoptic Gospels.

The important features of Nazareth for the life of Jesus are—

1. It was in Galilee, and hence was not so much under the influence of the temple as of the synagogue. It was also free from the extreme aversion to everything foreign so characteristic of Jerusalem, while at the same time the patriotism of the Galilæan was strong and often even turbulent.

2. It was secluded in so far as it was not on any main road of international trade (see above).

3. Yet it was an excellent post of observation, from which might be seen some of the most varied forms of the active life of North Palestine. Attention has of late rightly been drawn to the magnificent view from the hills above Nazareth. Jerusalem pilgrims, Egyptian and Midianite caravans, Roman legions and princes' retinues, all passed within sight. Many phases of Greek and Roman life could be observed from here, both in the town life of such places as Sefurieh and on the main roads of the plains. At the same time national feeling was stirred to its depths by the memories connected with the hill of Carmel, the battlefield of Esdraelon, and the mountains of Gilead.

LITERATURE.—Tobler, 'Nazareth,' in *Palæstina*, 1868; Guérin, *Galilée*, 1880; Robinson, *BRP* iii. 183 ff., 1841; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 432 ff., 1894; Buhl, *GAP* 215 f., 1896; Socin in Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria*, where a full account of the modern town will be found.

G. W. THATCHER.

NAZIRITE (נָזִיר; LXX in Nu $6^{13.21}$ *εὐξάμενος*; in vv.$^{18.19.20}$ *ηὐγμένος*; in Jg 13^{5} B *ναζεἰρ*, A *ἡγιασμένος ναζιραῖος*; in 13^{7} 16^{17} B *ἅγιος*, A *ναζειραῖος*; in Am 2^{12} *ἡγιασμένος*).—The term *nāzīr* is derived from *nāzar*,* 'to consecrate,' and denotes 'the consecrated one,' the one separated from among the rest of the people. It is used of two classes: Nazirites for life, and Nazirites for a limited period. The law in Nu 6^{1-21}, which is of late origin and is the only part of the law taking notice of Nazirites, refers only to the latter class.

According to this law, the Nazirite is one who consecrates himself (or herself, v.^{2}) to the Lord, and is bound by his vow of consecration (*a*) to abstain all the days of his Naziriteship from the use of wine and all other intoxicating drink, from vinegar formed from wine or strong drink, from any liquor of grapes, from grapes dried or fresh, and indeed from the use of anything produced from the vine (v.$^{3f.}$); (*b*) not to suffer a razor to come upon his head, but to let the locks of the hair of his head grow long (v.^{5}); and (*c*) to avoid all ceremonial defilement from contact with any dead body, even that of his nearest relatives (v.$^{6-8}$, where, however, wife and child are not mentioned). If through the sudden death of any one beside him he becomes defiled, he must observe the usual rites of purification (Nu $19^{11ff.}$); on the seventh day he must shave his head, his hair being cut off, because defilement was specially likely to cling to it, and also perhaps because it was the visible sign of his consecration, which had been rendered invalid; on the eighth day he must offer through the priest, at the door of the sanctuary, two turtle doves or two young pigeons—one for a sin-offering, and the other for a burnt-offering (Lv 5^{7} 12^{8} $14^{30f.}$ $15^{14f.\ 29f.}$); his sin in even unwittingly violating his vow (Lv $4^{2ff.}$, Nu $15^{22ff.}$) being thus atoned for, he must reconsecrate himself to the Lord, and, having offered a he-lamb of the first year for a guilt-offering (Lv $14^{12.21}$), he must hold himself consecrated for the whole period involved in his original vow (v.$^{9-12}$). On the expiry of that period, the law regulated, with equal minuteness, the way in which he was to return to the sphere of ordinary life. He was brought to the door of the sanctuary, where, through the priest, he offered his oblation to the Lord (vv.$^{13-17}$): first (v.^{16}), a ewe-lamb of the first year without blemish as a sin-offering for sins committed unwittingly during the days of his separation; then a he-lamb of the first year without blemish as a burnt-offering, along with the customary meal- and drink-offerings (Nu $15^{3ff.}$); and, last of all, a ram without blemish, along with a basket of unleavened bread (Lv 7^{12}; cf. also Ex $29^{2f.}$, Lv 2^{4} 8^{2}) in addition to the usual meal- and drink-offerings, as a peace-offering or thanksgiving for having been enabled to complete his period of consecration. He then shaved his head at the door of the sanctuary, and put his hair on the fire under the thank-offerings, as a precaution against its profanation, and as a sign that it was surrendered to the Lord (v.^{18}). The priest then took the sodden shoulder of the ram along with an unleavened cake and an unleavened wafer out of the basket, put them on the hands of the Nazirite (cf. Lv 8^{27}), and waved them as a wave-offering before the Lord. These parts of the sacrifice, in addition to the customary wave-breast and heave-thigh (Lv 7$^{28ff.}$), were assigned to the priest (v.$^{19f.}$); this increase of what was given to the Lord (in the person of the priest) was probably meant to represent that His participation was greater than usual in the sacrificial meal of the Nazirite, whom He thereby specially acknowledged as His own. Having thus performed his vow, the Nazirite was allowed to drink wine (v.^{20}), very likely at this sacrificial meal; and he thereby emerged from the state of consecration into ordinary life. If when he took the vow of a Nazirite he took in addition a vow special to himself, he had also at the same time to perform this latter vow.

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* The traditional site to the south of Nazareth has now been entirely given up in favour of the western hill. (See commentaries on this passage).

* Not used in Qal; in Niphal, Lv 22^{2}, Ezk $14^{5.7}$, Zec 7^{3} 'to separate oneself from,' 'to abstain from'; Hos 9^{10} 'to consecrate oneself'; in Hiphil, Lv 15^{31} 'to separate,' Nu $6^{2.3.5.6.12}$ 'to separate or consecrate.'

The Nazirites expressly mentioned in the OT (Samson, Samuel,[*] the half-Israelitish Rechabites, and probably also those referred to in Am 2$^{11f.}$) belong to the class of Nazirites for life. What is said of them does not exactly correspond with the law in Nu 6. Apart from the fact that Samson and Samuel were dedicated to the Lord by their parents before their birth, the restrictions laid upon them were not identical with those specified in that law. Of Samson it is merely said that 'no razor shall come upon his head' (Jg 13^{5}); no mention is made of abstinence from wine, though his mother is forbidden, during her pregnancy, to drink wine or strong drink or to eat any unclean thing (vv.^{4} and ^{7}), or anything that cometh of the vine (v.^{14}). Samson came frequently into contact with the dead (Jg 14$^{9.19}$ 15^{15}), without his consecration thereby ceasing; and it is assumed by some that he would naturally drink wine at the marriage feast (14^{10}). Of Samuel also it is merely said that 'no razor shall come upon his head' (1 S 1^{11}). The Rechabites (2 K 10$^{15ff.}$, Jer 35) not only abstained from wine, but from everything that was characteristic of a settled life; while Amos (2^{12}) makes mention only of abstinence from wine. The Nazirate was evidently of a much more manifold character, and played a greater part in the religious life of Israel than the law in Nu suggests. That law is simply an attempt, at a late stage of Israel's history, to regulate an institution that had grown up independently of it. Other abstinences than those specified in it were doubtless occasionally practised; but these three had gradually come to be regarded as what was essential.

Whether the lifelong or the temporary Nazirate was the original form, it is impossible to determine. The case of Samson merely proves that tradition was acquainted with Nazirites for life at a comparatively early period. The law in Nu, as already remarked, refers only to the temporary Nazirate; and the hair of a dead person could not be offered to the Lord. The latter fact, however, is not conclusive against the lifelong Nazirate; for the long locks of the Nazirite might, from time to time, have been cut off and offered at the sanctuary, without his thereby ceasing to be a specially consecrated person. Nor can it be said with certainty whether abstinence from wine, etc., or the hair-offering was the original content of the vow. Abstinence from wine is alone mentioned by Amos (2^{12}), while, in the case of Samson, both in the announcement of his birth and in the narrative of his exploits, the emphasis is laid entirely upon his unshorn locks. His mother, it is true, is forbidden the use of wine, etc., during her pregnancy; and from this fact, along with others, opposite inferences have been drawn. By most it has been assumed that the omission in the case of Samson himself is purely accidental: the restriction laid upon his mother already implies that he is to be a specially consecrated one from the very beginning of his existence. By others, however, it is argued that Jg 13, which narrates the circumstances attending Samson's birth, contains two traditions of these circumstances, and belongs to a different period from chs. 14–16, in which everything is opposed to the notion of his leading an ascetic life. In favour of the view that regards the hair-offering as the essential element, reference is also made to Jer 7^{29}, where unshorn hair is called *nézer*, and to Lv 25$^{5.11}$, where the vine that was left undressed during the Sabbatic year and the year of Jubilee is called a *nāzīr*; but in view of Am 2^{12} these passages are not decisive. Nazirites are mentioned so seldom in the OT[*] that on such points we must refrain from dogmatic statements; but on the whole it seems probable that the temporary Nazirate was the most common form, and that from the first abstinence from wine was one of the restrictions imposed on them. There is no instance in the OT of a female Nazirite.

Regarding the meaning of the restrictions to which they were subjected there is now very general agreement. (1) *Abstinence from wine*, etc. This was the strictly ascetic element in the vow of the Nazirite. It has often been explained as symbolizing abstinence from all *deliciæ carnis*; but, as Dillmann remarks, if the Nazirite was forbidden all *deliciæ carnis*, he would have had to avoid them, not merely symbolically, but in reality. It finds an analogy in the late law forbidding the priests to drink wine or strong drink, while engaged in the service of the sanctuary (Lv 10$^{8ff.}$); and some have accordingly explained it as meant merely to secure at all times the sobriety of mind becoming in a man specially dedicated to God (cf. Hos 4^{11}). But the prohibition extended not only to wine and strong drink, but to the whole produce of the vine. It is now, therefore, generally explained as 'a reaction in favour of the primitive simplicity of Israel in the days before it came into contact with Canaanite civilization and Canaanite religion,' 'a religious protest against Canaanite civilization in favour of the simple life of ancient times' (W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, p. 84 f.). 'All Semitic nomads view wine-growing and wine-drinking as essentially foreign to their traditional mode of life. Canaan, on the contrary, is pre-eminently a land of the grape, and the Canaanite worship was full of Dionysiac elements. Wine was the best gift of the Baalim, and wine-drinking was prominent in their luxurious worship' (*ib.*). This reaction in favour of a simple nomadic life was carried furthest by the Rechabites; but though the Nazirites generally did not carry their protest so far, still, by their abstinence from the use of wine, etc., they sought to exhibit in their manner of living the idea of genuine Israelites.*

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[*] That Samuel was a Nazirite is denied by many moderns (*e.g.* Smend, Nowack). He is nowhere called a Nazirite in the OT; and the special service to which he was dedicated by his mother was that of the sanctuary at Shiloh (1 S 1$^{24ff.}$). It is implied in Ezk 44^{20} that some Semitic priests allowed their hair to grow long. The LXX, which adds to 1 S 1^{11} 'and he shall not drink wine or strong drink,' seems to regard him as a Nazirite. While the Rechabites are held by some to be even the strictest of all the Nazirites, they are held by others to be simply very closely akin to them. 'The only certain historical example of a Nazirite, mentioned in the OT, is Samson' (Driver, *Joel and Amos*, p. 153).

[*] All the passages in which they are mentioned are cited above. In La 4^{7} 'Nazirites' should be 'princes' or 'nobles,' princes as well as priests being among the Hebrews consecrated persons; cf. Gn 49^{26}, Dt 33^{16}, where Joseph is called the *Nāzīr* among his brethren.

(2) The *long hair* of the Nazirite was the visible mark of his consecration; like the high priest's 'mitre' with the inscription 'Holy to the Lord' (Ex $28^{36f.}$ 29^{6} 39^{30}, Lv 8^{9}, where the Heb. word for 'crown' or 'diadem' is the same as that rendered 'consecration' in Nu 6; cf. also Lv 21^{12}, 2 S 1^{10}, 2 K 11^{12}), it was the sign, manifest to all, that he was a God-consecrated man. The law in Nu 6 even calls it his 'consecration' (v.^{19}; see also vv.$^{7.\,9.\,11.\,18}$, Jer 7^{29}), and enacts that, when the period of his vow is over, it must be offered to the Lord along with the peace-offerings (v.^{18}). In Samson's case it is also the seat of his personal strength; as soon as it is cut off, his special relation to Jehovah ceases, and he becomes weak as other men (Jg 16^{17-22}). The general idea underlying this restriction is that whatever is to be, or has been, consecrated to God must be kept inviolate, in the condition in which it has come from its maker's hand (cf. Ex 20^{25}, Lv 22^{24}, Nu 19^{2}, Dt 15^{19} 21^{3}, 1 S 6^{7}). But it is the Nazirite himself, and not merely his hair, that is consecrated to Jehovah: how, then, are we to explain the emphasis laid on the latter? 'The hair,' says W. R. Smith, 'is regarded by primitive peoples as a living and important part of the body . . . it is often regarded as the special seat of life and strength.' 'All over the world the head and hair of persons under taboo are peculiarly sacred and inviolable, and the primitive notions about the hair as a special seat of life are quite sufficient to account for this. . . . It is easy, for example, to understand why, if an important part of the life resides in the hair, a man whose whole life is consecrated—*e.g.* a Maori chief, or the Flamen Dialis, or in the Semitic field such a person as Samuel or Samson—should either be forbidden to cut his hair at all, or should be compelled, when he does so, to use special precautions against the profanation of the holy growth' (*RS*^{2} pp. 324, 483). The inviolability of the Nazirite's hair is thus the manifest token of the consecration of his whole personality to Jehovah.†

(3) The requirement to *avoid all uncleanness due to contact with the dead* is simply an enhancement of what is required of every Israelite, and more especially of the priests (Lv $21^{1ff.}$). One that has specially devoted himself to the service of Jehovah must naturally avoid everything ceremonially defiling. He must come into contact with nothing that renders him unfit for the service of the living and holy God. In this respect, so long as his vow lasted, the Nazirite stood on a level with the levitically holiest person among the people, viz. the high priest (Lv $21^{11f.}$, where only father and mother are mentioned). Though Samson does not seem to have been subject to this restriction,‡ the importance attached to it generally is manifest from what is said in Nu 6 as to the Nazirite who has been accidentally defiled.

The Nazirites are mentioned so seldom in the OT that we cannot trace the history of this peculiar institution. It may be confidently assumed, however, that it grew up spontaneously on Israelitish soil, and that, too, as early as the time of the Judges. Israel had been unable to conquer the Canaanites completely, and, through intercourse with the latter, was gradually losing its distinctive character. If it was to maintain its existence and fulfil its vocation as the people of Jehovah, it must return to the customs which the fathers had brought with them out of the desert. The Nazirites were leading representatives of this reaction; 'they were men, who, when the sensual and self-indulgent habits of the Canaanites threatened to make their way into Israel, endeavoured by a vow of abstinence to set an example of moderation and self-denial, which might help to preserve the old simplicity of Israelitish life' (Driver, *Joel and Amos*, p. 152 f.). They were a class of persons 'holy to the Lord' in a peculiar sense. That which formed the basis of their consecration was neither birth nor office, but a vow of a special kind. In an ordinary vow, a man consecrated some material thing; the Nazirites consecrated themselves (Nu $6^{2.\,5}$). Occasionally parents dedicated their unborn child to the life of a Nazirite (*e.g.* Samson and Samuel), in which case the mother had, during her pregnancy, also to abstain from the use of wine, etc. (Jg $13^{4.\,7.\,14}$). As a rule, however, and probably originally, the Nazirite, following an inner prompting, which he recognized as coming from the Lord (Am 2^{11}), dedicated himself. He thereby devoted himself wholly, for a limited time or for life, to the positive service of Jehovah. Though his vow committed him to certain abstinences, it was not, at least originally, a vow of mere abstinence; the life that he led was not necessarily that of a mere ascetic. As representing to his fellow-countrymen the ideal of a genuine Israelite, he naturally abstained from everything that was out of keeping with that ideal; but these abstinences were simply consequences of his state of positive consecration. Nor did his vow compel him to withdraw from fellowship with his fellow-men; there is nothing in the OT to indicate that the Nazirites generally either lived apart by themselves or in guilds like 'the sons of the prophets.' The Nazirite was originally a zealot for the national religion; he was one that had devoted himself to the service of Jehovah and His people. The service to which his vow called him might be very manifold: now it might possibly be to spend much of his time in prayer or in the service of the sanctuary, or to protest against current evils by a life of asceticism; and now it might be to fight the nation's foes or to rule the nation as judge. Whatever the service might be, he was regarded as a special instrument whereby God worked on behalf of His people. Samson, as being a Nazirite, is to deliver Israel out of the hand of the Philistines (Jg 13^{5}); he achieves his various exploits because the Spirit of the Lord moved him or came mightily upon him (Jg 13^{25} $14^{6.\,19}$ 15^{14}); and Amos (2^{11}) regards it as a mark of God's grace towards Israel that He not only raised up prophets from among their sons, but also from among their young men Nazirites, who by their abstinence from wine protested against the sensuality that evidently abounded so greatly in the northern kingdom during the reign of Jeroboam II. 'The temporary Nazirate afterwards became a purely private asceticism, which the individual vowed to God in order to secure the fulfilment of this or that desire. Perhaps the early Nazirites also hoped to obtain something for themselves in return for their abstinence. But above everything they served the whole community; they sought to exhibit, both for Israel and for Jehovah, the true nature of Israel. They felt themselves impelled to do so, after the manner of the prophets, by the Spirit of Jehovah. They did not thereby acquire any merit for themselves; it was a mark of the grace of Jehovah to His people, that He raised up Nazirites' (Smend^2, p. 95 f.).

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* A similar hostility to the use of wine is found among many ancient peoples. Among the Romans the priest of Jupiter was forbidden even to touch the vine; the Nabatæans of the Syrian desert were forbidden to use wine; among the Arabs also, long before the Koran, there was a strong repugnance to the vine. 'Like all barbarians, the Arabs were fond enough of getting drunk; but wine was a foreign and costly luxury, and the opposition to its use found distinguished advocates before Mohammed' (W. R. Smith, *op. cit.* p. 388).

† Among the ancient Arabs we find a similar connexion between the hair and vows; the pilgrim allowed his hair to grow until his vow was paid; he then cut it off and thereby returned to the state of ordinary secular life. He was not even permitted to comb and wash his locks till the pilgrimage was accomplished. This rule was not ascetic; it was simply a consequence of the fact that the hair of his head was inviolable. Pilgrims to Mecca are still forbidden to cut the hair of their head or even to pare their nails during their pilgrimage.

‡ Schultz remarks (p. 110) that this restriction naturally did not prevent one from engaging in the holy wars of Jehovah.

It must not be assumed that the Nazirites were necessarily saintly men, in the modern sense of that expression. Their consecration to J″ certainly implied a separation in several respects from ordinary secular life; but they might nevertheless be men of a very secular spirit. In speaking of them, we must therefore guard against using exaggerated language. It must not be forgotten, however, that Amos, who had a very ethical conception of J″, says that they were raised up by the Lord (2^{11}), and regards it as a grievous sin on the part of the Israelites that they tempted them to break their vow (v.^{12}). It may safely be inferred from this that the Nazirites known to him personally or from tradition were men of real moral worth, good gifts of God to His sinful but beloved people.

From the circumstance that the restrictions imposed upon the Nazirites were similar to those imposed upon the priests, and especially upon the high priest, it has been often inferred that the former represented the idea of the priestly life. But there is no positive evidence in support of this inference. Amos does not class them along with the priests, but with the prophets; we do not hear of their ever discharging priestly functions;* and the similarity of the restrictions in the two cases is sufficiently explained by the fact that Nazirites and priests were alike specially consecrated persons. The former were men in whom (at least in early times) 'the characteristic spirit of Israel expressed itself most clearly and most uniquely' (Schultz).

The Nazirites were doubtless more numerous than the few notices of them in the OT might lead us to suppose. Am 2$^{11f.}$ and the Rechabites show that they were found both in Israel and in Judah down to a late period in the history of both kingdoms. After the Return from the Exile the institution flourished again, and naturally, considering the strictly legal character of post-exilic Judaism, in the form prescribed by the law in Nu 6. They are mentioned in 1 Mac 3^{49} and also in Josephus (*BJ* II. xv. 1, *Ant.* XIX. vi. 1). We also hear of 300 Nazirites being together, and finding difficulty in providing the sacrifices required at the expiry of their period of separation, in the time of Alexander Jannæus. By this time, however, the Nazirate had lost its old significance, and had become a purely private asceticism. The vow was generally taken in times of sickness or other trouble, or when one was making a journey; it was looked on as a means whereby one might secure the fulfilment of some wish, or escape some feared danger. 'I shall become a Nazirite, if such and such a thing happen,' became a common formula of asseveration; and this formula was abused so as to compel some against their will to become Nazirites. The scribes also exercised their ingenuity upon the law in Nu 6, developing it more fully, rendering it more precise, and bringing it into complete harmony with the historical instances. They disallowed a Nazirite vow for a shorter period than 30 days; they distinguished between the lifelong Nazirate in accordance with the law, and that after the manner of Samson; the former permitted the Nazirite to cut his hair from time to time (after the example of Absalom (2 S 14^{26}), whom they regarded as a Nazirite), while the latter permitted him to come into contact with a dead body, without having in consequence to go through the legal process of purification. But even in these days genuine piety was by no means extinct, and there must have been some among the Nazirites who were animated by a genuinely religious spirit. John the Baptist is described as a Nazirite for life (Lk 1^{15}), as was also, according to Eusebius (*HE* II. xxiii. 3, following Hegesippus), James the brother of our Lord. Anna (Lk 2$^{36f.}$) also is supposed by some to have been a Nazirite, but this is a mere conjecture.

Ac 21$^{17ff.}$ shows that the early Jewish Christians occasionally took the temporary Nazirite vow. It is also an illustration of the custom mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* XIX. vi. 1), that wealthy Jews paid, in the case of poor Nazirites, the cost of the sacrifices required on the expiry of the period covered by the vow, and thus enabled poorer Israelites to undertake such a vow. Those who were thus 'at charges' for these poorer Nazirites, having themselves been purified for the purpose, might appear along with them in the temple, and had probably to regard themselves as consecrated persons until all the prescribed rites were duly performed. The seven days mentioned in v.^{27} do not imply that in such cases they had also to take a vow for seven days; the expression merely informs us that, in this particular instance, seeing there were four vows to be paid, it required seven days to offer the necessary sacrifices (cf. v.^{26} 'until the offering was offered for every one of them').

In connexion with Ac 18^{18} the question has been raised, whether St. Paul himself had taken a Nazirite vow. According to the rules laid down by the scribes, such a vow might be made outside of Palestine; but it had to be performed, in harmony with Nu 6^{13}, at the temple in Jerusalem. As to this, the only point of difference between the schools of Hillel and Shammai referred to the length of time during which the person who had vowed the vow in a heathen land must reside in Palestine before he was permitted to pay it at the temple. The school of Shammai demanded a residence in Palestine of only thirty days, which was the shortest and most common period of consecration; whereas the school of Hillel insisted that it must be for the whole time to which the vow originally referred. Nor can St. Paul's shearing of his head have been in consequence of levitical defilement contracted during the vow period (Nu 6^{9}); for, according to the scribes, in the case of the defiled Nazirite, the shearing of the head had to take place in the holy land (though not necessarily at the temple); and on the eighth day he had to offer his sacrifice of cleansing at the temple (cf. Nu 6^{10}). The vow in question cannot therefore have been a strictly Nazirite vow. In order, nevertheless, to vindicate its character as a real Nazirite vow, some have supposed that, having been living among Gentiles, the apostle shore his head at the *beginning* of his period of consecration, after the analogy of the Nazirite who had been in any way defiled; while others have supposed that it was a vow of special consecration to God, involving a temporary growth of the hair, and a subsequent cutting of it off, and that such a vow, though simply analogous to the Nazirite vow, and not involving a personal appearance at the temple, or the co-operation of the priests, was allowed to Jews of the Dispersion as a substitute for the strictly legal vow. It is admitted, however, that there is no evidence in support of these suppositions. It was evidently a private vow which the apostle had taken, and which he paid by shearing his head at Cenchreæ.

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* Samuel, if we rightly regard him as a Nazirite, was also a priest.

Literature.—The art. 'Nasiräat,' in Herzog, *RE*^{2}, by Oehler and v. Orelli; 'Nasiräer,' in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, by Dillmann, and in Riehm's *HWB*^{2}, by Riehm; Dillmann, *Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua*, 31 ff.; Budde, *Das Buch der Richter*, 90 ff.; Driver, *The Books of Joel and Amos*, 152 f.; W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} 323 ff., 481 ff.; Schultz, *Alttest. Theologie*^{5}, 109 ff. [Eng. tr. i. 161 ff.]; Smend, *Lehrbuch der alttest. Religionsgeschichte*^{2}, 93–96; Oehler, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, § 135 [Eng. tr. ii. 17 ff.]; Ewald, *Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel*^{3}, 113 ff.; Nowack, *Lehrb. d. Heb. Arch.* ii. 133 ff.; Benzinger, *Heb. Archäologie*, 430 ff.; Vilmar, 'Die symbolische Bedeutung des Naziräergelübdes,' in *SK*, 1864, p. 438 ff.; Grill, 'Ueber Bedeutung und Ursprung des Nasiräergelübdes,' in *Jahrbb. f. protest. Theologie*, 1880, p. 645 ff.; G. B. Gray, 'The Nazirite,' in *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, vol. i. p. 201 ff. (Jan. 1900).

D. Eaton.

NEAH.—Named only in Jos 19^{13} רִמּוֹן הַמְּתֹאָר הַנֵּעָה 'Rimmon stretching to the *Nē'ah'* (B Ῥεμμωνὰ Αμαθὰρ Ἀοζά, A Ῥεμμωνάμ· Μαθαρίμ· Ἀννουά). The name has not been recovered. Knobel identifies it with *Neiel* of v.^{27}, comparing the relation of the words *Jabneh* and Jabneel. This does not help us much in any case, for the site of Neiel itself has not been discovered, and it was probably considerably west of Neah. C. R. Conder.

NEAPOLIS (Νέα Πόλις, 'new city') was the port at which St. Paul landed, when, in accordance with his vision at Troas (Ac 16^{9}), he sailed thence for Macedonia (Ac 16^{11}) to begin his ministry in Europe. It was the seaport of Philippi, which lay about 10 miles inland. Its position has been generally identified, or at least closely associated, with that of the modern town (of about 5000 inhabitants) called *Kavalla*, in the vicinity of which various remains have been found pointing to an earlier town of some importance, especially a great aqueduct bringing water from some distance, and stones bearing Greek or Latin inscriptions. Cousinéry (*Voyage dans la Macédoine*, ii. p. 119 ff.) and Tafel (*de Via Egnatia*) have argued in favour of a site some 10 miles farther to the west, where there is a deserted harbour called *Eski* or Old Kavalla; but Hackett (see art. 'Neapolis' in Smith's *DB*) appears to have finally settled the matter in favour of the town now bearing the name of *Kavalla*. The latter is situated on the bay which takes its name from it, at a point where, nearly opposite to the island of Thasos, a promontory projects, having a harbour on either side; that one which faced the west, especially, affording so suitable an anchorage that at the time of the battle of Philippi the triremes of Brutus and Cassius were moored in the bay of Neapolis (Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iv. 106). Its earlier name would seem to have been *Daton* or *Datos*, for Strabo designates Neapolis 'a town of the Dateni,' and describes Daton as 'possessing fruitful plains, and a port (λίμνη), and streams, and shipbuilding, and lucrative gold-mines, whence comes the proverb as to the "good things of Daton"' (Strabo, vii. fr. 36). Probably the place received the newer name on becoming the seat of some fresh colony (from Thasos or from Athens?). Pliny (*HN* iv. 18) treats Neapolis as belonging to Thrace; but Strabo (vii. 330) and Ptolemy (iii. 13) connect it with Macedonia. William P. Dickson.

NEARIAH (נְעַרְיָה).—**1.** A descendant of David, 1 Ch 3$^{22f.}$. **2.** A Simeonite, 1 Ch 4^{42}. In both these passages B and A have Νωαδ(ε)ιά, but Luc. has Νεαριού and Νααριάς. The interchange of ד and ר accounts for the difference between MT and BA of LXX. Which has preserved the true reading must remain uncertain.

NEBAIOTH (נְבָיֹת or נְבָיוֹת, Sam. נְבָאוֹת; LXX Ναβαιώθ).—Firstborn of Ishmael, Gn 25^{13} 28^{9} 36^{3}, 1 Ch 1^{29}. In Is 60^{7} coupled with Kedar as the name of a pastoral tribe. The same tribe is mentioned repeatedly in the Cylinder Rm 1 of Assurbanipal also in company with Kedar; the Assyrian form of the name is Na-ba-ai-te. In col. 8, ll. 15 ff. of that inscription we learn that their king Natnu, who was the first prince of the tribe that paid homage to the Assyrians, joined the revolting Arabs, but was defeated by Assurbanipal's forces. Their country is described as 'very distant' (*asharshu ruuḳu*) in l. 58; Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 267, etc.) places them in the Arabian provinces Yemamah and Ḳaṣīm, but it may be doubted whether they can be localized so exactly. His opinion, however, that the name has no connexion with the *Nabaṭæans*, is probably to be accepted. In the despatch K. 562 (S. A. Smith, ii. 36) there is a reference to the *Niba'ati*, who probably represent the same tribe; and a king *Nadan* is mentioned in K. 524 (*ib.* 54), who may or may not be the king of Nebaioth. The king's name seems to be the equivalent of the Hebrew Nathan; it may have been altered by the Assyrian transcriber. The etymology of the name Nebaioth is probably to be found in Arabic; according to the *Lisan al-'Arab*, xx. 172, *nabawāt* would mean 'lofty places, eminences.' The name certainly seems to be a feminine plural, which would exclude connexion with the *Nabaṭ*. D. S. Margoliouth.

NEBALLAT (נְבַלָּט; BA om., א$^{\text{c. a mg inf}}$ Ναβαλλάτ).—A town mentioned only after the Captivity, along with Lod and Ono, as inhabited by Benjamites, Neh 11^{34}. It is probably the modern *Beît Nebâla*, a village N.E. of Lydda.

NEBAT (נְבָט; Ναβάτ (Ναβάθ)).—Father of Jeroboam I. (1 K 11^{26} and onwards). The constant designation of Jeroboam I. as 'ben-Nebat' is probably the usage of a writer later than Jeroboam ben-Joash. It is intended, doubtless, to distinguish the two kings. On the first occasion of its use (1 K 11^{26}), the formula has been added at the expense of appropriateness, since Jeroboam is further described as the son of a *widow* (B υἱὸς γυναικὸς χήρας). 'Son of Nebat' may have been absent from the earliest form of the narrative. It is wanting in LXX of 1 K 12^{24b} (from B). It is less probable that 'widow woman' is secondary. Nebat was therefore dead before his son's advancement under Solomon. The name perhaps signifies 'brightness.' Its equivalence to נבטאל 'God is splendour' has been suggested (Cheyne, *JQR* xi. 559). That is known as a Sabæan name (Gesenius, *HWB*^{12}). The interpretation 'Nabatæan' conflicts with 1 K 11^{26} ('Nebat, an Ephraimite').

W. B. Stevenson.

NEBO (נְבוֹ, Ναβώ, Assyr. *Nabium*, contracted *Nabu*, 'the Prophet').—Nebo was the interpreter of the will of Bel-Merodach of Babylon, and consequently had a shrine in Ê-Saggilla, the great temple of Bel, at Babylon. But his own temple was Ê-Zida (now *Birs-i-Nimrûd*) in Borsippa, the suburb of Babylon. He was the son of Merodach and Zarpanit, and the husband of Tasmit 'the hearer.' He presided over literature and science, and the cuneiform system of writing was regarded as his creation. Hence, in the pre-Semitic Sumerian language of Chaldæa, he is termed *dim-sar*, 'the scribe.' Among his titles are those of 'the wise,' 'the intelligent,' 'the creator of the oracle,' 'the maker of writing,' 'the opener,' and 'enlarger of the ear.' Assurbanipal traces to him his zeal for knowledge. 'Nebo and Tasmit had given him broad ears and seeing eyes,' he says, so that he had caused the older literature of the country to be republished, as well as 'the secrets of Nebo, the list of all the characters that exist.' In later days Nebo was identified with Nusku, a solar deity of fire, who was the messenger of Bel of Nippur, just as Nebo was the messenger of Bel-

Merodach of Babylon. In the period of Bab. influence in Western Asia (B.C. 3800–1400) the name and worship of Nebo were carried into Syria with those of other Babylonian deities. Hence we find a Mount Nebo in Moab (Dt 32^{49}, Is 15^{2}), and a town of Nebo in Reuben (Nu 32^{3}); see the following two articles. In Is 46^{1} Bel-Merodach and Nebo represent the city of Babylon, over which they presided. In the days of the later Chaldæan empire, the kings' names were for the most part compounds with *Nebo* (*e.g.* Nabopolassar, Nebuchadrezzar, Nabonid). See, further, Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 412 f. [*COT* ii. 105 f.]; Meyer, *Gesch.* i. 179; Tiele, *Gesch.* 207 ff., 532 f. The name Abed-*nego* (Dn 1^{7} etc.) is for Abed-*nebo*, *i.e.* 'servant of Nebo.'

A. H. SAYCE.

NEBO.—**1.** Town in Moab (נְבוֹ; Moabite Stone נבה; LXX Ναβαύ, Ναβώ; Vulg. *Nabo*, *Nebo*); mentioned in Nu 32^{3} between Sebam (=Sibmah) and Beon (=Baal-meon), and 32^{38} between Kiriathaim and Baal-meon, as among the cities taken from Sihon and given by Moses to Reuben, and in 1 Ch 5^{8} between Aroer and Baal-meon, in connexion with the Reubenite (clan) Bela, and in Is 15^{2} with Medeba, Jer 48^{1} with Kiriathaim, and Jer 48^{22} between Dibon and Beth-diblathaim, as a Moabite city, which either had been or was to be laid waste. Nu 32 is from P on basis of JE; Is 15 and Jer 48 rest on an ancient oracle on Moab (cf. MOAB, p. 412). On the Moabite Stone, ll. 14–17, Mesha tells us: 'Chemosh said to me, "Take Nebo against Israel," and I went by night and fought against it from break of dawn till noon; and I took it, and put them (the inhabitants) all to death, 7000 men and boys (?), and women (?), and girls (?), and female slaves, for I had made it taboo to Ashtar-Chemosh. And I took thence the altar-hearths (?) of Jehovah and offered (?) them before Chemosh.' Nebo is not mentioned in the catalogue of Reubenite towns in Jos 13$^{15-23}$.

Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, 283, 93, 100) and Jerome (*de Situ et Nom.*) distinguish the town, Ναβώρ, *Nabo*, from the mountain, *Nabau*, *Naban*, and place the town 8 miles south of Heshbon, and identify it with *Chanaath* (Kenath), or Nobah. Buhl (*Geogr.* 266) holds that the site of Nebo is to be looked for amongst the ruins on Mt. Nebo (*Jebel Neba*). Either the mountain received the name Nebo as containing a sanctuary of Nebo (cf. NEBO [god]), and the town was named after it; or the sanctuary was in the town, and the mountain was named after it; or the town and the mountain were so named independently, because each contained a sanctuary of Nebo.

Jerome, on Is 15^{2}, states that there was at Nebo, 'Belphegor,' *i.e.* Baal-peor, the idol of Chemosh.

2. Town in Judah (נְבוֹ; Ναβειά, Ναβιά, Ναβού, Ναβώ; Vulg. *Nebo*); mentioned Ezr 2^{29}, Neh 7^{33} 'the other Nebo,' as giving name to the 'children' or 'men of Nebo' who returned with Zerubbabel. According to Ezr 10^{43}, in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, seven 'children of Nebo' had foreign wives, whom they were compelled to discard.

As Nebo, in Ezr 2, Neh 7, follows Bethel and Ai, it should be represented in the Greek (1 Es 5^{21}) by Νειφεις B, Φινεις A, which follows Betolion. But Lucian has Μακβεις, and the number of the 'children of Niphis,' 156, is that given to Magbish in Ezr-Neh. Hence Νειφεις, etc., is held to represent Magbish (RVm, Meyer, *Entstehung*, 145). This Nebo is often identified with **Nob**, cf. Is 10^{32}, Neh 11^{32}, and the **Nobai** or **Nebai** of Neh 10^{20}, which is probably the clan of Nob, corresponding to the 'children of Nob.' The site of Nebo has been fixed at *Beit Nubâ*, 12 miles N.W. of Jerusalem, and 8 from Lydda, or at *Nuba*, 4 miles south of Adullam (Armstrong, *Names and Places*, etc.; Buhl, *Geogr.* p. 198; Meyer, *Entstehung*, etc. pp. 145, 149, 155 f.). It follows from the passages in Ezr-Neh that families from Nebo (Nob) had remained together in the Exile, and returned together, and thus became a post-exilic clan named after their original home. *Beit Nubâ* is the *Nobe* or *Anob* of Jerome's *Onomasticon*, the *Betenoble* or *Castellum Arnaldi* of the Crusaders (Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, pp. 332–339).

The mention in 1 Ch 8^{8} of Benjamite settlers in Moab suggests the possibility of a Benjamite colony in the Moabite Nebo, which when driven across the Jordan founded the western Nebo.

In 1 S 30^{30} Tisch. prints B as reading ἐν Νομβέ, Swete ἐν Νοό; but the context excludes identification with our Nebo. W. H. BENNETT.

NEBO, MT. (הַר־נְבוֹ, Ναβαύ).—The mountain from which Moses viewed the promised land before his death. The word Nebo occurs in connexion with Moses only in Dt 32^{49} (the command to ascend) and Dt 34^{1} (account of the ascent) [both P]. It is found in the itinerary, Nu 33^{47} (P). Comparing the command as given in Dt 3^{27} and Nu 27^{12} (closely parallel in substance but not in expression with Dt 3^{27}) with the ascent described Dt 34$^{1f.}$, and noting the 'mountains of Abarim' of Nu 33^{47}, it follows that (1) Mt. Nebo forms part of the range of Abarim, and (2) the Top (head) of Pisgah (D) and Mt. Nebo (P) are alternative designations of the same spot (cf. Driver on Dt 34^{1} in *Internat. Crit. Comm.*). Its situation may be determined within narrow limits. A ridge runs out west from the plateau of Moab (see note on *Mishor* in art. MEDEBA), sinking gradually; at first a broad brown field of arable land, then a flat top crowned by a ruined cairn (to which the name *Neba* applies), then a narrower ridge ending in the summit called *Siâghah*, whence the slopes fall steeply on all sides (Conder, *Heth and Moab*, p. 129). Neba is 5 miles S.W. of Heshbon and 9½ W. of the north-east end of the Dead Sea. From it Western Palestine is in sight; but the view to the E. is shut out by the higher edge of the Mishor, and to the S. by the ridge running out from el-Maslubiyeh. Passing westward from Neba along the ridge to its western summit Siâghah, a distance of about 1½ mile, the whole of the Jordan Valley opens out to view, and the traveller may see Gilead, Hermon, Tabor, Ebal and Gerizim, Neby Samwil and the Mt. of Olives, Jericho, the Lower Jordan and the Dead Sea as far as En-gedi. Fuller descriptions may be found in Tristram, *Land of Moab*, p. 325; *Bible Places*, p. 360; Conder, *Heth and Moab*, p. 129 f.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* p. 563; and Driver on Dt 34. The view may well be described as embracing 'all the land.' It has been questioned whether all the places mentioned in Dt 34$^{1-3}$ can be seen from any point of the ridge. Those who wish to pursue this inquiry in detail may be referred to an article in *PEFSt* for April 1898, 'The Prospect from Pisgah,' by W. F. Birch. The 'hinder sea' RV (that is, westward, RVm), 'utmost sea' AV, is generally taken to mean the Mediterranean, as in Dt 11^{24}; and this cannot be seen from any point of the Neba range, though one traveller speaks of 'a faint and distant bluish haze' in the direction of Mt. Carmel. Birch says, 'From no mountain on the east side of the Dead Sea is it possible to see the Mediterranean near Judah. Higher mountains intervene.' He suggests that 'the hinder sea' in this passage means the Dead Sea, as being behind Moses when he began his survey. But the passage need not imply that the Mediterranean is included in the view from Nebo or Pisgah. When rightly translated it runs as follows: 'And J" showed him all the land—(even) Gilead as far as Dan, and all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah as far as the hinder sea, and the South and the Round [see CICCAR], (even) the plain of Jericho, the city of palm-trees as far as Zoar.' The writer says that God showed Moses all the land (compare the words of Dt 3[27]), and what follows is *his* description of its extent, in which he states quite correctly that Judah extends as far as the hinder sea or Mediterranean.

Moses parted from the people whom he had led to their inheritance before undertaking that last mysterious journey; and of what he was permitted to see, it may be said, as of his sepulchre, no man knoweth it unto this day. The passage, translated as above, reduces the force of an objection which has been urged. Why should the land of Gilead be shown to Moses after he had already traversed it in the campaigns against Sihon and Og,* and allotted it to the 2½ tribes? Josephus (*Ant.* IV. viii. 48) mentions Nebo as a very high mountain opposite Jericho; and Eusebius in the *Onomasticon* puts it 6 Roman miles west of Heshbon. The position seems to have been forgotten, for until recent times *Jebel Attarus*, a mountain about 10 miles to the south of the Neba ridge, has been identified with Nebo.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR.—See NEBUCHADREZZAR.

NEBUCHADREZZAR (נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר, afterwards corrupted into **Nebuchadnezzar**, נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר, Ναβουχοδονοσόρ, *Nabuchodonosor*).—The Bab. Nabu-kudurri-uẓur ('O Nebo, defend the landmark'), the eldest son of Nabopolassar, and founder of the Bab. empire, who reigned from B.C. 604 to 561. A younger brother of his, Nebo-sum-lisir, is mentioned in a contract-tablet dated in the reign of Nabopolassar. He seems to have been of Kaldâ or Chaldæan origin, like Merodach-baladan. According to Abydenus (Euseb. *Chron.* i. 9), he married Amuhia the daughter of the 'Median' (*i.e.* Manda) king. In B.C. 605 he defeated Pharaoh-necho in a great battle at Carchemish (now Jerablûs) on the Euphrates (Jer 46[2-12]), and drove the Egyptians out of W. Asia. Bab. power was now established as far as the frontier of Egypt, and the king of Judah became a Bab. vassal. At this moment Nabopolassar died, and Nebuch. was recalled to Babylon, where he was proclaimed king, B.C. 604. Nebuch. now entered upon an era of wars and building. Of the wars we have hitherto learned but little from the inscriptions, which are filled with accounts of his building operations. Tyre, which had revolted, was besieged from the 7th year of his reign (Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 21) for 13 years, and apparently captured (but see Ezk 29[18]; art. BABYLONIA in vol. i. p. 229^{a}, also *Expos. Times*, 1899, pp. 378, 475, 520). In the 40th year of Nebuch.'s reign (see contract-tablet in *RP*, new series, iv. 99 f.), it was full of Bab. officials. After the investment of Tyre, Nebuch. marched against Jerus., where Jehoiakim had also rebelled (2 K 24[1]). Jehoiakim was put to death (according to Jos. *Ant.* X. vi. 3), and his son Jehoiachin placed on the throne. Three months later he was deposed, and carried captive to Babylonia, his uncle Zedekiah being appointed king in his place. Zedekiah, however, intrigued with Apries of Egypt, and threw off the Bab. yoke. For the third time, accordingly, Nebuch. invaded Judah; the Egyp. army was forced to retreat (Jer 37[5-8]), and Jerus. was closely besieged. At the end of two years (B.C. 586) Jerus. was taken, the palace and temple destroyed, and the upper classes carried into exile (2 K 25[1ff.]). Zedekiah, who had escaped from the city, was captured near Jericho, and brought to Nebuch. at Riblah, near Hamath, where his eyes were put out, and his sons and chief nobles put to death. Gedaliah, a Jew, was made governor of Judah, the Babylonian garrison there being placed under the command of Nebuzaradan (2 K 25[8ff.]). It is to this period that we should probably assign the inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar which have been found on the bank of the Nahr el-Kelb, north of Beyrout, and in the Wādy Brissa, on the road to Hamath. A fragment of his annals informs us that in his 37th year (B.C. 567) he made a campaign against Amasis of Egypt, overrunning a portion of the Delta (see Jer 46[13-26], Ezk 29[2-20]), and defeating the soldiers of 'Phut of the Ionians' (*Puṭu Yâvan*). He was succeeded by his son Evil-Merodach in B.C. 561.

Babylon, which had been destroyed by Sennacherib, and rebuilt by Esarhaddon, became one of the wonders of the world under Nebuchadrezzar. He made it practically impregnable with three lines of wall, the two principal of which were called the Imgur-Bel and the Nimitti-Bel. He also surrounded it with a deep moat, and lined the bed of the Euphrates, which passed through the city, with brick, building walls and quays on either side. He lavished an enormous amount of treasure on the temples of Babylonia and the other cities of Chaldæa; built a new palace which was completed in 'fifteen days'; and is said to have erected 'a hanging garden' for his 'Median' wife. Great canals were dug or reopened throughout Babylonia; a huge reservoir was constructed near Sippar for storing the water needed in irrigation; and a port was founded on the shores of the Persian Gulf. Nebuch. gives an account of his architectural works in the India House inscription (translated by Ball, *RP*, new ser. iii. pp. 102–123). We gather from his inscriptions that he was a man of peculiarly devout and religious character (see Sayce, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 97). Cf., further, Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 361 ff. [*COT* ii. 47 ff.]; Meyer, *Gesch.* i. 579, 587 ff.; Tiele, *Gesch.* 410, 421 ff.; Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Assyria*, 241 ff.

A. H. SAYCE.

NEBUSHAZBAN (נְבוּשַׁזְבָּן; LXX omits; Theodotion, quoted from the *Hexapla* in Q$^{\text{mg}}$, has Ναβουσαζαβάν. The writing of the final ן small, and the substitution of ז instead in Kennicott's MSS, is probably due to the desire to mutilate names compounded with those of heathen deities, as exemplified in the name of Abed-ne*g*o for Abed-Ne*b*o; compare also *Nimrod* and *Nisroch*).—This official was *rab-ṣārîṣ* (=*rabû-ša-rêšu*, 'chief captain' or 'chief of the captains')* at the time of Nebuchadnezzar's capture of Jerusalem (Jer 39[13]). To all appearance there were among the officials of the Babylonian court many who bore the same title, and there is no reason to suppose, therefore, that Ashpenaz (Dn 1[3]) succeeded Nebushazban as *rab-ṣārîṣ*—indeed, another official of the same title is mentioned in Jer 39[3]. The name Nebushazban occurs in the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions under the form of *Nabû-šuzibanni*, 'Nebo, save me,' the first time in a list of names printed in *WAI* ii. 64, col. i. l. 32, and again in *Inschriften von Nabonidus*, 161, l. 6. This latter text is dated in the 4th year of Nabonidus, that is, 34 years after the capture of Jerusalem; and although it is not by any means impossible that the personage named may be identical with that mentioned in Jer 39[13], it must be assumed, in the absence of any confirmation, that he is a different individual. The name is quite Babylonian in its form, the first element, *Nebu*, being the Hebrew reproduction of the divine name Nabû (Nebo, Nebu) found in Nebuchadnezzar and Nebuzaradan (*Nabû-zēr-iddina*). The second element, *šûzib*, is the imperative sing. of the Shaper of *êzēbu*, 'to save,' the third element being the pronominal suffix [*an*]*ni* indicating the 1st person (object). In all probability, proof could easily be found that the Hebrew form approximates very closely to the popular Babylonian pronunciation, in which the *i* of *šûzib* was probably suppressed (cf. *Kurbanni* for *Kurubanni*). T. G. PINCHES.

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* Any one urging the above objection assumes that these campaigns are historical. For a discussion of this point see *HGHL*, App. III. p. 662.

* This title, in accordance with the use of *ṣārîṣ* elsewhere in OT, is generally translated 'chief of the *eunuchs*.'

NEBUZARADAN (נְבוּזַרְאֲדָן, Νεβουζαρδάν, Bab. *Nabu-zira-iddina*, 'Nebo has given a seed'), a name which is by no means uncommon in the contract-tablets. He commanded Nebuchadnezzar's body-guard, and, after the fall of Jerus., was entrusted with the work of carrying out the wishes and policy of his master (2 K 25^{8-20}). He selected the captives, and brought the leading supporters of Zedekiah to Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah. Five years later he was again sent to Palestine, and carried away from it into exile 745 persons (Jer 52^{30}). This was after the murder of Gedaliah.

A. H. SAYCE.

NECHO, NECHOH.—See NECO.

NECK (צַוָּאר *ẓavvâr*, עֹרֶף *'ōreph*; τράχηλος).—1. *The neck under the yoke* was a figure borrowed from agriculture, and implied a state of ownership, dependence, and toil. The broken yoke was recovered freedom (Gn 27^{40}, Is 10^{27}, Jer 27^{8}, Ac 15^{10}). Closely connected with this was the stiffness of the neck that refused to recognize God's right to possess, command, and direct (Dt 31^{27}, Jer 7^{26}, Neh 3^{5}). 2. *The foot on the neck* was an emblem of complete subjection, borrowed from military conquest (Jos 10^{24}, Ro 16^{4}, cf. Ps 110^{1}). It is frequently seen on the Egyptian monuments. RV correctly tr. 2 S 22^{41} (=Ps 18^{40}) 'Thou hast made mine enemies turn their backs to me,' for AV 'Thou hast given me the necks of mine enemies' (cf. Ex 23^{27}, 2 Ch 29^{6}, Jer 18^{17} etc.). 3. For the neck adorned with a chain, the words גָּרוֹן *gārôn* and גַּרְגָּרָה *gargārāh* [only in pl. גַּרְגְּרוֹת] 'throat' are also used (Pr 1^{9}, Ezk 16^{11}). 4. *To fall upon the neck* is a form of salutation in the East (Gn 33^{4} 46^{29}, Lk 15^{20}). The head is laid on one shoulder and then on the other close to the cheek. It is still part of the usual act of salutation when a meeting takes place between relatives or intimate friends of the same sex. It is the *brotherly kiss* of the monks and Oriental clergy. With them a custom originating in natural affection has descended to ecclesiastical routine and automatic formality.

For Mt 18^{6} (and parallels) see MILLSTONE.

G. M. MACKIE.

NECO.—The name is written in Hierogl. *Nk'w*;[*] Cuneif. *Niku*; Heb., always preceded by 'Pharaoh,' נְכֹה (2 K $23^{29.\,33\text{ff.}}$, 2 Ch 35^{22} 36^{4}, AV **Nechoh,** RV **Necoh**) or נְכוֹ (Jer 46^{2}, 2 Ch 35^{20}; AV **Necho,** RV Neco); Gr. Νεκῶς (Herod.), Νεχαώ (Manetho, LXX). The sources for the history of this Pharaoh, who succeeded his father Psammetichus I. as second king of the 26th Dynasty[†] (B.C. 610–594), are the references to him in the OT and a short notice by Herodotus. No native monuments of historical importance from his reign have come to light. The 26th Dynasty is localized by Manetho at Sais in the Delta. It is, however, possible that, although residing principally there, the family was of Ethiopian descent (see Schäfer in *Æg. Ztschr.* xxxiii. 116). Psammetichus had initiated a policy of larger commercial interests which, unknown to the Egypt of preceding dynasties, had already reached a considerable development in his son's reign. The monarchy relied now, both in foreign wars and against internal revolts, not upon native troops, but upon Ionian and Carian mercenaries. But Neco aimed also at a more extended influence at sea, and set about constructing a canal which should, by joining the waters of the upper Delta and the Bitter Lakes, make navigation between the Mediterranean and Red Sea possible (Herod. ii. 158). But the work was not finished by him: whether owing to discouragement from an oracle or to the pressure of external politics, the canal was abandoned, to be completed eventually by Darius.[*] The fleets of triremes which he built on both seas (*ib.* 159), and the Phœnician expedition which he engaged to circumnavigate Africa (iv. 42), were further results of the same policy.

The information in 2 K $23^{29\text{ff.}}$ as to his Syrian campaign (in 608) corresponds to a shorter account by Herodotus (ii. 159). The desire to regain the lost ascendency in Asia was always in Egypt a sufficient motive for such an undertaking; the immediate inducement may have been the defencelessness of Assyria, but recently overthrown by the onslaught of the new Babylonian monarchy. We are told that, during their northward march, the Egyptians were encountered by the army of Assyria's vassal, Josiah of Judah, at Megiddo (2 K $23^{29\text{ff.}}$, and a mere amplification of this in 2 Ch $35^{20\text{ff.}}$), or, according to Herod. (*l.c.*), at Magdolus (Μαγδωλός); that Josiah was slain, and that Neco pursued his way to the Euphrates; but, on arriving there, returned, capturing on his southward journey the town of Kadytis, and sending in gratitude his armour[†] to the shrine of the Didymæan Apollo at Branchidæ. Certain points in the story are, however, obscure. The locality of the battle is either (1) Megiddo S. of Mt. Carmel, which—though Herodotus' πεζῇ speaks for this—would be outside Josiah's frontier;[‡] or (2) Migdol = Magdolus, in which case there is a choice between several places of the name, that in Egypt, S. of Pelusium, being the least probable.[§] W. Max Müller (in *Mitt. Vorderas. Ges.* 1898, 3. 54) proposes Migdal-Gad (Jos 15^{37}); Winckler (in *Orient. Lit. Z.* 1898, 395, and in Benzinger's *B. d. Könige*, 207) recalls another Migdol, the Turris Stratonis (Cæsarea) S. of Akko. Kadytis again has been taken for Jerusalem, for Kadesh on the Orontes, and—the most probable view—for Gaza (cf. Herod. iii. 5 and Jer 47^{1}).

Neco, pursuing his Asiatic policy, refused to countenance the popular election of Josiah's son, Jehoahaz, to the throne. During a second campaign the newly elected king was seized at Riblah, and taken to end his days in Egypt. He was replaced by his elder brother Eliakim, whose name was changed, perhaps in compliment to the anti-Babylonian party,[‖] to Jehoiakim. Through him Neco was able to exact from the Jews, as earlier Pharaohs had so often done in Syria, a considerable fine—100 talents of silver and a talent of gold (2 K 23^{33}).

Now, however, he found himself forced to face the advancing power that had destroyed Nineveh. Nebuchadrezzar II., son of Nabopolassar, led a Babylonian army against him, and completely routed him at Carkemish (604). All his Syrian provinces were at the disposal of the victors (2 K

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[*] See vol. i. p. 656, note.

[†] He is sometimes called Neco II., to distinguish him from the prince whom Esarhaddon had set up in Memphis and Sais, and who was probably the father of Psammetichus I.

[*] Augustus subsequently turned his attention to this canal; hence, suggests Lumbroso (*l'Egitto dei Greci*, 23), the name of the eastern province, Augustamnica.

[†] Cauer in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* 810, 'statue.'

[‡] Maspero still (letter to present writer, 1899) holds this the most probable.

[§] Josephus (*Ant.* x. v. 1), it is true, has Μενδή; but presumably he misread this from Heb. מגדו. (See G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geogr.* 405).

[‖] Stade, *Geschichte*, i. 674.

24^{7}), and, for some years at any rate, the Egyptians did not venture to interfere in Asiatic politics. In 594 Neco died, and was buried at Sais. The recorded burial of an Apis bull in his 16th year confirms the duration of the reign given by Herodotus. W. E. CRUM.

NECROMANCY.—See SORCERY.

NEDABIAH (נְדַבְיָה).—A descendant of David, 1 Ch 3^{18} (B *Δενεθει*, A^{a} *Ναβαδιας*, Luc. *Ναδαβιά*).

NEEDLE'S EYE (*τρῆμα* [*var. lec.* *τρυπήμα*] *ῥαφίδος*, Mt 19^{24}; *τρυμαλιὰ ῥαφίδος*, Mk 10^{25}; *τρῆμα βελόνης*, Lk 18^{25}).—The impossibility of a camel's passing through the eye of a needle is used by Jesus to emphasize the difficulty of a rich man's entering into the kingdom of God. An attempt is sometimes made to explain the *needle's eye* as a reference to the small door, a little over 2 ft. square, in the large heavy gate of a walled city. This mars the figure without materially altering the meaning, and receives no justification from the language and traditions of Palestine. There is no custom of calling this small opening 'the eye'; it is usually named 'the small door,' 'hole,' or 'window.' If there were such a custom, it would not help the interpretation suggested, because Orientals never speak of the *eye* of a needle; it is simply the *slit* or *hole*, חָר *ḥur*, Arab. *khurm*. The literal meaning is therefore to be preferred.* See, further, Swete on Mk 10^{25}, and art. CAMEL in vol. i. p. 345^{b}.

G. M. MACKIE.

NEEDLEWORK is tr^{n} in AV of two Heb. expressions: (*a*) מַעֲשֵׂה רֹקֵם (Ex 26^{36} 27^{16} 28^{39} 36^{37} 38^{18} 39^{29}), the exact rendering of which is 'work of the variegator' (so *QPB* uniformly; RV gives 'work of the embroiderer'); (*b*) רִקְמָה (Jg $5^{30\,bis}$, Ps 45^{14}, 1 Ch 29^{2}, and 8 times in Ezk), a name which also signifies 'variegated work' (Moore, *Judges*, *ad loc.*), and is used of embroidery in which patterns were worked with a needle in various colours (RV in Jg 'embroidery,' in Ps and 7 times in Ezk 'broidered work'; once 'divers colours,' so also 1 Ch 29^{2}. Against this being 'embroidery,' see esp. Dillm. on Ex 26^{36}).

Needlework is much prized and universally practised in the East. Lace is made of great delicacy and beauty of pattern, and designs in different colours of silk, rendered more lustrous by threads of silver and gold, are sewn upon cotton, linen, silk, and woollen materials. Children devote themselves to it at an early age; among the poorer classes young women earn their marriage portion by patiently and skilfully producing work of considerable market value, and among the secluded women of rich Oriental families the gradual progress of a piece of needlework is a subject of interest and a connecting link in empty hours and aimless days.

G. M. MACKIE.

NEESING.—There are in Middle English two distinct verbs *fnese* and *neese*. The former means 'to breathe hard' and is connected with the Gr. *πνέω*; the latter, which is pure Teut., though not found in Anglo-Sax., means 'to sneeze.' 'Sneeze,' which has now replaced 'neese,' is in fact simply a dialectic variety of that word (cf. 'lightly' and 'slightly'). In the 1611 ed. of AV the word 'neese' is accepted from Coverdale in 2 K 4^{35} 'the child neesed seven times.' The meaning is evidently 'sneezed' (Heb. זוֹרֵר Po. of [זָרַר], prob. onomatopoetic, cf. *sternuo*), and mod. editors (since 1762) have so spelt it (though Scrivener returns to the older spelling 'neesed'). For the word cf. Chapman, *Odysseys*, xix. 732, 736—

> 'This said, about the house, in echoes round,
> Her son's strange neesings made a horrid sound;
> At which the Queen yet laugh'd, and said, "Go call
> The stranger to me. Heard'st thou not, to all
> My words last utter'd, what a neesing brake
> From my Telemachus?"'

But in Job 41^{18} we find in 1611 AV 'By his neesings a light doth shine,' which again comes down from Coverdale. Modern editors have retained the spelling 'neesings' here, perhaps from a feeling that the modern 'sneeze' did not express the meaning, as it certainly does not. The Heb. (עֲטִישָׁה) is a different word from that found in 2 K 4^{35}, and clearly refers to the crocodile's habit of inflating itself, as it lies basking in the sun, and then forcing the heated breath through its nostrils: this in the sun appears like a stream of light (Dav.). Now this is the meaning not of *neese*, but of *fnese*. Wyclif's word in 1388 ed. is 'fnesynge,' and it is probable that Coverdale, by whose time the verb *fnese* had gone out of use, adopted 'neese' either as the same word or its nearest equivalent. In any case 'neesings' should no longer be retained, still less should it be replaced by 'sneezings' as in Amer. RV; the modern word is 'snortings.' In Jer 8^{16} Wyclif has (1382) 'Fro Dan is herd the fnesting of his hors,' and there, though the Heb. word (נַחְרָה) is different, the meaning is the same, and AV has 'snorting,' after Douay 'snoring (*sic*) noyse.'

J. HASTINGS.

NEGEB (הַנֶּגֶב, lit. 'the dry'; LXX *νάγεβ*, *ἡ ἔρημος*) was a name specially applied to that district south of Judah which in comparison with the rest of Pal. was waterless.* From the fact that this region did lie to the south of Judæa rose the later use of the word to indicate that point of the compass.† This use became so habitual, the original sense of Negeb as a geographical term so obscured, that AV ignored the distinction. Wilton (*The Negeb*, London, 1863) was among the first to call attention to its exact sense, and RV has restored the more accurate tr^{n}. About forty passages in OT can be understood only when this is remembered. Thus, *e.g.*, Abraham is represented (Gn 13^{1}) as going up from Egypt into the land of the Negeb, while of course the direction of his march was not southwards but northwards.

The hill-country (הָהָר) of Judah near Hebron marks the limit of the Negeb on the north. On the E. its mountains form steep and barren precipices above the Southern Ghor and the Arabah. W. it descends more gradually and with wider wadis toward the sandy tract along the Mediterranean. On the S. the plateau of *Jebel el-Magrah*, 'about 70 miles long and 40 to 50 broad,' marks the natural boundary, though it is probable that, when the inhabitants were able to possess themselves of what are now the mountains of the Azazimeh, the name of Negeb may have extended to these also.

The entire district is mountainous, composed of ridges, which run in general from E. to W. and which rise from el-Magrah towards the 'hill' of Judah in a succession of great terraces. These are drained by a number of wadis, shorter and more abrupt on the E., wider and more gradual on the west. One result of this characteristic of the Negeb was that no great road ever ran through it from north to south. Trade and war flowed between Pal. and Egypt along 'the way of the sea,' the shore-road by Gaza and the Wady el-'Arîsh. The peoples of the N. and N.E. would seek Egypt by what is the modern Hajj road, which leaves the Negeb precipices well to the W. of it. Traders from Gaza to Akabah and Arabia could avoid the worst of these mountains by skirting them on the W. and crossing into the Arabah to the southward of Jebel el-Magrah. Only the men of Hebron and S. Judah, in order to reach these points, would probably be forced to climb one of the steep passes of Magrah—Yemen, Sufah, or Fikreh.* The country was always isolated. A further consequence of this character belonging to the district was that the Negeb formed a natural frontier to Judah on the south. No army, especially if it possessed cavalry or chariots, could reach Hebron and Jerus. in this direction. Only once do we read of an invasion entering by this route, when Chedorlaomer (Gn 14), after rounding the S. end of the Dead Sea, led his army across the 'plateau of the Amalekites,' and so fell on Hazazon-tamar.†

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* On the ingenious but futile proposal to substitute 'cable' (*κάμιλος*) for 'camel' (*κάμηλος*), found as early as Cyril of Alexandria, see Hastings and Nestle in *Expos. Times*, ix. (1898), 388, 474.

* Cf. the modern *Daroma* with the same meaning and applied to part of the same region.

† Cf. the use of יָמָּה (lit. 'seawards,' *i.e.* Mediterraneanwards) in the sense of *west*.

In comparison with Judah the country is barren and waterless, though in comparison with the desert et-Tih it is fertile. 'Almost sudden was the transition to the upland wilderness, the Negeb, a series of rolling hills clad with scanty herbage here and there, especially on their northern faces. Nothing can be barer than the south-country of Judah, neither grand desolation, nor wild, but utter barrenness—not a tree nor shrub, but stunted herbage covered with myriads of white snails which afford food to thousands of birds.' So writes Tristram (*Land of Israel*, p. 360 f.), and he adds that the suddenness of the transition (he was travelling northwards) has a geological cause, because the soft limestone covers on these hills the hard crystalline which makes the south wilderness hopeless. But Palmer (*Desert of Exodus*, vol. ii.) states that there are abundant signs that this region in earlier times was cultivated, and maintained a large population. Toward the S. there are many rude cairns from a prehistoric period, and *ḥăzērîm* or stone enclosures for folding sheep. Toward the N., and especially the N.W., the ruins of towns are frequent, the hillsides are covered with flint-heaps over which to train vines, many of the wadis show signs of cultivation in terraces and dams which would keep and use the winter torrents that stream through these. This latter feature of the cultivation has largely determined the fate of the Negeb. The artificial character of the irrigation, without which cultivation was impossible, depended for its continuance upon peace and settled order among the population. Whenever this was granted to the Negeb, its towns bloomed into a fitful importance; but, whenever this ceased, the neglected works fell into ruin, the desert reasserted itself, the Bedawin swarmed in from the south, or the people reverted to that earlier condition. And what has always aided that reversion has been that the country when in its natural condition is stated to be the very ground for browsing camels.

Thus the Negeb was the favourite home of the early Israelites, while they were still nomads. Here their forefathers are represented as wandering between the more settled Egypt and Palestine (Abraham Gn 20^{1}, Isaac 24^{62}, Jacob 37^{1} 46^{5}). The original home of the traditional Avvim may be looked for in this district (Jos 13$^{3f.}$), and of them the chief characteristic which is noted (Dt 2^{23}) is that they 'dwelt' in *ḥăzērîm*, those stone enclosures of a nomad-race which depends on its flocks. But, when Israel approached this border from the wilderness, the spies reported that the Negeb was inhabited, not by Avvim, but by Amalek (Nu 13^{29}, cf. Gn 14^{7}); and this people associated with the Canaanites (Nu 14$^{25.45}$) was strong enough to repel the invaders at Zephath-hormah, the modern Sebaita. It is possible that Amalek held the plateau, while the Canaanites occupied the more cultivated wadis. With Amalek as old inhabitants of the land 1 S 27^{8} associates the Geshurites and the Gizrites or Girzites.

The region was overrun by Simeon when that tribe turned southward with Judah from Jericho; at least the cities assigned to Simeon (Jos 19$^{1-8}$) lie here. Along with them went the Kenites, who, with the natural instinct of a clan which had never known anything except the life of nomads, settled near Amalek (Jg 1^{16} [*]). But the shock of conquest, where it succeeded, shook down the artificial cultivation; Amalek till the days of Saul was ever on one flank, the Philistines rose into strength upon the other side; Simeon was probably from the beginning the rudest of all the clans (Gn 34, etc.). This tribe, never left in peace, needing peace more than the others, and planted in a district which peculiarly required peace, could not maintain itself, and merged partly into Judah, partly into the Southern Bedawin. The cities of the Negeb are enumerated in Jos 15$^{21-32}$, and assigned there to Judah.

On the edge of this district, at Ziklag, Achish planted David (1 S 27^{6}). One cannot but suspect that by means of this outpost of men, who were already accustomed to border war, he hoped to cover, against the raids of the lawless border tribes, the route down to Egypt, and possibly that to Akabah. Incidentally it is noted (1 S 30^{14} 27^{10}) that the south country was divided at this period into the Negeb of the Cherethites, of Jerahmeel, of the Kenites, of Judah and of Caleb, to which Jg 1^{16} may add that of Arad (for details see these names). During the royal period the Negeb was considered a part of Judah, and shared the fortunes of that kingdom. Jeremiah (13^{19}) speaks of it as belonging to Judah, and as suffering, perhaps more than the rest of the country, from the troubles of his time; but in an exhaustive list of the districts which made up the Southern realm (17^{26} 32^{44} 33^{13}) he promises restoration to the Negeb as to the rest. Obadiah (v.$^{19f.}$) anticipates that its cities shall possess Edom, from which some have inferred that Edom, which finally overran this district, was then pressing on the borders of the weakened kingdom. See, further, on this passage, art. OBADIAH, p. 579.

LITERATURE.—See references in the body of the article. Most of the usual books on Pal. geography devote a section to this subject. Of these, Robinson, *BRP*, is here the best. E. Wilton, *The Negeb*, and Trumbull, *Kadesh Barnea*, are devoted to that district, but are popular. The most thorough work is still that of Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, vol. ii.

A. C. WELCH.

NEGINAH, NEGINOTH.—See PSALMS.

NEGO (נְגוֹ [once Dn 3^{29} נְגוֹא]).—Found only in the compound proper name **Abed-nego** (עֲבֵד נְגוֹ 'servant of Nego') given by the prince of the eunuchs to Azariah, one of Daniel's three companions, Dn 1^{7} 2^{49} 3$^{12ff.}$ (LXX and Theod. Ἀβδεναγώ). It is practically certain that נְגוֹ is a corruption, which may be set down to the mistake of a copyist or, more probably, of the author of Dn, from נְבוֹ NEBO (wh. see). Cf. the use of Nebuchad*n*ezzar for the correct form -*r*ezzar. This is the view of Hitzig, Grätz, Schrader (*KAT*^{2} 429 [*COT* ii. 126]), Sayce (*HCM* 532), etc., and is supported by the discovery of the name 'Abed-nebo' on a bilingual Assyr.-Aram. tablet of the 7th cent. (iii. Rawl. 46 col. i. 82) and in two Aramaic inscriptions of the 6th and 5th cents. B.C. discovered, one of them by Flinders Petrie and the other by Sayce, on the sandstone rocks north of Silsilis in Upper Egypt (see *HCM* 177 n.). The same name was borne, long after the Christian era, by heathen Syrians (Bevan, *Daniel*, p. 61). It is possible that the author of Dn purposely changed Ne*b*o into Ne*g*o, in order to obscure the reference to a heathen deity.

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* Those indomitable road-makers, the Romans, did not shun even these hills, as the Peutinger tables and broken milestones prove.

† Contrast the conduct of Nebuchadnezzar, who on his way to Egypt detailed a force to reduce Jerus., but led his principal army by a route clear of these barren hills.

[*] Read in the last clause 'went and dwelt with Amalek.'

J. A. SELBIE.

NEHELAMITE, THE (הַנֶּחֱלָמִי).—An epithet applied to Shemaiah, a false prophet who opposed Jeremiah, Jer $29^{24. 31. 32}$. According to analogy the word should mean an inhabitant of Nehelam, but there is no place of that name mentioned in the Bible. This, however, is not a fatal objection. The Targ. derives the word from a place Helam, LXX *Αἰλάμ*, which is mentioned in 2 S $10^{16. 17}$ as apparently near the Euphrates. The LXX in Jer 36 [Heb. 29] has B *Αἰλαμείτην*, Aℵ̸Q *Ἐλαμίτην*. Vulg. agrees with English Versions. 'Nehelamite' might also be related to the personal name *Helem* (1 Ch 7^{35}, Zec 6^{14}). The AVm 'dreamer' is of course incorrect, yet there can be little doubt that a play on the words נֶחֱלָמִי and חלם 'to dream' was in the prophet's mind. This verb and the cognate noun (חֲלוֹם) are used specifically in Jer ($23^{25. 27. 28. 32}$, cf. Dt $13^{2. 4. 6}$) of the dreams of false prophets. The words elsewhere are scarcely ever used of the higher inspiration, being employed, *e.g.*, of Jacob, Gn 28^{12}; Joseph, $37^{5ff.}$; Pharaoh and his servants, $40^{5ff.}$ $41^{1ff.}$ (all E, not elsewhere in Hex.); of a lower order of prophets than Moses, Nu 12^{6} (cf. Job 33^{15}); of the Midianite, Jg $7^{13. 15}$; the object of Saul's desire, 1 S $28^{6. 15}$; of Solomon, 1 K 3^{15}; of old men in latter days, Jl 2^{28}; of Nebuchadnezzar, Dn $2^{1ff.}$; of Daniel, Dn 1^{17}.

N. J. D. WHITE.

NEHEMIAH (נְחֶמְיָה).—**1.** One of the twelve heads of the Jewish community, Ezr 2^{2} (B *Νεέμιος*, A *-ας*) = Neh 7^{7} (BA *Νεεμιά*), 1 Es 5^{8} **Nehemias.** **2.** The son of Azbuk, the ruler of half the district of Beth-zur, who helped to repair the wall of Jerusalem, Neh 3^{16} (*Νεεμίας*). **3.** See the following article.

NEHEMIAH (נְחֶמְיָה).—Nehemiah is a conspicuous instance of the right man in the right place. It was his privilege to render great service to his nation, for which both his character and his position fitted him. He was patriotic, courageous, and God-fearing; he knew how to exercise the inflexible will of an autocrat, as well as to be persuasive when that would best accomplish the good end he had in view. Our reliable information concerning Nehemiah and his times is contained almost wholly in the parts of his memoirs which have come down to us.[*] We may regret that this memoir was not preserved in full, but we cannot but rejoice in what we have; for it affords us a picture of this great patriot which is clear and well-proportioned. It gives us no information, however, about his early life or ancestry, except in the heading that he was the son of Hacaliah (Neh 1^{1}).

The first of Chislev, the ninth month (our Dec.), of the 20th year[†] of Artaxerxes I.[‡] Longimanus, B.C. 445, found Neh. in Susa, the chief city of Elam, and the winter residence of the Persian court (Del. *Paradies*, 326). A company of men, among whom was his brother Hanani, had just returned from Jerusalem. Neh. eagerly questioned them about the condition of the city and of the people who with Ezra had been struggling to rebuild the State. Their report was most depressing to the patriot: 'The remnant which is left from the captivity there in the province are in evil plight and in great reproach; the wall of Jerus. is broken down, and its gates are burned with fire' (1^{1-3}).

Does Hanani refer to the destruction of the city by command of Nebuch. in 586 (2 K $25^{9ff.}$), or to a recent catastrophe? In favour of the former view it may be urged that we have no record of either the rebuilding of the walls and the setting up of the gates, or their second destruction. Whatever may be the date of Ezr 4^{8-23} (see EZR.-NEH., BOOK OF), it is evident that the rebuilding described there was merely begun, not finished. The enemies of the Jews procured an edict to stop the building, but not to destroy the little that was already restored. If such a destruction had taken place, it is singular that it should be mentioned neither by Ezra nor by the compiler. On the other hand, if the destruction reported by Hanani had taken place more than a century before, the report would not be unexpected news, and consequently would not make so great an impression upon Nehemiah. It might be urged that he had hoped that measures had been taken to continue the restoration, and was depressed to learn that nothing was being done. But Neh.'s narrative lends no colour to such an interpretation. See, further, Stade, *GVI* ii. 161; Benjamin, *Persia* (Story of the Nations), 127; Montefiore, *Hibbert Lect.* 1892, 311; Cheyne, *Bamp. Lect.* 1889, 71, 82, 231 f., *JRL* 37 ff.; Grätz, *Hist. of the Jews*, Eng. tr. i. 383.

When Neh. heard the bad news he 'sat down and wept, and mourned for days, fasting and praying before the God of heaven.' His prayer, which is full of Deuteronomic expressions (*OTJC*² 427), acknowledges the sins of the Jewish people, but calls upon God to fulfil His promise in view of the repentance of the people, and to 'grant his servant (Neh.) mercy before this man,' *i.e.* the king (1^{4-11}). The prayer put into Neh.'s mouth by Josephus is somewhat different: 'How long, O Lord, wilt Thou overlook our nation, while it suffers so great miseries, and while we are made the prey and spoil of all men?' (*Ant.* XI. v. 6).

Nehemiah's position as cupbearer[*] to the king ensured him an audience; and as the office was a high one with rich emoluments, he had a point of advantage in preferring a request, and the means to accomplish his purpose. Yet it was four months before his wishes were made known to the king. He was waiting a favourable opportunity; and this came only when he was called to serve the wine when 'no one else was before the king' (2^{1b} acc. to LXX). His agitation was so great when the decisive moment came that his face betrayed him, and he was sore afraid as the king reprovingly asked him the cause of his dejection. However, he stated his troubles frankly: 'Have I not reason for a dejected countenance, since the city of the graves of my fathers lies in ruins, and its gates are destroyed by fire?' (2^{3}). Encouraged by the king, he asked permission to go to Jerus. to rebuild the city. As Neh. mentions the fact that the queen was sitting by her lord at the time (2^{6}), she may have exerted her influence in his favour.[†] At all events the king granted his officer a limited leave of absence, gave him letters to the governors of the provinces west of the Euphrates, and to Asaph, the keeper of the royal forest, that Neh. might secure timber for the gates of the citadel of the temple, for the wall of the city, and for the temple itself.[‡] Neh. set out with an armed escort furnished by the king, and on the way delivered the letters to the governors, not to apprise them of his plans, as Grätz supposes, but to secure his passage through the country, his letters to them being virtually passports. At the outset he learned of the hostility of Sanballat and Tobiah, who were troubled at the news that a man had come from Persia to seek the welfare of the Israelites (2^{7-10}).

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[*] See EZRA-NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF. Torrey holds that only chs. 1. 2. 3^{33-39} [Eng. 4^{1-6}] are genuine memoirs of Nehemiah. The rest of the book he assigns to the Chronicler; and this, with the whole of Ezr as a historical source, he says, 'has no value whatever'—*Comp. and Hist. Value of Ezr.-Neh.* 1896 (*Beihefte zur ZAW*).

[†] If Chislev and Nisan (cf. 1^{1} and 2^{1}) were both in the 20th year of Artaxerxes, Neh. must have reckoned the year from the autumn. Nisan was the first month of the Jewish as well as of the Bab. year. If Neh. reckons in the usual way, his audience with the king (2^{1}) must be placed in the king's 21st year, and so B.C. 444. On the chronology see Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 214 ff.; Berth.-Rys. *Kom.*² 254; Schrader, *KAT*², *in loc.*

[‡] Torrey says that we do not know which Artaxerxes is referred to in Neh. He is inclined to put the composition of Neh about the year B.C. 372 (?).

[*] On the cupbearer see Rawlinson, *Ezra and Neh.* (Men of the Bible), 86; Ewald, *HI* v. 148; Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 3. 8; and art. CUPBEARER.

[†] From the queen's presence Cheyne and others suppose that Neh. was a eunuch (*Introd. to Is.* 311). Some hold that Ps 127 was directed against Nehemiah.

[‡] On the motives of Artaxerxes see Stanley, *Jewish Ch.* iii. 111

Neh. waited for three days (2^{11}) to study the situation, then without disclosing his plans to any one ($2^{12\text{ff.}}$) he made a night inspection * of the walls attended only by his guard, or by Hanani and a few others who had come with him from Susa. 'A city was in antiquity a city in the full sense of the word only if it preserved its walls' (Stade). An exilic poet had cried, 'build thou the walls of Jerusalem' (Ps 51^{18}), and Neh. was determined now to remove Jerusalem's reproach.† Accordingly he assembled the leaders and said to them, 'You see the evil plight we are in, in that Jerus. is in ruins, and its gates burned with fire' (2^{17}), at the same time informing them of the powers which the king had conferred upon him, and of his purpose to restore the walls. The people saw the opportunity, and responded readily to the call. Sanballat and Tobiah, joined now by Geshem, or Gosham as Wellhausen says it should be read (*Isr. Gesch.*^{3} 169), insinuated the charge of rebellion against Neh.; but the charge neither intimidated him nor checked the zeal of the people.

It is impossible to tell how extensive the damage to the walls was. The word used by Neh. in 1^{3} and 2^{13} (פֶּרֶץ) implies that there were only breaches to repair; but these were evidently of wide extent. Neh. was fortunate in securing the aid of the whole population of Jerus., and of several companies from other parts of Judah. There were men from Jericho, Tekoa, Gibeon, Mizpah, Zanoah, and Keilah. Men of every class laboured at the walls with their own hands: it is said to the discredit of the nobles of Tekoa, as if it were an exceptional case, that they refused to put their neck to the work (3^{5}); we find express mention of priests, Levites, goldsmiths, and perfumers (or apothecaries) among the labourers. Neh. divided the work among the various bodies with characteristic insight; we read of five cases in which men were working at the breaches close by their own dwellings ($3^{10.\ 23.\ 28-30}$).

Some serious difficulties had to be met, however, before all the breaches could be closed. Sanballat, finding that his insinuation of rebellion had been ineffective, and that the Jews were evidently serious in their purpose to rebuild, tried to rouse the army stationed in Samaria; Tobiah indulged freely in ridicule, trying to persuade himself that the labour of the Jews could not accomplish Neh.'s purpose. 'If a fox should go up on their stone wall, he would break it down' ($3^{33\text{ff.}}$ Eng. $4^{1\text{ff.}}$). The people did not heed the scoffing, but continued their work with a will. When all the breaches were closed with a wall half its proper height, Sanballat and his allies, augmented now by guerilla bands of Arabians, Ammonites, and Ashdodites, realized that prompt and vigorous action was necessary if the almost incredible progress of the wall was to be stopped. They resolved to march secretly to Jerus. and stop the restoration by force of arms (4^{5}, Eng. 4^{11}). Meanwhile the working under high pressure was telling upon men unused to such labour as laying a massive stone wall, especially when the clearing away of the rubbish was so difficult and laborious a part of the task. But their burdens could not be lightened yet; in fact, the activity of the enemy now added much to their hardships. Reports came in of the intended attack, and Neh. at once armed his workmen for resistance.* He was acting according to the authority vested in him by the king, while his enemies were taking the law into their own hands. The Jews exchanged the trowel for the sword, and were stationed to defend the most unprotected places in the wall. The enemy had counted upon a surprise. When they saw the Jews armed and drawn up for battle, they abandoned their purpose to attack, and the builders resumed their work. But the enemy evidently remained in the neighbourhood waiting a chance to take the Jews at a disadvantage, so that the labourers on the wall kept their swords by their side, and a part of the men were detailed to hold the larger weapons and defensive armour in readiness. Neh. kept a trumpeter by him to give warning of the point of attack (4^{6-17}, Eng. 4^{12-23}). The people were all now obliged to remain in the city at night, for the enemy held possession of the outlying country, and the city could not be left for a single hour without vigilant defenders; so critical was the time, that Neh. and the people alike slept in their clothes. Yet there is no record of an actual battle, and such silence is a pretty sure indication that the Samaritans and their allies never ventured on an open attack, and never found the coveted opportunity for a surprise; but the vigilance and precautions of Neh. show plainly that the danger was for a long time imminent.

Another form of trouble now required the leader's attention. The people who were labouring at the walls had been obliged to abandon their usual occupations, many of them to leave their homes and fields. The enemy overran the country districts at will, and very likely plundered the homes of those who were working at the walls. Supplies were getting scarce for such people, so that they had to mortgage their fields and vineyards and houses, either to get food or to pay the king's tribute. Many had pledged their children for debt, and these were sold as slaves. The wealthier classes had taken advantage of the necessity of the poor. Neh. was justly angry, and promptly summoned the offenders before a public meeting. He reviewed his own generous course, and appealed to them to be liberal, restoring the mortgaged land, and remitting a part of the debt which the people were unable to pay. It is pleasant to know that his request was responded to cordially; and the people took an oath to execute their pledge (ch. 5).

The walls were finished amidst such trying difficulties, and there only remained the doors to be set up in the gates to make the city's defences complete. But Nehemiah's enemies had not yet given up. Having failed to intimidate him by threats, or discourage him by ridicule, or take him unawares by force, they now tried cunning. Four times they invited him to meet them in conference in the valley of Ono in the land of Benjamin; but Neh. replied that he could not leave the great work he was engaged in (6^{1-4}). A fifth messenger came with an open letter † from Sanballat saying that it was reported that Neh. aspired to the kingdom of Judah and had appointed prophets to proclaim him, and giving warning that word of this rumour would surely reach the king; Sanballat asked for a conference, as if he wished to aid Neh. in clearing himself of the charge. Neh. knew well that autocratic kings listened eagerly to such imputations, and were not apt to investigate very closely, preferring to err on the (for them) safe side; nevertheless he rested secure in his integrity, and accused Sanballat of feigning the charges out of his own evil mind (6^{5-8}). Sanballat all the while had allies and emissaries in Jerus. (6^{17-19}), and, having failed himself to get within reach of the leader, he set them to work. A prophet named Shemaiah counselled Neh. to shut himself in the temple at night to avoid assassination. Other prophets * were also hired to stir up his fears, and induce him to take a step that would lead to his downfall (6^{10-14}). But they reckoned without their host.

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* On Neh.'s night ride see Stanley, *op. cit.* iii. 112; Wright, *JBL*, 1896, 129–134, and *PEFSt*, April 1896. The last two articles give the important light from Bliss's recent excavations.

† 'Accompany Neh. on his lonely ride around the burned walls of Jerus., and listen to Sanballat mocking at the Jews for attempting to revive the stones out of the heaps of rubbish; you will then recognize the occasion of this psalm [102], and sympathize with the plaintive words—

'For thy servants take pleasure in her stones,
And it pitieth them to see her in the dust' (102^{14}).

—Cheyne, *Bamp. Lect.* 70 f.

* The Heb. text in 4^{6} (Eng. 4^{12}) is obscure and confused. The LXX furnishes a clear and satisfactory reading: 'And it was so that when the Judæans who dwelt by them came, they said to us, They are coming up from all places against us.' The first news of the intended assault was brought by the workmen who lived at remote parts.

† It is said that an open letter was an insult; see Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, iii. 63 f.

By the month Elul (Aug.-Sept.), of what year we do not know, the restoration was complete, having been accomplished, we are told, in the remarkably short time of fifty-two days † (6^{15}). Neh. appointed his brother Hanani, who had evidently come with him from Susa (cf. 1^{2}), and Hananiah the governor of the castle, in charge over Jerus.; he enjoined them strictly to keep the gates shut until the sun was well up in the heavens,‡ and to keep a guard posted. The latter command was not easy of execution, for the people in Jerus. were few, and the houses for the most part still in ruins. It was apparently difficult to induce people to take up residence in the city.§ Those who did so voluntarily were commended as patriots, and one of every ten drawn by lot was obliged to move from the country to the city (7^{4} $11^{1f.}$). The completion of the walls was celebrated with a great dedication service.‖ Walls and gates and people were purified, and two processions formed to move around the circuit of the walls in opposite directions, Ezra ¶ at the head of one company, and Neh. of the other, until they met near the temple, where the ceremonies of thanksgiving and dedication culminated in sacrifices and rejoicings. Appointments were also made for the proper observance of the temple rites ($12^{27ff.}$). These things being completed, Jerus. being once more a city without reproach, social and religious order being well established, and Neh.'s leave of absence expiring, he returned to the court of Persia (13^{6}). Rawlinson holds that he was recalled, but there is no evidence for such a theory.

How long Neh. had been in Jerus. is uncertain. The text bears conflicting testimony not easy to reconcile. The memoirs are in this part preserved only in somewhat mutilated fragments. In 5^{14} we appear to have a sufficiently definite statement that the first stay at Jerus. was twelve years: 'From the day when he appointed me to be governor in the land of Judah, from the twentieth year even to the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes the king, twelve years, I and my brothers did not eat the governor's bread.' But in 13^{6} Neh. says, 'While all this was going on I was not in Jerus.: for in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes the king of Babylon, I went unto the king, and asked of the king a leave of absence. And I went to Jerusalem.' This verse is obscure, and its meaning uncertain. 'I went unto the king' may refer to Neh.'s return from Jerus., or to his entering the royal presence to prefer his request. The other doubtful clause is literally 'to end of days,' and is generally taken as a reference to the undefined period between Neh.'s return to the king and his second departure. The words favour this interpretation, the context the notion of a limited leave as rendered above. See the commentaries on the passage.

Neh. either returned to the king after twelve years' absence, and then, after a period of a year as Kuenen supposes, or three or four years as Grätz holds, secured a second leave; or else he returned sooner, and in the thirty-second year, B.C. 433, started again for Jerusalem. 5^{14} in the latter case would mean that Neh. was the real governor of Judah even when absent on court duty, ruling by his appointed deputies. On the whole, this view seems more probable than the other; for it seems unlikely that the king, who required Neh. to stipulate a limit to his leave before he would grant it (2^{6}), would agree to so long a period as twelve years. Neh.'s chief purpose was to rebuild the walls: if this took only fifty-two days, there would be no reason for a long stay. The events narrated might all easily take place in three or four years, and they are described as initial movements. If Neh. had protracted his stay, we should probably be informed of the doings of such an active and zealous man. Then, again, the supposed interval of a year or so does not allow time for the development of the evils which confronted Neh. in his second administration, especially for the appearance of a mixed speech among the children of half-foreign parentage (13^{24}).

During Nehemiah's absence at the Persian court, serious evils had made their appearance in Jerusalem. Sanballat and his allies had been checkmated; Jerus. had been freed from external enemies; but internal disorders had sprung up which affected the life of the people harmfully. Eliashib had housed Tobiah in one of the temple chambers ($13^{4f.}$); the Levites * were not supplied with their lawful portions (see Mal 3^{7-12}), so that they were compelled to seek their living as laymen, or wander about homeless (13^{10}) as in the days of Micah (see Jg 17 f.). On the Sabbath day, work in the fields went on as usual (13^{15}); produce was carried to the market in Jerus.; and the Tyrian merchants sold fish and merchandise on that day (v.^{16}). In spite of Ezra's great effort, marriages with foreign women were common, and the children of such marriages spoke partly the language of their mothers (v.$^{23f.}$). Even a grandson of Eliashib the high priest had married a daughter of Neh.'s inveterate enemy Sanballat (v.^{28}). It is highly probable that the report of these evils impelled Neh.'s return. When he arrived he set about the necessary reforms with characteristic vigour. Tobiah's belongings were cast out of the temple chamber, and it was restored to its sacred uses ($13^{8f.}$). The people were compelled to pay the tithe † for the support of the Levites and other temple officers (v.^{12}). The city gates were ordered to be closed during the whole of the Sabbath, the vendors who then set up their stalls outside of the gates were threatened so that they were afraid to renew the offence (v.$^{19ff.}$). The men with foreign wives suffered disgrace and punishment, and the people were put under oath to discontinue this violation of the Law. The arch-offender, Eliashib's grandson, was banished from Jerus. (v.$^{25ff.}$). According to Jos. (*Ant.* XI. vii. 2, viii. 2), Manasseh, a brother of Jaddua, married Nicaso the daughter of Sanballat, left Jerus. and built the rival temple on Gerizim. Josephus places these events in the time of Alexander, but he was not a master of chronology, *e.g.* he places Neh. in the time of Xerxes; and many hold that this Manasseh was the son of Joiada and grandson of Eliashib (see Kuenen, *Rel. Isr.* ii. 236; Montefiore, *Hib. Lect.* 351; Ryle, *Can.* 92).

In spite of the effort of the author of the beautiful story of Ruth to soften the harsh spirit of the leaders, Ezra and Neh. held the same decided view against foreign marriages, though from different motives. The great offence in Ezra's eyes was the infringement of the sacred law. But Neh., while he was impressed with the dangerous consequences of such alliances, citing the sin of Solomon and the havoc it wrought (13^{26}), held the great evil to be the imperilling of the mother tongue by the introduction of foreign elements. From this it would appear that already the Old Heb. speech was in danger, and the patriotism of the people was appealed to to preserve it from extinction. How long it lasted as a living tongue after this time is uncertain. But the seeds of death must have been apparent.

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* 'The prophets of the time were opposed to Neh. and apparently in league with the hostile neighbours,' Montefiore, 312; see also Wellh. *Gesch.*^{2} 194. But these prophets, inferior as they were to their predecessors of pre-exilic days, felt that Neh., like Ezra, was reconstituting Judaism on lines not in harmony with prophetism; and in a measure they were right. See, for a fuller development of this view, Kuenen, *Rel. of Isr.* ii. 238 ff.

† According to Jos. (*Ant.* XI. v. 8) the wall was two years and four months in building; according to Ewald, *Hist.* v. 157, nearly five years. The fifty-two days is not only a very short time for such a great work, but also for the conditions described in ch. 5 to develop. Yet there was every motive for urgent haste. Perhaps only the main part of the work was accomplished in the fifty-two days.

‡ Sunrise being the usual time for opening the gates.

§ See Milman, *Hist. of the Jews*, vol. i. p. 437.

‖ According to Grätz, *Hist.* 394, this celebration took place two years and four months after Neh.'s arrival in Jerus.; according to Rawlinson, *Ezr.-Neh.* 150, not till Neh.'s second visit. There are no good grounds for the latter view.

¶ On the relation of Ezra and Neh. in their administration, and on the promulgation of the Law (Neh 8–10), see art. EZRA; and Kosters, *Wiederherstellung Israels*, 1895.

* Montefiore regards this condition partly as a result of 'the old quarrel between priests and Levites' (*Hib. Lect.* 350).

† This was a tithe of corn, wine, and oil, as in Dt $14^{22ff.}$; see Ryle, *Canon of the OT*, 86.

Tradition was as little silent about Neh. as about Ezra (see Ewald, *Hist.* v. 161 ff.). To these two men 'grateful posterity has attributed all the beneficial institutions, of whose origin it was ignorant.' Among the worthies praised by Jesus the son of Sirach is Neh., whose 'memorial is great, who raised up for us the walls that were fallen, and set up the gates and bars, and raised up our homes again' (Sir 49^{13}). In 2 Mac 1$^{18\text{ff.}}$ we read that Neh. purified the sacrifices with the water taken from the pit where the priests had hid the sacred fire. His literary activity was also known: 'The same things were related both in the public archives and in the records that concern Neh., and how he, founding a library, gathered together the books about the kings and prophets, and the books of David and letters of kings about sacred gifts' (2 Mac 2^{13}. See Ryle, *Can.* 102; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 170 f. On the character of the letters in which this passage occurs see *ZAW*, 1890, i. 110 ff.).

Neh. rendered a great service to his people, and its effect was more enduring than that of Ezra. He was magnanimous in his generosity towards his subjects. He even purchased the liberty of many Jews held as slaves in strange lands (5^{8}); he had refused the remuneration which belonged to his office; and he entertained at his own expense 150 of the chief Jews (5^{17}). But he was by no means unconscious of his virtue, nor unhopeful of receiving a suitable reward from God; in 5^{19} (cf. 13$^{14.\,31}$) he records a favourite prayer: 'Remember unto me, O my God, for good, all that I have done for this people' (see Montefiore, *Hib. Lect.* 211). He shows also the vindictive spirit found in some of the psalmists (3$^{36\text{f.}}$, Eng. 4$^{4\text{f.}}$ 13^{25}; see also Cheyne, *Bamp. Lect.* 78). But a frank acknowledgment of such weaknesses does not obscure the real greatness of the man. It has been truly said of him that he was 'the only man who had at once the spirit to awaken the old fire of national enthusiasm, and the power both to heal dissensions within and to repel attacks from without' (*The Psalms Chronologically arranged*, by Four Friends, 311). On Neh.'s character and work, see further Wellh. *Gesch.*^{2} 173; Rawlinson, *Ezr. and Neh.* ch. xi.; Renan, *Hist. of the People of Isr.* bk. vii. 82 ff. Josephus says of Neh.: 'He was a man of good and righteous character, and very ambitious to make his own nation happy; and he hath left the walls of Jerus. as an eternal monument of himself' (*Ant.* XI. v. 8).

For other literature, beyond that quoted in the above article, see EZRA-NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF.

L. W. BATTEN.

NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF.—See EZRA-NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF.

NEHEMIAS (*Νεεμίας*).—**1.** 1 Es 5^{8}, one of the leaders of the first return from captivity under Zerub. = Nehemiah, Ezr 2^{2}, Neh 7^{7}. **2.** (B *Ναιμίας*) 1 Es 5^{40}, Nehemiah the contemporary of Ezra. The insertion of his name here appears to be due to an incorrect gloss on *Ἀτθαρίας* or 'the Tirshatha,' Neh. being usually called by that title. In the canonical parallels (Ezr 2^{63}, Neh 7^{65}) the name is absent, and the Tirshatha alluded to is Zerubbabel.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

NEHILOTH.—See PSALMS.

NEHUM (נְחוּם).—One of the twelve heads of the Jewish community, Neh 7^{7}. This form of the name is probably due to a scribal error, the parallel passage (Ezr 2^{2}) having **Rehum** (רְחוּם; A *Ἰρεούμ*, Luc. *Ῥεϊούμ*). In Neh the LXX supports MT, reading *Ναούμ*. The name appears in 1 Es 5^{8} as **Roimus** (B *Ῥόειμος*, A^{a} *Ῥομέλιος*).

NEHUSHTA (נְחֻשְׁתָּא; Luc. *Νεεσθάν*, B *Νεσθά*, A *Ναισθά*).—Wife of king Jehoiakim and mother of Jehoiachin; a native of Jerusalem (2 K 24^{8}). She was taken a prisoner to Babylon with her son in 597 (2 K 24^{12}), and no doubt died there. Regarding her father, see ELNATHAN. The vowels of MT and the rendering of Jerome, *æs ejus*, connect the word with נְחֹשֶׁת 'bronze.' Barzillai is possibly another example of a proper name derived from the name of a metal. But the stem consonants of the word are those also of נָחָשׁ 'serpent,' and animal names are characteristic of the period (Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, p. 103 f.). The Lucianic transliteration identifies the name with **Nehushtan** (2 K 18^{4}).

W. B. STEVENSON.

NEHUSHTAN.—In the received text of 2 K 18^{4} we read that Hezekiah, in addition to removing the *bāmôth* (EV 'high places'), with their *mazzēbahs* (RV 'pillars'), throughout the country, carried his zeal for reform so far as to 'cut down *the* Asherah' (so RV; see ASHERAH)—presumably that attached to the Temple at Jerusalem—and to break in pieces 'the brazen serpent that Moses had made: for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it: and he (Hezekiah) called it Nehushtan.' The doubts which so many recent critics have expressed regarding the historicity of the greater part of this verse we need not pause to examine, inasmuch as it must be, and is, admitted that at least the statement with which the verse closes, and which alone concerns us here, is certainly historical. The further question as to the relation of this incident to the Pentateuch narrative, Nu 21$^{4\text{ff.}}$ (esp. v.^{9}), also lies without the purview of this article (see SERPENT [BRAZEN]). Two points, however, appear to demand examination, viz.: (1) the signification of the name here applied to the object destroyed, and (2) the reason alleged for its destruction.

(1) *The name of 'Nehushtan.'* Two significations of *Nĕḥushtān* (נְחֻשְׁתָּן) are possible. (*a*) That clearly intended by the Massoretic punctuators, and since generally adopted, viz. 'the brazen thing' [*opus*]*aeneum κατ' ἐξοχήν*. According to this view, *Nĕḥushtān* is a denominative from נְחֹשֶׁת *nĕḥôsheth* by addition of the formative suffix *-ān* (so Ges.-Buhl, Stade, König, *Lehrgeb.* ii. § 60. 9^{a}, Barth, *Nominalbildg.* § 207^{c}). The further idea of the Massoretes, reflected in our EV, that this name was given to the venerable object by Hezekiah at the time of its destruction, must, however, be rejected. The context requires rather that we should find in *Nĕḥushtān* the name by which it was popularly known, and this may be got by a slight change in the pointing of the verb (cf. Lucian's text *καὶ ἐκάλεσαν αὐτὸν Νεεσθάν*, and see the Commentaries). (*b*) The transliteration of the word in the oldest Greek versions (A *Νεσθάν*, B *Νεσθαλεί*, and best of all *Νεεσθάν*, Lucian) suggests affinity with נָחָשׁ *nāḥāsh* 'serpent' rather than with *nĕḥôsheth* 'brass.' For in 2 K 24^{8} the name of the queen-mother, who appears in MT as נְחֻשְׁתָּא *Nĕḥushtā*, appears in A as *Ναισθά*, which is identical with B's *Νεσθά*, Luc. *Νεεσθάν* (see NEHUSHTA). But it is far more probable that the personal name *Nehushta* is to be classed with the other 'serpent-names,' NAHASH and NAHSHON (which see), than with the derivatives of *nĕḥôsheth*. Hence it is possible, at least, that the name of this object of the Hebrews' veneration—pronounced with vowels other than those of *Nĕḥushtān*—was also connected in the popular

mind with *nāḥāsh*, perhaps in the signification 'the [sacred] serpent' or 'the serpent' *par excellence* (cf. for form and signification לִוְיָתָן).*

(2) The reason for the destruction of the Nehushtan is clearly stated. Whatever may have been its origin—to inquire into this would be to anticipate the article SERPENT (BRAZEN) in vol. iv.—it had in recent times become an object of idolatrous worship. Incense was offered to it as to a divine being. Its continued existence, therefore, was incompatible with, and would have been a constant menace to, that purer form of the religion of J″ which it was the aim of Hezekiah and his spiritual advisers to introduce.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

NEIEL (נְעִיאֵל; B Ἰναήλ, A Ἀνιήλ).—A place on the borders of Zebulun and Asher, apparently north of Cabul, Jos 19^{27}; possibly the same place as **Neah** of v.^{13}. The site is uncertain.

NEIGHBOUR (שָׁכֵן *shākhên*, Arab. *sâken*, γείτων 'inhabitant'; קָרוֹב *ḳārôbh*, Arab. *ḳarîb*, ὁ πλησίον, περίοικος 'near'; רֵעַ *rēa'*, עָמִית *'āmîth*, φίλος 'friend').—The law of neighbourhood is of great importance and influence in the East. It takes rank after family life with regard to the number and authority of the customs created and regulated by it. Neighbourhood is not an occasional incident, but a constant necessity of Oriental social life, and the latter cannot be understood apart from it.

The importance of neighbourhood is due to the fact that there are no farmhouses scattered over the agricultural districts of Palestine. For purposes of common safety, the population is congregated in the villages, following in this respect the custom of the pastoral tribes in their encampments. From these villages, where the houses are generally built quite close to each other, the peasants go out to their daily labours in the surrounding fields. Domestic life is thus touched at every point by the larger circle of neighbourhood. Originating under circumstances of common danger, this social condition has now passed into a kindly preference of use and wont. Such village life is now regarded as a convenience. The Oriental dislikes silence and solitude; very rarely takes a solitary walk for pleasure; chooses summer lodgings where neighbours are numerous; and, in renting, buying, or building a house, considers first of all the character of the neighbours.

Among the modern inhabitants of Palestine the Arab. *ḳarîb*, 'near,' on account of the surviving similarity of social circumstance, means, like the Heb. *ḳārôbh*, both 'neighbour' and 'relative.' The sense of religious protection and union that enshrined the family life is seen in expanded form in large towns such as Damascus and Jerusalem, where Christians, Jews, and Moslems occupy different parts of the town.

All the Bible references to neighbourhood indicate that it was an institution of high social value, with privileges to be enjoyed and duties to be discharged.

1. Its *helpfulness* is stated in the maxim of Pr 27^{10} 'Better is a neighbour that is near than a brother that is afar off.' The Arabs have a familiar proverb to the same effect, and they further happily indicate the service that can be rendered by a friend or neighbour by saying, 'You cannot clap with one hand.' There are, however, unhelpful friends, who flatter and ruin the man who seeks popularity by lavish entertainment, Pr 18^{24}. With these is contrasted the true friend who 'sticketh closer than a brother.' This is often and becomingly referred to the Heavenly Friend, but the original sense is a comparison between the bond of family life and that of mere neighbourhood, and a declaration that in certain cases the latter is superior. Similarly, an Arab proverb says, 'How many brothers I have had who were not children of my parents!' cf. Pr 17^{17} (RVm).

2. *Intimacy* is another of the leading features of Oriental neighbourhood. Village life is one of the chief fields of Scripture parable. It is easy to understand how in the villages people of an excitable sympathetic temperament, living close to each other, and having so many interests in common, would necessarily have a very intimate knowledge of each other's affairs. This communicativeness accounted for the groups of women around the fountain, and of the elders at the city gate. The shepherd who brought back his sheep in safety and the woman who recovered the lost coin must hasten to tell their friends and neighbours, Lk 15$^{3-10}$. In the declaration 'I have called you friends' (Jn 15^{15}) all the intimacy springing from Oriental neighbourhood is made possible in the believer's communion with Christ.

3. The *sincerity and sanctity* of this relationship are constantly emphasized. One of the commonest forms of neighbourly service was that of borrowing and lending money and valuables, or the keeping of each other's goods in safe custody during a time of absence, Ex 22$^{7.10}$, Pr 6^{1} 17^{18}. Among modern Orientals the giving of bread and flour, and the lending of kitchen and table requisites on emergencies of hospitality, are constantly practised, and it is an everyday occurrence in the bazaars to see an open shop left with a thin netting over the entrance in charge of the merchant in the next shop.

In the Bible, prohibition is frequently uttered against bearing false-witness, making unfounded statements, or framing malicious devices of any kind against a neighbour, Ex 20$^{16.17}$, Dt 5^{20}, Pr 3^{29} 24^{28} 25^{18}. The duties of neighbourhood are not to be evaded by polite words, Pr 3^{28}, nor its courtesies turned to mercenary advantage, Dt 23$^{24.25}$, Jer 22^{13}. Neighbourhood is a part of sainthood, Ps 15^{3}. The great purpose of true religion is the perfecting of social life, Mt 7^{12}. The want of natural feeling in this respect indicated the moral collapse and pointed to the political extinction of Israel, Jer 9^{4}.

The highest expression of neighbourhood, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Lv 19^{18}), is repeated and expanded in Mt 5^{43} 19^{19}, Ro 13$^{9.10}$. In the case of the lawyer's assumed bewilderment (Lk 10$^{25-37}$) as to the limit at which the law of neighbourhood began to come into force, the explanation pointed out rather the greatness of the distance to which it might reach. Neighbourhood was shown to be a creation of the kind heart that would discover opportunities and feel obligations where the nearest in place and kinship might pass by without perceiving anything to do.

In the East, neighbourhood is an important legal claim in the disposal of property. Next to a co-proprietor, the neighbour has the first right of purchase, especially if his land be irrigated from the same source of water-supply. Such a right Ahab would have had if Naboth had wished to sell his vineyard.

Neighbourhood, which by intimacy, equality, and identity of interest gave to social friendship a basis of patience, trust, and sympathy, also furnished the occasion to special temptations. Such close intimacy gave the fullest opportunity to envy, pride, and uncharitableness. According to an Arab proverb, 'Envy dwells among neighbours, and hatred among relatives.'

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* It seems to us safer not to hazard any further conjecture as to the form of the word. Both Nöldeke's and Klostermann's attempts in this direction are open to serious objection. The former (*ZDMG* xlii. p. 482, note) suggests that נחשתן may be compounded of נָחָשׁ + תַּן (= תַּנִּין, see the *Lexx.*), while the latter asserts categorically that נחשתן is similarly a compound of נחש and יתן (= אֵיתָן; see this root יתן in *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*), as if denoting the 'everlasting or the primeval serpent' (*Kurzgef. Komm. in loc.*).

It was because neighbourhood was almost exclusively the condition of social contact that the neighbour was specified in connexion with the Mosaic provisions of mercy, truth, and justice. The stranger was guarded by the law of hospitality. For the treatment of strangers entering the circle of neighbourhood, see Family in vol. i. p. 849, and Ger. G. M. Mackie.

NEKEB.—Only in the collocation אַדְמִי הַנֶּקֶב 'the pass of Adami' (?), Jos 19^{33}. The LXX finds here two proper names (B καὶ Ἀρμὲ καὶ Νάβωκ, A καὶ Ἀρμαὶ καὶ Νάκεβ). Neubauer (*Géog. du Talm.* p. 225) gives *Ẓiyadathah* as a later name for Nekeb, and there is a ruin called *Seiyâdeh* near the village *ed-Dâmieh* on the plateau east of Tabor (see *SWP* vol. i. sheet vi.). The 'cutting' or 'pass' is probably one leading from the eastern precipices near Tiberias. Nekeb is mentioned in the list of Thothmes III. as a town of Galilee. See, also, Adami-Nekeb. C. R. Conder.

NEKODA (נְקוֹדָא).—**1.** Eponym of a family of Nethinim, Ezr 2^{48} (B Νεχωδά, A Νεκωδάν)=Neh 7^{50} (BA Νεκωδά, ℵ Νεκωδάμ); called in 1 Es 5^{31} **Noeba** (which see). **2.** Name of a family which returned from the Exile, but were unable to prove their Israelitish descent, Ezr 2^{60}=Neh 7^{62} (both Νεκωδά); called in 1 Es 5^{37} **Nekodan** (Νεκωδάν).

NEKODAN (Νεκωδάν, AV Necodan), 1 Es 5^{37}= Nekoda, Ezr 2^{60}, Neh 7^{62}. The name is Noeba in 1 Es 5^{31}.

NEMUEL.—See Jemuel. Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 307, considers *Jemuel* the corruption and *Nemuel* the original form. 'Either form is etymologically obscure.' **Nemuelites,** the patronymic of the family of Nemuel, occurs in Nu 26^{12}.

NEPHEG (נֶפֶג).—**1.** Son of Izhar and brother of Korah, Ex 6^{21} (Νάφεκ). **2.** One of David's sons, born at Jerusalem, 2 S 5^{15} (Νάφεκ)=1 Ch 3^{7} (B Νάφεκ, A Νάφεγ) 14^{6} (B Νάφαθ, A Νάφαγ).

NEPHEW.—In his *Select Glossary* (p. 146) Trench points out that the Eng. word 'nephew' has undergone exactly the same change of meaning that *nepos* in Latin underwent. In the Augustan age *nepos* meant 'grandson,' in the post-Augustan age sister's or brother's son. Nephew (which comes from *nepos* through the Fr. *neveu*, the original Anglo-Sax. *nefa* having dropped out) formerly signified grandson or more generally some descendant, and only within a century or more came to be restricted to its present meaning. The meaning of 'grandson' is clearly seen in Holland, *Plutarch's Morals*, p. 555, 'The warts, black moles, spots and freckles of fathers, not appearing at all upon their own children's skin, begin afterwards to put forth and show themselves in their nephews, to wit, the children of their sons and daughters'; and in Tymme's *Calvin's Genesis*, p. 872, 'Jacob layeth his handes uppon his nephewes. To what end? Namely, to prove that he giveth them place among his sonnes, and that so, Joseph being but one, might make two heads.'

In AV the word occurs four times. In Jg 12^{14} 'He had forty sons and thirty nephews,' the Heb. (בְּנֵי בָנִים) is exactly expressed in AVm and RV 'sons' sons.' In Job 18^{19} and Is 14^{22} the Heb. (נֶכֶד) is more general, 'descendant.' So also in 1 Ti 5^{4} (ἔκγονος), though in this place the meaning is clearly 'grandchild': 'If any widow have children or nephews' (RV 'grandchildren').

J. Hastings.

NEPHILIM.—This word (נְפִילִים), translated 'giants' in the AV, is found in two passages in the OT. The first passage is the note, syntactically separate from its context, in Gn 6^{4} 'The *Něphilim* were in the earth in those days, and also afterward, forasmuch as the sons of God used to go in to the daughters of man, and they bare them children; they were the heroes that were of old, the men of name.' The connective 'forasmuch as' articulates the statement better than the word 'when,' used in the English versions. It is not explicitly said that the *Něphilîm* were the heroes borne by women to the 'sons of God,' and some scholars have held that they were not; but this writer certainly meant that they were, for otherwise it is impossible to account for his mentioning them at all. There is much here not easy to understand; but in these four verses we certainly have an allusion to that region of mythology so copiously treated in the sacred legends of other peoples, the region of demigods and heroes. The *Něphilim*, whatever else may be true of them, are thought of as beings analogous to the demigods of the nations.

The other passage is most naturally thus translated: 'And there we saw the *Něphilim*, sons of Anak of the *Něphilîm*; and we were in our eyes as grasshoppers, and so were we in their eyes' (Nu 13^{33}). Evidently, the word *Něphîlîm* here has exactly the same meaning as in Genesis. These men are trying to find the strongest possible language for expressing the terribleness of the gigantic Anakim; and this they effect by saying that the Anakim are veritable demigods. Perhaps they intended to be understood to imply that the Anakim were descended from the demigods; or perhaps their language is metaphorical. It made the Anakim seem more dreadful thus to suggest that there was something supernatural and uncanny about them.

When we have examined these two passages we have exhausted the direct evidence in regard to the *Něphîlîm*. Among the derivations proposed for the name, one makes it to be from *nāphal*, 'to fall'; either as meaning beings fallen from a previous high estate (cf. Is 14^{12}, Lk 10^{18}), or as fighters who fall upon the enemy fiercely. The latter view has been supposed to be favoured by the Greek versions, the LXX having γίγαντες, Aquila ἐπιπίπτοντες, and Symmachus βιαῖοι, but see Dillm. on Gn 6^{4}.

In former generations the passage in Genesis was voluminously discussed, especially the question as to who the 'sons of God' there mentioned were. Some account of these discussions, with references to the literature, may be found in Smith's *DB* under art. 'Giants'; see also the various commentaries on this passage; Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*; art. Giant (in vol. ii.) with the literature there mentioned; Budde, *Urgeschichte*, 30 ff.; Wellhausen, *Comp.* 308. W. J. Beecher.

NEPHISHESIM, NEPHISIM.—See Naphish.

NEPHTHAI.—See Nephthar.

NEPHTHAR (Νεφθάρ, AV Naphthar), **Nephthai** (Νεφθαί, AV Nephi).—In 2 Mac 1^{18-36} there is a legendary account of the hiding of the sacred fire of the temple at the Captivity, and of its recovery by Nehemiah. It states that the fire was concealed by the priests at the command of Jeremiah (see 2^{1}) in a dry well or pit. When Nehemiah had built the temple and the altar (*sic*), and was about to offer sacrifice, he sent the descendants of those who had hidden the fire to bring it back. They found in the well only a thick liquid (ὕδωρ παχύ), which was drawn up and sprinkled upon the wood and the sacrifice. On the sun shining out from behind a cloud, a great fire was kindled on the altar. When the sacrifice had been consumed, the remainder of the liquid was poured, by Nehemiah's orders, upon great stones. It again ignited, but its flame soon spent itself, while that on the altar continued to burn. The king of Persia, having heard of the matter, surrounded the well with a sacred enclosure, and used to bestow portions of the liquid on those to whom he wished to show special favour (so RV). Nehemiah and his companions called this substance *Nephthar*, but it was generally known as *Nephthai* (v.^{36}).

The second word appears in MSS as Νεφθαεί, Νεφθαί, Νεφθά. Cod. A simply repeats Νεφθάρ. Syr. has ܩܢܦܬܪ and ܢܦܬܝ. Vulg., followed by AV, reads *Naphthar* and *Nephi*. The reading of v.^{31} is uncertain (καταχεῖν, κατασχεῖν, κατέχειν), and the meaning of v.^{32b} and of v.^{35} is obscure. The legend is repeated by the Jewish historian Joseph ben-Gorion, who describes the liquid as 'water like thick oil and honey,' and among Christian writers by Macarius (*Hom.* 11). A different legend is given in the Ethiopic *Book of Adam* (Dillmann, 1853; Malan, 1882), which states that Ezra found in the vaults of the temple a censer filled with fire. According to the common Rabbinical tradition, the sacred fire was one of the five things lacking in the second temple (Buxtorf, 'de Igne sacro,' in Ugolino's *Thesaurus*, x. 426).

The names *Nephthar*, *Nephthai*, along with the interpretation of the former as 'cleansing' or 'purification' (καθαρισμός), constitute the chief problem of this passage. They were applied to the substance, and not, as Vulg. (*hunc locum*) suggests, to the place where it was found. Two suppositions are possible—

1. That *Nephthar* was the original word, and *Nephthai* a popular corruption. On this view various attempts have been made, some elaborate, and none very successful, to connect *Nephthar* with the meaning καθαρισμός, or otherwise to explain its derivation. (*a*) According to Benfey and Stern (*Die Monatsnamen einiger alter Völker*, 1836), Νεφθάρ corresponds to the Zend *naptar*. *Naptar apanm* is said to denote the sacred elemental water (*Urwasser*), otherwise known as *arduisur*, to which the highest powers of purification were attributed; (*b*) Lagarde (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 177 f.) finds that the Syr. ܩܢܦܬܪ corresponds to the Bactrian *vidâv*[*a*]*tra*, meaning 'purification'; (*c*) Νεφθάρ may originally have been נִטְהַר, from טָהֵר 'to be pure'; (*d*) it may have been נִפְטַר, from פָּטַר 'to set free,' and may mean 'liberation,' *i.e.* of the concealed fire; (*e*) it may be connected with Aram. פַּטִּיר 'unleavened' (Ewald).

2. That *Nephthai* is the original, and *Nephthar* the corruption. In this case the form of the word and the circumstances of the narrative combine to suggest that Νεφθαί is the same as *naphtha* (νάφθα), the well-known combustible mineral oil. The inflammable properties of naphtha, as well as its medicinal virtues, were well known in ancient times (Strabo, *Geog.* XVI. i. 15; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 105; Plutarch, *Alexander*, xxxv.; Dioscorides, *Materia Medica*, i. 85), and it was further associated with sacred fires. Strabo (*Geog.* XVI. i. 4) mentions a naphtha well in connexion with the temple of Anæa. The natural flames in the oil region of Baku on the Caspian Sea have long been, and still are, held sacred by a sect of fire-worshippers. The legend in 2 Mac 1 may have had some actual spontaneous ignition of naphtha by the sun's rays as its basis, but it is unlikely that it originated in Palestine. Naphtha is found in the waters of the Dead Sea (Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 371), but not in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The well *Bîr Eyûb*, a little below the junction of the valleys of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom, is known also as the 'well of Nehemiah,' and is connected with this legend, but the tradition does not seem to be older than the 16th cent. (see EN-ROGEL, JERUSALEM, vol. ii. 285^{b}; Robinson, *BRP* i. 331–3; Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored* [Eng. tr. 1864], i. 188; Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 456; Warren and Conder in *SWP*, Jerus. vol. 371–5). Most probably the story came from Persia or Babylonia, in both of which naphtha is abundant. This supposition is confirmed by the part assigned to the Persian king in vv.$^{33.\,34}$. The Jewish writer who transferred the legend to Jerusalem may have invented the form *Nephthar* and its derivation, the latter being perhaps suggested by the idea of 'purification' in vv.$^{18.\,33}$. On the whole subject see the commentaries of Grimm (1853), Keil (1875), Bissell (Lange), Rawlinson (*Speaker's Comm.*), Zöckler (*Kurzgef. Komm.* 1891); Kamphausen (in Kautzsch's *Apokr. u. Pseudepigr. d. AT*, 1898); also Ewald, *Hist. of Israel* [Eng. tr.], v. 162–3.

JAMES PATRICK.

NEPHTOAH.—Only in the collocation מַעְיַן מֵי נֶפְתּוֹחַ Jos 15^{9} (B πηγὴ ὕδατος Μαφθώ, A . . . Ναφθώ) 18^{15} (BA Ναφθώ). It was a place with water, on the boundary of Judah and Benjamin, near the Vale of Rephaim. According to the Talmud (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* p. 146), Nephtoah was the same as Etam, now *'Ain 'Aṭân*, south of Bethlehem at the so-called Pools of Solomon—Pilate's aqueduct. This position seems to agree with Ephron (which see), being the mountain district west of Bethlehem. Nephtoah has been placed at *Lifta* (so Tobler, Robinson, Sepp, Baedeker-Socin, etc.), about 3 miles N.W. of Jerusalem, but this name does not contain the necessary guttural, and the site appears to be irreconcilable with those of Chesalon and Kiriath-jearim, since the border would run S.W. instead of N. from Kiriath-jearim to Chesalon. See KIRIATH-JEARIM. *Lifta* is more probably Eleph (which see) of Benjamin. It is not remarkable for its water supply (but see Barclay, *City of Great King*, p. 544), whereas *'Ain 'Aṭân* is a fine spring. For both sites see *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.; and cf. *ZDPV* iii. 79.

C. R. CONDER.

NEPHUSHESIM, NEPHUSIM.—See NAPHISH.

NER (נֵר; B Νηρεί, Νήρ, A Νήρ).—The son of Abiel and father of Abner, and therefore the uncle of Saul (1 S $14^{50.\,51}$). According to 1 Ch $8^{33}=9^{39}$, Ner was the father of Kish, and therefore the grandfather of Saul: the same authority ($9^{35\text{f.}}$) gives *Jeiel* (יְעִיאֵל, AV Jehiel) as the name of Ner's father, but probably both statements are erroneous (cf. Bertheau on 1 Ch 8^{33}). The statement of the Chronicler has misled some scholars into treating the words 'Saul's uncle' (1 S 14^{50}) as referring to Abner; the more natural construction is to take them as a description of Ner. The view adopted above as to the relationship of Ner and Saul is confirmed by Josephus (*Ant.* VI. vi. 6, Νῆρος δὲ καὶ Κεῖς ὁ Σαούλου πατὴρ ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν, υἱοὶ δ' Ἀβελίου).

In accordance with this testimony we must read 'sons of' (בְּנֵי) for 'son of [Abiel]' (בֶּן) in 1 S 14^{51}, and render that verse, 'And Kish the father of Saul, and Ner the father of Abner, were sons of Abiel'; so Driver, Klost., Budde.

J. F. STENNING.

NEREUS (Νηρεύς).—The name of a Roman Christian, greeted, along with his sister and certain others, in Ro 16^{15}. The form of expression, 'salute Philologus and Julia, Nereus and his sister, and Olympas, and all the saints that are with them,' suggests that these persons formed a small Christian community by themselves. The name is found in inscriptions of the imperial household (*CIL* vi. 4344), and is well known in the legends of the Roman Church. The *Acts of Nereus and Achilleus*, which are of a late date and composite character, call these saints the eunuch chamberlains of

Domitilla, the virgin niece of Vespasian, and narrate how they persuaded their mistress to refuse to marry a son of the Consul, and to remain a virgin. Later, after other legends of the early Roman Church have been introduced, their death is described. These names are, however, older than the *Acts*. One of the well-known inscriptions of Damasus describes them as two soldiers whose faith compelled them to desert their unchristian profession, and who had to pay the penalty with their lives. There are other archæological remains, and the Church of St. Nereus and Achilleus was very old, dating under the name of *Fasciolae* from the 4th cent. at least. The *Acts* state that Nereus and Achilleus were buried in the cemetery of St. Domitilla in the Via Ardeatina, and probably the origin of the legend in the *Acts* is that these two names appeared somewhat conspicuously in the catacomb near the tomb of Domitilla, and suggested that they might be associated with her in history. The fact that Nereus is combined with Achilleus—a name which does not appear in the Epistle to the Romans—suggests that there was an independent archæological source for the name, and that it belonged to the early history of the Roman Church.

LITERATURE.—*Acta Sanctorum*, May, vol. iii. p. 4; *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xi. 2; Bull, *Arch. Christ.*, 1874, p. 20, 1875, p. 8; Lightfoot, *Clement*, i. p. 51.

A. C. HEADLAM.

NERGAL (נֵרְגַל; B τὴν Ἐργέλ, A om., Luc. τὸν Νιριγέλ, *Nergel*, 2 K 17^{30}; Bab. *Ne-uru-gal*, 'the lord of the great city' of Hades) was worshipped at Cutha (now *Tell Ibrahim*) along with his wife Laz. He presided over the necropolis which lay in the desert near Cutha. In pre-Semitic times he was invoked as U-gur, 'the taskmaster (?),' and in later days was made a son of the Bel of Nippur, and identified with Lugal-banda, the god of the city of Marad. He was addressed as 'the hero of the gods,' 'who marches in front of them' to battle, and among his names (when identified with the planet Mars) are those of Allamu and Almu. The Assyr. kings regarded him as the patron of hunting. See, further, Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 282 f. [*COT* i. 275 f.]; Meyer, *Gesch.* i. 175 ff.; Tiele, *Gesch.* 530. A. H. SAYCE.

NERGAL-SHAREZER (נֵרְגַל־שַׂרְאֶצֶר; B Ναγαργασνασέρ, א*AQ Νασέρ, Q^{mg} Νηρεὰ Σαρσάρ, Theod. Νηργὲλ Σαρασάρ, *Nergelsereser*, Bab. *Nergal-sar-uzur*, 'O Nergal, defend the king'!).—In Jer $39^{3.\,13}$ we read that after the capture of Jerusalem the chief Babylonians entered the city and sat in 'the middle gate,' among them being Nergal-sharezer the Rab-mag, and that, subsequently, Nebuzaradan the commander of the body-guard, Nebushasban the Rab-saris (Bab. *Rab-sa-risi*, 'chief of the princes'), and Nergal-sharezer the Rab-mag, released Jeremiah from the prison into which he had been thrown. In v.^{3} the text has fallen into confusion, and we ought to read 'Samgar-nebo the Sar-sechim, Nebushasban the Rab-saris, and Nergal-sharezer the Rab-mag.' Rab-mag is the Babylonian Rab-mugi or 'chief of the physicians,' and it is hardly doubtful that the Nergal-sharezer who in Jeremiah occupies a place so near Nebuchadrezzar is the Nergal-sharezer who subsequently became king of Babylonia, and is known to classical writers as Neriglissar. We learn from the inscriptions that he married a daughter of Nebuch., and his name appears in several contracts drawn up in the reign of Evil-Merodach the son and successor of Nebuch., more especially in relation to the purchase of house-property. In one of the contracts mention is made of his son Merodach-bal-uzur. Nergal-sharezer was the son of Bel-sum-iskun, to whom, in one of his son's inscriptions, is erroneously given the title of 'king.' In B.C. 559 Evil-Merodach was murdered, and Nergal-sharezer seized the throne, which he held for nearly four years. He built a palace on the right bank of the Euphrates, and was succeeded in B.C. 556 by his son Labasi-Merodach (Laborosoarchod), who was murdered after a reign of nine months. There are grounds for believing that Nergal-sharezer's reign was troubled by invasion. Immediately after his accession he married his daughter to Nebo-sum-yukin the priest of Nebo at Borsippa, who may therefore have had much to do with placing him on the throne. See, further, Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 416 [*COT* ii. 109]; Stade, *Gesch.* i. 646; Tiele, *Gesch.* 430. A. H. SAYCE.

NERI (Νηρεί Tisch. Treg. WH; Νηρί TR).—An ancestor of Jesus, Lk 3^{27}. See next article.

NERIAH (נֵרִיָּה).—The father of Baruch, Jer 32 [Gr. 39]$^{12.\,16}$ 36 [43]$^{4.\,8.\,32}$ 43 [50]$^{3.\,6}$ 45 [51]^{1} 51 [28]^{59}. In Bar 1^1 the Greek form of the name, **Nerias** (Νηρ(ε)ίας), is retained. The same name appears in another Greek form **Neri** (Νηρ(ε)ί) in St. Luke's genealogy of our Lord, according to which one Neri was the father of Shealtiel, Lk 3^{27}.

NERIAS (Νηρίας).—The Greek form of the name NERIAH (wh. see). It occurs only in Bar 1^1 as the name of the father of Baruch.

NERO (Νέρων).—The name of Nero does not occur in the NT, but he is the 'Cæsar' to whom St. Paul appeals in Ac 25^{11}; before whose tribunal he was twice tried (assuming an earlier acquittal and later reimprisonment); and in whose imperial establishment the apostle had fellow-believers and probably converts (Ph 4^{22}).

Nero's reign covers an important period of NT history, and his attitude towards the early Church had a memorable influence on its fortunes. Born in A.D. 37, of parents—Domitius and Agrippina—who both belonged to the family of the Cæsars,[*] Nero was destined from childhood for the imperial throne by his ambitious mother, who first (A.D. 49) secured her own marriage to the emperor Claudius, her uncle; then the betrothal of Nero and Octavia, the daughter of Claudius and Messalina (the marriage being consummated four years later); finally, in A.D. 50, the adoption of Nero as the emperor's son and designated successor, with the supersession of Claudius' own son, Britannicus. When Claudius died suddenly, in A.D. 54,[†] Nero, mainly through his mother's strategy, was peacefully accepted as emperor by army, senate, and people (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 68, 69).

Trajan is said (Aur. Vict. *Epit. Nero*) to have described the first quinquennium of Nero's reign as far superior to any other period of imperial rule. During those years he was under the guidance of Seneca, the philosopher (his tutor in boyhood), and of Burrus, prefect of the prætorian guard, an honest and virtuous soldier. By these counsellors the influence of Agrippina, originally potent, was at an early stage counteracted, and eventually supplanted.[‡] The emperor's exemplary clemency[§] in the beginning of his reign; his habitual accessibility and liberal provision of spectacles and largesses (Suet. *Nero*, 10, 11); his constitutional recognition of the authority of the senate (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 45); his laudable endeavours to mitigate taxation and suppress extortion (*ib.* 50, 51); and his vigorous foreign policy against Parthian aggression and British insurrection,*—all this secured favour for Nero personally, as well as respect for his government. It caused, also, some toleration to be extended to his excessive vanity, adulterous amours, and scandalous nocturnal escapades, when he roamed in disguise throughout the city, and committed outrages on peaceful citizens (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 12, 25, 46).

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[*] Agrippina was a great-granddaughter of Augustus, and Domitius a grandson of Octavia the sister of Augustus.

[†] According to Pliny (*HN* xxii. 22), Tac. (*Ann.* xii. 66), and Suet. (*Claud.* 44), Claudius was poisoned by Agrippina. Suet., however, admits discrepancies in the reports as to occasion, administration of poison, and attendant circumstances.

[‡] Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 2, 5, 6, 21, xiv. 2. At the outset of his reign Nero gave, on one occasion, as military watchword, 'The best of mothers.'

[§] Sen. *de Clem.* i. 1, 11, ii. 1; Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 11; Suet. *Nero*, 10. The assassination of Silanus, soon after Nero's accession, was without his knowledge, and the compulsory suicide of Narcissus against his desire (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 1); Agrippina being in both cases the responsible agent.

It is difficult to believe that, within the first year of his reign, Nero (without his mother's complicity and against her desire) deliberately poisoned Britannicus, his brother through adoption, a boy of fourteen. The early incidental reference (*c.* 78 A.D.) to the murder by Josephus (*BJ* II. xiii. 1), and the later detailed account of Tacitus (*Ann.* xiii. 15 ff.), followed by Suetonius (*Nero*, 33) and Dio (61. 7. 4), amply prove that the crime was attributed to Nero soon after, if not before, his death. Motives are found in Nero's youthful jealousy and fear of an imperial rival whom even Agrippina might support. But (1) the remark of Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 1) must be kept in mind that the histories of Nero and other early emperors were 'during their reign falsified through fear, and after death fabricated through hatred'; (2) Seneca, writing soon after Britannicus' death (*de Clem.* i. 11), declares that Nero had never shed the blood of a Roman citizen nor of any human being in the world; (3) the details of the alleged murder are not inconsistent with Nero's own allegation that Britannicus died in a fit of epilepsy.† Sudden death was frequently ascribed to poison; and the later undoubted crimes of Nero might induce belief in his earlier guilt.

Nero's connexion (from A.D. 58) with Poppæa (the wife of Otho, afterwards emperor), and her fatal ascendency over him, became the chief factor in his thorough demoralization, and a direct or indirect occasion of many of his crimes. Poppæa coveted the position of empress, and determined to secure the divorce and removal of the neglected Octavia. Agrippina's remanent influence stood in the way, and must be destroyed. Nero had already been partially alienated from his mother by her interference with his private habits as well as imperial administration; and her vindictive disposition had raised up enemies against her in the court. Poppæa fostered filial estrangement and encouraged the animosity of courtiers. The issue was Agrippina's tragic death, of which two conflicting accounts have come down, both inherently improbable—(1) Nero's own statement to the senate (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 11) that Agrippina, foiled in an attempt to compass his death, had atoned for her crime by suicide. An ambitious woman might have conspired against a court-party from which she was excluded; but Nero's death would have destroyed her one hope of regaining power. (2) The account of Tacitus (xiv. 3–8), followed by Suetonius (*Nero*, 34), that Nero was guilty of deliberate and persistent matricide, employing his freedman Anicetus, first to cause Agrippina to be shipwrecked, and then, on her escape, to assassinate her. The details of this record bristle with improbabilities: (*a*) the secret preparation of a vessel which would suddenly fall to pieces, without the majority of the seamen knowing what would happen; (*b*) the hardened emperor caressing the mother whose murder he had arranged, and clinging fondly to her bosom; (*c*) the virtuous Burrus and Seneca joining in the crime with a calculating callousness worse than that ascribed to Nero himself. (*d*) Suetonius adds that Nero had thrice previously tried to poison Agrippina, who had fortified herself *beforehand* with antidotes! It is not improbable that Nero, under Poppæa's influence, believed in his mother's conspiracy against the existing administration; that in the midst of a nocturnal debauch he ordered her violent arrest; and that in the conflict occasioned by her resistance she was killed.

The death of Burrus, in 62 (not without some suspicion of poison, Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 5), relieved Poppæa of another obstacle to her ambition; and the appointment of Tigellinus as prefect of the prætorians in his stead provided her with a willing accomplice and Nero with another evil genius—a fresh instigator to vice as well as crime. Imperial orgies became viler and more shameless. Influential senators were removed from Rome and assassinated (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 57, 59): Seneca, in despair, withdrew into private life (*ib.* 53–56). Poppæa's time had come. Octavia, through perjured witness pronounced guilty of infidelity, was divorced, banished, and finally murdered (Tac. xiv. 60–64). Poppæa was espoused, and before the close of the year, on the birth of a daughter (who died in infancy), received the title of Augusta. The unbounded extravagance which the empress and Tigellinus encouraged led to financial embarrassments. These were relieved by charges of treason (followed by confiscation) against wealthy citizens, through which the upper classes were exasperated; and by oppressive taxation, which made Nero unpopular even among those who would have tolerated his crimes; while the emperor's exhibition of himself upon the stage, however acceptable to the lowest class, and publicly applauded, excited much private disgust (Tac. xiv. 14, 15).

Before this time Nero's relations with the Christians had begun. St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, with its favourable reference to the 'powers that be' (13^{1-5}), had been written during the first quinquennium, to which also belongs the charge of *superstitio externa* (supposed by some to be Christianity) against Pomponia Græcina, wife of Aulus Plautius (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 32; de Rossi, *Roma Sotter.* ii. 360 ff.; cf. Lightf. *Clement*, i. 30 ff.). The apostle's arrival in Rome took place, probably, soon after Agrippina's death (see art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT in vol. i. p. 424); his mild imprisonment, tolerated evangelization, and earlier trial, issuing in acquittal (according to the common theory), belong to the period of Poppæa's ascendency. That St. Paul was tried by Nero in person, although not certain, is highly probable; for, amid much carelessness, the emperor was particular in his attention to appeals from the provinces in criminal cases. He received from each of his assessors a written opinion, and pronounced sentence personally from the tribunal on the following day (Suet. *Nero*, 15; cf. Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 4). Poppæa had leanings towards Judaism, is described by Josephus (*Ant.* XX. viii. 11) as θεοσεβής, and twice interceded with Nero on behalf of Jews (Jos. *l.c.* and *Vita*, 3). She may not, however, have concerned herself with St. Paul's case; and, in the absence of any powerful antagonistic influence at court, the *elogium* of Festus would tell strongly in the apostle's favour. The intervention of Seneca, the brother of Gallio (indicated in the apocryphal *Passio Pauli*, i.), is no more than possible.[*] Up to the time of Gallio's proconsulship (*i.e.* A.D. 52–3 or 53–4), and probably for some years afterwards, the Roman government regarded Christians, apparently, as only a sect of Jews. The trial at Rome of a Christian who was also *civis Romanus* may have been, as Ramsay suggests (*Expositor*, July 1893), the occasion of a more thorough investigation which enlightened the imperial authorities as to the true relation between Christianity and Judaism.

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* Corbulo and Suetonius Paulinus, the two ablest generals of their day, were sent, the former in 55 to repel the Parthians, the latter in 58 to complete the subjugation of Britain.

† Apart from this incident, there is no actual evidence that the ancient Romans were acquainted with any poison which, after double dilution, could have caused instantaneous death or sudden lividness, as related by Tacitus. Undoubtedly, however, a distillation from the leaves of the cherry-laurel, which might then have been obtained from Asia Minor, would have produced the effect desired (Burnett's *Med. Bot.* ii. 117).

In A.D. 64 the tolerant attitude of Nero's government towards Christianity was suddenly transformed into cruel hostility. In July of that year took place the great fire at Rome, which raged for nine days, and through which, out of fourteen civic districts, three were totally, and seven partially, destroyed. Nero was at Antium when the conflagration broke out. The measures taken by the government for the suppression of the fire (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 40); his own fearless supervision of these efforts without a guard (*ib.* 50); and the occurrence of the disaster at a time when the imperial finances were seriously embarrassed, render it highly improbable that Nero either instigated or deliberately extended the conflagration. But he probably gave occasion for the charge of complicity, which was widely believed at the time,[†] by previous sanitation reforms, laudable but keenly opposed (Lanciani, *Anc. Rome*, p. 122), unbecoming admiration of the magnificence of the spectacle, ill-disguised pleasure at the opportunity of rebuilding large portions of the city in a more magnificent style, and the significant annexation of a considerable part of the desolated area for the erection of his 'Golden House.'[‡] The fact, moreover, that the flames, after temporary arrest, broke out afresh in the gardens of Tigellinus, gave some colour to the suspicion that if he had nothing to do with the original fire, he might, nevertheless, have caused the second outbreak (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 40).[§] The common belief in Nero's guilt, and the danger of revolution, owing to bitterness engendered in many thousands of ruined and homeless sufferers, led to the emperor, either spontaneously,[‖] or at the suggestion of Poppæa[¶] or some malignant courtier, imputing the conflagration to the Christians.[**] Some plausibility would be given to the charge by their horror of pagan temples, many of which perished (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 41), by their supposed disloyalty and 'hostility to society' (*ib.* 44), and by their expectation of an impending destruction of the world by fire (2 Th 1^8, 2 P 3^7). According to Tacitus, 'those in the first place were brought to trial who made open profession' (*i.e.* of the Christian faith). 'Thereafter, on information elicited from these, a great multitude were convicted, far less on the charge of incendiarism than of *odium humani generis*.' The injustice of conviction was equalled by the brutality of execution. Some were 'covered with the hides of wild beasts and worried to death by dogs'; and the culmination of inhumanity was reached when others, robed in the *tunica molesta*, covered with pitch, were 'set on fire at nightfall' to illuminate the imperial gardens on the occasion of Circensian games (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44)—a fiendish exaggeration of the penalty of death by fire inflicted on malignant incendiaries (Juv. viii. 235). Nero does not appear to have organized any persecution of Christians beyond the city of Rome;[*] but the notorious treatment of them there could not fail to influence provincial governors in dealing with other charges made against Christians within their respective territories. In the Neronian persecution we discern a distinct stage in the development of imperial policy regarding Christians out of prosecution for alleged particular crimes into prosecution on account of Christian faith and profession. Whether this development was completed under Nero is disputable. Ramsay, to whom, mainly, is due the abandonment of the old theory that persecution 'for the name' began under Trajan, maintains (*Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 242 ff., and *Expositor*, July 1893) that while the substitution of the charge of 'hostility to society' for that of arson was a notable development, the condemnation of Christians even on the later charge 'was pronounced in respect not of the name, but of serious offences (*flagitia*) connected with the name,' and that 'Christianity had not yet come to be recognized as in itself a crime.' There would have been otherwise no occasion (he argues) for any lengthened second trial of St. Paul as described in 2 Ti 4. Sanday (*Expos.*, June 1893) and Hardy (*Christianity and the Rom. Govt.*) hold that *odium humani generis* is not a definite charge, but an assumed characteristic of Christianity, and that the condemnation of Christians on this account is tantamount to a proscription of the name. They appeal to 1 P 4^{16}; but Ramsay, while not denying the Petrine authorship of the Epistle, dates it *c.* 80 A.D. At some date soon after the horrors of A.D. 64—perhaps in 65 (see art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT in vol. i. p. 420)—occurred St. Paul's second imprisonment and trial, issuing in his martyrdom. By this time the ferocity of persecution had abated; and the apostle, while confined in the Mamertine dungeon, appears to have been tried in an orderly manner (2 Ti 4), and would probably be condemned under the charge of 'odium,' or as a disturber of the imperial peace. Regarding St. Peter's alleged arrival in Rome and martyrdom about the same time, see art. PETER.* The alleged banishment of St. John under Nero (contrary to Iren. *adv. Hær.* v. 30, and Eus. *HE* iii. 18. 20) rests mainly† on what is regarded as strong internal evidence for the composition of Rev in 68–69 (see REVELATION [BOOK OF]). The Neronian persecution was the first of three outstanding events in close succession (the destruction of Jerusalem and the settlement of St. John in Asia being the other two) which paved the way for the consolidation of Jewish and Gentile Christendom. Amid common peril and suffering, the sectional friction noted in Ph 1$^{15\text{ff.}}$ would decline and mutual sympathy increase; while the fiery ordeal would rid the Roman Church at once of Judaizing false brethren who alienated Gentile believers from the Jewish Christian community, and also of Gentile professors whose lax morality prejudiced Jewish believers against Gentile Christians as a whole.

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[*] Seneca, however, who had probably not yet retired, may have been an assessor; and, in any case, to the equitable principles of administration established under his influence, the acquittal of St. Paul was largely due.

[†] It is accepted as a fact by Pliny (*HN* xvii. 1. 1), who wrote about A.D. 77; also by Suetonius (*Nero*, 38) in A.D. 120. Tacitus writes (A.D. 115–117), 'forte an dolo principis incertum,' and indicates that older authorities were divided in opinion (*Ann.* xv. 38).

[‡] Of this Golden House, which reached from the Palatine to the Esquiline, and had triple colonnades a mile in length, Nero declared that 'now at last he was housed like a human being' (Suet. *Nero*, 33; cf. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 42; Middlet. *Anc. Rome*, ii. 146).

[§] The story that 'Nero fiddled while Rome was burning' originated, doubtless, in the report (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 42) that he sang, during the fire, of the ruin of Troy—a report based probably on the fact that, a year after the fire, the emperor, with questionable taste, read in public his '*Troica*,' a poem containing frequent allusions to the recent fire (Renan, *Hibb. Lect.* p. 72 f.).

[‖] Nero might have heard from Jews, at St. Paul's trial, calumnies against the Christians, which, although proved to be baseless in the apostle's case, would now suggest themselves to the emperor as a convenient foundation for his charge.

[¶] Clement of Rome (*Ep. to Cor.* 5, 6) writes that the Christians suffered 'through envy and jealousy.' The reference is indefinite, but may apply (in part) to Jews in Nero's time who employed Poppæa as a medium for fixing the charge of arson on the Christians (Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity*, i. 64).

[**] There seems to be no good reason for questioning the accuracy of Tacitus' reference to Christians as the sole objects of persecution in connexion with the fire. The 'ingens multitudo' of victims (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44) referring to judicial executions, need not imply more than several hundreds. Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, ch. xvi.) conjectures that the real victims were Jewish Zealots who had received the name Galilæans from Judas of Galilee (Ac 5^{37}), and thus were afterwards confounded with Christian 'Galilæans'; but there is no evidence that the Zealots were ever so called. Merivale (*Romans under Empire*, ch. liv.) and H. Schiller (*Gesch. d. röm. Kais.* p. 433 ff.) suppose that the persecution assailed both Jews and Christians, to whom the name of 'the Christ' alike belonged, but that the memory of the Christian sufferers alone was preserved. The silence of Josephus, however, who professes (*Ant.* xx. viii. 3) to record accurately all that happened to the Jews under Nero, and especially their calamities, tells heavily against both theories; while the limitation of the persecution to Christians by Tacitus is confirmed, so far, by Suetonius (*Nero*, 16).

[*] The earliest writer who asserts an extension of the imperial persecution to the provinces is Orosius (*Hist.* vii. 7), who wrote *c.* 400 A.D. Regarding a mutilated inscription found at Pompeii, of doubtful interpretation, but supposed to refer to a bloody persecution of Christians there, prior to A.D. 79, see Aubé, *Perséc.* p. 415 ff., and Schaff, *Apostolic Christianity*, p. 384.

In A.D. 65 the widespread discontent aroused by the conflagration and its supposed origin, by the divorce and death of Octavia, and by the emperor's murderous rapacity and extortionate levies, issued in a powerful conspiracy being organized, the object of which was to depose Nero, and to enthrone Calp. Piso, a man of noble birth, great wealth, and general popularity. Many senators, knights, and other influential persons were drawn into the plot, including Fenius Rufus, one of the prefects; Plautius, consul-elect; Lucan the poet, Seneca's nephew; and Senecio, one of Nero's most intimate courtiers. The conspiracy was prematurely disclosed by the imprudence or the treachery of some who were implicated, and the leaders of the movement were put to death. Among others condemned without evidence was Seneca, whom Nero constrained to commit suicide. A reign of terror ensued. 'The city was thronged with funerals, the Capitol with victims' (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 71). On flimsy pretexts, almost every prominent citizen whose virtue rebuked Nero's vices, whose wealth tempted his cupidity, or whose popularity excited his jealous fear, was mercilessly executed. The most notable victims were the senators Thrasea and Sorranus, whose death Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 21) ascribes to Nero's passionate desire to 'extirpate virtue itself.' Petronius, long a prime favourite, killed himself to avoid execution. The cruelty of the emperor was matched by the callousness of a populace whose hostility he averted by largesses and spectacles; by the servility, also, of a debased senate which condoned the condemnation of its noblest members. It outdid the former deification of deceased emperors by decreeing the erection of a temple to Nero, as to a god, in his lifetime; and it voted divine honours to Poppæa, at the instance of the emperor, for once remorseful, when he had killed her with a kick during pregnancy (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 74, xvi. 21 f.).

Amid his career of shameless debauchery, unnatural self-prostitution, and murderous frenzy, Nero remained a devotee of art. He played on the lyre, and was vain of his voice; he posed as an orator, and wrote tolerable poetry; he attained some proficiency in painting and sculpture; he acted on the public stage, and was an accomplished charioteer (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 14, 21; Suet. *Nero*, 52, 53). A visit to Greece, long projected, and accomplished in A.D. 66, provided him with the opportunity not only of gratifying his artistic tastes, but of enjoying an apparently greater appreciation of his talents than even a servile Roman crowd could supply. National Greek games, which recurred in successive years, were all crowded into the period of his visit, so that he might be awarded every notable prize for music, acting, and chariot-racing, and attain the coveted distinction of '*periodonikes*,' or universal victor. He rewarded Greek adulation by declaring Achaia 'free'; and endeavoured at once to benefit Greek commerce and to glorify himself by initiating a scheme—soon given up—for piercing the Isthmus of Corinth (Suet. *Nero*, 23 f.; Dio, lxiii. 10–16).

The visit to Greece caused no interruption in the course of imperial bloodshed. Rich victims were to be found in Achaia, as in Italy. Ignoble jealousy and fear prompted Nero to summon from the East the brilliant conqueror Corbulo, only to condemn him to immediate suicide, the general's sole crime being that he had been urged, but had refused, to proclaim himself emperor. In Rome executions and confiscations continued under the delegated authority of Helius, a freedman (Dio, lxiii. 12, 17). Meanwhile, however, disaffection among citizens and armies had developed into an organized conspiracy to place Galba, governor of Hither Spain, on the throne; and when Nero returned to Rome in the spring of 68, loaded with laurels, it was already too late to stem the tide of insurrection. Sycophantic senators and courtiers deserted him; the prætorian guard was seduced by bribes from its mercenary allegiance. Eventually, Nero fled from Rome in disguise to the suburban villa of a faithful freedman; and, after exclaiming *Qualis artifex pereo!* stabbed himself on the approach of emissaries from the senate, to avoid a more painful and ignominious doom (Suet. *Nero*, 42–49). A touching incident lights up the gloom of this closing 'tragedy of the Cæsars.' The last ministries to the dead were performed by two nurses* of his innocent childhood, and by an early cast-off mistress (Acte) whom he had once sincerely loved (*ib.* 50).

The obscurity of Nero's death led to the widespread belief that he had not really died, but was in concealment or had escaped to Parthia, and would reappear to re-claim the empire for the Cæsarean dynasty, of which he was the last representative. In spite of his crimes and misrule, which the troubles that followed his death partially overshadowed, a party in the empire remained loyal to his memory, and several pretended Neros arose to take advantage of the belief in his survival (Tac. *Hist.* i. 2, ii. 8; Suet. *Nero*, 57). The belief extended to Jewish and Christian circles. It is embodied in Bk. iv. (vv.$^{119\text{f.}\ 137\text{f.}}$) of the *Sibylline Oracles*, which is usually dated *c.* 80 A.D. and is probably of purely Jewish origin (Harnack, *Chronol.* p. 582); also in Bk. v. $^{33.\ 91.\ 363}$ by a Christian Sibyllist, who hints (v.$^{216\text{f.}}$) at Nero's revival rather than survival. Such revival is more distinctly referred to at the close of the *Carmen Apologeticum* of Commodian (*c.* 250 A.D.); by (Pseudo ?) Victorinus, who writes of Nero as 'to be raised' (*Comm. Apoc.*); and by Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, xx. 19), who mentions two current notions of his time,—that of pagans, who supposed Nero to be still alive, and that of Christians, who expected him to rise from the dead as Antichrist.

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* Nero occupies a prominent place in apocryphal and legendary 'Acts of Apostles,' particularly in the *Acts of Peter and Paul*. He is there represented as deceived by Simon Magus (through a magic trick) into the belief that Simon after being beheaded had come to life again. Ultimately, when Simon attempts to fly, Peter's invocation causes him to fall into the *Via Sacra* and to be killed. This, however, does not prevent Nero from ordering Peter to be crucified and Paul to be beheaded.

† The external evidence includes (1) the title of the Syriac Version of Rev (ascribed to 6th cent.); (2) the Syriac Apocryphal History of John (Wright's Trans. ii. 56); (3) Hieron. *adv. Jov.* i. 26, where (if the reading be correct) Tertullian is inaccurately reported as ascribing to Nero St. John's torture prior to exile.

* The tomb of Ecloge, one of these nurses, was recently discovered in the very place where Nero perished (Lanciani, *Pag. and Chr. Rome*, p. 190).

According to some writers, the expectation of Nero's return finds expression even in the Book of Revelation (13^3 $17^{10f.}$)—in the description of the beast whose 'deathstroke was healed,' 'which was and is not,' and is 'of or from the seven kings' and 'an eighth.'* That the Apocalypse (even if the date in the end of the reign of Domitian, as attested by Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* v. 30, be upheld) should contain reminiscences of Nero and the Neronian persecution, is only what might have been anticipated. The reference to the beast may have been suggested not merely by Dn 7, but by a designation of Nero in Christian circles as 'mala bestia' (Lact. *de Mor. Pers.* 2, who may there reproduce an epithet handed down from former times), and by his vile habit of covering himself with the skin of a wild beast, and in that disguise assaulting men and women (Suet. *Nero*, 29). The war of the beast with the saints (Rev 13^7), the cry of the slain martyrs, 'How long?' ($6^{9f.}$), and the description of 'Babylon' as drunken with their blood (17^6 18^{24}), may be reminiscences of the truculent tribulation of A.D. 64. The fact of the number 666 being the equivalent of *Neron Kaisar* written in Hebrew characters may be more than a coincidence.† But the recognition of such Neronian colouring (more or less) appears to the present writer quite compatible (1) with rejection of dubious references to the literal return or revival of Nero (so Zöckler, *Comm. in loc.*), and (2) with the view ‡ that the beast is not Nero exceptionally as an individual, nor even the Roman government exclusively, but rather the entire antichristian world-power, represented, in the time of the writer, by the ungodly and persecuting pagan empire, and embodied, throughout the ages, in all that is opposed to the progress of Christ's kingdom.

After every possible allowance is made for exaggerations on the part of those unknown original authorities on whom Tacitus and others relied, Nero remains a moral monstrosity. His fundamental vice appears to have been vanity rather than cruelty. Originally well disposed, even amiable and generous, he became through inordinate vanity the moral prey of base and self-seeking flatterers, and intolerant of all who could not, or would not, pander to his insatiable lust for applause. This morbid vanity made him crave for notoriety not only in what was harmless, but in extravagance, wantonness, reckless exercise of despotic power, and provision of fresh stimulants to the jaded popular appetite for exciting 'pleasure.' Vanity, moreover, constrained him to regard as enemies to be removed all whose character or popularity detracted from his own reputation, and as indispensable victims those whose wealth would be serviceable for the gratification of his cravings. The only possible palliation of his later enormities is the supposition that through vicious indulgence of his passions he had become, at intervals, insane (Wiedemeister and Baring-Gould).

LITERATURE.—Tacitus, *Annales*, esp. the edition of Furneaux, with Introduction and Appendices; Suetonius, *Nero*; Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.*; Merivale, *Romans under the Empire*; H. Schiller, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserreichs unt. Nero*; Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.*; articles in *Expositor* (1893) by Sanday, Mommsen, and Ramsay; Hardy, *Christianity and Rom. Government*; Arnold, *Neronische Christenverf.*; Salmon's *Intr. NT*; Baring-Gould, *Tragedy of the Cæsars*; Renan, *Antichrist*; Reuss, *Chr. Th. in Ap. Age* (tr.), vol. i.; Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity*; Aubé, *Perséc. de l'Égl.*; G. H. Lewes, 'Was Nero a Monster?' in *Cornhill Mag.*, July 1863; Wiedemeister, *Cäsarenwahnsinn*; Lipsius, *Apocr. Apgesch.*; Bruston in *Revue de Théol.*, Sept. 1898.

H. COWAN.

NEST (קֵן *ḳēn*, *νεοσσιά, νοσσιά*).—The receptacle constructed by a bird in which to lay its eggs and rear its young (Dt 22^6 32^{11}). Swallows make their nest in the Lord's house (? Ps 84^3); eagles, on inaccessible pinnacles of the rocks (Job 39^{27}). Hence a secure fortification, esp. in the mountains, is called a nest (Nu 24^{21}, Jer 49^{16}, Ob ^{4}, Hab 2^9). Many birds return, from year to year, to the same nest, and do not wander in search of another (Pr 27^8); a forsaken nest is a special type of desolation (Is 16^2 m). A quiet, assured, permanent home is called a nest (Job 29^{18}). The *ẓippôr* makes its nest in the cedars, and the stork her house (nest) in the fir trees (Ps 104^{17}). Hence the 'inhabitress (Jer 22^{23}) of Lebanon' is said to make her 'nest in the cedars,' and 'all the fowls of heaven made their nests' in the boughs of the emblematic Assyrian cedar tree (Ezk 31^6), *i.e.* all nations were under Assyr. protection. The art with which birds conceal their nests is alluded to (Is 10^{14}). Owls choose ruins (Is 34^{15}); doves, holes of the rock (Jer 48^{28}). The 'rooms' in the ark are called *ḳinnîm*, 'nests' (Gn 6^{14} m), perhaps in allusion to the nests of gregarious birds, as martens, rock pigeons, etc.

The nests of the NT (Mt 8^{20}, Lk 9^{58}) are not *νοσσιαί* but *κατασκηνώσεις* = 'resting places,' or 'roosting perches.' This makes the Saviour's comparison more forcible. He has not merely no home, but not even a *cave* like a fox, or a *lodging place* like a bird. With this corresponds the verb *κατασκηνόω*, which is trᵈ (Mt 13^{32}, Mk 4^{32}, Lk 13^{19}) 'lodge,' and (Ac 2^{26}) quoted from Ps 16^9, where the Heb. is יִשְׁכֹּן *yishkôn* (LXX *κατασκηνώσει*), 'rest.' The word means *camping* or *bivouacking*, not *residing*.

G. E. POST.

NET.—See FISHING.

NETAIM.—AV of 1 Ch 4^{23b} reads, 'Those that dwelt among plants (RVm plantations) and hedges,' but RV gives 'the inhabitants of Netaim and Gederah,' and this is probably the correct trⁿ of יֹשְׁבֵי נְטָעִים וּגְדֵרָה. The taking of נְטָעִים as a proper name is supported by the LXX (B Ἀζαείμ, A Ἀταείμ). The site has not been identified, but Netaim, like GEDERAH (wh. see), was probably in the Shephēlah of Judah.

NETHANEL (נְתַנְאֵל 'God has given'; Ναθαναήλ; cf. the NT name *Nathanael*).—**1.** The 'prince' (נָשִׂיא) of Issachar, Nu 1^8 2^5 $7^{18.\ 23}$ 10^{15}. **2.** One of David's brothers, 1 Ch 2^{14}. **3.** One of the priests who blew trumpets when the ark was brought up from the house of Obed-edom, 1 Ch 15^{24}. **4.** A Levite, father of Shemaiah, 1 Ch 24^6. **5.** One of Obed-edom's sons, 1 Ch 26^4. **6.** A 'prince' (שַׂר) sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah, 2 Ch 17^7. **7.** A chief of the Levites in the reign of Josiah, 2 Ch 35^9. **8.** A priest who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{22} = **Nathanael** of 1 Es 9^{22}. **9.** Representative of the priestly class of Jedaiah, under the high priest Joiakim, Neh 12^{21}. **10.** A Levite musician who took part in the ceremony of dedicating the walls, Neh 12^{36}.

Gray (*Heb. Proper Names*, p. 210 *et passim*) considers that the name נְתַנְאֵל is probably 'of late origin,' and possibly also 'of artificial character.'

J. A. SELBIE.

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* Bleek, *Intr. NT*, 233; Reuss, *Hist. Th. Chr.* Bk. iv. ch. iv.; Renan, *Antich.* chs. xiii. xvi.; Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity*, chs. xxvii. xxviii.; Bousset, *Offenb. Joh.* The composition of the Apoc. is referred by these writers to the time of Galba or of Vespasian (A.D. 68–69), and the alleged reference to *Nero Redivivus* is associated with the appearance about that time of a pseudo-Nero in the island Cythnus (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 8). The most significant alleged parallel, however, between the Beast and the returning Nero (viz. '*one* of the seven kings' who is 'fallen,' yet to be 'an eighth') depends on a disputable exegesis of ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά ἐστι. This rendering, 'is one of' (instead of 'proceedeth from'), although grammatically tenable (cf. Ac 21^8), is not in accord with the usus of Rev, which elsewhere inserts εἷς (7^{13} 15^7 17^1 21^9).

† Fritzsche, *Annal.* iii. 1 (1831); Reuss, *l.c.*; Renan, p. 415 ff.; Farrar, vol. ii. 292 ff.; Zockler, *Com.* on Apoc. and others. Jewish Christians were familiar with Gematria, the numerical indication of names (Farrar in *Expos.* 1879, v. 369). The non-identification, however, of Nero with the 666 by any early writer is significant.

‡ Hengst., Auberlen, Lange, Alf., Mill, and others.

NETHANIAH (נְתַנְיָה; in Jer 36^{14} 40^{8} 41^{9}, 1 Ch 25^{12}, 2 Ch 17^{8} נְתַנְיָהוּ 'J" hath given'; cf. *Nethanel* נְתַנְאֵל).—**1.** The father of Ishmael the murderer of Gedaliah, 2 K 25$^{23. 25}$, Jer 40$^{8. 14. 15}$ 41$^{1f. 6f. 9. 10ff. 15f. 18}$ (LXX *Ναθανίας*, but in 2 K 25^{23} A has *Μαθθανίας*). **2.** An Asaphite, chief of the fifth class of the temple choir, 1 Ch 25$^{2. 12}$ (A in both has *Ναθανίας*, B in first *Ναθαλίας*, in second *Ναθάν*). **3.** A Levite who was sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah, 2 Ch 17^{8} (B *Μανθανίας*, A *Ναθανίας*). **4.** The father of Jehudi, Jer 36 [Gr. 43]^{14}. B omits *τὸν Ἰουδεί*, which is read by A between *Νηρίου* and *υἱὸν Ναθανίου*.

NETHINIM (AV Nethinims).—The word is always preceded by the article, הַנְּתִינִים, 'the Nethinim.' In one passage, Ezr 8^{20}, the *Ḳerê* has the regular participial form הַנְּתוּנִים. The unused sing. נָתִין is a noun of the same class as אָסִיר, מָשִׁיחַ. The LXX usually has *οἱ Ναθεινείμ*, but in several passages there are obvious clerical errors, such as *τῶν Ἀθανείμ, Καθεινείμ*; 1 Ch 9^{2} has *οἱ δεδομένοι*. The Pesh. generally transliterates ܢܬܝܢ̈ܐ, but in some places omits; at 1 Ch 9^{2} it has ܬܘܬܒ̈ܐ (sojourners), at Ezr 8^{20} ܡܢ ܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܕܝܗܒ ܕܘܝܕ (*of the men whom David gave*), at Neh 10^{28} ܥܒܕ̈ܐ (*servants*), and at Neh 11^{21} ܥܒܕ̈ܝܗܘܢ (*their servants*). Josephus (*Ant*. XI. v. 1) calls them *ἱερόδουλοι*, and this agrees well with the obvious derivation of the word from נָתַן = 'to give': they were the men given to the temple as its slaves to perform the lowest menial offices there.

Very little is said about the early history of the Nethinim. Nu 31$^{30. 47}$ (R) states that at the close of the campaign against the Midianites 'Moses took one drawn out of every fifty, both of man and of beast, and gave them (וַיִּתֵּן) unto the Levites.' Jos 9^{27} (R) relates that the Gibeonites were punished for their guile by being made 'hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation and for the altar of the Lord.' In the historical books there is no further reference to persons occupying such a position until Ezekiel bitterly denounces the employment of heathens in connexion with the sanctuary: 'Let it suffice you of all your abominations, in that ye have brought in aliens, uncircumcised in heart, and uncircumcised in flesh, to be in my sanctuary,' 44$^{6. 7}$. 'Aliens,' though it may be doubted whether they were allowed to remain uncircumcised, had been unhesitatingly employed by former generations in doing the drudgery of the temple, and the disagreeable tasks requisite to sacrificial worship. Many of them may have continued to be heathen at heart notwithstanding their enforced conformity to the worship of J". Others certainly became devout worshippers of the God of Israel. And this protest of Ezekiel's was for a long time quite ineffectual: so strict a zealot as Ezra welcomed the services of the Nethinim.

It is in the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles that this class of temple servants comes prominently into view. The list of their family-names contained in Ezr 2$^{43-54}$, Neh 7$^{46-56}$, confirms the generally accepted belief that they were in great part descendants of captives taken in war. The names have quite a foreign air. 'The children of Meunim,' Ezr 2^{50}, were in all probability descended from the Meunim, the people of Maon, whom Uzziah conquered (2 Ch 26^{7}; cf. 2 Ch 20^{1} LXX). 'The children of Nephisim,' Ezr 2^{50}, are doubtless representatives of the race mentioned Gn 25^{15}. 'The children of Solomon's servants,' who, in both lists, immediately follow the Nethinim, are spoken of in such a way as to show that their functions were substantially the same as those performed by the Nethinim, but that they occupied a slightly lower plane. Their ancestors may have been Canaanites given to the temple by Solomon, or captives taken by him in war. Ezr 8^{20} asserts that David and his princes gave the Nethinim 'for the service of the Levites': such a gift would be sure to consist of captives.

It is, however, in the actual accounts of the Return from the Exile that we find ourselves on firm ground. From the two lists already referred to, Ezr 2$^{43-54}$ and Neh 7$^{46-56}$, we learn that 392 Nethinim and children of Solomon's servants formed part of the first company, which returned to Jerusalem under Zerubbabel, B.C. 538. Eighty years later, when Ezra had started on his momentous journey to the Holy City, he discovered that amongst his companions were very few ministers for the house of God. He therefore halted beside 'the river that runneth to Ahava,' and sent to procure a supply of suitable men from a city called Casiphia. We are hardly entitled to argue from the corrupt text of Ezr 8^{17} that the person whose aid he especially invoked was himself a Nathin, although the EV runs, 'I told them what they should say unto Iddo, and his brethren the Nethinim.' The LXX omits the name Iddo: 'I put in their mouth words to say to their brethren.' If this omission does not commend itself to our judgment, we may, with the minimum of textual alteration, read ואחיו והנ״, 'and his brethren, and the Nethinim,' or may omit הנ״ as a gloss on מְשָׁרְתִים. The last-named expedient seems best: the Nethinim in v.^{20} are not senders, but sent; Iddo and his brethren, the former in particular, were Levites who possessed authority over all who were qualified to serve in the temple, including the Nethinim (see vv.$^{15. 18. 19}$). And it appears from v.^{20} that 220 Nethinim were now sent to strengthen Ezra's hands. Thirteen years later, when Nehemiah had joined his dispirited fellow-countrymen in Jerusalem, and had put new life into them by inducing them to rebuild the city walls, 'the Nethinim dwelt in Ophel, unto the place over against the water-gate toward the east, and the tower that standeth out' (Neh 3^{26}). V.^{31} of the same chapter mentions 'the house of the Nethinim.' Hence it would appear that such of them as resided in Jerusalem had a quarter of their own on the southern continuation of the temple hill. From this post they would easily reach the scene of their daily duties, the temple itself. And 'they were thus posted near to the exit which communicated with the Virgin's Spring; and if their duties at the temple at all resembled those of the Gibeonites, we can understand why their residence over against the water-gate is thus carefully noted' (Ryle, *Ezra*, etc. p. lviii). Some of the Nethinim, however, lived in other cities which Ezr 2^{70} designates as specially belonging to the ministers of the temple. Wherever they lived, they, in common with the other religious officials, were freed by the decree of Artaxerxes (Ezr 7^{24}) from 'tribute, custom, or toll.' Those who dwelt in Jerusalem, possibly their brethren in the other towns also, formed a guild under two superintendents. These two, at any rate in Nehemiah's time, were chosen out of their own class, for Ziha, one of the two (Neh 11^{21}), is in the lists at Ezr 2^{43}, Neh 7^{46}.

We hear but little concerning the Nethinim subsequently to this period. It is easy to trace the gradual incorporation of the singers and the doorkeepers with the Levites. It is practically certain that the Nethinim, who are so often mentioned immediately after these two classes, obtained the same privilege. In the post-exilic legislation the Levites alone are mentioned, and almost take the name Nethinim. Nu 3^{9} 18^{6} (both P) state that the Levites were נְתוּנִים נְתוּנִים to Aaron and his sons. And 1 Ch 6$^{34 \text{ (Heb.) } 48 \text{ (Eng.)}}$ declares that the Levites were נְתוּנִים 'for all the service of the tabernacle of the house of God.' Cf. also 1 Es 1^{3} *τοῖς Λευείταις, ἱεροδούλοις τοῦ Ἰσραήλ*. Ezekiel's reform is thus at last carried out in the letter, perhaps in the spirit also. Schürer (*GJV*^{3} ii. 279 [*HJP* II. i. 273]) has shown, that although the Talmudical writers frequently refer to the Nethinim, they exhibit no real sense of the existence and activity of such an order, for they ascribe the performance of the duties which once devolved on this order to another set of men altogether, the חַזָּנִים or the פִּרְחֵי כְהֻנָּה, the young sons of the priests. The name Nethinim supplies an object on which these writers may pour out their bitterness against everything that is not strictly Jewish. 'Ezra removed them as it is said (Neh 11^{21}): *the servants dwell in darkness*, and in the world to come God will put them away from Him, according to the words Ezk 48^{19}: *the servants of the city shall serve Him*' (*Kiddush.* iv. 1); 'a priest is before a Levite, a Levite before an Israelite, an Israelite before a Mamzer, a Mamzer before a Nathin, a Nathin before a proselyte, a proselyte before a manumitted slave' (*Horaj.* iii. 8). At *Jebam.* ii. 4, an Israelite is forbidden to marry a descendant of those devoted to the temple service, and this is grounded on 2 S 21^{2}. Such passages as *Jebam.* vi. 2, vii. 5, viii. 3, *Maccoth* iii. 1, *Kethub.* i. 8, iii. 1, *Kiddush.* iii. 12, may also be consulted.

Similar institutions have existed in other lands, both in ancient and in modern times. Hermann (*Lehrb. der Griech. Antiq.*^{2} Theil 2, p. 107) points out that it was as natural for a temple as for an individual to possess slaves who would perform the lower duties which were necessary daily. In a note he refers to Pausan. x. 32. 8, *τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλοι*; and v. 13. 2, *ἐστὶ δὲ ὁ ξυλεὺς ἐκ τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῦ Διός, ἔργον δὲ αὐτῷ πρόκειται τὰ ἐς τὰς θυσίας ξύλα τεταγμένου λήμματος καὶ πόλεσι παρέχειν καὶ ἀνδρὶ ἰδιώτῃ*. In proof that these slaves were captives taken in war, or persons bought with money, he points to Pausan. iii. 18. 3, and to Herod. vi. 134: in the latter place an *αἰχμάλωτος γύνη* is called *ὑποζάκωρος τῶν χθονίων θεῶν*. Burckhardt (*Travels in Arabia*, i. 288 ff.) says that the employment of slaves or eunuchs in the mosque at Mecca is of very ancient date, Moawya Ibn Abi Sofyan, a short time after Mohammed, having ordered slaves for the Kaaba. 'The eunuchs perform the duty of police officers in the temple; they prevent disorders, and daily wash and sweep, with large brooms, the pavement round the Kaaba. . . . The number of eunuchs never exceeds forty, and they are supplied by pashas and other grandees, who send them, when young, as presents to the mosque: one hundred dollars are sent with each as an outfit. Mohammed Aly presented ten young eunuchs to the mosque.' See, further, art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES.

LITERATURE.—There is an excellent brief account of the Nethinim in Ryle's *Ezra and Neh.* p. lviii, and in the Notes to that Commentary. The art. GENEALOGY, in vol. ii. of this Dictionary, p. 160, gives the lists of Ezr, Neh, and 1 Es; but the spelling of the names in the leading MSS deserves careful attention. It should also be mentioned that Torrey, who does not stand alone, holds that all the OT passages which mention the Nethinim are from the Chronicler, whom he considers quite unreliable. See his *Composition, etc., of Ezra-Nehemiah*, p. 17. The reader may consult also Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Isr. u. der Juden zu den Fremden*, pp. 52, 133, 342.

J. TAYLOR.

NETOPHAH (נְטֹפָה; in Ezr B Νετωφά, A Νεφωτά; in Neh B omits, A Ἀνετωφά, א Νετωφά; in 1 Es B Νετέβας, A Νετωφαέ; Vulg. *Netupha*).—A town, the name of which first occurs in the list of the exiles who returned under Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{22} = Neh 7^{26} = 1 Es 5^{18}). Owing to its position in this list between Bethlehem and Anathoth, it has been argued that Netophah must have lain somewhere to the south of Jerusalem, between the capital and Bethlehem, and is to be identified with *Khurbet umm-Toba*. More probable is the view that the name Netophah is still preserved in the modern *Beit Nettîf* at the entrance to the *Wady es-Sunt* or Vale of Elah; the valley of Beth Netophah, which is mentioned in the Mishna (*Shebiith* ix. 5), will then correspond to that part of the *Wady en-Najil* which connects the *Wady es-Sunt* and the *Wady es-Surar* (Guérin, *Jud.* ii. 374 ff.; *PEF Mem.* iii. 24; Neubauer, *Géogr.* p. 128; Buhl, *GAP* p. 194).

Netophah was the birthplace of two of David's heroes, Maharai and Heldai (2 S 23$^{28.\,29}$), and also of Seraiah, one of the captains who supported Gedaliah (2 K 25^{23}, Jer 40^{8} [EPHAI]): according to 1 Ch 9^{16} it was a priestly city, inhabited by singers (Neh 12^{28}). Hence the Gentilic name **the Netophathite(s)** (הַנְּטֹפָתִי; 2 S B ὁ Ἐντωφατείτης, A ὁ Νεπωφαθείτης; 2 K B ὁ Νεφφαθιείτης, A ὁ Νεθωφαθείτης; 1 Ch B ὁ Νεθωφατεί . . . ὁ Νετωφατεί, A Νετωφαθί (*bis*), א ὁ Νοτωφαθεί . . . Νετωφαθεί; in Neh 12^{28} B omits, A Νετωφαθί). J. F. STENNING.

NETOPHAS (B Νετέβας, A Νετωφαέ).—1 Es 5^{18} = NETOPHAH of Ezr 2^{22} ‖ Neh 7^{26}.

NETTLE.—Two Heb. words are tr^{d} in AV and RV 'nettle.' (1) חָרוּל *ḥārûl* occurs twice (Job 30^{7}, Zeph 2^{9}), and in the plural form חֲרֻלִּים *ḥărûlîm* once (Pr 24^{31}). (2) קִמּוֹשׁ *ḳimmôsh* (Is 34^{13}), or קִימוֹשׁ *ḳîmôsh* (Hos 9^{6}). The pl. form קִמְּשֹׂנִים *ḳimmĕshônîm* (Pr 24^{31}) is tr^{d} in EV 'thorns.' The sense and context of the first two passages in which *ḳimmôsh* and *ḳîmôsh* occur are well met by the rendering 'nettle,' and this rendering is supported by many versions and scholars. If it be adopted, then *ḳimmĕshônîm* should be also rendered by 'nettles' instead of 'thorns.' In that case *ḥărûlîm* (Pr 24^{31}) cannot be tr^{d} 'nettles.' This has led commentators to seek for another plant which will fulfil all the conditions. The *ḥārûl* must grow in the wilderness, associated with the *mallûaḥ* (mallows AV, saltwort RV), *shîḥ* (bushes), and the *retem*, and must be large enough for the famine-stricken outcasts to gather beneath (Job 30$^{3-7}$). It must be something that would naturally be associated with *salt pits* as an emblem of desolation (Zeph 2^{9}). It must be something that covers the face of a waste field (Pr 24^{31}). Celsius (*Hierobot.* ii. 165) gives a list of candidates, which he rejects in favour of *Zizyphus Spina-Christi*. Royle thinks that *ḥārûl* is the same as the Arab. *khardal* = mustard. This would require the supposition that ו had been written by mistake for ד. The wild mustards would suit all the conditions, being plants which grow in neglected situations (wildernesses), which cover deserted fields, and which grow large enough to enable several persons to gather under them. Still there is no proof that this is the correct rendering. 'Wild vetches' (RVm in all the passages; cf. 'chick-pea' of *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*) would hardly suit the conditions. The present writer is inclined to look upon the word as generic, and equivalent to *thorn*, *scrub*, or *brush*, either one of which would fulfil all the conditions. Such scrubs are to be found everywhere in the desolate places, and include a considerable number of such plants as the three indigenous species of boxthorn, *Lycium Europæum*, L., *L. Arabicum*, Schweinf., and *L. Barbarum*, L. (all of which are known in Arab. as *'ausaj*), and *Nitraria tridentata*, Desf., the *gharḳad*. All of these are thorny shrubs, growing in waste places and in salty soil, and would furnish a sufficient shade to be welcome to a sun-stricken wretch such as Job describes. The thorny Zizyphus and Acacia scrubs would also suit the generic meaning.

Admitting the soundness of the above considerations, we should confine the rendering 'nettle' to the second of the above Heb. terms.

Of nettles we have *Urtica urens*, L., *U. dioica*, L., *U. pilulifera*, L., and *U. membranacea*, Poir, all of which are known in Arab. as *ḳurreiṣ* or *ḳureiṣ* or *ḳurâṣ*, which mean a stinging plant. These are universal in neglected fields and gardens. In the deserts we find *Forskahlea tenacissima*, L., the *lizzâḳ* of the Arabs, the name of which signifies a plant which *sticks* or *clings*. It belongs to the same Order as *Urtica*. The signification of the Arab names of all these species is similar to that of *ḳimmôsh*. G. E. POST.

NEW, NEWNESS (חָדָשׁ ; *καινός, νέος, καινότης*).—In the East many tendencies converge towards the veneration of use and wont. Of these the following are the most noteworthy :—(1) The uniformity with which a certain kind of weather prevails through a certain season of the year, Gn 8^{22}, 1 S 12^{16-18}; (2) the conservative influence of the patriarchal form of government; (3) the transmission of the same handicraft, such as masonry, weaving, etc., from father to son; (4) the fact that when lands are sold, the agricultural labourers continue to occupy the small houses of the village included in the property, and thus become practically serfs upon the estate; (5) the religious conviction that whatever exists, exists by the will of God.

By such influences Orientals come to regard Custom as a regulative power of high authority. One of their Arabic proverbs says, 'Everything follows Custom—even religion,' and another, 'The world is composed of earth, air, fire, water—and Custom.' Hence anything departing from the usual routine affects Orientals with profound surprise, and finds them unprepared to account for it or deal with it. The Indian Mutiny was quelled by quick initiative. In every unexpected situation Orientals have one exclamation, 'What shall I do?' In the presence of anything novel they give themselves up to the simple pleasure of surprise, without much attempt to find the explanation of what is strange in the action of familiar forces. Every phenomenon in nature is referred at once to the First Cause with the exclamation, 'Praise to the Creator'; and on seeing any ingenious mechanism or hearing of any incident of conspicuous veracity or unselfishness, it is enough to say as an expression of the general feeling, 'This is new, we have never seen anything like this!' The mental habit that passes over secondary causes leads Orientals to set a slight value on the patience and precision of thought and statement required for the discovery and application of such causes. The moral forces which adorn conduct and character are also regarded as given rather than cultivated.

The prevalence of routine, and the mystery connected with anything unusual, coupled with the excitable nature of the people, cause everything new to be attractive.

Throughout the Bible there are many instances of the astonishment, attractiveness, and authority connected with strange occurrences and new beginnings. With regard to natural and religious seasons, each day has its light and darkness, week is separated from week. The appearance of the new moon announcing the commencement of the month was also a day of religious festival, 1 S $20^{5.29}$. The Feasts of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles were connected with the new produce of the year. New Year's Day was reckoned for different purposes five times in the year. The year of Jubilee was a time of recovery and renewal for those who had been crushed by adversity. The Nazirite of days entered upon his vow with head newly shaven.

In matters of personal experience and religious symbolism, the same interest attaches to what is new. In the Bible Abraham and Jacob receive new names; so with Jerusalem Is $62^{2.4}$, the disciples Jn 15^{15}, the saints Rev 2^{17}. Among modern Orientals, the birth of a firstborn son gives a new name to the father; among the Jews, new clothes are always worn at the Feast of Passover; the soul is believed to ascend during sleep to the presence of the Recording Angel and to return anew to the body in the moment of consciousness; so also the seraphim before the throne are thought of as created every day to feel and proclaim the glory of the Divine Presence. As the new rite of Passover announced the creation of Israel as a chosen people, so the new testament in Christ's blood (Mt 26^{28}) created the nationality of world-wide sainthood.

The Christian is a new creature 2 Co 5^{17}, Col 3^{10}, endued with a new spirit Ro 8^{2}, in order to be maintained in perpetual newness of life Ro 6^{4}. See, further, art. REGENERATION.

G. M. MACKIE.

NEW BIRTH.—See REGENERATION.

NEW COMMANDMENT.—See BROTHERLY LOVE.

NEW JERUSALEM.—See REVELATION (BOOK OF).

NEW MAN.—See REGENERATION.

NEW MOON (חֹדֶשׁ, רֹאשׁ הַחֹדֶשׁ ; *νεομηνία, νουμηνία*).—The celebration of the New Moon belongs to the most ancient of Hebrew rites. It perhaps goes back to the time when the moon was still an object of worship (Smith, *Internat. Crit. Comm. on Samuel*, p. 185). Lagarde held that the generic Heb. term for 'joyous praise' (הלל) was derived from an old name of the New Moon (see Gesenius-Buhl, *s.v.* הלל, II.). The New Moon was a feast of nomads, but it was carried over to their new agricultural conditions by the Israelite settlers in Canaan (Cobb, *Origines Judaicæ*, p. 138). In the time of the earlier prophets, the New Moon stood in the same line with another lunar observance, the Sabbath (see FEASTS). No work or business was attended to on either day (Am 8^{5}). Hosea (2^{11}) speaks of the feasts, the New Moons, the Sabbaths, and festal assemblies as passing away with the national independence; and a similar connexion between the New Moon and the other solemn days is found in Is 1^{13}.

Just as the New Moon occupies a prominent place with the prophets, so does it with Ezekiel and in the Levitical legislation (P). Ezekiel, who curiously enough frequently dates his prophecies on the New Moon (26^{1} 29^{17} 31^{1} 32^{1}, cf. Hag 1^{1}), describes the gate of the inner court of the temple looking eastwards as kept shut for the six working days, but opened on the Sabbath and New Moon (Ezk 46^{1}). The prince, besides making special arrangements for the great New Moons of the first and seventh months (this is the probable meaning of Ezk 45^{18-20}), was also to provide offerings for ordinary New Moons (Ezk 46^{1-7}). The gate was open till the evening, and while the people stood without the prince was allowed to stand by the threshold. According to Ezekiel (46^{6}), the New Moon offerings consisted of a young bullock, six lambs, and a ram without blemish (the Sabbath burnt-offering was less, v.^{4}), as burnt-offerings; an ephah for the bullock and for each ram, a handful of flour for each lamb, and a hin of oil to an ephah as a meal-offering (vv.$^{7.8}$). In Nu 28^{11} the burnt-offering consisted of two young bullocks, one ram, and seven he-lambs of the first year without blemish; fine flour, oil and wine carefully proportioned (vv.$^{12-14}$), and a he-goat as a sin-offering (v.^{15}). The offerings here, as in Ezekiel, are more important than for the Sabbath (Nu 28$^{9.10}$). An additional detail is added in Nu 10^{10}, where the law ordains that 'in the days of your gladness, and in your set feasts, and in the beginnings of your months' the two silver trumpets were to be sounded during the sacrificial rites as a 'memorial before your God.' Some authorities have held that Ps 81^{3} [Heb.^{4}] 'Blow up the trumpet in the New Moon, at the full moon, on our solemn feast day,' refers to the ordinary New Moon. Thus Aquila and Symm. render *ἐν πάσῃ νεομηνίᾳ*; but the LXX, like the EV, omits 'every.' The Targum refers the passage solely to the New Moon of the seventh month (Lv 23^{24}); and this, the traditional Jewish view, has been adopted by modern commentators (see Baethgen and Duhm, *ad loc.*). The subject is further treated in the article TRUMPET.

Some difficulty has been found in explaining the omission of the New Moon in Deuteronomy and in the documents named JE. It has been seen that the New Moon was very ancient, and that it was of great importance after the Exile (see, *e.g.*, Is 66^{23} and other references cited above and below. In Chronicles the New Moon is assumed as an established institution). Dillmann suggests that the omission in the intermediate period is due simply to the fact that the observance was a popular feast that needed no specific legal sanction. It may, however, be (as Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p. 118, holds) that there was a temporary cessation of the observance of the New Moon, both because heathen elements intruded into the festivities (Isaiah speaks of the 'monthly prognosticators,' 47^{13}), and also because the greater importance attached to the Sabbath must have made the observance of the New Moon (which came, unlike the Sabbath, on irregular days) irksome. After the Exile the New Moon recovered its importance because the great feasts were fixed in accordance with it. (This view is adopted by Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* p. 465, and Nowack, *Lehrbuch der Heb. Arch.* ii. 140). See TIME.

As to the manner in which the New Moon was observed, there were other features besides the sacrifices. There was no 'solemn convocation' on the New Moon, but it is usually inferred from 2 K 4^{23} that visits were paid to the prophets on that day. The servants and asses were available for longer journeys than on the days of labour. Some (*e.g.* Duhm) explain Is 66^{23} as referring to general assemblages in Jerusalem for worship on the New Moon ('*jeden* Monat am Neumond'), and this passage of Isaiah was the text for a fine Rabbinical homily in the *Pesiḳta Rabbathi* for the New Moon. Ezra publicly read the law on the New Moon of the seventh month (Neh 8^{2}). The New Moon was apparently the time for changing David's officials, according to 1 Ch 27^{1}. It is not easy to gather the full significance of the incident related in 1 S 20$^{5\text{ff.}}$. David evidently refers to a family feast on the New Moon, but it is not clear that the king had a special feast on that day. It is very probable that this was so, but Wellhausen's remark as cited by Driver (*Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel*, p. 127) is evidently weighty. 'David, as appears from v.$^{25\text{ff.}}$, was, together with Abner and Jonathan, Saul's daily and regular companion at table: thus the sentence ואנכי ישב נ׳ cannot be so related to the preceding one, as though the new moon were the occasion of his being a guest at the king's table; on the contrary, the new moon is rather alleged as the excuse for his absence. Consequently, the rendering, "To-morrow is new moon, and I must sit with the king at meat," is excluded; and the only course remaining open is to read with LXX ישב לא אשב "To-morrow is new moon, and I will *not* sit with the king at meat; but thou shalt let me go,"' etc. No time of day is specified for the king's meal from which David absented himself; but, as Smith points out, from the fact that Jonathan waited till next morning after the second day to carry his news to David, the meal was probably late in the day.

Fasting was avoided on the New Moon (Jth 8^{6}). The observance of the New Moon fell into disuse in the Christian communities (Col 2^{16}). In the mediæval Jewish circles the New Moon, however, retained its importance. Women did not work, fasting was prohibited, and in the synagogue liturgy many special features were introduced. On the Sabbath before the New Moon the event was publicly announced, on the day itself a reading from the law (Nu 28$^{1-15}$) was introduced, special Psalms (forming part of the *Hallel*, Pss 113–118) were chanted, and other liturgical passages were added. These are retained in the modern synagogue, and are fully described in the *Shulchan Aruch, Orach Chayim*, par. 417 ff. See also Maimonides, *Hilchoth Kiddush Ha-Chodesh* (of which there are several Latin translations). The Blessing of the Moon is also retained. This is a collection of passages of varying antiquity, and is recited at night while the moon is visible, a Saturday night in the first week of new month being preferred for the celebration. (The best commentary on these rites is to be found in Landshut's edition of the Hebrew Prayer-Book, *Hegyon Leb*, p. 390 f.). Some of the ceremonies are clearly very ancient, especially the dances, which until quite recently were performed in Jewish communities in the public streets. Others of the rites are at least as old as the Talmud. The modern Arabs of the desert still 'greet the New Moon with devout ejaculations, and the women chant their perpetual refrain of a single verse, and dance for an hour or two' (Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i. pp. 366, 455, cited in Smith's *Samuel*, p. 185).

We are without information as to the method by which the New Moon was fixed and announced in biblical times. But the Mishna (*Rosh Hashana*) describes the method then prevalent. There was no fixed calendar till the 4th cent. (see TIME), and the New Moon was declared from actual observation. The eye-witnesses were carefully examined on the 30th day of each month (especially of the months Nisan, Ab, Elul, Tishri, Chislev, and Adar), and, if the testimony of the witnesses was accepted, that day was declared 'sanctified' by fiat of the Sanhedrin. If no witnesses were available, then the following day was New Moon, as the Jewish month never contained more than 30 days. The New Moon was announced in Judæa till the year 225, when the declaration was made in Tiberias. The news was conveyed by means of signals, torches being lit on the hills. The Samaritans rendered a change necessary, as they ignited similar bonfires at wrong periods. Messengers were despatched to more distant parts, where it was not unusual for two days to be observed as New Moon, a custom which still prevails at certain months of the Jewish year. After the 4th cent. the New Moon was no longer fixed by observation, but the Karaites restored the older custom. Schwartz (*Der jüdische Kalender*) holds that the New Moons of the first and seventh months (Nisan and Tishri) were fixed by astronomical calculation and not empirically, as early as the time of Ezra. Certainly, the Jews must have had sufficient knowledge of astronomy to make such a calculation possible (but see TIME).

LITERATURE.—Besides the works cited in the course of this article, see Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. Appendix iii.; Dillmann, *Exodus and Leviticus*, p. 577 f.; Pineles, *Darcha shel Torah*, p. 251 ff.; Epstein, *Alterthuemer*; Poznanski, *JQR* x. p. 152 ff. (This writer holds that the New Moon was also fixed empirically by some Rabbanites as late as the 10th cent.). A popular account of the Jewish Calendar and the details as to the New Moons will be found in J. Jacobs' (annual) *Jewish Year Book*.

I. ABRAHAMS.

NEW TESTAMENT.—The name 'testament' is derived from the Latin *testamentum*, which was erroneously adopted in the Old Latin Version as the equivalent for the Gr. word *διαθήκη* employed in the LXX to represent the Heb. בְּרִית 'covenant.' It is in this sense that *διαθήκη* is used in the NT to designate the old or the new Dispensation, and has come to be applied, in accordance with Heb. usage (Ex 24^{7}, 2 K 23^{2}, 1 Mac 1^{57}, Sir 24^{23}), to the literature in which the respective history and principles of the two Dispensations are authoritatively set forth. (Cf. Mt 26^{28}, Lk 22^{20}, 1 Co 11^{25}, 2 Co 3$^{6.14}$, and Gn 17^{4}, Ex 24^{8}, Jer 31^{31} *et supra*). In the OT Jerome usually took care to employ *fœdus* or *pactum* as the Latin equivalent for בְּרִית; but in his revision of the NT tr^{n} he unfortunately adhered to the old expression, the consequence being that the false meaning thus imported into the Latin passed into the EV, whose 'testament' is as misleading as *testamentum*, and has rightly been altered to 'covenant' in the RV, except in one doubtful passage, He 9$^{16.17}$ (see Westcott, *ad loc.*).

i. RELATION OF THE NT TO THE OT AND TO THE APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE OF THE JEWS.—The NT forms the second and concluding portion of the sacred writings which embody the Divine revelation communicated in the line of Jewish history. Before any part of the NT had been written, the Heb. canon had been virtually closed; and the idea of a new collection of sacred writings which should be held in no less veneration than the old was slow to take possession of the Christian Church. Hence the OT Scriptures, to which the apostles constantly appealed for evidence that Jesus was the Messiah, continued to be for many years the only authoritative writings in the Church. But the way had been so far prepared for the association of Christian Scriptures with the OT by the recent inclusion in the LXX of certain apocryphal works which had no place in the Heb. canon. The language of the LXX was also that in which the new religion was to express itself; and the character of the Gr. tongue, so rich and flexible and many-sided, even in its degenerate Hellenistic form, and so worldwide in its use, was itself a token of the freedom from Judaic bonds which Christian thought was to work out for itself, and gave promise of a literature which should be more or less in touch with the intellectual life of the whole civilized world. With the exception of Luke, who seems to have been a Greek (an inference from Col 4$^{11-14}$, which is borne out by the tone and style of his Gospel and the Bk. of Acts), the writers of the NT were of Jewish extraction, and they were all filled with the deepest reverence for the OT. They quote from it nearly 300 times, their quotations being drawn from almost all parts of it; while the instances in which its influence can be traced without any direct quotations from it are still more numerous. The whole NT from first to last reflects the characteristics of the OT in thought as well as in expression; and in the Epistles and Acts and Apocalypse as well as in the Gospels we find constant illustration of Christ's words, 'Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil.' The NT fulfils the OT, not by supplementing it but by spiritualizing it, transforming rules into principles, and resolving the outward, temporary, and national into that which is inward, permanent, and universal. In other words, it brings to light and sets free of limitations the essential principles lying at the root of the OT, on which the latter depends for its spiritual life and meaning,—according to the well-known words of Augustine, 'Novum Testamentum in Vetere latet; Vetus Testamentum in Novo patet.' Even in their bodily structure a close analogy has been traced between them, the first portion of each being mainly characterized by the personal manifestation of God, the next by the revelation of His will through the acts and words of His chosen servants, the third and last by prophetic visions of the future.

Yet, notwithstanding this intimate relationship between the two, there is at the same time a strong and essential contrast between them—a contrast as great in their character and contents as in the process of their growth. To some extent the difference in their character may be accounted for by the new conditions of existence to which the Jewish nation was subjected under the Roman Empire, of which we have many tokens in our Lord's parables as well as in other parts of the NT. In some degree, also, it may be traced to the new elements of thought contained in the later Jewish writings already referred to. While the points of contact between the NT and heathen literature are extremely few,[*] the LXX, on the other hand, was familiar to most of the NT writers, their OT quotations being generally derived from it and not from the Heb.; and the influence of several apocr. books contained in it, notably the Bk. of Wisdom, can be discerned in a number of the Epistles, although there is not a single express quotation from any of these books in the NT. In a few instances, also, chiefly in St. Paul's Epistles,[†] a Rabbinical style of argument has been detected; and in the Ep. to the Heb. and the writings of St. John expressions are to be found (such as Λόγος, Παράκλητος, Ἀρχιερεύς, applied to Christ) showing an affinity with the views of Philo, the chief representative of the fresh impulse which Jewish thought received from contact with Greek philosophy at Alexandria and elsewhere. But the most striking signs of transition to a new age are to be found, not in the OT Apocr., properly so-called, or in Rabbinical scholasticism or Hellenistic philosophy, but in the pseudonymous apocalyptic literature (partly recovered within the last century), which was framed on the model of the well-known Book of Daniel, and prepared the way for its Christian counterpart, the Apocalypse of John. Whether this literature was a spirited offshoot from the main stem of Pharisaic thought, or formed part of the esoteric doctrine of the Essenes, whose strange tenets and literature are described by Philo and Josephus, although their name is never even mentioned in the NT, is a question which has not yet been determined. But in Jude we find a direct quotation from one of the most important of these apocalyptic works (*Bk. of Enoch*); and elsewhere there are a few stray quotations and allusions to circumstances not mentioned in the OT for which the writers were probably indebted to a similar source.[‡]

More important than such Haggadic details are certain ideas and expressions in the extant remains of this apocalyptic literature, which appear to be reflected in the thought and language not only of the NT writers but also of our Lord Himself. There are Christian interpolations in these books, and their date of composition is often very uncertain, but, even in those parts of them to which a pre-Christian date may be safely assigned, there are more distinct foreshadowings than any of the OT books contain of a number of truths relating to the spiritual world which hold a more or less prominent place in the NT. Among such elements of Christian thought are the unique personality of the Messiah (of which we have a token in the frequent occurrence in the Bk. of Enoch of the expression, 'the Son of man,' with a Messianic reference that goes far beyond the meaning of the words, 'one like unto a son of man,' in Dn 7[13]), the doctrine of immortality, of the resurrection (cf. Dn 12[2]), of a future judgment with eternal rewards and punishments, of a hierarchy of angels with manifold operations, of the agency of demons, and of predestination, together with enlarged conceptions of Divine providence as embracing universal history, and of the Messianic promise as securing the interests of the individual as well as of the nation: all these developments being due, partly to the foreign elements of thought which the Jews imported from Babylonia and Persia, and partly to the growing hopelessness of their national position (as regarded mere mundane possibilities), which naturally disposed them to the study of eschatology. It was, doubtless, these anticipations of Christianity that gave some of these books so high a place in the estimation of the Church Fathers, who sometimes treated them as if they had been canonical; the Bk. of Enoch, for example, being cited as γραφή in the Ep. of Barnabas. In other respects, however, both ethical and theological, this literature comes far short of 'the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ'; and we have still to fall back on the mystery of the Incarnation, with its attendant doctrines of Christ's atoning sacrifice (of which there is scarcely any trace in contemporary Jewish thought, so absorbed was the nation in the formal keeping of the Law as the only means of salvation), of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men revealed in Christ, of the life and immortality secured by His resurrection from the dead, and of the Holy Spirit imparted by Him to His Church, in order to find an adequate explanation of the majesty of Christ's person and the sublimity of His teaching as depicted in the Gospels, and at the same time to account for the sure and certain hope, the humble and self-renouncing faith, the loving and grateful devotion, the pure, tender, and world-wide morality which are characteristic of the whole NT.

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[*] There are three quotations from Greek poets by St. Paul (Ac 17^{28}, 1 Co 15^{32}, Tit 1^{12}), and a barely possible allusion to Platonic doctrine by our Lord (Mt 19^{17} RV).

[†] Gal 3^{16} 4$^{22-25}$, 1 Co 9$^{8.10}$ 10$^{1.2}$.

[‡] Lk 4^{25}, cf. Ja 5^{17}; Lk 11^{49}; Jn 7^{38}; Ac 7^{22}, cf. Gal 3^{19}, He 2^{2}; Ac 7^{53}, 1 Co 2^{9} 10^{4}; Eph 5^{14}; 2 Ti 3^{8}; He 11^{37}; Jude ^{9}; 2 P 2^{11}. In the case of several of these passages the sources are mentioned by Church Fathers.

ii. HISTORY OF THE NT, INCLUDING ITS RELATION TO THE CHURCH FATHERS AND THE CHRISTIAN APOCRYPHA.—As already indicated, a New Testament in our sense of the term was something which the apostles never dreamt of. The charge which they had received from their Master was to preach the gospel, and the promise of the Spirit was expressly connected with the bearing of oral testimony. As they had received nothing in writing from their Master's hands, they were not likely to see any necessity for a written word, so long as they were able to fulfil their commission to preach the gospel, especially as they were looking for a speedy return of their Lord, and had no idea that so many centuries were to elapse before the great event should take place. Probably the earliest nucleus of the NT consisted of notes of the apostles' preaching, either drawn up by their hearers for their own use, or intended as an aid to catechists and teachers. Some such notes (probably in Aramaic, of which we have many traces in the Greek text) seem to have formed the basis of our Synoptic Gospels. Although not published in their present form till long after Christ's death, the Gospels narrate events, not in the light shed upon them by subsequent experience, but as they were regarded by the disciples at the time of their occurrence. They also preserve expressions in our Lord's discourses which scarcely ever appear in the phraseology of the early Church, while they are at the same time free from forms of speech which betray the post-apostolic date of apocr. Gospels; and in other respects harmonize with the state of things prior to the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. Before the Gospels assumed their present form, many of the Epistles were already current in the Church. These letters were naturally prized by the Churches to which they were addressed, as well as by other Churches which received copies of them, and they were readily admitted to public reading in the congregation, first of all on special occasions (1 Th 5[17]) and in course of time as a general practice, along with prescribed portions of the OT, after the manner of the Jewish synagogue. As the apostles one after another passed away, their testimony and that of those most closely associated with them was more and more treasured by the Church; and the writings in which that testimony was embodied were felt to be indispensable to the faith and life of the Church. In the Apostolic Fathers we can discern signs of the growing reverence for these writings, not only in their reproduction of the thought and language of a considerable number of the Epistles, representing the leading types of apostolic teaching found in the NT, but also in the terms in which St. Paul's writings are referred to by representative men so far distant from one another as Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, and Polycarp of Smyrna; while our Gospels are also accredited by the substantial harmony of their contents with the facts assumed by the sub-apostolic writers as the basis of their teaching, although the verbal coincidences are neither numerous nor exact, unless we except the *Didaché* in its quotations from the First and Third Gospels.

But the formal recognition of a new body of Scriptures worthy of being associated with the OT came much later. As the writings composing the NT came into existence only by degrees, in the course of about half a century, to meet the practical needs of the Church, so the collecting of these writings and their setting apart for public use was accomplished only gradually, as the leading representatives of the Church in different parts of the world came to realize the insufficiency and uncertainty of local tradition, and the need for securing the orthodox faith against invasion and corruption. It is not, indeed, till near the close of the 2nd cent. that we find a generally accepted collection of sacred books substantially identical with our NT and equally sacred with the OT. From the nature of its contents, as well as from the language of Patristic writers on the subject, it is evident that the general principle on which the Church proceeded in forming the NT was to admit to it only the writings of apostles, and of those who had written under the influence and direction of apostles. This naturally arose from the fact that the new life of the Church was centred in the person of Jesus Christ, and that the faith of its members depended on the testimony of those who had been brought into close personal contact with Him, or had received a special commission to preach the gospel. But the principle was not always easy of application, and it sometimes led to different conclusions in different parts of the Church, according to the views held as to the authorship of disputed books; while the association of canonical and uncanonical books in the LXX, to which the Fathers were accustomed, tended to make them less rigorous in their judgments than they might have otherwise been. Outside of our NT there were three books which were held in special reverence, being sometimes read in church and occasionally included in great Scripture MSS, viz. the *Epistle of Clement*, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, and the *Shepherd of Hermas*; the authors of these books being supposed by many to be identical with the persons of the same names mentioned in the NT in connexion with the Apostle Paul (Ph 4^{3}, Ac 12^{25}, Ro 16^{14}). On the other hand, as regards the disputed books contained in our NT (chiefly minor Epistles, with the Ep. to the Heb. and the Book of Rev), it was because their apostolic authorship was more or less distrusted in certain quarters of the Church, owing to the obscurity of their early history or to some dissatisfaction with their contents, that the right of these books to a place in the Canon was more or less called in question, until at length the public opinion of the Church found expression at the 3rd Council of Carthage in A.D. 397, when the very same books as are contained in our NT were acknowledged to be canonical, and declared to be the only books that should be read in church.

This decree (which seems to have reflected the general mind of the Church, and which has been practically acquiesced in ever since,* notwithstanding occasional controversies regarding individual books, and amid conflicting theories as to the authority of Scripture) had the effect of excluding from the Canon not only the three writings already referred to, and one or two other productions of the post-apostolic age which were highly esteemed in the Church although they made no claim to apostolic authority, but also another and less worthy class of writings, dating from the 2nd to the end of the 4th cent., which played an important part in the life of the Church, and throw a valuable light on the history of the NT. These are what are known as Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses, apparently numerous, but of which only a small part have come down to us, a few in their entirety, some in a fragmentary form, and others only in name. They varied greatly in their form and contents, but, apart from the early compositions referred to in St. Luke's Gospel ($1^{1.2}$), which soon disappeared (unless our Second Gospel was one of them) in the survival of the fittest, they were either supplementary to the Canonical Scriptures, furnishing information or doctrine on subjects but little dealt with in the NT, or, more frequently, they were composed for the purpose of bolstering up heretical opinions or practices which were seen to have little or no canonical support. Many of the 'Gospels' were mainly derived from those in the NT (the recently recovered 'Gospel of Peter' borrows from all the four), with more or less modification of the original in the interest of some Gnostic or other heresy. The modification was liable to alteration from time to time (as may be seen from the wide variations in the different MSS of the same work) to meet the exigencies of successive teachers, who issued their several recensions under great names—generally those of apostles—after the manner of the pseudonymous Jewish writers already referred to. Very often the same work was known under a variety of names. For example, the 'Gospel of the Hebrews,' which may have been a Judaic recension of the Heb. original of our St. Matthew, has been identified with the 'Gospel of the Nazarenes' and the still more heretical 'Gospel of the Ebionites,' as well as with the Gospels of Bartholomew, Cerinthus, and the Twelve Apostles. In this 'Gosp. of the Hebrews' and some other primitive documents, such as the 'Gosp. of Peter' (*c.* A.D. 125, or, acc. to some, 165) and the 'Gosp. of the Egyptians' (also dating from the 2nd cent.), it may well be that a certain amount of oral tradition was incorporated, which had been preserved by the Jews who resided near the scene of the evangelic history. It in no degree weakens the authority of the NT to find a few grains of such extra-canonical matter appearing in the works of an early Patristic writer, such as Justin Martyr, or even to find an apocr. Gospel quoted by a writer of an eclective turn, like Clement of Alexandria. So far from impairing the credit of the NT writings, these apocr. productions of a later age bear witness to the authority which the written word had already acquired in the Church, and show the necessity under which heretical teachers lay either to manipulate the text of the received books or to adduce other and equally high testimony in favour of their peculiar views. In general, the literature in question is manifestly counterfeit. Much of it is of a character degrading to Christianity, the extravagance and absurdity of its miracles, especially in its pictures of the Saviour's childhood, presenting a sad contrast to the chaste dignity of the canonical records; and there is none of it which, either in respect of outward attestation or intrinsic excellence, can be held to have been unjustly dealt with in being denied admission to the NT. The writings of the Church Fathers show how little influence it exerted in the early Church compared with the NT writings, which formed the general standard of faith and practice, and sometimes even contributed the only element that redeemed Patristic literature from inanity and unprofitableness. The lapse of time, while it exalted the NT Scriptures to honour, brought the apocr. literature into general disrepute.* Within a century or two after it had reached the height of its popularity (4th cent.), it lost its place in public esteem and gradually passed out of the notice of the Church, leaving its traces indeed on the productions of Christian art, and influencing by its legends the festivals and preaching of the Church, but deemed of no account by thinkers and theologians, until the rise of modern criticism invested it with a new and scientific interest, when a fresh sense of its immeasurable inferiority to the Canonical Scriptures has impressed itself upon the mind of the Church.

The following are notable features in the history of the NT, from a literary point of view as well as in the interests of criticism. (1) The age and number of its MSS. Some of these date from the 4th or 5th cent.,† and the whole number of them exceeds 2000, forming an immense array of witnesses, compared with the few MSS of classical works, which can frequently be counted on the fingers, and in some cases do not reach back to within a thousand years of the age in which the work was produced. (2) The number of its VSS. It has been translated into almost all languages, beginning with the Old Lat. and Syr. VSS, which may have originated in the first half of the 2nd cent., followed a little later by the Egyptian (in three different forms)—the Gothic in the 4th cent., the Ethiopic in the 4th or 5th cent., and the Armenian in the middle of the 5th century. (3) The extent to which it has been reproduced in subsequent writings. It is quoted, echoed, or commented on by the great majority of early Christian writers. The sympathy of the Apostolic Fathers with its contents has been already mentioned. The extant writings of the next half century are mainly defences of Christianity addressed to unbelievers, admitting of fewer quotations from the Scriptures than if they had been intended for members of the Church. But, speaking generally, it may be said that the language, and still more the substance, of the NT is woven into the earliest Christian writings that have come down to us, while the quotations by a single writer in the end of the 2nd and in the 3rd, 4th, and 5th cent. are sometimes so extensive as to amount to a considerable part of the whole NT—more than half of it, for example, being imbedded in the works of Origen.

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* The Vulgate had a good deal to do with this result in the West, just as earlier translations affected the form and extent of the Canon in their several spheres of influence.

* We have an early example of this in what Eusebius tells us (*HE* vi. 12) of the obscurity into which the once popular 'Gospel of Peter' (used apparently by Justin as one of his 'Memoirs') had fallen in the time of Serapion, bishop of Antioch (*c.* A.D. 200).

† The Oxyrhynchus fragment containing Mt $1^{1-9.\ 12.\ 14-20}$ may date from the end of the 3rd cent. (see Grenfell and Hunt).

These circumstances, while they give the NT a unique place in literature and afford valuable means for proving the antiquity and integrity of its contents, are attended with the disadvantage of causing uncertainty in innumerable passages as to the precise terms of the original. A careful examination of the existing authorities has led to the discovery of about 200,000 'Various Readings,' which are chiefly to be accounted for by the greater liability to error in copying with the hand than in the use of the printing-press. The difference between the various readings, however, is seldom of such a nature as to affect in the slightest degree the substance of the NT. If all the expressions whose accuracy is in question were brought together and printed in a consecutive form, they would not exceed the length of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, while the disputed verses possessed of any doctrinal significance would not be equal collectively to the shortest Epistle of St. John.

In this connexion it may be well to point out that there is nothing to justify the assumption that we possess all the apostolic writings that were ever in the possession of the primitive Church. So far from this, there are expressions in some of St. Paul's Epistles which suggest that he wrote other letters besides those which have come down to us (1 Co 5^{9}, 2 Th 3^{17}, cf. 2 Co 11^{28}). We can understand how an apostle's letters might be less prized during his lifetime than after his death, when the loss of any of his writings would be seen to be irreparable; and it is no more astonishing that Providence should have suffered such writings to perish, than that so many of our Lord's spoken words, and those of His apostles, should have been allowed to pass away, or that so many of His great deeds should have been allowed to go unrecorded (Jn 21^{25}).

iii. CONTENTS OF THE NT (*Its individual Books and their Writers*).– The NT consists of 27 different books, by 9 different authors, each book having its special characteristics corresponding to the personality of its writer, and the circumstances in which it was written, but all contributing their part to one divine whole centred in the person of the Lord Jesus Christ. As early as the 2nd cent. there was a recognized distinction between 'the Gospel' and 'the Apostle,' just as we find a threefold division of the OT in Lk 24^{44} and elsewhere. The former denoted the four Gospels; the latter, the Epistles of St. Paul, to which were added by degrees the Book of Acts, the Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse, under the general name of 'the Apostles.' All these were seldom comprised in one MS, and their arrangement varies in MSS containing more than one section and in canonical lists given by Church Fathers, as is also the case with the arrangement of the several books in each section, showing that the consolidation of the NT was a process still going on.

1. *The Gospels.*—In all cases the Gospels come first. This position has been fitly assigned to them, not only because they were perhaps the first NT Scriptures to be regularly associated with the OT in the public reading of the Church, but also because the history which they record forms the cornerstone of the Christian religion, which bases its doctrines not on speculation but on fact. Drawn up without concert and without the formal sanction of the Church, they contain, in a form suitable for all ages and for all classes, several independent records of Christ's life and teaching, of which it may be said with truth that they are better authenticated and more nearly contemporaneous with the events narrated than any other record we possess in connexion with any other period of ancient history. A comparison of the four Gospels, however, reveals a marked difference between the fourth and the first three. The latter give in one common view the same general outline of the ministry of Christ, but this outline is almost entirely confined to His ministry in Galilee, and includes only one visit to Jerusalem; whereas the Fourth Gospel gives an account of no fewer than five visits to Jerusalem, and lays the scene of the ministry chiefly in Judæa. A still more important distinction between them has been briefly expressed by designating the Synoptic Gospels as the bodily Gospels, and the Fourth as the spiritual Gospel—by which it is meant that the former relate chiefly the outward events connected with the Saviour's visible presence, reported for the most part without note or comment, while the latter is designed to represent the ideal and heavenly side of His personality and work. Akin to this distinction is the fact that the first three report Christ's addresses to the multitude, consisting largely of parables, while the Fourth contains discourses of a more sublime character, frequently expressed in the language of allegory and addressed to the inner circle of His followers. Furthermore, when we enter into a close examination of the Synoptic Gospels and compare them with one another, we find an amount of similarity in detail, extending even to minute expressions and the connexion of individual incidents, combined with a diversity of diction, arrangement, and contents, which it has hitherto baffled the ingenuity of critics fully to explain. While further investigation may shed more light on the historical and literary relations of the Gospels, there is a deep underlying unity amid their diversity which may be best discerned, not by attempting to piece them together so as to form a complete chronological history, but by studying each from its own point of view, and learning from it what it has to teach concerning the many-sided character and life of Jesus Christ. Speaking generally, we may say that, while the First Gospel sets forth Christ's life and teaching with reference to the *past*, as the fulfilment of the OT, the Gospel of St. Mark exhibits that life in the *present*, as a manifestation of the activity and power so congenial to the Roman mind; St. Luke, as a Greek, depicts it in its catholic and comprehensive character, as destined in the *future* to embrace within its saving influence all the kindreds of the Gentiles; while the Fourth Gospel represents it in its absolute perfection, as it is related to the Father in *eternity*.

With regard to the authorship of the Gospels, it is a remarkable fact that two of them do not bear the names of apostles but of companions of apostles (Mark and Luke), and that, of the other two, only one bears the name of an apostle of eminence (John) — which is so far a confirmation of their genuineness. With regard to the First Gospel, there is no reason to doubt the tradition of the ancient Church, beginning with Papias in the first half of the 2nd cent., which assigns it in its original form to St. Matthew. But whether it was originally written in Heb., as stated by Papias, and how far it has been altered by recension, are questions which have not yet been determined. See MATTHEW (GOSPEL OF). With equal unanimity the testimony of the Fathers, beginning with Papias, ascribe the Second Gospel to St. Mark, who is said to have embodied in it the preaching of St. Peter. This view is strongly confirmed by the tone and character of the book, which is generally regarded as containing, in a more or less modified form, the earliest cycle of apostolic teaching. See art. MARK. With regard to the authorship of the Third Gospel, there is substantial unanimity. Tradition has always ascribed it to St. Luke, the friend and companion of the Apostle Paul, at the same time assigning to the latter a part in its production somewhat similar to that which St. Peter is believed to have borne in relation to the Gospel of Mark—a view supported to a certain extent by the character of the Gospel itself, which forms an excellent historic groundwork for the doctrine of salvation by grace that was characteristic of St. Paul's preaching. See art. LUKE. Until the close of the 18th cent. the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel was never seriously challenged. In some respects it has stronger external testimony in its favour than any of the others; and the whole tone of the book gives the impression that it was written by one who was familiar with the inner life of Christ and His apostles, as well as with the topography of Jerusalem and the ideas and customs prevalent among the Jews before the destruction of their capital. Moreover, the spiritual elevation of the book is vastly superior to anything we find in the sub-apostolic age, and the Johannine authorship is attended with fewer difficulties than any other that has been suggested. If it was written in Ephesus about A.D. 85 (which is in accordance with the earliest tradition), an interval of more than half a century had elapsed since the death of Christ, during which Christianity had spread into many lands and furnished subjects for reflexion to many minds. In these circumstances it was inevitable that the truths of the Gospel should be viewed in new lights and assume more speculative forms; and in Ephesus, as the great meeting-place of Oriental mysticism and Greek philosophy, the deeper questions and more theological aspects of the new religion would naturally claim a large measure of attention. See, further, art. JOHN (GOSPEL OF).

2. *The Book of Acts.*—This invaluable document, which is our chief authority on the history of the Church for nearly a generation after Christ's death, is evidently from the same pen as the Gospel of Luke, to which it is intended to be a sequel. The writer conceives of Christ as still carrying on His work in virtue of His resurrection and ascension, and seeks to trace the gradual expansion of the Church from its first beginning, as a seeming phase of Judaism, to its full development as a Catholic communion, free alike to Jew and Gentile. Although the author does not speak in his own name till he reaches the point in his narrative at which he joined St. Paul's company at Troas, and was evidently dependent in the earlier part of his work on a variety of sources, oral and written, yet the book has a natural unity of diction and style, which forbids us to assign it to more than one author; and its several parts are so interlaced by corresponding observations and allusions as to lead to the same conclusion. Recent investigations have enhanced the reputation which the work had previously enjoyed for historical worth and accuracy; and the belief is becoming general that it must have been written by a historian of the first rank. Regarding its date of composition, no conclusion has been reached beyond what may be inferred from the fact that it was written by a contemporary and companion of the Apostle Paul, at some time subsequent to his first imprisonment at Rome (A.D. 63). See art. ACTS.

3. *The Pauline Epistles and the Ep. to the Hebrews.*—One of the characteristics of the NT, as compared with all other sacred books, is the epistolary character of a large part of its contents.* Although most of the Epistles were written at an earlier period than the Gospels in their present form, they represent in general a more advanced stage of Christian theology. They give us the fruits of from twenty to fifty years' reflexion on the cardinal facts and truths contained in the Synoptic Gospels, and are the chief source of Christian doctrine on such subjects as the Trinity, the relation of Christ to the human race and to the Church, the Atonement, Justification by faith, and Sanctification by the Holy Spirit. They contain more explicit claims, in varying modes and forms, to divine inspiration and authority, than the Gospels or the Bk. of Acts; but, while largely doctrinal in character, most of them were written for the purpose of dealing with questions of a practical nature, and are enlivened with many personal allusions.

What has just been said is especially true of the Epistles of St. Paul. While bearing evidence in many passages of being written more or less under the conscious influence of the Holy Spirit, they had their rise in the special needs and circumstances of the various Churches to which they were addressed. They are thirteen in number, and may be divided into four groups, extending over the last fifteen years or more of the apostle's life, and exhibiting, amid many similarities and correlations, a well-marked development of thought: viz. (*a*) 1 and 2 Th, which were written about A.D. 53 [Turner, 50–52], at least sixteen years after the apostle's conversion, and turn largely on questions relating to Christ's Second Coming. (*b*) 1 and 2 Co, Gal, and Ro, which were written during his third missionary journey (A.D. 57–58 [Turner, 55–56 for 1 and 2 Co and Ro, date of Gal he leaves undecided]), and were mainly designed to vindicate his apostolic authority and preserve the gospel from the inroads of Judaism. (*c*) The Epistles of the Imprisonment, viz., Ph, Col, Philem, and Eph (the last named being in all probability a circular-letter, identical with 'the epistle from Laodicea' referred to in Col 4[16]), which were written from Rome about A.D. 62–63 [Turner, 59–61], and range from the humblest personal details to the loftiest speculations regarding the being and destiny of the Church. (*d*) The Pastoral Epistles to Timothy and Titus, which are distinguished from all the others by their want of historical agreement with any period in St. Paul's life as recorded in the Bk. of Acts, and also by their strongly-marked individuality alike in style and substance. These circumstances have given rise to serious doubt of their genuineness, which is largely obviated, however, by supposing them to have been written after the imprisonment recorded in the closing chapter of the Acts, and in the last year of the apostle's life—say A.D. 67–68. It is worthy of note that the Epistles in the second group are almost universally admitted to be genuine, which is a most important admission from an evidential point of view, as they contain many allusions to detailed matters of fact mentioned in the Gospels, and prove that the story of Christ's death and resurrection as told in the four Gospels was the chief theme of St. Paul's preaching. The evidence is all the more valuable because it is indirect, the letters having manifestly been written without any such object in view, and being addressed to several independent communities far removed from one another. Having regard to the tone of sincerity, tempered with sobriety of judgment, which characterizes these Epistles, as well as to the early association of the writer with the Jewish authorities at Jerusalem, and the opportunities he had for ascertaining the real facts of the evangelic history, we are led inevitably to the conclusion that St. Paul's Gospel had the same historic groundwork of essential and well-attested facts regarding Christ's life and teaching as we find recorded in the four Gospels. See separate arts. on these various Epistles.

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* It contains twenty-one letters by six different authors. Nine of these are addressed to individual Churches, viz. 1 and 2 Th, 1 and 2 Co, Gal, Ro, Ph, Col, 2 Jn; five to individual persons, viz. Philem, 1 and 2 Ti, Tit, 3 Jn; two to Heb. Christians, viz. He and Ja; the remaining five being of a more or less general nature, viz. Eph, 1 and 2 P, 1 Jn, and Jude.

As regards *the Ep. to the Hebrews*, which has always been closely associated with the Pauline Epistles, there is evidence that from the latter half of the 2nd cent. it was assigned by the Eastern Church to the Apostle Paul, although some of the most competent judges were constrained by internal evidence to depart somewhat from the traditional view, their idea being that St. Paul might have written the original, and one of his disciples have translated it into Greek, or that the apostle might have supplied the thoughts, and one of his disciples have put them into words. In the Western Church, on the other hand, opinion was for a long time adverse to the Pauline authorship; and it was not till the close of the 4th cent. that the Ep. was acknowledged to be a writing of St. Paul's. This view has now been generally abandoned, as the result of a closer study of the style and structure of the book; and for the same reason, the idea that it may be a translation of a work by the apostle is also admitted to be untenable. At the same time there seems no reason to doubt that it was written by one of St. Paul's school. Luke, Clement, Apollos, Barnabas, have all been suggested, the latter two being those in whose favour most can be said. As to the destination of the Ep., various allusions show that it was not intended for Heb. Christians in general, but for some definite community. Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, Rome, have each had their advocates; but the position of Christians in Jerusalem or in some other part of Palestine seems to answer best to the situation which the writer has in view. Respecting the date of composition, the mention of Timothy's liberation (He 13^{23}), which took place presumably at Rome, whither he had been summoned by St. Paul in his last imprisonment, points to a time shortly anterior to the destruction of Jerusalem—an inference which is confirmed by other expressions in the Ep., referring to the decadence of the Jewish Dispensation. The great theme of the Ep. is the superiority of Christianity to Judaism, which it attempts to prove, not so much by minimizing the old covenant (as St. Paul had been obliged to do in vindicating the freedom of his Gentile converts) as by magnifying the new as a fulfilment of the old. See, further, HEBREWS (EPISTLE TO).

4. *The Catholic Epistles.*—There are 7 Epistles which from the 4th cent. have gone under this name, viz. Ja, 1 and 2 P, 1 2 3 Jn, and Jude. They were so called in contradistinction to St. Paul's Epistles, which, with the exception of the Pastoral Epp. and Philem, are addressed to individual Churches, also 7 in number.* In most of the Greek MSS the Cath. Epp. stand next to Acts, although they were much later than the Pauline Epp. in obtaining general recognition in the Church.

(*a*) *The General Ep. of James.*—This is now generally admitted to be a genuine work of 'James, the Lord's brother' (Gal 1^{19}), who for many years presided over the Church at Jerusalem. The internal evidence is strongly in its favour, and the rarity of allusions to it in the early Christian writers may be accounted for by its circulation being confined to Jewish Christians, as well as by the narrow sphere of labour in which the writer himself moved, his whole life apparently having been spent in Jerusalem. It is addressed 'To the twelve tribes which are of the Dispersion,' and there is no reason to take the words in any other than a literal sense. The tone of the Ep. is eminently practical, the object of the writer being to inculcate Christian morality as essential to salvation. Hence it partakes largely of the ethical character of the Sermon on the Mount, which it resembles not only in its general tone and sentiment, but in many of its expressions. The marked absence of anything like developed Christian doctrine, as well as the expectation which it exhibits of Christ's speedy coming to judge the world (5^{8}), and the application of the term 'synagogue' (2^{2}) to an assembly of Christian worshippers, seem to require an early date for the Ep.; and as there is no sign of acquaintance with the sharp controversy regarding the obligations of the Jewish law, which came to a head in the Council of Jerusalem (A.D. 50), there seems good reason to regard this as the oldest book in the NT, dating between A.D. 44 and 49. See, further, JAMES (EPISTLE OF).

(*b*) *The 1st Ep. of Peter.*—There is no reason to doubt that this Ep. was written by the apostle whose name it bears. Hardly any book of the NT is better supported by external evidence, while internally it bears in many of its features the stamp of St. Peter's mind and the traces of his experience, as these are represented to us in the Gospels and the Bk. of Acts. It is addressed 'To the elect who are sojourners of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia'; but there is a difference of opinion whether these words are to be taken in a literal sense, as denoting Jewish Christians merely, or as embracing 'the Israel of God' in the widest sense. As it appears, however, from a number of passages that the readers of the Ep. were largely Gentiles, the latter supposition seems to accord best with the facts. Similarly, 'Babylon' (5^{13}) should probably be understood in a figurative sense as meaning Rome, the writer's point of view being in full harmony with this supposition. There is also some controversy as to the *date* of the Epistle. Some would assign it to the period of the Flavian dynasty, but the probability seems to be that it was written shortly after the outbreak of the Neronian persecution, when the Christians in the provinces were beginning to experience the effects of the imperial example at Rome, about 64–65. The very name of Christian was becoming a term of reproach (4^{16}), and the chief object of the writer is to inculcate patience under trial and perseverance in well-doing in a spirit of hope.

(*c*) *The 2nd Ep. of Peter.*—The genuineness of this Ep. has been more questioned than that of any other book in the NT. The external evidence for it is comparatively meagre; but the chief objection to it both in ancient and in modern times has arisen from its differing so greatly in tone and substance from the 1st Epistle. This objection is so far obviated by the fact that while the 1st was designed to encourage and support Christians under persecution, this was evidently intended to warn against false teachers, who were spreading corruption in the Church. Moreover, amid the general difference of style, a close examination of the language and thought in this Epistle brings out many points of resemblance between it and St. Peter's expressions elsewhere; and in several respects it does not tally with the supposition of forgery. The mention of St. Paul's Epp., however ($3^{15.16}$), as if they were already known to the Asiatic Churches, and in the same category as 'the other Scriptures' (τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς), as well as the marked resemblance of this Ep., in style, to the recently discovered 'Apocalypse of Peter,' seem to imply a post-apostolic date; and there is much to favour the view of Prof. W. M. Ramsay, who regards the Ep. as the work of 'a disciple who was full of the spirit and words of his teacher, and who believed so thoroughly that he was giving the words of his teacher that he attributed it to that teacher.' See, further, PETER (EPISTLES OF).

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* The symbolism of numbers has an interesting bearing on the proportions of the NT, not only in the use of 7 in the cases above mentioned (cf. Rev 1^{4}) and in the case of the Pauline Epp., which (including He)=7×2, but also in the number of the Gospels, to which Irenæus and others, under the influence of a revived Neo-Pythagoreanism, ascribed a mystic virtue.

(*d*) *The Ep. of Jude.*—This Epistle is in the name of 'Judas, a servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James.' The James whom the writer here claims as his brother was the well-known head of the Church at Jerusalem, one of our Lord's brethren, and the writer of the Ep. that bears his name; and therefore Jude is not to be identified with any of the apostles of the same name mentioned in the Gospels. There is such a striking resemblance between this Ep. (consisting of a single chapter) and the 2nd chapter of 2 P as to justify the belief that the one was borrowed from the other. But as this Ep. has some features of originality about it which the other lacks, we may infer that Peter and not Jude was the borrower—a supposition confirmed by the way in which certain quotations in Jude from non-canonical Jewish Scriptures almost disappear from 2 P, along with one or two references to Levitical uncleanness, as if the writer desired as far as possible to adapt his writing for general use. This Ep. is full of sharp and stern denunciation aimed at practical evils of a most heinous character, founded on a gross abuse of Christian liberty. It probably emanated from Palestine in the period immediately preceding the destruction of Jerusalem. See, further, art. JUDE (EPISTLE OF).

(*e*) *The 1st Ep. of John.*—There is abundance of evidence, both external and internal, to prove that this Ep. was written by the author of the Fourth Gospel, and forms a sequel to it. The readers are not specified, but in all probability it was addressed in the first instance to the Churches of Asia, among whom St. John spent the latter part of his life. The writer speaks in a quiet tone of authority, as if he were well known to his readers and were well acquainted with their dangers and their needs. He insists on the translation into the Christian life of those great truths regarding the fellowship of God with man, which, in the Fourth Gospel, are exhibited in the life and ministry of Jesus Christ.

(*f*) *The 2nd Ep. of John.*—This Ep. has all the appearance of being genuine. It bears a strong resemblance to the 1st, no fewer than 7 of its 13 verses having something parallel in the other. It is addressed 'Unto the elect lady and her children,' by whom we are probably to understand a Church and its members; and the object of the Ep. is to warn them against the insidious and corrupting influence of certain heretical teachers who were going about denying the reality of Christ's humanity. The title of 'the elder,' which the writer assumes, implies that he was a well-known personage in the Church, and is one that could be fitly claimed by St. John as the last of the apostles.

(*g*) *The 3rd Ep. of John.*—This Ep., like the 2nd, is written in the name of 'the elder,' and it has so many expressions in common with the other that they have been fitly termed 'twins.' It gives us a momentary glimpse of Church life in Asia towards the close of the 1st cent., and illustrates the practical difficulties which had to be encountered in the government of the Church. It is addressed 'Unto Gaius the beloved,' a faithful and liberal member of the Church, whose influence and example the writer invokes, in opposition to the intolerant and factious conduct of an ambitious ecclesiastic named Diotrephes, who had gone so far as to close his doors on 'the brethren' who had come in the name of 'the elder,' apparently bearing a letter from him—perhaps our 2nd Epistle. See, further, JOHN (EPISTLES OF).

5. *The Revelation of St. John.*—The Apocalypse has experienced greater vicissitudes as regards its acceptance in the Church than any other book of the NT, owing partly to the Chiliastic views associated with it, and partly to the marked difference in its language and style as compared with the other works ascribed to St. John. It bears to be written by 'John to the seven Churches which are in Asia'; and it is a significant fact that its apostolic authorship was accepted by Justin Martyr (not to mention some earlier apparent witnesses) in the dialogue which he held with Trypho at Ephesus within half a century after St. John's death. Its wide divergence from the Fourth Gospel, both in ideas and in language, may be accounted for in some measure by the difference in the nature and contents of the two books, the one being mainly narrative or colloquial, the other formed on the model of Jewish apocalypse; and there are not wanting some important features of resemblance between them, betokening an identity of authorship. With regard to the date of this book, there is a growing conviction that the theory which connects it with the persecution in the reign of Nero, and puts its composition before the destruction of Jerusalem, must be abandoned, and that the 'tribulation' referred to (1^9) was that which befell Christians in the provinces, especially in Asia Minor, at a later date, when they refused to pay divine honour to the emperor. The main theme of the book is the second coming of Christ, pictorially set forth as the glorious consummation of great struggles and marvellous events. Its unity has recently been assailed, but the attempts to disintegrate it have not met with general acceptance. See, further, art. REVELATION (BOOK OF).

On the whole subject of this article, reference may be made, further, to such articles as BIBLE, CANON, CATHOLIC EPISTLES, GOSPELS, NEW TESTAMENT CANON, PAUL, etc., as well as to the separate articles on the various books of the NT, and the Literature appended to these.

J. A. M'CLYMONT.

NEW TESTAMENT CANON.—

Introduction—general character of the history of the formation of the Canon—considerations to be borne in mind in estimating the facts—the chief periods.

A. From end of apostolic age to *c.* A.D. 220.—Circumstances specially affecting the evidence for the Gospels.

i. The sub-apostolic age.—Its documents—Ep. of Clem. Rom. to the Corinthians—Epp. of Ignatius and Polycarp—evidence as to the use of (1) the Gospels, (2) other NT writings.

ii. The second quarter of the 2nd century.

(1) The use of the Gospels—Ep. of Barnabas—the Didaché—Shepherd of Hermas—Fragments of Papias—the so-called 2nd Ep. of Clement—Justin Martyr—Gnostic heretics—Montanists.

(2) Use of other writings of NT.

iii. Third quarter of 2nd century—Tatian.

iv. Last quarter of 2nd century and beginning of 3rd.—The impugners of St. John's writings—Theophilus—the evidence afforded by works of Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus. (1) Writings whose place in the Canon was already, at and from this time, fully secured. (*a*) Remarks upon the area from which this evidence comes; (*b*) inferences that may be drawn as to the previous history of the reception of these writings in the Church. (2) Writings whose position continued to be for a time doubtful.

B. From *c.* A.D. 220-323.—The teaching and works of Origen and their influence—judgment of Dionysius of Alexandria on the Apocalypse—evidence of Eusebius as regards the Canon.

C. Concluding period.—Influences favourable to a final settlement—lists of Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, Epiphanius—the Cheltenham Catalogue, Third Council of Carthage—evidence for Rome and other neighbouring Churches—Council of Laodicea, Gregory Nazianzen, Amphilochius—the Canon of the teachers belonging to school of Antioch—the Peshiṭta—the Quinisext. Council—the effect of the Reformation.

INTRODUCTION.—The subject of this article is the formation of the NT, the gathering, into one, of the collection of books which we so name, to be the sacred books of the New Dispensation. These writings form the Canon of the NT (for the term *Canon*, its idea and history, see art. CANON). It is with the process which resulted in the recognition of a Canon that we are here concerned. The investigation and right conception of this history have proved, and are still, a very hard and complicated task. The evidence is to be gathered from early Christian literature; but the age and authenticity of many of its documents, especially for the two or three generations succeeding the apostles, which form the most important period of all, have been hotly contested; and, even apart from this, the evidence supplied by them is, from special causes (as we shall see), difficult to interpret. Nevertheless, some real progress has been made in the illumination of the subject. A common judgment has been attained, or there is an approximation to one, in regard to some of the most important of the documents concerned and as to the bearing of some portions of the evidence, on the part of many students whose doctrinal points of view are very diverse; and the important questions still at issue have been narrowed and cleared. It would hardly be possible now to maintain views of the formation of the Canon such as those of men so learned as Lardner (supplement to pt. ii. bk. i. of the *Credibility*, ch. iii. 2nd ed. p. 49) and Mosheim (*Eccl. Hist.* bk. i. pt. ii. ch. ii. § 16, i. p. 64 in Eng. tr. of 1863) in former times. It was a more gradual process than they imagined, and it had more than one stage. The student of the history of the Canon must endeavour to mark the stages and the epochs at which they were reached, to determine the greater or less rapidity of the movement towards the establishment of the Canon, to ascertain the causes which promoted or retarded it, and the considerations which were influential in bringing about the acceptance or rejection of different writings.

A certain development of thought and feeling in respect to the books of NT must be acknowledged. But to say this is by no means inconsistent with belief in their authenticity as genuine products of the apostolic age. It required time, and the experience of needs which were not fully felt at once, for the Christian Church to perceive clearly what a treasure she possessed in these writings. And the most important question which has to be decided in regard to the history of the Canon is, Whether the development which can be traced was one which involved a misrepresentation of facts, or only an awakening to the real significance of facts which had long been known.

In judging of the evidence, it will be right to remember the conditions implied in the very supposition of such a growth as has just been indicated. Convictions which are more or less latent, which have not been formulated, exercise far less authority than those which have been definitely put forth and for some time accepted without question. So long as the belief of Christians in regard to the new Scriptures was of the former kind the signs of its existence might be somewhat obscure, and there might be more or less serious departures from it here and there, in spite of its being in reality widely diffused and well founded.

The special circumstances must also be borne in mind, which were of a nature to retard for a time the formation of a Canon of NT, and also to make the recognition accorded to the apostolic writings appear to us less decided than it was in reality. (*a*) The fact that Christians already had a Bible—the OT—must first be noticed. In time, no doubt, this may have facilitated the reception of another body of Scriptures. For the idea of a Bible, a collection of inspired, authoritative writings, had been rendered familiar, and it was necessary only that it should be applied to the books which enshrined the New Revelation. But this could not be at once accomplished. Great as the veneration for the apostles was, there could not be the same feeling for new writings as for those which had long been hallowed. Moreover, in form the apostolic writings were different in many respects from those of the OT, and, in particular, they did not bear so plainly upon their very face a claim to inspiration as its prophetic and legislative books did. Besides all this, the OT itself largely supplied the place of Christian Scriptures in apostolic and sub-apostolic times. To an extent which we find hard to understand, it was used as a source of Christian instruction. The divine truths newly imparted and the actual facts of the life of Christ and founding of His kingdom were read between the lines of the ancient Scriptures (Lk $24^{27.44.45}$, Ac 8^{35}. 18^{28}, 2 Ti 3^{15}, and last fragment of Melito, *ap.* Eus. *HE* iv. 26). The need was thus partially met which the apostolic writings could alone adequately satisfy. (*b*) Again, the gospel message and the new law had first been delivered by word of mouth, and there is good reason to believe that even the memory of the oral teaching of the apostles was for a time, in some measure, a rival of their own written testimony in the regard and affections of Christians.

A just and vivid sense of these peculiar conditions, and some others which will come before us in the course of our survey, is necessary, if we are to understand the phenomena aright, and to refrain from giving undue weight to objections which are founded on paucity of evidence. Proof, however, of a positive kind that, from the confines of the lifetime of the apostles, the writings of NT were known among Christians, can be found only in a full estimate of the facts as a whole, supplied by the documents not only of the one or two earliest but of subsequent generations. When the alleged indications of the use of NT writings at the former time are taken by themselves, they may be far from convincing; they may show little more than that it is a tenable assumption, that our Christian Scriptures, or the chief of them, were already in circulation. But when we advance a few years, we find them clearly occupying a position which they could not have attained at a bound, and which no other writings shared with them. And we are justified in inferring that the earlier signs referred to are—not only possibly but—really traces of acquaintance with them. In this way we reach a highly probable conclusion, even when the facts directly connected with the reception of these writings are alone taken into account. It will be strongly confirmed if the belief (the grounds of which can barely be touched upon in this article) is well founded, that there was substantial continuity of life and organization in the Christian Church from the beginning till its history emerges into full light in the latter part of the 2nd cent., such as would afford a guarantee for the faithful preservation of traditions on important matters.

The history of the Canon of NT may be divided into the following periods:—*A*, the *first*, which is by far the most important, extends from the end of the apostolic age to the early years of the 3rd cent. (for convenience we may say to A.D. 220, which was about the time of the deaths of Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Hippolytus). At this latter epoch we see the greater part of the books of NT occupying the position in the Church which they have ever since held. *B*, the *second*, extends, roughly speaking, to the pacification of the empire under Constantine (A.D. 323). It was a time of comparison between the lists of NT Scriptures accepted in different Churches, and discussion of the claims of those not universally received; but there was much uncertainty still in regard to certain books. *C.* From A.D. 323 onwards, the final settlement, though it was attained at various times in different parts of the Church.

A. FROM THE END OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE TO THE EARLY YEARS OF THE THIRD CENTURY.—In reviewing this period, it will be convenient to subdivide. Further, under each subdivision the evidence as to the use of the Gospels and as to that of other writings of the NT should be separately examined. There is more than one reason for proceeding thus. It is probable that, even before a comprehensive collection of the sacred writings of the new dispensation was thought of, its formation was being advanced through the independent formation of groups of writings which afterwards became important constituent elements of the whole body, as well as by the recognition of the authority of individual writings which might or might not belong to these groups. Two of these minor collections, the making of which must readily have suggested itself, would seem to have been that of the Four Gospels and that of the Epistles of St. Paul. The rolls on which the writings of these two classes were written were commonly kept, we may imagine, each in its own roll-case.

The evidence as to the reception of the Gospels is affected by special circumstances. Owing to the nature of their subject-matter—the occurrence of the same sayings and incidents in different Gospels, the possibility that some of these may have been found also in other documents or orally reported—it may not be open to us to infer with certainty the use of any particular Gospel from parallelisms of statement and of language between them and early Christian writers. On the other hand, when a striking, unusual sentence or phrase found in one of the other writings of NT appears in a work of post-apostolic times, even though it may not be introduced as a quotation, there can generally be little doubt that there is a literary relationship between the two, and that it was not the NT writer who was the borrower.

But this is not all. The facts of the life and death and resurrection of Jesus Christ and His words made up the substance of the Gospel. Owing to the sublimity of the subject, men's eyes were turned at first solely to it, and away from the witnesses and the form of the records. The substance was felt to be everything. For some time little sense is shown of the importance of reproducing accurately the individual testimony of different writers. There was also a very natural disposition to combine various accounts with a view to greater fulness or succinctness. Not a few probable illustrations of this tendency might be given, and a very elaborate effort of the kind was made soon after the middle of the 2nd century.

The manner in which τὸ εὐαγγέλιον is used (sing. and with def. art.) is another illustration of the same or similar habits of thought. It occurs where the existence of the evangelic history in a written form is implied; and some have inferred that those who so expressed themselves knew only of one such document. But there seems to be no ground for this. The mode of speech in question shows only that the characteristics of the several written embodiments of the Gospel were but slightly regarded in comparison with its general contents and purport. Writers who unquestionably were acquainted with several works of the nature of Gospels continued so to express themselves. And there is a survival of it to this day in the titles of our Gospels—τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κατά, '*the* Gospel *according to*,' this or that evangelist.

i. *THE SUB-APOSTOLIC AGE*, *i.e.* the generation immediately following that of the apostles. As belonging to this time, we will take only the *Ep. of Clement to the Corinthians*, the *Seven Epp. of Ignatius*, in the short Greek or Vossian form, and the *Ep. of Polycarp*. Some critics of the highest repute would, besides, assign to it the recently recovered *Didaché* and the *Ep. of Barnabas*, and a few more would also include the *Shepherd of Hermas*. But in an inquiry of this kind it is better to understate than to overstate evidence. Moreover, the present writer is personally inclined to place the composition of these last three writings in the second quarter of the 2nd cent. And it will be very generally admitted now that the case for placing them earlier than this is far less strong than that for the others, and that they do not, by their authorship, create the same kind of link with the apostolic age. Those writings before mentioned may, indeed, with great confidence be declared to be the genuine works of the men with whose names they are connected. Two of the writers at least, and probably all three, had known apostles, and held positions of eminence in the Church at the close of the first and near the beginning of the 2nd cent. There are very strong reasons for believing that the Ep. written to the Church of Corinth in the name of that of Rome, which has from very early times been attributed to Clement, is really his work, and for referring it to the close of the reign of Domitian, *c.* A.D. 95 (see Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.* i. p. 346 ff., and Harnack, *Chronol.* i. p. 251 ff.). Again, the genuineness of the *Seven Epp. of Ignatius* discovered by Voss in the Medicean MS has been firmly established by the labours of Zahn and Lightfoot. This is fully admitted by Harnack (*Chronol.* i. p. 381 ff.). Their exact date cannot be quite so clearly determined. Lightfoot supposes it to be *c.* A.D. 110. Harnack was a few years ago inclined to place them near to A.D. 140 (see *Expos.* for 1886, pp. 15–22); but he now speaks in a very hesitating manner (*Chronol.* i. p. 395 f.). The only reason for questioning the genuineness of the *Ep. of Polycarp* falls to the ground when that of Epp. of Ignatius is admitted, and its date is fixed by a reference in it as only later by a few weeks than theirs.

(1) *Evidence as to the use of the Gospels.*—Sayings of Christ are cited in the writings now before us, as spoken by Him, but not as from a written source or sources. From the first days of the Church the Lord's Words must have been treasured as Divine Oracles. And as a sense of their authority must have preceded their being committed to writing, so also after this it would naturally be independent of that of the record, and the habit of referring to them directly, without considering the intermediary through whom or which they were delivered, might continue. The facts just noticed in connexion with the writings of the Apostolic Fathers are an illustration of this. Their usage is still that of St. Paul in 1 Co 7^{10}, or in the Address to the Elders at Miletus (Ac 20^{35}). They may, in spite of this, have taken their quotations from documents, and those, too, our Gospels. It is a point not easy to decide. In the *Ep. of Clem.* sayings are quoted as the Lord's closely corresponding, indeed, in substance with such as are recorded in our Gospels, but which differ from them to a greater or less degree in form. It is to be observed, too, that *Polycarp* (c. ii.) quotes in part the same sayings as Clement in the former of these passages, with the same divergences from our

Gospels [*μνημονεύοντες δὲ ὧν εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος διδάσκων· ‘Μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε· ἀφίετε καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν· ἐλεᾶτε, ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε· ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν·’ καὶ ὅτι ‘Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ οἱ διωκόμενοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ’*]; while, to pass for a moment beyond our present period, the whole piece of Christ's teaching which occurs in Clem. Rom. c. xiii. is given in the same form by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 18). It has been argued that these peculiarities, recurring in more than one writer, point to a documentary source other than our Gospels. If, however, the passages in question are examined, it will be seen that they appear to have the character of summaries, and that their differences from the Gospels may well be accounted for as the effects of compression and of the combination of phrases derived from the parallel passages in our Gospels, or in documents which have been embodied in our Gospels. General considerations which have already occupied us have prepared us for this phenomenon. For such traits as cannot be explained in this way, and which ought not to be regarded as accidental variations, there would seem to be a sufficient explanation in the influence of Oral Tradition, which was doubtless still powerful in the Sub-apostolic Age. Further, the persistence of certain features, which has been noticed, in the quotations of sayings and collections of sayings, may reasonably be traced to catechetical instruction and the impressions left by it. Such compendia of precepts, from the Sermon on the Mount and other parts of our Lord's teaching, may well have been imprinted thus upon the memory of Christians generally, and consequently quoted by writers who were familiar with the Gospels, as Clem. Alex. was. In Polyc. vii. we have a clause of the Lord's Prayer, as given both in Mt and Lk, with the difference only that it is turned into the indirect form; also words spoken by our Lord in Gethsemane, exactly as in Mt and Mk. [*δεήσεσιν αἰτούμενοι τὸν παντεπόπτην θεὸν ‘μὴ εἰσενεγκεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν,’ καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος· ‘τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρόθυμον, ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἀσθενής’* (cf. Mt 6^{13} or Lk 11^{4}; Mt 26^{41} or Mk 14^{38})].

For further parallelisms with the language of the Gospels and for allusions to incidents in the life of Christ in the two writings so far considered, see among other passages—Clem. Rom. xvi. end (Mt $11^{29.\,30}$), xxiv. (Mt 13^{3}, Mk 4^{3}, Lk 8^{5}); Polyc. v. (Mk 9^{35}, Mt 20^{28}), xii. (Mt 5^{44}).

Ignatius was led by his controversy with Docetism to dwell upon the facts of our Lord's human life and sufferings rather than upon His teaching; and the only saying of Christ which he expressly quotes is one asserting the verity of His corporeal nature after His resurrection [*ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς· ‘Λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον’* (*Smyrn.* iii.)]. The incident referred to seems to be that recorded in Lk 24^{36-39}, where the words of our Lord are similar in substance and partly in form. According to Origen, however (*de Princ.* præf. 8), they were contained in *The Preaching of Peter* in the same form as in Ignatius. Eusebius, on the other hand (*HE* iii. 36), who notes the fact that Ignatius has the saying, declares that he does not know whence it was taken; while Jerome (*de Vir. Illustr.* 16) says that it occurred in the *Gospel acc. to the Hebrews.* It is possible that a writing which contained the saying may have existed in the time of Ignatius, and that he may have obtained it thence; but it is at least an equally probable supposition that he derived it from oral tradition; and that from the same source it passed into one or more Apocryphal Gospels. We shall have occasion to recur to the question of the use made of apocryphal writings in the 2nd century.

There are in the Epp. of Ignatius several allusions to incidents in the life of Christ which are recorded in our Gospels as well as parallelisms of expression with them, and among these, in two places, some remarkable coincidences with the thought and language of Jn. See *Eph.* xiv. (Mt 12^{33}, Lk 6^{44}); *Trall.* xi. (Mt 15^{13}); *Rom.* vii. (Jn 4^{10}); *Philad.* vii. (Jn 3^{8}); *Smyrn.* i. (Mt 3^{15} and other points); *Smyrn.* vi. (Mt 19^{12}); *Polyc.* ii. (Mt 10^{16}). See also *Magn.* xi. and *Trall.* ix. In *Philad.* v. his language suggests the idea that he was thinking of the Gospel as embodied in a written form; for he speaks of it as something to which Christians could as it were turn, and refers in the same context to the prophets. At the same time a passage in c. viii. of the same Ep. seems to show the difference between the position which any written Gospels had so far attained and that of the OT (comp. Lightfoot, *Epp. of Ignat. ad loc.* and also *ib.* vol. i. p. 388).

(2) *The evidence as to the use of other writings of NT* at this time may be treated much more briefly.—St. Paul's first Ep. to the Corinthians is expressly referred to in the Ep. of Clement to the same Church (xlvii.), and St. Paul's Ep. to the Philippians in that of Polycarp (xi.). Thus NT writings are actually mentioned in two of the cases in which it is most natural that they should be; these are exceptions which, if they do not explain, are consistent with, the habit of not quoting by name where there was not the same kind of reason for it. Coincidences of phrase with various NT Epp., so striking from their character or number as to leave no doubt whence they are derived, occur in the three writers under consideration: in *Clem. Rom.* with He (xxxvi. and xliii.); in *Polyc.* with 1 P (i. ii. v. vii. viii. x.) and 1 Jn (vii.); in *Ignat.* with 1 Co (*Ephes.* xvi. xviii.) and with Eph (*Polyc.* v.). Indications more or less clear of a knowledge of other NT writings might be named, *e.g.* of 2 Co, Gal, and 1 and 2 Ti in *Polycarp.* All these facts, while interesting and important as regards the books of NT immediately concerned, also have a bearing on the question of the use of the Gospels. They show that absence of direct citation in this age can have little weight for proving want of knowledge. Further, the sign of acquaintance with 1 Jn in Ep. of Polyc. has significance in regard to the Gospel acc. to Jn also. On internal grounds there is strong reason for attributing these to the same author, and the circulation of the one cannot have been separated by any great interval from that of the other.

The signs of knowledge of the apostolic writings in Polycarp are, it may be observed in conclusion, remarkable, and far greater than in Clement or Ignatius, in spite of his Epistle being far shorter. This may be reasonably accounted for by the consideration that he was in all probability a much younger man, and that he had acquired familiarity with those writings from his youth.

ii. *THE SECOND QUARTER OF THE SECOND CENTURY.*—(1) *Use of the Gospels.*—The so-called *Ep. of Barnabas.*—Critics have referred the composition of this work to various dates between A.D. 70 and 130. Though it contains references to contemporary events, they are obscure. To notice only some of the more recent views, Lightfoot (*Clem. Rom.* ii. p. 505 ff.) has explained the allusions in a way that would bring the time of composition within the reign of Vespasian, *i.e.* before A.D. 79. Ramsay (*Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 307) has adopted Lightfoot's theory with some modification, but not so as to affect the date. Harnack, however, in his recent work, has made a very ingenious suggestion for overcoming some of the chief difficulties; and his view seems, on the whole, the most tenable.

According to him, the little treatise in its present form was produced in A.D. 130 or 131 (*Chronol.* i. p. 427).

This writing affords what appears to be the earliest instance of the citation from a book of NT as *Scripture.* The words *πολλοὶ κλητοὶ ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί* are introduced (iv. end) with the formula *ὡς γέγραπται.* These words are not known to occur except in Mt 22^{14}. There are also several other indications in the Ep. of Barn. of acquaintance with that Gospel. The parallelisms with Mt's account of the Trial and Crucifixion of Our Lord are striking (vii.). Again, words found in Mt 9^{13} (though also in Mk 2^{17}, Lk 5^{32}) are used in v. A saying of Christ is also quoted as such, which bears a resemblance to that in Mt 20^{16}, though it is differently applied (vi. 13).

The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.—Dates ranging from A.D. 90–165 have been assigned for the composition of this work, the recovery of which in our generation has created so much interest. Unhappily, the indications available for forming an opinion as to the date are almost entirely such as are connected with the state of Church organization and life reflected in it, and on the history of these very diverse views prevail. It must further be observed that it may have emanated from some portion of the Church where movement had been slow, or whose customs had always been peculiar. There are expressions in it which betoken the habits of a rural district. On the whole, it may be most prudent to take it as belonging to the period which we are now considering, while at the same time we forbear to treat it as illustrative of the mind and practice of the Church generally within any narrow limits of time. In respect to the use of the Gospels, it seems to represent a slight advance upon the Apostolic Fathers. There is language, more distinct than that of the passage of Ignatius above referred to, which suggests the idea that the Gospel existed in a written form (*Did.* xv. 3, 4—*ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν*, and comp. viii. 2 and xi. 3). The citations are only of words of Christ, and introduced as what the Lord said; but they are more abundant, and, although not given entirely as in our Gospels, they appear on examination to be still more plainly combinations of phrases from both Mt and Lk. Such compilations there are at *Did.* i. 2–5 [Mt $22^{37.\,39}$ (or Mk $12^{30.\,31}$, or Lk 20^{27}); Lk $6^{28.\,32.\,33.\,35}$ (Mt $5^{44.\,46}$); Mt 5^{39-42} and Lk $6^{29.\,30}$; Mt 5^{26}]; and at *Did.* xvi. [Mt 25^{13}, Lk $12^{35.\,40}$, Mt $24^{10.\,11}$ etc. etc.]. The former of these is a collection of precepts on our duty to God and our neighbour, the latter on the duty of watching for the Coming of Christ. There are, besides, other citations or parallels at *Did.* vii. (Mt 28^{19}), viii. 2 (Mt 6^{9-13}), ix. 5 (Mt 7^{6}), xiii. (Mt 10^{10}).

The Shepherd of Hermas.—The Muratorian fragment on the Canon (*c.* A.D. 200, see below) contains a statement that the *Shepherd* was written during the episcopate of Pius (bishop of Rome, A.D. 140–155), by a brother of his named Hermas. Recent investigations have added to the importance of this statement, which could not in any case have been lightly set aside, for they have shown that it may probably have been taken from a list of bishops drawn up *c.* A.D. 170 in the time of Soter (Harnack, *Chronol.* i. p. 192). On the other hand, in the work itself (*Vis.* ii. 4. 3) there is a reference to Clement, which, if understood literally, must imply that he was still alive; and he died long before the beginning of the episcopate of Pius (A.D. 140). Zahn (*Der Hirt des Hermas*, p. 70 ff.) and Salmon (art. 'Hermas' in *Dict. of Christian Biography*), on the ground of this passage as well as of features in the work which they think point to an early age, suppose it to have been composed *c.* A.D. 100. While Lightfoot and Westcott treat the allusion to Clement as part of the fictitious setting of the work, and rely on the testimony of the Muratorian fragment, Harnack endeavours to reconcile in a measure the two views. He supposes that the work, though all by one author, was not all composed at one time, and that it was finally put forth A.D. 140 (*Chronol.* i. p. 257 ff.).

As the *Shepherd* is a collection of revelations and instructions given by an angelic guide, it would not have been in character that it should contain express quotations, and there are not any in it from OT any more than from NT. But parallels showing acquaintance with NT writings are not wanting. *Sim.* v. 2 appears to be an adaptation of the parable of the Vineyard (Mk $12^{1\text{ff.}}$). In *Sim.* ix. 12 we are rather forcibly reminded of Jn 10^{1} and 14^{6}, in ix. 16 of Jn 3^{5}, and in ix. 24 of Jn 1^{16}.

The Fragments of Papias.—There cannot be any very serious differences of opinion as to the approximate time at which Papias put forth the work from which some few fragments have been preserved to us. He had conversed with men of an older generation than his own who could give first-hand information as to what the oral teaching of several of the apostles was (Euseb. *HE* iii. 39). Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* v. 33. 4) seems to have been mistaken in supposing that he had himself seen and heard John the Evangelist (Euseb. *l.c.*); but he may have been a contemporary, if not an actual hearer, of Aristion and 'the Elder John,' 'disciples of the Lord' (*ib.*). He must therefore have been born before, most likely some few years before, the end of the 1st cent. The time when he had opportunities of collecting the information referred to may probably have been several years before he wrote the work of which Eusebius has given us an account, largely in Papias' own words. But at latest the publication of this work cannot have fallen much after A.D. 150, and may more reasonably be supposed to have taken place somewhat earlier. When, further, we consider the character of his work, we can have no hesitation in saying that his testimony (so far as its general effect is concerned) is to be connected with the first half of the century.

The title itself of his work, *Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις*, 'Expositions of Dominical Oracles,' is interesting and important. In view of those habits of thought of the time upon which we have already commented, we may best take 'Dominical Oracles' to mean passages of Our Lord's teaching. These, as is clear from his own language in the portion of his prologue preserved to us by Eusebius, Papias took from some documentary source or sources; but for the illustration of them he availed himself of all that he had been able to glean from independent tradition. As Harnack observes, 'he distinguishes the matter orally delivered, even so far as it contained portions of evangelical history, in a marked manner from the matter which he expounds' (*Chronol.* i. 690, n. 1). This fact, then, that written records supplied the basis for his comment, or the pegs on which he hung the more or less trustworthy additional narratives or statements that he had collected, lends special interest to the inquiry whether he knew and used our Gospels or any of them.

We need not hesitate to claim his account, which he gives on the authority of 'the Elder'—apparently, from the context in Eusebius, the Elder John—of the composition of a Gospel by Mark, as referring to a work at least substantially the same as our Second Gospel. It has been urged, indeed, that the observation contained in this fragment, whether it is the Elder's or Papias' own, that Mark did not arrange his matter 'in order,' is not appropriate to our Mark, which is not less orderly in point of arrangement than the other Gospels. But this objection seems clearly unsubstantial, and is now generally admitted to be so. The criticism implied in Papias' words may have been simply a fanciful and mistaken one. Or, again, Mark's arrangement may have been assumed to be wrong wherever it differed from that of either our First or (see below) our Fourth Gospel, which are connected with the names of those who were followers of the Lord during His earthly life, which Mark was not. Some comparison of this kind seems to be implied in the words of Papias' fragment itself. (See, further, art. MARK, p. 244). The questions as to the right interpretation of the fragment of Papias (*ib.*) on a writing by Matthew are more serious. Critics of more than one school have seen in the words, *Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο*, a description of a Collection of Discourses and Sayings which has (it may be) been embodied in our First Gospel, but which was in many respects a different work. Against this view it has been urged that λόγια does not mean 'discourses,' but 'oracles,' and that in the NT itself it is applied to the OT. These arguments, however, somewhat miss their mark. For it does not seem likely that the term should have been applied to a writing of the NT as such, so early as the time of Papias, and still less of his informant, if this, as is probable, was the same 'Elder' whom he reports in the case of Mark's work. Nor could τὰ λόγια in that sense have been suitably used of a single writing, though it would be natural as a description of the Lord's teaching. The statement, however, which we are considering consists only of one brief sentence; we do not know what the context may have been. And whatever inferences it may be fair to draw from Papias' expressions as to the history of the composition of our First Gospel, we may gather that, at least when he wrote, a work existed which was generally recognized as a Greek representative of a Hebrew writing by the Apostle Matthew. And it is hard to imagine that this could have been any other work than that which a generation later, or less, was certainly known in the Church, as it is still, as the Gospel acc. to Mt. A substitution of one book for another could not have been effected in so short a time. (Comp. Harnack, *Chronol.* i. p. 693). See, further, art. MATTHEW (GOSPEL OF).

Eusebius makes the following statement at the end of his section on Papias: 'The same (writer) has made use of testimonies from the former Ep. of Jn and from that of Peter likewise. He has, moreover, also set forth another narrative, concerning a woman charged before the Lord with many sins, which the Gospel acc. to the Hebrews contains.' Use of the First Ep. of Jn indirectly affords evidence, as we have already had occasion to remark, of the existence and circulation of the Gospel according to John. It must not be assumed, indeed, on the ground of this notice, that Papias attributed these works to the apostle; but we may at least feel sure that he said nothing plainly inconsistent with this view of their authorship: if he had done so, Eusebius could not have failed to mention it, more especially as he was not in sympathy with some of this writer's opinions.

Something more as to Papias' use of the Johannine writings may, it would seem, be learned from Irenæus. The latter, in language that recalls Papias' prologue preserved in Eusebius, repeatedly adduces the testimony of 'the elders' who had seen and heard John, the disciple of the Lord, or again, in another place, 'who were disciples of apostles'; and when we examine the passages in which he refers to them and quotes their sayings, we find that their character is just such as we might expect it to be if they were derived from Papias' *Exegeses*, in view, on the one hand, of its aim as described by the author himself, and of his chiliastic predilections [*adv. Hær.* v. 5. 1; 30. 1; 33. 4]. In one of these places (v. 33. 4) Irenæus, after alluding to the elders, proceeds to quote from Papias' book by name. Now, among the passages which may with probability be regarded as extracts, more or less exact, from Papias, there is one in which a saying of the Lord, recorded in Jn 14[2], and not in any other Gospel, is quoted and commented on (*adv. Hær.* v. 36. 1); there is another relating to the number of the Beast in the Apocalypse (*ib.* 30. 1).

To conclude: the evidence as to Papias, though it is much more scanty than we should like, and though it is in part obscure, tends to show that he derived the 'Oracles of the Lord,' which he made his starting-point, from our Gospels and not from any other source, and that he knew at least the Gospels acc. to Mt, Mk, and Jn.

The so-called *Second Ep. of Clement*.—This work is of considerable interest in connexion with the history of the Canon, more especially as to the use of Apocryphal Gospels and the position accorded to them in relation to our Gospels. Its date is consequently important. Hilgenfeld (*Nov. Test. extr. Can.* p. xxxviii f.) and Harnack (*Patres Apostolici*, pp. xci, xcii) took the view that it was the Epistle sent by Soter to Corinth, *c.* A.D. 170 (Euseb. *HE* iv. 23). But since the recovery of this work in an unmutilated form, through Bryennios' discovery in 1875, it has become evident that it is not a Letter at all but a Homily, and its identification with the communication of Soter ought no longer to be regarded as tenable (see Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.* ii. p. 194 ff.; Harnack, however, still adheres to the identification, *Chronol.* i. pp. 440–450). The character of the work in general, it may be added, is favourable to an earlier date. It may most reasonably be taken as illustrating the state of things in respect to the recognition of the New Testament Scriptures, *c.* A.D. 140, or perhaps somewhat before this.

We will next briefly notice the recently recovered *Apology of Aristides*, an example of a class of Christian writings which has even given a name in Church history to an age—that occupying the middle portion of the 2nd cent. This one appears to have been addressed not as Eusebius says (*HE* iv. 3) to Hadrian, but to Antoninus Pius (Emp. 138–161); but it probably belongs to the earlier rather than the latter part of his reign (comp. J. R. Harris, *Texts and Studies*, i. p. 8, and Harnack, *Chronol.* i. pp. 271–273). The special character of compositions of this kind, like that of others, and even more than that of some others, must be remembered in order that the effect of the evidence supplied by them in regard to the Canon may be fairly judged of. The argument and purpose of the greater part of the *Apology* of Aristides did not afford opportunities for quoting from Christian documents. It contains, however, one passage which illustrates in an interesting manner a time of transition when memories of the oral delivery of the Gospel were linked with a growing dependence upon a written form of it. (See tr. of Syriac in *Texts and Studies*, I. i. p. 36).

We pass to the writings of a far greater 'apologist,' *Justin Martyr*, and we may confine our attention to the three extant works bearing his name, which are by common consent admitted to be genuine—his *First* and *Second Apologies* and *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew.* Recent investigations, beginning with those of Volkmar, *Theol. Jahrb. von Baur u. Zeller*, 1855, and of Hort, *Journ. of Philol.*, 1857, have served to show that the *First Apology* should be placed a little later than it commonly used to be, and that the *Second*

Apology was written soon after the *First*. The *Dialogue* was written after the *Apologies*, but how long after cannot be determined. We shall not be far wrong if we say that all three writings were composed *c.* A.D. 150. The *Apologies* were written in Rome, as was also probably the *Dialogue*, though it may be inferred from the latter (c. i.) that Justin was teaching as a Christian philosopher in Ephesus soon after A.D. 135. He was the most eminent Christian of his generation, while he writes, not as one who is putting forward his own views, but who is representing and defending the faith and practice of the Church; and he well knew what they were in at least two of its chief centres.

Now, Justin twice in his *First Apology* and many times in the *Dialogue* describes the main authorities for the Life and Teaching of Christ as 'the Memoirs of the Apostles' or simply 'the Memoirs.' We have to ask whether by this name he intended at least principally our Gospels, whether he recognized all these, and whether they held a place in his estimation which no other accounts of the whole or a portion of the Lord's Life and Teaching shared. His use of the term itself just referred to affords no ground for doubting that he has the Gospels which we acknowledge in his mind. It is probable that the name 'Gospels' was only beginning in that generation to be applied to the writings which contained the Gospel even among Christians, and he was addressing those who were not Christians. It would be natural for him to employ some term which would be to them more easy of comprehension and more expressive. The course he adopts in this case has an exact parallel in his treatment of other Christian terms, *e.g.* Baptism and the Eucharist (*First Apol.* lxi. and lxvi.). In *First Apol.* lxvi., after using the word 'Memoirs,' he adds, 'which are called Gospels.' And this, it may be observed in passing, is the earliest instance of the application of the name 'Gospels' to the *books*. Justin himself commonly writes of 'the Gospel' in the manner which we have observed to be customary in the writings of his predecessors and elder contemporaries. To proceed: in one place he characterizes 'the Memoirs' with special fulness as 'composed by the Apostles *and those who followed them*.' The suitability of this twofold description to our Gospels will be noticed, and it gains in point from the circumstance that in the context he preserves one trait which is peculiar to St. Luke's account of the Agony in the Garden (*Dial.* ciii.). In another place he refers to a fact, mentioned only by St. Mark, as contained in Peter's Memoirs (see, further, below). Again, he speaks of the doctrine of the Person of Christ, which he defines in part in terms peculiar to Jn, as derived from 'the Memoirs.' Further, in five of the cases in which Justin distinctly quotes from evangelic writings, using the formula γέγραπται, he agrees almost verbally with Mt or Lk. (For these and for a discussion of the remaining two, comp. Westcott, *Canon*, p. 130 ff., and Sanday, *Gospels in the Second Century*, p. 88 ff.).

For the most part, however, Justin does not adhere closely to the words of any one evangelist in his accounts of and references to the facts of the Lord's Life and His Teaching. He gives the substance of their narratives, and to a certain extent combines what is found in different Gospels. In doing this he acted in accordance with the very natural tendency of which we have already seen examples in early Christian writings. Moreover, it is quite obviously his purpose in a considerable portion of his *First Apology* to give a summary of the evangelic history and of some chief points in Christ's teaching for the enlightenment of heathen readers. And not less obviously in a large part of the *Dialogue* he is rapidly reviewing the facts, which was all that was required, in connexion with an argument from the fulfilment of prophecy. This being so, it was to be expected that he should avail himself now of one, now of another Gospel, and should be satisfied with giving what he conceived to be their general meaning and purport. With the object he had in view, he would often find it sufficient to rely upon his memory of their narratives. And, indeed, even his quotations from the OT are marked to a considerable extent by the same characteristics of combination and compression, and want of minute accuracy. Nevertheless, the general character of the representation which Justin gives of the evangelic history, and which he derives, as he repeatedly indicates, from records which were acknowledged in the Church to have apostolic authority—its contents, with comparatively slight exceptions, its main outline, the style of the language, and many of the actual words—are those of our Gospels. The features of the Synoptics are, indeed, more fully and directly reproduced than those of the Fourth Gospel, though there are striking coincidences with special points in it also; while it is most natural to suppose that the conception of Christ as the Logos, which holds a prominent place in Justin's works, was derived by him from the same source, although he develops it in part in his own way, in accordance with philosophical ideas that were familiar to him.

In his summaries of or allusions to the Gospel history, Justin introduces a limited amount of matter—a certain number of touches and incidents—not found in our Gospels. From the presence of this element it has been argued that he did not use our Gospels. But to reason thus is to defy every principle of sound criticism. For there is no evidence that any other work or works existed which could have supplied him with the bulk of his facts about the life and teaching of Christ, together with the language in which he relates them, besides our Gospels. Moreover, that these were already in existence, and that he must have had opportunities of becoming acquainted with them, is certain, as will more clearly appear from facts to be considered presently. It is now, indeed, admitted by critics of more than one school that the first three Gospels ranked among Justin's principal authorities, and that the fourth was known to him. The chief questions still *sub lite* are (*a*) to what extent he used other records in addition to our canonical ones, and whether he regarded any of them as possessed of apostolic authority; and (*b*) whether there was a difference between his attitude to the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics.

(*a*) The question of the source or sources whence Justin drew what we may for convenience briefly call the 'apocryphal' matter in his accounts of the Gospel history has received new and special interest from the recovery, since 1892, of a fragment of the so-called 'Gospel of Peter' (see *The Akhmîm Fragment, or the Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter*, by H. B. Swete). In some points in which Justin diverges from the canonical Gospels he is found to coincide with 'Peter.' The importance of the inquiry whether Justin used 'Peter' is greatly increased by the fact that, if he did, it must in all probability have been the work which he describes as 'Peter's Memoirs' (*Dial.* cvi.), and he must have given it an equal, if not a pre-eminent, place among the authorities for the Gospel history. The use of 'Peter' by Justin is maintained by Harnack (*Bruchstück des Evangeliums und der Apokalypse des Petrus*, 2nd ed. p. 37 ff.), and is accepted by Sanday (*Inspiration*, pp. 305, 310); but against it, see Swete, *l.c.* pp. xxxiii–xxxv. Swete's argument may also be greatly strengthened by observing the contrasts between Justin and 'Peter.' It is certain that the former has been but slightly influenced by the latter on the whole, and it is difficult to understand how, if he knew the book and regarded it as the work of the chief of the apostles, which it claims to be, his use of it should have been so limited.

In Justin's age information concerning the Gospel history was gleaned not only from tradition, but also from documents other than our Gospels, less unsuspectingly than came to be the case a generation or so later. We have seen an example of this in the so-called *Second Ep. of Clement*; we learn also from Eusebius (*HE* iv. 22) that Hegesippus, the contemporary of Justin, made some quotations from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. Justin's practice illustrates the same attitude of mind. With the matter supplied by our Gospels, he weaves in traits which he has probably derived from such sources, though we are unable to say from which of them he obtained most, or whether indeed he made special use of any one. There is, however, no reason to think that any work of the nature of a Gospel, other than ours, held practically the same position as they did for Justin, or for the Church of his time.

(*b*) Some critics who admit the cogency of the evidence that Justin was acquainted with the Fourth Gospel, yet maintain that he clearly did not place it on the same level as the Synoptics (see Keim, *Jesus of Naz.* i. p. 186 ff.; Holtzmann, *Einl.* p. 479). The only ground for supposing this is that he makes more sparing use of it. But there was good reason for this difference. In view of the persons addressed both in the *Apology* and in the *Dialogue*, and also the tenor of the arguments in these works, it was natural that he should have fewer quotations from and parallels with it than the others.

Before leaving this quarter of the century we must touch upon the question of the use of the Gospels by *Gnostic heretics*. In discussing it we shall be taken back even to the earlier part of the time. It has, however, been reserved till this point, both on account of the different relation to the Christian faith of the persons to be considered, and because the evidence is of a more indirect kind.

Basileides had begun to teach at Alexandria in the reign of Hadrian. He was the author of a work in 24 books entitled *Expositions of the Gospel*, from which we have a few extracts in extant works of Clem. Alex. One of these seems like a portion of a comment on a passage of Mt. There are two others, which may be comments on sayings of our Lord taken from Lk and Jn respectively (Zahn, *Kanon*, i. pp. 766, 767). The possibility of coming to any fuller conclusion as to the use of the Gospels by Basileides must depend on the estimate formed of the account of Basileides and his school given by Hippolytus, and of the citations which it includes. Some have supposed Hippolytus to have been misled when he took the work from which he quotes as a product even of the school of Basileides (*e.g.* Zahn, *ib.* 765). But the result of a comparison with the extracts in Clem. Alex. is strongly in favour of the view that the treatise used by Hippolytus gave a genuine exposition of Basileidean doctrine (see Hort's art. 'Basileides' in *Dict. of Christian Biog.*). Whether it was the *Exegetica* or some other work is more questionable. That the quotations are from Basileides himself, at least in some cases, and those the most important for our present purpose, is the most natural view of Hippolytus' language (cf. Westcott, *Canon*, p. 297 n., and Hort, *l.c.*). The theories expounded bear the marks of great metaphysical power; and if the writer from whom they are taken, partly in his own words, was not Basileides himself, he may probably have been Isidore, Basileides' eminent son and disciple, whom Hippolytus names along with his father. Even in this case we should have to do here with a writing composed not much later than, if so late as, the middle of the 2nd cent. It undoubtedly appeals to the Fourth Gospel as to an authority (Hippol. *Hær.* vii. 22).

Valentinus, who was a younger contemporary of Basileides, need not now detain us. We know nothing of the employment he made of books of the NT, except as it may be inferred from the practice of his school in the next generation.

On the other hand, of the treatment of the NT Scriptures by *Marcion*, who flourished *c.* A.D. 140, we know much from Tertullian's *Contra Marcionem*. Beyond all reasonable doubt, the Gospel which he made for himself and his sect was a mutilated form of Lk. And it may be observed that in selecting it, even though he found it necessary thus to adapt it to his own purpose, he did homage to the authority which it had acquired. An examination of the peculiarities of the *text* used by Marcion seems also to show that the text of the Gospel had already in his generation a history (see Sanday, *Gospels in Second Cent.* p. 231 ff.).

From a man and his writings we turn to a movement. *Montanism* arose in Phrygia not long after the middle, and it spread remarkably during the remainder, of the 2nd cent.; it found tendencies and needs favourable to it in various parts of the Church. In the present connexion it is important only from the fact that its insistence on the promise of the coming of the Spirit, designated as the Paraclete, is a sign of the influence of the Gospel according to John.

(2) *Other writings of NT.*—A few points only need be noticed. We learn from Tertullian's treatise against Marcion that this heretic acknowledged 10 Epp. of St. Paul. It was natural, and yet important as a step in the formation of the Canon, that the Epp. of this great apostle should be regarded collectively, and we have in Marcion's case the first clear sign of such a view of them. There is, it may be added, no reason to think that Marcion in rejecting, as he did, the 3 Pastoral Epp. was actuated by any other motive than a dogmatic one.

In a passage of Justin we have a noteworthy instance of another kind—the earliest reference *by name* to a NT writing. The work so cited is the Apocalypse, its authorship by John the Apostle being mentioned (*Dial.* lxxxi.).

For the rest, it will suffice under this head to notice parallelisms which are striking, and which prove the use of writings not otherwise abundantly attested. Those in Hermas with Ep. of James are specially remarkable (Hermas, *Vis.* II. ii. 7, IV. ii. 6; *M.* II. 3. 4, VI. 7, VIII. 10, IX. 4. 11, XII. 5. 2, vi. 3; *Sim.* VI. i. 1, VIII. vi. 4). Again, those with Acts in Justin seem clear (*Apol.* i. 40; *Dial.* xvi. and lii.). The statement, which we have already had occasion to refer to, may also here be recalled, that Papias 'made use of testimonies from the former Ep. of Jn, and likewise from that of Peter' (Eus. *HE* iii. 39).

iii. *THIRD QUARTER OF SECOND CENTURY.*—(1) *Gospels.*—*Tatian.*—Through a succession of remarkable literary discoveries in recent years controversy has practically been closed in respect to the general character of Tatian's *Diatessaron*. We may not fully have recovered its original form, but it can no longer be seriously doubted that substantially it was a harmony of our Four Gospels (see Zahn, *Forsch.* Pt. 1, *Kan.* i. pp. 387–422, ii. 530–556; Lightft., *Essays on Sup. Rel.*, 1889, pp. 272–288;

S. Hemphill, *The Diatessaron of Tatian*; and Hill, *The Earliest Gospel Harmony*).

In more than one respect Tatian is a valuable link between the middle and the last quarter of the century, supplying evidence in regard to the history of the Canon for a period, the remains of which are specially scanty. His *Diatessaron*, while it is an example of the working of that tendency to dwell on the common result of the testimony of different witnesses, which we have seen to be characteristic of the first two or three generations, is also the first distinct indication of the fact, which is so emphatically asserted a little later, that there were *four* records whose authority was unique.

(2) His *Apology* shows traces of acquaintance with *various writings of the NT*, but for the most part there is in it the absence of express citation which is commonly to be observed in works of the same class. In one place, however, some words from the prologue to Jn are introduced as 'that which has been said' (xiii.).

iv. *THE LAST QUARTER OF THE SECOND CENTURY AND BEGINNING OF THE THIRD.*—The point of transition to the last quarter of the 2nd cent. will be the most convenient opportunity for considering the impugners of St. John's writings, commonly called the *Alogi*. The evidence which has so far come before us, if it is in any respects unfavourable to the authenticity of any NT writings, is so by way of defect. Even such a writer as Marcion appears mainly as a witness for the Canon. We have now, however, to notice a body of persons who are specially characterized by their refusal to acknowledge one group of writings—those attributed to St. John.

Much attention has of late been directed to this phenomenon. It has been discussed in particular from opposite points of view by Zahn (*Kan.* i. pp. 220–262) and Harnack (*NT um d. J. 200*, pp. 58–70, and *Chronol.* i. pp. 670, 671); see also Lightfoot (*Clem. Rom.* ii. p. 394) and Sanday (*Inspiration*, p. 14 f.). The chief documents are Iren. III. xi. 12 (which refers only to the rejection of the Gospel); Epiph. *Hær.* li.; and Philaster, lx. The value of the last two is that in all probability they derive their information from a lost work of Hippolytus. It is not, however, altogether easy to distinguish the conjectures of Epiphanius, and his disquisitions on points that interested him, from the matter which he took from his authority, while Philaster's notice is very brief.

The motive for these opinions was primarily dogmatic, not critical, though those who held them sought to strengthen their case by pointing out differences between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics, and by strictures upon the imagery of the Apocalypse (see Epiph. *l.c.*). It was 'in order to frustrate the gifts of the Spirit,' Irenæus tells us, that 'some do not admit that form of the Gospel which is according to John, in which the Lord promised that He would send the Paraclete.' One kind of extravagance begets another. Because the Montanists appealed to Jn 14–16 in urging their wild views and preposterous claims, these others were for denying the authority of that Gospel itself. Again, the Montanists and many other Christians in the 2nd cent. were millenarians, and supported their materialistic notions by a literal interpretation of the Apocalypse. Consequently, those who were repelled by millenarianism were tempted to call the authenticity of that work in question. The theory of the *Alogi*, that Cerinthus was the author of the Johannine writings, must have been suggested first in the case of the Apocalypse, and extended to the Gospel; for while, according to the best information which we possess, Cerinthus was a millenarian, his Christology had nothing in common with that of the Fourth Gospel. Thus the rejection of the one work was, in part at least, associated with that of the other; in part, however, the attack on the Apocalypse was more widely spread, and had more lasting effects (cf. Eus. *HE* iii. 28 and vii. 25).

The name *Alogi* seems to have been Epiphanius' invention. He gave it both as a jest and to betoken their refusal to accept the Gospel which contained the doctrine of the Logos. Whether they in reality objected to this doctrine, or this was simply Epiphanius' inference, is not clear. But if they did, they might here again find a common ground of opposition both to the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse.

It should be observed that the Alogi, by their association of the Gospel according to John and the Apocalypse in a common condemnation, and the attribution of them both to Cerinthus, are witnesses to the tradition that both were by the same author, and that, in assigning them to a heretic who was contemporary with St. John, they are also witnesses to their antiquity.

Harnack lays special stress on the fact that the Alogi were not visibly separated from the Church, and apparently did not intend to depart from the Christian faith. *Δοκοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ*, says Epiphanius, *τὰ ἴσα ἡμῖν πιστεύειν* (*l.c.* § 4). Yet the agreement of which he speaks seems to be only relative. He is comparing their position with that of more pronounced heretics, such as the Gnostics. Further, it is to be remembered that the machinery did not exist in the 2nd cent., which there came to be in the Church of after-times, for passing judgment on erroneous opinions. And, moreover, there is no reason to suppose that the number of those who rejected the most important work at least, the Gospel, was considerable, and it is certain that they produced no lasting impression.

At the same time, the instance of the Alogi illustrates a stage in the reception of the NT Scriptures. It shows that beliefs which this party opposed had not yet obtained that firm hold upon the minds of all which only clear definition and a prescription of many generations can give. But that these beliefs were neither of recent growth nor limited to a narrow area, we plainly see from the works of the age we have now reached which have come down to us.

Among the earliest is the treatise of *Theophilus*, bishop of Antioch, which is in the form of a vindication of the Christian faith, addressed to a philosophic heathen friend. He dwells upon the inspiration of the apostles. With the Holy Scriptures, *i.e.* the OT, still best known by this title, he couples 'all the inspired men' (*πνευματοφόροι*), expressly mentioning John. He quotes Jn $1^{1.3}$ as from 'the apostle' (*ad Autol.* ii. 22, and cf. *ib.* ix. 10). In iii. 12 he speaks of 'the Gospels' in the plural, and asserts that the contents of the Prophets and the Gospels are in harmony with the law, 'because all the inspired men spoke by one Spirit of God.' Again (*ib.* 13), after citing a passage of OT he refers to 'the still more urgent injunction of the Evangelic Voice,' and quotes Mt $5^{28.32}$; and he compares the Gospel with Isaiah, quoting Mt 5^{44} (*ib.* 14).

We may here suitably refer to the *Ep. ad Diognetum*, a work of similar aim, the birthplace and date of which cannot be fixed with certainty, but which may with most probability be assigned to about the same time. In c. xi. the writer enumerates 'the fear of the law,' 'the grace of the prophets,' 'the faith of the Gospels,' 'the tradition of the Apostles.'

It is, however, when we pass to writings of a different class, designed for the refutation of heresy or the instruction of the faithful in the Christian life and creed, to Irenæus (*adv. Hær.*, composed before A.D. 190), and the works of Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria, and Hippolytus, composed near the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd cent., that for the first time, in place of the partial gleams afforded by the remains of former generations, we have a flood of light upon the thought and practice of the Church. We must review the evidence as to the position of the writings of the NT in the generation we have now reached, and consider what inferences may be drawn therefrom as to their reception.

(1) *Writings whose place in the Canon was already at and from this time fully secured.*—The express statements of the eminent writers just named, and their ordinary assumptions, leave no doubt as to the inspired authority attributed to by far the larger part of our NT in the important Churches of which they were members, or with which they were well acquainted and maintained active relations. In common they recognize (*α*) our four Gospels, and none besides; (*β*) 13 Epp. of Paul, *i.e.* all which bear his name in our NT, except that to Heb.; (*γ*) the Acts, 1 P, 1 Jn. These form also the class called afterwards by Eusebius 'acknowledged writings.'

(*a*) *Remarks as to the area from which this evidence comes.*—It may have been observed that hitherto we have been almost exclusively concerned with the faith and usage of Greek-speaking Christians, and that we are so mainly still. By the mention of Tertullian the fact is for the first time brought before us of the hold that Christianity had obtained, comparatively recently, at the epoch of which we are speaking, among a Latin-speaking people. In Rome itself, alike in the 1st cent. and throughout the 2nd, the Church was mainly Greek. It may be well here to point out the special advantages belonging to the Greek-speaking Christians of the first few generations, as witnesses in regard to the NT writings. Not only are we best acquainted with the expansion of the Church to the west, north, and north-west of Jerusalem, through Greek-speaking cities, but to all appearance that was by far the greatest expansion in apostolic times. Here lay the scenes of St. Paul's labours, with which his Epistles and the Acts have rendered us familiar. More dimly we see the figures of several of the Twelve, including St. Peter and St. John, moving and working in these same regions, when they voluntarily left or were driven from their home. It was in consequence of the spread of the gospel among populations whose ordinary language was Greek, to meet the needs of converts made from them, that all the writings of the NT came into existence. This is true even of the First Gospel in the form in which we have it.

Here and there some other Christian writing may in early days have won a position similar to that of the books received as canonical. We may have an example of this in the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*. But special circumstances of language and locality so well account for this in an outlying district, that such an instance does not detract from the force of the testimony of other parts of the Church.

It seems strange, however, at first sight that the Christians of Palestine and of the Aramaic-speaking East should have received the NT writings from the West, with one probable exception—the Ep. of James. Yet such was the fact. The Hebrew Christian community at Jerusalem was virtually broken up by the siege and capture of the city, A.D. 69–70. After the suppression of Barcochba's revolt (A.D. 135) a Greek Church arose there. In other parts of Palestine the Hebrew Christian Church had to contend, during the latter part of the 1st and earlier part of the 2nd cent., with a strong Jewish reaction. What progress the gospel made beyond Jordan to the east and north-east, through the labours of any of the Twelve, or the preaching and example of more ordinary Christians who fled from Palestine when Jerusalem fell, and to what extent the Christians of those districts in the 2nd cent. may thus have traced their lineage to the Church of apostolic days, and have cherished its traditions, it may be impossible to discover. But this at least may be said: we hear of no work written in Hebrew or Aramaic by an apostle, or immediate companion and follower of the apostles, except the one attributed to St. Matthew. The Gospel according to the Hebrews may have embodied this work, and doubtless contained traditions that had been current among Hebrew Christians; but it would seem not to have been preserved long in an uncorrupted form, and it is noteworthy that it obtained no enduring authority even in the East.

As regards the history of the Canon of the Syrian Church, it may suffice here to allude to the strange hold which Tatian's *Diatessaron* obtained there. It was popularly used as a substitute for the Gospels, to the neglect of the reading of them in public worship—an abuse which had to be dealt with by authority as late as the 5th cent. But such a fact is of importance as throwing light upon the history of that Church generally, not as bearing on the authenticity of the Gospels. [The subject of the history of the Canon in the Syrian Church is a very obscure one: for discussions of it see especially Zahn, *Kan.* i. c. 8, and Harnack's criticism thereupon in *NT um 200*, § 10].

Primarily, then, in dealing with the history of the Canon of NT, we have to fix our thoughts upon Greek-speaking Christendom, though we may now join thereto the Christians of the Roman province of N. Africa, who were far more closely bound up with it than the Christians of the East were. Tertullian is fully aware that he and the other Christians of his portion of the Church, who were but 'of yesterday,' had simply received the faith and its documents from more ancient Churches. It was probably here that a translation of the NT into Latin was first made, and expressions used by Tertullian have been commonly thought to show that one already existed in his time. But if, as Zahn has argued (*Kan.* i. 48–60), the task was not accomplished till later, though before the middle of the 3rd cent., it was not for want of recognizing the value and authority of the writings held to be apostolic. Tertullian's works certainly prove this. It is not material, therefore, for our present purpose to decide exactly when a Latin version was first made.

Now, although there are some Churches of note as to which we have no direct information for the period in question, even within that portion of Christendom the bounds of which we have indicated, we are justified in assuming that throughout the whole of it there was substantial agreement as to the sacred writings of the New Dispensation, to the extent to which it is found in the writers whose works have come down to us from that time. In view both of the eminence of those men and their wide knowledge of the Church, and the intercourse which existed between different parts of it within the area described, there could hardly have been any considerable divergences on serious points which have remained concealed. It is to be added that, even for those regions within the limits defined—in particular the Greek Churches of Syria and of the central and eastern parts of Asia Minor—as to which evidence is lacking at this epoch, it is forthcoming shortly afterwards, and there is not a trace of any doubts in regard to the books above enumerated.

To the close of the 2nd cent. or first years of the

3rd belongs most likely the earliest actual list of the writings of NT which we possess. It is called after *Muratori*, its discoverer. It has now been rendered highly probable that it was the work of Hippolytus. [On the Muratorian fragment see esp. Zahn, *Kan.* ii. 1–143, and Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.* ii. 405–413]. Though the earliest list of the kind that has come down to us, it may not have been the earliest made. Melito, bishop of Sardis (c. A.D. 170), in a fragment which Eusebius has preserved (*HE* iv. 26), gives a list of 'the books of the *Old* Covenant,' and the phrase seems naturally to suggest by contrast the existence of a list of the books of the New. Further, at the time we have reached, the name of 'Scriptures' is given to the new sacred books equally with the old (see Iren. *adv. Hær.* ii. 58. 2). And a conception has been formed of a NT, as a collection of books which made a companion to the OT, and the name even of 'Testament' is so applied in Clem. Alex. and Tertullian [Clem. *Strom.* v. 85; Tertull. *de Pudic.* 1]. Tertullian also employs the word 'instrumentum,' or in the pl. 'instrumenta' (*i.e.* 'the document' or 'the documents'), considering it more expressive. It should be observed that such a conception was found possible, although the contents of the collection of writings had not been in all respects certainly determined.

The usage of *heretics* confirms what is known as to that of the Church. The Valentinians were but the most numerous and widely spread Gnostic sect. Valentinus, according to Tertullian, used 'a complete Instrument,' which must be taken to mean all the books of Scripture which Tertullian himself acknowledged (*Præscr. Hær.* c. 38). Whether the remark was true or not of the founder of the school himself, it was so undoubtedly of the Valentinians in the last quarter of the 2nd cent., as may be gathered from Irenæus' treatise, as well as from Tertullian. It answered their purpose best to accept the NT Scriptures acknowledged in the Church, and to make them the vehicle of their own tenets by means of allegorical interpretation.

(*b*) *The inferences that may be drawn as to the previous history of the reception of these writings in the Church.*—In estimating the force of the evidence in this respect, it will be desirable to distinguish between the value of the personal reminiscences of individual writers in regard to traditions about the books of the NT, and the significance of the general belief of the Church. The testimony of individuals, founded on what they themselves remembered, might be of great weight. That of Irenæus is so in particular. Too much stress may sometimes have been laid upon it. Possibly his opportunities for knowing the mind and teaching of Polycarp may have been rather more restricted than they have been assumed to be by some; and he may have known no other man, besides, belonging to the generation which actually overlapped that of the apostles. But he certainly knew other Asiatic Christians older than himself, who must have been acquainted as he was, or better than he was, with the testimony both of Polycarp and of contemporaries of Polycarp, who had passed away before him. With such opportunities for correcting his own impressions, it is hardly possible that he should have been at fault as to simple facts which he believed that he remembered. It is therefore altogether unreasonable to suppose, as Harnack does, that, in spite of his very distinct statement as to Polycarp's reminiscences of John the Apostle, he is in his own memory making a confusion with another John. [Comp. Harn. *Chronol.* i. p. 333 ff., with Gwatkin's answer in *Contemp. Review*, Feb. 1897, and Lightfoot, *Essays on Sup. Rel.* pp. 96 f., 265].

But the position which the greater part of the writings of the NT held in the last two or three decades of the 2nd cent. in the common view of the chief Churches of Christendom, and approximately, at least, of the Church throughout the Roman Empire, *i.e.* of by far the larger part of the Church, is a more remarkable fact than any recollections, however clear, of particular men could be. In certain respects there has come a change in the manner of regarding these writings since the middle, not to say the beginning, of the century. The line of distinction is more sharply drawn than before it was, between the writings which could be rightly reckoned apostolic and all others. Controversy with Gnosticism had had its effect. Writings of more or less decidedly heretical tendencies had been put forth under the names of apostles. The Church was compelled to be watchful. A certain vividness and emphasis may also be noticed in the manner in which Irenæus, for instance, asserts the fourfold completeness of the evangelic testimony. The perception of the uniqueness of the four records has been rendered more precise, and with this there has also come a fuller sense of the distinct value of the contribution made by each, and of the richness of their harmony when combined. And as the notion of a Canon of NT Scriptures is becoming more definite (the name is not used), the authority of those books, which were beyond question and on all hands allowed to have a right to a place in it, is enhanced. But the amount of the change that has taken place may easily be exaggerated. The appearance of abruptness which it has, when we compare earlier documents with the works of this time, is certainly due to our want of information. The voice of the Church at the end of the 2nd cent. in respect to the writings of the NT is simply the full utterance of a conviction which has long been virtually held. Irenæus so evidently believes himself to be defending the immemorial faith and tradition of the Church, that he could not have been conscious of any alteration, within his own experience, in such an important matter as the apostolic authority attributed to the chief NT writings. Moreover, such a hold as they had manifestly obtained could not, in the nature of things, have been acquired recently and at a bound in that generation.

We have seen how large a measure of agreement there was upon the subject on the part of a number of eminent Churches. Putting aside that of N. Africa, which was of later origin than the rest, these were all founded in the Apostolic Age itself, with the possible exception of Alexandria, which must have arisen at least in the generation immediately following. And though these Churches are all situated within the Græco-Roman world, they exhibit widely different characteristics and thorough independence. No one of them could dictate to the rest; no one of them exercised over the rest an influence so dominant that its example would be silently followed. Rome would not have readily yielded to Asia Minor, nor Asia Minor to Rome, on such a matter as the Scriptures which they had been accustomed to acknowledge; nor would either of these have yielded to Antioch or Alexandria. Nor was unanimity brought about through discussions and conferences. Differences on other subjects appear and are debated, but not on this. It should be observed, also, that the authority which the writings of the NT possessed was not based, as we in our day might be inclined to imagine, on a judgment of the Church, either formal or implied, as to their surpassing moral and spiritual power, their inspiration. It rested on the belief that the writings in question were authentic embodiments of the witness and teaching of the apostles. This was the point testified to by a number of independent and mutually confirmatory lines of tradition, maintained in communities which were bound by strong sanctions to be faithful to that which they had received from the past. These communities, too, had a continuous corporate life that reached back to the first age of the Church, or its confines; and at the time we are considering they were still separated from it only by two or three generations. It is difficult to imagine that a belief thus guaranteed could have been substantially erroneous, even though it does not become apparent to us in its full strength for a century after the death of most of the apostles. And the more indirect indications from the intervening generations, though they are, owing to various causes, less distinct than we could wish, make for the same conclusion.

(2) *Writings whose position continued to be for a time doubtful.*—Before this epoch is left, a few words must be said on the amount of recognition then in divers quarters accorded to other writings, besides those above mentioned, which (*a*) were eventually included in the NT, as well as to some which (*b*) did not obtain a place there.

(*a*) And first as to the *Apocalypse*. So far as the sources of evidence which come before us up to the beginning of the 3rd cent. are concerned, there would be no sufficient ground for placing it in a different category from those whose position was already fully assured. Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement, Hippolytus, all regarded it as a genuine work of the Apostle John, and Can. Mur. includes it as such. It continued, moreover, always to be recognized as Scripture in the Western Church, and on the whole this seems to have been the view throughout of the Church of Alexandria. We know, however, that at a later time it was not received as canonical in Syria and Asia Minor, and this so generally as to point to a long-standing difference of usage in those regions, though from what cause the difference arose we do not know. In this respect chiefly the testimony to it differs from that to the writings called 'acknowledged.'

Of two other of the writings which for a time were not reckoned in this class, it may likewise be said that they deserve to be so on the evidence afforded at the period now under review, considered by itself—2 Jn and Ep. of Jude.

Irenæus twice cites words from the former as John's (*adv. Hær.* i. 9. 3; iii. 17. 8), though in one case he seems to confuse the 2nd with the 1st Ep. The Mur. Can. recognizes 2 Epps. of John, and Clem. Al. (*Strom.* ii. 66) speaks of John's 'greater Ep.,' plainly implying that he knows of at least one other. It may seem strange to us that if the 2nd Ep. was acknowledged, the 3rd, which bears marks of the same authorship, should not have been so with equal distinctness. But the address of the former to 'the Elect Lady,' which may have been understood as a symbolical name for the Church, may account for this. We may gather from the language of Mur. Can. respecting the number of the Churches to which St. Paul's Epp. are written, etc.,that 'catholicity' of address was a consideration in determining the authority to be attributed to writings by the Church, as well as apostolicity of origin.

The Ep. of Jude is not quoted by Irenæus, but this may be accidental. It is included in Can. Mur., and Clement commented on it. Tertullian also quotes it as apostolic.

We turn now to the interesting subject of the light in which the *Ep. to the Hebrews* was regarded. The signs of its use in Clem. Rom. have been referred to; but its position remained ambiguous owing to uncertainty as to its authorship. This is strikingly illustrated by Tertullian's language (*de Pudicitia*, 20). He attributes it to Barnabas, a companion of apostles, and one who had even borne in a certain sense the title of an apostle. Yet, evidently, even while Tertullian sets a high value upon the Epistle, he does not esteem it in the way that he would have done if he had believed it to be by St. Paul himself. Similar considerations, no doubt, influenced others. They read, and were willing to profit by, the Epistle, but shrank from claiming for it full apostolic authority. Irenæus nowhere appeals to it as Scripture in any writing of his which we possess, and it is not included in the Muratorian list. On the other hand, it would seem to have been very highly appreciated at Alexandria, and Clement of Alexandria asserted its Pauline authorship, while he explained the differences between its style and that of his other Epp., and its similarity to that of the Acts, by conjecturing that Luke translated it (*ap.* Euseb. *HE* vi. 14).

Of use of the *Ep. of James*—if we are to put aside, as it appears we should (see Westcott, *Canon*, pp. 362, 363), a statement of Cassiodorus in regard to Clem. Alex.'s lost *Hypotyposes*—there is no sign till the next period, beyond those parallelisms in Hermas which have been noticed. There are also no clear traces of *2 Peter* or *3 John*.

(*b*) We pass to writings which were for a time candidates, so to speak, for admission, but which were ultimately rejected. With the *Apocalypse of John* the Mur. Can. couples that of *Peter*, though it adds in respect to the latter that some Christians were against having it 'read in church.' In other quarters it would seem the *Ep. of Clem. Rom.*, the *Pastor of Hermas*, and the *Ep. of Barnabas* were read as works of special authority, on the ground, which was true in the case of the first-named only, that they were by companions or personal disciples of the apostles. At some time, also, the *2nd Ep. of Clem.* (so called) was joined with the 1st in the same honour.

But it is difficult to determine exactly the relation of these writings to the Canon, from our want of knowledge as to the principles on which the practice of public reading in the assemblies was regulated. Undoubtedly, the selection of the books which might be read publicly played a part in the formation of the Canon, and in impressing the idea of the sacredness and authority of the books so used upon the minds of Christians. But it is not to be supposed that the significance of the public reading was the same, or that the rules for it were conceived in the same spirit, everywhere and always (see art. CANON in vol. i. p. 349^{b}). From the mere fact, therefore, that a particular work appears to have been read in certain Churches, it is not safe to infer that even in these Churches it was regarded as possessing the fullest inspired authority.

B. SECOND PERIOD, *c.* A.D. 220–323.—The most important fact of this period is the work and the influence of Origen. Their results cannot be measured with precision; but the effect of his labours—alike as a thinker bent on the comprehensive ascertainment of Christian truth and as a textual critic of, and commentator and homilist upon, Holy Scripture, coupled as they were with a wide knowledge of the practice of different parts of the Church—must necessarily have been great in promoting the settlement of the Canon of NT. And his teaching was perpetuated and spread by many scholars, *e.g.* by his successors in the school of Alexandria, by Pamphilus, who preserved it at Cæsarea, and Gregory Thaumaturgus, who carried it into the heart of Asia Minor.

The testimony of Origen confirms the evidence of the preceding period—within which, indeed, half his life fell (A.D. 186–253)—as to the writings about which there was practically universal agreement in the Greek-speaking and Latin-speaking Church. He accepts all that have been enumerated under this head, on the authority of the Church's tradition, and also the Apocalypse (Eus. *HE* vi. 25).

Passing to the remaining writings of NT, we may first note as of special significance his position, which resembles that of Clement, in regard to the Ep. to the Hebrews. He points out the difference of style between it and the unquestioned writings of St. Paul, but adds that 'the thoughts are wonderful and not second to the acknowledged apostolic writings'; and he gives it as his own opinion that 'the thoughts are the apostle's, but the diction and composition that of some one who recorded from memory the apostle's teaching, and as it were illustrated with a brief commentary the sayings of his master' (*ap.* Eus. *ib.*). The history of the reception of this great Epistle shows strikingly what were the conditions which—it was held—must be satisfied in the case of a book included among the NT Scriptures. There must be apostolic authorship, or dependence upon apostolic teaching; and this was a point to be determined by tradition, which did not necessarily involve the employment of tests difficult to apply, such as that of inspiration. Nevertheless a test of authenticity was also found, consciously or unconsciously, in the harmony between the spirit of the books received as apostolic and that of the apostolic doctrine preserved in the Church. Doubts as to the authorship of Ep. to Heb. stood in the way for some time of the recognition of its inspiration. And it may be that if it had not come to be more closely associated with the name of St. Paul than facts warranted, it would never have fully ranked as Scripture. But, on the other hand, those who seem to have done most to secure this result, notably Clement and Origen, were profoundly impressed with its spiritual power and general agreement with St. Paul's teaching.

In Origen's writings we have the earliest references by name to *Ep. of James* (*Comm. in Joan.* t. xix. 6, etc.); he also quotes from *Ep. of Jude* (*Comm. in Matt.* x. 17, etc.) as if he himself received it, but alludes to the doubts existing in regard to both of them. It seems reasonable to suppose that the former of these Epp. was brought to the notice of Origen more particularly through his residence in Palestine. The conjecture that it had for long been treasured in Syria is confirmed by the fact that it was recognized as authentic and canonical at Antioch and in the Syriac-speaking Church, where 2 and 3 Jn and Jude, as well as the Apoc., were refused acknowledgment at the end of the 4th cent. Origen appears to have known the 2nd Ep. of Peter, but not to have regarded it or the two lesser Epp. of John as genuine.

The position of the *Apocalypse* in the 3rd cent. is illustrated by the attitude of one who belonged to the same school as Origen, and outlived him only by a few years, *Dionysius*, the eminent bishop of Alexandria (d. 265). He discussed the question of its authenticity, and declared himself unable to believe that it was by the Apostle John, the author of the Gospel, on account of its style; yet the cautiousness and reverence of his tone in speaking of the work is an indication of the high regard in which it was commonly held (*ap.* Eus. *HE* vii. 25).

Lastly, *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiastical History, when he has arrived nearly at the end of the Apostolic Age, makes important statements as to his own views and the views and practice of his contemporaries in respect to the apostolic writings (*HE* ii. 23. 25; iii. 3; 24. 17, 18; 25). These bring us to the close of our second period in the history of the Canon. For this work of Eusebius—which contains, indeed, most of the information that he supplies on this subject, though he lived to A.D. 340—terminates with, and seems to have been composed shortly after, the pacification of the empire under Constantine. In spite of some want of clearness in his language, he helps us greatly to realize the state of things prevailing. The uncertainty and disagreement which still continued concerning certain books perhaps impress us most. It is from Eusebius that we derive the familiar classification into 'acknowledged' (*ὁμολογούμενα*) and 'disputed' (*ἀντιλεγόμενα*) and 'spurious' (*νόθα*) books. Nevertheless it was a step towards the final decision of the questions at issue, that they should be thus definitely posed. And the notices bearing on the Canon of NT, gleaned from writers of generations earlier than his own, which according to promise he gives in the course of his history, are intended to contribute to the attainment of this object.

Eusebius nowhere includes works which have ultimately been accounted apocryphal or uninspired in his class of 'disputed' writings. These consist, according to his fullest passage on the subject (iii. 25), of the Epp. of James and Jude, 2 and 3 Jn, and 2 P, which, as we gather from ii. 23. 25, were already regarded in many Churches as forming together with 1 P and 1 Jn a collection of 7 Catholic Epistles. With the Apocalypse he deals somewhat curiously. He first enumerates it among the 'acknowledged' books, adding, 'if that should appear to be the right view' (*εἰ φανείη*—ambiguous like the Eng. trans. given), and then again refers to it among the 'spurious' with a similar saving clause. The mode of treatment adopted by him in this case is to be accounted for by the fact that those who did not admit the Johannine authorship for the most part desired its definite rejection on doctrinal grounds; whereas the claims of the Epp. above named to be regarded as apostolic were for the most part questioned simply on the ground of defect of evidence for their early and widespread use. On the other hand, Eusebius cannot bring himself to name the Ep. to Heb. anywhere except among the 'acknowledged' books, and as one of 14 Epp. of Paul. In so doing he reflects, no doubt, the belief of the greater part of the Greek-speaking Church, in which he was most at home. At the same time, he allows that 'it is not fair to ignore the fact that some have rejected the Ep. to Heb., asserting that it is disputed by the Church of Rome as not being Paul's' (iii. 3).

With the exception of this statement, we know nothing of the Canon of the Church of Rome and the Churches dependent upon her, or of the Church of N. Africa, during the period under consideration.

C. CONCLUDING PERIOD.—In the age ushered in by the victory of Constantine, many causes were at work tending to fix the Canon. The Scriptures were endeared, and the difference between them and all other books was emphasized, by the recollection of the last persecution, in which their destruction had been made a principal aim; and zeal for them found exercise in the multiplication of fresh copies. Now, also, large volumes, comprising the entire Greek Bible, began probably to be made, such as those fifty magnificent ones which Constantine ordered Eusebius to have prepared at the expense of the royal treasury (Eus. *Vit. Const.* iv. 36). The Scriptures were thus vividly presented as a distinct whole, and the question of their limits was raised in a very practical manner. Further, the definition of the Church's creed led naturally to a fuller settlement of her Canon of Scripture. And thus, when the ties between the Latin-speaking Church and Athanasius had first been drawn closer through the conflict with Arianism, and when afterwards the conservatives of the East had embraced the Nicene faith, and East and

West were united in common sympathies, the same Canon came in course of time to be received.

Lists of the NT Scriptures have come down to us from various parts of the 4th cent.; but, in spite of the many Councils that were held during this period, most of these lists rest on the authority of individual Fathers, though representing, no doubt, the faith and practice of the portions of the Church to which they belonged. The earliest Synodical decree on the subject which is of certain date and authenticity belongs to the close, almost, of the century. The Acts of the Synod of Laodicea, according to some MSS, contain a catalogue of the books of Scripture, but it is probably a later addition. The date of this Synod has also been matter of dispute, though it most likely took place A.D. 363 (see Westcott, *Canon*, p. 439 f.).

The Canon of Cyril of Jerusalem in his Catechetical lectures (*c.* A.D. 340) corresponds with our own, with the single exception that he omits the Apocalypse (*Catech.* iv. 33). In the Canon given by Athanasius (*Fest. Ep.* 39, A.D. 367), we meet for the first time with one the same in every respect as our own. So, too, is that of Epiphanius (*Hær.* 76). Turning to the West, the list known as the Cheltenham Catalogue, which appears evidently to be of the 4th cent. and to belong to N. Africa, differs from Athanasius' in omitting the Ep. to Heb., but in that point only. In A.D. 397, however, the 3rd Council of Carthage, in its Canon on the subject of the Scriptures, includes this Ep., and thus gives the contents of NT as at present received; while Ambrose a little earlier is a witness for the Church of Milan, and Rufinus for that of Aquileia, to the same effect.

In Asia Minor, near the close of the 4th cent., the Apocalypse was not received. So we gather from the lists of the Council of Laodicea (Gregory Naz. *Carm.* i. § 1. 12, and Amphilochius, *ad Seleucum* [*ap.* Greg. Naz. ii. § 2. 8]). The latter appears, also, to allow the legitimacy of opposite views on the subject of 2 and 3 Jn, 2 P, and Jude.

The great Greek teachers of Antioch—Chrysostom, Theodore, and Theodoret—seem to have been of the number who did not receive, or who had doubts respecting, these Epp. as well as the Apocalypse, while they accepted Ep. to Heb. and Ep. of James. Their Canon would thus be the same as that of the Peshiṭta. In process of time, in spite of the influence which this version exercised, the Canon in use even in the more distant parts of the East appears to have become assimilated to a considerable degree to that of the rest of the Church (see, *e.g.*, statements of Junilius in Westcott, p, 451).

The Canon was synodically determined for the Catholic Church of East and West by the Quinisext. Council, A.D. 691, which confirmed the decrees of 3rd Council of Carthage.

The Reformation of the 16th cent. made no change as to the books of NT received as Scripture, opinions of individuals, such as that of Luther in regard to Ep. of James, having met with no general assent. But it tended to throw more stress on the recognition of the inspiration of the sacred books, by comparison with the tradition of apostolic authority, which counted for most in their actual collection by the early Church.

LITERATURE.—J. S. Semler may be said to have given the first impulse to the free critical inquiries of modern times into the history of the Canon of NT, both by his writings in general and in particular by his *Abhandlung von freier Untersuchung des Kanons*, 1771. Among writers who in the early part of the present century sought to investigate the subject systematically in this spirit, C. A. Credner holds the foremost place; see his *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 1836, *Beiträge zur Geschichte d. Kanons*, 1847, and his *Geschichte des NT Kanons*, which was edited with notes by G. Volkmar, and published (1860) after Credner's death. Of the Tübingen school, the rise of which was contemporary with Credner's later life, it would not be too much to say that all their speculations and labours had a bearing on the subject of the Canon of NT. Aiming as they did at a complete reconstruction of Christian history, they subjected the books of NT and the remains generally of early Christian literature to a criticism which was comprehensive and penetrating, though seriously biassed. At the same time, their attack upon opinions commonly received stimulated fresh research on the part of those who were unable to accept their theories. It would be unsuitable to attempt here to enumerate even the principal writings in which during these controversies particular documents, portions of the evidence relating to the books of the NT, or the true conception of the early history of the Church, were discussed. As an important work, however, specifically on the Canon, we must not omit to mention *Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments*, by E. Reuss, a writer holding a middle position (1st ed. 1842, Eng. tr. from 5th revised and enlarged German edition, 1874, by E. L. Houghton). The most eminent of the later members of the Tübingen school, A. Hilgenfeld, modified in some important respects the views before put forward; see esp. his *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 1875. The views of this school have been represented in England in a comparatively moderate form by S. Davidson in his *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament* of 1868 (^{2}1882, ^{3}1894), and in their most extreme form in the work entitled *Supernatural Religion* (1st ed. 1874, complete ed. 1879). J. B. Lightfoot examined the latter work in a series of Essays (collected and repub. 1889).

The chief recent advances in the subject have been due to the colossal labours of J. B. Lightfoot in his works on *Ignatius of Antioch* (1885) and *Clement of Rome* (2nd ed., pub. 1890, shortly after his death), and of Th. Zahn in his *Geschichte des Neutest. Kanons* (1888), preceded by his *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Neutest. Kanons*, and the brilliant review of the actual state of knowledge in regard to early Christian documents by A. Harnack in his *Chronologie der Altchristlichen Litteratur* (vol. i. 1897), with which his brochure *Das NT um das Jahr 200* (1889), a critique of the first part of Zahn's History of the Canon, may be compared. The last-named writer has made some important concessions to those who, like the two before mentioned, have defended the orthodox position, though he has approached the subject with different prepossessions from theirs. This approximation to a common judgment, at least on certain points, is a sign of solid progress. The weighing of the differences which still remain, with a view to taking account of whatever truth there is in the arguments urged on each side, may be suggested to the student as a path which promises further advance.

To turn to less voluminous works: Westcott's *General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament* (1st ed. 1855, 7th ed. 1896) continues to be the most complete work on the subject, which is at the same time compendious. With it may be read Sanday on *Inspiration* (1893). The various Introductions to the NT deal with the subject; the treatment of it in B. Weiss' *Manual of Introduction* (1886, Eng. tr. 1887) may be specially recommended.

V. H. STANTON.

NEW TESTAMENT LANGUAGE.—See LANGUAGE OF NEW TESTAMENT.

NEW TESTAMENT TEXT.—See TEXT OF NEW TESTAMENT.

NEW TESTAMENT TIMES.—See TIMES OF NEW TESTAMENT.

NEW YEAR.—See TIME.

NEZIAH (נְצִיחַ).—The name of a family of Nethinim, Ezr 2^{54} (B Νασούς, A Νεθίε) = Neh 7^{56} (B Ἀσειά, A Νεισειά); called in 1 Es 5^{32} **Nasi** (B Νασεί) or **Nasith** (so AV and RVm, following A Νασίθ).

NEZIB (נְצִיב; B Νασείβ, A Νεσίβ, Luc. Νεσεἰβ).—A town in the Shephēlah of Judah, noticed next to Keilah, Jos 15^{43}. It is the present *Beît Nusîb*, mentioned in the *Onomasticon* (Lagarde, 283. 142) as 7 Roman miles from Eleutheropolis on the road to Hebron. It lies to the south of Keilah.

LITERATURE.—*SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxi.; Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 17, 54, 221; Buhl, *GAP* 193; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 343 ff. All these accept of the above identification, against which, however, Dillm. (*Jos. ad loc.*) argues.

C. R. CONDER.

NIBHAZ (נִבְחַז, also in some MSS נִבְחָן and נִבְחָז; B Ἐβλαζέρ, A Ἀβααζὲρ καὶ Ναιβάς [a doublet], Luc. Ἐβλαιέζερ).—An idol of the Avvites, which they worshipped with Tartak, and introduced into Samaria, whither they had been transported by the Assyrian king Sargon (2 K 17^{31}). To all appearance, the

Hebrew text is corrupt, Nibhaz being for some such form as *Abahaz* or *Abahazer*, as the Greek variants Ἀβααζέρ, Ναιβάς, and Ἐβλαζέρ show (compare Nimrod for *Amaruduk* and Nisroch for *Aŝur* or *Aŝuraku*), and any identification of this deity under the circumstances is at present hopeless.

T. G. PINCHES.

NIBSHAN (הַנִּבְשָׁן; B Ναφλαζών, A Νεβσάν).—A city in the desert (מִדְבָּר) of Judah, noticed next to the City of Salt, Jos 15^{62}. The name has not been recovered. Wellhausen (*Proleg.* 344) proposes to emend to *Kibshan* (הַכִּבְשָׁן 'the kiln'; cf. Gn 19^{28}).

C. R. CONDER.

NICANOR (Νικάνωρ), the son of Patroclus (2 Mac 8^{9}), a general of Antiochus Epiphanes, and one of the king's 'friends' (1 Mac 3^{38}). In B.C. 166 Nicanor, together with Gorgias and Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes, was sent by the chancellor Lysias at the head of a large army to crush the rebellion in Palestine. Nicanor, who occupies the chief place in the narrative of 2 Mac, was probably the commander-in-chief of the expedition, while Gorgias, who appears more prominently in 1 Mac, led the army in the field. The invading forces took up their position at Emmaus, where they were defeated by Judas Maccabæus in a night attack, during the absence of Gorgias, and the Syrian commanders fled into the Philistine territory (1 Mac 3^{38-41} 4^{1-25}, 2 Mac 8). The statement that Nicanor escaped to Antioch in disguise is doubtless a rhetorical exaggeration (2 Mac 8^{34-36}). After the death of Antiochus V. and Lysias, Nicanor, who stood in high favour with Demetrius, and whose hatred for the Jews was well known (1 Mac 7^{26}), was appointed governor of Judæa (2 Mac 14^{12}), and sent there with a large army. At first he attempted to parley with Judas, hoping to get possession of his person, but his treacherous design was discovered, and a battle took place at Capharsalama (site uncertain), in which Nicanor lost 500 men (1 Mac $7^{31\text{ff.}}$). The result of the engagement was probably indecisive; Josephus, who usually follows 1 Mac, asserts that Judas was defeated (*Ant.* XII. x. 4). A less probable account of these events is given in 2 Mac 14^{12-30}. There we are told that Simon, the brother of Judas, received a check at the hands of the invaders, but that afterwards Nicanor made friends with Judas; Alcimus complained to the king, who sent peremptory orders to his general to seize the Jewish leader; but Judas, perceiving the alteration in Nicanor's attitude towards him, withdrew to a place of safety. After the battle at Capharsalama, Nicanor fell back on Jerusalem, and greeted the Jewish priests (who came to meet him peaceably) with threats of vengeance unless they delivered Judas and his army into his hand (1 Mac 7^{33-38}, 2 Mac 14^{31-36}). He then returned to Beth-horon, where he met with reinforcements, while Judas encamped opposite to him at Adasa. The battle took place on the 13th of Adar, B.C. 161, and ended in the complete rout of the Syrians. Nicanor himself was among the first to fall. His body was found on the battlefield, and his head and right arm were cut off and exposed on the citadel of Jerusalem, while the day of the victory was commemorated annually as a festival under the name of 'Nicanor's day' (1 Mac 7^{39-50}, 2 Mac 15, cf. *Meg. Taan.* xii. 30).

H. A. WHITE.

NICANOR (Νικάνωρ).—One of the 'seven' chosen to relieve the apostles of their more secular duties (Ac 6^{5}). The name is Greek, and not uncommon. For later legends, which are valueless, see Baronius, *Annales*, i. 34. cccxix. A. C. HEADLAM.

NICODEMUS (Νικόδημος).—The 'ruler of the Jews' who came to Jesus by night. The name *Nicodemus* is found in Josephus (*Ant.* XIV. iii. 2) as that of an ambassador from Aristobulus to Pompey, and is plainly a Greek name which was borrowed by the Jews. We have it in the form נקדימון in the Talmud (*Taanith* 20. 1), where the name is derived from an incident in the life of one Bunai, commonly called Nicodemus ben Gorion (see Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* in Jn 3^{1}). This person has been identified with the Nicodemus of Jn 3. But Bunai lived until the destruction of Jerusalem, and it would seem from Jn 3^{4} that the inquirer who came to Jesus was then an old man (γέρων), so that for this reason, as well as for others, it would be precarious to identify the two.

Nicodemus is not mentioned by any evangelist save St. John; and attempts have been made to represent him as a typical character invented to serve a literary purpose by the author of the Fourth Gospel. Again, it has been suggested (see Schenkel's *Bib.-Lex. s.v.* 'Nikodemus') that he is to be identified with Joseph of Arimathæa, and that John has drawn on Synoptic material for his description of Nicodemus; cf. Mt 27^{57}, Mk 15^{43}, Lk 23^{50} with the notices of Nicodemus in Jn 3^{1-21} 7^{50} 19^{39} (see JOSEPH OF ARIMATHÆA). It is not necessary to suppose any such literary artifices; there are, as might be expected, many points of likeness between Nicodemus and Joseph, as men occupying a somewhat similar position in society; but there is no good reason for refusing to take the episodes about Nicodemus recorded in Jn as historical.

Nicodemus is represented as a Pharisee (Jn 3^{1}) and member of the Sanhedrin (*ib.* 7^{50}), probably a rich man (19^{39}), who came to Jesus at Jerusalem secretly and by night. The various notices of him suggest that although he became a faithful disciple he was a timid man, who dreaded hostile criticism. When the Pharisees would have arrested Jesus, Nicodemus puts in the cautious plea, 'Doth our law judge a man except it first hear from himself what he doeth?' (Jn 7^{51}). He shelters his defence behind a recognized principle of law, and, like most half-hearted advocates, he is treated with scant respect. So again at Jn 19^{38} it is Joseph of Arimathæa who ventures to ask Pilate for the body of Jesus, Nicodemus being ready to aid him in the work of entombment, although he does not take the initiative.

This timidity was characteristic, and seems to have been intellectual no less than physical. All through the conversation in Jn 3^{1-21} (which we take to be historical, although probably rehandled and condensed by the evangelist) his questionings are cautious, and he does not commit himself far. He begins by a half-patronizing recognition of the claims of Jesus to a divine mission, as attested by the signs of which he had heard. This is cut short at once by the startling words, 'Except a man be born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God' (cf. Mk 10^{17} for the question which was in the mind of the inquirer). Nicodemus answers that such new birth is inconceivable, and is bidden to remember that although 'that which is born of the flesh is flesh,' yet also that 'that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.' A man is not the mere victim of his pedigree and circumstances; the grace of the Spirit is not distributed by the law of heredity; it is like the wind, though not in its caprice yet in its irreducibility to rules which can be foreseen (Jn 3^{8}). Nicodemus is dismayed by so bold a figure, and asks 'How can these things be?' And then the tone of the Christ seems to change to stern rebuke: 'Art thou the teacher of Israel, and understandest not these things?' He who believes not the things of earth, the everyday facts which are patent to observation if he but chooses to open his eyes to them, is not likely to believe 'heavenly things.' The last words of Jesus to Nicodemus may possibly have a side reference to the secrecy of his visit:

'He that doeth the truth cometh to the light, that his works may be made manifest that they have been wrought in God' (Jn 3^{21}). Nicodemus disappears from the NT at Jn 19^{40}; but in an apocryphal narrative of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, which has come down to us from very early times in different forms (Greek, Latin, Coptic, not to speak of Irish and other secondary versions), and variously entitled the *Gospel of Nicodemus* or the *Acts of Pilate*, his history is carried further. See next article.

Other legends represent Nicodemus as having being baptized by Peter and John, and as being deprived of his office and banished from Jerusalem through the hostility of the Jews. Gamaliel is described as burying him near St. Stephen, and a later story tells of the finding of the bodies of Stephen, Gamaliel, and Nicodemus in a common tomb (3rd August 415, according to the Western Martyrologies). Further Christian legends regarding Nicodemus, particularly his alleged activity as a sculptor, are discussed by von Dobschütz in his *Christusbilder* ('Texte u. Untersuch.' 1899, pp. 280**–292**). J. H. BERNARD.

NICODEMUS, GOSPEL OF.—i. NAME.—*Evangelium Nicodemi* is a title which meets us for the first time in the 13th cent. (Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Spec. hist.* viii. 40 ff. [*c.* 1264], Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, 54, ed. Graesse, p. 241 [*c.* 1275]), and is in general use in manuscripts of the 15th cent. It is there employed to designate an apocryphal writing which in the older manuscripts is entitled ὑπομνήματα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (πραχθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, or the like), *Gesta Salvatoris* (*quæ invenit Theodosius Magnus imperator in Jerusalem in prætorio Pontii Pilati in codicibus publicis*). From Epiphanius (*Hær.* l. 1) we obtain, as an older abbreviation of this title, the name Ἄκτα Πιλάτου, and from Greg. Turon. (*Hist. Franc.* i. 21, 24) the name *Gesta Pilati*, which, however, in the light of the texts that have come down to us, cannot be intended in the sense that Pilate was the author. All that is attributed to Pilate is the preservation of the work in the archives of the prætorium. On the contrary, the author of the alleged Hebrew original is named from the first as Nicodemus, the translator as Ananias (Aeneas) Protektor.

Besides the above, we find in the manuscripts numerous other titles, such as ὑπόμνημα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀποκαθήλωσιν αὐτοῦ συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου; *Passio (et resurrectio) Jesu Christi; Acta passionis; Historia (relatio) de passione*; as well as *Evangelium Nazaræorum.*

ii. CONTENTS.—The writing gives a detailed account of the trial of Jesus before Pilate (chs. 1–11, called below 1^a), and of the action of the Sanhedrin subsequent to His death, which leads to the certain proof of His Resurrection and Ascension (chs. 12–16, called below 1^b). To this is added by way of appendix an account by two men who had been raised from the dead, Charinus and Leucius, of the *descensus ad inferos* of Jesus (chs. 17–27, called below **2**).

1^a. After an indication of the date, in the form of an expansion of Lk 3^1, the narrative opens with Christ being brought before Pilate on the charges of claiming the title of king, breaking the Sabbath, and abrogating the ancestral law of Israel. The reverence shown to the Lord by Pilate's footman, to which the Jews take exception, is supported by the miracle of the standard lowering itself before Jesus (ch. 1). The proceedings turn, in the first instance, upon the reproach of illegitimacy, which is refuted by twelve witnesses of the marriage of Mary with Joseph (ch. 2). After a paraphrase of Jn $18^{30\text{-}38}$ (chs. 3. 4), Nicodemus (ch. 5; cf Jn 7^{50}) and various persons healed by Jesus (ch. 6), among them Veronica, the woman with the issue of blood (ch. 7), come forward on behalf of Jesus. After all Pilate's endeavours to deliver Jesus and to change the sentiments of the Jews, including a fierce invective against their ingratitude, have proved in vain (chs. 8. 9), Pilate washes his hands in innocence and passes sentence of crucifixion between the two malefactors, Dysmas and Gestas (ch. 10). In the account of the crucifixion, which in the main follows Lk 23, the only noteworthy points are Pilate's contrition, when the centurion makes his report, and the incorrigibility of the Jews, who pronounce the darkening of the sun a natural phenomenon (ch. 11).

1^b. Joseph of Arimathæa's care for the burial of Jesus constitutes the transition to the second division: the Jews persecute him and Nicodemus and the others who had given evidence in favour of Jesus. Joseph is put in close custody, but after the Sabbath he is not to be found, in spite of the sealed door (ch. 12). At the same time Pilate's soldiers bring news of the empty tomb, without, indeed, finding their story credited by the Sanhedrin (ch. 13). Scarcely is this testimony silenced by bribery, when three men of Galilee appear, the priest Phinehas, the rabbi Addas, and the Levite Aggai, who had been witnesses of the ascension of Jesus on Mt. Malech (Mamilch). With injunctions of silence they are sent back with all speed to Galilee (ch. 14). But upon the proposal of Nicodemus, and after the example of Elisha, who allowed Elijah to be sought for (2 K $2^{15\text{-}18}$), a general search is instituted, which lasted for three days, and, although abortive as far as Jesus was concerned, led to the discovery of Joseph of Arimathæa, who, being then brought in state to Jerusalem, relates in what wondrous wise Jesus in person had freed him from prison (ch. 15). Rabbi Levi recalls the words of the aged Symeon about the child Jesus (Lk 2^{34}); the three men of Galilee, who are once more introduced, confirm on oath their former statements; Annas and Caiaphas seek in vain to set up a distinction between the translation of Enoch, Moses, and Elijah, and the disappearance of Jesus.

2. On Joseph's proposal there are now brought forward two men, Charinus and Leucius, sons of that aged Symeon, who had died but had been raised again, and have their dwelling-place at Arimathæa. Being adjured by the Sanhedrin to tell their story, they describe, each for himself, the occurrences in the underworld at the death of Jesus (ch. 17): how a light suddenly illuminating the darkness filled all the fathers with exultation, Isaiah repeated Is 9^1, Symeon Lk $2^{30\text{ff.}}$, John the Baptist Mt 2^1, Jn 1^{29} (ch. 18); Adam's son Seth told of the promise made to him at the gate of paradise (ch. 19); then appeared Satan to announce to Hades (personified) the arrival of a new august captive; but Hades grew pale at the thought that this is the same Jesus who had just wrested Lazarus from her grasp (ch. 20); she sought to bar her doors while the fathers recited Messianic passages (Ps 106^{16}, Is 26^{19}, Hos 13^{14}); then resounded twice over Ps 23^9, and, without Hades being able to prevent it, the Lord appeared in glory (ch. 21), and at her woeful cries laid hold upon Satan and gave him over to Hades, who then vented her fury upon this deviser of mischief (ch. 23); meanwhile the Lord, who had been joyfully greeted by the fathers, set up the cross as the symbol of triumph, and amid the songs of the redeemed ascended with them from the underworld (ch. 24); the archangel Michael then conducted them to paradise, where they met first Enoch and Elijah (ch. 25), and then the penitent robber (ch. 26). Thus far the narrative of the two risen ones, who make their deposition—one of them to Annas, Caiaphas, and Gamaliel, the other to Nicodemus and Joseph—and then suddenly vanish. The two statements as written down agree word for word, the Jews are shaken in their convictions, Joseph and Nicodemus report everything to Pilate, who causes the narrative to be incorporated in the Acts of his prætorium (ch. 27).

iii. VERSIONS AND MANUSCRIPTS.—The writing is extant (*a*) in a *Greek* text (only chs. 1–16), represented by some 12 MSS of 12th–15th cent., of which Par. gr. 770 (C) may be counted the best; some, like Par. gr. 929 (E) and still more Par. gr. 1021 (D), contain complete transformations and expansions, partly upon the lines of the canonical Gospels, and partly upon those of other apocrypha. Mon. gr. 192 (A), very much overrated by Tischendorf, is re-touched as to style. The so-called *Anaphora* (*et Paradosis*) *Pilati* as well as the so-called *Narratio Josephi* are frequently found appended to the *Evang. Nicodemi.*

(*b*) Nearest to the above text stands a *Coptic* version, edited by Fr. Rossi after a Turin papyrus manuscript, and made known by Tischendorf in a Latin translation by Peyron. This version is supposed to belong to the 5th cent.

(*c*, *d*) Then come two *Armenian* versions published by Conybeare after 3 MSS, in a Greek (Latin) rendering; *d* being a revision of *c* with the aid of Greek texts.

(*e*) Of far more importance is a *Latin* version diffused in numerous MSS (in Bernard's *Bibl. Angliæ et Hiberniæ* alone more than 50 may be counted), and belonging perhaps to the 5th or 6th cent. The oldest MS is a palimpsest, Vind. pal. lat. 565, from the 7th cent., completely deciphered and soon to be edited by Dr. Göldlin of Tiefenau; then come Mus. Brit. Royal 5 E xiii, belonging to the 8th cent., and a large number of MSS from the 9th, 10th, and 11th cents. Of those hitherto used, the purest text is exhibited by Einsiedl. 169 (called D^b by Tischendorf), of the 9th or 10th cent. Here, too, we find many different recensions, the most characteristic instance of which, extending back to the 11th cent. and represented, *inter al.*, by the ed. Lips. of 1516, has, in addition, a chronology from Adam to Christ, based upon secret Jewish tradition (ch. 28). A very frequent appendage is the letter of Pilate to the emperor Claudius (ch. 29). In one class of MSS the work is continued by the so-called *Cura sanitatis Tiberii*, the oldest text of the Veronica legend (von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 157**–203**), in another by the so-called *Vindicta Salvatoris*, a narrative of the destruction of Jerusalem (Tischendorf, *Evang. apocr.*^{2} 471–486). This Latin text in course of time gained in the West almost canonical authority, was co-ordinated with the other Gospels as an equally valuable source for the history of the Passion, and was thus taken up, *e.g.*, by Vincentius Bellovacensis almost entire into his *Speculum historiale*. On it are dependent all the numerous translations and recensions in prose and in verse which are met with in Western languages (cf. R. Wülcker, *Das Evangel. Nicodemi in der abendländ. Litteratur*, 1872). This is true also, as it appears, of the Slavonic texts (cf. M. Ssperanskij, 'The Slav. apocr. Gospels' in *Proc. of the viii archæol. Congress at Moscow*, 1890, ii, Moscow, 1895 [Russ.]). Nay, even a late Byzantine recension (cf. *g*) is probably influenced by the above-named Latin text.

(*f*) Beside this Latin 'Vulgate,' which, by the way, does not show in its Bible text any influence from the side of Jerome, stands a second *Latin* version, represented by Tischendorf's manuscripts ABC and some others, which Tischendorf in utterly uncritical fashion has mixed up with the former in chs. 1–16. It is distinguished from the first-named Latin version both by the style of its translation and by the underlying Greek text, to which it adheres closely (most nearly allied are codd. CGI). It sometimes utilizes the text of Jerome. The form of the *Descensus* (see **2**, above) is here manifestly more recent than in *e* (above).

(*g*) The latest text, very improperly placed alongside of *a* (above), is a Byzantine recension, which, extant in numerous MSS of 15th–17th cent., still constitutes part of the religious literature of the Gr. Church, and as such has sometimes been printed, *e.g.*, under the title: Ἱστορία ἀκριβὴς περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν σταύρωσιν καὶ ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τελεσθέντων (μετὰ εἰκόνων) συγγραφεῖσα τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίου τινὸς Αἰνέα, συγχρόνου τοῦ Κυρίου, μεταφρασθεῖσα μὲν εἰς τὴν Λατινίδα γλῶσσαν ὑπὸ Νικοδήμου Τοπάρχου τοῦ ἐκ Ῥώμης, μετενεχθεῖσα δ' εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ὑπὸ Ἀβερκίου ἱερομονάχου Ἁγιορείτου, Athens, 1889. The earlier editors, Thilo and Tischendorf, were led to their overestimate of this text by the circumstance that it is the only one that contains the *Descensus* (chs. 17–27) in Greek; but the latter is in a form decidedly later than either of the two Latin versions. The original Greek text, answering to the Latin *e* (above), emerges still from the *Homilies* of Eusebius of Alexandria (6th cent.). Cf. Augusti, *Eusebii Emeseni quæ supersunt opusc. Græca*, 1829; Thilo, *Ueber die Schriften des Eusebius von Alexandrien*, 1832; Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* lxxxvi. 1.

The Latin text was the first to be printed, and that during the 15th and 16th cents. at various presses, which only to a partial extent stood in relation to one another (see Hain, *Repert. bibl.*, Nos. 11749, 11750, 11751, Leipzig 1516, Venice 1522, Antwerp 1538; Herold's and Grynæus' *Orthodoxographa*, Basel 1555, 1569; J. A. Fabricius, *Cod. apocr. NT*^{2}, 1719, i. 238–300 and oft.). Frequently printed also is a German translation, agreeing with the Leipzig edition of 1516 (Hain, No. 11751 and oft., Marburg 1555, 1561, 1568), and another German translation of the 17th cent., *e.g.* Hamburg [*c.* 1720]. An Anglo-Saxon text was issued by Ed. Thwaites, Oxford, 1698.

The Greek text was first published by A. Birch, *Auctarium codicis apocr.* i., Havniæ 1804; better, J. C. Thilo, *Codex apocr. NT*, i., 1832 (Gr.-Lat., with an extremely valuable and learned commentary; reproduced, without the latter, by Giles, *Codex apocr. NT*, London 1852, i. 150–219). Fuller materials have been drawn from the MSS by Tischendorf (*Evangelia apocr.*, ^{1}1853, ^{2}1876), but are so uncritically used that one does better to adhere to Thilo's text. A new critical edition is in course of preparation by the present writer.

iv. DATE.—*Relation to the ancient 'Acta Pilati.'*—All known texts of *Evangel. Nicod.*, if one may trust the note as to its discovery, which is given in the form of a prologue, go back to a work dating from the time of Theodosius II. (425).

Where the prologue is wanting, this is due to subsequent rejection of it, as, for instance, in the majority of Latin MSS, which have still preserved in the title the reminiscence of Theodosius.

This work must, however, have been only a revision, for as early as 376 Epiphanius (*Hær.* l. 1, cf. Pseudo-Chrysos. *in Pascha hom.* vii. 2, ed. Montfaucon, viii. Spuria 277 d) presupposes the existence of a text similar to what we possess.

According to Lipsius, the older recension differed from the later in wanting not only the prologue but also chs. 17–27 (2 above), and perhaps also chs. 12–16 (1^b above), but this cannot be proved; the omission of 2 in *a b c d* indicates merely that their common archetype was shortened as compared with the text of 425. That some MSS of *g* mark a section at ch. 12, that from this point *e* and *f* more clearly part company, that 1^a attaches itself more closely to the canonical tradition, whereas 1^b like 2 gives a freer rein to fancy,—all this finds its explanation in the nature of the subject.

Eusebius, when in the year 325 he wrote his *Hist. Ecclesiæ*, was not yet acquainted with *our* writing. He mentions a report of Pilate to the emperor Tiberius (*HE* ii. 2, according to Tertull. *Apol.* 21), heathen *Acts of Pilate*, which, in derision of the Christians, were introduced by the emperor Maximin into the schools (*ib.* I. ix. 3, IX. v. 1, vii. 1: Πιλάτου καὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα; the so-called Leo source [Leo Gramm., ed. Bonn. 83; Theod. Melit., ed. Tafel, 60; Ekloge Hist., ed. Cramer, Anecdot. Par. ii. 293; Georg. Mon., ed. Muralt 378] names as the forger a *goëta*, Theoteknos, in the time of Maximinian; cf. also *Acta Probi, Tarachi et Andronici*, 37, 'Acta Sanctorum' 11th Oct. v. 579). Eusebius knows nothing, however, of a Christian writing. In face of this, stringent proof is demanded for the existence of our writing prior to the time of Eusebius, more especially as much of it cannot have been composed in its present form before the 4th or 5th century.

This proof has been supposed to be found on one side in the mention of Ἄκτα Πιλάτου in Justin, *Apol.* i. 35, 48 (cf. 38), and of *Acta Pilati* in Tertull. *Apol.* 21. Upon this evidence, Tischendorf does not hesitate to attribute our texts to the first half of the 2nd cent., and thinks that valuable supplements to the canonical account of the trial of Jesus may be derived from them. In opposition to him, Scholten, Lipsius, Lightfoot (*Apostolic Fathers*, i. 55), and Harnack have argued that the existence attributed by Justin to such *Acts of Pilate* is only a hypothetical one. Tertullian either had before him a report of Pilate to the emperor similar to the letter preserved in the *Acta*

Petri et Pauli, ed. Lipsius, i. 135 ff., 196 ff., and in *Evang. Nicod.* ch. 29 (so Lipsius), or, if one prefers to see in this letter an excerpt from Tertullian (so Harnack), Tertullian derived the notion of *Acts of Pilate* from the *Apology* of Justin, with which he was acquainted. As yet it has not been possible to prove the existence of any literary connexion whatever between what Justin and Tertullian, appealing to such *Acts of Pilate*, relate, and what is contained in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.

The requisite proof appeared, on another side, to be supplied by the discovery of the *Evangel. Petri*, whose contents, in so far as they go beyond the canonical tradition, some, notably H. v. Schubert, would trace back to the ancient *Acta Pilati*, a merely hypothetical *Grundschrift* of our *Evangel. Nicod.*; whereas, on the other hand, Th. Zahn (*Das Evangelium des Petrus*, 1893) holds the later Pilate literature to be influenced by the *Evangelium Petri*. As a matter of fact, the parallels cited from the 'Pilate literature' by no means suffice to prove that the *Evangel. Petri* utilizes traditions that had been committed to writing, and that these coincided with the *Grundschrift* of our *Evangel. Nicodemi*. The points of contact find their complete explanation on the assumption that the fashion of embellishing and interpreting the history of the Passion, as this comes out clearly in Justin, was known both to the author of the *Evangel. Petri* in the 2nd, and of the *Evangel. Nicod.* in the 4th (5th) cent.

Finally, J. Rendel Harris has started the hypothesis that the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, as we possess it, is only the reproduction in prose of a version of the Gospel in Homeric centones, and that it was this last-named work, dating as early as the 2nd cent., that Justin and Tertullian had in view—an ingenious suggestion, which, however, is exposed to the serious objection that the existence of such Christian Homeric centones cannot be proved earlier than the 4th (5th) century.

v. SOURCES.—The author uses, first of all, our four canonical Gospels, for the history of whose text certain passages of the *Evangel. Nicod.* are not without importance. The question as to the source of the other matter has not yet been sufficiently investigated. In details concerning the trial of Jesus, such as the form of summons and that used in pronouncing sentence behind the *velum*, the usage of the 4th (5th) cent. is reflected; the scattered Hebrew words with their Greek rendering appended we should be disposed to trace back to Origen's *Hexapla*. In the miracle of the standard lowering itself before Jesus, Münter has seen a parallel to the mark of honour paid by Pompey to the philosopher Posidonius. The details invented in chs. 12–17 (1^b above) find their explanation for the most part in the motives of the Gospel narrative and the evidence of prophecy. Only for 2 does the external garb, to speak of nothing else, make it probable that we should have recourse to a written source, current presumably under the name of Leucius Charinus, the alleged author of various apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles*. The Gnostic character which has been claimed for the latter by Münter, Lipsius, v. Schubert, and others, is denied by Harnack. The point requires fresh examination in connexion with the whole history of the *Descensus* conceptions.

vi. PURPOSE.—The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in its present form is plainly meant only for religious edification. In this way wide currency was given to two apologetic ideas, which already in the canonical Gospels show themselves with increasing clearness: (1) that the heathen judge, being perfectly convinced, after examination, of the innocence of Jesus, was compelled only by the obstinate wickedness of the Jews to pass sentence of death; and (2) that the resurrection of Jesus was proved on undeniable evidence even to His enemies. If we may assume, with Lipsius, a polemical backward allusion to the heathen *Acts of Pilate* spoken of above, much is explained in the narrative of the trial, which otherwise appears unintelligible: *e.g.* how Pilate examines in full detail the reproach of illegitimacy brought against Jesus (in answer to which, not the miraculous birth but only the marriage of Mary with Joseph is established!), as well as the charge of Sabbath desecration, whereas the accusation of inciting to rebellion hardly obtains a hearing at all. Of *Tendenz* in the sense of any special ecclesiastical or theological shade of opinion one cannot speak; traces of Judaistic Christianity (Brunn, Münter, Hofmann) are wanting equally with echoes of Gnosticism. The writing is rather an interesting document of a general-Christian character, from which definite and sharply formulated theological notions are absent. From the point of view of the history of dogma it is an anomaly, whether one assigns it to the 2nd, the 4th, or the 5th cent. As an offset to this, however, it could be brought under the head of that species of narrative literature, composed for purposes of religious edification, which especially from the 4th cent. onwards obtained favour in Christian circles. The nearest parallel is supplied by the *Acta Martyrum*. As in these, so also in the *Evangel. Nicod.*, a description of the judicial process occupies the foreground (1^a); the usual account of the tortures inflicted upon the martyrs is in this instance, owing to the peculiarity of the subject, replaced by the proofs of our Lord's resurrection (1^b); and, finally, the *Descensus* (2) corresponds to the miracles wrought by the martyrs after their death. An evangelical character in the sense of an equal authority with the canonical Gospels is certainly not claimed by the work itself; such a character was first imposed upon it by the uncritical search for legends in the 13th century.

vii. COMPOSITION AND INFLUENCE.—The composition of the first part (1^a and 1^b) is not particularly happy: the continual leading in and out of the accused, the accumulated testimonies by persons who had been healed, the twice-repeated entrance of the three men from Galilee, all go to show that the author lacked the art of moulding his material aright. On the other hand, the second part (2) is not only in itself well constructed, but it contains here and there—for instance, in the description of the conflict between Satan and Hades—passages of poetic value which have found their parallels in Milton and Klopstock. Here, too, the diction attains a higher level, whereas elsewhere the style is that of dry, at times almost wearisome, narrative, and the language, in imitation of the canonical Gospels, flows on in a series of short sentences without any attempt at a periodic structure. Yet, in spite of—or perhaps just because of—this readily intelligible kind of narration, our *Gospel* exercised from an early period onwards enormous influence. We have already spoken of its wide diffusion in manuscripts and the frequent use made of it in literature, especially subsequent to the 13th cent. The Passion plays of the 15th cent. show that the contents of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* had passed into the popular consciousness as an integral element of the Life of Jesus. Plastic art also has found its motives here: not only are we acquainted with two miniature series illustrating the *Evangel. Nicod.* in a Toledo and a Milan MS of the 13th cent., but already upon the sculptures (probably of the 6th cent.) of the Ciborium of St. Mark's at Venice, the so-called *columnæ cochleatæ* (Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte crist.* vi. tav. 497^2), there is found a scene which formerly was wrongly taken to represent the scourging of Jesus, but is really nothing else than His being led before Pilate, as described in *Evangel. Nicod.*, with the obeisance of the footman and the miracle of the standard. The influence which Ussoff alleges to have been exercised by our *Gospel* upon the miniatures of the Codex Rossannensis is certainly rightly questioned by Haseloff.

See, further, art. **PILATE** (*ad fin.*).

LITERATURE.—G. L. Brunn, *Disquisitio hist.-crit. de indole, ætate, et usu libri apocr. vulgo inscripti Evangel. Nicod.*, Berlin, 1794; Münter, *Wahrscheinliche Zusätze zu Christi Leidensgeschichte nach Nicod. Evangel.*, 1816; Thilo, *Codex apocr. NT*, i., 1832, cxviii-clx, 487-800; A. Maury, *Nouvelles recherches sur l'époque à laquelle a été composé l'ouvrage connu sous le titre d'évangile Nicodème*, 1850; R. Hofmann, *Das Leben Jesu nach den Apocryphen*, Leipzig, 1851, pp. 334–471 (an abstract in German, with commentary after Thilo), cf. the same writer's art. in Hauck's *PRE*³ i. (1896) 658 ff.; C. Tischendorf, *Pilati circa Christum judicio quid lucis afferatur ex Actis Pilati*, Lips. 1855; Scholten, *De oudste getuigenissen angaande de Schriften des Nieuwen Testaments*, 1866; R. A. Lipsius, *Die Pilatus-Akten kritisch untersucht*, Kiel, 1871 [² 1886]; Fr. Huidekoper, *Indirect testimony of history to the genuineness of the Gospels* (Works, 1887, ii. 105 ff.), *Acts of Pilate from a transcript of the Codex designated by Thilo as Paris D* [the *g* of above article], 1887 (*ib.*); H. v. Schubert, *Die Compos. des pseudopetrin. Evangelien-Fragments*, 1893 [has also appeared in English], p. 175 ff.; Ad. Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchrist. Litt.* I. 21–24, 865, 907, 922, II. i. 603–612; G. Krüger, *Gesch. d. altchrist. Litt.* 36; Ad. Graf zu Erbach-Fürstenau, 'l' Evangelo di Nicodemo' in *Archivio storico dell' arte*, ii. 3 (1896), 225–237; Haseloff, *Codex Rossanensis*, 1898, p. 9 ff.; J. Rendel Harris, *The Homeric Centones and the Acts of Pilate*, London, 1899 (reviewed by the present writer in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1899, p. 333 ff.).

VON DOBSCHÜTZ.

NICOLAITANS (Νικολαῖται).—Twice mentioned in the NT (Rev $2^{6.15}$) as a sect whose works were hated by the ascended Lord and by the Ephesian Church, but whose teaching was upheld by some professed Christians of Pergamum, and apparently tolerated by the Church there. Nicolaitan doctrine is associated with 'the teaching of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, (inducing them) to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication' (Rev 2^{14}). As Nicolaitan teaching is said to be held 'similarly' (ὁμοίως), we may conclude that the Nicolaitans were a kindred antinomian sect, who abused the doctrine, emphasized by St. Paul, of Gentile liberty from the Mosaic Law. In defiance of that apostle's warnings (1 Co 6^{13-20} $8^{9.10}$ 10^{28})* as well as of the decree of the Council of Jerusalem (Ac 15^{29}), they permitted participation in heathen feasts connected with idolatry and in the fornication which frequently accompanied such feasts. The Nicolaitans represent a more advanced and aggressive stage of antinomianism than that which was found in the Corinthian Church. They are organized into a sect, with a 'doctrine,' and stand in a nearer relationship to the 'false teachers' referred to in Jude $^{4.11.12}$, 2 P $2^{1.2.14.15}$, who 'turned the grace of God into lasciviousness,' 'denied even the Master' (probably through countenancing idolatry), and 'followed the way of Balaam,' 'running riotously in his error.'

It has been doubted by some writers whether any sect actually called Nicolaitans existed. The Bk. of Rev, it is argued, is allegorical, and Νικόλαος, 'conqueror of the people,' may be regarded as a symbolical name, the Greek equivalent of Balaam (בלעם), which is held to signify either 'destroyer of the people' (from עם and בלע) or 'lord of the people' (עם and בל, contr. from בעל).* But, apart from the fact that the two names are not quite equivalent, and that the Balaamites and Nicolaitans, although associated, are not identified, the numerous early references to the sect and to its claim to have a real Nicolas as its founder (see next article), indicate that the writer of Rev describes heretics really so called. According to Irenæus, they lived 'lives of unrestrained indulgence,' teaching that 'adultery and eating things sacrificed to idols' are a matter of 'indifference' (*adv. Hær.* i. 26). Clement of Alex. speaks of their souls as 'buried in the mire of vice' (*Strom.* ii. 20). Tertullian stigmatizes them as destroying the happiness of sanctity in their maintenance of lust and luxury (*adv. Marc.* i. 29, cf. *de Pudic.* 19). In the *Apost. Const.* vi. 8, 'those falsely-called Nicolaitans' are characterized as 'impudent in uncleanness.' 'Ignatius' (longer recension) brands them as 'impure lovers of pleasure,' and as 'addicted to calumnious† speeches' (*Trall.* 11, *Phil.* 6). So far, we have merely an echo of what we read in Rev; but other early references indicate that, in addition to immorality, the Nicolaitans were tainted with incipient Gnosticism. Irenæus states (*adv. Hær.* iii. 11) that the Cerinthian doctrines of a Demiurge distinct from the Supreme God, and of a Doketic Incarnation, had already, before Cerinthus, been disseminated by the Nicolaitans, whom accordingly he describes as a 'fragment (ἀπόσπασμα) of the Gnosis falsely so-called.' Tertullian (*de Præs. Hær.* 33) writes of the Cainite Gnostics of his time as modern Nicolaitans.‡ Hippolytus also (*Ref. Hær.* vii. 24) and Philastrius (*de Hær.* 88) include the Nicolaitans among Gnostics.

For the relation between the Nicolaitans and Nicolas of Antioch, see art. NICOLAS. There appears to be no sufficient reason for rejecting the traditionary explanation of the connexion as supplied by Clem. of Alex. (without accepting all details). We know, from other instances, the anxiety of early heretics (*e.g.* the Basilidians and the Valentinians) to father their views upon some apostle or associate of the apostles. At the same time it is possible that a different Nicolas was the real founder of the sect, and was confused afterwards with the better-known 'deacon.' Cassian states (*Collat.* xviii. 16) that some in his time (A.D. 420) held that the founder was some other Nicolas; and in the *Lives of the Prophets, Apostles*, etc., ascribed (erroneously) to Dorotheus, bishop of Tyre, in the end of the 3rd cent., Nicolas of Antioch is identified with a bishop Nicolas of Samaria who is said to have become a heretic in company with

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* The supposition that the reference in Rev to the Nicolaitans embraces a covert attack on St. Paul or Paulinism (Baur, Renan, Volkmar, and others) is foreclosed by the apostle's own testimony, although it is possible that certain Nicolaitans professed to be his followers. St. Paul, while not condemning those who bought in the market, or partook of, at an ordinary friendly meal, food which might have been previously sacrificed to idols, is careful to disallow any such participation as would either involve the countenance of idolatry, or 'cast a stumbling-block' before any Christian brother (see Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity*, ii. 243 ff.).

* This view, originally hinted at by Cocceius (*Cogit. in Ap.*), was first enunciated by Heumann (*Acta Erud.* for 1712, p. 179), who adopts the interpretation 'destroyer,' and then by Vitringa (*Anakr. Apoc.*), who interprets Balaam as 'lord of the people.' So also Michaelis, Eichhorn, Ewald, Hengstenberg, Stier. Trench (*Seven Churches*, p. 78 f.), accepting the theory that the name Nicolaitans in Rev is symbolical, supposes that 'one of the innumerable branches of the Gnostic heresy, springing up at a later day, assumed this name which they found ready-made for them in the Apocalypse.' The Gnosticism of the Nicolaitans has been recently used by Voelter, who associates them with the Carpocratians, as an argument in favour of assigning the seven epistles in the Bk. of Rev to about A.D. 140 (*Entst. d. Apok.* pp. 44 f. 191); but the germs of Gnosticism existed admittedly in the Apostolic Age; and it is quite natural for writers of the 2nd and 3rd cents. to apply the name to heretics, who flourished before its adoption as a formal designation. The incipient Gnosticism of the Nicolaitans can be denied (as by McGiffert, *Chr. in Ap. Age*, p. 625) only on the assumption that Iren. Tert. and Hipp. simply inferred its existence from the immoral outcome of Nicolaitan doctrine.

† The *Chronicon Paschale* (Ol. 221) speaks of Simon, bishop of Jerus., as *διαβληθείς* by Nicolaitans, in A.D. 107.

‡ 'Sunt et nunc alii Nicolaitæ: Caiana hæresis dicitur.' This suggests that by A.D. 200 the N. had ceased to exist as a separate sect, and had been absorbed by other sects of Gnostics. The name was applied by the Synod of Piacenza (1095) to 'incontinent' (including married) priests and deacons (Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* v. 194).

Simon Magus. Ps.-Doroth. (*c.* 6th cent.) is not a trustworthy authority; but the connexion with the 'father of Gnosticism' is suggestive; and since Nicolas of Antioch is nowhere else referred to as a bishop, or as associated with Samaria, the tradition *may* indicate the existence of another Nicolas, with whom the pseudo-Dorotheus confounded Nicolas of Antioch.*

Literature.—Janus, *Dissert. de Nicolait.*; Ittig, *Dissert.*; Mosheim, *Dissert.*; Vitringa, *Anakrisis Apocal.*; Burton, *Heresies of the Apostolic Age*; Trench, *Epistles to the Seven Churches*; Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.*; Voelter, *Entstehung der Apoc.*; Weizsäcker, *Apost. Zeitalter*; McGiffert, *Christianity in Ap. Age*; Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity*; the Commentaries of Alford, Lange, Volkmar, Kliefoth, Stern, Wordsworth, Bousset, Zöckler, etc.; Wohlenberg in *Neue kirch. Zeitschrift* for 1895.

H. Cowan.

NICOLAS (*Νικόλαος*, 'conqueror of the people').—A proselyte † (to Judaism) of Antioch; one of the seven men selected by the Christians of Jerusalem and appointed by the apostles to look after the 'daily ministration' to the poor (Ac 6^5).‡ He is nowhere mentioned afterwards in the NT, and is first referred to elsewhere by Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* i. 26), who states that the Nicolaitans of Rev 2 were his followers. Hippolytus (*Ref. Hær.* vii. 24) declares more distinctly that Nicolas was a heretic, who 'departed from correct doctrine' and inculcated 'indifference of life.' Pseudo-Tertullian (*adv. omn. Hær.* 3, probably of 3rd cent.) charges him still more strongly with immoral teaching. On the other hand, in the longer Greek recension of the Ignatian Epistles, mention is twice made of those who are 'falsely called Nicolaitans' (*Trall.* 11, *Phil.* 6; cf. *Ap. Const.* vi. 8); suggesting that the Nicolaitans improperly claimed Nicolas as their founder. Eusebius (*HE* iii. 29) refers to this pretension in a connexion which implies that he regarded it as unfounded. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 4, quoted by Eus. *l.c.*) relates what would readily explain at once the claim of the Nicolaitans, the testimony of 'Ignatius' and Eusebius, and a probable misconception by Irenæus, Hippolytus, and other subsequent writers. Clement states that Nicolas had a beautiful wife, and that, on 'being reproached by the apostles for his jealousy, he conducted her into the midst of them, and gave her over (*ἐπέτρεψεν*)'—*i.e.* presumably, offered to do so—to any one who might wish to marry her.§ To this anecdote is appended a saying of Nicolas that 'one ought to abuse' or 'use hardly (*παραχρᾶσθαι*) the flesh.' Clement is careful, however, to state his own interpretation of that phrase as signifying not indulgence in but abstinence from fleshly lusts; and he adds that Nicolas himself lived a virtuous married life, and that his family also were chaste. The over-complacency of Nicolas regarding his wife is scarcely credible, and is perhaps a misrepresentation of some protest of N. against an imputation of self-indulgence; but the term *παραχρᾶσθαι* may well have been employed by him (although not very happily, owing to the ambiguity) in the sense of mortifying the flesh through rigid abstinence, and yet have been taken up by others (inclined towards Antinomianism) in the Gnostic sense of mortification through inordinate gratification. If, however, Nicolas became eventually a teacher of immoral heresy, the apostasy of the last-named among the Seven constitutes a striking parallel to that of the last-named among the Twelve. For the Literature see previous article.

H. Cowan.

NICOPOLIS (*Νικόπολις*) is mentioned by St. Paul in writing to Titus as a place at which he intended to spend the winter, Tit 3^{12}. Of the various cities named Nicopolis, it is nearly certain that Nicopolis in Epirus is meant. That was a city on the promontory which shuts in the gulf of Ambracia (now called Arta) on the north-west; facing the Nicopolitan promontory was that of Actium, shutting in the gulf on the south-west; about half a mile of sea separates the two. In September B.C. 31 Augustus lay encamped on the northern promontory, and Antony on the southern, and the decisive battle was fought in the adjacent waters. Augustus founded in honour of the victory a city on the spot where his land army had encamped on the night before the battle, and called his new foundation 'the city of victory.' The site is now deserted; and the mediæval city Prevesa has taken its place, about 5 miles south on the extreme southern point of the promontory, looking across to Actium. There was a temple of Apollo at Actium, overlooking the scene of the battle; and the sudden storm, which struck the faces of Antony's sailors and contributed not a little to his defeat, was attributed to the direct intervention of the god on the side of his favoured Augustus. Actium had been previously the more important site; but the victor now resolved to make a great city at Nicopolis. He concentrated there the population of many decaying Greek cities of Acarnania and Ætolia, gave the new city the rights and honours of a Roman colony, made it a leading member of the Amphictyonic Council, and instituted a quinquennial festival sacred to Apollo, with musical and athletic sports, and competition of ships and of chariots. This festival was placed on the same rank as the four great Greek games—the Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean; and must have attracted crowds to the city every fourth year. The circumstances connected with the foundation and peopling of Nicopolis are very fully discussed by Kuhn, *Entstehung der Städte der Alten*.

Nicopolis was thus the great centre for the west coast of Acarnania and Epirus, and was on that account selected by St. Paul for a residence of some duration, in the course of which he hoped to evangelize the entire province of Epirus and Acarnania: it is indeed not quite certain that that province, which existed in Trajan's reign, had been constituted in St. Paul's time; but the probability is that it had. The selection of Nicopolis as a mission centre proves that the apostle had arranged a methodical scheme of work in order to fill up the gap in his evangelization of the empire: he had founded churches on the eastern or Ægean side of the Epirote-Macedonian peninsula, but the western side was still a blank, and in this he now proposed to commence work.

The circumstances in which St. Paul formed that resolution and communicated it to Titus can only be guessed at. It is even uncertain whether he actually visited Nicopolis. According to the subscription added to the letter, he wrote from Nicopolis to Titus; but that is a late and untrustworthy addition. The most natural (in fact, almost necessary) interpretation is that he wrote from some other place; he mentions his resolve to spend the winter 'there,' not 'here,' and the perfect tense *κέκρικα* shows that he is writing, not from the point of view of the recipient of the letter, but simply as he thinks and feels. A journey, therefore, lay before him to Nicopolis. Taking this in conjunction with the fact that some time later he, from Rome, wrote to Timothy and indicated that he had at no distant time passed through Miletus and Corinth (2 Ti 4^{20}), the conjecture is at least a tempting one that he had had in mind to go by Corinth to Nicopolis. Moreover, as the words of 2 Ti 4^{20} would hardly suggest that he had been arrested in Corinth, the probability is that he reached Nicopolis, and that he was arrested there while prosecuting his work, and sent to Rome to be tried there as a Roman citizen.

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* In the *Acta Apost. Apoc.* of pseudo-Abdias (embodied in Fabric. *Cod. Apoc.* vol. i. p. 498 ff.), usually ascribed to the 6th cent., there is an account of another Nicolas, who after a life of profligacy is said to have been converted in old age by the Apostle Andrew; but, as he does not appear to have been a teacher, he could hardly have founded a sect.

† It does not follow (though it may be the case) that Nicolas was the only one of the seven who was not a Jew by birth. The designation, 'proselyte of Antioch,' may have been inserted owing to St. Luke's personal acquaintance with Nicolas, both being natives (if Eus., *HE* iii. 4, can be trusted) of that city.

‡ Epiph. (*Hær.* i. 20) and Ps.-Doroth. include N. among the 'Seventy' (Lk 10^1); the latter adding that he became bishop of Samaria (see preceding article).

§ Epiph. (*adv. Hær.* i. 25), under the influence of monasticism, transfers to the Apostolic Age the later unscriptural disparagement of married life, and twists the record of Clement into a story of how Nicolas, 'following the counsels of perfection,' separated from his wife, but, 'being unable to persevere in his resolution, returned to her again, as a dog to his vomit, and then justified his conduct by licentious principles, which occasioned the foundation of the sect of the Nicolaitans.'

The reference to Nicopolis and to the supposed journey are necessarily connected with the disputed question of the authenticity and trustworthiness of the Pastoral Epistles. Those who deny that those Epistles can be accepted as a rational foundation on which to construct the history of St. Paul's life, will of course take no account of Nicopolis. But those who accept them as recording trustworthy historical statements must date them some years after the first Roman captivity, and conclude that St. Paul was acquitted on his first trial. Some of those even who deny the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles, admit, like Harnack, that they contain historical information. Then the earliest possible time when St. Paul could have been arrested for preaching Christianity would be after the outbreak of the Neronian persecution. The winter that he proposed to spend at Nicopolis, therefore, must be that of 64–65, or 65–66, or 66–67.

The later history of Nicopolis is short. After falling into decay, it was restored by Julian about 362; and afterwards it was captured by the Goths and destroyed, but again was restored by Justinian, as Procopius, *de Aedif.* iv. 2, describes. It is mentioned as the metropolis of Old Epirus by Hierocles about A.D. 530, and retained that position in the ecclesiastical organization; but a late mediæval list of cities that changed their names mentions Νικόπολις ἡ νῦν Πρέβεζα, implying that Prevesa had taken its place and dignity. There are many remains of the ancient city, on which the guide-books of Murray, Baedeker, etc., may be consulted.

W. M. RAMSAY.

NIGER (Νίγερ).—Among the prophets and teachers that were at Antioch when Barnabas and Paul were sent out on their first missionary journey, was 'Symeon, which is called Niger' (Ac 13^{1}). *Niger* was probably the Gentile name which he had assumed. The name is found as a Roman cognomen, and a certain Niger of Peræa is mentioned in Jos. *BJ* II. xix. 2. Nothing further is known about the Niger of Ac 13^{1}, and there do not appear to be even any legends.

A. C. HEADLAM.

NIGHT (לַיִל, לַיְלָה [the ending ָה being prob. radical and not ה loc.—*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*], Aram. לֵילְיָא, νύξ).—Besides representing these properly equivalent Heb. and Gr. words, 'night' stands in AV once for חֹשֶׁךְ ('darkness'), Job 26^{10} (RV 'darkness'); thrice for נֶשֶׁף ('twilight'), Is 5^{11} (RV 'night'), 21^{4} 59^{10} (RV 'twilight'); and four times for עֶרֶב ('evening'), Gn 49^{27} (RV 'even'), Lv 6^{20} (RV 'evening'), Job 7^{4} (RV 'night'), Ps 30^{5} (RV 'night,' RVm 'even'). לַיְלָה is tr^{d} 'night season,' Job 30^{17}, and לֵילוֹת 'night seasons,' Ps 16^{7}. The Aram. בות ('to pass the night') occurs Dn 6^{18}, and in NT we have *μεσονύκτιον* ('midnight'), Mk 13^{35}, Lk 11^{5}, Ac 16^{25} 20^{7}; *διανυκτερεύειν* ('to continue all night'), Lk 6^{12}; *νυχθήμερον* ('a night and a day'), 2 Co 11^{25}. RV omits 'night' on textual grounds from four passages where the word appears in AV, viz. Mt 27^{64}, Mk 14^{27}, Jn 7^{50}, 2 P 3^{10}.

The simple conception of night as the period of darkness alternating with daylight is embodied in the first creation narrative (Gn $1^{4.5}$), which describes how the darkness (חֹשֶׁךְ) was divided by God from the light, and was called Night (לַיְלָה). Darkness and night are similarly identified in Ps 104^{20}, and night is a synonym for darkness in Am 5^{8}, Mic 3^{6}, Wis $17^{2.5.14.21}$. The regular succession of days and nights represents the permanent order of the universe (Gn 8^{22}, Jer $33^{20.25}$). As the daytime was assigned to the sun, so the night was assigned to the moon and the stars (Gn $1^{14.16.18}$, Ps 136^{9}, Jer 31^{35}). Night as a part of the creation is God's (Ps 74^{16}), and bears witness to His glory (Ps 19^{2}).

The following usages of '*night' in connexion with 'day'* are noteworthy. (*a*) *Time is measured in terms of both.* Thus we find 'three days and three nights,' 1 S 30^{12}, Jon 1^{17}, Mt 12^{40}; 'seven days and seven nights,' Job 2^{13}; 'forty days and forty nights,' Gn $7^{4.12}$ (the flood), Ex 24^{18} etc. (Moses on Mt. Sinai), 1 K 19^{8} (Elijah at Horeb), Mt 4^{2} (Christ's temptation). (*b*) 'Day and night' or 'night and day' expresses the *continuousness* of an action or condition either during a definite time (Lv 8^{35}, Est 4^{16}, Ac 20^{31}) or indefinitely, as of work (1 Th 2^{9}, 2 Th 3^{8}); of grief and trouble (Ps 32^{4} 42^{3}, Jer 9^{1} 14^{17}, La 2^{18}); of prayer (Ps 88^{1}, 2 Mac 13^{10}, Lk 2^{37}, 1 Th 3^{10}, 1 Ti 5^{5}, 2 Ti 1^{3}); of meditation in the law (Jos 1^{8}, Ps 1^{2}); of God's service (Jth 11^{17}, Ac 26^{7}). In Rev 20^{10} 'day and night' is followed by 'for ever and ever.' In Mk 4^{27} 'night and day' has the special sense of 'day after day,' 'as time goes on.' (*c*) 'All day and all night' is used of circumstances that are *exceptionally prolonged*, as in Ex 10^{13} (an east wind), Nu 11^{32} (the gathering of quails), 1 S 19^{24} (Saul's ecstasy), 28^{20} (Saul's fast), 1 Mac 5^{50} (the assault on Ephron).

Night is the natural time for daily work to cease (Jn 9^{4}), and for rest and sleep (Sir 40^{5}, 1 Th 5^{7}). Wakefulness at night is abnormal (Est 6^{1}), and is usually due to sickness or to painful excitement (Job $7^{3.4}$ 30^{17}, Ec 2^{23} 8^{16}). It is at night that excessive grief finds vent (Ps 6^{6} 30^{5}, La 1^{2}, To 10^{7}). On the other hand, not only do wild beasts roam at night (Ps 104^{20}), but some men are called to night duties, as the priests in the temple (Ps 134^{1}), the city watchmen (Is 21^{8}), shepherds (Lk 2^{8}), fishermen (Lk 5^{5}, Jn 21^{3}). The diligence of the virtuous woman is shown by her working at night (Pr $31^{15.18}$).

Night is also the season of dreams and divine communications. Dreams are called 'visions of the night,' and appear in Scripture not only as significant of the future (Gn 40^{5} etc.), but also as direct means of divine revelation. God speaks in a dream by night to Abimelech (Gn 20^{3}), to Laban (Gn 31^{24}), to Solomon (1 K 3^{5}, 2 Ch 1^{7}); and in visions of the night to Jacob (Gn 46^{2}), and to Paul (Ac 18^{9}). Zechariah 'saw by night' the visions described in his prophecies (Zec 1^{8}), and 'night visions' are repeatedly mentioned as the means of divine revelation to Daniel (Dn 2^{19} $7^{2.7.13}$). Apart from any special mention of dreams, God speaks at night to Abraham (Gn 26^{24}), to Balaam (Nu 22^{20}), to Gideon (Jg 6^{25}), to Samuel (1 S $3^{4ff.}$ 15^{16}), to Solomon (2 Ch 7^{12}), to Paul (directly Ac 23^{11}, and by an angel Ac 27^{23}). The 'word of the Lord' came by night to Nathan (2 S 7^{4}, 1 Ch 17^{3}).

The darkness of night is a hindrance to active movement, causing men to stumble (Is 59^{10}, Jn 11^{10}) and grope (Job 5^{14}). On the other hand, it is favourable to secrecy. Hence night was chosen for secret visits (1 S 28^{3}, Jn 3^{2} 19^{39}) and treacheries (Jn 13^{30}). Daring exploits were carried out by night, such as Gideon's destruction of the altar of Baal (Jg 6^{27}), and his visit to the camp of Midian (Jg 7^{9}); David's visit to the camp of Saul (1 S 26^{7}); the rescue of Saul's remains (1 S 31^{12}); Nehemiah's survey of Jerusalem (Neh 2$^{12ff.}$); the murder of Holofernes (Jth 13^{14}). For the same reason in war night was a favourite time for ambushes (Jos 8^{3}, Jg 9$^{32.34}$ 16^{2}, 2 K 6^{14}), and surprises (Gn 14^{15}, Jos 10^{9}, Jg 7$^{19ff.}$, 1 S 14^{36}, 2 S 2^{29} 17^{1}, 2 K 8^{21}, 2 Ch 21^{9}, Jer 6^{5}, 1 Mac 4$^{1.5}$ 5^{29} 12$^{26.27}$ 13^{22}, 2 Mac 8^{7} 12^{9}). It was in the night that Sennacherib's army was destroyed (2 K 19^{35}), and that panic fell on the Syrians (2 K 7^{12}). Night was consequently a time when danger was to be apprehended (Ps 91^{5}, Ca 3^{8}), and when death and sudden destruction might come (Ex 12$^{12.30}$, Job 34^{25} 36^{20}, Hos 4^{5}, Lk 12^{20} 17^{34}). Night was the safest time for flight and escape, as in the cases of Zedekiah at the Captivity (2 K 25^{4}, Jer 39^{4} 52^{7}); Joseph and Mary (Mt 2^{14}); Paul at Damascus (Ac 9^{25}), at Thessalonica (Ac 17^{10}), and at Jerusalem (Ac 23^{23}). The great escape of Israel from Egypt was remembered as having taken place by night (Ex 12$^{31.42}$, Dt 16^{1}), and it was at night that the apostles were repeatedly delivered from prison (Ac 5^{19} 12^{6}). Night was the opportunity of the thief (Gn 31^{39}, Job 24^{14}, Jer 49^{9}, Ob ^{5}, 1 Th 5^{2}. See also Mt 28^{13}). The quietness of night made it a fitting time for prayer and communion with God (1 S 15^{11}, Ps 16^{7} 17^{3} 22^{2} 119^{55}, Jth 6^{21} 11^{17}, Lk 6^{12}).

Night was the season of festive pleasure (Is 21^{4}), which might be innocent and holy (Job 35^{10}, Ps 42^{8} 77^{6}, Is 30^{29}), or might degenerate into drunkenness and sensuality (Gn 19$^{33ff.}$, Jg 19^{25}, Pr 7^{9}, Is 5^{11}, 1 Th 5^{7}).

Besides darkness, the physical features of night include dew (Ca 5^{2}) and frost (Gn 31^{40}, Jer 36^{30}). It was at night that the manna fell in the wilderness (Nu 11^{9}).

The night was divided into **watches** (Ps 90^{4}). Under the Jewish system followed in OT these were three in number. We have 'the beginning of the watches' (La 2^{19}), 'the middle watch' (Jg 7^{19}), and 'the morning watch' (Ex 14^{24}). In NT four stages of the night are distinguished, viz. evening, midnight, cock-crowing, and morning (Mk 13^{35}). These may be taken as corresponding to the four watches into which the night was divided by the Romans. Mention is made of the second and third watches (Lk 12^{38}), and of the fourth watch (Mt 14^{25}).

Midnight is specified as the hour when certain impressive incidents, historical or parabolic, took place, such as the death of the firstborn in Egypt (Ex 11^{4} 12^{29}); the earthquake at Philippi (Ac 16^{25}); the summons to meet the bridegroom (Mt 25^{6}, cf. Mk 13^{35}).

Night is used as a figure for death, which ends life's work (Jn 9^{4}). The present age, to be closed by the coming of Christ, is described as the night which precedes the day (Ro 13^{12}). By another metaphor night represents the sin and ignorance from which Christians have already escaped (1 Th 5^{5}). One of the glories of the new Jerusalem will be the absence of night (Rev 21^{25} 22^{5}).

JAMES PATRICK.

NIGHT HAWK (תַּחְמָס *taḥmāṣ*, *γλαύξ*, *noctua*).—*Taḥmāṣ* occurs twice (Lv 11^{16}, Dt 14^{15}) in the list of unclean birds. Our view of its meaning will be influenced by that which we take of the signification of the preceding word בַּת־הַיַּעֲנָה *bath-hayya'ănāh*. AV translates this in all the eight passages where it occurs 'owl,' but in four (Job 30^{29}, Is 13^{21} 34^{13} 43^{20}) the margin has 'ostrich.' In all of them RV gives 'ostrich.' The LXX generally renders it *στρουθός*, but sometimes *σειρήνος*. As the latter is a fabulous bird, the weight of the LXX is with RV. Many have thought that *taḥmāṣ* refers to the ostrich, the root *ḥāmaṣ* signifying 'to be *violent* or *unjust*,' and that it corresponds to the Arab *ẓalîm*, which also signifies 'the *unjust bird*'=the ostrich. But if 'ostrich' is the proper rendering for *bath-hayya'ănāh*, it is not likely that another word would be used for the bird in the same context, especially if the expression 'after his kind,' at the end of the passage, refers to all the four birds mentioned. But even admitting, as is most probable, that this expression is limited to the genus immediately after which it occurs, still, if we agree with RV in the rendering 'ostrich' for *bath-hayya'ănāh*, we must seek for another bird to correspond with *taḥmāṣ*. Unfortunately, this is difficult to find. Γλαύξ, for which we have the authority of the LXX, and *noctua* that of the Vulg., signify some sort of owl. But two other words in this context are tr^{d} respectively 'little owl' and 'great owl.' 'Night hawk' would seem to be a mere guess. Perhaps it would be better with RVm to transliterate *taḥmāṣ*.

G. E. POST.

NIGHT MONSTER (לִילִית *lîlîth*, *ὀνοκένταυρος*, *lamia*, Is 34^{14} AVm and RV 'night monster,' AV 'screech owl,' RVm 'Lilith' [wh. see]).—The reference is to a nocturnal spectre, similar to the *ghûl* of the Arabs. All nations have, in their legends, similar apparitions (cf. Wellh. *Reste*^{2}, 148 ff.; W. R. Smith, *RS* 113 f.). The Heb. has two other words of similar import, עֲלוּקָה (see HORSE-LEECH) and שְׂעִירִם (see AZAZEL, SATYR). The mention of such fabulous monsters does not commit Scripture to an endorsement of the fact of their existence. See OWL, 5.

G. E. POST.

NILE.—The word Νεῖλος is of unknown origin. It was the name by which the river was known to the Greeks, Hesiod being the earliest writer to use it; Homer has but one name, Αἴγυπτος, for river and land. It does not occur in MT or LXX. Besides the possible connexion with נָהָר, it has been proposed to refer it to a Demotic form, *ne-il-u*, meaning 'the rivers.'[*] The so-called canal, *Shaṭṭ en-Nîl*, in Babylonia, is thought by some to have an etymological connexion with the Egyptian river.[†] Of the many native names, one of the commonest and most ancient[‡] was *ḥ'p*, a word in some way implying the idea of covering or hiding. This name, however, is always employed in a sense more or less mythological: that so frequent later on, *itrw*,—the origin of the above Demotic form,—which became the everyday designation of the river, did not grow into popularity until the Middle Kingdom.[§]

The Semitic languages record no name for the Nile till a comparatively late date; none, at any rate, appears to be met with before the 7th cent. (Assurbanipal), when the Assyrians were making use of the native *itrw* in the modified pronunciation already current in Egypt, *iaru'ū*, the last letter here representing the Egyptian *'o*, 'great,' as it appears eventually in the Coptic *iero*, *iaro*.[‖] This same word was as יְאוֹר, יְאֹר most usually employed also by the Hebrews (*e.g.* Gn 41^{1}, Ex 1^{22}), who for other large rivers used נָהָר (*e.g.* Gn 15^{18}, 2 K 5^{12}, Jer 2^{18}). The plur. of יְאֹר generally indicates the canals or subsidiary branches of the Nile.

Another name used by Hebrew writers is שִׁחוֹר, שִׁיחוֹר, Σιώρ,[¶] **Shihor** (only Jos 13^{3}, 1 Ch 13^{5}, Is 23^{3}, Jer 2^{18}), of which the etymology is obscure; the word is said to refer to the dark hue of the water; but, in fact, the Nile is anything but dark in colour. No Egyptian derivation for the name has been recognized. Though it may sometimes refer to the Nile (Is 23^3, Jer 2^{18}), שִׁחוֹר elsewhere seems more appropriate to the Wady el-'Arîsh, 'the Brook of Egypt' (Jos 13^3, 1 Ch 13^5). See EGYPT (RIVER OF).

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[*] Groff in *Bull. Inst. égypt.* 1892, 165.

[†] Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 71. Yâḳût (iv. 861) attributes this name merely to a supposed physical resemblance.

[‡] In the Pyramid texts, *e.g.* *Wnis* 431, 545.

[§] Inscr. of Chnemothes at Beni-Hasan, *Kahun Pap.*, ed. Griffith, ii. 61.

[‖] Steindorff in *Beitr. z. Assyr.* i. 612; Erman in *ZDMG* xlvi. 108. Cf. Ptolemy's ὁ μέγας ποταμός (*Geogr.* iv. 5).

[¶] Gloss in *Cod. March.* (Holmes, xii.; Swete, Q), Jer 2^{18}.

Whether the Nile is to be recognized, as it was by Josephus,[*] in one of the four rivers of Paradise (Gn 2^{10}) is still debated. Of the two not yet identified, Pishon and Gihon, the latter has, owing to its connexion with the land of Cush, been often held to represent the river which flows through Ethiopia as well as Egypt. The LXX in Jer 2^{18} seem, at any rate, to understand it so (cf. Streane, *Double Text of Jer.* 38 f.). This Cush is, however, now less generally held to be Ethiopia than formerly. Delitzsch[†] regards it as a Babylonian province; Hommel[‡] takes it for a district of central Arabia.

The Egyptians fully realized the debt they owed to the river by whose agency their country had been created and was maintained. The Nile was a deity honoured, from the earliest to the latest times, throughout the land,[§] irrespective of local, often antagonistic cults; yet he appears to have had few temples of his own, and his priests are seldom mentioned.[‖] Several deities besides *Ḥ'pï*, the personification of its name, were regarded as connected with the river in one or other of its aspects. For instance, *Ḫnm*-Chnubis, *Inkt*-Anukis, *Stt*-Satis were thought to rule the Cataracts, the point at which the Nile came within the knowledge of the Egyptians; *Sbk*-Souchos, again, was the tutelary god of the Fayyûm lake. It is possible that Osiris himself was originally a Nile deity.[¶] The Nile god is represented as a man with woman's breasts, water-plants on his head, and, for dress, the girdle of a sailor or fisherman. Sometimes he carries an offering of fish and water-fowl. This representation appears to date from the 12th Dynasty. Long hymns are extant in his praise, enumerating his benefits to mankind;[**] he is honoured, too, in many shorter inscriptions. The festivals held in mediæval and modern times to celebrate the Inundation are doubtless survivals of ancient heathen ceremonies, one of which classical authors call the Νειλῶα.[††] The Copts have always used special prayers for the river's rise; so, too, have the Ethiopian Christians.[‡‡] A curious liturgy is extant, containing a sort of harvest service in connexion with the Inundation, which was in use among the mediæval Syriac-speaking community in Egypt.[§§]

The Inundation (which is perhaps referred to in Am 8^8 9^5) was never understood by the Egyptians themselves, who attributed it to some mystic, divine agency, the tears of Isis' yearly sorrow for Osiris being in one view its origin.[‖‖] Herodotus (ii. 22) rejects the one explanation, among those he had heard,—and that from a Greek source,—which approximated to the truth. Subsequently Ptolemy gave this same explanation—that the river rose owing to melted snow. The Christian Fathers[¶¶] had learned the true one, viz. the annual rains in Ethiopia.

The source of the river was equally mysterious. One theory, with which the *Odyssey* seems acquainted (iv. 477), regarded it as a branch of a heavenly Nile, from which it separated to form the earthly stream somewhere in the Cataract district. Two deep springs (*ḳrtï*) in that region, or two rocks (cf. Herod. ii. 28), were spoken of as the point whence the waters flowed.[*]

The height of the river's annual rise—a matter of vital importance to all dwellers on its banks—was officially registered from an early period (at Semneh, 12th Dyn.),[†] and recently similar inscriptions of a later age (22nd–26th Dyn.) have been found at Thebes.[‡] The regulation of supplies of water for irrigation was one of the functions of the crown itself. Among the newly discovered remains of the earliest monarchy (1st–2nd Dyn.) at Hieraconpolis is a relief showing the king opening (?) an artificial canal.[§] Of the numerous Nilometers of more recent times, the oldest extant—probably of Ptolemaic origin, and in its modernized form still in use—is at Elephantine, though tradition assigned to that which existed at Memphis a much higher antiquity.[‖] Abu Ṣâliḥ (quoting Ibn 'Abd el-Hakam) attributes it to Joseph.[¶]

The story of the seven years' famine in Gn 41, due to an insufficient inundation, finds a parallel in a text discovered in 1891, which, though written at earliest under the Ptolemies, purports to give an account of a drought of like duration under the 3rd Dynasty.[**]

A curious legend in the Targum describes the burial of Joseph's coffin in the Nile, and its rediscovery by Moses.[††] The Egyptians, of course, never used the river in this way.

See, further, art. EGYPT, in vol. i. p. 653.

W. E. CRUM.

NIMRAH.—See BETH-NIMRAH and NIMRIM.

NIMRIM, THE WATERS OF (מֵי־נִמְרִים; *τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς Νεμ(η)ρειμ* (Is 15^6), B Νεβρειν, A Ἐβριμ (Jer 48 [Gr. 31]^{34}); *Aquæ Nemrim*).—Mentioned only in Isaiah (15^6) and Jeremiah (48^{34}). Gesenius (*Lex.*) gives the meaning (the same as of Nimrah or Beth-nimrah) 'limpid or wholesome water,' but the word is more probably held to indicate the place of the *nimr* or leopard (Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 107, ed. Rosenmüll.).

Nimrim need not, however, be confounded with **Nimrah** or **Beth-nimrah** (Nu $32^{3.36}$, Jos 13^{27}), which seem to have been located on the northern shore of the Dead Sea. It is mentioned in connexion with Zoar, Luhith, and Horonaim in such a manner as to indicate its location south of the river Arnon at the south-eastern end of the Dead Sea. The Zoar denounced here by the prophets may be quite distinct from the refuge of Lot, which is by many located on the northern shore of the Dead Sea. Josephus, however, states that Zoar (to which Lot fled) existed in his day, and places it together with Sodom and Gomorrah south of the Dead Sea (*Ant.* I. xi. 4, XIV. i. 4; *BJ* IV. viii. 4). Eusebius also places Zoar at the southern end of the Dead Sea, and Jerome appears to endorse this. In the Middle Ages Zoar was identified under the name of Segor in the same locality, and it is now accepted by many as represented by Dra'a at the mouth of the *Wâdy Kerak* on the south-east shore of the Dead Sea. The position of Luhith can only be surmised. It appears to have been in the neighbourhood of one of the few passes leading down to the Dead Sea. In the days of Eusebius it was known as *Luith*, and lay between Areopolis (Rabbath Moab) and Zoar. It may therefore have been the name of the pass leading down the *Wādy Beni Hamid* from Areopolis to Zoar; while Horonaim, 'the two caverns,' may have been the name of the fort or forts commanding the pass leading down from Kir of Moab to Zoar (see Kir of Moab).

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[*] *Ant.* I. i. 3.

[†] *Paradies*, 71.

[‡] *AHT* 314 ff.

[§] Cf. Lucian, *Jup. Trag.* 42.

[‖] He was, however, specially honoured under the New Kingdom at Silsilis. Cf. Lepsius, *Denkm.* iii. 175*a*, 200*a*, *d*, 218*d*, etc.

[¶] Cf. Maspero, *Hist. anc.* i. 98.

[**] The best known in Pap. Sallier, ii.; see Guiesse in *Rec. de Trav.* xiii.

[††] Heliodorus, ix. 9. For later times see Lumbroso, *L'Egitto*², 1 ff., and Lane, *Mod. Eg.* ii. ch. xiii.

[‡‡] Tuki, *Missale* (S. Basil.), 71; Leyden, *Catal.* 129; Brightman, *Liturgies*, 208. The river's rise is thought to be due to the intercession of St. Michael; see Amélineau, *Contes*, i. 17.

[§§] G. Margoliouth in *JRAS*, 1896.

[‖‖] Pausanias, x. 32; cf. Brugsch, *Thes.* 293.

[¶¶] *e.g.* Athanasius, *Vita Ant.* (*Pat. Gr.* 26, 891).

[*] The most ignorant notions on this question may be still found among the natives; see Luttke, *Aegyptens neue Zeit.* ii. 356.

[†] Lepsius, *Denkm.* ii. 139, etc.

[‡] Legrain in *Æg. Z.* xxxiv.

[§] Egyp. Expl. Fund's *Report* for 1897–98, p. 7.

[‖] Diodorus, i. 36.

[¶] Ed. Evetts, f. 18*a*.

[**] Brugsch, *Die bibl. 7 Jahre.* Cf. above, vol. ii. p. 774ᵃ, note †.

[††] Bondi, *Lehnwörter*, 129.

A name resembling Nimrim has been found by de Saulcy, Seetzen, and Tristram in *Borj Nemeirah* and *Wādy N'meirah* about eight miles south of Dra'a (Zoar), in one of the richest and most luxuriant spots in the country. The 'Waters of Nimrim' were found by Klein at a spot higher up, where were the ruins of an old town and irrigated garden bearing the name 'the Springs of N'meirah'; in close proximity was also found the 'brook of the willows,' spoken of in connexion with Nimrim (Is 15[7]).

These passages call attention to the abundance begotten by those waters, the grass and herbage and hay; and Tristram relates that the greenness, exuberant fertility, and plenteous fountains are still as marked as ever (*Bible Places*, p. 353).

Literature.—Dillmann, *Jesaja, ad loc.*; Cheyne, *Proph. of Isaiah*^{3}, *ad loc.* (accepts, while Dillm. rejects, identity with Beth-nimrah of Nu); Buhl, *GAP* 124, 272; de Saulcy, i. 283 ff., ii. 52; Seetzen, ii. 354, iii. 18; Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 465.

C. Warren.

NIMROD (נִמְרֹד, Νεβρώδ, *Nemrod*).—A son of Cush, who 'began to be a mighty one in the earth,' and a great hunter, and who is described as having had, as the beginning of his kingdom, the cities Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar or Babylonia (Gn 10[8-10]). There have been many speculations as to the identity of this ancient hero and the meaning of his name. To all appearance, his greatness rested as much upon his prowess as a hunter as upon his success as a ruler of men; but it is to be noted that the expression 'a mighty hunter before the Lord' is, to all appearance, merely another way of saying 'a very great hunter indeed,' and may perhaps be ironically intended. That violence and insolence are associated with the character of the hero (see Josephus, *Ant.* I. iv. 2) on account of the expression גִּבֹּר *gibbôr*, in no way affects the question of his career and identity. With regard to this, it may be noted that the derivation of Nimrod from the root מָרַד *mārad*, 'to rebel,' rests on a false etymology; and there is also no real ground to connect him with the building of the tower of Babel, to which his name is attached by tradition (see Mirkhond *), though we shall see further on what connexion, if any, he may have had with that erection.

Among the later attempts at identification, the most important is that which made him to be one with Izdubar or Gištubar, as the name was then read, and it was confidently expected that the true reading of this name when found would turn out to be very similar to the Hebrew form Nimrod—an expectation which seemed to be confirmed by the reading of Namrasit as the Semitic form of Gišdubarra, pointed out by Hommel. There is hardly any Assyriologist who would not have liked to welcome this explanation, for it had in it much inherent probability. When, however, the Babylonian pronunciation of the name read as Izdubar or Gištubar appeared, it turned out to be Gilgameš, the Gilgamos of Aelian, as pointed out by Oppert. The supposition that Nimrod was the same as the hero Gilgameš therefore fell to the ground.

There was then no alternative but to fall back upon the suggestion, made by Josef Grivel (*TSBA* iii. 136 ff.) in 1874, that Nimrod is none other than the god Merodach. Little need exists to go through all Grivel's reasons for supposing that the two were identical, many of these being untenable; but it may be noted that his view was based primarily upon the likeness he had noticed between the shorter form of the name of Merodach in Accadian and the biblical Nimrod. Notwithstanding the difference that appears to exist between these two names, it is certain that they are very closely related. The name Merodach is, as is well known, of Accadian origin, the full form being *Amar-utuk* or *Amar-uduk*, and the meaning apparently 'the brightness of day.' From this it will be seen that he was a solar hero, and that his name is compounded with that of the Sungod, one of whose names, in Accadian, was *Utuki*—the same word as the final element, *utuk* or *uduk*. As the syllable *-uk* was, to all intents and purposes, a termination or lengthening, we have in Amaruduk a word containing all the consonants of Nimrod except the initial *n*. The addition of this consonant is apparently due to the same cause as the initial *n* in Nisroch and Nibhaz (see these articles), namely, the desire to disfigure the name of a heathen deity. The vowels of this newly formed word have also been brought more or less into conformity with that of Nisroch and of Nibhaz (cf. *JRAS*, 1899, p. 459).

In Gn 10[8] the expression 'Cush begat Nimrod' apparently means only that he was of Cushite nationality (he is not mentioned among the sons of Cush in v.[7]), and not a Semite. This would agree with the evidence furnished by the name, for Amaruduk is not Semitic, but Accadian, which is regarded by many as a Cushite language. Amaruduk or Merodach was son of Ea or Aa, whose name is also Accadian.

The question whether Merodach ever was really king of Babylon need not detain us here, as it is of no importance. Suffice it to say that 'the king' (Accad. *lugala*, Bab. *šarru*) *par excellence* was one of his titles. This he apparently bore as 'king of the gods'; but there is no reason to suppose, on that account, that he was not king of men during his life on earth. The second point in this parallel refers to the cities over which he had dominion, and in this connexion it is to be noted that, whilst Gilgameš (Gištubar) seems to have been king of Erech only, Merodach was, first of all, king of Babylon, and remained patron god of the city practically to the last. Besides this, he seems to be mentioned, in the bilingual story of the Creation, as the builder of Niffer (identified by the Rabbins with Calneh), together with its temple Ê-kura, and of Erech, with its temple Ê-ana (cf. ll. 39 and 40 with 6 and 7, *JRAS*, 1891, pp. 394, 395). The building of Babylon is referred to in l. 14 (*l.c.*), and it may be supposed that he was also regarded by the writer as its constructor. If the statement of the Rabbins be correct, which makes Niffer to be the same as Calneh, then we have here Merodach mentioned in close connexion with three of the four cities referred to in Gn 10[10] as the beginning of the kingdom of Nimrod, and it is not by any means improbable that future discoveries may reveal to us in the same connexion Accad, which would make the fourth.

In addition to this, however, Merodach was regarded by the Babylonians (though they did not look, to all appearance, upon that side of his character as the most important) as a mighty hunter, for it was he who, when all the other gods held back, attacked, and caught with his net, the great dragon of Chaos, as detailed in the Babylonian story of the Creation :—

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* *Rauzat-us-Safa*, translated by E. Rehatsek (Oriental Translation Fund, vol. i. pt. i. p. 140).

> ‘The lord * spread wide his net to enclose her,
> The evil wind following behind, he sent on before.
> Tiamtu opened her mouth as wide as she could—
> He caused the evil wind to enter before she closed her lips.
> The evil winds filled out her body,
> Her consciousness was taken away, wide opened she her mouth.
> He seized the weapon, cut open her body,
> Sundered her inner part, tore out her heart.
> He enclosed her, put an end to her life,
> Threw her body prone and stood thereon.’†

Merodach was indeed ‘a hero in hunting’ (*gibbôr ẓayid*), which, as we know from the Assyrian sculptures, was often accomplished with a net,‡ as in the legend here quoted; and this circumstance seems to complete the list of parallels needed. A large portion of the Semitic-Babylonian legend of the Creation is devoted to this exploit of the head of the Babylonian pantheon, testifying to the importance with which the early Babylonians regarded it, and it is mentioned in the eulogies pronounced upon him by his father Ea or Aa at the end of the story.

The legends that have been preserved concerning Nimrod would seem to show that his fame in the country of his exploits rests more upon what was known of him there than upon the somewhat meagre account in Genesis, and it is probably for the same reason that so many places there are named after him.§ Thus we have the Birs Nimroud, the ancient Borsippa, near the ruins of Babylon, Tel Nimroud, near Baghdad, the dam Suhr el-Nimroud, across the Tigris near Mosul, and the mound of Nimroud, the ancient Calah. To all appearance, he was regarded in later times in his native country as a great builder also. As has been pointed out above, he seems to have been looked upon by the Babylonians as the builder of Babylon, and the bilingual Creation story apparently attributes to him the completion of Ê-sagila, the great temple-tower in that city, which was certainly of the type of the Tower of Babel, even if it were not that erection itself. This may account for the connexion of Nimrod with the catastrophe of the confusion of tongues, ascribed to him in the East both in comparatively ancient and in more recent times. T. G. PINCHES.

NIMSHI (נִמְשִׁי).—The grandfather of king Jehu, who is generally designated ‘ben-Nimshi,’ 1 K 19^{16} (B Ναμεσθει, A om.), 2 K 9^{2} (B Ναμεσσει, A Ἀμεσει) ^{14} (B Ναμεσσει, A^{a} Ναμεσσά) ^{20} (B Ναμεσσειας, A -ιας), 2 Ch 22^{7} (B Ναμεσσει, A -ι).

NINEVEH (נִינְוֵה; LXX Νινευή, NT [Text. Rec.] Νινευί, Gr. and Rom. writers Νῖνος, *Ninus*).—In Gn 10^{11} it is stated (according to the better translation) that Nimrod (wh. see) or some other Babylonian ‘went forth’ out of Chaldæa and founded Nineveh and Rehoboth-‘Ir (*Rêbit-uri* in Assyrian, ‘the streets *or* public places of the city’). A similar tradition is indicated in Mic 5^{6}. The native monuments show that the tradition is correct, and that Nineveh was once included within the boundaries of the Babylonian empire (cf. art. ASSYRIA in vol. i. p. 180^{a}, and Driver in Hogarth’s *Authority and Archæology*, p. 29 f.). In fact it seems to have taken its name from the Babylonian city of Ninâ on the Euphrates, which is mentioned by Diodorus (ii. 3. 7), quoting probably from Ctesias.

The name of Nineveh is written *Ninuâ* and *Ninâ* in the cuneiform inscriptions. A popular etymology connected it with the Assyrian *nunu*, ‘fish,’ at a very early date, since the name is ideographically represented by the picture of a fish inside the enclosure of a city. But it seems really to have been derived from the title of the Babylonian goddess Ninâ, the daughter of Ea, who was identified with the Semitic Istar. Ninâ is the original of the Greek form Ninos.

The city lay on the eastern side of the Tigris, northward of the Greater Zab, and opposite the modern town of Mosul. As late as the 12th cent. Benjamin of Tudela still knew its ruins under the name of *Niniveh*, although its site had been so completely deserted before the 4th cent. B.C. that when Xenophon passed the spot all recollection of the place had disappeared. The ruins consist chiefly of two great mounds, Kouyunjik and Nebi Yunus, and the remains of the ancient city walls. The latter are of a rectangular shape, running parallel to the river on the western side, and protected on the eastern side by a double earthwork, between which and the walls was a deep ditch. The walls themselves were protected by towers and pierced by gates, and rose to a vast height, and consisted of a basement of stone with a superstructure of crude bricks. They enclosed about 1800 acres, or about half the space enclosed within the Aurelian walls of Rome, and had a circumference of 7½ miles. The moat between them and the eastern outworks was 145 feet wide. It was filled with water from the river Khusur, now called Khoser, which flows in a southward direction from Khorsabad, and, after passing through the centre of the ancient Nineveh, falls into the Tigris on the south side of the mound of Kouyunjik. The Tigris must originally have washed the foot of the western city wall, though at present a bank of silt has been formed between it and the river.

The mound of Kouyunjik lies on the north side of the Khoser, and covers the site of two palaces, —that of Sennacherib to the south and of Assur-bani-pal to the north. Sennacherib levelled the remains of an older palace which stood on the bank of a stream called the Tebilti, and had been so injured by the floods that the sarcophagi of his royal predecessors who had been buried there were exposed to view. In its place he erected a splendid building, partly in the native Assyrian, partly in the Syrian, style of architecture, with a park and garden, stables and storehouses, and special fortifications of its own. Assur-bani-pal’s palace was chiefly distinguished by the extent of the *harim* buildings and the establishment of a library.

The southern mound, which lies, like Kouyunjik, against the inner side of the western city wall, rises midway between the Khoser and the southern portion of the city rampart. It is now known as Nebi Yunus, from a supposed tomb of the prophet Jonah, and also represents the site of two palaces, one constructed by Sennacherib and the other by Esarhaddon. Compared, however, with the palaces at Kouyunjik, they were of inferior size and splendour.

Southward of Nineveh, at the corner of land formed by the junction of the Tigris and Greater Zab, was Kalkhu or Calah, whose site is now marked by the mound of Nimrûd. Between it and Nineveh stood the Resen of Gn 10^{12}, the *Res-eni* or ‘Fountain-head’ of the Bavian inscription of Sennacherib. It is doubtless the Larissa (*Al-Resen* or ‘City of Resen’) of Xenophon’s *Anabasis* (iii. 4. 7), 6 parasangs from Mespila, the Assyrian *Muspalu* or ‘low ground’ near the mound of Nebi Yunus. To the north of Nineveh, close to the sources of the Khoser and on the hill-slopes of Magganubba, is Khorsabad, still called *Sarghûn* by the Mohammedan writer *Yâḳût* in the 14th cent. Khorsabad is the site of the palace and city founded by Sargon in B.C. 707, the remains of which were excavated by Botta.

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* *i.e.* Merodach.

† Fried. Delitzsch, *Weltschöpfungsepos*, pp. 106, 107, lines 95-104, revised by comparison with the original text.

‡ One of the meanings of the Heb. צוּד, the root of *ẓayid*, is ‘to lay snares’ or ‘nets.’ Cf. also the name of Zidon.

§ It is noteworthy that Babylonia is called ‘the land of Nimrod’ in Mic 5^{6},—whether because he was an early king of the country, or because, as Merodach, he was the chief divinity, is uncertain. If the latter, it would be a parallel to the expression ‘people of Chemosh’ in Nu 21^{29} and Jer 48^{46}.

The name of Nineveh is perhaps first met with in the inscriptions of Gudea, the high priest of Lagas or Tello in Babylonia (B.C. 2700), who tells us that he had built a temple of Istar at Ninâ, though it is possible that the Ninâ referred to may be the Ninâ of Babylonia. The Assyrian Nineveh, however, which seems to have been a colony from the Babylonian city of the same name, was specially dedicated to Istar, and up to the last 'Istar of Nineveh' continued to be invoked by the side of 'Istar of Arbela.' Gudea, it should be added, calls himself 'the powerful minister of the goddess Ninâ.' An inscription of Dungi of Ur, a contemporary of Gudea, which is now in the Louvre, is said to have been discovered on the site of Nineveh. If this were really the case, we should have direct monumental evidence of Babylonian work in the future Assyrian capital. A letter of the Babylonian king Khammurabi (B.C. 2300) speaks of Assyrian soldiers in the Babylonian army; and as late as B.C. 1400 Burna-buryas still regards the Assyrians as his vassals. Before this latter date, however, the high priests of Assur (the modern *Kal'ah Sherghat*) had become kings, and claimed to be independent of Babylonia. Dusratta of Mitanni, the contemporary of Burna-buryas, sent a golden image of 'Istar of Nineveh' to Egypt, and mentions another that had been already sent there in the reign of his father. Winckler infers from this that Nineveh was subject at the time to Mitanni; but the conclusion does not necessarily follow. At all events, the Assyrian king, Assur-yuballidh writes to the Egyptian Pharaoh as an independent sovereign; and an inscription tells us that he restored Ê-Masmas, the temple of Istar at Nineveh, which had been built by Samas-Hadad, the high priest of Assur, in B.C. 1820. Shalmaneser I. (B.C. 1300) again repaired the temple, by the side of which his father Hadad-nirari I. had erected a chapel to the Babylonian deities Merodach and Nebo. Shalmaneser I., however, was the builder of Calah, and does not seem to have lived in Nineveh itself. Indeed the first king whom we know to have made it his place of residence was Assur-bil-kala, the son of Tiglath-pileser I. (B.C. 1100). From this time onward Nineveh was probably a royal residence until the reign of Assur-naẓir-pal (B.C. 880), when Calah was rebuilt and its palace restored. For nearly two centuries Calah now remained the capital, and it was only under Sennacherib that Nineveh resumed its place as the chief city of the empire. All the spoils of Asia were lavished on its adornment and fortification; pure drinking-water was introduced into it in place of the rain-water on which the inhabitants had hitherto depended; and stately palaces rose in the neighbourhood of the Tigris. It was to Nineveh that captive princes were brought and exposed in iron cages to the gaze of the multitude; here the head of Teumman, the conquered king of Elam, was hung up in the garden of Assur-bani-pal's palace; and out of its gates marched the armies that conquered the Oriental world. Its markets were thronged with merchants and traders, and its library was stored with thousands of clay books.

Nineveh fell in B.C. 607–6, and with it fell also the Assyrian kingdom and empire. According to an inscription of Nabonidos, it was destroyed by the king of the Manda or Scythians, who had settled in Ecbatana and gone to the assistance of Nabopolassar, the Babylonian king. War had broken out between the latter and his suzerain, the king of Assyria, who was supported by several of the Babylonian cities where the Assyrian rule was still obeyed. According to Abydenos, the last king of Assyria was Sarakos, who appears to be the Sin-sar-iskun of the monuments. A tablet dated in the seventh year of the latter king has been found at Erech. But there was another Assyrian king, Sin-sum-lisir, whose name is found on a tablet dated at Nippur in the year of his accession, and it is therefore possible that with him rather than with Sin-sar-iskun Nineveh and Assyria came to an end.

The fall of Nineveh is prophesied by Nahum and Zephaniah (2^{13-15}), and in Nahum more especially there are references to the topography of the Assyrian capital (see Billerbeck and Jeremias, 'Der Untergang Nineveh's und die Weissagungschrift des Nahum,' in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, iii. 1). In 2 K 19^{36} = Is 37^{37}, it is described as the residence of Sennacherib, and the temple of 'Nisroch his god' is referred to. The name of Nisroch, however, is corrupt, and it is impossible to say what was the original reading.

For the story of Jonah's preaching at Nineveh, and our Lord's application of this, see art. JONAH in vol. ii., especially pp. 746–751.

In Jon 4^{11} it is stated that Nineveh contained 'more than sixscore thousand' infants, which would give a population of about 600,000. Captain Jones, who made a trigonometrical survey of the site in 1853, estimates that, allowing 50 square yards to each inhabitant, the population may have amounted to about 174,000 souls. The statement, however, in the Bk. of Jonah, that Nineveh was a city of 'three days' journey,' can be explained only on the supposition that both Calaḥ and Khorsabad (*Dur-Sargon*) were included in its precincts; and even then König (see art. JONAH, vol. ii. p. 748^a) thinks the dimensions impossible. Nineveh is again brought before us in the books of Tobit ($1^{10. 17}$ etc.) and Judith (1^1). Tobit is said to have lived there like certain Israelites mentioned in the cuneiform contract tablets, some of whom even held office under the government.

LITERATURE.—Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Kourdistan and on the Site of Ancient Nineveh* (1836); A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains* (1848), and *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (1853); F. Jones, 'Topography of Nineveh,' with maps, in *JRAS* (1855); J. Fergusson, *Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis* (1851); Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive* (1846–50); V. Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie* (1866–69); cf. also the Literature cited at the end of art. ASSYRIA.

A. H. SAYCE.

NINEVITES (Νινευ(ε)ῖται).—The inhabitants of Nineveh (which see), Lk 11^{30} (only). In the parallel passage, Mt 12^{41}, both AV and RV have 'men of Nineveh' (*ἄνδρες Νινευ(ε)ῖται*) as well as in Lk 11^{32} (TR *ἄνδρες Νινευΐ*, Lachm. Treg. WH *ἄνδρες Νινευ(ε)ῖται*).

NIPHIS (B Νειφεἱς, A Φινεἱς, AV Nephis), 1 Es 5^{21}.—'The sons of N., 156,' correspond to 'the children of Magbish, 156,' in Ezr 2^{30}. The corruption may be due to reading מגביש as מנפיש (*from Niphis*).

NISAN (נִיסָן Neh 2^1, Est 3^7, 1 Es 5^6, Ad. Est 11^2).—The first month in the later Jewish calendar. See TIME.

NISROCH (נִסְרֹךְ; in 2 K 19^{37} B has Ἐσδράχ, A Ἐσθράχ, in Is 37^{38} B Νασαράχ, A Ἀσαράχ, Vulg. *Nesroch*).—The Hebrew form of the name of a deity of the Assyrians, in whose temple Sennacherib was worshipping when slain by his sons (see the passages quoted). There has been much speculation as to the identity of this deity, and many wild theories have been put forward concerning him. Jarchi, for instance, explains the word as 'a beam, or plank, of Noah's ark,' from an analysis of the word given by Rabbinical expositors, by which נסרך would be = נסר נוחא. A far more reasonable suggestion was that of Gesenius, who considered that *Nisroch* was a lengthened form of נֶשֶׁר, the Arab *nisr*, 'an eagle,' and this etymology was supported by the fact that eagle-headed divine figures actually occur in the Assyrian bas-reliefs. A comparison of the Greek forms, however, shows that the Hebrew writing of the name is corrupt, a נ having been added [as in the case of Nibhaz and Nimrod] and vocalic changes made so as to bring the word practically into the same form as the two words here cited. There is therefore no doubt that, as suggested by Schrader (*COT* ii. 13 f.), Nisroch is a corruption of *Aśur*, or of a possible by-form *Aśuraku*, to which the Greek variant Ἐσοράχ is the nearest approach.* This identification, it is to be noted, is not only the most probable, but also the most satisfactory, for it is in the temple of the national god of his country that we should expect to find the king of Assyria worshipping, especially if by any means he had received information of his sons' intention; for to his mind the national god of the land, who had, as he believed, so often helped him to victory, would naturally be the one most likely to save him from his rebellious offspring. With regard to the form, there are two possible explanations. *Nisroch* (=*Esorach*) may be for *Aśuraku*, a lengthened form of *Aśur* by the addition of *aku* [the same termination as appears in Amaruduk(u)], the Marduku (a personal name) of the later contract-tablets, in which case the presence of the ending would seem to imply Accadian influence. On the other hand, the name may be really a compound one, *i.e.* the well-known appellation of the god Ašur with the Accadian name of the moon-god Aku (compare Eri-Aku, 'servant of the moon-god' =Arioch) attached to it. In support of this second etymology may be cited the fact that Sennacherib's name contains the element *Sin*, the common name of the moon-god in Babylonia and Assyria, and the expression '*his* god' may refer to some such compound deity as Ašur-Aku, whom Sennacherib specially worshipped.

T. G. PINCHES.

NITRE (נֶתֶר, *νίτρον*) in its modern usage denotes *saltpetre*, nitrate of potash, but the *νίτρον* or *nitrum* of the ancients was a different substance, *natron*, carbonate of soda. It occurs as an incrustation on the ground in Egypt, Persia, and elsewhere, and is also a constituent in the water of certain saline lakes. The most famous of the latter are the 'natron lakes' in Egypt. They lie in the 'natron valley' about 60 miles W.N.W. of Cairo. The deposit of these lakes includes an upper layer of common salt and a lower one of natron (Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt*, i. 382 ff.). Strabo mentions these Egyptian lakes (*Geog.* XVII. i. 23), and also a similar lake in Armenia (*ib.* XI. xiv. 8). See also Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxi. 10.

'Nitre' occurs twice in AV. In Pr 25^{20}† the effect of songs on a heavy heart is compared to the action of vinegar upon 'nitre' (RV 'nitre,' RVm 'soda'). Vinegar has no effect upon saltpetre, but with carbonate of soda it produces effervescence. In Jer 2^{22} 'nitre' (RV 'lye') is referred to as a cleansing agent. Here, again, natron rather than modern nitre suits the connexion. Natron has detergent properties, and is in fact the same substance as 'washing-soda,' while saltpetre is useless for cleansing purposes.

JAMES PATRICK.

NO (נֹא Jer 46^{25}, Ezk $30^{14.\,15.\,16}$), **NO-AMON** (נֹא אָמוֹן Nah 3^{8}).—These two names, the former associated with Amon also in Jer (RV), represent Egyptian **Thebes.** This city was the centre of Amon-worship, and the capital of Egypt, not only throughout the New Kingdom (17th–20th Dynasty), but also again under the Ethiopian rulers of Egypt in the 25th Dynasty, against whom Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal brought their forces. Nahum refers to the capture and sack of Thebes, probably in Assurbanipal's last invasion, B.C. 663, which seems to have been the most destructive to the metropolis. The instances in Jer and Ezk show that to the outside world Thebes remained the great city of Egypt for many years after it had fallen to the second or third place in the country.

In the New Kingdom Thebes was commonly called *N.t rs.t* 'southern city,' *N.t Ymn* 'city of Amon,' or simply *N.t* 'city.' In the 21st Dynasty a single individual is named alternatively, *N.t-nekht* and *N.t-Amon-nekht*, each meaning 'Thebes is victorious' (Spiegelberg, *Rec. de trav.* xxi. 53). In Demotic *Ne* regularly stands for Thebes, and after the destruction of the city itself by Ptolemy X. the word still appears in the Egypt. name of the Thebaid. The fem. ending *t* was early lost, and the royal name Ψουσέννης gives approximately *νη* as the pronunciation of *n.t*. The Assyrian annals name the city *Ni'*. The punctuation *No'* of the Hebrew is evidently wrong, but the Septuagint (Ezk $30^{14.\,16}$ *Διὸς πόλις*, v.^{15} *Μέμφις* [implying a reading נֹף], Jer 46 [Gr. 26]^{25} *τὸν Ἀμμὼν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς*, Nah 3^{8} *μερίδα* [implying a reading מְנָא confused with מְנָת 'portion'] *Ἀμμών*) gives no help in correcting it.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

NOADIAH (נוֹעַדְיָה 'meeting with J″'; Νοαδεί).—**1.** The son of Binnui, a Levite, one of the four persons to whom were committed the silver and gold and sacred vessels brought by Ezra from Babylonia (Ezr 8^{33}). In 1 Es 8^{63} he is called 'Moeth the son of Sabannus' (*Μωὲθ Σαβάννου*, cf. N. *ἀπὸ Ἐβανναιά*, Ezr *l.c.*).

2. A prophetess, who assisted Tobiah and Sanballat at the time of the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem. Nehemiah denounces her for attempting to intimidate him, but no particulars regarding her are given in the narrative (Neh 6^{14}).

H. A. WHITE.

NOAH (נֹחַ 'rest,' from נוּחַ; LXX and NT Νῶε, whence AV **Noe**; Jos. Νῶχος [*var. lec.* Νώεος]. In Gn 5^{29}, probably a fragment of J, the name is derived from the root נחם 'comfort,' and is given to Noah by Lamech in the belief that he would comfort* men for the toil of their hands 'from the ground which J″ hath cursed').—Gn $5^{28.\,29}$ 6–9. Up to 9^{17} Noah appears as the hero of the Flood, in 9^{20-29} as the first discoverer of the art of making wine. That these two stories come from different sources is probable, because in the earlier Accadian history of the Flood that event is immediately followed by the translation of Ṣîtnapišti (Noah), perhaps referred to in 6^{9b}, cf. 5^{24}, which appears to be a fragment of J misunderstood by P in 5^{22}.

Amongst the Talmudists (*e.g.* *Aboda Zara* 64 *b*, *Sanhedrin* 56*b*) it was customary to speak of 'the seven precepts of the sons of Noah,' by which they meant those precepts that were supposed to be already binding upon mankind at large before Abraham and outside of his family. Other enumerations besides seven are also found. For details see Schürer, *GJV*³ iii. 128 [*HJP* II. ii. 218], or Weber, *Jüdische Theologie* (Index, *s.* 'Gebote').

See art. FLOOD, vol. ii. 16.

F. H. WOODS.

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* Cf. *JRAS*, 1899, p. 459.

† The LXX appears here to have followed a different reading from the MT.

* In Haupt's *OT* the MT יְנַחֲמֵנוּ ('he will *comfort us*') is changed to יְנִיחֵנוּ ('he will *give us rest*'), in harmony with LXX *διαναπαύσει ἡμᾶς*. See Ball's note, *ad loc.*, and Nestle in *Expos. Times*, viii. 239.

NOAH (נֹעָה, Νουά).—One of the daughters of Zelophehad the Manassite, about whose rights of inheritance a knotty point of law came up for settlement, Nu 26^{33} 27^{1} 36^{11}, Jos 17^{3}.

G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY.

NOAH, BOOK OF.—In the use which was made of this book in the final redaction of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch we have an admirable example of the methods pursued by Jewish editors. Though the Book of Noah has not come down to us independently, it has in large measure been incorporated in the Ethiopic Book of Enoch, and can in part be reconstructed from that book. The Book of Noah is mentioned in Jubilees 10^{13} and 21^{10}. That 60. 65–69^{25} 106–107 belonged originally to it, is obvious even on a cursory examination. Thus in 60^{1}, which runs, 'In the year five hundred, in the seventh month, on the fourteenth day of the month in the life of Enoch,' it is clear that the final editor simply changed the name 'Noah' in the context before him into 'Enoch,' but very ignorantly; for Enoch lived only 365 years, and the statement in the context is based on Gn 5^{32}. Furthermore, the writer speaks of himself as the grandson of Enoch in 65^{9}. Again, 65–69^{25} is allowed to stand by the editor as a confessed constituent of the Book of Noah; for it contains Noah's interview with his grandfather Enoch, and Noah's version of the Deluge and of judgment. Finally, in 106–107 there is an account of the marvellous birth of Noah, in regard to whom Methuselah goes to the ends of the earth to consult Enoch. But besides these indisputable fragments of the book, it is most probable that 54^{7}–55^{2} is borrowed from the same source, and likewise Jubilees 7^{26-39} 10^{1-15}. In the earlier passage in Jubilees it is not only the subject-matter, but also the carelessness of the editor or author of Jubilees, which leads to this identification; for, after an account of the wickedness preceding the Flood given by the angel of God (7^{20-25}), we come suddenly on a passage (7^{26-39}) in which Noah is represented as speaking in the first person, although throughout Jubilees it is the angel that speaks. Finally, it is not improbable that 41^{3-8} 43–44. 59 belonged originally to the Book of Noah.

We shall now attempt a short sketch of this book. According to 106–107, a son was born to Lamech. 'And his body was white as snow and red as a blooming rose, and the hair of his head and his long locks were white as wool, and his eyes beautiful' (106^{2}). And his eyes lighted up the house like a sun, and he opened his mouth and blessed the Lord of righteousness. And Lamech in his fear consulted Methuselah, and Methuselah went off to the ends of the earth to consult Enoch (106^{4-12}). Thereupon Enoch foretells the coming of the Flood in consequence of the wickedness wrought by the angels with the daughters of men, and the saving of this child Noah and his three sons, the fresh growth of sin after the Deluge, and the advent of the Messianic kingdom (106^{13}–107).

And later, when Noah became a man, he had a vision, and he saw the earth sinking down, and its destruction drawing nigh (65^{1}). And, as formerly his grandfather Methuselah, so he too went to consult Enoch at the ends of the earth, $65^{2.3}$. And Enoch tells him that all the dwellers on the earth are doomed because they had learnt the secrets and sorceries of the angels, and the violence and hidden power of the Satans, and the mysterious arts of manufacturing metals, $65^{6.7}$. Here and elsewhere, in the Ethiopic Enoch as in Gn 2–4, the knowledge of such arts is held to transcend the limits of human nature. Civilization in its various aspects is traced to the fallen angels. As man goes forward in knowledge and culture he goes backward in the fear of God, and becomes ever more and more alienated from the highest good. Thus it was one Satan that taught men to make the weapons of war, and another that instructed them to write with ink and paper (69^{6-9}), and a fallen angel that made known the arts of painting the face and beautifying the eyebrows, and working in metals and precious stones, 8^{1}. But to proceed: Enoch declares Noah to be guiltless of reproach concerning these secrets, and foretells his deliverance from the Flood, and the descent of a righteous race of men from him (65^{10-12}). After hearing some further disclosures, Noah leaves the presence of Enoch (66). 'And in those days the word of God came unto me, and He said unto me: "Noah, thy lot has come up before me, a lot without blame, a lot of love and uprightness."' Thereupon God informs Noah that the ark was being prepared by angels, that he and his seed might be saved and be established in the earth (67^{1-3}). But as for the fallen angels, they should be imprisoned in the burning valley amongst the metal mountains in the West. From this place where the angels were punished came the hot springs to which the kings and the mighty resorted for the healing of the body. But later these waters will become the means of their punishment, even as they now are used to torment the angels (67^{4-13}). The severity of this torment is set forth in a dialogue between Michael and Raphael (68). Next, the names of the twenty-one chiefs of the fallen angels are enumerated, followed by those of five Satans (?). The various evils wrought by the latter are then recounted. To Gâdreêl, the third, is attributed the fall of Eve, and to the fourth, Pênêmûe, the instruction of mankind in the art of writing ($69^{8.9}$). Knowledge is the source of perdition (69^{11}). After the mention of certain other Satans or angels, it is told how Michael is the guardian of the mysterious oath or formula whereby heaven and earth were founded and all creation upheld (69^{14-25}).

At a still later date apparently (60) Noah had a vision in the 500th year of his life, on the 14th day of the seventh month, and he beheld the heaven of heavens quake with a mighty quaking, and all the heavenly hosts greatly disquieted. And the Head of Days sat on His throne, and all the angels and the righteous stood round Him ($60^{1.2}$). And Noah was filled with fear. Then Michael sent an angel to raise him up, and told him of the judgment to come, and of the monsters Leviathan and Behemoth, which were placed respectively in the sea and in the wilderness of Dêndâin, on the east of Eden; but refused to answer Noah's further questions regarding them (60^{3-10}). Then the angel accompanying Noah informs him about the angels or spirits which control the thunder and lightning, and the sea, the hoar frost, hail, snow, mist, dew, and rain (60^{11-25}). We shall probably be right if we assign to the same source 41^{3-8}, which treats of the secrets of the lightning and thunder, of the winds, the clouds, and dew, likewise of the chambers of the winds and hail and mist. This passage further mentions the chambers of the sun and moon, and recounts with what regularity they traverse their orbits, and give thanks to God, and rest not by day or night; 'for unto them thanksgiving is rest.' Of a kindred nature undoubtedly are 43–44, which have for their subject the lightning and the stars of heaven, and the mysterious relation of the latter to the righteous, and 59, which treats of the judgments executed by the lightnings, and the luminaries, and the secrets of the thunder.

Heretofore frequent references have been made to the Flood; but in 54^{7}–55^{2} there is a more exact account of this judgment. Thus we are told that the Flood came about through the joining of the waters above the heavens—the male element—with the waters which are below the heavens—

the female element. Thereby all who dwelt on the earth were destroyed. Then after the Flood God promised not to destroy the earth again, and as a pledge thereof set a sign in the heavens.

For Noah's address to his sons after the Flood we must turn to Jubilees 7^{26-39}. This passage is either wholly or in part an excerpt from our book. Noah warns his sons against the seductions of the demons, against the shedding or eating of blood. In Jubilees 10^{1-15} the sons of Noah come to him complaining that the demons are leading their sons astray. Thereupon Noah prays to God for them, and God commands all the demons to be bound and imprisoned, but at the request of Mastêmâ, their chief, God permits one-tenth of the demons to remain at liberty for the trial and temptation of man (10^{1-11}).

The Book of Noah was, according to Jubilees 10^{14}, committed to the care of Shem. This book is described in Syncellus' *Chron.* p. 83 (ed. Bonn) as the Testament of Noah.

There is also a late Hebrew Book of Noah. This is given in Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrasch*, iii. 155, 156. It is based in part on the Book of Noah discussed above. The portion of this Hebrew work which is derived from the older work is reprinted on p. 179 of Charles' *Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*, where attention is drawn to the parallels and verbal coincidences. A German translation of the entire book will be found in Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, pp. 385–387.

It is impossible to assign any definite date to the various fragments of the older book. We can safely place them within the years B.C. 50 and A.D. 80.

R. H. CHARLES.

NO-AMON.—See NO.

NOB (נֹב; LXX B Νομβα, 1 S 22^{11} Νομμα. The etym. of נב is not clear; the idea that it signifies a 'high place' has no philological foundation).—**1.** A locality a little N. of Jerusalem, and apparently within sight of the Temple-hill, mentioned in Is 10^{32} as the spot from which the Assyr. king (Sennacherib), in his (ideal) march against the holy city, should audaciously 'swing his hand against the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem.' Nob, it is here implied, was nearer to Jerusalem than 'Anathoth, v.^{30}, now *'Anāta*, 2½ miles N.E. of Jerusalem. The precise site has not been determined with certainty; but a spot on (or a little S. of) the *Ras el-Meshārif*, about 1½ mile S.W. of 'Anāta, the ridge from the brow of which the pilgrim along the N. road still catches his first view of the holy city (*PEF Mem.*, Jerus., p. 411), would suit the conditions admirably. The road from the N. passes over this ridge: immediately on the E. of the road, just S. of the ridge, there is a plateau, some 300 yds. from N. to S., and 800 yds. from E. to W.; at the S. edge of this plateau there is a lower ridge, after which the ground descends rapidly into the Wādy el-Jôz, some 300 ft. below. This plateau is identified plausibly by Conder (*PEFSt*, 1874, p. 111 ff.; cf. Robinson, *BR* i. 276) with the place called Scopus by Josephus (*ἐπὶ τὸν Σκοπὸν καλούμενον*), upon which Titus encamped, when approaching Jerusalem from the N.; Jos. adds that it was 7 stadia from Jerusalem, and that the city was visible from it (*ἔνθεν ἥ τε πόλις ἤδη κατεφαίνετο καὶ τὸ τοῦ ναοῦ μέγεθος ἔκλαμπρον*, *BJ* v. ii. 3, cf. II. xix. 4, and *Ant.* XI. viii. 5, where a place Σαφα [cf. צָפָה *to look out*], explained as meaning *σκοπή*, is evidently the same). The ancient Nob was in all probability on, or very near, the same plateau (cf. Thomson, *Land and Book*, S. Pal. 434 f.; Del. or Dillm. on Is 10^{32}; Buhl, *Geogr.* 96). According to the *ZDMG* xii. (1858) p. 169 f., on one of the ridges just mentioned, at a part now called *el-ṣadr*, the breast, there are remains of ancient cisterns and rock-tombs.

El-'Isawiye, a village 1 mile S.W. of 'Anāta, which has been proposed as the site of Nob, seems to be excluded by the fact that it lies in a valley, and that Jerusalem is not visible from it. *Shaphat*, 2 miles due N. of Jerusalem, which has also been suggested, is not probable, as it is in just the same latitude as 'Anāta, and does not lie between 'Anāta and Jerusalem, as required by Is $10^{30.\,32}$. *Nebî Shamwîl* 'and Bîr Nebâla' (Conder), 4½ miles N.W. of Jerusalem, lie in a wrong direction altogether.

The same place is also pretty clearly meant in Neh 11^{32}; it is mentioned there, together with other towns in the same neighbourhood, in close proximity to 'Anathoth and Ramah (2½ miles N.E. and 5 miles N. of Jerus. respectively) just as in Is (see vv.$^{29.\,30}$). **2.** An ancient 'city of the priests' (1 S 22^{19}), where David, fleeing from Saul, found refuge with Ahimelech (1 S 21^{1}): Doeg, the Edomite, was present at the time; and afterwards, when Saul's other servants dreaded to fall upon the priests of J″, at the king's instigation attacked the city, and massacred the entire population (including 85 priests), Abiathar alone escaping, 1 S $22^{9.\,11.\,18-22}$. Unless a settlement of priests in immediate proximity to the Jebusite stronghold of Jerusalem should be deemed improbable, there is no valid reason why this Nob should not be identical with **1**: the situation is suitable; to judge from the narrative of 1 S 21, Nob was not far from Gibeah (of Saul), v.^{4}, which was only a little N. of the Nob of Is 10^{32} (see v.^{29}); and (as H. P. Smith, on 1 S 21^{2}, points out) David, making his way from Gibeah (the probable scene of 1 S $20^{1ff.}$) to Bethlehem (1 S 20^{6}), would pass Nob, and might naturally stop there, if he knew he had friends in it. Jerome, however (*Ep. ad Eustochium*, No. 86 ed. Bened., No. 108 ed. Migne, § 8 [p. 696]), speaks of 'Nobe, urbem quondam sacerdotum,' as in the neighbourhood of Lydda (Diospolis): this is no doubt the modern *Bēt Nūbā*, about 10 m. S.E. of Lydda, and 13 m. W.N.W. from Jerusalem, very near to Aijalon (cf. Robinson, *BR* iii. 145, and ii. 254; Buhl, p. 198); but there does not seem to be any sufficient ground for going so far to the W. to find the Nob of 1 S 21. 22.

S. R. DRIVER.

NOBAH (נֹבַח, Νάβαυ, Νάβεθ), as a *personal* name, occurs only once (Nu 32^{42}), in the older version which relates the settlement of the country on the E. of Jordan by the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh. According to this, the clan of that name belonged to the last-mentioned tribe, and formed a settlement in Kenath (wh. see), on which they succeeded in impressing for a time their own clan name (1 Ch 2^{23}). See next article.

A. C. WELCH.

NOBAH (נֹבַח) is mentioned along with Jogbehah (wh. see) as lying on the route which Gideon followed (Jg 8^{11}) in his pursuit of the routed Midianites. This would place the site about midway between Amman and es-Salt. It is again mentioned (Nu 32^{42}) as the name which a clan of Machir gave to Kenath after they had conquered it.

The connexion between these two passages depends entirely upon the place where we agree to look for Kenath (wh. see). If Kenath be identified (Merrill, *E. of Jordan*, p. 36 ff.; Euseb. *OS* 269. 15) with Ḳanawât on the W. edge of the Ḥauran range, then we shall consider (Dillm. *Nu-Dt-Jos*, p. 201 f.) that the Nobah of Judges was the original settlement of the clan, which, when it took possession of the new abode, for a time at least (1 Ch 2^{23}) succeeded in stamping its own name upon it. If, on the other hand (Bertheau and Moore on *Judges*), this identification be given up, we shall hold that Nu 32^{42} gives the account of how this clan came into possession of its first and only settlement, the town which lies near Jogbehah.

It is possible that the name can be found also in Nu 21^{30} 'Nobah, which lies on the desert,' according to the Peshitta; but the text is too corrupt to offer any sure help. A. C. WELCH.

NOBAI (נוֹבַי *Kethîbh*, נֵיבַי *Kerê*, and so AV and RVm Nebai, B *Βωναί*, A *Νωβαί*).—One of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10^{19} [Heb.^{20}]. See, further, art. NEBO (Town).

NOBLEMAN.—This title (*βασιλικός*, 'royal' or 'pertaining to a king'; so Ac 12$^{20.21}$, Ja 2^{8}) is given (Jn 4$^{46.49}$, AVm 'courtier' or 'ruler'; RVm 'king's officer,' cf. Vulg. *regulus*) to the man who besought Jesus in Cana to heal his son who was sick at Capernaum. Opinions have always differed as to the meaning of the title (see Chryst. *Hom.* 35 *on Joh.*). It has been taken to mean that he was of the royal (Herodian) family (L. Bos, *Exercit. Philolog.* p. 41, and others); or that he was of the Herodian party (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*, *Exercit. on St. J.*); or that he was attached to the service of Antipas, who was popularly called king, either in a military or civil capacity (Meyer, Weiss, Godet, and most). The term was used both of royal persons themselves and of those attached to them as officers, courtiers, or soldiers (see exx. in Wetstein); but the usage of Josephus (see Krebs, *Observat. in NT e Flav. Jos.* p. 144) supports strongly the latter application of it here. Tatian also (*Diatessaron*) translates 'officer of the king.' This man therefore was probably an officer of rank and wealth connected with the court or service of Antipas. He has been identified with Chuza, Herod's steward (Lk 8^{3}), and with Manaen, Herod's foster-brother (Ac 13^{1}). These, of course, are mere conjectures. He was presumably a Jew, and is certainly not to be identified, as he has sometimes been, with the centurion whose servant Jesus healed (Mt 8^{5}, Lk 7^{1}).

G. T. PURVES.

NOD (נוֹד; Samar. נד; LXX, Philo, Jos. Ναΐδ).—The land to which the fratricide Cain emigrated after the Divine verdict was pronounced on him, Gn 4^{16} (J). It is a play on נָד 'wanderer' of v.^{12}. The subst. נֹד 'wandering' occurs Ps 56^{8} (regardless of Duhm's unnecessary emendation). But it is a mistake to understand the word merely as an allusion to Cain's punishment. The writer seems to have had a real land of that name in view. Its situation, 'eastward of Eden,' is given, and there are not sufficient reasons to take this as a gloss of the author or redactor (Dillmann and Stade), since particular definitions of places are not unusual with Hebrew writers (Gn 10^{10} 12^{6} 25^{18}, Dt 11^{30}). It is called a 'land'; and the passage is plain prose. To dwell and build a city in 'wanderland' is a contradiction in terms. Cain's settlement in Nod was not part of his punishment, but a voluntary emigration, as already Philo (*de Poster. Cain.* 3) remarks, ἐθελοντὴς ἐξέρχεται.

The 'orientation' of the land of Nod has been matter of conjecture. Many (see Dillm. *ad loc.*) suggest China, from the similarity of sound between Cain and Chin, Zin, Sin, Tien. Von Bohlen identifies it with India. Sayce sees in it the *Manda* of the cuneiform inscriptions (*HCM* 146). To the Rabbis it was sufficient that it lay somewhere in the east, and away from Eden, whither Adam had been banished. 'In all parts' (*sc.* of Scripture), says Rashi, 'the eastern quarter received the murderer, as it is said (Dt 4^{41}), Then Moses severed three cities, etc., toward the rising of the sun' (see also *Midrash Agada*, p. 13, ed. Buber, 1894). It must, however, be remembered that the same author (J) knew of a universal cataclysm which obliterated every geographical boundary. The topography of Cain's history was to him as antediluvian as the history was prehistoric. A. E. SUFFRIN.

NODAB (נוֹדָב; LXX *ναδαβαῖοι*; Vulg. *Nodab*).—Mentioned only 1 Ch 5^{19} in connexion with a war of the trans-Jordanic tribes against the Hagrites. Because it is grouped with Jetur and Naphish, it was supposed by C. J. Ball to be a corruption of Kedemah (Gn 25^{15}), the last of the twelve tribes of Ishmael. But Kedemah is rightly given in 1 Ch 1^{31}, and it is hardly conceivable that the author, or even a copyist, should so shortly after misread it for a name which occurs nowhere else. Delitzsch (*New Com.* on Gn 25^{15}) connects it with Nudébe in the *Wady el-buṭin* of the Ḥauran. But it is more likely that we have here a transcription of Nabatean. It would be strange that a powerful kingdom like Nabatea should not have proved a formidable neighbour to the trans-Jordanic Israelites. And since Nebaioth, which has been by Jos. (*Ant.* I. xii. 4), Jerome, and others identified with Nabatea, has not played any important rôle in the pre-exilic history of the Jews, we are left to conjecture that נודב should be read נבדו. The Nabateans called themselves נבטו. In the Talmud and Midrash we have respectively נבטי, נווטי, נוותי, נוותאה, נפתי, נפתיי, נפתייא, and נפתייה for a Nabatean.

The Nabateans were the *Nabatu* of the Assyrian inscriptions, and Aramean in language, and distinct from the *Nabaâti* ('Nebaioth' of the Bible) of Central Arabia. Originally settled east of Assyria, they migrated westward, and founded a kingdom in Arabia Petræa, with Petra for their capital (Glaser, *Skizze*, ii. 418). For the history of the Nabateans see Schürer, *HJP*, Ap. ii., and Euting, *Nab. Inschriften*, Berl. 1885, with historical notes on p. 81 by Gutschmid. A. E. SUFFRIN.

NOE.—See NOAH.

NOEBA (Νοεβά), 1 Es 5^{31} = Nekoda Ezr 2^{48}, Nekodan 1 Es 5^{37}.

NOGAH (נֹגַהּ 'splendour').—One of David's sons, born at Jerusalem, 1 Ch 3^{7} (B *Νάγαι*, A *Νάγε*) 14^{6} (BA *Νάγεθ*, ℵ *Νάγετ*). The name is wanting in the parallel list in 2 S 5, and is viewed with suspicion by Wellhausen (*Bücher Sam.* p. 165) and Kittel (on 1 Ch 3^{7} in *SBOT*). The preceding name, Eliphelet, is certainly due to a scribal error, and Nogah may be a corruption from the following Nepheg. It is apparently the same name, although with a different application, that appears in the genealogy of Lk 3^{25} as **Naggai** (*Ναγγαί*).

NOHAH (נוֹחָה; B Ἰωά, A Νωά, Luc. Νουαδ; Vulg. *Nohaa*).—Fourth 'son' or clan of Benjamin (1 Ch 8^{2}). If we read 'from Nohah' in Jg 20^{43}, Nohah was also a town, the seat of the clan. Cf. MENUHAH.

NOISE.—This subst. is no longer used of music in a good or neutral sense, as we find it in Ps 33^{3} 'Play skilfully with a loud noise.' Cf. Bunyan, *PP*, 206: 'MERCY. Hark, don't you hear a Noise? CHRIS. Yes, 'tis as I believe, a Noise of Musick, for joy that we are here'; Ps 47^{5}, Pr. Bk. 'God is gone up with a merry noise'; and Milton, *At a Solemn Music*, line 18—

> 'That we on earth with undiscording voice
> May rightly answer that melodious noise.'

The verb 'to noise' is no longer in use. It occurs five times in AV: Jos 6^{27} 'His fame was noised throughout all the country' (RV 'his fame was in all the land'); Jth 10^{18} 'Her coming was noised among the tents'; Mk 2^{1} 'It was noised that he was in the house'; Lk 1^{65} 'All these sayings were noised abroad'; Ac 2^{6} 'When this was noised abroad' (RV 'when this sound was heard'). Cf. Mt 9^{26} Tind. 'And this was noysed through out all that lande'; 28^{15} Tind. 'And this sayinge is noysed amonge the Jewes unto this daye'; and Hacket in *Life of Abp. Williams* (referring to Dr. Collins), 'His works in print against Eudaemon and Fitzherbert, sons of Anak among the Jesuits, do noise him far and wide.' J. HASTINGS.

NOISOME is a shortened form of 'annoy-some.' And 'annoy' is regarded by Skeat and Murray (after Diez) as formed (through the Fr.) from the Lat. *in odio.* The phrase *est mihi in odio,* 'it is hateful to me,' became contracted to *inodio,* which was regarded as a subst., 'hate,' 'annoyance.' In AV the word is used of weeds (Job 31^{40m}), pestilence (Ps 91^{3}), beasts (Ezk 14$^{15.21}$), a smell (2 Mac 9^{9}), and a sore (Rev 16^{2}), and the meaning is always troublesome, not as now loathsome.* Trench (*On AV of NT*, p. 47) says that in the beginning of the 17th cent. the word was acquiring its mod. meaning, and on that account Tindale's rendering of 1 Ti 6^{9} 'They that wilbe ryche, faule into temptacion and snares, and into many folysshe and noysome lustes,' which all the versions till 1611 (except the Rhemish) accepted, was changed in AV into 'hurtful lusts.' In the Act of Henry VIII. prohibiting the use of Tindale's version (1543) it is stated to be requisite that the land be purged 'of all such bookes, writinges, sermones, disputacions, argumentes, balades, plaies, rimes, songs, teachinges and instructions, as be pestiferous and noysome.' Tindale speaks of the flies in the Egyptian plague as 'noysom' (Ex 8^{24}). Cranmer's meaning is the same when he writes to Henry VIII. (*Works*, i. 160), 'I was purposed this week according to my duties to have waited upon your Grace, but I am so vexed with a catarrh and a rheum in my head, that not only it should be dangerous unto me, but also noisome unto your Grace, by reason of extreme coughing and excreations which I cannot eschew.' But Fuller (*Holy State*, 305) is more modern: 'When the soul (the best perfume of the body) is departed from it, it becomes so noysome a carcasse, that should I make a description of the lothsomnesse thereof, some dainty dames would hold their noses in reading it.' J. HASTINGS.

NON.—1 Ch 7^{27} AV and RVm. See NUN.

NOOMA (A Νοομά, B Ὀομά, AV Ethma, probably due to confusion of OO and EΘ, 1 Es 9^{35}).—The name is a corruption of Nebo (נְבוֹ, Ναβού) in the parallel list of Ezr 10^{43}.

NOPH (נֹף, Μέμφις, *Memphis*) is named in Is 19^{13} with Zoan, in Jer 2^{16} with Tahpanhes, 44^{1} with Migdol and Tahpanhes, cf. 46$^{14.19}$, and in Ezk 30$^{13.16}$ with other cities as representative of Egypt. Hos 9^{6} gives **Moph** (מֹף, Μέμφις, *Memphis*). It is clear that as early as the LXX it was regarded as the Hebrew name for Memphis. The early Egyptian name for this city was *Mn-nfr*, Stele of P'nhy, 87. This would be heard as *Mĕn-nŭfĕr*, and later as *Mĕn-nŭfe*, thence *Mĕnfĕ.* The Assyrians in the time of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal already give *Mimpi*, the Babylonian chronicle *Membi* (time of Darius). The Coptic forms *Memfi*, *Menfi*, and the Arabic *Menf* show this pronunciation to have been native. The Hebrew transformation may have arisen from dropping the *men*, the *nŭfĕ* is well preserved in *Noph* [for another explanation see art. MEMPHIS], and *Moph* only shows the same change as in *Memfi.* That Memphis took such a prominent position in Egypt is confirmed by Esarhaddon, who calls it the capital of Tirhakah, and later speaks of it as the residence of Necho along with Sais.

Plutarch's derivation of the name (*de Isid.* 20) seems to rest on a confusion of the Egyptian *mn* and *mn'i.* On the other hand, an attempt to identify Noph with Napata, Tirhakah's Ethiopian capital, is hopeless. For the history of Noph see MEMPHIS.

LITERATURE.—Meyer, *Gesch. Ægyp.* p. 336; Steindorff, *Beitr. Assyr.* i. p. 594. C. H. W. JOHNS.

NOPHAH (נֹפַח; Vulg. *Nophe*), mentioned only in Nu 21^{30}, by some identified with **Nobah** of Jg 8^{11} [see NOBAH]. If this be allowed, the remainder of the verse must be translated as Syr. 'which is upon the desert' (*midhbar*), and the Medeba of the MT, AV, RV disappears. Another suggested translation is 'we have laid waste so that fire was kindled unto Medeba.' The LXX [*καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἔτι προσεξέκαυσαν πῦρ ἐπὶ Μωάβ*] translates neither Nophah nor Medeba. But the text of the verse is uncertain. See Dillmann on the passage, and G. A. Smith, *HGHL* p. 560 note. Cf. art. MEDEBA. A. T. CHAPMAN.

NORTH COUNTRY, THE (אֶרֶץ צָפוֹן).—An expression, occurring nine times in AV, and used vaguely to denote the distant regions N. and N.E. of Palestine, including at least the N. parts of Babylonia, and sometimes almost idealized as the home of Israel's foes. In Jer 6^{22} it is the quarter from which Jer. expects the foe—whether Scythians or Babylonians (see *LOT* 237 f.)—to advance against Judah; 10^{22}, as also Zec 6$^{6.8.8}$, the reference is most probably to Babylonia; 23^{8} 31^{8} it is the quarter whence the exiled Israelites will be restored; 46^{10} Carchemish (v.^{2}), on the upper course of the Euphrates, nearly N.N.E. of Palestine, is alluded to as 'in the north country'; and 50^{9} the foes of Babylon are to assemble from the 'north country.' In Jer 3^{18} 16^{15}, Zec 2^{6} the Heb. is also the same (AV, RV 'land of the north'). Naturally, the expression cannot be dissociated from 'the north' alone, which, esp. in Jeremiah, is constantly spoken of as the quarter whence evil or invasion arises (Jer 1$^{14.15}$ 4^{6} 6^{1} 13^{20} 15^{12} [prob.], 25^{9} 46$^{20.24}$ 47^{2}; and against Babylon, 50$^{3.41}$ 51^{48}: comp. Is 14^{31}, of the invading Assyrians; and Ezk 26^{7}, where Neb. is brought 'from the north'); Jer 3^{18} (cf. 3^{12}), 16^{15} 23^{8} 31^{8}, Zec 2^{6}, just quoted, show also that it was regarded as the region in which Israel was exiled, and from which it was to be restored. In Zeph 2^{13} the 'north' includes Assyria and Nineveh (actually N.E. of Judah). In point of fact, Babylon is almost in the same latitude as Samaria; but Assyr. and Bab. invaders usually entered Palestine from the north; and hence even the latter were pictured as having their home in that direction. That the foes of Babylon should themselves also come from the N. (Jer 50$^{3.9.41}$ 51^{48}) was naturally no difficulty; the expression was a wide and vague one. In Ezk 38$^{6.15}$ 39^{2} the hosts of 'Gog' (whom the prophet imagines as invading in vast numbers the restored Israel) are brought up from 'the recesses of the north' (יַרְכְּתֵי צָפוֹן; the same expression in Is 14^{13}, Ps 48^{2}); the thought may have been suggested to Ezekiel by the irruptions of Scythian hordes into Asia, which had recently taken place (Herod. i. 103 ff.).

In Is 41^{25} (spoken in Babylonia), Cyrus is spoken of as 'stirred up from the north'; in Dn 11$^{6.7.8.11.13.15.40.44}$ the 'king of the north' denotes the king for the time being of Antioch (opp. to the 'king of the South,' *i.e.* of Egypt). S. R. DRIVER.

NOSE, NOSTRILS (אַף *'aph*, Arab. *anf*; נְחִירַיִם Job 41^{20} [Heb.^{12}] only; נַחַר, tr^{d} in AV of Job 39^{20} 'nostrils,' is given correctly in RV 'snorting').—The expansion of the nostrils and the forcible ejection of the breath expressed energy and indignation, Job 39^{20}, Ps 18^{15}. On the other hand, the residence of the breath in so small a space taught the insignificance of human life, Is 2^{22}.

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* Trench (*On AV of NT*, p. 47) distinguishes the earlier and later meanings of the word by saying that a tiger would have been noisome in Old English, a skunk or a polecat would be noisome in modern.

In Ezk 8^{17} allusion is made to the custom in sacrificial Baal-worship of putting the branch to the nose. A somewhat similar practice prevails at Jewish ceremonies of circumcision, where perhaps, on account of the natural repugnance to pain and the sight of blood, those present are supplied with small slips of aromatic myrtle. See, further, art. BRANCH.

In Lv 21^{18} one of the deformities from which the priest must be free was the blemish translated 'flat-nosed' (חָרֻם). So EVV following LXX (*κολοβόρ(ρε)ιν*), Pesh., Vulg., and Jewish commentators. Driver-White ('Leviticus' in *PB*) tr. 'mutilated in the face,' and remark 'the word is more probably a general term, the cognate verb in Arabic meaning to *pierce* or *perforate*, especially to *mutilate* (by slitting) *the nose, ear*, or *lip*.'

G. M. MACKIE.

NOSE-JEWEL.—See AMULET, JEWEL.

NOTABLE. — This word occurs with various meanings in AV, some of which are out of use. 1. *Conspicuous, prominent*, Dn 8^{5} 'the goat had a notable horn between his eyes' (קֶרֶן חָזוּת, lit., as AVm, 'a horn of sight' or 'of conspicuousness.' So 8^{8}, where, as well as in v.^{21}, it is called 'the great horn.'

2. *Clearly seen, illustrious* (*ἐπιφανής*), used of a temple in 2 Mac 14^{33}, and of the Day of the Lord in Ac 2^{20} (following the reading of the Sept.).

3. *Excelling* (*εὐπρεπής*), 2 Mac 3^{26} 'young men . . . notable in strength.'

4. *Notorious* (*ἐπίσημος*), Mt 27^{16} 'And they had then a notable prisoner, called Barabbas.' Cf. Shaks. *All's Well*, III. vi. 10, 'A most notable coward, an infinite and endless liar'; and South, *Sermons*, ii. Ser. 1, 'A notable leading sinner indeed, to wit, the rebel.' In Ro 16^{7} the Gr. word is used in the sense of *important, of mark*, but is translated 'of note' in EV. The adj. 'notable' might have been used, as in *Rom. of Partenay*, line 2741—

'Unto this feste cam barons full many,
Which notable were and ryght ful honeste.'

5. *Unmistakable, well-known* (*γνωστός*), Ac 4^{16} 'a notable miracle.' Cf. Chaucer, *Prioresses Tale*, 233—

'O yonge Hugh of Lincoln, slayn also
With cursed Jewes, as it is notable,
For it nis but a litel whyle ago.'

6. *Noble, highminded* (*γενναῖος*), 2 Mac 6^{28} 'a notable example to such as be young to die willingly.'

In its only occurrence **notably** has the same meaning as that last given for 'notable,' viz. *nobly*, 2 Mac 14^{31} 'he was notably prevented by Judas' policy' (*γενναίως*, RV 'bravely,' RVm 'nobly'). Cf. Berners, *Froissart*, ch. clii. 'Wherefore they sayd, they wold send and defye the Frenche kyng notably: and so they did.' The meaning is nearly the same in Shaks. *Mids. Night's Dream*, V. i. 368 (his only example of the word)—'a fine tragedy . . . and very notably discharged.'

J. HASTINGS.

NOTHING is sometimes used adverbially in AV, like 'no-way,' 'naught,' and 'not' (='no whit'). We should now say 'as nothing' or 'in no respect,' for 'nothing' has completely lost its adverbial force. Thus 1 K 10^{21} 'it [silver] was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon' (לֹא נֶחְשָׁב); Job 34^{9} 'It profiteth a man nothing that he should delight himself with God' (לֹא יִסְכָּן־גָּבֶר); 2 Mac 7^{12} 'he nothing regarded the pains' (*ἐν οὐδενί*); 9^{7} 'he nothing at all ceased from his bragging' (*οὐδαμῶς*, RV 'in no wise'); Jn 12^{19} 'Perceive ye how ye prevail nothing?' (*οὐκ ὠφελεῖτε οὐδέν*); 1 Ti 4^{4} 'For every creature of God is good and nothing to be refused' (*οὐδὲν ἀπόβλητον*, RV 'nothing is to be rejected'). Cf. Lk 4^{35} Rhem. 'And when the Devil had throwen him into the middes, he went out of him, and hurted him nothing'; also the Annotation to Luke 19^{8} in Rhem. NT, 'The poore widowes brasse peny was very grateful, because it was al or much of that she had: but the riche man's pound of his superfluitie, though it be good, yet is nothing so grateful.' In *Crusoe*, p. 60, Defoe uses the word almost as if it were 'not': 'I was nothing near so anxious about my own safety.' Abbott (*Shaks. Gram.* p. 46) quotes *Henry VIII.* V. i. 126, 'I fear nothing, what can be said against me,' and points out that 'what' is not put for 'which'; 'nothing' is equivalent to 'not at all.'

In the phrase 'nothing worth' it is probable that 'nothing' is again adverbial, though we have but to transpose the words to find it a substantive. It occurs in Job 24^{25} 'who will make me a liar, and make my speech nothing worth?' (לְאַל); Wis 2^{11} 'That which is feeble is found to be nothing worth' (*ἄχρηστον*, RV 'of no service'); Bar 6$^{17.26}$. Cf. Jn 8^{54} Tind. 'Jesus answered, Yf I honoure my selfe, myne honoure is nothinge worth' (*οὐδέν ἐστιν*, Wyc. 'is nought,' other VSS 'is nothing').

J. HASTINGS.

NOUGHT.—See NAUGHT.

NOVICE.—The word used in 1 Ti 3^{6} to translate the Greek *νεόφυτος* (neophyte). A bishop is to be 'not a novice, lest being lifted up with pride he fall into the condemnation of the devil.' The literal meaning of the word is 'newly planted.' The word *neophyte* became later a technical term, used to describe those who had been recently baptized, when they wore during the Liturgy their white baptismal robes, were placed near the altar, and received each day. For other details see *Dict. Chr. Ant.* ii. 1385.

A. C. HEADLAM.

NUMBER.—

1. Numbers and Textual Criticism (*figures*).
2. Numbers and Rhetoric (*round* numbers).
3. Numbers and Theology (*holy* numbers, *symbolic* numbers, *Gematria*).

The interpreter of Scripture has to look at the numbers which occur in the sacred texts from other points of view besides those that are usually taken account of in grammar (cf. König, *Syntax*, pp. 310–338). He has to ask whether such numbers do not fall within the sphere of Textual Criticism, of Rhetoric, or even of Philosophy and Theology.

1. NUMBERS AND TEXTUAL CRITICISM.—(*a*) In the only inscription which has been preserved to us from the earlier times of the Hebrews, the Siloam Inscription, which, notwithstanding the objections of Pilcher, is to be dated in all probability from the days of Hezekiah (cf. *Expos. Times*, 1898, p. 292 f.), *the numbers are written in full in words*: שלש and מאתים ואלף (lines 2, 5). One sees that we have only a very slender basis for conclusions as to the way in which the ancient Hebrews indicated numbers in their writing. Certainly, the dogmatic judgment must not be passed that the above was the only mode. On the one hand, no doubt, this view is supported by the circumstance that upon the Moabite Stone also (cf. Socin, 'zur Meša-Inschrift' in *Verhandlungen der sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1897, ii.) the numbers are written in words: שלשן, etc. (lines 2, 8, 16, 20, 28 f.). But, on the other hand, it is to be noted that elsewhere, *even at periods when figures were employed, numbers are notwithstanding indicated frequently*

by words. For instance, in the old Aramaic inscriptions of Zinjirli, we read the numbers שבעי (*Panammu*, line 3) and שלשנ (*WZKM*, 1893, p. 119. It may be noted that the inscription of Bar-Rekub, published by Sachau in *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Akad.* 1896, p. 1051 f., contains no numbers). But in the same inscriptions we find also figures, and the same combination of both methods of indicating numbers recurs also 'on the Assyro-Aramaic lion-weights, where the numbers are expressed first in words and then in symbols' (W. R. Smith, *Academy*, 1893, No. 1124, p. 444ᶜ). Again, in the S. Arabian inscriptions the numbers are partly written in full and partly indicated by figures, *e.g.* שבע וארבעהי, etc., in Halévy, No. 199 (Prätorius, *ZDMG* xxvi. 748). The Phœnicians also employed both words fully written and figures, *e.g.* | ||| ⁀ עסר וארבע in the Eshmunazar inscription (*CIS* i. 14); || אשנם, in an inscription of Citium (i. 36), and the same dittography is found in an inscription of Idalium (i. 102, cf. 151), || שנם (p. 183), || ||| ||| שמנ, etc. (pp. 109 f., 225). Nay, there are Phœnician inscriptions in which the numbers are written *only* in *words*: שלש (p. 203), חמש מאתם, etc. (in a Spanish inscription, No. 166, p. 245), מאת (twice in one inscription, p. 264). *The Siloam Inscription may be an instance of an inscription of this kind.* This possibility must be conceded all the more that S. Reinach also remarks, in his *Traité d'épigraphie grecque* (1885, p. 219), 'at all periods the inscriptions furnish also instances, rather rare no doubt, of figures [read 'numbers'] expressed at length in words; *e.g.* *Ταμίαις ἔσοδος μία ἐνενήκοντα λίτραι, κ.τ.λ.* (*CIG*, No. 5640).'

(*b*) If, then, it is *possible* that the pre-exilic Hebrews also employed *signs* for numbers, what kind of figures had they? Of such *signs* four leading species are known to the present writer:—

(*a*) In *Assyrian* 'one' is represented by a vertical wedge (Y), and the other units by combinations of such wedges, but 'ten' by a sign which is quite similar to the sign for u (<, cf. in Delitzsch's *Assyr. Gramm.* p. 18 with p. 40). The other numbers are indicated by combinations of this sign for 'ten' with the vertical and the horizontal wedge. These Assyrian figures might be called purely **linear,** were it not that the number 'sixty' is expressed by '| *šušu*, or *soss*'; cf. further, C. Bezold, *Oriental Diplomacy* (London, 1893), p. 120 f., and, above all, Th. Dangin, *Recherches sur l'Origine de l'écriture cunéiforme* (Paris, 1898), pp. 82 ff., where the figures employed in the oldest cuneiform inscriptions are collected with great completeness.

(*β*) In the *hieroglyphic* texts of the Egyptians 'one' is indicated by a vertical line, and the numbers from 'two' to 'nine' by vertical strokes placed side by side (*e.g.* ||| |||). 'In dates the units are indicated also by horizontal strokes (—, =, etc.).' But the sign for 'ten' is ∩, 'hundred' is represented by C, etc. (cf. Erman, *Aegypt. Gramm.* 1894, § 140). Essentially identical is the *Phœnician* system of figures: | to ||| ||| |||; 'ten' is indicated by ⁀ or by a similar obliquely drawn and curved line which evidently arose from O, the earlier form of ע, with which the word עסר 'ten' *begins.* Then follows a special sign for 'twenty' and for 'hundred' (cf. Schröder, *Die Phön. Sprache*, p. 186 ff., and *CIS* i. 30, 40, 43, 50, 94, etc.). Only the sign O for 'ten' has been found up till now in the *Zinjirli* inscriptions, namely '$\circ^{\circ}_{\circ} = 30$,' and '$\circ^{\circ\circ\circ}_{\circ\circ\circ}=70$' (Sachau, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, 1893, p. 71). Upon the same principle the signs for numbers are chosen in *Minæo-Sabæan*, where '"one" is expressed by a vertical stroke' (Prätorius, *ZDMG* xxvi. p. 750), but 'five' by 𐩭, the *initial* letter of ኀ (i) ምስ, if the Minæo-Sabæan letters are transcribed in Ethiopic. The number 'ten' is indicated by the sign O, an older form of ∇ (ע), with which the word for 'ten' *begins* which answers to the Ethiopic ዐሠርቱ. (For the other figures see Prätorius, *l.c.*, and Hommel, *Südarab. Chrestomathie*, 1893, p. 8.). Only slightly modified is the system of figures which one finds employed in the *Palmyrene* inscriptions, namely | to ||||; 'five' = a sign which appears to the present writer to be a simplification of the above S. Arabian 𐩭; 'ten' = a sign which may have arisen from O (ע), etc. (cf. Merx, *Gramm. Syr.* p. 17). This second principle upon which numbers are indicated may be called the **lineo-acrostic.**

(*γ*) In *India* an older system of figures was displaced by that which is adopted in the *Sanskrit texts*: १, २, ३. etc. (cf. *e.g.* Stenzler, *Elementarbuch der Sanskṛit-Sprache*, § 7). This way of indicating numbers is the **pure acrostic.** For the sign १ represents the vowel ए, with which the word एक (*eka*, 'one') *begins*, etc. These figures are employed also by the Arabs (cf. ١, ٢, ٣, etc.), who themselves call this method of indicating numbers *ar-raḳmu-lhindijju* (Caspari-Müller, *Arab. Gramm.*⁵ § 33), while Europeans are accustomed to call it the *Arabic* method.

(*δ*) The fourth leading method of shortening the expression of numbers is the **alphabetic.** The following traces of it have been noted by the present writer: the *Greek* inscriptions of older date show the following figures, |, ||, |||, ||||, Γ (S. Reinach, *l.c.* p. 217, recalls the Π of ΠΕΝΤΕ), Γ|, etc., Δ (cf. ΔΕΚΑ), etc. Similar signs are found in inscriptions from Epidauros belonging to the 4th cent. B.C. According to B. Keil (in *Hermes*, xxv. p. 319), as the present writer's colleague, G. Körte, has pointed out to him, the *latest* specimens of this system are found in *CI Attic.* ii. 2, No. 985 (written *c.* 90 B.C.). But somewhat earlier than B.C. 50 the *alphabetic* system of figures appears to have been introduced, according to B. Keil (in above-cited art. p. 320), and it is found, *e.g.*, in *CI Attic.* iii. 644 (the time of Augustus or Claudius), etc. 'In the oldest system of this class, the letters possess the following values: Α=1, Β=2, Γ=3, Δ=4, Ε=5, Ι=6, Η=7, Θ=8, Ι=9, Κ=10, etc.' (Reinach, *l.c.* p. 220). It is clear from all this that Gow ('The Greek Numeral Alphabet,' in *Journal of Philology*, 1884, p. 278) has rightly rejected the hypothesis of a Phœnician origin for this Greek method of indicating numbers. The *alphabetic* method adopted for Greek figures was copied in Coptic-Arabic and in Ethiopic writings (Prätorius, *Aeth. Gramm.* § 14). Further, in many *Syriac* manuscripts (cf. the Codices Musei Britannici enumerated by Land in his *Anecdota Syriaca*, p. 94) one finds signs for numbers which have a genetic connexion with the above-mentioned figures of the Palmyrene inscriptions (cf. further, on the notation of the Syrians, Gottheil, *ZDMG*, 1889, p. 121 ff.). But these figures, which occur pretty frequently in the Codices of 5th–7th cent., afterwards fell into disuse (Merx, *Gramm. Syr.* p. 16), and the *alphabetic* method of indicating numbers was adopted (*e.g.* ܝ *Jûd*=10; ܟ *Kâph* =20, etc.); cf. further, Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.* p. 279. This alphabetic method was, and is still, largely employed by the *Arabs* (Caspari-Müller⁵, § 33). It was also partially adopted by the *Nabatæans*, in whose inscriptions one finds 'a mixed system' of figures (Sachau, *ZDMG*, 1884, p. 541: 'ten=Jod, and hundred=Koph'), and the same method is not unexampled even in New Persian (cf. Salemann-Shukowski, *Neupers. Gramm.* p. 4 f.).

The *alphabetic* method of abbreviating the expression of numbers is what is employed in the later *Hebrew* inscriptions and books. On those coins which are with the greatest probability dated from the Maccabæan period we find fully written numbers (*e.g.* ארבע or אחת) and also figures (א, etc.) In the Mishna it is stated that three chests, used in connexion with the cultus of the second temple, were inscribed with אלף, בית, גימל (*Sheḳalim*, iii. 2). This usage grew as time went on, and instead of י״ה or י״ו one wrote ט״ו, to avoid suggesting the name יהוה. Traces of this practice are found in Origen (cf. Strack, *ZATW*, 1884, p. 249; Nestle, *ZDMG*, 1886, p. 429 f.), in the Cambridge MS of the Mishna (ed. Lowe), and in the Jerus. Talmud (Dalman, *Jüd-Pal. Aram.* 1894, p. 99). Other instances are read in inscriptions from Aden, which are now in the British Museum (cf. Chwolson, *CI Heb.* col. 126: שנת כט; col. 129: אתרכח, *i.e.* 1628). But this alphabetic method of indicating numbers *need not have been the only one* employed by the Hebrews in the course of centuries. They *may* have in earlier days employed one of the lineo-acrostic systems which were in use among their eastern or western neighbours, and may have passed from this to the alphabetic method, just as the Greeks and the Syrians did. It is, indeed, almost more probable that the Hebrews copied than that they avoided the practice of their neighbours.

(*c*) From all this it results that the relation of numbers to Textual Criticism is as follows: the possibility is not excluded that the integrity of the numbers of the Old Testament has suffered, seeing that during an earlier or a later period a species of figures was used in the MSS of the biblical text. When, for instance, we read in 2 S 24^{13} 'seven years,' but in the parallel passage, 1 Ch 21^{12} 'three years,' it is natural to suppose that a confusion has taken place between ז and ג. Again, when '15,000 men' is the reading of MT in Jg 8^{10}, but '18,000' in Jos. *Ant.* V. vi. 5, there may be a confusion between יה and יח. Cf. ש(י)לה, Gn 49^{10b} (Samar. שלה), with the Vulg. rendering 'qui mittendus est,' as if Jerome had found in his exemplar a form of שלח.

2. Numbers and Rhetoric.—In the exegesis of the Bible, numbers come, further, under various view-points, which can be ranged under the wide category of the stylistic or rhetorical.

(*a*) A species of synecdoche consists in *individualizing*, putting forward an example in place of the whole class, *e.g.* לָשׁוֹן 'the tongue,' Ps 12^{4b} [Eng. ^{3b}], or רְשָׁעִים || צַדִּיק Pr 12^{10ab}. A cognate phenomenon is *specializing*, *i.e.* the use of a definite number for a total which, in the mind of the writer, approximates to that number. It is not enough to say with Hirzel (*l.c.* p. 5) that 'the concrete expression is readily preferred to the abstract.'

(α) It may be said that this employment of a definite number is already present in the use of אחר or אחת 'one' for 'a' or 'some one'; *e.g.* in Gn 22^{13} אחר is read by some Heb. MSS, and is supported by Sam., LXX, Pesh. (ܚܕ); see other examples from OT and NT, and from Arabic, etc., in König's *Syntax*, § 73, 291*de*. The same tendency to specialize a total of objects led to the use of two definite numbers instead of one indefinite expression. Thus we find '*one* (and, or) *two*' in Dt 32^{30}, Jer 3^{14}, Ps 62^{11}, Job 33^{14} 40^{5}; cf. the coupling of sing. with dual (Ec 21^{21}, Jg 5^{30} 15^{16}), or of sing. with plural (Ec $2^{8b\beta}$); '*two* (and, or) *three*' in 2 K 9^{32}, Is 17^{6a} ('two *or* three berries'), Am 4^{8} (cf. Hos 6^{2}), Job 33^{29}, Sir 23^{16} 26^{19} 50^{25}, Mt 18^{20}; Arab. *jômên telâte*, 'two, three days' (Spitta, *Gramm. des Arab. Vulgärdialects in Ægypten*, § 132^{b}); Syr. 'two, three believers' (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.* § 240 B); 'bis terque' in Cicero, *et al.*; cf. תְּמוֹל שִׁלְשׁוֹם, *ἐχθὲς καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν*, Gn $31^{2.5}$, Ex $5^{7f.14}$ $21^{29.36}$, Dt 4^{42} $19^{4.6}$, Jos 3^{4} 4^{18} 20^{5}, 1 S 4^{7} etc., Ru 2^{11}, 1 Ch 11^{2}; '*three* (and, or) *four*' (cf. Ex 20^{5} || Dt 5^{9}), Jer 36^{23}, Am 1^{3}–2^{6}, Pr $30^{15.18.21.29}$, Sir 26^{5}; Arab. *telât arba'e ḥawâgât*, 'three, four merchants' (Spitta, § 132*b*); *τρισμάκαρες Δαναοὶ καὶ τετράκις* (*Odyss.* v. 306); 'ter et quater' (Hor. *Carm.* I. xxxi. 13); 'O terque quaterque beati' (Verg. *Aen.* i. 94); '*four–five*' Is 17^{6b}, Arab. *telât arba' ḫamas ṭâkât*, 'three, four, five pieces' (Spitta, *l.c.*); '*five–six*' 2 K 13^{19}, cf. 'he sent five and six times' in the Tel el-Amarna letters (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Bd. v.), $21^{17.20}$ [cf. 87^{44}]; '*six–seven*' Pr 6^{16}, Job 5^{19}; '*seven–eight*' Mic 5^{5}, Ec 11^{2}. In all these instances the addition of a second number calls attention to the fact that the first number is not meant to be an exact sum, but one that in the opinion of the writer is approximately correct. Note especially the replacement of *δύο* in Mt 18^{19} by *δύο ἢ τρεῖς* in v.^{20}. Hence such an arrangement of numbers was employed in the so-called *middah*, a kind of riddle: Pr $6^{16\text{-}19}$ $30^{15ff.}$, Sir 23^{16} (*δύο εἴδη . . . καὶ τὸ τρίτον, κ.τ.λ.*) 25 (cf. v.$^{1f.}$) $^{7f.}$ (*ἐννέα . . . καὶ τὸ δέκατον, κ.τ.λ.*) $26^{5ff.19}$ $50^{25f.}$

This employment of a definite number as the approximate equivalent of an indefinite sum is found also in the following instances:—

(β) '**Two**' replaces the indefinite expression 'a few' (Germ. 'ein paar' = 'einige'), Nu 9^{22}, Hos 6^{2a}, Dt 32^{30}, 1 S 11^{11b} (cf. the Arab. 'not *two* were of a different opinion'), 1 K 17^{12}, Mt 14^{17} 18^{19}; cf. the principle 'the smallest number that can indicate plurality is two' (A. Berliner, *Beiträge zur Heb. Gramm. aus Talmud u. Midrasch*, p. 42: מיעוט רבים שנים); and it is not altogether without ground that Dathe says in *Glassii Philologia Sacra*, i. p. 1257, 'duplum stat (Is 40^{2b} 61^{7}, Jer 16^{18}, Zec 9^{12}, Rev 18^{6}) pro multo, vel eo quod plus satis est.'

(γ) '**Three**' is a still more frequent expression for a small total, cf. Gn 30^{36} $40^{10.12}$ 42^{17}, Ex 2^{2} 3^{18} 5^{3} 8^{27} 10^{22} 15^{22} (cf. 'the third,' 19^{11}), Lv 19^{23}, Jos 1^{11} $2^{16.22}$, 2 S 24^{13}, 1 K 12^{5}, 2 K $11^{5f.}$ 13^{18b} (20^{5}), Is 16^{14} 20^{3}, Jon 1^{17}, Est 4^{16}, Dn 1^{5}, 1 Ch 21^{12}, Sir $25^{1f.}$. The origin of this use of 'three' is not far to seek. Observation of nature and history supplied not a few examples of objects and events made up of *three* main parts: *e.g.* root, trunk, and *corona* of a tree; head, trunk, and legs of a body; source, stream, and *embouchure* of a river; the right, the left, and the middle portion of an article; heaven, earth, and She'ôl (Ex 20^{4} || Dt 5^{8}, Ps 139^{8} etc.); morning, noon, and evening; the beginning, the middle, and the end of a process.

(δ) The number '**seven**' is not infrequently employed in an exact sense, as in the case of the seven days of the week (Gn 2^{2}, Ex $20^{9f.}$), or of a wedding-feast (Jg $14^{12.17}$; To 11^{19} *ὁ γάμος . . . ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας*), for such a feast is called 'the week' (Gn $29^{27a.28a}$) or 'the king's week' (Wetzstein, *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, v. 287 ff.), and a *γάμος ἡμερῶν δέκα τεσσάρων* (To 8^{19}) is an exception. It is not to be doubted that the exact number '*seven*' is meant also in the following passages: 'seven priests' Jos 6^{4}; 'seven locks' Jg $16^{13.19}$; 1 S 10^{8} 11^{3} 13^{8}, 2 S 21^{6}, 1 K 18^{43}, Ezk $3^{15f.}$, Zec 3^{9}, Pr 9^{1} (cf. 2 Ch $21^{1f.}$); the 'seven princes of Persia and Media' Est 1^{14} (confirmed by Justi, *Gesch. des alten Persiens*, p. 61). But elsewhere 'seven' is merely a round expression for a moderately large number: Gn 4^{15} 7^{4} 31^{23} 33^{3} (or are we to suppose that Jacob counted exactly the number of times he bowed?; cf. 'seven and seven times fell I at the feet of my lord the king' [Tel el-Amarna letters in *KIB* v. $38^{4f.}$ $39^{4\text{-}6}$ 40^{5} 42^{3} etc. 179^{3}]), Ex 7^{25}, Lv $26^{18.}$ (so taken also by Dillmann-Ryssel, *Ex–Lv*, 1897, *ad loc.*) $^{24.28}$, Dt $28^{7.25}$, Jg 16^{7}, 1 S 2^{5}, 2 S 24^{13}, 2 K 4^{35} ('the child sneezed until seven times') 8^{1}, Is 4^{1} ('seven women shall take hold of one man') 11^{15} 30^{26}, Jer 15^{9}, Ezk $39^{9.12}$, Ps 12^{6} 79^{12} 119^{164}, Pr 6^{31a} (cf. v.^{31b}, Ex 21^{36} $22^{1\text{-}3}$) 24^{16} $26^{16.25}$, Job 2^{13} 5^{19}, Ru 4^{15}, Dn 3^{19b}, 1 Ch 21^{12}, Sir 7^{3} 20^{11} [Eng. ^{12}] 32^{11} (=35^{13}) 37^{14} (=v.^{18}) 40^{8}, To 3^{8} 6^{13} 7^{11} 12^{15}, 2 Mac 7^{1}, 4 Mac 1^{8}, Mt 12^{45} 18^{21} 22^{25}, Mk 16^{9}, Lk 17^{4}, Ac 19^{14}; 'the seventh heaven' in *Ascension of Isaiah* ix. 1; 'seven visions' 4 Ezr 3–14; 'seven days God spoke with Moses in the thorn-bush' (*Seder 'olam rabba*, ch. 5). This characteristic of the number 'seven' is shared by its half (Dn 9^{27b} 12^{7b}, Lk 4^{25}, Ja 5^{17}, Rev 11^{2} etc.) and its double (Gn 46^{22} [?], Lv 12^{5}, Nu 29^{13b}, 1 K 8^{65}, To 8^{19}, Mt 1^{17}), for, at least in this last passage, δεκατέσσαρες is not used in its exact sense. This employment of 'seven' is pretty accurately interpreted in the words of Adrianos (Εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὰς θείας γραφάς [cf. König's *Einleitung*, i. 520], § 85): 'τὸν ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸν ἐπὶ πλεονασμοῦ λέγει (ἡ γραφή) εἴτ' οὖν ἐπὶ τελείου ἀριθμοῦ.' Moreover, the origin of this usage is not difficult to discover. The regular recurrence of the seven days of the week, which again was a reflexion of the phases of the moon (cf. Philo, *Leg. Allegor.* i. 4: τροπαὶ σελήνης ἑβδομάσι γίνονται), impressed 'seven' so deeply on the human mind that one fixed upon this number almost involuntarily when one desired to indicate a sum of moderate size. The use of 'seven' lay all the readier to hand the more clearly this number shone forth from the 'seven' stars of Arcturus (Job 9^{9} 38^{32} 'with his sons'), which frequently supplied the place of the compass to the shepherd and the traveller. Further, an acquaintance with the Pleiades (כִּימָה Am 5^{8}, Job 9^{9} 38^{31}) and the planets (cf. Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 18 ff.) may have favoured the use of the number 'seven.' But there is no ground for the words of Augustine (*de Civitate Dei*, xi. 31), 'totus impar primus numerus ternarius est, totus par quaternarius; ex quibus duobus septenarius constat. Ideo pro universo sæpe ponitur.'

(ε) The number **'seventy'** also bears not infrequently an approximate sense. The following series of passages appear to the present writer to exhibit this characteristic of 'seventy' upon an ascending scale: Gn 46^{27}, Ex 1^{5}, Dt 10^{22}; Ex $24^{1.9}$, Nu $11^{16.24f.}$, Ezk 8^{11}, Lk 10^{1}; Ex 15^{27}, Nu 33^{9}, Jg 1^{7} 8^{30} $9^{2.4f.18.24.56}$ 12^{14}, 2 S 24^{15}, 2 K 10^{1}; Ps 90^{10} (Solon, *ap.* Herod. i. 32, says: ἐς ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οὖρον τῆς ζόης ἀνθρώπῳ προτίθημι), Is 23^{15}, Jer 25^{11} 29^{10}, Zec 1^{12} 7^{5}, Dn $9^{2.24ff.}$; ἑβδομήκοντα (Jth 1^{2}), and in the same way we must explain the reading '170 thousand' (7^{2}) in opposition to '120 thousand' (2^{5}); 'and he slew seventy relations' (Zinjirli, *Pan.* l. 3); cf. the seventy days of the Egyptian mourning (Gn 50^{3b}) or their embalming (Herod. ii. 86, 88). The same round character belongs to the expressions 'seventy and sevenfold' (Gn 4^{24}), and 'seventy times seven' (Mt 18^{22}); cf. 'seven thousand' (1 K 19^{18}, Ro 11^{4}, Rev 11^{13}, Mêsha' inscr. l. 16).

(ζ) **'Twelve'** is used in an approximate sense, when exactly '*twelve* wells of water' are mentioned along with 'seventy palm trees' (Ex 15^{27}). This employment of 'twelve' might be readily enough suggested by the number of the months (1 K 4^{7}, 1 Ch 27^{1}) and the twelve stations (*mazzalôth* or *mazzarôth*) of the zodiac, 2 K 23^{5}, Job 38^{32} (Arab. *al-manâzilu*, 'stationes lunæ'). Philo remarks on the '*twelve* wells of Elim' (Ex 15^{27}): τέλειος δ' ἀριθμὸς ὁ δώδεκα, μάρτυς δὲ ὁ ζωδιακὸς ἐν οὐρανῷ κύκλος, τοσούτοις κατηστερισμένος φωσφόροις ἄστροις. Μάρτυς καὶ ἡ ἡλίου περίοδος· μησὶ γὰρ δώδεκα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ περατοῖ κύκλον, ἰσαρίθμους τε τοῖς ἐνιαυτοῦ μησὶ τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς νυκτὸς ὥρας ἄγουσιν ἄνθρωποι (*de Profugis*, § 33). Compare the twelve discharges of water (Apoc. Bar chs. 53–68: 'aquæ duodecimæ lucidæ quas vidisti,' etc.); the twelve socles on the tombstone of Cyrus at Persepolis (Justi, *Altpers. Gesch.* p. 46); the 'duodecim tabulæ legum'; 'twelve men' (Tel el-Amarna letters, *l.c.* 81^{8}); and the modern 'dozen.'

(η) That **'forty'** serves as a round number may be gathered from such facts as the following: Isaac and Esau marry at the age of forty (Gn 25^{20} 26^{34}); according to Ex 2^{11} 'Moses went out unto his brethren when he was *grown*,' but according to Ac 7^{23} 'when he was full *forty* years old'; Caleb says (Jos 14^{7}), '*forty* years old was I when Moses sent me,' etc., and Ish-bosheth was *forty* years old when he began to reign (2 S 2^{10}). Again, we meet with 3 times *forty* years in Gn 6^{3}, and in the life of Moses, Ex 7^{7}, Ac $7^{23.30}$, Dt 34^{7}; cf. ἔτεα ἐς ἐείκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων ἀπικνέεσθαι (Herod. iii. 23). Further, reigns and other periods of *forty* years present themselves in Jg 3^{11} $5^{8.31}$ 8^{28} 13^{1}, 1 S 4^{18}, 2 S 5^{4}, 1 K 2^{11} 11^{42} (‖ 1 Ch 29^{27}, 2 Ch 9^{30}) 24^{1}, and a reign of forty years is attributed also to Saul in Ac 13^{21} and Jos. *Ant.* VI. xiv. 9. Then we have the 'forty' years of the wilderness wanderings, Ex 16^{35}, Nu $14^{33f.}$ 32^{13}, Dt 2^{7} 8^{2} 29^{4}, Jos 5^{6}, Am 2^{10} 5^{25}, Ps 95^{10}, Neh 9^{21}. But in other instances than these the number '*forty*' is used with not less surprising frequency, see Ex 24^{18} 26^{19} 34^{28} (cf. Lv 12^{2-5}), Nu 13^{25}, Dt $9^{9.11.18.25}$ 10^{10} 25^{3}, Jg 12^{14}, 1 S 17^{16} (in 2 S 15^{7} 'forty' as a familiar number has certainly been written in place of 'four'; cf. the ܐܪܒܥ of the Pesh. and the τέσσαρες of Jos. *Ant.* VII. ix. 1), 1 K 5^{6} 7^{38} 19^{8}, 2 K 8^{9}, Ezk 4^{6} 29^{11-13} 41^{2} 46^{22}, Jon 3^{4}, Neh 5^{15}, 1 Ch 12^{36}; τεσσεράκοντα Mt 4^{2}, Ac 1^{3} $23^{13.21}$, Jth 1^{4}, Bel (LXX)^{2}, Apoc. Bar 76^{4}, 2 Es 14^{23}; ארבענ 'forty years,' Mêsha' inscrip. l. 8; cf. the 'forty' days of the *Egyptian* embalming (Gn 50^{3a}; Diod. Sic. [ed. Bekker], i. 91: πλείους τῶν τριάκοντα); Herod. i. 202 (ὁ Ἀράξης στόμασι ἐξερεύγεται τεσσεράκοντα), ii. 29 (ὁδοιπορίην ποιήσεται ἡμερῶν τεσσεράκοντα), iv. 73 (among the Scythians ἡμέρας τεσσεράκοντα οἱ ἰδιῶται περιάγονται, ἔπειτα θάπτονται). Many other instances from Greek and Roman writers have been collected by Hirzel (*l.c.* pp. 6 ff., 57 f.). Further, Brugsch (*Steininschrift*^{2}, etc. p. 313) remarks that 'forty years' means in the Persian language even at the present day nothing more than 'many years.' 'The well-known animal which we call *centipede* [Ger. Tausendfuss] bears amongst the Persians the name *Tschihil-pāi*, *i.e.* "forty foot," and the Turks call the same creature *Kyrk ajakly*, *i.e.* "forty-footed"' (Hirzel, *l.c.* p. 41). Note, also, the 'forty thousand' in Jos 4^{13}, Jg 5^{8}, 2 S $10^{17f.}$, 1 K 4^{25}, 1 Ch 12^{36}, 1 Mac 12^{41}, 2 Mac 5^{14}, Jos. *Ant.* VII. xiii. 1.

The way to understand this use of the number '*forty*' is indicated in the OT itself. A whole generation, with few exceptions, was doomed to die in the wilderness (Nu $14^{22f.}$ 26^{64}), and this sojourn in the wilderness of the Sinaitic Peninsula lasted for (about) 'forty' years (Nu 14^{33} $20^{22ff.}$ 32^{13} $33^{38f.}$, Dt 2^{7} etc.). Consequently *forty* years is the approximate expression for the duration of a generation (called in Heb. דּוֹר; Arab. *dârun*, lit. περίοδος). Besides, from the frequent notices that such and such a one married at the age of *forty* or entered upon an office at that age (Gn 25^{20} etc.) and that a somewhat prolonged life consisted of three times forty years, we gather that the notion prevailed that the full development of human life was reached about the *fortieth* year, the so-called ἀκμή. In any case, this thought is expressed in the words 'till he reached his full strength (*'aśuddahu*) and attained the age of *forty* years' (Ḳoran, xlvi. 14)—words which explain the tradition that Mohammed received his call to be a prophet at the age of *forty*, as well as account for the very frequent employment of 'forty' by the Arabs as a round number (Hirzel, *l.c.* p. 39). The idea of the ἀκμή of human life is the source from which Hirzel (*l.c.* p. 62) derives the explanation of the remarkable prevalence of 'forty.' Perhaps, however, it ought to be added that Lepsius (*Chronol. der Ægypter*, p. 15) assumes that the Heb. *'arba'îm* may have found favour on account of its assonance with *rabbîm*, 'many.' But the view of Pott

(*Zählmethode*, p. 99), that 'forty' as the product of 20 × 2 obtained preference because of the earlier predominance of 'twenty,' cannot be established at least for Semitic peoples. Too slender a basis belongs also to the theory of J. Grimm (*Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 219), that 'forty' arose from 3 × 13 + 1 (see, more fully, Hirzel, *l.c.* p. 61), and as little are there clear grounds for the supposition that 'four, as the number of the square, of the quarters of the globe, and of the four parts of the day (?), is the number of completeness' (Bähr, *Symbolik des mos. Cultus*, i. 155 f.).

The approximate sense we have claimed for 'forty' has recently been denied by J. C. A. Kessler (*Chronol. iudicum et primorum regum*, 1882, p. 12) in the words, 'fides historica numeri 40 annorum non dubia est; nam sæpius huius spatii partes commemorantur (Dt 2^{14}, 2 S 5^{5}, 1 K 2^{11}, 1 Ch 29^{27}) et in eo singuli anni vel menses numerantur (Ex 19^{1}, Nu 10^{11} 20^{1}, Dt 1^{3}).' But these data would invalidate the approximate value of the number 'forty' only if the portions of time enumerated made up exactly a duration of forty years; cf. the *τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα* of the reign of Battos of Cyrene, which, according to Herod. iv. 157–159, were made up of 2 + 6 + 32 years, and which are wrongly regarded by Hirzel (*l.c.* p. 50) as a fictitious number. Would the Hebrews and other peoples have used the number 'forty' so frequently if it had not been a round sum? Julius Oppert, again (*Salomon et ses successeurs*, 1877, p. 11), has adduced many historical parallels in defence of the exactness of the '480 years' of 1 K 6^{1}. He considers that the Roman Republic lasted from 510–30 B.C., and the Parthian Empire from 256 B.C.–225 A.D. Now, let us grant that both these calculations are absolutely certain, although one may cast doubt both on the year B.C. 30 as the last year of the Republic of Rome and on the date assigned for the beginning of the Parthian Empire; nevertheless, doubts are awakened when the statement is read in the Hebrew Scriptures that two events were separated by an exact space of 480 years, for, in view of the series of passages we have cited, it must be evident that 'forty' in Hebrew usage bore an approximate sense, and, besides, twelve generations are counted in 1 Ch 5^{29-34} [Eng. 6^{3-8}] from Moses to Solomon.

(*θ*) The number **'five'** also has at times the character of a familiar (Gn 43^{34}, Jg 18^{2}, 1 S 17^{40} 21^{3}) and approximate number: Lv 22^{14} 26^{8}, 1 S 17^{5}, 2 K 7^{13}, Is 19^{18} (against Hitzig, *ad loc.*) 30^{17}, Mt $14^{17.\,21}$ (∥ Mk $6^{38.\,44}$, Lk 9^{13}, Jn 6^{9}), 1 Co 14^{19}, 2 Es 14^{24}. Could the number of the fingers fail to give rise to such a usage? (So, too, Hirzel, *l.c.* p. 2, derives this employment of 'five' from 'the constant beholding of the fingers'). Cf. 'five' in the Tel el-Amarna letters (*l.c.*), 9^{18} 10^{12} $16^{39f.}$ 26^{9} 85^{17}. It may be noted that analogies to the 'six' fingers of 2 S 21^{20} (∥ 1 Ch 20^{6}) and the 'sedigiti' of Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xi. 43) have been collected, especially by Zöckler in Lange's *Bibelwerk* (on 1 Ch 20^{6}).

(*ι*) To the same source must be traced the frequent use and the round sense of **'ten,'** which one may note in Gn 31^{7}, Lv 26^{26}, Nu 14^{22} (? Jg 6^{27}), 1 S 1^{8} (17^{17}, 2 S 18^{11}, 1 K 14^{3}, 2 K 5^{5}), Is 6^{13}, Am 5^{3}, Zec 8^{23}, Job 19^{3}, Ec 7^{19} (Neh 5^{18}), Mt 25^{1}, Lk 15^{8}, Rev 2^{10}, To 4^{20}, Enoch 93; and the 'ten temptations of Abraham' (Book of Jubilees, ch. xix.) set in their proper light the 'ten' temptations of Nu 14^{22} (J. H. Kurtz, *Gesch. d. Alten Bundes*, ii. 398, has rightly said, 'the attempts to reckon exactly ten historical temptations cannot be carried through *without violence*'). Cf. the 'ten persecutions' in Augustine, *de Civitate Dei*, xviii. 52. It is interesting to note that even in the book *Jeṣîrah* the 'ten' spheres are deduced from the number of the fingers (ch. i. § 3, ed. Rittangel, p. 195: עשר ספירות מספר עשר אצבעות); cf. for 'ten times' the Tel el-Amarna letters, $17^{33.\,63}$ 20^{22} 21 (obverse)$^{11.}$(reverse)^{34} $22^{32.\,46.\,56}$ $23^{12.\,18}$ etc.

(*κ*) It was no less natural to employ **'fifty'** (5 × 10) as a round number. Examples of its use in this way are found in Gn 6^{15} 7^{24} 8^{3} 18^{24}, Ex 18^{21} etc. 26^{5} etc., Lv 23^{16} 25^{10} etc. 27^{3}, Nu $4^{3ff.}$ 16^{2}, Dt 22^{29}, Jos 7^{21}, 1 S 6^{19}, 2 S 24^{24}, 1 K 18^{4}, 2 K 1^{9}, Is 3^{3} etc., Ezr 8^{6} etc.; *πεντήκοντα* in Jth 1^{2}; חמשן in Mêsha' inscrip. l. 28.

(*λ*) Such approximate quantities were naturally also the numbers **'hundred'** (*e.g.* in Lv 26^{8}, 1 S 24^{3}, Pr 17^{10}, Ec 6^{3} 8^{12}, 1 Ch 21^{3}, Mt 19^{29} (TR), Mk 10^{30}, Lk 8^{8}; *ἑκατόν* To 14^{11} (cf. v.^{2}), Jth 10^{17}; מאת Mêsha' inscr. l. 29) and **'thousand'** (Ex 20^{6} 34^{7}, Dt 1^{11} 7^{9} 32^{30}, 1 S 18^{7} 21^{11} 29^{5}, 2 S 18^{12}, Is 30^{17} 60^{22}, Jer 32^{18}, Am 5^{3}, Mic 6^{7}, Ps 50^{10} 84^{10} 90^{4} 91^{7} 105^{8} 119^{72}, Job 9^{3} 33^{23}, Ec 6^{6} 7^{28}, 1 Ch 12^{14} 16^{15}), and אֶלֶף has also, according to its etymology, the general sense of 'union, association.' The remark of Hirzel (*l.c.* p. 2) may, further, be noted: 'the numbers "ten," "hundred," "thousand," each commence a series which in a certain sense is dominated by them.'

(*b*) At least the number 'thousand' has a rhetorical use of a second kind. Numbers of this kind are not infrequently due to the tendency to *hyperbole*, traces of which may be observed in the comparison of Abraham's seed to 'the dust of the earth,' etc. (Gn 13^{16} etc.), as is admitted even by Flacius (*Clavis script. sacræ*, ii. 152, 383 ff.). To the same department of rhetoric belong many larger numbers, *e.g.* 'seven thousand' (1 K 19^{18} etc.), 'ten thousand' (Lv 26^{8}, Dt 32^{30}, 1 S 18^{7} 21^{11} 29^{5}, Ezk 16^{7}, Hos 8^{12}, Mic 6^{7}, Ps 3^{6} 68^{17} 91^{7}, Ca 5^{10}, *μυριότης* Wis 12^{22}), 'seventy thousand' (2 S 24^{15}), 'thousand thousand' (Dn 7^{10}, 1 Ch 21^{5} 22^{14}, 2 Ch 14^{9}), 'thousand myriads' (Gn 24^{60}), 'myriads of thousands' (Nu 10^{36}), 'a myriad of myriads' (Dn 7^{10}), and 'myriads of myriads' (Enoch xxxix.). Cf. *πῶς οὐ δεκάκις, μᾶλλον δὲ μυριάκις δίκαιός ἐστ' ἀπολωλέναι* (quoted from Demosthenes by R. Volkmann, *Rhetorik der Griechen u. Römer*, 1874, p. 374). Other analogies are presented by the Latin phrases '*sexcenti, sexcenties*,' etc., collected especially by Hunziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), p. 37 ff. A measure of truth lies also in the remark of Hirzel (*l.c.* p. 3), that the general numbers give requisite scope to the human imagination.

3. NUMBERS AND THEOLOGY. — A special relation of biblical numbers to theology has yet to be considered, in connexion with the question whether many numbers do not possess either a certain *sacredness* or a *symbolical* meaning.

(*a*) The reverence for, or *sacredness* attached to, certain numbers. — The latter quality has its natural sources and degrees. For instance, the connexion of a number with an important element either in the national fortunes or in the religious conceptions, might procure for that number a lower or a higher respect. Traces of this so-called sacredness of numbers are not wholly wanting in the Bible. Let us follow these traces, in order that we may use the possible sources and degrees of this phenomenon as normative.

(*a*) An extremely important feature in the *national* recollections of Israel was the number of the tribes, which *may* have originated substantially as is indicated in the Book of Genesis, in spite of the opinion to the contrary held by many recent commentators (cf. art. by the present writer on 'Israel's Historical Recollections' in *Expos. Times*, 1898, p. 349). Hence we might explain a certain loftiness of character attaching to **'twelve'** as well as the frequent use of this number. The instances we have in view are not those where 'twelve' manifestly stands in direct or indirect relation to the tribes of Israel, as in Ex 24^{4} 28^{21} ('twelve stones in the breastplate of the high priest'), Lv 24^{5}, Nu $7^{3ff.}$, Jos $4^{2f.}$, 1 K 18^{31}, Ezk 48^{31}, Ezr 6^{17b} 8^{35}, Mt 19^{28}, cf. the 24 classes of the priests (1 Ch 24^{4}) and Levites (25^{31}) and the 24 elders (Rev 4^{4}); the 48 Levitical cities (Nu 35^{7}); the 72 men (Nu $11^{24.26}$); the 144,000 sealed ones (Rev 7^{4}); the twelve baskets (Mt 14^{20}); the twelve legions of angels (26^{53}); the twelve gates of the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev $21^{12ff.}$). Rather have we in view especially the twelve generations that are enumerated from Aaron to Ahimaaz in 1 Ch 5^{29-34} and 6^{35-38} [Eng. 6^{3-8} and $^{50-53}$]. Another important element in the national consciousness of the Israelites was the recollection of the [about] **forty** years of the wilderness wanderings, as is proved by the frequent allusions to these (see the passages cited above in 2, *α*, *η*); and this recollection was of a very serious and mournful character. Hence it is intelligible that the round number 40 should be chosen just in those passages where the duration of a *serious* situation was to be indicated, as, for example, in the 40 days of punishment, of fasting, and of repentance, Gn $7^{4.12.17}$ 8^{6}, Ex 24^{18} 34^{28}, Dt $9^{9.11.18}$ 10^{10}, 1 S 17^{16}, 1 K 19^{8}, Jon 3^{4}, Mt 4^{2}.

(*β*) A fundamental element in the *religious* experience of Israel was the receiving of the '**ten**' commandments (Ex 20^{2-17} ‖ Dt 5^{6-18}), which three times are expressly called 'the *ten* words' (Ex 34^{28}, Dt 4^{13} 10^{4}); cf. also the ten candlesticks in the sanctuary (1 K 7^{49}). It would be no wonder, then, if the sanctity of those fundamental commandments passed over to their *number*, a process which may have been favoured by the circumstance of the ten times repeated 'and God said,' by which the world was made (Gn 1^{3-29}), unless, indeed, the ten repetitions of this formula were themselves due to the significance of the number 'ten.' The present writer feels disposed to adopt this last suggestion, because the combination of those ten וַיֹּאמֶר with the seven 'and God saw that (it was) good' (Gn $1^{4.10.12.18.21.25.31}$), and with the three 'and God blessed' ($1^{22.28}$ 2^{3}), appears too striking to allow the concurrence of those three numbers, 'ten,' 'seven,' and 'three,' to be set down as fortuitous. The same conclusion is specially favoured by the fact that the formula of approval, *καὶ ἴδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν*, is repeated in the LXX *eight* times, the additional instance being 1^{8b}. It is more likely that the number was reduced to seven from an original eight than, conversely, that seven occurrences of the formula were expanded to eight.

(*γ*) If we are right in the above supposition, the position is all the more established that '**seven**' had, in the estimation of the Hebrews, a certain measure of sanctity attached to it. This position is, however, very probable upon other grounds as well. For instance, next to the ark with the ten commandments, which of the fittings of the sanctuary was counted more sacred than the *seven*-branched candlestick (Ex 25^{32}, 1 K 7^{49}, Zec 4^{11})? Was it not this which symbolized the illumination bestowed by the Spirit of God (cf. Is 11^{2})? And how the reverence for the number 'seven' must have been augmented by the circumstance that this number, derived from the revolution of the moon, etc. (see above, 2, *α*, *δ*), was connected with the Sabbath and many of the festal seasons! Finally, what a powerful contribution to the sacredness of 'seven' was supplied by the act of swearing, which, through the ceremonies practised (Gn $21^{28ff.}$) and the name (*nishba'*) applied to it, connected itself with the number 'seven' (*sheba'*), a number which could be read off from the stars! Even if this connexion of 'seven' with holy utensils, seasons, and transactions was itself a secondary one, yet, once it was established, it must have tended greatly to promote the frequent use of the number 'seven,' and it is perhaps to the sacredness of 'seven' that we must attribute its selection in the following instances: the fitting up of the place of worship (1 K 7^{17}, Ezk $40^{22.26}$ 41^{3}, cf. Pr 9^{1}); the detailing of acts of ritual ('the priest shall sprinkle of the blood *seven* times,' etc., Lv $4^{6.17}$ 8^{11} $14^{7ff.}$ 16^{14}, Nu 19^{4}, 2 K 5^{10}), or the specification of the objects required in the cultus ('seven' lambs, etc. Nu $28^{11ff.}$, Ezk 45^{23}, 2 Ch 29^{21}); cf. the seven sons of Saul who were 'hanged before the LORD' (2 S 21^{9}); and the seven locks of the Nazirite Samson (Jg $16^{13.19}$) appear to the present writer to have a necessary connexion with the act of swearing.

Besides, this connexion of 'seven' with religious conceptions was common to the Israelites and those peoples in whose neighbourhood they lived at different times. Note, in the *Bab.-Assyrian* poem 'Die Höllenfahrt der Ištar' (ed. A. Jeremias, 1887), the *seven* gates through which Ishtar descended to the 'land without return' (Obverse l. 63, Reverse ll. 14, 45). Further, note the *seven* altars which Balaam, who was sent for from *Mesopotamia* (*Pitru* on the Euphrates), caused to be erected in Moab (Nu $23^{1.4.14.29}$); the *seven* sacrificial victims directed to be offered by the three friends of Job 'in the land of Uz' (Job 42^{8}); and the circumstance that 'with the *Egyptians* also "seven" was a holy number' (Ebers, *Ægypten und die Bücher Mose's*, p. 339). The combination of this number with the cultus was, therefore, probably an inheritance which the Hebrews brought with them when they migrated from their home in the East. Now, we observe that this combining of 'seven' with religious conceptions shows itself in an augmented measure in the post-exilic period. For instance, 'ox and fatling' of 2 S 6^{13} is replaced in the parallel passage, 1 Ch 15^{26}, by 'seven bullocks and seven rams,' and 'the seven holy angels' are mentioned in To 12^{15}. This may, of course, be the product of a process of development *within* Judaism itself. It is the Esoteric-Priestly source (P) of the Pentateuch that has first to tell us that 70 descendants of Jacob went down to Egypt (Gn 46^{27}; cf. on the 70 or 72 names in Gn 10 König's *Einleitung*, p. 231), and the Chronicler means to enumerate 70 descendants of Noah (1 Ch 1^{5-23}) and of Abraham (vv.$^{29-42}$); cf. the 70 disciples (Lk $10^{1f.}$), the *seven* spirits of God (Rev 1^{4} etc.), the 'seven prophetesses' (*Seder 'olam rabba*, ch. 21). But *if* a *foreign* source is to be sought for the growing disposition to connect 'seven' with religious notions, the influence of Babylonia suggests itself most readily, for we read 'the names of the angels came in their hand from Babylon' (Jerus. *Rosh hashshanah*, i. 4: שמות המלאכים עלו בידן מבבל). Hence, if the notion of 'seven' angels is to be attributed to foreign influence at all, the present writer prefers to trace this influence to Babylonia rather than to Persia, whose claims Riehm (*HWB*[1] p. 1779*b*) sought to establish. Riehm's view is all the less certain because elsewhere only 'four' supreme angels are mentioned (Enoch ix. 39, Apoc. Bar 6^{4}), and in considering the Persian origin of the 'seven eyes' of Zec 3^{9} 4^{10} one must not leave out of account the language of Is 45^{7} ('I form the light and create darkness,' etc.) and of Zec 8^{23}.

(*δ*) Finally, the *thrice* repeated 'and God blessed' (Gn $1^{22.28}$ 2^{3}) raises the question how far the number '**three**' comes into connexion with the *religious* contents of the Bible. The answer can only be that there are very few traces of 'three' in the cultus and the religious conceptions of the Israelites. All that the OT offers on this point is the following: The sanctuary of Jahweh is composed of *three* main divisions, the Court, the Holy Place, and the Holy of Holies (Ex 26^{33} 27^{9}, 1 K $6^{16f.}$ etc.). In the blessing formula of Nu 6^{22-24} the name Jahweh is *thrice* repeated, and three pairs of actions are predicated of Him. The threefold mention of the Divine name occurs also in Jos 22^{22}, Jer 7^{4}, and Nah 1^{2}. Further, *Jahweh Ẓebaoth* is thrice called holy in Is 6[3]. This threefold use of a word is a species of Epizeuxis which is found in other instances as well (Gn 9[25b. 26b. 27b.], Jer 22[29], Ezk 21[32]), and is a circumlocution for the superlative. (So also in Egyptian, according to Brugsch, *Steininschrift*, etc. p. 310, the use of 'good, good, good' serves as a substitute for the superlative, 'the best'). This relative rarity of a connexion between 'three' and religious notions, which prevails in the OT, should not be made good from other sources. The thunder call, 'Hear, O Israel, Jahweh is our God, Jahweh (the ?) one' (Dt 6[4], cf. Is 41[4] 44[6] 48[12]), drowns the voice of those who refer us to the triads of gods that were adored by the Babylonians, Assyrians (Anu, Bel, and Ea, etc. [Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.* pp. 517, 523]), and other nations of antiquity. It was only in the course of the later development of Israel's religion that the Old Test. 'I am that I am' (Ex 3[14]) was parted into *ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος* (Rev 1[4] 4[8]); cf. the evolution of the קָדוֹשׁ קָדוֹשׁ קָדוֹשׁ of Is 6[3] which meets us in the mysterious sentence קדוש שמו בשלושה ספרים בספר וספר וסיפור (*Jeṣîrah*, ch. i. § 1). But the original meaning of the OT text must not be modified to suit either heathen parallels or later stages in its own development.

The question has still to be put why in one series of passages it is 'three' and in another 'seven' or some other of the round (holy) numbers that is chosen. The proper answer appears to be that *seven* was preferred to *three* (*e.g.* 2 K 13[18b], Sir 25[1f.], Rev 9[12] the '*three* woes') when it was desired to indicate a larger quantity. This seems to be the principle at work, *e.g.*, in the first *seven* of the seventy 'weeks' (Dn 9[24]), or the '*seven* churches of Asia Minor' (Rev 1[4]), or the '*seven* golden vials, full of the wrath of God' (15[7]).

(*b*) The question of the *symbolical* character of many numbers.—The biblical numbers would be of immense importance for the *material* side of exegesis if it could be established that many of those numbers are used to indicate certain *ideas*.

Now, to cast a glance first of all over *the history of this question*, the Old Testament itself has no positive note as to a secret meaning of the numbers it employs. Such an indication cannot be discovered in the statement that the Tabernacle was constructed after a heavenly pattern (Ex 25[9]). Nothing more than an *inquiry* into the meaning of numbers is ascribed to Daniel (9[2]; cf. 'the prophets have inquired,' etc., 1 P 1[10f.]). Josephus, too, was content to write in the Προοίμιον to his Ἀρχαιολογία (§ 4) that Moses says some things in an enigmatic way (*αἰνίττεσθαι*). Yet he did not interpret the numbers of Gn 1 in *Ant.* I. i. The same is the case in Midrash *Bereshith rabba*, and a simple counting of the number of occurrences of וַיֹּאמֶר in Gn 1[3-29] without an explanation of the significance of the number is all that we find in Mishna *Aboth* v. 1. But, among the Hellenistic Jews, Aristobulus had already, according to Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* xiii. 12, 13 ff.), interpreted the number 'seven,' and Philo followed zealously in his footprints in his work *Περὶ τῆς Μωυσέως κοσμοποιίας*. Further, the interpretation of numbers was cultivated in the Haggadic portions of the Talmud and other Jewish writings (cf. *e.g.* Schegg, *Bibl. Archäol.* 1888, p. 419), and in *Jeṣîrah* and *Ẓohar*. Such a reference of biblical numbers to the sphere of *ideas* might have its basis in the primary or in the secondary origin of many numbers. But—

(*a*) The view that certain numbers, *on account of their factors* or coefficients, came to be used to express ideas, is not a plausible one. Yet Philo (*de Plantatione*, § 29) says, *ἑβδομὰς ἐκ τριῶν καὶ τεττάρων*, while he derived *ἐννέα* from 'eight' and 'one,' finding the 'eight' *ἐν οὐρανῷ* and the 'one' *ἐν ὕδατι καὶ ἀέρι, τούτων γὰρ μία συγγένεια, τροπὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς παντοίας δεχομένων* (*de Congressu*, § 19); cf. *ἓν καὶ δύο καὶ τρία καὶ τέτταρα δέκα γεννᾷ* (*de Plant.* § 29). Let the reader recall the sentences from Augustine and Bähr quoted above (2, *a*, *δ*, *η*). But Philo (*de Profugis*, § 33) did not attempt to derive a symbolical sense of 'twelve' from the possible components of this number, and it is incomprehensible how a reference to the *factors* of twelve could be found in the distribution of the precious stones on the breastplate of the high priest (Ex 28[21ff.] 39[10ff.]), or in the arrangement of the twelve tribes of Israel, etc. (Nu 2[3ff.], 1 K 7[25], Ezk 48[31-34], Rev 21[13]). In any case, an analysis of numbers has nothing to do with their original sense, and such analyses reveal nothing regarding their connexion with the ideas entertained by God and embodied in the universe. Hence it is not clear that certain numbers owe their connexion with the sphere of ideas to the *factors* of which they are composed. But it may be said more readily that the number 80 which occurs in Jg 3[30] and in Jos. *Ant.* VIII. vii. 8 (*Σολομών . . . βασιλεύσας ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη*) was chosen on account of its coefficient '40.' In the same way we may explain the number '35' (5 × 7) which in the traditions about the life of Pythagoras alternates with '40' (Hirzel, *l.c.* p. 47).

(*β*) Still less is it to be supposed that such a simple number as 'three' was *constructed* upon the basis of an idea, for 'three' and 'seven' are both members of the continuous series of numbers which arose by the constant addition of 'one.' But Philo (*de Mundi Opificio*, § 3, 17f., 31, *Leg. Allegor.* i. 4, ii. 1: *τέτακται ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὸ ἓν καὶ τὴν μονάδα*) describes the numbers 1–7 in such a way as to give rise to the thought that the relevant ideas were disclosed to man through the numbers, and that the numbers are the archetypes, the first and purest representations of the Divine ideas, nay, the moving principles of the universe, as Aristobulus said, *δι' ἑβδομάδων πᾶς ὁ κόσμος κυκλεῖται* (Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* XIII. xii. 16). On this path the friends of Haggada and **Ḳabbala** advanced further. 'The Ḳabbala attaches itself to the symbolical seven years of Gn 41[48].' Many Ḳabbalists found a connexion between the Heb. word *ṣaphar* 'count' (Gn 41[49b]) and the term *ṣephira*. 'Seven' of the *Ṣephiroth* were, in their view, analogous to the seven years of plenty, so that *Enṣoph* (אֵין סוֹף), 'the unending,' ceased to produce more *Ṣephiroth*. But there were also ten ספירות, corresponding to the ten words by which God created the world (Gn 1[3-29]), and 'these ten words are ten principles or attributes of God' (Kolb, *Die Offenbarung*, etc., 13, 16 ff.). The right conclusion to draw appears to be, that while it cannot be said with certainty that the number 'ten' in Gn 1[3-29] is accidental, it may be denied with certainty that this number is meant to express *ideas*.

(*c*) There is yet another trace from which one can clearly see the value attached to numbers during the later stages of Biblical Theology. We refer to the so-called **Gematria** (גימטריא, a Hebraized form of *γεωμετρία* used in the sense of *ἀριθμητική*), *i.e.* the art of indicating, by means of numbers, words whose letters by their numerical value (see above, 1, *b*, *δ* ex.) give the sum named in any passage.

(*a*) This can be best explained by examples; and we may begin with an instance which in all probability occurs in the OT itself, namely Gn 14[14], where the number 318 is the equivalent of אליעזר, if the numerical values of the different letters of this name are added together: 1 + 30 + 10 + 70 + 7 + 200 = 318. It would be a strange coincidence if the number of Abraham's 'trained servants' stood in such a relation to 'Eliezer,' the only name known to us of a trained servant of Abraham. Hence

Rashi (*ad loc.*) said long ago, רבותינו אמרו אליעזר לבדו היה והוא מנין גימטריא של שמו, *i.e.* 'Our fathers said, Eliezer it was, alone, and this (318) is the Gematrical number of his name.' Again, the author of the so-called *Epistle of Barnabas* (ix. 8) saw in the 318 of Gn 14^{14} an allusion to $\tau+\iota\eta$, *i.e.* the crucified Jesus; cf. Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vi. 11, § 84: *φασὶν τοῦτον τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶναι τοῦ μὲν κυριακοῦ σημείου τύπον.* This way of explaining a word was already recognized in the 29th of the 32 hermeneutical rules of R. Eliezer ben Jose (see König, *Einleitung*, p. 516). Further, on *'Athbash*, etc., cf. especially A. Berliner, *Beiträge zur Heb. Gram. aus Talmud und Midrasch*, pp. 12–14.

(β) A slight variation from this method consists in the employment, not of a number but of a *word* in order to indicate *another word* whose letters have the same numerical value. This method is several times attributed to the OT writers by later exegetes. For instance, the numerical value of the letters of יבא שילה (Gn 49^{10b}) is 358, and the same numerical value belongs to the letters of משיח 'Messiah' (Buxtorf, *Lex. Heb. s.v.* שילה). What follows from this? That the whole passage was devised in order to furnish a test of Gematrical skill? No; but it is possible that the above-named equivalence was the source of the usual spelling of the word 'Shiloh' in the OT (contrast שלה of the Samaritan Pentateuch). Further, the surprising circumstance that Moses married an Ethiopian woman (Nu 12^1) engaged the ingenuity of exegetes till they discovered that the numerical value of כושית ('Ethiopian' f.) is the same as that of יפת מראה 'a fair woman to look upon' (Gn 12^{11} etc.), namely 736, and hence כושית ('Ethiopian') was replaced by Onḳelos by שַׁפִּירְתָּא ('the beautiful'). Then, again, צֶמַח (Zec 3^8), in respect of the numerical value of its letters, is = מְנַחֵם 'comforter' (La 1^{16}, *Sanhedrin* 98*b*). Other examples will be found in Weber, *System der altsynagog. Theol.* p. 118 [*Jüd. Theol. auf. Grund des Talmud*, etc. p. 121 f.], and Döpke, *Hermeneutik der neutest. Schriftsteller*, pp. 135, 179 f.

(γ) But the NT also shows a clear trace of this use of the numerical value of letters. We refer to the **number of the Beast** in Rev 13^{18}, where we read *τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ θηρίου —— ἀριθμὸς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶν —— καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτοῦ χξς'*, *i.e.* 666. Long ago Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* v. 30) mentions the explanation of this number as = ΛΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ, a word the numerical value of whose letters is 30 + 1 + 300 + 5 + 10 + 50 + 70 + 200 = 666. But the view is to be preferred that the latter number is a veiled designation of ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑR, the numerical value of the letters of נרון קסר being = 50 + 200 + 6 + 50 + 100 + 60 + 200 = 666. For fuller details regarding this and other interpretations see art. REVELATION.

(δ) It is only an *in*direct analogy to this mysterious use of numbers that is presented to us in *Egyptian* texts. According to Brugsch (*Steininschrift*, etc. p. 314 f.), upon the wall of a temple at Edfu, a notification that the length of the holy place (the middle space in the temple) is 113 yards, is given in the words, 'Why? Because a *child* has *gone* through the *midst* of the sanctuary.' That is to say, the three words we have italicized contain the same letters as are required for writing the number 113. Again, a length of 90 yards in this temple of the sun-god is indicated by the words, 'because he, like a sun, *beaming shines*.'

LITERATURE.—The art. 'Zahlen' in Riehm's *HWB* and in Herzog's *PRE*²; Bredow, *Untersuchungen zur alten Gesch.* i. 108 ff.; Lepsius, *Chronol. der Ægypter*, p. 15; Hirzel, 'Ueber Rundzahlen' in *Bericht. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* 1885 (treats, pp. 6–62 the number 'forty'; p. 63 f. 'four'; p. 64 ff. 'thirty thousand'; but gives as biblical illustrations only 'forty' and 'a hundred and twenty'); Brugsch, *Steininschrift und Bibelwort*² (1891), p. 305 ff.; Franz Kolb, *Die Offenbarung betrachtet vom Standpunkt der Weltanschauung und des Gottesbegriffes der Kabbala* (Leipzig, 1889), p. 12 ff.; S. Rubin, *Heidenthum und Kabbala* (Wien, 1893), p. 62 f.

On 'the number of the Beast' see Bousset (*Die Offenbarung Johannis*, 1896) on Rev 13^{18}, and the Literature cited *ad loc.* and in the *Einleitung* to his Commentary. ED. KÖNIG.

NUMBERING.—See DAVID, in vol. i. p. 568ᵇ.

NUMBERS (so called from the title in the LXX, Ἀριθμοί, cf. Vulg. *Numeri*, given to the book because of the repeated numberings in chapters 1. 3 f. 26; Heb. בְּמִדְבַּר 'in the wilderness,' from the fifth word of 1^1)* is the 'fourth Book of Moses,' and forms one division of the composite work now known as the **Hexateuch** (which see for justification of this statement and for general description of the constituent elements J, E, and P). It falls readily into three main sections: § **1.** The Camp at Sinai, 1–10^{10}; § **2.** The Wanderings, 10^{11}–19; § **3.** The Plains of Moab, 20–36. But the material included in these sections is often very loosely strung on the main thread of narrative, and several chapters are a mosaic made up out of fragments from different sources. The analytical problems are closely analogous to those encountered in Exodus and Leviticus, and will be treated here on the same lines as in those articles. Some remarks will be added on the authorship and date (§ **4**), the historical significance (§ **5**), and the religious value (§ **6**) of the book. (The abbreviations and signs employed are mostly familiar. They will be found explained under EXODUS and LEVITICUS).

§ 1. The Camp at Sinai: 1–10^{10}.

A. Summary.

P^t	P^g	P^s
	1^{1-16} Command to number the adult males—	
	$^{19b.\,54}$ Execution of the command (fragments only).	
		1^{17-53} Expanded account of the census—
		2^{1-34} Order of tribes in camp and on the march.
		$+^{4.6.8.9a,\,11.13.15.16a,\,19.21.23.24a,\,26.28.30.31a}$, census notes on the four camps respectively.
		3^{1-4} Aaron's sons and what befell them—
	3^{5-10} The Levites to be set apart as assistants to Aaron.	
3^{11-13} The Levites to be substitutes for the firstborn.		
	$^{14-22.\,27f.\,33f.\,39}$ Census of male Levites of all ages.	
		$^{23-26.\,29-32.\,35-38}$ Duties and positions of the 3 Levitical clans.
		$^{40-43}$ Census of firstborn males ordered and carried out.
$^{44f.}$ The Levites and their cattle to be for the firstborn and their cattle.		
		$^{46-51}$ Redemption of the surplus of firstborn males.
		$4^{1-3.\,21-23.\,29f.}$ Census of adult Levites by clans ordered.
		$+^{4-15.\,24-28.\,31-33}$ Duties repeated in fuller detail.
		$+^{16}$ Particulars as to general duties of Eleazar.
		$+^{17-20}$ Caution as to distinction of priests and Levites.
		$^{34-49}$ Census of adult Levites effected—
5^{1-4r} Lepers to be excluded (from the camp).		
$^{5-8}$ Special case of a guilt-offering.		
$^{9f.}$ Right of the priests to heave-offerings, etc.		
$^{11-31}$ Composite ordinance as to marital jealousy.		
6^{1-21} The law of the Nazirite and of his offerings.		
	6^{22-27} The formula of priestly benediction.	
		7^{1-88} The dedication of the altar, and the gifts.
	7^{89} The Divine Voice from above the mercy-seat.	
		8^{1-4} The candlestick and its seven lamps.
		$^{5-10.\,12-15a}$ Moses to consecrate the Levites.
		$+^{11.\,15b-22}$ Aaron to consecrate the Levites.
		$+^{23-26}$ Alteration of period of Levitical service.
	9^{1-5} The Passover celebration in the 2nd year.	
		9^{6-14} Supplementary Passover for special cases.
		$^{15-23}$ The cloud and its relations with the camp.
	10^{1-8} The use of trumpets on the march.	
$10^{9f.}$ (P^h) Use of trumpets in war, and for festivals.		

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* The book is also named by the Jews, from its *opening* word, וַיְדַבֵּר. We find in the Talmud the name חֹמֶשׁ הַפְּקוּדִים = 'book

B. Analysis.

P^t										11–13	
P^g	1 1–16		19b			54			5–10		14–22
P^s		17–19a		20–47	48–53′		2 1–34	3 1–4			

P^t								44f.			
P^g		27f.		33f.		39					
P^s	3 23–26		29–32		35–38		40–43		46–51	4 1–15 16′	17–20′

P^t		5 1–31	6 1–21						
P^g				22–27		89			
P^s	4 21–49				7 1–88		8 1–10	11′	12–15a

P^t					P^h 9f.
P^g		9 1–5		10 1–8	
P^s	8 15b–26′		6–23		

C. Critical Notes.

1–4: *The tribes and their encampment.*—These opening chapters relate the numbering of the secular tribes (ch. 1), with their relative positions in the camp (ch. 2), and the numbering of the Levitical clans with their respective duties (ch. 3 f.). All comes from P, but not all from the same stratum. If the account of the ordering of the census in 1^{1-16} be assigned to the great Law and History Book P^g, then the rest of the chapter relating the execution of the order is most naturally attributed to a later stage of the compilation, to which ch. 2 may also belong. Probably P^g had briefer accounts of the census and the camp, which have been independently expanded in 1^{17-53} and 2, just as similar expanded accounts are found in Ex 35–40 and Lv 8 P^s of the fulfilment of commands given in Ex 25–28 and 29 P^g. The remains of P^g's narrative may perhaps be found in $^{19b. 46.}$ (‖ ^{45}) ^{54}. The main grounds for this analysis are as follow: (1) The extreme elaboration of style, the same formula being 12 times repeated, with slight variations only in ^{20} and ^{22}, contrasted with the account of the Levitical census in ch. 3, which may be taken as a type of P^g. (2) In $1^{17. 44}$ Aaron is associated with Moses, cf. 4^{1}. But in ^{19b} (cf. $3^{15f. 40-42}$) it is Moses who conducts the census. In 3^{39} *Aaron* is a gloss, for *numbered* is sing.; and 1^{3b} is probably the same. (3) The order of tribes is varied, as one writer would hardly have varied it. Six different arrangements are given below for comparison. A adopts the strict genealogical order. B takes Rachel's son after Leah's children and puts Zilpah's last. C omits Levi, gives Joseph's sons in the order Ephraim, Manasseh, to make up 12, and places B's last three in reverse order, Asher, Gad, Naphtali. D puts Gad into Levi's place after Simeon, E moves the group Judah, Issachar, Zebulun to the head of the list, while F sets Manasseh above Ephraim in correspondence with their altered proportion of numbers.

A. Gn 46^{8} P^s		B. Ex 1^{2-4} P^g		C. Nu 1^{5-15} P^g		E. Nu 2 & 7 & 10^{13-28} P^s
Reuben	L	Reuben	L	Reuben		Judah
Simeon		Simeon		Simeon		Issachar
Levi		Levi				Zebulun
Judah		Judah		Judah		Reuben
Issachar		Issachar		Issachar		Simeon
Zebulun		Zebulun		Zebulun		Gad
Gad	Z	†	R	Ephraim	J	Ephraim
Asher		Benjamin		Manasseh		Manasseh
Joseph *	R	Dan	B	Benjamin		Benjamin
Benjamin		Naphtali		Dan		Dan
Dan	B	Gad	Z	Asher		Asher
Naphtali		Asher		Gad		
				Naphtali		Naphtali

L=Leah's sons, R=Rachel's, Z=Zilpah's, B=Bilhah's, J=Joseph's. * Manasseh, Ephraim. † Joseph's place vacant, since the list is of those who came down to join him in Egypt.

D. Nu 1^{20-43} P^s		F. Nu 26^{1-51} P^s		
Reuben	46,500	Reuben	43,730	— 2,770
Simeon	59,300	Simeon	22,200	—37,100
Gad	45,650	Gad	40,500	— 5,150
Judah	74,600	Judah	76,500	+ 1,900
Issachar	54,400	Issachar	64,300	+ 9,900
Zebulun	57,400	Zebulun	60,500	+ 3,100
Ephraim	40,500	Manasseh	52,700	+20,500
Manasseh	32,200	Ephraim	32,500	+ 8,000
Benjamin	35,400	Benjamin	45,500	+10,200
Dan	62,700	Dan	64,400	+ 1,700
Asher	41,500	Asher	53,400	+11,900
Naphtali	53,400	Naphtali	45,400	— 8,000
	603,550		601,730	— 1,820

1^{48-53} looks like a late insertion. The phrase 'Dwelling of the testimony' $^{50. 53ab}$ is first found in Ex 38^{21} P^s. $^{52f.}$ seems to presuppose the description of the encampment in ch. 2. The prohibition (^{49}) to number Levi should precede and not follow the general account of the numbering. Perhaps this verse has been misplaced.

In ch. 2 we have a further variation of order in the names of the tribes, and the amount of unnecessary repetition is enormous. All the new information, *i.e.* about the position of the tribes in the camp and on the march, could have been put in a single sentence. One or two points of language confirm the assignment to P^s. But the curious series of parenthetical notes of the census results (see conspectus above) may well have been added later still.

Chapter 3 is made up of differing elements. $^{1-4}$ can only be P^s, because it follows the late representation of the anointing of other priests than the high priest. Observe also the order *Aaron and Moses*, and the use of the formula *These are the generations*, though the sons of Moses are not named, and the particulars have all appeared before (cf. Ex 6^{23}, Lv 10^{1}). $^{5-10}$ on the choice of the Levites for ministry, and the parts of $^{14-39}$ on the Levitical census, contain nothing unsuitable to P^g; and the three inserted paragraphs on the position and duties of the Levites (cf. $^{14ff.}$ and ^{39}) might be also P^g, but that the reference to 'altars' in ^{31}, whereas P^g knows only one altar, and the mention of 'cords' $^{26. 37}$, alluded to elsewhere only in P^s Ex 35^{18} 39^{40}, indicate a later origin. $^{11-13}$ and $^{44f.}$ recall P^h in their use of 'I am J″,' and may rest on an older basis, but do not fit on to P^g here. $^{40-43}$ (observe that the introductory formula is not P^g's, cf. $^{5. 14}$) and $^{46-51}$ (containing several rare phrases) rest on the idea of the Levites as substitutes for the firstborn, and develop it in the style of P^s.

Chapter 4 combines an account of a fresh census of adult Levites, with a statement as to their duties. By its elaboration, its phraseology, and its reference to *the golden altar* ^{11} (cf. Ex 30 P^s), this chapter is marked as secondary.

5–6: *Various ceremonial laws.*—The first paragraph ($^{1-4}$) on the exclusion of the leper and the unclean person seems to presuppose Lv 13–15, unless indeed it refers to yet earlier codifications. The phrase *in the midst of which I dwell* recalls Lv 15^{31} 26^{11}, and suggests that, if this be not a passage from an earlier source, at least the editor caught the spirit of his older models when he added this supplement to relate their provisions to the camp of Nu 1–3.—$^{5-8}$ supplements Lv 5^{14}–6^{7} on the guilt-offering by arranging that, where the injured person is absent or dead and has no kinsman, the compensation shall go to the priest.—$^{9f.}$ mentions other items of priestly revenue.

5^{11-31}, on marital jealousy, is marked as P^t because of its archaic flavour and certain reminiscences of P^h (as in $^{12. 31}$), with the absence of P^g's terms (except *tabernacle* ^{17}). But after the criticism of Stade (*ZATW*, 1895 ^{1}) it is difficult to accept it as

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(lit. 'fifth') of the numberings' (*Sota* 36b, *Joma* vii. 1; cf. 'Αμμεσφεκωδείμ of Origen *ap.* Euseb. *HE* vi. 25).

a unity. The view here adopted is that two laws, A providing for a solemn curse on a defiled wife, and B furnishing a test for a wife suspected of defilement, have been woven together. In $^{27f.}$ a real alternative of guilt or innocence is contemplated. With this $^{29f.}$, now a colophon, but, by analogy with other cases, probably originally a title, agrees, and the discriminating use of the water in $^{19f.\ 22}$ corresponds. On the other hand, in the introduction ($^{12f.}$), to which answers a conclusion in ^{31} (observe absence of connexion with ^{30}), the guilt is assumed, and the water is only the means of inflicting the curse. Similarly, A's *jealousy-offering* is B's *memorial-offering*. The analysis which follows rests on the above main grounds, and is effected by aid of the parallels and contrasts tabulated below.

A 11-13a 13c * 15r 18r 21r 23 24r 27b 25b-26a *altar* 31
B 29 13b 30a 14b 30b 16f. 19f. 22 25a to *J″* 26b 27ar 28

A.	*Parallels and Contrasts.* B.
If any man's wife ^{12}	*when a wife* ^{29}
go aside ^{12}	*being under her husband, goeth aside* $^{29.\ 19f.}$
lie with her carnally ^{13}	*lien with thee* $^{19f.}$ ($^{13.\ 19.\ 20}$ diff. in Heb.)
it be hid . . . no witness ^{13ac}	*it be kept close* (diff. gender) ^{13b}
the man shall bring his wife unto the priest ^{15}	*he shall set the woman before J″, and the priest . . .* ^{30}
meal-offering of memorial $^{15.\ 18.\ 26}$; cf. *bringing iniquity to remembrance* ^{15}	*meal-offering of jealousy* $^{25.\ 15r.\ 18r}$; cf. *law of jealousy* ^{29}, *spirit of jealousy* $^{30.\ 14a'}$
the priest shall set the woman before J″ ^{18}	*the priest shall bring her near, and set her before J″* ^{16}
the offering put *on* the woman's *palms* (Heb.) ^{18}	the offering is taken from the woman's *hand* ^{25}
the water of bitterness $^{18.\ 23f.\ 19r}$ taken ^{18} ceremonially used and administered $^{23f.}$	*the water that causeth the curse* $^{19.\ 22.\ 18r.\ 24r}$ prepared ^{17} and administered ^{27}
the priest shall say unto the woman, J″ make thee a curse ^{21b}; cf. ^{27b}, no alternative being given (cf. $^{12.\ 31}$ where her guilt is assumed).	*the priest shall cause her to swear, and say unto the woman* ^{19}; cf. ^{21r}, an alternative being proposed, cf. $^{27f.}$ and $^{29f.}$.
and he shall make the woman drink the water of bitterness ^{24}	*and afterward shall make the woman drink the water* ^{26b}; cf. ^{27a} (om. LXX).
thigh falling away and belly swelling ^{21}	*belly* to *swell and thigh* to *fall away* $^{22.\ 27}$
the offering *brought to the altar* ^{25b} and the memorial burnt ^{26a}.	the offering waved *before J″* ^{25a}.

6^{1-21}: *The Law of the Nazirite.*—As a whole this ordinance conforms to the type of Lv 1–7, such allusions as to *the door of the tent of meeting* readily dropping out here as there. $^{2b-8}$ may be even earlier than P^t, as *separation unto his God* ^{7} and other phrases recall P^h, cf. especially Lv $21^{2.\ 7.\ 11}$.—$^{22-27}$ The formula of benediction is no doubt much older than the setting in which P^g presents it.

7^{1-88}: *The dedication of the altar.*—It is agreed that this is a late section. The date given by comparing ^{1} with Ex $40^{2.\ 17}$ makes the transaction prior to Nu 1, yet the order and position of tribes in 1–4 is presupposed, and the language is more overladen with repetitions than anywhere else, the same formula being 12 times repeated, with only the necessary change of 6 out of 118 English words in the translation.—^{89} Apparently an isolated fragment of P^g.—8^{1-4}, like Lv 24^{1-4} and Ex $27^{20f.}$, relates to the candlestick, and seems to regulate the position and lighting of the lamps. It is probably the latest of the three passages.—$^{5-22}$, providing for a consecration rite in the case of the Levites, can hardly be other than secondary, as this service if original would surely have been ordered in ch. 3, when the selection of the tribe was commanded, just as the consecration in Lv 8 was commanded in Ex 29. Much of the earlier matter is repeated here, and traces may be discerned of a double representation, according as Moses or Aaron is the chief actor, the former being the earlier view.—$^{23-26}$ Alters 4^3 by making the Levites begin work at the age of 25 instead of 30.—9^{1-5}, on the passover of the second year, is followed by an ordinance in $^{9-14}$ introduced by a narrative of an illustrative case $^{6-8}$, a type elsewhere found in P^s, to which $^{1-14}$ may perhaps all belong.—$^{15-23}$ is identified as P^s by its relation to Ex 40.—10^{1-8} may well be P^g, and this ascription suits the view that P^g had a briefer account of the camp, now replaced by 2.—$^{9f.}$, with its scene in *your land* (ten parallels in P^h) instead of on the march, is held to be an inserted fragment of P^h, cf. Lv 17^5 23^{40} etc.

§ 2. **The Wanderings:** 10^{11}–19.

A. Summary.

10^{11-28} ^{Pg}The march from Sinai begun, ^{Ps}in due order of camps, $^{29-36}$ ^{J}with Hobab as guide and the ark in front; ^{J}formula used at start and halt. 11^{1-3} ^{E}Murmurers burnt up at Taberah; $^{4-35}$ ^{J}manna and quails followed by a plague at Kibroth-Hattaavah; ^{E}seventy elders endowed with spirit of prophecy in aid of Moses; jealousy of Joshua over Eldad and Medad. 12 ^{E}Moses' Cushite wife; jealousy of Aaron and Miriam, and leprosy of Miriam. 13 ^{JEP}The mission of the spies; 14 ^{JEP} the people turned back from Canaan in punishment for murmuring and unbelief; ^{J}defeated by Amalekites and Canaanites at Hormah. 15^{1-31} ^{Pt}Ordinances as to drink-, dough-, and sin-offerings; $^{32-36}$ ^{Ps}a Sabbath-breaker stoned; $^{37-41}$ ^{Ph}a blue cord to be worn as a memorial on the hem of the garments. 16 ^{JE}Rebellion ^{J}of On, ^{E}of Dathan and Abiram, who are swallowed up; ^{P}Korah and his company burnt up for sacrilege; ^{Ps}their censers made into a memorial; ^{Pg}a plague sent in punishment of murmuring stopped by the atonement of Aaron. 17 ^{Pg}Aaron's rod that budded. 18 ^{Pg}Duties and revenue of priests and Levites. 19 ^{P}Ordinances affecting those unclean by the dead.

B. Analysis.

	10	11
J	29–33 35f.	4–13 15 18–24a
E		1–3 14° 16f.° 24b–30°
Pg	11f.	
Ps	13–28 34	

	11	12	13
J	31–35	16	17b to *South* 18b to *weak*
E		1–15°	17c–18a to *what it is* 18c
Pg			1–17a *Canaan*
Ps			

	13
J	19 22 27a to *honey* 28 30f.
E	20–21a *went up* 23f. 26br 27b 29
Pg	21b 25–26a *Paran*
Ps	

	13	14
J		1c 3 8 9b 11–24°
E	33r	1b 4 25
Pg	32	1a 2 5–7 9a *against J″* 10
Ps		

	14	15
J	31 41–45	
E	39b–40	
Pg / Pt	26–30 32–39a	Pt 1–31 Ph 37–41
Ps		32–36

	16
J	1d
E	1c 1e–2a 12
Pg	1a 2b–7
Ps	1b 8–11

	16
J	13–14a *honey* 15 26b *Depart* 27c–31
E	14b 25 27b to *tents*
Pg	18–24 26a 27a to *side*
Ps	16f.

	16	17
J	33a to *pit*	
E	32a *households* 33b to *them* 34	
Pg	35 41–50	1–13
Ps	32b 33c 36–40	

	18	19
J		
E		
Pg / Pt	1–32	Pt 14–22
Ps		1–13

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* 14 includes only *and she be not defiled.* ^{14a} is given to R, who has inserted many harmonizing touches elsewhere. Obs. its cumbrous Heb., and that *spirit* is masc. here, but fem. in ^{30}.

C. *Critical Notes.*

10$^{11f.}$ contains the first stage of P^{g}'s itinerary after leaving Sinai. It is followed by an account of the mode of marching, which can only be P^{s} from its relation to 2, ^{34} being probably its close. With $^{29-32}$ the JE thread is resumed from Ex with a fragment of J, whose opening may partly survive in Ex 18^{J}, its close being omitted in favour of the view of guidance given in 9$^{17ff.}$ Both this paragraph and $^{33. 35f.}$ are linguistically connected with J. The poetical refrains in $^{35f.}$ may well have come from the *Book of the Wars of J″*. Contrast the advance of the ark in J with its central place in P. 11$^{1-3}$ is hard to place, and is given to E, because it does not fit the J context, and follows E in speaking of Moses *praying*. Dillmann regards the incident as part of E's manna story, now displaced by J and P; Bacon views it as a sequel to the perilous contest with Amalek Ex 17$^{8-16}$, which really comes in after the departure from Horeb. In $^{4-35}$ is found a story of the people's discontent with the manna, their demand for flesh, the sending of the quails, and the resulting plague. The language (see below) connects this with J, and the description of the manna as a natural thing, though divinely provided, is agreeable to his general treatment of such incidents. But the story is dislocated by a double set of insertions. (1) There is a series which tells of Moses' burden of responsibility being relieved by the inspiration of seventy prophet-elders. (2) In $^{10b-12. 15}$ we find the language of J, but matter incongruous with this context, fitting in well, however, as Bacon suggests, between Ex 33^{3} and ^{12}, a point in JE which must have been quite close to this before P was inserted. Accordingly (1) is ascribed to E, as the emphasis on prophecy and the phraseological features require, but not to its earliest stage. Rather it is a secondary (E^{s}) parallel to the Jethro incident of Ex 18. (2) is regarded as a misplaced portion of J. See EXODUS, *ad loc.* (1) and (2) were probably already united in JE, and transferred hither together. Ch. 12 is given as a whole to E^{s}. Bacon suggests that the Cushite woman is Jethro's daughter, who is nameless in Ex 18^{E}.

Minor clues.—J—*mixed multitude* ^{4} cf. Ex 12^{38}; ^{J}*thy servant* ^{J}*found favour* $^{11. 15}$; ^{J}*conceived* ^{12}; *sanctify yourselves* ^{18} Ex 19^{22}; *against to-morrow* ^{18} Ex 8$^{10. 23}$; ^{J}*among you* ^{20} (Heb.); ^{J}*flocks and herds* ^{22}; *went forth a wind from J″* ^{31} cf. Ex 10^{13b} 14^{21b}; ^{J}*yet, ere* ^{33} (Heb.); *the people journeyed . . .* ^{35} 12^{16}; for *say unto me* ^{12} see Ex 33$^{1-3}$.

E—^{E}*prayed* ^{2}; *bear . . . alone* $^{14. 17}$; ^{E}*elders* $^{16. 24f. 30}$; *the tent of meeting* ^{16} 12^{4} Ex 33^{7}, which was outside the camp ^{26} 12$^{4f.}$ Ex 33$^{7-11}$ ct. its central position in P; *the cloud* in connexion with the tent ^{25} 12^{5} Ex 33^{9} ct. Ex 13^{21} 14^{19}; ^{E}*prophet, prophesy* $^{25-29}$ 12$^{6f.}$; Joshua as *the minister of Moses* ^{28} Ex 24^{13} 33^{11}; *Miriam* 12^{1} Ex 15^{20}; *the man Moses* 12^{3} Ex 11^{3}; *meek* 12^{3} cf. 11^{29}; *speak against* 12$^{1. 8}$ 21$^{5. 7*}$; *vision* 12^{6} Gn 15^{1} 46^{2}, ^{E}*dream* 12^{6}; *heal* 12^{13} Gn 20^{17} Ex 15^{26}.

13–14: *The sending of the spies.*—The numerous duplicates and divergences in this section require explanation, and find it adequately in the hypothesis that J E and P are all represented in combination, while the very phenomena which disprove unity furnish clues to the tracing of the separate threads. The analysis given above is for the most part covered by the evidence collected below.

Parallels and Contrasts.—J—(**a**) *Caleb* 14^{24} and others *sent* by Moses 13^{27} into the South $^{17b. 22}$ (ct. *land of the South* ^{29}) to *see the land* ^{18}; (**b**) they *come unto Hebron* ^{22} cf. Gn 13^{18}; (**c**) they report to Moses ^{27}; (**d**) that *the people are strong* $^{28. 31}$ cf. ^{18}, *children of Anak* $^{22. 28}$ cf. Jos 15^{14} Jg 1^{10}, ct. *sons of A.* ^{33r}; (**e**) and that *the land* ^{J}*floweth with milk and honey* ^{27} 14^{8}; (**f**) *the people* wept 14^{1c} cf. 11$^{10. 18}$; (**g**) in fear of *falling by the sword* 14^{3} cf. ^{43*}, their ^{J}*wives and little ones* becoming *a prey* 14^{3} cf. ^{31} Dt 1^{39}; (**h**) *Caleb stills the people* $^{30f.}$ 14$^{8f.}$—*despise* (J″) 14$^{11. 23}$ 16^{30}; *signs* 14^{11} cf. Ex 4^{30}; ^{J}*the Lord* 14^{17}; 14$^{18ff.}$ J^{s} cf. Ex 34$^{6-9}$.

E—(**a**) [In Dt 1$^{22ff.}$, perh. founded on E, 12 unnamed men are sent at the request of the people] *into the mountains* ^{17c} cf. ^{29} 14$^{40. 44}$; (**b**) *they come unto the* valley of Eshcol ^{23} and return *to Kadesh* ^{26b}; (**c**) *they bring back word to them* (the people) ^{26b}; (**d**) that 5 peoples occupy all the land ^{29} (ct. geography of 14$^{43ff.}$) cf. *few or many* ^{18c}, including *the* (gigantic) *Nephilim* ^{33}; (**e**) and *showed them the fruit of the land* $^{26b. 27b}$ cf. $^{20. 23}$; (**f**) the people *cry* out 14^{1b}; (**g**) plotting return to Egypt 14^{4}—^{E}*because of* (Heb.) ^{24}; ^{E}*one to another* 14^{4}; *mourned* 14^{39} Gn 37^{34} Ex 33^{4}.

P—(**a**) Moses, by J″'s command, sends Hoshea (Joshua) and Caleb with ten others to *spy out the land of Canaan* $^{1-16}$ (^{P}*spy out* $^{1. 16. 17a. 21. 25. 32ab}$ 14$^{6. 7. 34. 36. 38}$); (**b**) *they spy out the land from Zin unto Rehob*, *i.e.* from end to end ^{21}, and *return . . . at the end of* 40 *days* (cf. 14^{34}) . . . *unto the wilderness of Paran* ^{26a}; (**c**) they report (*an evil report* ^{32} 14^{37}) *to Moses and to Aaron, and to all the* ^{P}*congregation* ^{26a} cf. 14$^{5. 26f.}$; (**d**) that *all the people* they *saw in it are men of great stature* ^{32b}; (**e**) and that *the land . . . eateth up the inhabitants thereof* ^{32}; (**f**) *the* ^{P}*congregation . . .* ^{P}*murmur* (14$^{27-29}$) *against Moses and against Aaron* 14$^{1a. 2. 5}$; (**g**) *Joshua* (not named in JE) *and Caleb* expostulate 14$^{6f. 9a. 10}$.—*Would God* (oh that) 14^{2} 20^{3} Gn 17^{18}; ^{P}*stone with stones* (Heb.) and ^{P}*the glory of J″* 14^{10}; ^{P}*bear iniquities* 14^{34}; ^{P}*I the Lord* 14^{35}; ^{P}*plague* 14^{37}.

15: *Sundry laws.*—$^{1-16}$ has received the customary setting from R^{p}, but, at least so far as ^{4}, seems to rest on a basis older than P^{g}. With ^{2b} cf. P^{h} in Lv 19^{22} 23^{10} 25^{2}, and observe *a burnt-offering or a sacrifice* ^{3}, cf. Lv 17^{8} P^{h}. Lv 2 regulates the independent meal-offering; this prescribes it as an adjunct to animal offerings.—$^{5-12}$, in which the person changes from 3rd to 2nd, supplements the preceding by prescribing and regulating the drink-offering; it may be P^{s}, as may $^{13-16}$, which provides for the case of *strangers*, as in Lv 17, where also this element may not be primary.—$^{17-21}$, whose opening words in Heb. differ from ^{2b}, may also rest on an early basis. For the usage cf. Ezk 44^{30}.—$^{22-31}$ in its present form must rank as P^{t}, and its place in the chronological series would seem to be between Lv 5$^{1-13}$ and Lv 4; but in places it recalls P^{h}, *e.g.* in $^{29-31}$, cf. Lv 20 (the penalties) and 24^{22}.—$^{32-36}$ is like the secondary element in Lv 24$^{12ff.}$, which see. The closing formula, *as J″ commanded Moses*, is common only in P^{s}.

16: *Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.*—Here we find not only a double JE thread, whose strands are separable on grounds mainly phraseological, but a twofold priestly representation. In JE we have to do with a civil disturbance, ^{J}On and perhaps Korah, or ^{E}Dathan and Abiram, being the ringleaders, but in P with an assertion of ecclesiastical rights. By giving in the same order the connected points in the four variations of the narrative as much will be done as space allows to justify the analysis, and at the same time the characteristics of each will emerge.

Parallels and Contrasts.—J—(**a**) The leaders, Bacon suggests, were Korah the son of Kenaz, a kinsman of Caleb, cf. 1 Ch 2^{43}, and *On the son of Peleth* ^{1d}; (**b**) they charge Moses with tyranny and failure as leader $^{13f.}$; (**c**) Moses protests indignantly ^{15}; (**d**) isolates the offenders ^{26b}; (**e**) and prophesies an earthquake $^{27c\ 30}$ which forthwith takes place ^{31}, and *the* GROUND *cleaves asunder, and they and all that appertain to them go down alive into Sheol* $^{30f.\ 33a}$.—^{J}*flowing . . . honey* $^{13f.}$; *to kill us* ^{13} cf. Ex 14^{11} 17^{3}; ^{J}*tents* ^{26b}; *consumed* ^{26b} Gn 18$^{23f.}$ 19$^{15. 17}$; ^{J}*little ones* ^{27c}; vindication of Moses' commission ^{28} cf. Ex 3^{10} 4$^{13. 18}$ 5^{22}—*despised* ^{30} 11^{20} 14$^{11. 23}$.

E—(**a**) The leaders are Dathan and Abiram, sons of Eliab, sons of Reuben 16^{1ce}; (**b**) they *rise up before Moses* ^{2a}, refuse to come when summoned $^{12. 14b}$, complaining of harshness and failure to enrich them ^{14b}; (**c**) *Moses and the* ^{E}*elders of Israel* (his judicial colleagues Ex 18) visit the offenders; (**d**) who *stand at the door of their tents* ^{27b}, *all Israel* being *round about them* ^{34}; (**e**) *the* EARTH *opens her mouth and swallows up them and their* HOUSEHOLDS (ct. $^{27c\ 33a}$) *and closes upon them* $^{32a. 33b}$; (**f**) *all Israel flee at the cry of them* ^{34}—*fields and vineyards* ^{14b} 20^{17} 21^{22} Ex 22^{5}.

P^{g}—(**a**) The leader is *Korah* ^{1a}, perhaps borrowed from J, and his associates, who are not Levites, are *the* 250 *princes of the* ^{P}*congregation* (cf. 27^{3}, where it is implied that a Manassite might have been among them $^{2b. 6f. 18. 35}$); (**b**) they complain of the sacerdotal pretensions of Moses and Aaron, as against the whole congregation ^{3}, ye take too much upon you, ye sons of Levi ^{7b} (transposed now from end of ^{3}); (**c**) *Moses* ^{P}*falls on his face*, and then announces an ordeal for the morrow by offering incense $^{4-7}$; (**d**) all the congregation are assembled by Korah *at the door of the tent of meeting*, Moses and Aaron are bidden to escape the coming general ruin, their intercession procures permission to the congregation to depart from the tabernacle, *i.e.* of J″, the words 'of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram' being a gloss, מִשְׁכָּן not being used of a human *dwelling* $^{18. 24. 26a. 27}$; (**e**) fire then comes forth from J″ (*i.e.* presumably from the tabernacle) and consumes the 250 ^{35}; (f) on the outbreak of murmuring at this a plague immediately visits the congregation, until Aaron by atonement averts its spread $^{41-50}$.—The language of the priestly writer is unmistakable.

P^{s}—(a) The leader is *Korah, the son . . . of* LEVI ^{1a}, who is supported by *his company* (Heb. *congregation*, used by P^{g} only of the entire assembly, the true reading in $^{5f.}$ probably being *the congregation* for *his company*) $^{11.\,16.\,40}$, *i.e. all* his *brethren the sons of Levi with* him ^{10}; (b) they are *gathered together against J″*, and *murmur against Aaron* ^{11}, for they *seek the priesthood* ^{10}; (c) the test is to be the burning of incense ^{17}; (d) *all that appertained unto Korah* ^{32b} *perished from among the assembly* ^{32c} (observe that P^{g}'s *fire* has still to come ^{35}, so that this is distinct); (e) the censers of *these sinners* are *beaten out for a covering of the altar*, and as a memorial of the rights of the priesthood $^{36-40}$.

17–18: These chapters are by general agreement assigned to P^{g}. But Carpenter (*Oxf. Hex. ad loc.*) gives reasons for considering this one of the earliest portions of that work, with which it is not quite uniform either in form (*e.g.* the address to Aaron instead of Moses 18$^{1.\,8.\,20}$) or in substance (*e.g.* the ignorance of 3$^{6-10}$ in 18$^{2-7}$).—18$^{25-32}$ on the tithe of the tithe (observe the address to Moses ^{25}) appears to include fresh material.

19, on uncleanness by the dead, fills a serious gap noticeable in Lv 11–15. $^{1-13}$ prob. rests on old usage, but bears marks of late codification (*e.g. Eleazar the priest* ^{3}, *statute of the law* ^{2} 31^{21}). The opening of $^{14-22}$ *This is the law of* at once suggests P^{t} (cf. on **Leviticus** 1–7), and nothing seems to be inconsistent with this. Can this section have belonged once to Lv 11–15 and been transferred here where the *water of separation* ^{21}, whose preparation and use are described in $^{17f.}$, is more elaborately regulated?

§ 3. The Plains of Moab: 20–36.

A. Analysis.

J	3a to *Moses* 5 8^{b} to *water*
E	1b 14–18
P^{g}	20 1a to *month* 2 3b–4 6–8a to *brother* 8c–13
P^{s}	

J	19–20 21b 1–3
E	21a to *border* 22a to *Kadesh* 4b–9
P^{g}	20 22b–29 21 4a to *Hor*
P^{s}	

J	16–20 24b–25 26′ 32 33–35″
E	11b–15 21–24a *Jabbok* 27–31
P^{g}	21 10–11a *Ije-abarim*
P^{s}	

J	3b–7 11 17 f. 22–36a *Ammon*
E	2–3a 8–10 12–16 18–21 36b–37a
P^{g}	22 1
P^{s}	

J	37b 39 27′ 28 29-30′ 1–19 20–24′ 25
E	38 40 f. 1–26*r*
P^{g}	22 23 24
P^{s}	

J	1b–2 3b–4
E	1a 3a 5
P^{g}	25 6–15 26
P^{s}	16–18 1–7 8–11′ 12–57 58′ 59–65

J	
E	
P^{g}	27 15–23 28 29 30 31 32
P^{s}	1–14 1–31 1–40 1–16 1–54 1–38

J	39 40′ 41f.
E	
P^{g}	32 33 34 35 36
P^{s}	1–56 1–29 1–34 1–13

B. Summary.

20$^{1-13}$ ^{E}Death of Miriam. ^{JP}Water from the rock. $^{14-29}$ ^{JE}Failure of the route through Edom; ^{P}death of Aaron. 21 ^{J}Fighting with the Canaanites; ^{E}the brazen serpent; ^{JE}conquest of the Amorites and occupation of their country. 22–24 ^{JE}Story of Balaam. 25 Sin and punishment of Israel ^{E}in the matter of Baal-Peor, ^{JP}in going after the women ^{J}of Moab, ^{P}of Midian. 26–36 all P (except 32$^{39-42}$ ^{J}Manassite conquests beyond Jordan): for contents see below.

C. Critical Notes.

20–21: ^{1b} on Miriam's death is given to E, cf. 12^{1} Ex 15^{20} and Gn 35^{8}. In ^{3a} (*the people strove*—ct. *the congregation, the assembly, the children of Israel—with Moses*—ct. *with J″* ^{13}, *Moses and Aaron* $^{2.\,6.\,10}$) ^{5} (cf. 16^{14} Ex 17$^{1-3}$) ^{8b} (*speak unto the rock*, ct. *take the rod*, presumably to smite the rock ^{8a}, unless Cornill's reconstruction be adopted, by which ^{b} is transposed to form the first command in P, disobedience to which constitutes the offence) there are separated elements assigned to J's Meribah story, E's having come in Ex 17. The rest of $^{1-13}$ (with its sequel in $^{22b-29}$) is left for P^{g}, though it looks as if the editor had out of tenderness obscured the account of the sin of Moses and Aaron (cf. the stronger expression in ^{24} *rebelled*).—$^{14-18.\,21a}$ and 21$^{21-24}$ are obviously from one hand, while $^{19f.\,21b}$ show marks of difference pointing to J, as the other passages are reminiscent of E. Thus with *highway* ct. *king's way* ^{17} 21^{22}, and note that in J a formidable military advance ^{20} causes a retreat ^{21b}, whereas E relates a mere refusal ^{21a}, which leaves the people still at Kadesh to move at leisure ^{22a}.

(Marks of J are:—^{J}*cattle*, ^{J}*much people*, *strong hand* Ex 3^{19} 13^{9} 32^{11}, *turned away*, ct. *turned aside* ^{17} 21^{22}; and of E:—*messengers* ^{14} 21^{21}, *Kadesh* $^{1b.\,14.\,16.\,22}$ 13^{26}, *travail that hath befallen us* ^{14} Ex 18^{8}, *went down into Eg.* ^{15} Jos 24^{5}, *a long time* (Heb. *many days*) ^{15} Gn 21^{34} Jos 24^{7}, *evil entreated* ^{15} Jos 24^{20}, *an angel* ^{16} Ex 14^{19}, *border* $^{16f.\,21}$ 21$^{13.\,22}$, *field . . . vineyard* ^{17} 21^{22} 16^{14}, *by the way to* 21^{4b} 14^{25}, *spake against* 21$^{5-7}$ 12^{1}, *sinned* 21^{7} 14^{10}, *take away* 21^{7} Ex 23^{25}, ^{E}*prayed*, *standard* (or *banner*) 21^{8} Ex 17^{15}mg.).

21$^{1-3}$ The fighting between *the Canaanite* (*the king of Arad* being prob. a gloss) and Israel is generally supposed to be told by J, but the phenomena are conflicting, and the ascription to J must be left as doubtful.

21^{4a} follows on 20^{29}, the death of Aaron, but $^{4b-9}$ continues 20^{22a}, the march from Kadesh, and the story of the serpents is also given to E on the ground of verbal parallels, see above.—$^{10-11a.\,11b-15}$ and $^{16-20}$ consist of extracts from itineraries assigned to P, E, and J. Each opens with a different formula, $^{P10.\,11a}$ 22^{1}, 33, ^{E}20^{2a} 21$^{11b.\,12.\,13}$, cf. Dt 10$^{6ff.}$, a fragment prob. from E, $^{J16.\,18b-20}$.—^{11b} agrees with Jg 11^{18} (prob. based on E) but not with Nu 33^{44}. Observe that in ^{20} the people are not so far on as in ^{13}, and that in ^{24b} another J fragment begins which has its sequel in ^{32} (Ammon is left out in Jg 11$^{19-22}$ and ^{25} ‖ ^{31}). J tells of conquest and occupation of *cities* and *towns* $^{25.\,32}$, E of *the land* $^{24.\,31}$.

Some J phrases may be added:—*whereof J″ said* ^{16} 10^{29}, *gather . . . together* ct. ^{P}20^{7} ^{E}11^{16} Heb. form, cf. Ex 3^{16} 4^{29}, *sang Isr. this song* Ex 15^{1}, *field of Moab* ^{20} Gn 36^{35} cf. Gn 32^{3}, *looketh down upon* ^{20} 23^{28}. $^{33-35}$ from its similarity of matter to Dt 3$^{1ff.}$ is regarded as a gloss, no mention of Og being now found in JE.

22–24: In the art BALAAM will be found a comparison of the accounts in P and JE, and also of the main reasons for the analysis of JE. It will be enough here to subjoin some of the more striking details on which the partition rests.

J—(a) *Moab is distressed* ^{3b} Ex 1^{12}, (b) *the elders of Moab* ^{7} (and *of Midian* $^{4.\,7}$) are *sent* as *messengers* ^{5a} 24^{12} (*servants of Balak* ^{18}) *unto Balaam*, (c) *to the land of the children of his people* (*'ammô*, perh. read with good auth. *of Ammon*) ^{5c}, (d) with *rewards* ^{7} cf. ^{18} 24^{13} and promise of *promotion to honour* $^{17.\,37b}$ 24^{11}; (e) Balaam sets out innocently ^{34} accompanied only by *his 2 servants* ^{22} and is stopped and warned through the ass $^{22-35a\,(35br)}$, (f) *the* ^{J}*angel of J″* appearing ^{31} by day $^{22-35}$; (g) in spite of his fame for magic ^{7} 24^{1} Balaam responds solely to *the Spirit of God* 24^{2}, having promised not to *go beyond the word of J″* ^{18} 24^{13}—^{J}*bless . . .* ^{J}*curse* ^{6} 24^{9}, *silver and gold* ^{18} 24^{13} Gn 13^{2} 24$^{35.\,53}$; *ride* $^{22.\,30}$ Gn 24^{61}, *sword drawn in . . .* $^{23.\,31}$ Jos 5^{13}, *turn aside* $^{23.\,26}$ 20^{21}, *these three times* $^{28.\,32}$ 24^{10}*r* cf. 14^{22}, *all thy life long* ^{30} Gn 48$^{15f.}$; ^{J}*thy* (*his*) *place* 24$^{11.\,25}$.

E—(a) Moab is *sore afraid* ^{3a}; (b) *the princes of Moab* are sent for B. $^{8-16.\,19-21.\,40}$ 23$^{6.\,17}$; (c) *to Pethor, which is by the River* (*i.e.* Euphrates, in the far East, cf. *Aram* 23^{7}) ^{5b} cf. Gn 31^{21} Ex 23^{31} Jos 24$^{2f.\,14f.}$; (d) urgency being shown by a second more distinguished embassy ^{15} while B. is welcomed with a feast ^{40}; (e)

Balaam is first forbidden to go ^{12}, then let go with a caution ^{20}, (f) *God* speaking to him *at night* $^{8\text{-}12.\ 19\text{ff.}}$; (g) Balaam twice with lavish sacrifices tries to win an acceptable message $23^{1\text{f.}\ 14}$, yet will only speak what God speaks to him ^{20} or *puts in his mouth* ^{38} $23^{5.\ 12.\ 16}$—*bring . . . word* ^{8} 13^{26}, *God came unto B.* $^{9.\ 20}$ Gn 20^{3} 31^{24}, *saddled his ass* ^{21} Gn 22^{3}, *utmost part* ^{36b} 20^{16}, *send* ^{37} cf. Jos 24^{9}, *offered* 23^{4} Gn 22^{13}.

$25^{1\text{-}5}$ is almost the last piece of JE in Nu, and contains both elements. J—(**a**) *the people* ^{1b}, (**b**) *began to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab* ^{1b}, (**c**) who seduced them to worship *their gods* ^{2} Ex $34^{14\text{f.}}$; (**d**) *J″* is angry, and bids Moses *take all the chiefs and hang them up before the sun* ^{4}.

E—(**a**) *Isr.* ^{1a}, (**b**) *abode in Shittim* ^{1a} Jos 2^{1}, (**c**) *and Isr. joined himself to the Baal of Peor* ^{3}; (**d**) *Moses* bids *the judges* (cf. Ex 18) *slay every one his men* who had sinned ^{5}.

$25^{6\text{-}15}$ has lost its beginning, but it is clearly P^{g}, and may have ascribed the temptation by Midianitish women to Balaam (cf. 31^{16} P^{s}). R^{p} seems to have preferred $^{1\text{-}5}$ as a commencement, but the plague raging in ^{8b} does not answer either to ^{4} or ^{5}. $^{16\text{-}18}$ interrupts the connexion with 26^{1} and is assigned to P^{s}, preparing the way for 31.

26 relates the second census of the people after the forty years. It is encumbered with interpolations in $^{9\text{-}10.\ 11.\ 58a.\ 58b\text{-}61.\ 64\text{f.}}$, and can hardly be P^{g}. The order of tribes follows $1^{20\text{-}43}$ P^{s} (except Manasseh before Ephraim, see table above), and the clans are dependent on Gn $46^{8\text{ff.}}$ P^{s}. Moreover, the order for the division of the land is given to Moses, who was not to enter it, $27^{12\text{ff.}}$, Dt $32^{49\text{ff.}}$, and without even naming the land or announcing its conquest (contrast $33^{51\text{ff.}}$ $34^{2\text{ff.}}$). The phrase *as J″ commanded Moses* is also late. Thus 26 may be based on P^{g} but belongs now to P^{s}.

$27^{1\text{-}11}$, on the case of Zelophehad's daughters, follows on $26^{52\text{-}56}$, and the phraseology is of like character with 26.—$^{12\text{-}14}$ and Dt $32^{48\text{-}52}$ can hardly both be original. The suggestion of Dillmann is a happy one, that the insertion of Dt in P required the announcement of the death of Moses to be placed later, and that this passage, which does not open like P^{g}, has been inserted by an editor to fill the gap.—$^{15\text{-}23}$ is then supposed to have been orig. preceded by Dt $32^{48\text{-}52}$; probably an account of Moses' death followed (cf. Nu $20^{23\text{-}29}$).

28 f., a detailed list of the offerings prescribed for the full round of sacred seasons, is given to P^{s}. Its position among other supplements and away from the calendar in Lv 23 dated forty years back, its uniform inclusion of the later elements of Lv 23 and addition of the New Moon festival, the elaboration of $29^{12\text{-}38}$ on the Feast of Booths or Ingathering (observe that both names are dropped), and the phraseological indications, all converge towards the same conclusion.

30, on Vows, may rest on an older, simpler basis, but it is shown by its style to be itself late. It does not attach itself to Lv 27 or Nu 6.

31, on the war with Midian, comes awkwardly after the message about Moses' death. Some phrases (*go to meet* ^{13}, *thy servants* ^{49}) suggest a dependence on J, or a borrowing of his language which is foreign to P^{g}. The ignoring of Joshua in favour of Phinehas ^{6}, and Eleazar's unique exercise of authority $^{21\text{ff.}}$, point to P^{s}, and the peculiar phraseology confirms this.

$32^{1\text{-}38}$, on the settlement of the 2½ tribes, has still stronger indications of an underlying J element; but here, too, the whole must be given to P^{s}. For the complication of evidence see *Oxf. Hex.*—$^{39\text{-}42}$, in which the conquest of Gilead, assumed in $^{1\text{-}4}$, is assigned to a Manassite clan, from its resemblance to Jg 1, is given to J, cf. $21^{25.\ 32}$, but ^{40} is a harmonizing interruption. Cf. also Jg 10^{4}.

$33^{1\text{-}49}$ gives an itinerary, largely based on JE (esp. J), with 40 stations in 40 years. Its position in the book and its mixed contents lead to its being ascribed like 31 f. to P^{s}.—$^{50\text{-}56}$ seems derived by P^{s} from 2 sources, (1) a command, belonging to the school of P^{h} (cf. Lv $26^{1.\ 30}$ 20^{24}), to drive out the Canaanites, destroy images, and possess the land $^{51b\text{-}53.\ 55\text{f.}}$; (2) an order to divide the land by lot ^{54}, based (in part verbally) on $26^{52\text{-}56}$.—$34^{1\text{-}15}$ describes minutely the future boundaries of the land W. of Jordan which Moses had never seen, but only alludes vaguely to the eastern regions he had seen.—$^{16\text{-}29}$ names the tribal agents for the delimitation. Comparison with analogous passages in P^{g} and with the account in Jos of the actual division, make it most unlikely that this can be P^{g}, though it may be an expansion of a briefer section, cf. Jos 14^{2}.

35 combines two orders, about 48 Levitical cities $^{1\text{-}8}$ (contrast $18^{20.\ 24}$, where priests and Levites have no property, only income), and about blood-revenge $^{9\text{-}34}$. The latter has terms foreign to P^{g} (*e.g. high priest, holy oil* $^{25.\ 28}$), and, after a full close ^{29}, resumes the subject and closes with a verse ^{34} borrowed from an earlier source like P^{h}, cf. 19^{13}, Lv 15^{31} $18^{24\text{f.}}$. ^{6} refers to the cities of refuge, and both sections are best understood as not having formed part of P^{g}.—36 supplements $27^{1\text{-}11}$ on the rights of heiresses.

§ 4. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE.—Only in a broad sense do these questions arise. We can speak of schools of writing and periods of composition, but we cannot name an individual or dogmatize about a year. In the wider sense the results of criticism as sketched above lead to some definite conclusions. All the strata of literary deposit in the Hex. seem to be laid bare in a section taken through the Book of Numbers. (1) If the earliest and latest elements in J were put in writing between B.C. 850 and 650, as the indications suggest, then the bits of folk-song and the traditions of national life and movement which are associated with them in 20–21 must be dated amongst the oldest. The stories of Hobab (ch. 10), of the manna and quails (ch. 11), of Caleb and the spies (ch. $13^{22\text{-}24}$), of the revolt of (Korah and) On (ch. 16), and the episode of Balaam, take a middle place, while the advanced conceptions and lofty tone of parts of chs. 11 and 14 represent the last contributions of this school. (2) Similarly, E has its archaic fragments of verse, from *the Book of the Wars of J″* or elsewhere, with brief notes of international relations in chs. 20–21, its middle period producing the narratives of Caleb and the spies (ch. 13), of Dathan and Abiram (ch. 16) and of Balaam (ch. 22 f.), and its latest stage illustrated by the account of the seventy elders (ch. 11), and the complaint of Aaron and Miriam (ch. 12). (3) Even D has its echo in one paragraph, $21^{33\text{ff.}}$. (4) The four stages of priestly legislation and historiography are met in turn. The peculiar notes of the Law of Holiness P^{h} are detected twice, namely, in $10^{9\text{f.}}$ and $15^{37\text{-}41}$, and suspected elsewhere. The careful codifying of priestly teaching (P^{t}) is preserved in 5 f. 15. 19. The priestly groundwork of law and history (P^{g}), though probably at many points displaced in favour of an expanded version, is kept in parts of 1. 3. 9. 10, which are occupied with the census of laity and clergy in the holy congregation, the second Passover, and the first moving of the Camp from Sinai; it recounts the story of the spies (ch. 13), the sacrilege of Korah and the congregation (ch. 16), and the budding of Aaron's rod (ch. 17), provides for priests and Levites (ch. 18), and tells of the death of Aaron (ch. 20), the heroism of his grandson Phinehas (ch. 25), and the choice of Joshua (ch. 27).

The remainder, occupying more than half of the whole book, though as far as possible from being homogeneous, must come under the one heading of priestly supplements P^{s}, some of them little later in time than P^g, others among the latest additions to the Hex. Enough has been said above to enable the student to form his own conclusions about these.

§ 5. HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE.—Again, the distinction must be drawn between the direct witness to the past and the indirect evidence as to the times of the writers. The whole book is abundantly significant in the latter sense, JE illustrating for us how antiquity looked in the palmy days of Israel's national greatness, and P revealing the effect of circumstances in changing the point of view, and so transforming almost beyond recognition the picture of the past. But, except in places where there is independent reason to suppose that P rests on some part of JE which it has displaced, it is impossible here, any more than elsewhere, to accept its testimony as in the modern sense historical. Even the earlier sources can be used only with discrimination as supplying data for historical conclusions. But the general facts of the delay in entering Canaan, the roundabout route, and the conquest of the Amorites, being witnessed by both lines of tradition, and agreeable to the rest of our knowledge, emerge as well established. See, further, separate arts. on MOSES, etc.

§ 6. RELIGIOUS VALUE. — What has been said under this head in the arts. on EXODUS and LEVITICUS is largely applicable to the continuation of those books in Numbers. But a word may be added on that which is distinctive. (1) The fact is well brought out that a nation as well as an individual may have a moral and religious character, and be bound by its acts. Proved to be unprepared for conquest and colonization, Israel is subjected to the discipline of delay. (2) The need of divine guidance is symbolized by the advance of the ark (JE) or the cloud (P). (3) Types of character are presented whose lessons teach us still: Moses with the meekness of a strong nature under restraint, Miriam with the petty jealousy which often disfigures even good women, Caleb honest and whole-hearted, Balaam weak but not worthless; popular movements are described which have their modern parallels—the fickleness of the mob,—'little Israelites' to-day, Chauvinists to-morrow,—their disposition to blame anybody but themselves, the readiness of the laity to assert their rights rather than fulfil their duties,—all these are before us especially in JE. (4) Taking the description of the camp and congregation given in P^g and P^s as an ideal picture of the past whose value is in its symbolism, even as the picture of the future in the Apocalypse is in the same way precious, there is much to be gleaned: —the order and particularity, the distribution of duties, the equalization of burdens, the provisions for unity by co-operation, the elaboration of a stately ceremonial, nothing being left to the spur of the moment, but confusion avoided by fulness of rubrical direction,—in all this there is latent a wealth of suggestion as to the nature, the worship, and the organization, not to say the financial management, of the Church of to-day. (5) Perhaps the highest point is reached in the lofty and yet broad view of prophetic inspiration found in ^{E}11 f.: *Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets!* Accordingly, it only needs that *the Lord* should *put His Spirit upon* the modern readers of Numbers, and they will not fail to find fresh truth breaking forth out of this portion of His word.

LITERATURE.—Apart from the works cited under HEXATEUCH and the general commentaries, there is little to refer to. B. W. Bacon, *Exodus*, 1894, is valuable for JE; the *Oxf. Hex.* 1900 (ed. by J. E. Carpenter and the present writer) has been used largely, and may be consulted for fuller information; the vol. in the *Expos. Bible* is by R. A. Watson; preachers may also refer to Bp. Hall's *Contemplations*; the forthcoming vol. by G. B. Gray in the *Intern. Crit. Com.* has a large gap to fill.

G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY.

NUMENIUS (Νουμήνιος), the son of Antiochus, was one of the ambassadors sent by Jonathan, about B.C. 144, to renew the treaty between the Jews and Romans. He was also charged with letters from the high priest and the Jewish people to the Spartans and others, in order to establish friendly relations with them (1 Mac 12$^{1-18}$). The ambassadors were well received at Sparta (*ib.* 14$^{20-23}$) and at Rome (*ib.* 12$^{3f.}$), and sent back to Judæa with a safe-conduct. Subsequently, about the time of the popular decree in favour of Simon (B.C. 141), Numenius was sent with another embassy to Rome, taking as a present a golden shield weighing a thousand minas. The Senate passed a decree in favour of the Jews, guaranteeing them the undisturbed possession of their country, and gave to the ambassadors letters to the neighbouring kings and independent States, informing them of the terms of this decree. The embassy returned to Jerusalem in B.C. 139 (1 Mac 15$^{15-24}$). See art. LUCIUS, and cf. Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 266–268.

H. A. WHITE.

NUN (נ).—The fourteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 14th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. It is transliterated in this Dictionary by *n*.

NUN (נוּן 'fish,' in 1 Ch 7^{27} נוֹן **Non**, LXX Ναυή [possibly a primitive error in transcription, NAYH for NAYN], hence **Nave** of Sir 46^{1} AV).—The father of Joshua, the successor of Moses, Ex 33^{11}, Nu 11^{28}, Jos 1^{1} etc. On the probability that *Nun* is a clan rather than a personal name, and on its bearing on totemism, see Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, pp. 96, 102; cf. also W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, p. 221 f.

NURSE (מֵינֶקֶת *mêneḳeth*, אֹמֶנֶת *'ōmeneth*, τροφός). —**1.** The term *mêneḳeth* (root [ינק] 'suck') designated a foster-mother. Deborah had been such to Rebekah, and the maternal devotion was maintained throughout her life, Gn 24^{59} 35^{8}. By Miriam's readiness of resource the mother of Moses became his appointed nurse, Ex 2^{7}. The same meaning of 'nurse' occurs in 2 K 11^{2}, Is 49^{23}; cf. the use of τροφός in 1 Th 2^{7}, and τροφοφορεῖν in Dt 1^{31}. In the East a child is usually nursed till over two years of age. **2.** *'Ōmeneth* (root [אָמַן] 'confirm,' 'support') is a more general term applying to any female attendant in charge of children. Thus Naomi became nurse to Obed (Ru 4^{16}), and Mephibosheth was five years old when he fell from the arms of his nurse (*'ōmeneth*) 2 S 4^{4}.

3. The 'nursing-father' (אֹמֵן Nu 11^{12}, Is 49^{23}) would be found only in families of rank and wealth. Among the Emîrs or leading families of the Lebanon, one of the dependants, usually a poor relative, is appointed to this office. He becomes the constant companion, playmate, and guardian of the heir, carrying him when tired, and giving him later his first lessons in horsemanship and manly sports. In old age his relationship to the family is not forgotten, and care is taken that he shall not suffer want. In Pref. to AV the translators (apparently regardless of the difference between the nursing-father and the nursing-mother) say: 'And lastly, that the Church be sufficiently provided for, is so agreeable to good reason and conscience, that those mothers are holden to be lesse cruell, that kill their children as soone as they are borne, then those noursing fathers and mothers (wheresoever they be) that withdraw from them who hang upon their breasts (and upon whose breasts againe themselves doe hange to receive the spirituall and sincere milke of the word) livelyhood and support fit for their estates.' And Thomas Fuller is yet bolder when he says: 'He set before the King the hainousnesse of sacriledge; how great a sinne it was when Princes, who should be nursing-fathers and suckle the Church, shall suck from it' (*Holy Warre*, ii. 5, p. 49).

For the *'ōmĕnîm* who acted as tutors (2 K $10^{1.5}$, cf. Est 2^7), see EDUCATION, 1. G. M. MACKIE.

NURTURE.—The verb to nurture occurs occasionally in Sirach as the translation of *παιδεύω* (Sir 18^{13} 21^{23} 22^3 31^{19} 40^{29}). It is also found in 2 Es 8^{12} 'Thou . . . nurturedst it in thy law' (erudisti eum in lege tua). The subst. is found in Wis 3^{11} and Eph 6^4 as the tr. of *παιδεία*, as well as in Sir 22^{10} 'want of nurture,' Gr. *ἀπαιδευσία*. Now both in LXX and NT *παιδεία* and *παιδεύω* describe, not 'nurture' in the modern use of that word, but training, especially such training or discipline as involves restraint and even chastisement. Chastise and chastening or chastisement are often the best translation, as in He $12^{5.7.10}$. In Lk $23^{16.22}$ the verb is used of the scourging of a malefactor: it is rendered 'chastise' in EV. In the 16th cent. 'nurture' was an excellent equivalent for *παιδεύω* and *παιδεία*, as it contained the idea of training by means of chastisement or tribulation. Thus Dt 8^5 Tind. 'As a man nurtereth his sonne, even so the Lorde thy God nurtereth the' (AV and RV 'chasteneth'); Dt 21^{18} Tind. 'Yf any man have a sonne that is stuburne and disobedient that he will not herken unto the voyce of his father and voyce of his mother, and they have taught him nurture'; He 12^{10} Tind. 'And they verely for a feaue dayes nurtred us after their awne pleasure'; 1 K 12^{11} Cov. 'My father correcte you with scourges, but I wyl nourtoure you with scorpions'; Ps 94^{10} Cov. 'He that nurtureth the Heithen, and teacheth a man knowledge, shal not he punysh?' (see Driver's note on this passage in *Paral. Psalter*, p. 477). Rutherford is fond of the word and illustrates its meaning in his day admirably: thus, *Letters*, No. xcviii. 'I get my meat from Christ with nurture, for seven times a-day I am lifted up and casten down'; No. lxx. 'You have had your own large share of troubles, and a double portion; but it saith your Father counteth you not a bastard; full-begotten bairns are nurtured.'

Shaks. uses the word twice, and in both places in the sense of the *result* of training: *Tempest*, IV. i. 189—

> 'A born devil, on whose nature
> Nurture can never stick';

As You Like It, II. vii. 97—

> 'Yet am I inland bred
> And know some nurture.'

This is the meaning in Sir 31^{19} and 40^{29}, where AV has 'well-nurtured,' RV 'well-mannered' and 'well-instructed': the Gr. is *πεπαιδευμένος*.

J. HASTINGS.

NUTS.—The equivalent of two Heb. words—**1.** בָּטְנִים *boṭnîm*, *τερέβινθοι*, *terebinthi*. The (unused) sing., בֹּטֶן *bōṭen*, of this is perhaps the cognate of the Arab. *buṭm*, the *n* being substituted for the *m*. This word in Arab. is generic for *terebinth*. Its generic character seems to have been lost in Heb., in which are several words the signification of which is uncertain as between the terebinth and the oak. (See OAK). Doubtless the form *boṭnîm*, the plural of the assumed בטן, refers, in the only passage in which it occurs (Gn 43^{11}), to *pistachio nuts*. They are the fruit of Pistacia vera, L., a tree of the Order *Anacardiaceæ*, 10–20 ft. high, with 1-2 pair of odd pinnate leaflets 3–5 in. long, or simple ovate leaves. The nut is oblong, apiculate, ¾ in. long, ⅓ in. broad, with green oily cotyledons. It is doubtfully indigenous, but everywhere cultivated in the orchards near cities. The tree and its fruit are known as *fistŭḳ*. The nuts are a favourite luxury of the Orientals. While the Heb. on the one hand thus appropriated the term בטן to one species of the modern genus Pistacia, the Arabs, on the other, have appropriated it to three other species of the same genus, allied to each other, but differing from the pistachio. They are P. Terebinthus, L., P. Palestina, Ehr. (which should be regarded simply as a variety of the foregoing), and P. mutica, F. and M. These are the true terebinths, and probably the trees intended by אֵלָה, and perhaps other Heb. words. (See OAK). They attain a height of 20–25 ft. and a diameter of 30–40. They have pinnate leaves, and small lenticular inedible fruits, from which an oil, used in tanning and other arts, is expressed. Probably both the Hebrews and the Arabs originally recognized the generic connexion between the pistachio and the terebinth. It is clear, from the LXX and Vulg., that those VSS recognized the analogy. RVm gives the gloss, 'that is, pistachio nuts.' It is interesting to note that in Mardîn a terebinth is cultivated, under the name of *fistŭḳ*, which bears fruit of the lenticular shape of the terebinth nutlets, but as large as a cherry stone, and with an edible kernel, resembling in taste pistachio nuts. Some such terebinthine tree must have been the wild stock of the pistachio. The city *Betonim* in Gad, east of the Jordan (Jos 13^{26}), was doubtless named from trees, either of pistachio or terebinth. It is now called *Boṭneh*, a survival of its Heb. form, but carrying to Arab minds the meaning of the Arab. *boṭn*='belly.'

2. אֱגוֹז *ĕgôz*. This word also occurs but once (Ca 6^{11}). The exact similarity to the Arab. *jauz*='walnut,' and the universal cultivation of this tree in the East, make it practically certain that the walnut is intended. The LXX *κάρυον* and the Vulg. *nux* are generic, but also are often used specifically for the walnut. They are the seeds of the fruit of Juglans regia, L., a noble tree, growing in moist situations. It attains a height of 20–30 ft. and a diameter of 50–60. It is particularly common around the village fountains, and along the mountain torrents. Its foliage is fragrant. The nuts are of excellent quality, and very cheap. One variety measures 2 inches in its long diameter.

G. E. POST.

NYMPHA or **NYMPHAS.**—A prominent member of the Church at Laodicea, at whose house a congregation was accustomed to meet, Col 4^{15}. The question of reading is a difficult one, chiefly because of the ambiguity of the evidence from the Latin and Syriac versions. But the reading '*her* house' in B 67** seems best to explain the origin of the others. Lightfoot's objection, that 'a Doric form of the Greek name here seems in the highest degree improbable,' though endorsed by T. K. Abbott (*Int. Crit. Com. in loc.*), can hardly stand in face of the evidence for similar forms in Jn 11^5, Ac 9^{38} (see Hort, *App.* p. 163*a*; Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, § 270). If this reading be adopted, her name must have been Nympha, and she must have occupied in the Church a position similar to that of Prisca at Rome (Ro 16^3), and perhaps of Phœbe at Cenchreæ (Ro 16^1), and Lydia at Philippi (Ac 16^{15}). If the reading '*his* house' be adopted from DFGKL, etc., the name must be read Nymphas, and is probably to be regarded as a contraction for Nymphodorus. The reading '*their* house' (אACP, etc.) would leave the form of the name uncertain. Nymphas and Eubulus are commemorated together as 'Holy Apostles' on Feb. 28, in the Greek Calendar. There is nothing in NT to account either for the combination of the names or for the title. See *Acta Sanct. Bolland.* Feb. 28, p. 719.

J. O. F. MURRAY.

O

OABDIUS (Ὠαβδ(ε)ῖος).—One of the sons of Ela who had married a foreign wife, 1 Es 9^{27}=ABDI of Ezr 10^{26}.

OAK.—Three of the words tr^{d} 'oak' in EV are perhaps derived from the root אול or אֵיל 'to be prominent.' They are (1) אַיִל, pl. אֵילִים *'êlîm*; (2) אֵלָה *'ēlāh*; (3) אֵלוֹן *'ēlôn*. The following analysis will show the renderings of LXX, Vulg., EV.

1. אַיִל only in const. אֵיל *'êl*. EV transliterate (Gn 14^{6}) as part of the proper name El-paran, LXX *τερέβινθος*, Vulg. *Campestria*. EV render (Is 1^{29}) 'oaks,' RVm 'terebinths,' LXX *εἴδωλα*, Vulg. *idoli*. AV tr. (Is 57^{5}) 'idols,' AVm 'oaks,' RV 'oaks,' RVm 'idols,' LXX *εἴδωλα*, Vulg. *dii*. EV tr. (Is 61^{3}) 'trees,' LXX *γενεαί*, Vulg. *fortes*. EV tr. (Ezk 31^{14}) 'height,' AVm 'upon themselves,' LXX *ὕψος*, Vulg. *sublimitas*.

2. אֵלָה *'ēlâh*, EV tr. (Gn 35^{4} LXX *τερέβινθος*, Vulg. *terebinthus*; Jg $6^{11.\,19}$ LXX *τερέμινθος*, Vulg. *quercus*; 2 S $18^{9.\,10.\,14}$ LXX *δρῦς*, Vulg. *quercus*; 1 K 13^{14} LXX *δρῦς*, Vulg. *terebinthus*; Is 1^{30} LXX *τερέβινθος*, Vulg. *quercus*; Ezk 6^{13} LXX omitted, Vulg. *quercus*) 'oak,' RVm 'terebinth.' EV transliterate (1 S 17^{2} LXX om.; v.^{19} *δρῦς*, Vulg. *terebinthus*; 21^{9} LXX Ἠλᾶ, Vulg. *terebinthus*) 'Elah,' RVm in both 'the terebinth.' AV tr. (Is 6^{13}) 'teil tree,' RV 'terebinth,' LXX *τερέβινθος*, Vulg. *terebinthus*. AV tr. (Hos 4^{13}) 'elms' (see ELM), RV 'terebinths,' LXX *δένδρον συσκιάζον*, Vulg. *terebinthus*.

3. אֵלוֹן *'ēlôn*, AV tr. (Gn 12^{6} LXX *δρῦς*, Vulg. *convallis*; 13^{18} LXX *δρῦς*, Vulg. *vallis*; Dt 11^{30} LXX *δρῦς*, Vulg. *vallis*; Jg 4^{11} LXX *δρῦς*, Vulg. *vallis*; 9^{6} LXX *βάλανος*, Vulg. *quercus*; 1 S 10^{3} LXX *δρῦς*, Vulg. *quercus*) 'plain' or 'plains,' RV 'oak' or 'oaks,' m. 'terebinth' or 'terebinths.' AV (Jos 19^{33}) transliterates *Allon* (many edd. read אֵלוֹן), RV 'oak,' m. 'terebinth,' B Μωλά, A Μηλών, Vulg. *Elon*.

Thus it will be seen that the weight of the two Eng. versions for the first two words is 'oak,' and AV for the last 'plain,' RV (certainly correctly) 'oak,' m. 'terebinth.' The great diversity in the LXX and Vulg. in **1** is partly due to the resemblance between the word for 'oak' and that for 'god.'

The other two words tr^{d} 'oak' are in appearance derived from an unknown root אלל, though they differ from **2** and **3** only in punctuation. They are **4.** אַלָּה *'allāh* (Jos 24^{26}), EV 'oak,' LXX *τερέμινθος*, Vulg. *quercus*. **5.** אַלּוֹן *'allôn*. This is always tr^{d} 'oak' in both Eng. versions. LXX give *βάλανος*, *δρῦς*, Vulg. *quercus*. The Arab. affords no clue to the meaning of any of the above terms, as there is no derivative from the cognate roots which refers to a tree. It is thought by many (*e.g.* Dillm., Del., cf. RVm) that **1, 2,** and **3** denote the **terebinth** and **4** and **5** the oak (Hos 4^{13}, Is 6^{13} show that אֵלָה and אַלּוֹן are distinct). See, further, articles TEREBINTH, TURPENTINE, and Dillmann's note on Gn 12^{6}.

There are nine species of oak in Pal. and Syria. (1) Q. Sessiliflora, Sm., a tall tree of subalpine Lebanon, with deciduous, sinuate-pinnate-lobed leaves. (2) Q. Lusitanica, Lam. (Arab. *mellûl* and *ballûṭ*), a large tree, with deciduous, elliptical to oblong and sublanceolate, dentate or crenate leaves. It grows abundantly from the coast to the middle mountain regions. It bears numerous sorts of galls. (3) Q. Ilex, L., a low tree of the Syrian coast. (4) Q. Coccifera, L., the *holm oak*, Arab. *sindiân*, the largest of the oaks of Palestine. It has a flattened globular, very dense comus, often 40–50 ft. in diameter, and 25–35 ft. high. It has evergreen, ovate to oblong, spiny toothed or entire, glossy leaves, usually not over 1–2 in. long. It is generally planted near Moslem, Druze, and Mutawâly welys. A specimen of this tree, with very straggling branches, is the famous Abraham's Oak, a tree, however, which is not more than 300–400 years old. (See HOLM TREE). (5) Q. Cerris, L. (Arab. *ballûṭ* or *likk*). This has an oblong comus, often 50–60 ft. high, with deciduous, oblong, more or less pinnate-lobed leaves. It grows very luxuriantly in the mountainous to subalpine regions, esp. in Cassius and Amanus. (6) Q. Ehrenbergii, Ky., is a medium-sized tree, with deciduous, ovate, pinnatisect or parted leaves. It is found only in the middle zone of Lebanon and Antilebanon. (7) Q. Ægilops, L., the Valonia oak (Arab. *mellûl*), has a rounded comus, and deciduous, ovate to oblong, unequally coarse serrate leaves, often 2–3 in. long. The acorn is the largest belonging to any Syrian species, being often 1–2 in. in diameter. The cupule contains much tannin, hence it is extensively used in tanning, and is a standard article of commerce. This tree flourishes in the lower and middle mountain zones. (8) Q. Look, Ky. (Arab. *likk*), is a medium-sized tree or shrub, with deciduous, oblong, wavy, crenate-dentate leaves. It grows in forests in Lebanon and Antilebanon and *Ḥaurân*. (9) Q. Libani, Oliv., is a low tree or shrub, with lanceolate, glossy, coarsely dentate leaves. It grows in the middle zones of Lebanon, Cassius, Amanus, and northward.

It will thus be seen that the several species of oak are among the most widely disseminated trees of Syria and Palestine. The mountains of *Ḥaurân* (Bashan, Is 2^{13}, Ezk 27^{6}, Zec 11^{2}) have many oak trees still, mostly Q. Coccifera, Q. Ægilops, and Q. Lusitanica. Oak trees were planted by tombs (Gn 35^{8}). Few objects in Pal. or Syria are more striking than the immense oak trees, solitary or grouped near the welys. Oak trees were places of sacrifice (Hos 4^{13}). From oak timber idols were made (Is 44^{14}). The wood of the oak has always been used for fuel, for roofing of houses, and for shipbuilding (Ezk 27^{6}). G. E. POST.

OAR.—See SHIPS AND BOATS.

OATH.—The leading terms for 'oath,' **'swear,'** etc., are **1.** אָלָה noun and verb; Ḳal='swear,' Hiphil 'put under oath.' This word has more especially the sense of 'curse,' LXX *ἀρά*, Vulg. *maledictio*; cf. the phrase היה לאלה 'become an execration,' Nu 5^{27} (P), Jer 29^{18} 42^{18} 44^{12} (see below). Cf. Ac $23^{12.\,14.\,21}$, where *ἀναθεματίζειν* is used of the Jews who bound themselves under an oath (curse) to kill St. Paul. **2.** שְׁבוּעָה 'oath,' נִשְׁבַּע (Niph.) 'swear,' הִשְׁבִּיעַ (Hiph.) 'cause to swear,' 'take an oath of one,' 'adjure,' answering respectively to the LXX *ὅρκος*, *ὄμνυμι* or *ὀμνύω*, *ὁρκίζω* or *ἐξορκίζω*, and the Vulg. *juramentum* or *jusjurandum*, *jurare*, *adjurare*. The verb שׁבע is derived from שֶׁבַע 'seven.' Seven was regarded as a sacred number by the Semites, and so the verb would mean literally 'to come under the influence of seven things' (W. R. Smith, *RS*, p. 166; cf. above, p. 565). For example, seven animals would be killed or seven witnesses called.

That we may understand the purpose and importance of oaths among the Hebrews in primitive times, the historical situation requires to be borne in mind. Before there was a collective national life, with an accepted code of laws and a strong executive, any convention formed among men had to be of the nature of a mutual understanding; and when the agreement was one of much moment, it was made as binding as the circumstances of the time allowed, by the parties to it subjecting themselves with all due solemnity to an oath. Examples of oaths between men we have in Gn $26^{28ff.}$ 50^{25}, Jos $2^{12ff.}$ $9^{15.\ 18}$. In conformity with the entire usage, and with the externalism which was its principal feature, strict attention was given to the forms and technicalities employed; a kind of ritual was established in oath-taking. In particular, the custom prevailed of killing an animal in the ceremonial, the symbolism in this case having been both elaborate and impressive. The practice is described in Gn 15 and Jer $34^{18f.}$. The victim was divided into two pieces, and the persons concerned walked between the pieces, in testimony of their invocation of the like doom of destruction upon themselves if they proved unfaithful to their oath. The form of walking between the pieces after eating of the sacrifice is held by Robertson Smith to have been further indicative of the belief that the parties were taken within the mystical life of the victim. Among the simpler forms used there is the act of 'putting the hand under the thigh' (Gn $24^{2ff.}$ 47^{29}): the underlying idea is discussed by Dillmann, *in loc.* (See also art. THIGH). Or the hand is stretched out to heaven (Gn 14^{22}; cf. Dn 12^{7}, Rev $10^{5f.}$), this gesture by its naturalness explaining itself.

The language of **adjuration** varies greatly. Among the commonest expressions are the phrases, 'The LORD do so to me, and more also,' and 'As the LORD liveth,' or there is the extended form, 'As the LORD liveth, and as thy soul liveth.' Jacob swears by the *fear* (פחד, *i.e.* 'the object of his fear'=God; cf. v.^{42}) of his father Isaac (Gn 31^{53}), and Joseph swears by the life of Pharaoh (Gn 42^{15}). In early times the tribal god and an earthly ruler had not been sharply distinguished from each other in men's thoughts: thus the practice of swearing by the prince or by the life of the prince would be accounted for. On the other hand, even when better things were to be expected after the establishment of ethical monotheism, abuses were common among the scribes; there was a declension by easy transitions from the invocation of the Deity to forms of adjuration by some of the familiar objects of earth. Thus one would swear by Heaven, by Jerusalem as the Holy City, by the earth, by his own head (Mt $5^{34ff.}$), or again by the temple as the House of God, by the gold of the temple, by the altar, or by the gift on the altar (Mt $23^{16ff.}$).

As the Author of the world was invoked in adjuration, the idea prevailed that the oath, once uttered, had objective significance in the sense that it affected the course of nature; a conviction that may be taken to indicate in one aspect of it how even primeval man was feeling after the truth which was afterwards to be revealed, that 'out of the heart are the issues of life.' To take an oath was to come under a specified penalty in case of violation of the oath, to expose one's self to a curse. Accordingly אָלָה='oath *or* curse.' Thus the princes of the congregation of Israel, having sworn to the Gibeonites to be at peace with them and to let them live, find that they must carry out their undertaking, at least in form, even when it was discovered that the Gibeonites had been deceivers, 'lest,' they said, 'wrath be upon us because of the oath which we sware unto them' (Jos 9). And Saul resolved, in fulfilment of an oath he had uttered, to kill his son Jonathan, who was innocent (1 S $14^{24ff.}$; cf. Mt 14^{9}). In Nu 5 the oath of cursing, administered with the ritual of the water of bitterness, entails the most terrible consequences on the guilty; and in Zec $5^{1ff.}$ the flying roll of the prophetic vision represents a curse 'like a bird of prey' pursuing the wicked person over the face of the whole earth. In view of the far-reaching consequences involved in oath-taking, the law placed careful restrictions on the practice in the case of members of a family other than the head (Nu 30).

Perjury on the part of a witness was punished with the same penalty which his testimony, if true, would have involved for the accused person (Dt $19^{16ff.}$).

Oaths as between God and men. At a period when every important compact among men was confirmed by an oath, and when there was no other guarantee for the discharge of their liabilities by each of the parties concerned, the conception formed of God's relation to His people was, and could only be, the conception of His making a promise to them under the sanction of an oath. When God is represented as taking an oath to the fathers, it is meant that those with whom He entered into relation gained the assurance that His fidelity to them and to His promise was unalterable (cf. He 6^{13}). His nature was partly understood through the thoughts and practices of the best men of the time; whereas a presentation of His ways and character by means of ideas which were entirely unconnected with the current life of the age would have been meaningless and void of effect. The oath which God took to Abraham, and which is so often referred to, is given in Gn $22^{15ff.}$: 'By myself have I sworn, saith the LORD . . . that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars,' etc.

When God is regarded as binding Himself by an oath, a period has been reached in the history of Revelation which is comparatively well defined both in respect to the initial and the closing stage of it. There has been an advance when the truth is communicated to man, in such a way as to be believed, that God makes and will without fail keep a promise, that He is spiritual and moral, and has an interest in man. On the other hand, the peculiar externalism of such religious faith is obvious; and it is apparent that only a very limited knowledge of the divine nature is attainable, in the absence of practical proof of God's intervention for good in the exigencies of earthly life. The experience and thought of the period in question are accordingly transcended; trust in God comes to be based on other ground. When the chosen people were formed into a nation, the warrant and motive for obedience, enforced again and again to the better mind of the Israelites, was the *deliverance from Egyptian bondage*, and the known goodness of Jehovah. Not merely because a promise had once been made and confirmed by an oath, but because God had saved the people, loved them, and brought His goodness in the law near to their heart, were they under obligation to serve Him. The old oath is frequently adduced indeed, but the spiritual and moral facts of the nation's history are mainly rehearsed in attestation of the truth that God was faithful to His oath. In the New Covenant (Jer $31^{33f.}$), and above all in its completion in Christ, men's knowledge of the Lord, their trust in Him, rests on His forgiveness of their sin, and on His creation of a new and better righteousness.

On the human side in OT religion man took oath to God. An oath was 'a peculiarly solemn confession of faith' (Driver, *Deut.* p. 95). Far from being reprehensible from the religious or moral point of view, the practice was incumbent on the pious, and had the promise of blessing. ('Every one that sweareth by him shall glory,' Ps 63^{11}).

But it is requisite that one shall swear by Jehovah the true God, shall do so in truth and righteousness of spirit, and shall faithfully perform the oath (Jer 4^2 12^{16}). It is sinful to swear by them that are no gods, as Baal, and so to acknowledge them, or by images or forms usurping the place of God, as the 'sin of Samaria' or the 'way' (understood to be the 'manner' or 'ritual')* of Beersheba (Jer 12^{16}, Am 8^{14}). Also the double-dealing of those who swear *to* the Lord and swear *by* Malcam is severely condemned (Zeph 1^5).

In the time of Christ, minute arbitrary distinctions had been set up by the scribes and Pharisees in adjuration, such as were plainly destructive of the moral sense and amounted to a profanation of the name of God; and the abuse called forth from Christ the severest denunciation (Mt $23^{16\text{ff.}}$). An oath which was to all appearance most solemn and binding was evaded after all by the methods of casuistry, by the tacit reservation that it had no force, that 'it was nothing.' The name of God was invoked to cover deliberate deceit. But our Lord goes further when He lays down the principle in the Sermon on the Mount, 'Swear not at all' (Mt $5^{34.\,37}$; so Ja 5^{12}). Men's speech is to be 'Yea, yea; nay, nay.' All communication between them is to be taken up to the sphere of perfect truthfulness. The introduction of oaths in particular cases implies a claim to some licence in departing from the truth in other cases. The practice which ostensibly promotes morality is thus, in fact, injurious to it.

As the prohibition in Mt 5^{34} seems absolute, the question arises whether Christ would have sanctioned the judicial use of oaths. In this connexion His own example may be pointed to when Caiaphas the high priest adjured Him by the living God that He should tell whether He was the Christ (Mt $26^{63\text{f.}}$). Jesus answered affirmatively without taking exception to the condition imposed. And St. Paul sometimes calls God to witness for the truth of his assertions (2 Co 1^{23}, Gal 1^{20}). The will of Christ is the supreme and absolute standard of conduct, but the will can be ascertained only when regard is had to the conditions of time, place, and circumstance. The new law in Mt 5^{34} is understood in its context. As compared with the old law which is mentioned in the previous verse, it is a concise, pointed expression of a necessary and enduring principle. But error is readily incurred by generalizing or by exalting the letter above the spirit, as in the case of the other injunction, 'give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away' (Mt 5^{42}). In determining whether and in what cases the use of oaths is in accordance with the mind of Christ, people have to ask what conduces to the advancement of Christian righteousness in the particular situations that are contemplated.

LITERATURE.—W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, on oath-taking and kindred practices in primitive Semitic times, esp. pp. 164 ff., 461 f.; art. COVENANT in vol. i. of the present work; the OT Theologies on the subject of Covenant; Wendt, *Teaching of Jesus* (Eng. tr.), i. p. 269 ff.; Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgeschichte*^{2} (see Index, *s.* 'Bund' and 'Schwur'); Benzinger or Nowack, *Heb. Archäologie*, *s.* 'Eid'; Gore, *Serm. on Mount*.

G. FERRIES.

OBADIAH (עֹבַדְיָהוּ and עֹבַדְיָה).—**1.** The 'steward' or major-domo (אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַבַּיִת, *οἰκονόμος*) of Ahab, 1 K 18^3 (Ἀβδειού). From his youth he had feared the LORD, v.^{12}, and, during a persecution of Jahweh's prophets by Jezebel, Obadiah is recorded to have concealed 100 of them in caves and fed them with bread and water, v.^{4}. While obeying the commission of Ahab to search for pasture for the perishing horses and mules, he was met by Elijah, and after some hesitation agreed to bear the prophet's message to the king, v.$^{7\text{ff.}}$. **2.** A Levite, descended from Jeduthun, 1 Ch 9^{16} (B Ἀβδειά, A Ὀβδιά) = **Abda** of Neh 11^{17}. **3.** A Judahite, 1 Ch 3^{21} (Ἀβδειά). **4.** A chief of the tribe of Issachar, 1 Ch 7^3 (B Μειβδειά [prob. a scribal error], A Ὀβδιά). **5.** A descendant of Saul, 1 Ch $8^{38}=9^{44}$ (Ἀβδ(ε)ιά). **6.** A Gadite chief who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^9 (Ἀβδ(ε)ιά). **7.** Father of the Zebulunite chief Ishmaiah, 1 Ch 27^{19} (Ἀβδ(ε)ιού). **8.** One of the princes who were sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah, 2 Ch 17^7 (B Ἀβιά, A Ἀβδιά). **9.** A Merarite Levite who was one of the overseers of the workmen employed by Josiah to repair the temple, 2 Ch 34^{12} (B Ἀβδειά, A Ἀβδίας). **10.** The head of a family that returned with Ezra, Ezr 8^9 (B Ἀδειά, A Ἀβαδιά), called in 1 Es 8^{35} **Abadias.** **11.** One of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10^5 (Ἀβδ(ε)ιά). **12.** The eponym of a family of doorkeepers, Neh 12^{25} ($\aleph^{\text{c.a}}$ Ὀβδίας, BA$\aleph$* om.). **13.** The prophet. See next article.

OBADIAH, BOOK OF.—

- i. Name, and Place in the Canon.
- ii. Contents.
- iii. Unity and Date.
- iv. Condition of Text, Literary Characteristics, etc.

Literature.

This, the shortest of all the prophetical writings, consisting of only twenty-one verses, has an importance out of all proportion to its length, because of the literary and exegetical questions it raises, and the diversity of opinion which still prevails as to the *unity* and the *date* of the book, and the historical allusions it contains.

i. NAME, AND PLACE IN THE CANON.—The name *Obadiah* is not uncommon in the OT (see preceding article), and has been read on an ancient seal, inscribed *'Obadyahu 'ebhed hammelekh* (see figure in Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* p. 258). It occurs, like similar names, in the two forms עֹבַדְיָהוּ and עֹבַדְיָה, of which the latter is used in the case of the prophetical book which forms our subject. The Massoretic pointing עֹבַדְיָה, which is supported by LXX B Ὀβδειού, implies, as is pointed out by G. A. Smith (*Twelve Prophets*, ii. 164 n.), the meaning 'worshipper of J″' (? cf. *Obed-edom*; see the cautious note of Driver, *Text of Sam.* p. 206), but the word might be vocalized עַבְדְּיָה = עֶבֶד־יָהּ 'servant of J″' (cf. A$\aleph$ Ἀβδ(ε)ιού; עַבְדָּא of Neh 11^{17} ‖ 1 Ch 9^{16}; and the name *Abdiel* in 1 Ch 5^{15}). Of the particular Obadiah whose name the prophecy bears we know nothing, although Delitzsch conjectures that he may have been the prince of that name who, according to 2 Ch 17^7, was sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah. It must, indeed, remain uncertain whether the name is that of the author of the early prophecy contained in vv.$^{1\text{-}10}$ (see below), or of the writer who supplemented this and gave the book its present form, or whether (which König suggests as a possibility) both these authors bore the name Obadiah.*

In the Hebrew Bible the Bk. of Obadiah stands fourth amongst the Twelve Minor Prophets, between Amos and Jonah. It has been suggested by König (*Einleit.* 302) that this position may have been given to it by the collectors of the Canon in view of Am 9^{12} ('that they may possess the remnant of Edom'), which finds its echo and its supplement in Ob ^{19} ('they . . . shall possess the mount of Esau'), and of Ob ^{1} ('a messenger is sent among the nations'), which might be supposed to find an illustration in the story of Jonah (cf. art. JONAH, in vol. ii. p. 748^b). In the LXX Obadiah alone comes between Joel and Jonah, the order being Hos, Am, Mic, Jl, Ob, Jon, instead of the MT order Hos, Jl, Am, Ob, Jon, Mic.

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* See, further, art. MANNER, p. 237^a, note.

* We assume that עבדיה is a proper name and not merely an appellative, as is probably the case with מַלְאָכִי 'my messenger,' which usage has converted into the familiar name *Malachi*.

Obadiah is one of the OT books that are not quoted in the New Testament.

ii. CONTENTS.—The prophecy is announced as 'concerning Edom.' Jahweh has sent a messenger (צִיר) among the nations to stir up a general rising against her (v.^{1}).

The words כֹּה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יהוה לֶאֱדוֹם must have been penned by the later writer (see below under 'Unity') to introduce the quotation of the earlier oracle, beginning 'We have heard,' etc.; for it is plain that the latter is a form of expression which could hardly be put directly into the mouth of Jahweh.

Edom is to be brought low in spite of her trust in her rocky fastnesses (vv.$^{2-4}$). The ruin is to be complete, the spoiling beyond that of ordinary thieves (vv.$^{5-6}$). This destruction of Edom is to be wrought by the treachery of her former friends and allies (v.^{7}). The wonted wisdom of Edom shall fail her in this extremity (vv.$^{8.9}$). The reason for this chastisement is the unbrotherly conduct of which Edom was guilty towards Judah in the day of its calamity when Jerusalem was sacked by foreigners, and lots cast over it (vv.$^{10.11}$). Edom is emphatically charged to desist from such conduct (vv.$^{12-14}$).

The imperatives in vv.$^{12-14}$ appear to be due to the vivid picture which the writer calls up to himself of the conduct of Edom. He is really describing the past, but he speaks of what the Edomites had actually done as of what they ought not to do.

The day of the Lord (on this conception see Driver, *Joel and Amos* [Index]; A. B. Davidson on Zeph 1^{7} and in art. ESCHATOLOGY OF OT in vol. i. of this Dictionary, p. 735 ff.) is near upon *all the nations*, in whose destruction Edom shall share, being exterminated by the united 'house of Jacob' (including both Judah and Ephraim (vv.$^{15-18}$)).

The idea of a reunion of Judah and Ephraim in the last days appears elsewhere, *e.g.* in Jer $31^{5.27}$, Zec 10^{6}.—The 'ye' of v.^{16} cannot be the Edomites, who are addressed throughout in the genuine passages by 'thou.' Moreover, Edom must be included in 'all the nations.' The 'ye' can only be the Jerusalemites. As Judah had once drunk the cup of Jahweh's fury (for the expression cf. Ezk 23^{32}, La 4^{21}, 'Jer' $51^{17ff.}$, Hab 2^{16}, Ps 75^{9} [Eng.^{8}]; cf. also Jer 13^{12-14} [? Jehoiachin's time] for a closely allied conception), so must the heathen now drink it.

The house of Jacob shall reinherit their ancient possessions, Judah and Benjamin overflowing into Ephraim and Gilead, which are compensated by receiving the borderland of Phœnicia as far as Zarephath, while the Negeb dispossesses Esau of Mt. Seir, and the captives from Sepharad occupy the cities of the Negeb. 'Saviours' (cf. Jg 2^{16} $3^{9.15}$) shall defend Zion and 'judge' the mount of Esau, and the rule of Jahweh shall be established (vv.$^{15-21}$).

The summary given of this last section is what upon the whole appears to us to be the most probable meaning, but much uncertainty attaches to it. Wellhausen, followed by Nowack, understands vv.$^{19.20}$ quite differently. He pronounces them to be an expansion of v.^{17}, and declares that הַנֶּגֶב and הַשְּׁפֵלָה cannot possibly be subjects of יָרְשׁוּ (as AV and RV take them). They must be in apposition with אֶת־הַר עֵשָׂו and אֶת־פְּלִשְׁתִּים respectively (both of which Wellh. pronounces interpolated, because they have אֶת prefixed, while הַנֶּגֶב and הַשְּׁפֵלָה want it). He remarks, further, that 'Benjamin,' if genuine, would reflect the late conception that Jerus. was situated in this tribe. But possibly it is a textual error, we expect rather a verb. שֹׁמְרוֹן, too, he suspects, for the 'fields of Samaria' would surely be included in the 'fields of Ephraim.' See, further, below under 'Date.'

iii. UNITY AND DATE.—Three leading forms of opinion have prevailed regarding these: (1) that the Bk. of Obadiah is a unity and pre-exilic; (2) that it consists of two portions both post-exilic; (3) that it is made up of an early pre-exilic and a late post-exilic passage. We shall presently examine each of these positions, but in the first place it will be well to consider a question whose answer will affect our final conclusion, namely—*What is the relation between Ob* $^{1-9}$ *and Jer* 49^{7-22}*?* The resemblance between these two passages is so close as to demand explanation. The facts are as follows:—

Ob ^{1}=Jer 49^{14}, except that in Jer the sing. שָׁמַעְתִּי is read instead of the plur. שָׁמַעְנוּ, the pass. ptcp. Qal שָׁלוּחַ replaces the perf. Pu'al שֻׁלַּח for 'is sent,' and the expressions used in summoning the nations have been modified and slightly expanded (Ob having קוּמוּ וְנָקוּמָה עָלֶיהָ לַמִּלְחָמָה, Jer הִתְקַבְּצוּ וּבֹאוּ עָלֶיהָ וְקוּמוּ לַמִּלְחָמָה׃).

Ob ^{2}=Jer 49^{15}, except that in Jer an introductory כִּי is prefixed, that אַתָּה after בָּזוּי is wanting, and that for מְאֹד 'greatly' of Ob we have in Jer בָּאָדָם 'among men' parallel to בַּגּוֹיִם of the preceding clause.

Ob ^{3a}=Jer 49^{16a}, except that Ob wants the תִּפְלַצְתְּךָ 'thy terribleness' of Jer, that for הִשִּׁיאֶךָ of Ob we have in Jer הִשִּׁיא אֹתָךְ, that סֶלַע is anarthrous in Ob, but has the article in Jer, that Jer inserts תֹּפְשִׂי ('holding') before מְרוֹם ('height'), and replaces שִׁבְתּוֹ ('his dwelling') by גִּבְעָה 'hill.' Ob ^{3b} 'that saith in his heart' is wanting in Jer.

Ob ^{4}=Jer 49^{16b}, except that Jer substitutes כִּי for אִם, and omits 'and though thou set [thy nest] among the stars.'

Ob ^{5} closely resembles Jer 49^{9}, but the order is reversed, Jer commencing with 'if grape-gatherers came,' etc., and the interrogative ה is omitted before לֹא, making of the words an assertion instead of a question. The words 'if spoilers' and the exclamation 'How art thou destroyed!' are wanting in Jer, and for יִגְנְבוּ 'steal' we have הִשְׁחִיתוּ 'destroy.'

Ob ^{6} resembles in thought, but only slightly in expression, Jer 49^{10}. Note how חָפַשׂ 'search out' of Ob is replaced by חָשַׂף in Jer.

Ob ^{8} slightly resembles Jer 49^{7}.

Ob ^{9a} resembles Jer 49^{22b}.

It is evident that either Jeremiah borrowed from Obadiah or Obadiah from Jeremiah, or that both borrowed from a common source. The first and the third of these have been the favourite positions maintained, although Hitzig and Vatke have maintained that Jeremiah formed the model for Obadiah. But an examination of the differences between the texts of Obadiah and Jeremiah in the passages common to both has satisfied the great majority of scholars that the more original form of the prophecy is in Obadiah. [Only in vv.$^{9.15.16}$, the omission of אִם שׁוֹדְדֵי, the reading בָּאָדָם for מְאֹד, and the retaining of תִּפְלַצְתְּךָ, can the superiority be awarded to Jeremiah]. The logical connexion, too, is better in Obadiah. On the other hand, if Jeremiah is held to have borrowed from Obadiah, the following difficulties have to be faced. Not only has Jeremiah occasionally the better text, but Jer 49^{7-22}, if it be from the pen of Jeremiah, dates from the fourth year (B.C. 604) of Jehoiakim's reign, whereas Ob $^{11-14}$, as we shall presently find reason to conclude, presupposes the capture of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans and the destruction of the Jewish State. Hence the Bk. of Obadiah could not have lain before Jeremiah in its present form—a conclusion which is strengthened when we note that it is only from the first nine verses of Obadiah that Jeremiah would thus have borrowed, although much of what follows these would have suited his purpose admirably. Wellh. and Nowack make Obadiah the direct model for Jer 49^{7-22}, but do not admit the genuineness of this passage, the former holding (with Stade, Smend, Schwally) that the whole of Jer 46–51 is non-genuine and late, the latter (with Giesebrecht, etc.) that many passages in these chapters, including 49^{7-22}, must be denied to Jeremiah. Nowack would account for the superiority of Jer $49^{9.15}$ to Ob $^{5.2}$ by supposing that in Ob ^{2} we have probably a textual corruption and in v.^{5} an interpolation both introduced subsequent to the use of Obadiah by 'Jeremiah.'

The safest conclusion appears to be that Jeremiah and Obadiah borrowed from a common source, and that Obadiah incorporated this with less alteration than Jeremiah.

To return now to the three views noted above as to the date of the book in its present form. What we have said in comparing Jeremiah and Obadiah would suffice to show the improbability, not to say the impossibility, of (1) the view that the whole of Obadiah is pre-exilic and that the book is a unity (Caspari, v. Hofmann, Delitzsch, Nägelsbach, Keil, v. Orelli, Kirkpatrick, Peters). The objections to the unity and an early date for the whole book are mainly three: (*a*) the nations are in vv.$^{1-7}$ God's instruments of vengeance against Edom, whereas in v.$^{15\text{ff.}}$ they are all alike (Edom included) the object of Divine chastisement; (*b*) vv.$^{11-14}$ cannot have a satisfactory sense assigned to them except on the view that they refer to the capture of Jerus. and the deportation of the Jews by Nebuchadrezzar (cf. v.^{20} 'the captivity of Jerusalem'); (*c*) there is a difference in style between the two halves of the book, the first being terse, animated, and full of striking figures, while the second is diffuse and marked by poverty of ideas and trite figures. The occasion to which those who make the book a unity generally ascribe it is the capture of Jerusalem by the Philistines and Arabians in the time of Jehoram (*c.* 850 B.C.). But while this occurrence, regarding which, unfortunately, we have no information apart from 2 Ch 21$^{16\text{f.}}$, might account for vv.$^{1-10}$, it is quite inadequate to explain vv.$^{11-14}$.

(2) Wellhausen holds that vv.$^{10-14}$ allude to the attitude displayed by Edom at the taking of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans, but he sees no reason for making vv.$^{1-7}$ [he considers vv.$^{8.\,9}$ interpolations] earlier. The attack upon Edom by treacherous friends and allies he cannot refer to any action on the part of Assyria, Babylon, or Persia, or of Moab or Ammon, not to speak of Judah or Israel, but must have in view, he thinks, the small nomadic neighbouring peoples.* The Edomites were, as a matter of fact, expelled from their original settlements by Arab tribes. This took place subsequent to the capture of Jerusalem, so that the main ground for separating vv.$^{10-14}$ from vv.$^{1-7}$ seems to Wellh. to fall away.† The Arabs had begun to press northwards in the beginning of the 6th cent. (perh. Zeph 2^{14}, cf. v.^{7}; Ezk 25$^{4.\,5.\,10}$), and at length we find them in B.C. 312 settled in Petra (Diodor. xix. 94); cf. the Arabic name *Gebal* for *Seir* in Ps 83^{8}, dating perhaps from about the same time. During the intermediate period we hear of Geshem or Gashmu the Arabian in Neh 2^{19} 6$^{1.\,2.\,6}$, and Wellh. thinks that Mal 1$^{1-5}$ (first half of 5th cent.) may refer to the same phase of the expulsion of the Edomites by the Arabians as is represented in Ob $^{1-14}$. Of course he does not contend that all the Edomites were driven into the Negeb (which, he thinks, Ob^{19} designates as the then dwelling-place of Esau). Many may have remained in their original homes, where under Arab rule they would be the special representatives of Nabatæan culture, and this would account for the numerous Hebrew proper names that occur among the Nabatæans. Wellh. does not attempt to fix the date of vv.$^{15-21}$, but simply remarks that v.^{21} might refer to the conquest of Idumæa by John Hyrcanus.

Wellh. is closely followed in the above conclusions by Nowack, who fixes as the *terminus a quo* for vv.$^{1-14}$ the date of the capture of Jerusalem (B.C. 586), but thinks it should probably be brought down to a date shortly after that of Malachi. Vv.$^{15-21}$ are much later, belonging to a time when eschatological hopes filled men's minds, but we are not in a position to fix the date more precisely. Both Wellh. and Nowack insist strongly that vv.$^{1-14}$ describe *what has actually happened*, not *what is going to happen*, to Edom. It is different with vv.$^{15-21}$, where, however, the punishment of Edom is to be simply an episode in the larger scheme of judgment *upon all nations*.*

Hitzig, who makes the whole book post-exilic, seeks to fix the date of Obadiah from the words in v.^{20} גָּלֻת הַחֵל הַזֶּה, which he renders 'the captivity of this fortress,' alluding to the fortress of Egypt to which many Jews were carried captive by Ptolemy Lagi (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XII. i. 1, *c. Ap.* ii. 4). In B.C. 312 Antigonus ordered an expedition against Petra, to which Hitzig would refer the words of Ob ^{1} 'We have heard a report,' etc. The chief objection to this is that before 312 (see above) Petra had ceased to belong to Edom and had passed under the rule of the Arabians.

(3) As we have seen above, the view strongly commends itself that vv.$^{1-9\,(\text{or }10)}$ are pre-exilic and borrowed pretty faithfully from an older source, whereas vv.$^{11-21}$ presuppose the capture of Jerusalem and the Exile.

This was the view of Ewald, and is adopted substantially by Kuenen, Cornill, Wildeboer, Driver, etc. According to Ewald (so also G. A. Smith), the later prophet lived in the Captivity (v.^{20}, which Ewald renders 'of this coast'). The occasion of the earlier prophecy Ewald (improbably) supposed to have been when Elath was restored by Rezin to the Edomites (2 K 16^{6} *Ḳerê* and RVm), and its author to have been a contemporary of Isaiah. König, who accepts the view that Obadiah consists of a pre-exilic and an exilic or post-exilic portion, analyzes thus: (*a*) vv.$^{1-10}$ [but v.^{7}, whose concluding words are pleonastic alongside of v.^{8}, is probably an expansion; perhaps also v.^{9} on account of the late קֶטֶל] $^{16\text{a}.\,18.\,19\text{a}\,20\text{b}}$; (*b*) vv.$^{11-15.\,16\text{b}.\,17.\,19\text{b}.\,20\text{a}.\,21}$.

It appears, upon the whole, most probable that not only the Exile but the Return belong to the past. Note that there is no prediction of the rebuilding and re-populating of the capital, Jerusalem. The expressions in the closing verses are best satisfied by a date such as Nowack postulates for vv.$^{1-14}$ (*c.* 432 B.C.), or, perhaps preferably, later still. It is unfortunate that the text and the meaning of these verses are so doubtful.

A good deal has been built on the mention in v.$^{21\,(20)}$ of **Sepharad** or (see Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 320) *Sĕphārēd*, for which the LXX has, AB *Ἐφραθά*, Q^{a} *Σαφαράδ*, Q* *Σφραθά*. Targ. Onk. gives אַסְפַּמְיָא, *i.e. Hispania*, Spain; hence the origin of the name *Sephardim* for Spanish as distinguished from German (*Ashkenazim*) Jews. If the MT is correct, the reference will be either to Çparda of the Persian inscriptions, which lay in Bithynia or Galatia—a district conquered by Cyrus and organized into a satrapy by Darius Hystaspis—or Shaparda in S.W. Media, mentioned in inscriptions of Sargon (B.C. 721–705). The latter reference is adopted by Schrader (*Keilinschrift u. Geschichtsforschung*, 116 ff., *KAT*^{2}, 446 f. [*COT* ii. 145 f.]), and is pronounced 'exceedingly probable' by Frd. Delitzsch (*Paradies*, 249). Sayce (*HCM* 482 ff.) and Cheyne (*Founders of OT Criticism*, 311 f.) contend for Çparda [G. A. Smith, who believes the later part of Obadiah to have been written during the Exile, would hold, if Çparda is meant, that the reference to it is a late insertion]. While Sayce is content to postulate a 'comparatively late date' for the prophecy, Cheyne would definitely assign it to the period (*c.* 350 B.C.) when Artaxerxes Ochus deported many Jews who had taken part in the great revolt against the Persian supremacy. Jl 3^{6} ('the children also of Judah and the children of Jerusalem have ye sold unto the Grecians [*Jĕvānîm*], that ye might remove them far from their border') may refer to this. It is noteworthy that in the inscriptions Çparda is always mentioned in immediate connexion with *Jaunâ*,

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* It may perhaps be not without interest, in view of the use of the term 'thieves' in v.^{5}, to compare the application to the same (?) tribes of the word *daikanu* (in the Tel el-Amarna tablets) which Winckler interprets 'robbers' or 'murderers.'

† G. A. Smith agrees with Wellh. that v.^{7} (which is not found in the parallel passage in Jer) probably refers to the expulsion of the Edomites by the Arabs, but assigns vv.$^{1-6}$ to an earlier date.

* For this conception, cf. Zeph 1$^{2\text{f.}}$ 3^{8}, Jer 25$^{32\text{f.}}$, Ezk 36–38, Is 45^{20} 63^{6} 66$^{16.\,18\text{f.}}$, 'Is' 34$^{1-3}$, Zec 12$^{3.\,4}$ 14$^{2.\,3.\,12-15}$.

i.e. 'Ionians' or 'Greeks.' See, further, art. SEPHARAD.

Cornill considers that the late prophecies 'Is' 34. 35, in which, as in Obadiah, eschatological hopes are connected with the downfall of Edom, were certainly known to the author of Obadiah.

The following parallels between Obadiah and Joel may be noted: Ob [10] and Jl 4 [Eng. 3] [19] have מחמס in common; Ob [11] and Jl 4 [Eng. 3] [3a] both contain the expression יַדּוּ גוֹרָל 'they cast lots,' which is found elsewhere only in Nah 3^{10}; Ob [15] and Jl 4 [Eng. 3] [4. 14]; Ob [17] and Jl 3^5 [Eng. 2^{32}] 4 [Eng. 3] [17b]. In all these instances the probability appears to be that it is Joel who quotes from Obadiah and not *vice versa* (see G. Buchanan Gray in *Expositor*, Sept. 1893, p. 208 ff., and cf. Cheyne, *Founders of OT Criticism*, 312, and Driver, *Joel and Amos*, 19 ff.).

iv. CONDITION OF TEXT, LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS, ETC.—The text of Obadiah is in several instances corrupt, and in not a few cases suspected of being so. It may, indeed, be suggested that Wellhausen and Nowack are unduly suspicious of the MT, and that the former is rather fond of dropping sarcastic remarks such as that on v.[7]: 'von אֵין תְּבוּנָה בּוֹ selber gilt—es ist kein Sinn darin.' Still the number of blanks which both these scholars leave in their translation of Obadiah and the frequent emendations they propose give a fairly correct impression of the condition of the text. The following may be noted as points connected with the vocabulary and the text that merit attention—

v.[2]. בְּאָדָם, the original reading, was probably corrupted into מְאֹד first by the loss of its final ם and then by the change of the initial ב into מ.

v.[3]. תֹּפְשִׂי must be supplied from Jer 49^{16} before מְרוֹם.

v.[4]. שִׂים must be changed into תָּשִׂים (LXX θῇς).

vv.[5-7]. The exclamation אֵיךְ נִדְמֵיתָה and the whole of v.[6] (in which Edom is spoken of in the 3rd person instead of being directly addressed, as formerly, by 'thou') are regarded by Wellh. and Nowack as interpolated. There can be little doubt that אִם שׁוֹדְדֵי should be deleted.—Note in v.[6] the ἅπ. λεγ. מַצְפֻּנָיו 'his treasures.'—v.[7b] is hopelessly corrupt. מָזוֹר, which in Hos 5^{13}, Is 1^6 means 'running sore,' cannot have the sense of 'snare' established for it. The LXX ἔνεδρα may rest upon a reading מָצוֹר or מְצוּרָה; Chald. has חקלא, Syr. ܟܡܢܐ. Aquila's rendering ἐπίδεσις (cf. his trn of מָזוֹר in Hos 5^{13} by συνδεσμός) implies same text as MT. לחמך, which is wanting in LXX, and to which it is very hard in the context to give a tolerable sense, has probably arisen by dittography from the preceding שלמך. Hitzig and Graetz propose to supply אַנְשֵׁי before it ('the men who ate thy bread'). It may be noted that v.[7a] is in the *ḳīnāh* measure (see LAMENTATIONS [BOOK OF], p. 20b); cf. Jer 38^{22b}, whose relation to Obadiah is doubtful, but it is clear that one of the two passages must have served as the model for the other (Driver, *LOT*⁶ 320).

v.[10]. מִקֶּטֶל, if genuine, should be attached to the beginning of v.[10] (so LXX, Syr. Vulg.), but it may have been originally a marginal gloss to מֵחֲמַס. Ewald, who gives it the same position as MT, takes it as='without battle.'

vv.[12-14]. [נֵכָר] נָכְרוֹ in v.[12] is a ἅπ. λεγ.; cf. נֵכֶר (also ἅπ. λεγ.) in Job 31^3. All these three verses are in the *ḳīnāh* measure. It is possible that v.[12], if it is genuine, should follow instead of preceding v.[13] (so Wellh., Nowack). For the thrice repeated אֵידָם (אֵידוֹ) in v.[13] the LXX has πόνων αὐτῶν, ὀλέθρου αὐτῶν, ἀπωλείας αὐτῶν (this last also in v.[12] for אֵידָם), which makes the correctness of the monotonous MT all the more suspected. For תִּשְׁלַחְנָה in v.[13] we ought certainly to read תִּשְׁלַח יָד (so Ewald, followed by Nowack, König and others).—פֶּרֶק in v.[14] is very doubtful (LXX διεκβολαί, Symm. φυγαδείας). The only other occurrence of the word is in Nah 3^1, where it means 'violence' (LXX ἀδικία; cf. the use of the verb פרק in Ps 7^3 [Eng.[2]] as applied to a lion tearing his prey in pieces). Graetz conjectures for Ob [14] הַפֶּרֶץ 'the breach,' but, as Nowack points out, the fugitives are thought of as already beyond the breach.

v.[15b]. Wellh. and Nowack transpose the order of the clauses of v.[15] and make [15b] the appropriate conclusion of v.[14] and of the original prophecy, while [15a] introduces the later supplement to this.

v.[16]. לָעוּ, if genuine, would describe the incoherent or meaningless utterances (cf. Job 6^3, Pr 20^{25}) of an intoxicated man, but we should probably emend (with Wellh. and Nowack) to נָעוּ 'reel *or* stagger.'

v.[20f.] have suffered a good deal of corruption. A verb to גָּלֻת may have dropped out, and הַחֵל is doubtful. LXX ἡ ἀρχή must have connected the word in some way with הָחֵל 'begin.' Neither 'host' nor 'fortress' seems to give an appropriate sense, and Ewald's 'coast' is purely conjectural. Possibly for אֲשֶׁר כְּנַעֲנִים we should read אֶרֶץ כְּ׳ 'land of the Canaanites,' *i.e.* Phœnicia. In v.[21] מוֹשִׁעִים 'saviours' is suspected by Wellhausen and Nowack. Graetz (with LXX, Syr., Aq., Theod.) reads נוֹשָׁעִים 'those who have been saved by Jahweh.' Perhaps he is right in reading מֵהַר for בְּהַר (LXX ἐξ ὄρους).

Like Joel, which is probably later still, Obadiah is written in good Hebrew, and it cannot be said that the *diction* of the post-exilic portion shows any marked signs of lateness as compared with vv.[1-10]. The only Aramaism in the book is קטל of v.[9b], and, as we have seen above, this may have been originally a marginal gloss.

The closest parallels to the *spirit* of Obadiah, with its fierce hatred of Edom and its threatenings against the *goyim*, are to be found in Ezk $25^{12ff.}$ 35, Ps 137, La $4^{21f.}$, Is 34 f. (cf. especially Ob [15] and Is 34^2) 63^{1-6}.

LITERATURE.—(*A*) Commentaries: Caspari, *Der Prophet Ob. ausgelegt*, 1842; Ewald, *Prophets of OT* [Eng. tr.], ii. 277 ff.; Seydel, *Der Proph. Ob.* 1869; Hitzig-Steiner (in *Kgf. Exeg. Hdbch.*), 1881; Keil², 1888; Meyrick (in *Speaker's Comm.*); T. T. Perowne (in *Cambridge Bible*), 1889; von Orelli (in Strack and Zöckler's *Kgf. Kommentar*), 1888; Pusey, *The Minor Prophets*; Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten*, 1893; Nowack, do. 1897; Peters (Rom. Cath.), *Die Prophetie Obadjas*, 1892; Bachmann, *Der Proph. Ob.* 1892. Reference may be made also to Reuss, *AT* ii. 560 ff.; Farrar, *The Minor Prophets* (in 'Men of the Bible' series), 175 ff.; G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets* (in 'Expositor's Bible'), ii. 163 ff.; Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, 33 ff.

(*B*) Works of Introduction: Driver, *LOT*⁶ xviii, 320 f. Add. and Corr. xxii; Wildeboer, *Lit. d. AT*, 216, 303 ff.; the *Einleitungen* of König (p. 360 ff.), Strack (p. 102 ff.), Cornill² (p. 178 ff.), Kuenen (§ 72, 3–4).

(*C*) Miscellaneous: Delitzsch in *Zeitschr. f. luth. Theologie*, 1851, p. 91 ff.; Boehme in *ZATW*, vii. (1882), p. 224 ff.; Vaihinger in Merx' *Archiv*, i. 488 ff.; Budde in *ZATW* xii. (1887) p. 40 ff.; Graf on Jer 49; Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, 315 f.; Cheyne, *Founders of OT Criticism*, 311 f.; Sayce, *HCM* 482 f.; Schrader, *Keilinschrift u. Geschichtsforschung*, 116 ff., *KAT*² 446 f. [*COT* ii. 145 f.]; Frd. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 249.

J. A. SELBIE.

OBAL.—Gn 10^{28}. See EBAL, No. 1.

OBDIA (A Ὀβδία, B Ὀββειά), 1 Es 5^{38}, the same as **Habaiah** (Ὀβαιά), Ezr 2^{61}, or **Hobaiah**, Neh 7^{63}.—The Vat. MS here preserves the more correct form of the name.

OBDURACY.—See HARDENING.

OBED (עוֹבֵד).—**1.** The son of Boaz and Ruth (Ru 4^{17} Ὠβήδ) of whom the women said to Naomi at his birth: 'He shall be unto thee a restorer of life and a nourisher of thine old age' (Ru 4^{15}). He was nursed in his infancy by Naomi, and grew up to become the father of Jesse the father of David, and an ancestor of our Lord (cf. Mt 1^5, Lk 3^{32}). There seems no reason to doubt that David was really the grandson of Obed. **2.** A descendant of a daughter of Sheshan who was married to an Egyptian servant (1 Ch $2^{37f.}$, B Ὠβήδ, A Ἰωβήδ). Obed's father's name was Ephlal. His son's name was Jehu. **3.** One of 'the mighty men of the armies' of David (1 Ch 11^{47}, B א Ἰωβήθ, A Ἰωβήδ). **4.** A son of Shemaiah and grandson of Obed-edom, who belonged apparently to 'the courses of the doorkeepers' (1 Ch 26^{1-7}, B Ὠβήδ, A Ἰωβήδ). **5.** The father of Azariah, who was one of 'the captains of hundreds' who combined with Jehoiada for the deposition of Athaliah and the setting up of Joash as king (2 Ch 23^1, B Ὠβήδ, A Ἰωβήδ).

H. A. REDPATH.

OBED-EDOM (עֹבֵד אֱדֹם. The second part of the name is probably but not certainly that of a god. Cf. the similar names 'Abd-'Ashtart, 'Abd-Melḳart, etc., and see Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam.* p. 206 f.; LXX B Ἀβεδδαρά, Ἀβεδδαράμ, Ἀβαεδόμ, Ἀβδεδόμ, Ἀβδοδόμ, Ἰαβδεδόμ; A shows the additional forms Ἀβεδδαδόμ, Ἀβεδδαράν, Ἰαβδοδόμ).—**1.** A Philistine, a native of Gath, who lived in or near Jerusalem. It was in his house that David deposited the ark after the death of Uzzah, and here it remained three months, bringing a blessing by its presence (2 S $6^{10f.}$). In the parallel narrative, 1 Ch 13^{14}, the Chronicler characteristically writes, 'the ark of God remained *with the family of Obed-edom in his house.*' The last three words here refer not to O. but to the ark. This would have been rendered evident if RV had changed 'his' into 'its.' The Chronicler was unable to conceive of the ark remaining in the house of an uncircumcised Philistine, so he constructs a house for it within the house, or on the property, of Obed-edom. (See Kittel's note, *ad loc.*, in Haupt's *OT*, and Bertholet, *Stellung d. Isr. z. d. Fremden*, p. 182 f.). It is in all probability the same O. that appears as **2.** The eponym of a family of doorkeepers in the temple, 1 Ch $15^{18.\,24}$ 16^{38} $26^{4.\,8.\,15}$, 2 Ch 25^{24}. It is easy to understand how the story of O.'s connexion with the ark might transform a Gittite into a Levite (cf. the analogous cases of Samuel, who in 1 S 1^{1} is an Ephraimite, but in 1 Ch 6^{28} a Levite; and the temple-guard, which in 2 K 11 consists of the king's foreign mercenaries, but is converted in 2 Ch 23 into Levitical watchmen). **3.** The eponym of a post-exilic family of singers, 1 Ch 15^{21} 16^{5}.

J. A. SELBIE.

OBEDIENCE, OBEY.—These terms are, with two exceptions (RV Gn 49^{10}, Pr 30^{17}, where they render the rare word יִקְּהָה), the translation in OT of the Hebrew word שָׁמַע *shāma'*, to 'hear' (so RV Jer 11^{3}, where AV has 'obey'), to 'hearken,' by which term it is rendered AV Gn 3^{17}, Lv 26^{14}, Dt 18^{19} etc., and often in RV, where AV translates 'obey' (*e.g.* Ex 5^{2}, Dt 4^{30}, Jos 5^{6} etc.). In NT it has several Greek equivalents. The most frequent is ὑπακούω, lit. to 'hearken,' the LXX tr. of the Heb. שָׁמַע. Other NT words for 'obey' are πείθομαι, lit. to 'be persuaded' (so Ac $5^{36.\,37}$, Ro 2^{8}, Gal 5^{7} etc. The use of the negative forms ἀπειθέω, ἀπειθής, ἀπείθεια is frequent, to denote disobedience), and πειθαρχέω, a word expressing obedience to rulers (so Ac $5^{29.\,32}$ 'We ought to obey God rather than men,' Tit 3^{1}). ὑποτάσσομαι, which AV twice renders 'obey,' means properly to 'be subject,' a tr^{n} which RV rightly substitutes in 1 Co 14^{34}, Tit $2^{5.\,9}$.

While occasionally used to express a relation between man and man (*e.g.* the relation between parents and children, Dt $21^{18.\,19}$; the case of the children of Jonathan the son of Rechab, Jer $35^{14.\,18}$; cf. Pr 30^{17}), or between subjects and rulers (2 S 22^{45}, 1 Ch 29^{23}, Is 11^{14}, cf. Gn 49^{10}), the characteristic use of obedience in the Bible is to denote the right relation between man and God. It may be called the fundamental OT virtue. As such it is distinctly contrasted by Samuel with sacrifice in the classical passage, 1 S 15^{22}, 'Hath J″ as great delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices as in obeying the voice of J″? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams.' It is the one thing which God requires (Jer 11^{7}), and which from the first determines His attitude to His creatures. It was the cause of the blessing of Abraham (Gn 22^{18} 26^{5}). It is the condition of Israel's receiving the covenant blessing (Ex 19^{5} 'Now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me among all peoples.' Cf. Ex 24^{7}, Dt $11^{27.\,28}$ 30^{1-10}, Jer 11^{1-8}). As such it is made prominent in all later renewals of the covenant (Jos 24^{24}, 1 S $12^{14.\,15}$; cf. Neh $9^{16.\,17.\,26}$), and is insisted upon by the prophets as the condition of those future blessings to which they look forward (Is 1^{19}, Zec 6^{15}). Disobedience, on the other hand, is threatened with the severest penalties (Dt 11^{28} 28^{62}, Lv $26^{14f.}$, Jer 9^{13} 18^{10}, Is 65^{12}), even to utter destruction (Dt 8^{20} 'As the nations which J″ maketh to perish before you, so shall ye perish; because ye would not obey the voice of J″ your God'; cf. Jer 12^{17}). It is the explanation of all Israel's misfortunes, whether in the past or the present (Jos 5^{6}, the wanderings in the wilderness; Jg $2^{2.\,3}$, the failure to conquer the inhabitants of Canaan; 2 K 18^{12}, the Captivity; cf. Neh 9^{17}, Zeph 3^{2}, Is 42^{24}, Dn $9^{10.\,11}$, and esp. Jer, who continually emphasizes the disobedience of Israel, $7^{23.\,24}$ 11^{3} 17^{23} 22^{21} 32^{23} 40^{3} 44^{23}). No matter how plausible the prophet, if he urge to disobedience, his message is to be disregarded (Dt 13^{1-5}). No matter how earnest the prayer, if contradicted by a disobedient life, it can hope for no acceptance (Dt $26^{14.\,15}$, Jer $3^{13.\,14}$). Yet, on the other hand, no sin is so great but it shall receive forgiveness, if penitence manifest itself in the fruit of obedience (Dt 4^{30} $30^{2.\,8}$, Jer 26^{13}).

While the duty of obedience is specially associated in OT with the precepts of the Law (so Dt 30^{10}, Ex 24^{7}, Jer 44^{23}), it is not restricted thereto. No commandment of J″, however delivered, can safely be disregarded (cf. Ex 5^{2}, the case of Pharaoh; 1 S $15^{19.\,20}$ 28^{18}, Saul, in the case of Amalek; 1 K 20^{36}, the prophet who disobeyed J″; Jer 38^{20} $42^{13.\,21}$ $44^{4.\,7}$, the matter of the Egyptian alliance). Hence it is required, not merely in the case of J″ Himself (Job $36^{11.\,12}$, cf. Ex 23^{20-22}, the *Mal'ak J″*; Pr $5^{7.\,13}$, the divine Wisdom), but of His human representatives (Joshua, Nu 27^{20}, Jos 1^{17}; the judges, Jg 2^{17}; Samuel, 1 S 8^{19}; the future prophet, Dt 18^{19}; the servant of J″, Is 50^{10}).

In many points the NT usage follows the OT (cf. the references to Israel in Ro 10^{16}, Ac 7^{39}, He 2^{2} 11^{8}). In a few cases obedience is predicated of inanimate objects (the wind and the sea, Mt 8^{27}, Mk 4^{41}, Lk 8^{25}; the mountains, Lk 17^{6}), or of the evil spirits in the presence of Christ (Mk 1^{27}). With these exceptions, it is used of men, either in their human relations (children to parents, Eph 6^{1}, Col 3^{20}; wives to husbands, 1 P 3^{6}; servants to masters, Eph 6^{5}, Col 3^{22}), or more frequently in their relations to God (Ac 5^{29}), to Christ (2 Co 10^{5}), or to their human representatives, as the apostles (Paul, 2 Th 3^{14}, Ph 2^{12}, 2 Co 2^{9}, Philem ^{21}; Titus, 2 Co 7^{15}). Characteristic of the Greek usage is the impersonal use of the object. Men are said to be servants of sin (Ro 6^{12}), unrighteousness (Ro 2^{8}), obedience (Ro 6^{16}), the truth (Ro 2^{8}, Gal 5^{7}), the teaching (Ro 6^{17}), the word (1 P 3^{1}), the gospel (2 Th 1^{8}, 1 P 4^{17}), the heavenly vision (Ac 26^{19}).

The importance of obedience is no less emphasized in NT than in OT. It is at once the cause and the condition of salvation. Through one act of obedience (Ro 5^{19}) Christ became to all His followers the author of an eternal salvation (He 5^{9}). But this salvation is only to be obtained on condition that they also obey (He 5^{9}). In His farewell address to His disciples Christ makes obedience the supreme test of love (Jn $14^{15.\,23}$, cf. Dt 5^{10}). Paul declares that the obedience of the Christian should extend even to the very thoughts (2 Co 10^{5}). On the other hand, disobedience is the supreme evil. By Adam's act of disobedience sin entered the world (Ro 5^{19}). Israel's troubles in the days of the old covenant were due to the same cause. Still worse is the case of those who disobey under the new covenant (He 2^{2}). Such shall receive dreadful punishment, even eternal destruction at the Parousia of Christ (2 Th 1$^{8.\,9}$).

Since the great duty which God requires under the new covenant is faith in Christ, obedience for the Christian takes the form of faith, as Ro 1^{5} 16^{26}, where the two words are combined in the expression 'the obedience of faith' (cf. Ac 6^{7}, He 11^{8}, the case of Abraham). Hence obedience receives in the Epistles the technical meaning of acceptance of the Christian religion. So without qualifying words Ro 15^{18} 16^{19}, 1 P 1^{2} (cf. Ro 6^{17} 'Ye became obedient from the heart to that form of teaching whereunto ye were delivered'); Gal 5^{7}, Ro 2^{8}, obedient to the truth; 1 P 3^{1}, the word; 2 Th 1^{8}, 1 P 4^{17}, the gospel. The phrase 'children of obedience' is used in 1 P 1^{14} as equivalent to Christians. On the other hand, the expression 'sons of disobedience' is used by St. Paul to denote those who belong to this world (Eph 2^{2} 5^{6}, Col 3^{6}).

The great example of obedience is Christ, who 'humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the cross' (Ph 2^{8}); who, 'though he was a Son, yet learned obedience by the things which he suffered; and having been made perfect, he became unto all them that obey him the author of eternal salvation' (He 5^{9}, cf. Ro 5^{19}). Hence it should be the effort of every Christian to bring every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ (2 Co 10^{5}).

LITERATURE.—Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex. sub* ὑπακούω, πείθομαι, and cognates; Harless, *Christian Ethics* (Eng. tr.), 115-125; Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of NT*, Index; Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, 363-380. The subject is treated homiletically by H. P. Liddon, *Some Words of Christ*, 63; P. Brooks, *Light of the World*, 340; F. W. Robertson, *Sermons*, ii. 94; H. E. Manning, *Sermons*, i. 117, 129, 242, 287. W. ADAMS BROWN.

OBEISANCE.—'Obeisant' and 'obeisance,' coming through the French, have been superseded by 'obedient' and 'obedience' which came directly from the Lat. *obediens.* Maundeville, *Travels*, 155, says, 'In that Lond thei have a Queen, that governethe alle that Lond; and alle thei ben obeyssant to hire.' And Berners, *Froissart*, p. 85 (Globe ed.), has, 'And when the month was expired that they of Segur should give up their town, the earl sent thither, and they of the town gave up and became under the obeisance of the King of England.' The form is already rare in the sixteenth century. When found it is almost always in the phrase 'make obeisance' or 'do obeisance.' Shakespeare has the subst. once (the adj. not at all) in the phrase 'Call him "madam," do him obeisance'—*Tam. Shrew*, Ind. i. 108. But AV has retained from Tindale, as the tr. of שָׁחָה *shāḥāh* (in its Hithpael conj.), 'make obeisance' in Gn 37$^{7.\,9}$ 43^{28}, 2 Ch 24^{17}, and 'do obeisance' in Ex 18^{7}, 2 S 1^{2} 14^{4} 15^{5}, 1 K 1^{16}. To the examples of 'do obeisance' RV makes some additions, viz., for AV 'do reverence' in 2 S 9^{6}, 1 K 1^{31}; for AV 'bow oneself' in 1 S 24^{8} 28^{14}, 2 S 9^{8} 14^{22}, 1 K 1^{53}; and for AV 'humbly beseech' in 2 S 16^{4}. The Heb. verb in the form so tr^{d} means to prostrate oneself in reverence or worship, and is variously rendered both in AV and RV, though its usual tr. is 'worship.' See WORSHIP. J. HASTINGS.

OBELISK.—Hos 3^{4} RVm. See PILLAR.

OBETH (B Οὐβήν, A Ὠβήθ), 1 Es 8^{32}=**Ebed,** Ezr 8^{6}.

OBIL (אוֹבִיל; B Ἀβίας, A Οὐβίας; Luc. Ὠβίλ).—The overseer of David's camels, 1 Ch 27^{30}. The name is probably Arabic (cf. أَبِل 'able to manage camels'; see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*).

OBLATION.—See OFFERING and SACRIFICE.

OBJECT.—This verb occurs twice in AV: Wis 2^{12} 'He upbraideth us with our offending the law, and objecteth to our infamy the transgressings of our education' (ἐπιφημίζει ἡμῖν ἁμαρτήματα παιδείας ἡμῶν, Vulg. 'diffamat in nos peccata disciplinæ nostræ,' Gen. 'blameth us as transgressors of discipline'; RV 'layeth to our charge sins against our discipline'); and Ac 24^{19} 'Who ought to have been here before thee, and object, if they had ought against me,' where the verb so translated is κατηγορέω (κατά and ἀγορεύω, to speak against one in open court), which is rendered 'accuse' in Ac 24^{2}. The verb was also used transitively in the same sense of public accusation, as Mk 14^{60} Rhem., 'Answerest thou nothing to these things that are objected to thee of these?' and Adams on 2 P 1^{4}, 'The masters of the pythoness objected this against Paul and Silas.' J. HASTINGS.

OBOTH (אֹבֹת; Ὠβώθ, B has Σωβώθ in Nu 33$^{43.\,44}$).—A station in the journeyings of the children of Israel, mentioned both in the itinerary of Nu 33 and in Nu 21$^{10.\,11}$ as preceding Iye-abarim, and therefore in the neighbourhood of Moab. Nothing definite is known as to its position.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

OBSCURITY.—After the Lat. *obscuritas* and the Fr. *obscurité*, 'obscurity' is used literally in AV for darkness, gloom. There is no difference recognized between the two words 'darkness' and 'obscurity.' Obscurity is the tr. of אֹפֶל *'ōphel*, in Is 29^{18}, and of חֹשֶׁךְ *ḥōshek*, in Is 58^{10} 59^{9}. When both words occur, RV translates *'ōphel* by 'obscurity' and *ḥōshek* by 'darkness.' The use of 'gloom' (instead of AV 'dimness') for *mû'āph* or *mā'ûph* (Is 8^{22} 9^{1}) probably prevented the employment of that word. Obscurity also occurs in Ad. Est 11^{8} (Gr. γνόφος, RV 'gloominess'). This literal use of the word is rare in English. The adj. occurs only in Pr 20^{20} 'his lamp shall be put out in obscure darkness,' Heb. בֶּאֱשׁוּן חֹשֶׁךְ (*Ḳĕrê* for בְּאִישׁוֹן, which means 'in the pupil [of the eye] of darkness': cf. 7^{9} 'in the black and dark night,' lit. 'in the pupil of the night and of darkness,' the pupil being the darkest part of the eye), RV 'in the blackest darkness.' See APPLE OF THE EYE. J. HASTINGS.

OBSERVE, OBSERVATION.—The verb to observe is used throughout the AV in the sense of 'give heed to.' Thus Pr 23^{26} 'My son, give me thine heart, and let thine eyes observe my ways' (RV 'delight in,' the translation of the *Kethibh*); Gn 37^{11} 'his father observed the saying' (RV 'kept the saying in mind'); Hos 14^{8} 'I have heard him, and observed him' (אֲנִי עָנִיתִי וַאֲשׁוּרֶנּוּ; RV 'I have answered and will regard him'; cf. Shaks. *Hamlet*, III. i. 162, 'the observed of all observers'); Jon 2^{8} 'They that observe lying vanities forsake their own mercy' (RV 'regard,' as in Ps 31^{6} AV and RV); Sir 4^{20} 'Observe the opportunity and beware of evil' (συντήρησον καιρόν); Mk 6^{20} 'For Herod feared John, knowing that he was a just man and an holy, and observed him' (συνετήρει, AVm 'kept him,' or 'saved him'; RV 'kept him safe'). In the last passage 'observed him' means 'gave him reverence,' which is the tr. of Tind. followed by Cran., Gen., and the Bishops; cf. Shaks. *II Henry IV*. IV. iv. 30, 'He is gracious, if he be observed.' But the Greek verb means either *to keep* (laws, etc.) or else *to preserve*, and the latter is plainly the meaning here. See Swete *in loc.* Wyclif and the Rhem. Version have 'kept him' after Vulg. *custodiebat eum.*

'Observation' in Lk 17^{20}, 'the kingdom of God cometh not with observation,' means *attentive* *watching* (Gr. παρατήρησις), as in Walton, *Compleat Angler*, 99, ‘I told you Angling is an art, either by practice or a long observation or both.’ The word also occurs in Neh 13^{14} AVm (text ‘office,’ RV ‘observance’), where it means ‘ceremony,’ ‘rite,’ or to use the modern word in RV ‘observance.’ In this sense ‘observation’ was once common. Thus, *Rhem. NT* on Ac 17^{22}, ‘Paul calleth not them superstitious for adoring the true and only God with much devotion . . . or any other Christian observation.’

Observer of Times—See DIVINATION, SOOTHSAYING.
J. HASTINGS.

OBSTINACY.—See HARDENING.

OCCUPY.—The verb to occupy has become much restricted in meaning since 1611. Following the Lat. *occupare* (*ob-capere*?) it expresses in AV usually the idea of being ‘taken up with’ anything. (1) A good example, and not far removed from mod. use, is He 13^9 ‘meats which have not profited them that have been occupied therein’ (TR οἱ περιπατήσαντες, edd. οἱ περιπατοῦντες, RV ‘they that occupied themselves,’ RVm ‘walked’). Cf. Erasmus, *Commune Crede*, fol. 14, ‘The science of physike . . . treateth and is occupied about thynges which do helpe or hurte the helthe of the body’; *Rhem. NT* on Mk 3, ‘He so occupieth him selfe for soules, that his kinne thinke him madde.’ (2) Still nearer the mod. use is 1 Co 14^{16} ‘how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks?’ (ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου, RV ‘filleth the place’). Cf. again Erasmus, *Com. Crede*, fol. 17, ‘The mystycall body therefore of Christe, occupieth the iiii. parte of the symbole or crede.’ (3) But the word sometimes means ‘use’ or ‘employ,’ as Ex 38^{24} ‘All the gold that was occupied for the work in all the work of the holy place, even the gold of the offering, was twenty and nine talents’ (כָּל־הַזָּהָב הֶעָשׂוּי, RV ‘that was used’); Jg 16^{11} ‘If they bind me fast with new ropes that never were occupied’ (אֲשֶׁר לֹא־נַעֲשָׂה בָהֶם מְלָאכָה, lit. as AVm and RV ‘wherewith no work hath been done’). Cf. Gosson, *Schoole of Abuse*, p. 72, ‘Iron with muche occupiying is worne too naught, with little handeling gathereth rust’; Hamilton, *Catechism*, fol. xvi. ‘Thai lufe nocht God with al thair strenth, quhasævir occupyis yair strenth in doing evil deids’; Lv 7^{24} Tind. ‘Neverthelater the fatt of the beest that dyeth alone and the fatt of that which is torne with wilde beestes, maye be occupide in all maner uses’; and Skelton in Skeat’s *Specimens*, p. 146—

> ‘And of this poore vassall
> He made a kynge royall,
> And gave him a realme to rule,
> That occupyed a showell,
> A mattoke and a spade.’

(4) And, lastly, *trade with*, as Ezk 27^9 ‘all the ships of the sea with their mariners were in thee to occupy thy merchandise’; so 27^{27}, where the Heb. verb is the same (עָרַב); RV retains ‘occupy,’ but with ‘exchange’ in margin. In $27^{16. 19. 22}$ another verb (נָתַן) is translated ‘occupy’ (‘they occupied in thy fairs’); RV has ‘traded.’ In 27^{21} ‘they occupied with thee in lambs,’ the Heb. expression (הֵמָּה סֹחֲרֵי יָדֵךְ) is lit. as AVm and RV ‘they were the merchants of thy hand.’ Another example of the same meaning is Lk 19^{13} ‘And he called his ten servants, and delivered them ten pounds, and said unto them, Occupy till I come’ (πραγματεύσασθε; RV ‘Trade ye *herewith*’). The tr. ‘occupy’ here is from Cranmer, the Bishops, and the Rheims; Wyc. has 1382 ‘marchaundise ye,’ 1388 ‘chaffare ye’; Tind. ‘by and sell,’ followed by Geneva. This meaning of ‘occupy’ may be illustrated from Coverdale, as Is $23^{17. 18}$ ‘The Lorde shall viset the citie of Tirus, and it shal come agayne to hyr Marchaundyse, and shal occupie with al the Kingdomes that be in the worlde. But all his occupienge and wynnynge shalbe halowed unto the Lorde’; or from the Rhemish Version, as Mt 25^{16} ‘And he that had received the five talents, went his way, and occupied with the same, and gained other five.’
J. HASTINGS.

OCCURRENT.—In 1 K $5^{4\ [\text{Heb. } 18]}$ the Heb. word פֶּגַע *pega‘* (which is elsewhere found only in Ec 9^{11} and is rendered in EV ‘chance’) is translated in AV ‘occurrent’; ‘there is neither adversary nor evil occurrent’ (פֶּגַע רָע). RV retains ‘occurrent,’ but Amer. RV prefers ‘occurrence,’ which is the modern form. The LXX tr. is ἁμάρτημα πονηρόν, the Vulg. (supposed to have suggested the Eng.) *occursus malus*; Wyclif (1382) has ‘yvel agencomynge,’ 1388 ‘yvel asailyng’; Cov. ‘evell hynderaunce’; Gen. ‘evil to resiste,’ followed by the Bishops; Dou. ‘il rencounter.’ The form ‘occurrent’ was used both as an adj. and as a subst. As an adj. we find it in Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* v. 78, ‘After gifts of education there follow general abilities to work things above nature, grace to cure men of bodily diseases, supplies against occurrent defects and impediments.’ As a subst. it is found in Shaks. (*Hamlet*, v. ii. 341), who also twice uses ‘occurrence’ (*T. Night*, v. i. 264, *Henry V.* v. Prol. 40). Cf. also Chapman, *Widow’s Tears*, iii. 1, ‘These are strange occurrents, brother, but pretty and pathetical’; Bacon, *Henry VII.* (Pitt Press ed. p. 68), ‘He paid the king large tribute of his gratitude in diligent advertisement of the occurrents of Italy.’ Beaumont and Fletcher, *Beggar’s Bush*, i. 1—

> ‘My five years’ absence hath kept me stranger
> So much to all the occurrents of country.’

J. HASTINGS.

OCHIELUS (B ’Οχίηλος, A ’Οζίηλος, AV Ochiel), 1 Es 1^9=**Jeiel**, 2 Ch 35^9.

OCHRAN (עָכְרָן, ’Εχράν).—Father of Pagiel, an Asherite prince, Nu 1^{13} 2^{27} $7^{72. 77}$ 10^{26}.

OCIDELUS (A ’Ωκείδηλος, B ’Ωκαίληδος), 1 Es 9^{22}, a corruption of **Jozabad** in Ezr 10^{22}.

OCINA (’Οκεινά) occurs only in Jth 2^{28}, where it is grouped with Sidon, Tyre, etc., as terror-stricken at the approach of Holofernes. The names of the cities are given in order, proceeding southward along the sea-coast. First come Sidon and Tyre, then follow Sur,* Ocina, and Jemnaan. Sur has been taken for Tyre (Smith’s *DB*, art. ‘Ocina’), and this (*Ṣûr*) is the modern name of that town. But the name of Tyre is already given in its usual form, and it is more natural to suppose that Sur refers to another place. Tremelius and Junius speak of it as *locus maritimus inter Tyrum et Ptolemaida*, and identify it with Sandalium (Scandalium), the modern *Iskanderûna*. A short distance south of *Iskanderûna* lie the very ancient ruins of *Umm el-‘Amûd*, the older name of which seems to have been *Turân* (Baedeker, *Pal.*^{3} 272). This is a more probable identification, and, if accepted, we pass naturally to Acre as the next important city to the south. The mediæval name Acon (see art. ACCO) may very well represent the older Ocina, which Ptolemais had failed altogether to supplant. If Jemnaan is found at Jabneel (which see) the distance from Acco is very great; this, however, does not tell against the identification suggested.
W. EWING.

ODED.—**1.** (עֹדֵד) The father of the prophet Azariah who lived in the reign of Asa, 2 Ch 15^1 (B 'Ωδήδ, A 'Αδάδ). In v.^{8} 'Oded' of MT and B ('Αδάδ) is a mistake (through wrong marginal gloss or otherwise) for 'Azariah' (so A and Pesh.). See AZARIAH, No. **3.** **2.** (עֹדֵד, 'Ωδήδ) A prophet who protested against the proposal to enslave the Judahites who were taken prisoners upon the occasion of Pekah's invasion of the Southern kingdom. Being supported by certain of the heads of Ephraim, Oded succeeded in obtaining for the captives kindly treatment and release, 2 Ch $28^{9ff.}$ J. A. SELBIE.

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* B ’Ασσούρ, Bab ℵ$^{a? a.b, c.a}$, A Σούρ, ℵ* Τούρ.

ODOLLAM.—2 Mac 12^{38} AV and RVm. See ADULLAM.

ODOMERA ('Οδομηρά ℵA, 'Οδοαρρής B, *Odares*).—A nomad chief, or possibly a Syrian officer, slain by Jonathan during the war with Bacchides, about B.C. 158 (1 Mac 9^{66}). The form of the name in the AV, Odonarkes, seems to have no authority to support it.

OF.—This is the most frequent preposition in the Eng. language. Probably (says Earle) it occurs as often as all the other prepositions put together. But frequent as it is, its occurrence now is moderate when compared with the usage of the 15th and 16th centuries. By the beginning of the 17th cent. it was getting displaced by other prepositions in some of its most common meanings, as by 'by' when expressing the agent. But the language of AV, being so much older than the current speech of 1611, is full of the word in meanings which were archaic even then, and are now quite obsolete.

The reason of its frequent use is that 'of' represented not only the original Anglo-Saxon *of* but also the French *de*. The Anglo-Sax. *of* had the meaning of 'from' or 'away from' (Goth. *af*, Lat. *ab*, Gr. ἀπό, Sansk. *apa*), as 'Alys us of yfle' = 'Deliver us from evil.' And this must be regarded as the starting-point in any history of the word. But it is impossible to work out the meanings derivatively from this primitive idea, because of the entrance of the French *de* and the demand for 'of' to render its various uses. This first got mixed up with and then drove out the earlier word, so that as now used 'of' is the translation of a French word; its form alone is English.

The following are its chief archaic or obsolete meanings in AV:—

1. *From* or *away from*, especially in the phrase 'forth of,' as Jth 2^{21} 'They went forth of Nineve' (ἀπῆλθον ἐκ, RV 'departed out of'); 2 Mac 4^{34} 'yet persuaded he him to come forth of the sanctuary' (ἐκ τοῦ ἀσύλου προελθεῖν); Mk 11^8 'Others cut down branches of the trees' (so 1611, mod. edd. 'off'; Gr. ἐκ, RV 'from'). Cf. Dt 4^{37} Tind. 'And because he loved thy fathers, therfore he chose their seed after them and broughte the out with his presence and with his mightye power of Egipte'; Ac 21^{30} Rhem. 'And apprehending Paul, they drewe him forth of the temple.' See FORTH. This and similar meanings are now generally expressed by 'off,' which is merely another (perhaps a stronger) spelling of 'of' (as 'after' is its comparative). 'Off' now represents the original Anglo-Sax. 'of' better than 'of' itself does. Coverdale scarcely distinguishes 'of' and 'off,' as Job $41^{19.20}$ 'Out of his mouth go torches and fyre brandes, out of his nostrels there goeth a smoke, like as out off an hote seetinge pott'; Zec $13^{1.2}$ 'In that tyme shall the house off David, and the citesyns off Jerusalem have an open well, to wash of synne and unclennesse. And then (sayeth the Lorde of hoostes) I will destroye the names of Idols out off the londe.'

2. The same meaning is found *metaphorically* after verbs of delivering. Thus Jer 30^{17} 'I will heal thee of thy wounds.' So Shaks. *K. John*, III. iv. 56, 'I may be delivered of these woes.'

3. Then 'of' expresses generally the *source* or *origin*, as Gn 2^7 'God formed man of the dust of the ground' (עָפָר מִן־הָאֲדָמָה, lit. 'formed man dust from the ground'); Ex 36^3 'They received of Moses all the offering' (מִלִּפְנֵי מֹשֶׁה, lit. 'from before Moses'); La 3^{22} '(It is of) the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed' (חַסְדֵי יהוה). So in NT often, as Mk 1^{30} 'sick of a fever' (πυρέσσουσα); Jn 6^{46} 'save he which is of God' (παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, RV 'from God'); Jn 15^{15} 'all things that I have heard of my Father' (παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου, RV 'from my Father'); 17^7 'All things, whatsoever thou hast given me, are of thee' (παρὰ σοῦ, RV 'from thee'); Ac 17^9 'When they had taken security of Jason' (παρὰ τοῦ 'Ιάσονος, RV 'from Jason'); Ph 1^{15} 'Some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife; and some also of good-will' (διὰ φθόνον καὶ ἔριν, τινὲς δὲ καὶ δι' εὐδοκίαν); 1 P 5^2 'of a ready mind' (ἑκουσίως); especially as tr. of ἀπό, as Mt 7^{16} 'Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?' 16^{21} 'suffer many things of the elders'; $17^{25.26}$ 'Of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute? Of their own children or of strangers? Peter saith unto him, Of strangers' (RV always 'from'); 16^{13} 'He shall not speak of himself' (ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, RV 'from himself'); or as tr. of ἐκ or ἐξ, as Mt 21^{25} 'The baptism of John whence was it, from heaven or of men?' (ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, ἢ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, RV 'from heaven or from men'); 1 Co 1^{30} 'But of him are ye in Christ Jesus'; 2 Co 5^1 'We have a building of God'; Ja 4^1 'come they not hence, even of your lusts?' There are many clear examples in the older versions and early writers, as Jn 15^{26} Wyc. 'A spirit of truthe, whiche cometh of the fadir'; 1 P 4^{19} Wyc. 'the feithful maker of nought'; Gn 2^{23} Tind. 'This shall be called woman, because she was take of the man'; Gn 44^5 Tind. 'Is that not the cuppe of which my lorde drynketh?'; He 10^{38} Rhem. 'my just liveth of faith' (ἐκ πίστεως); Erasmus, *Crede*, fol. 59, 'All thynges are, ex ipso et per ipsum (id est) of hym, and by hym'; More, *Utopia*, i. 40 (Lumby's ed.), 'But if the thing be loste or made away, then the value of it is paide of the gooddes of such offenders.'

4. From the last would easily arise the sense of *portion*, something taken *from among* the whole, as Lv 4^{16} 'And the priest that is anointed shall bring of the bullock's blood'; Dn 2^{25} 'I have found a man of the captives of Judah'; 2^{41} 'There shall be in it of the strength of the iron'; Mt 25^8 'Give us of your oil'; 26^{27} 'Drink ye all of it'; To 11^{11} 'He strake of the gall on his father's eyes.' Cf. Mt 23^{34} Tind. 'I sende unto you prophetes, wyse men, and scribes; and of them ye shall kyll and crucifie; and of them ye shall scourge in youre synagoges.'

5. *From a point of time*, as Mk 9^{21} 'Of a child' (παιδιόθεν). Then *throughout a certain time*, as Lk 23^8 'He was desirous to see him of a long season' (ἐξ ἱκανοῦ; edd. ἐξ ἱκανῶν χρόνων, RV 'of a long time'); Ac 8^{11} 'of long time he had bewitched them' (ἱκανῷ χρόνῳ). Cf. Berners, *Froissart*, i. 10, 'a tempest took them in the sea, that put them so far out of their course that they wist not of two days where they were'; Knox, *Works*, iii. 241, 'They are not permitted of any continuance to blaspheme.'

6. As the link between an act or state and its origin, 'of' was used with great freedom. Thus it is equivalent to: (1) *At* in 2 S 19^{42} 'Have we eaten at all of the king's cost?' (מִן־הַמֶּלֶךְ, lit. 'from the king'; LXX ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως, Vulg. *a rege*). (2) *Concerning*, Dn 7^{19} 'Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast' (RV 'concerning'); 1 Es 3^{9} 'Of whose side the king . . . shall judge that his sentence is the wisest, to him shall the victory be given' (ὃν ἂν κρίνῃ); Jn 12^{16} 'Then remembered

they that these things were written of him' (ἐπ' αὐτῷ); Ac 4^{9} 'If we this day be examined of the good deed' (ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ, RV 'concerning'); 5^{24} 'they doubted of them, whereunto this would grow' (διηπόρουν περὶ αὐτῶν, RV 'were much perplexed concerning them'); 15^{6} 'came together for to consider of this matter' (περὶ τοῦ λόγου τούτου); 1 Co 1^{11} 'It hath been declared unto me of you' (περὶ ὑμῶν, RV 'concerning you'). Cf. Gn 42^{9} Tind. 'Joseph remembered his dreams which he dreamed of them'; Mt 2^{8} Rhem. 'Goe, and inquire diligently of the childe'; 11^{7} Rhem. 'Jesus began to say to the multitudes of John'; Knox, *Works*, iii. 301, 'That God was eyther impotente, . . . or else, that he was mutable and unjust of his promyses.' (3) *For*, or *on account of*, as Job 13^{heading} 'Job reproveth his friends of partiality'; Sir 4^{25} 'Be abashed of the error of thine ignorance' (περὶ τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας σου, RV 'for thine ignorance'); 43^{22} 'A present remedy of all is a mist coming speedily' (ἴασις πάντων, RV 'A mist coming speedily is the healing of all things'); Mt 18^{13} 'he rejoiceth more of that sheep than of the ninety and nine' (ἐπί, RV 'over'); Jn 2^{17} 'The zeal of thine house' (ὁ ζῆλος τοῦ οἴκου σου); 16^{8} 'He will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment' (περί); Ac 21^{20} 'They are all zealous of the law' (ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου, RV 'for'); Ro 10^{2} 'They have a zeal of God' (ζῆλον θεοῦ, RV 'for'); 2 Co 7^{4} 'Great is my glorying of you' (πρὸς ὑμᾶς, RV 'on your behalf'). Cf. Ex 3^{7} Tind. 'I have surely sene the trouble of my people which are in Egipte, and have herde their crye which they have of their taskmasters'; Jn 3^{29} Tind. 'But the frende of the brydegrome which stondeth by and heareth him, rejoyseth greately of the brydgrome's voyce.' So Berners, *Froissart*, p. 8, 'Then the queen of England took leave of the earl of Hainault and of the countess, and thanked them greatly of their honour, feast, and good cheer, that they had made her'; and Milton, *Areopag.* (Hales' ed. p. 46), 'What some lament of, we rather should rejoice at.' (4) *On* or *upon*, as Ps 99^{8} 'Thou tookest vengeance of their inventions'; Lk 18^{3} 'Avenge me of mine adversary' (ἀπό); Wis 17^{10} 'which could of no side be avoided' (μηδαμόθεν, RV 'on no side'); He 10^{34} 'ye had compassion of me in my bonds' (τοῖς δεσμοῖς [edd. δεσμίοις] μου συνεπαθήσατε, RV 'ye had compassion on them that were in bonds'). Cf. Is 14^{1} Geneva, 'For the Lord wil have compassion of Iaakob.' In the Pr. Bk. of 1559 occurs the phrase 'if ye stand by as gazers and lookers of them that do communicate'; in 1552 it was 'lookers on,' to which the ed. of 1604 returned. Hall has the same use of the word in *Works*, iii. 440, 'The wise and Almighty maker of these earthen mines, esteems the best metals but as thick clay; and why should we set any other price of them than their Creator?' (5) *Over*, 1 Co 7^{4} 'The wife hath not power of her own body' (τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει, RV 'hath not power over'). Cf. Job 42^{2} Cov. 'I knowe that thou hast power of all things.' (6) *With*, as 2 S 19^{32} 'He had provided the king of sustenance' (RV 'with'); Ca 2^{5} and 5^{8} 'I am sick of love.'* Wyclif (*Select Works*, iii. 84) says, 'Thou schuldist love thi God of al thin herte, of al thi soule, and of al thi mynde.' Cf. Tindale, *Expos.* p. 109, 'Though they persecute thee from house to house a thousand times, yet shall God provide thee of another'; Rutherford, *Letters*, No. xlv. 'I can be content of shame in that work, if my Lord and Master be honoured'; and Shaks. *Macbeth*, I. ii. 13—

'The merciless Macdonwald
. . . from the western isles
Of kerns and gallowglasses is supplied.'

7. But the most important of all the obsolete uses of 'of' is its employment to introduce the agent, especially after a passive verb. This function was performed both by the Anglo-Sax. 'of' and by the Fr. *de*; it is therefore very common in the English of the 14th to 16th cent. By the beginning of the 17th cent. it was dying out, 'of' being replaced by 'by,' so that (as has been pointed out under BY) we have to do, not only with an idiom that is archaic to us, but also with one that is inconsistently applied. It further increases the difficulty that 'by' was used for the instrument or intermediate agency. Thus Lever, *Sermons* (Arber's ed. p. 77), says, 'We had never feast gyven of hym by his apostles'; and in AV we find, Mt 1^{22} 'which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet' (τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου), RV 'by the Lord through the prophet').

The agent is usually expressed in Greek by ὑπό with the gen., and so ὑπό with the gen. is in AV usually translated by 'of.' In the following places, however, we find 'by': Mt 22^{31}, Mk 5^{4}, Lk $2^{18.26}$ 3^{19} 13^{17} 16^{22} 21^{16} 23^{8}, Ac 10^{22} $13^{4.45}$ $15^{3.40}$ 25^{14} 27^{11}, Ro 3^{21} 15^{24}, 1 Co 1^{11}, 2 Co 3^{3} $8^{19.20}$, Eph 2^{11} 5^{13}, Ph 1^{28}, Col 2^{18}, 2 Ti 2^{26}, He 2^{3} 8^{4}, 2 P 1^{21} 3^{2}. Of these the foll. are due to Tindale: Lk 13^{17} 16^{22} 23^{8}, Ac 10^{22} 15^{3}, Ro 15^{24}, 1 Co 1^{11}, 2 Co 3^{3} $8^{19.20}$, Eph 2^{11}, 2 P 1^{21}; in the other cases AV has changed Tindale's 'of' into 'by.' RV has always retained 'by' where it is found in AV, and has changed AV 'of' into 'by' in Mt 1^{22} 2^{15} 14^{8} 19^{12} 27^{12}, Mk 8^{31}, Lk 2^{21} $9^{7.8}$ 17^{20}, Ac 16^{14} 22^{12} $23^{10.27}$ $26^{2.7}$, 1 Co 2^{12} $10^{9.10.29}$ 14^{24} *bis*, 2 Co 2^{6} 8^{19}, Gal 1^{11} 3^{17}, Eph 5^{12}, Ph 3^{12}, He 11^{23}, Ja 1^{14} 2^{9} $3^{4.6}$, Jude $^{12.17}$.

The following passages deserve attention: 2 Es 16^{16} 'Like as an arrow which is shot of a mighty archer' (*a sagittario valido*); 16^{30} 'There are left some clusters of them that diligently seek through the vineyard' (*ab his*, RV 'by them'); Wis 18^{7} 'So of thy people was accepted both the salvation of the righteous and destruction of the enemies' (ὑπὸ λαοῦ σου, RV 'by thy people'); 1 Mac 5^{16} 'their brethren that were in trouble, and assaulted of them' (ὑπ' αὐτῶν); Mt 2^{16} 'He was mocked of the wise men' (ὑπὸ τῶν μάγων); 11^{27} 'All things are delivered unto me of my Father' (ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου); Lk 9^{7} 'Now Herod the tetrarch heard of all that was done by him (ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, edd. and RV om.): and he was perplexed, because that it was said of some (ὑπό τινων, RV 'by some') that John was risen from the dead'; Ac 15^{4} 'they were received of the church and of the apostles and elders' (ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας); 1 Co 14^{24} 'he is convinced of all, he is judged of all' (ὑπὸ πάντων, RV 'by all'); 2 Co 8^{19} 'who was also chosen of the churches' (χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, RV 'appointed by the churches'); Ph 3^{12} 'I am apprehended of Christ Jesus' (ὑπὸ [τοῦ] Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, RV 'by Christ Jesus'). Examples in early writers are easily found: take Ex 22^{31} Tind. 'therfore shall ye eate no flesh that is torne of beestes in the feld'; and *Booke of Precedence* (E.E.T.S.) i. 76, 'Stody alwaies to be loved of good men, and seeke nat to be hated of the Evell.' The process of change may be illustrated from the history of the Pr. Bk. Thus in 1552 and 1559 we read ('Communion,' Keeling, p. 191), 'being so lovingly called and bidden of God himself'; but in 1604 and 1662 this is changed into 'by God himself.' Cf. Lever, *Sermons*, p. 26, 'For as there is no power of authorithy but of God, so is there none put in subjeccion under theym but by God. Those powers whiche be are ordeyned of God.'

8. Occasionally 'of' is redundant, as Dn 2^{49} 'Then Daniel requested of the king'; Sir 31^{24} 'The testimonies of his niggardness shall not be doubted of'; Ac 15^{6} 'The apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter' (ἰδεῖν περί). Especially after gerunds, as 2 S 2^{21} 'Asahel would not turn aside from following of him'; 8^{13} 'He returned from smiting of the Syrians'; Sir 20^{22} 'There is that . . . by accepting of persons overthroweth himself'; Jn 11^{13} 'They thought that he

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* Moon (*Eccles. English*, p. 212) urges with some reason that the Revisers should have adopted the modern idiom in Ca 2^{5} and 5^{8}, since to be sick *of* a thing means now to be heartily tired of it.

had spoken of taking of rest in sleep'; Ac 21^{32} 'They left beating of Paul.' It is also sometimes omitted where we should use it, as Rev 18^{12} 'all manner vessels of ivory.'

9. Notice finally the phrases: *Of certainty*, Dn 2^{8} (RV 'of a certainty'); *of force*, He 9^{17} (βέβαιος); *of purpose*, Ru 2^{16}: cf. Bacon, *Essays*, p. 33, 'Wise men will rather doe sacrifice to Envy; in suffering themselves sometimes of purpose to be crost'; *in comparison of*, Jg 8^{2}, Hag 2^{3}; and *of a truth*, Dn 2^{47}, Lk 4^{25} 22^{59}, Ac 4^{27} 10^{34}.

J. HASTINGS.

OFFENCE.—The verb to 'offend' (Lat. *offendere*, 'to strike against') means in AV either intransitively 'to go astray,' or transitively 'to lead one astray.' So 'offence' is either a 'trespass,' or the cause of trespass, a 'stumbling-block.'

Offend. The Heb. words are: (1) *'āsham* or *'āshēm*, to 'trespass' or 'be guilty,' Jer 2^{3} 50^{7}, Ezk 25^{12}, Hos 4^{15} 13^{1}, Hab 1^{11}. Thus Hos 13^{1} 'When he offended in Baal, he died' (RVm 'When he became guilty in Baal'; Cheyne 'But he became guilty through the Baal'). In 2 Ch 28^{13} the Heb. subst. *'ăshāmāh*, which is twice tr. 'trespass' in the same verse, is once rendered 'offend': 'we have offended against the Lord,' RV 'that which will bring upon us a trespass (RVm 'guilt') against the Lord.' RV changes Jer 2^{3} into 'be held guilty,' and Hab 1^{11} into 'be guilty,' leaving the rest unchanged. (2) *ḥāṭā'* 'to miss' (the way), 'err,' 'sin.' Gn 20^{9} ('What have I offended thee?'; RV 'sinned against thee'), 40^{1}, 2 K 18^{14}, Jer 37^{18} ('What have I offended against thee?'; RV 'sinned against thee'). (3) *bāgad* to 'act treacherously,' only Ps 73^{15} 'I should offend against the generation of thy children' (RV 'I had dealt treacherously with'). (4) *ḥābhal* to 'act foolishly,' 'become vain,' only Job 34^{31} 'I will not offend any more.' (5) *pāsha'* to 'rebel,' 'take offence,' Pr 18^{19} 'A brother offended is harder to be won than a strong city,' RVm 'injured.' In NT the two intrans. verbs are (1) ἁμαρτάνω, Ac 25^{8} 'Neither against the temple, nor yet against Cæsar, have I offended anything at all' (τι ἥμαρτον, RV 'have I sinned at all'); and (2) πταίω to stumble, Ja 2^{10} 3^{2} (RV both 'stumble'). The transit. verb is σκανδαλίζω, occurring chiefly in Mt (5$^{29.30}$ 11^{6} 13$^{21.57}$ 15^{12} 17^{27} 18$^{6.8.9}$ 24^{10} 26$^{31.33}$) and Mk (4^{17} 6^{3} 9$^{42.43.45.47}$ 14$^{27.29}$); also in Lk 7^{23} 17^{2} and Jn 6^{61} 16^{1}; and elsewhere only Ro 14^{21}, 1 Co 8^{13} *bis*, 2 Co 11^{29}. AV always translates 'offend'; RV always 'cause to stumble,' except Mk 14^{29} where 'All ye shall be offended because of me' is retained in text, with 'caused to stumble' in margin. RV omits the word in Ro 14^{21} with edd.

Offence rarely occurs in OT. The only Heb. words are: (1) *mikhshôl*, 1 S 25^{31} 'That this shall be no grief unto thee, nor offence of heart unto my lord' (AVm 'stumbling'), and Is 8^{14} 'a rock of offence'; also in Ps 119^{165} the same subst. is tr^{d} 'offend,' 'nothing shall offend them,' AVm 'they shall have no stumbling-block,' RV 'they have none occasion of stumbling.' (2) *ḥēṭ'* 'error,' 'sin,' so tr. only Ec 10^{4}. The NT words are: (1) ἁμαρτία 'error,' 'sin,' only 2 Co 11^{7} (RV 'sin'). (2) παράπτωμα a 'transgression,' Ro 4^{25} 5$^{15\,bis.\,16.\,17.\,18.\,20}$ (RV always 'trespass,' the usual tr. of the word elsewhere in AV). (3) προσκοπή, lit. 'a striking-against' (προς-κοπτω), in its only occurrence, 2 Co 6^{3}, RV 'occasion of stumbling.' Notice also the adj. ἀπρόσκοπος in Ac 24^{16} 'to have always a conscience void of offence' (ἀπρόσκοπον συνείδησιν); 1 Co 10^{32} 'give none offence' (ἀπρόσκοποι γίνεσθε, RV 'give no occasion of stumbling'); and Ph 1^{10} 'That ye may be sincere and without offence' (ἀπρόσκοποι, RV 'void of offence'). (4) πρόσκομμα, lit. 'a thing to strike against' (προσκόπτω), is tr^{d} 'offence' only in Ro 14^{20} 'It is evil for that man who eateth with offence' (διὰ προσκόμματος). (5) σκάνδαλον, the biblical form of the late word σκανδάληθρον which signifies 'the *bait-stick* in a trap.' In LXX σκάνδαλον occurs as the tr. of *dŏphî* in Ps 50^{20}; of *kesel* in Ps 49^{13}; of *môkēsh* in Jos 23^{13}, Jg 2^{3} 8^{27}, 1 S 18^{20}, Ps 69^{22} 106^{36} 140^{5} 141^{9}; and of *mikhshôl* in Lv 19^{14}, 1 S 25^{31}, Ps 119^{165}. In NT it is found in Mt 13^{41} (πάντα τὰ σκάνδαλα, AV 'all things that offend,' RV 'all things that cause stumbling'), 16^{23} 18^{7} *ter* (AV always 'offence,' RV 'stumbling-block' in 16^{23}, 'occasion of stumbling' in 18^{7}), Lk 17^{1} (AV 'offences,' RV 'occasions of stumbling'), Ro 9^{33} (both 'offence'), 11^{9} (both 'stumbling-block'), 14^{13} (AV 'occasion to fall,' RV 'occ. of falling'), 16^{17} (AV 'offences,' RV 'occasions of stumbling'), 1 Co 1^{23} (both 'stumbling-block'), Gal 5^{11} (AV 'offence,' RV 'stumbling-block'), 1 P 2^{8} (both 'offence'), 1 Jn 2^{10} (both 'occasion of stumbling'), Rev 2^{14} (both 'stumbling-block').

It is unfortunate that 'offend' and 'offence' have lost their early meanings. As the note above shows, we have no good word to take their place.*

The following quotations from early writers illustrate the use of both words in AV. Barrow, *Sermons*, vol. i. Serm. 1, 'To offend originally signifies to infringe, that is, to stumble or hit dangerously upon somewhat lying across our way'; Rutherford, *Letters*, No. lix. 'He presumed that much on your love that ye would not offend' (='stumble'); Shaks. *Meas. for Meas.* III. ii. 16, 'He hath offended the law'; Milton, *PL* iii. 410—

> 'Regardless of the bliss wherein he sat
> Second to thee, offered himself to die
> For man's offence.'

And in *Areopag.* (Hales' ed. p. 15) the meaning is to lay a stumbling-block in the way, 'A certain Presbyter laid it scrupulously to his conscience, how he durst venture himselfe among those defiling volumes. The worthy man loath to give offence fell into a new debate with himselfe what was to be thought.'

For the theology see next article.

J. HASTINGS.

OFFENCE.—This term is the translation in AV of several Heb. and Gr. words. These may be classified in two categories: 1. *Sin* (חֵטְא Ec 10^{4}; ἁμαρτία, 2 Co 11^{7}, RV 'sin'); also the kindred idea of *a moral fall* (παράπτωμα, *e.g.* Ro 4^{25} 5^{16}, RV 'trespass'). 2. *Stumbling* (מִכְשׁוֹל 1 S 25^{31}, Is 8^{14}), considered as an act, the word being used in a metaphorical sense. Also *a stumbling-block.* In this last sense the term is used as tr^{n} of Gr. words with two different primary meanings: (1) πρόσκομμα (Ro 14^{20}), and προσκοπή (2 Co 6^{3}, RV 'occasion of stumbling'), literally 'a stumbling-block,' *i.e.* some impediment lying on the path, over which one stumbles, and so morally anything that hinders and tends to trip one up in the path of life, or with regard to some particular course of action. (2) σκάνδαλον, a purely biblical word, with its corresponding causative verb σκανδαλίζω, of frequent occurrence both in LXX and in NT. The classic form is σκανδάληθρον. In LXX it stands chiefly for Heb. מוֹקֵשׁ 'bait' (fig. 'snare') and מִכְשׁוֹל 'stumbling-block.' The Gr. word means primarily the trigger of a trap; then the trap itself. In a secondary sense it stands for anything that ensnares or hinders morally. The idea of stumbling appears in the phrase 'rock of offence' (πέτραν σκανδάλου, Ro 9^{33}, a free quotation from Is 8^{14}, where LXX has πέτρας πτώματι), *i.e.* a rock over which people stumble. The word is used of *persons*; as in our Lord's rebuke of St. Peter, 'Thou art an offence (σκάνδαλον) unto me' (Mt 16^{23} AV). RV has 'stumbling-block' here, a needful correction, the idea being, not that St. Peter was 'offensive' to Jesus, nor that Jesus was 'offended' with him, but that the disciple was a snare to his Master, an adversary (Σατανᾶς), one who provoked to stumbling. The word is also used of *things*, as when we read of casting a stumbling-block before anybody (*e.g.* Ro 14^{13}). Again, in the expression 'Whoso shall offend one of these little ones,' etc. (Mt 18^{6} AV), the reference is not to insulting and hurting the feelings, but to tempting and hindering in the way of Christ. Similarly, the directions about an offending member of the body—the eye to be plucked out or the hand to be cut off—refer to causes of stumbling, of moral hindrance. Accordingly, RV substitutes 'cause to stumble' for the misleading word 'offend' in AV. The sin of leading one of Christ's little ones to stumble is set forth as peculiarly heinous. St. Paul's argument on the question of casuistry concerning eating food that has been offered to idols turns on this idea. The apostle's contention is not that the strong are to surrender their liberty in deference to the superstitions of the weak, for fear of offending the latter in the sense of giving them offence, *i.e.* angering and alienating them. The duty we owe to Christian liberty may sometimes involve this painful consequence. St. Paul's position is that liberty must not be so used as to hinder the spiritual life of others, by confounding their consciences and tempting them to imitate conduct the innocence of which they are not sufficiently enlightened to perceive, and which must therefore appear wrong to them. Where the Jews are said to be 'offended at' Jesus (Mt 13^{57}), and where 'the offence of the cross' is referred to (Gal 5^{11}), the stumbling and hindrance are in the way of accepting the claims of Christ. Thus the prophetic description of the stumbling-block is ascribed to Him because His obscure origin and humble appearance, and the method of His ministry, were regarded as reasons for not accepting Him. When He spoke in the synagogue at Nazareth, His trade as a carpenter and His family relations were the stumbling-block (Mk 6^{3}). Here, however, the idea seems to be passing over to that of displeasure—we are instinctively angry at whatever causes us to stumble. This thought appears to be present in Mt 15^{12}, where the disciples say to Jesus, 'Knowest thou that the Pharisees were offended when they heard?' etc. The more serious idea of being hindered morally—as in the case of 'offending' one of Christ's little ones—is evidently out of place here. All that is meant is that the Pharisees were turned against Jesus and His claims, with the implied notion that this was coupled with some irritation. It is the same with St. Paul's reference to 'the offence of the cross' (Gal 5^{11}). The fact that Jesus had suffered the indignity of crucifixion hindered the Jews, with their secular ideas of the Messiahship, from accepting Christianity, and at the same time roused their indignation against the preachers of the gospel.

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* If we could have used 'scandal' and 'scandalize' as the Vulg. and the Rhem. Version do, much of the force which we lose would have been retained. Thus in Rhem. NT, Mt 11^{6} 'Blessed is he that shall not be scandalized in me'; 13^{41} 'The Sonne of man shal send his Angels, and they shal gather out of his kingdom al scandals'; 18$^{7.8}$ 'Wo be to the world for scandals. For it is necessary that scandals do come: but neverthelesse wo to that man by whom the scandall cometh. And if thy hand or thy foote scandalize thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee.' We find also the adj. 'scandalous' in the heading to Lk 9 'He forewarneth againe of his scandalous Passion.' In the notes to Mk 6^{1} 'offence' is given as an alternative to 'scandal,'—'His countrie-folkes . . . did take offence or scandal of him.'

W. F. ADENEY.

OFFER, OFFERING, OBLATION.—These words are used in the English Versions for very different terms in the Hebrew and Greek; and it will be the aim of the present article to distinguish them, and enable the student to understand the meaning and application of the terms used in the original. For the sake of clearness and simplicity, the usage of RV only (which is at least in some respects more consistent than that of AV) will be taken as the basis of the article.

Offering and *oblation*, it need hardly be remarked, are words substantially identical in origin, the only difference between them being that one is formed (through 'offer') from the present tense of the Latin *offero*, and the other from the supine *oblatum*.

1. In *burnt-offering* (עֹלָה), *peace-offering* (שֶׁלֶם, שְׁלָמִים), *thank-offering* (תּוֹדָה), *freewill-offering* (נְדָבָה*), *meal-offering* (מִנְחָה), *sin-offering* (חַטָּאת), *guilt-offering* (אָשָׁם),† *drink-offering* (נֶסֶךְ), 'offering' corresponds to no distinctive element of the Hebrew expression; and the explanation of these terms will therefore be reserved more properly for the art. SACRIFICE.

2. 'Offering (here and there in AV 'sacrifice') made by fire' represents a single word in the Heb., אִשֶּׁה ('firing,' or 'fire-offering'). It occurs very frequently in P (as Lv $1^{9.\,13.\,17}$ $2^{2.\,3.\,9.\,10.\,16}$; elsewhere only Dt 18^{1}, Jos 13^{14}, 1 S 2^{28}); and is a term used generally of any sacrifice, or other offering (Lv $24^{7.\,9}$), consumed upon the altar.

3. קָרְבָּן *korbân* (AV usually 'offering,' sometimes (cf. *oblatio*, often in the Vulg. for קָרְבָּן) 'oblation,' once 'sacrifice'; RV uniformly 'oblation,' except Ezk 20^{28} 'offering'). This (from קרב 'to come near') means properly something *brought near* (viz. to the altar, or to God); it is the most general term for offering or oblation, being used mostly, it is true, of sacrifices of different kinds, but also sometimes of other sacred gifts (Lv 2^{12}, Nu 7 *passim*, 31^{50}). It is found exclusively in P, and Ezk 20^{28} 40^{43}. The occurrences in P are: Lv $1^{2.\,2.\,3.\,10.\,14.\,14}$ $2^{1.\,1.\,4.\,5.\,7.\,12.\,13.\,13}$ $3^{1.\,2.\,6.\,7.\,8.\,12.\,14}$ $4^{23.\,28.\,32}$ 5^{11} $6^{20\,(13)}$ $7^{13.\,14.\,15.\,16.\,29.\,38}$ $9^{7.\,15}$ 17^{4} $22^{18.\,27}$ 23^{14} $27^{9.\,11}$, Nu 5^{15} $6^{14.\,21}$ 7 (28 times) $9^{7.\,13}$ $15^{4.\,25}$ 18^{9} 28^{2} 31^{50}. In a slightly different form (*ḳurbān*) it occurs in Neh $10^{34\,(35)}$ 13^{31}, of the wood-offering (not mentioned elsewhere). It is, of course, the familiar 'corban' of Mk 7^{11}.

(*a*) The cognate verb *hiḳrîb*, 'to bring near' (of a secular gift Jg $3^{17.\,18}$, Ps 72^{10b}, Mal 1^{8} ['present']), is used in a corresponding sense (RV 'present,' 'offer,' 'bring near,' 'bring'); whether of the worshipper bringing up the sacrifice, or of the priest presenting it on the altar. The occurrences are too numerous to quote *in extenso*; for examples, see (1) of the worshipper Lv $1^{2.\,2.\,3.\,3.\,10.\,14}$ $2^{1.\,4.\,8}$ ('presented') $^{11.\,12.\,13.\,14.\,14}$ $3^{1.\,1.\,3.\,6.\,7.\,7.\,9.\,12.\,14}$ $4^{3.\,14}$ $7^{11.\,12.\,12.\,13.\,14.\,16.\,18.\,25.\,29.\,38}$; (2) of the priest Lv $1^{5.\,13.\,15}$ ('bring'*), 5^{8} $6^{14\,(7).\,20\,(13).\,21\,(14)}$ $7^{3.\,8.\,8.\,9.\,33}$; and outside P (all), Ezk $43^{22.\,23.\,24}$ $44^{7.\,15.\,27}$ 46^{4}, Hag 2^{14}, Ezr $6^{10.\,17}$ 7^{17} 8^{35}, 1 Ch 16^{1}, 2 Ch 35^{12}. Like *ḳorbân*, *hiḳrîb*, it will be noticed, is essentially a priestly word; it denotes a formal ceremonial act, and is almost entirely confined to P and Ezk. הֶעֱלָה, another verb also commonly rendered 'to offer' (see below), is a word much more in ordinary use; it is as exceptional in P and Ezk as *hiḳrîb* is constant.

(*b*) The synon. הִגִּישׁ also occurs in the same two applications, but it is less technical, and also much less frequent (RV 'bring,' 'bring hither,' 'present,' 'bring, near'): Ex 32^{6}, Jg 6^{19} 'presented' (if RVm of v.^{18} is right:† see 4), 1 S 13^{9} $14^{34.\,34}$, Am 5^{25}, Lv 2^{8} ('bring'), 8^{14}, Mal $1^{7.\,8.\,8}$ ('offer'), v.^{11} 2^{12} 3^{3}, 2 Ch 29^{23}; cf. of secular gifts, 1 K 4^{21} (5^{1}), also Jg 6^{19} (if RV text of v.^{18} is right).

In LXX הִקְרִיב is generally represented by προσφέρω, and קרבן (not by προσφορά, but) by δῶρον (cf. Mk 7^{11}, Mt 15^{5}); Mt 5^{23}, therefore, if translated consistently with RV of the OT, would read, 'If thou art offering thine *oblation* at the altar' (in Delitzsch's Heb. NT, אִם תַּקְרִיב קָרְבָּנְךָ); cf. Lv $2^{1.\,4}$ 17^{4} 22^{18} RV and LXX; and observe the same combination of προσφέρω and δῶρον in Mt 5^{24} 8^{4}, He 8^{4}.

4. מִנְחָה *minḥāh*. This does not express the neutral idea of 'gift' (מַתָּן), but denotes a *complimentary present*, or a present made to secure or retain good-will, as Gn $32^{13.\,18.\,20.\,21}$ (to Esau), $43^{11.\,15.\,25.\,26}$ (to Joseph), Jg $3^{15.\,17.\,18}$ (to Eglon), 2 K $8^{8.\,9}$, Ps 45^{12}, offered, as something expected, by a political subject, 2 S $8^{2.\,6}$, 1 K 4^{21}, 2 K $17^{3.\,4}$ *al.*; then of a tribute offered to God, both generally (including animals) Gn $4^{3.\,4.\,5}$, 1 S 26^{19}, and specifically (as always in P) of the meal- (or cereal) offering (Lv 2: see SACRIFICE). Where *minḥāh* appears to be used in the more general sense of a tribute offered to God, it is represented in RV by 'offering' or 'oblation.' The passages are Gn $4^{3.\,4.\,5}$, Nu 16^{15}, Jg 6^{18} (marg.), 1 S $2^{17.\,29.\,29}$ 3^{14} 26^{19}, 1 K $18^{29.\,36}$, 2 K 3^{20}, Ezr $9^{4.\,5}$, Ps $20^{3\,(4)*}$ $40^{6\,(7)*}$ 96^{8} 141^{2} (marg.), Is 1^{13} 19^{21} 43^{23*} 57^{6*} $66^{3*.\,20.\,20}$, Jer 14^{12*} 17^{26*} 33^{18*} 41^{5*}, Dn 2^{46} (to Daniel), $9^{21.\,27*}$, Am 5^{25*}, Zeph 3^{10}, Mal $1^{10.\,11.\,13}$ $2^{12.\,13}$ $3^{3.\,4}$ (* with marg. 'Or, *meal-offering*'). However, in several of these passages, esp. in 1 K $18^{29.\,36}$, 2 K 3^{20}, Ps 141^{2}, Ezr $9^{4.\,5}$, Dn 9^{21} [in all, 'the evening

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* In AV occasionally, 'willing, free, or voluntary offering' (as Ex 35^{29} 36^{3}, Lv 7^{16}, Ezk 46^{12}); in RV 'freewill offering,' uniformly.

† In Is 53^{10} rendered, unhappily, 'offering for sin,' suggesting confusion with the very different 'sin-offering'; see, however, RVm.

* But 'bring' elsewhere in these chapters represents הֵבִיא.

† For הגיש is used also of 'bringing near' or 'presenting' ordinary food, Gn 27^{25}, 1 S 28^{25}, 2 S 13^{11}.

minḥāh'; see 2 K 16^{15}], perhaps also in many of those with the alternative marginal rendering, and in Is 1^{13} 19^{21}, it is not improbable that 'meal-offering' would be the better rendering.

5. תְּרוּמָה *tĕrūmāh* (AV and RV 'heave-offering,' 'offering,' and 'oblation'). This word (from הֵרִים 'to lift *or* take off') denotes properly what is *lifted off* a larger mass, or separated from it for sacred purposes (LXX in Pent. uses ἀφαίρεμα, in Ezk mostly ἀπαρχή; Targ. in both אפרשותא 'something *separated*'); and is used in particular (cf. Driver on Dt 12^{6}): (1) of gifts taken from the produce of the soil (as tithe, firstfruits, and firstlings); (2) of contributions of money, spoil, etc., offered for sacred purposes, and in Ezk of land reserved for the priests and Levites; (3) in connexion with sacrifices, only of portions 'taken off' the rest, and forming the priest's due, esp. of the 'heave-thigh,' which, with the 'wave-breast,' is (in P) the priest's share of the peace-offering, but also (as Nu 5^{9} 18^{8}) of other priestly dues. The rendering 'heave-offering' implies a rite of 'elevation,' which, however, is very doubtful, and is rejected by modern scholars (*e.g.* Ges., Keil on Lv 2^{9}, Dillm. on Lv 7^{33} etc.). Omitting the passages (as Ex 29$^{27. 28}$, Lv 7$^{32. 34}$) where *tĕrūmāh* is used of the 'heave-thigh,' it occurs, in the other applications just noted, Ex 25$^{2. 2. 3}$ 30$^{13. 14. 15}$ 35$^{5. 5. 21. 24. 24}$ 36$^{3. 6}$, Lv 7^{14} 22^{12}, Nu 5^{9} 15$^{19. 20. 21}$ 18$^{8. 11. 19. 24. 26. 27. 28. 28. 29}$ 31$^{29. 41. 52}$, Dt 12$^{6. 11. 17}$, Ezk 20^{40} ('offerings'*) 44$^{30. 30}$ 45$^{1. 6. 7. 7. 13. 16}$ 48$^{8. 9. 10. 12. 12. 18. 18. 20. 20. 21. 21. 21}$, Mal 3^{8}, 2 Ch 31$^{10. 12. 14}$, Ezr 8^{25}, Neh 10$^{37 (38). 39 (40)}$ 12^{44} 13^{5}; also 2 S 1^{21} (if the reading be correct), Is 40^{20}, and (in a secular sense) Pr 29^{4} (see RVm). (RV in Pent. 2 S, Ezr, Neh, Ezk 20^{40}, Mal, 'heave-offering' or 'offering,' in 2 Ch, Is, and other passages in Ezk, 'oblation'). 'Contribution' is perhaps the English word which, though not entirely satisfactory, nevertheless best suggests the ideas expressed by the Heb. *tĕrūmāh*.

(*a*) The use of the corresponding verb הֵרִים 'to lift *or* take off' (often by the side of the subst. *tĕrūmāh*) should be noted (LXX usually in Pent. ἀφαιρέω, in Ezk ἀφορίζω, in 2 Ch ἀπάρχομαι; Targ. אַפְרֵישׁ 'to separate': RV 'heave up,' 'offer,' 'take up,' 'take off,' 'offer up,' 'heave,' 'levy' Nu 31^{28}, 'give . . . for offerings' 2 Ch 30^{24}, 'give'). This occurs, not only of the 'heave-thigh' Ex 29^{27}, but also in connexion with various other sacred gifts or sacrifices: Ex 35^{24}, Lv 2^{9} (of the 'memorial' *taken off* the meal-offering in order to be burnt on the altar), 4$^{8. 10. 19}$ (of the fat *lifted* or *taken off* a sacrifice for consumption on the altar), 6$^{15 (8)}$ (as 2^{9}), 22^{15}, Nu 15$^{19. 20. 20}$ 18$^{19. 24. 26. 28. 29. 30. 32}$ 31$^{28. 52}$, Ezk 45$^{1. 13}$ 48$^{8. 9. 20}$, 2 Ch 30$^{24. 24}$ 35$^{8. 9}$, Ezr 8^{25}. The remarkable inconsistency in the rendering of this word, even in RV, and the confusion with other words occasioned thereby, are much to be regretted; if the instances are examined in detail, the idea in each will be seen to be, as explained above, that of *lifting* or *taking off* from a larger mass for sacred purposes (note esp. the use of both the verb and the subst. in Ezk in connexion with *land*).

6. תְּנוּפָה *tĕnūphāh*, a 'wave-offering' (implying a rite of 'waving'; see SACRIFICE), and usually so rendered in AV, RV; but represented by 'offering' alone in Ex 35^{22} 38$^{24. 29}$ (where the term is used peculiarly of materials offered for the construction of the sanctuary), and in Nu 8$^{11. 13. 15. 21}$ (changed here in RV to 'wave-offering'), where it is used of the Levites.

(*a*) The cognate verb הֵנִיף 'to wave,' and usually so rendered, is similarly represented by 'offer' in Ex 35^{22}, Nu 8$^{11. 13. 15. 21}$ (in Nu with the marg. 'Heb. *wave*').

7. 'Whole burnt-offering' (really a *double*, and tautologous, rendering of the Heb., adopted from AV of Ps 51^{19}) stands for the Heb. כָּלִיל (lit. *something whole*) in RV Dt 13$^{16 (17)}$ marg., 33^{10}, 1 S 7^{9} (Heb. עולה כליל), Ps 51$^{19 (21)}$. The Heb. word is a rare syn. of עֹלָה (see SACRIFICE, under '**burnt-offering**'); it occurs besides, in a sacrif. sense, of the priest's *minḥāh*, which was to be '*wholly* burnt' (lit. 'burnt (as) *something whole*'), Lv 6$^{22. 23 (15. 16)}$.

8. 'Passover offerings' stands for פְּסָחִים, only 2 Ch 35$^{7. 8. 9}$; see PASSOVER.

9. 'Oblation' for מַשְׂאֵת (not a technical word: lit. *something borne along* or *brought*; cf. the verb in v.^{31}, and No. (11), below) in Ezk 20^{40}.

10. 'Offerings' for the obscure and uncertain הַבְהָבִים Hos 8^{13}, generally taken to mean properly 'gifts' (from יָהַב).

'Offering (up)' stands also, in RV of NT, for—

11. προσφορά (LXX for מִנְחָה Ps 40^{6}; otherwise very rare, except in Sir, viz. 14^{11} 31 (34)$^{18. 19}$ 32 (35)$^{1. 6}$ 38^{11} 46^{16} 50$^{13. 14}$): Ac 21^{26} 24^{17}, Ro 15^{16}, Eph 5^{2}, He 10$^{5. 8.}$ (from Ps 40^{6}: Heb. *minḥāh*) $^{10. 14. 18}$ (in all, except He 10$^{5. 8}$, in the sense of the Heb. קרבן).

12. ἀνάθημα (a votive offering *set up* in a temple, Herod. ii. 182, etc.): Lk 21^{5}; so Jth 16^{19} ('gift'), 2 Mac 9^{16} (RV).

'Oblation' does not occur in NT (either AV or RV). In Pr. Bk. version of the Psalms it occurs in 27^{7} for זְבָחִים, and in 51^{19} for כָּלִיל. In the Apocr. it represents προσφορά, 1 Es 5$^{52 (51)}$, Sir 50^{13} (AV), Thr ^{15}, δῶρον Sir 7^{9} (AV), δόμα 1 Mac 15^{5} (in a secular sense), μάννα (*i.e.* מִנְחָה) Bar 1^{10} RV.

The verb 'to offer,' besides the four usages noted under **3** *a b*, **5** *a*, **6** *a*, stands also in RV for—

(5) זָבַח 'to slaughter' (in sacrifice): Gn 31^{54} 46^{1}, Ex 23^{18}, Lv 19$^{5. 5}$, Dt 18^{3} 33^{19} (elsewhere in the Pent. זָבַח is rendered by 'to sacrifice'*), 1 S 1^{21} 2^{13} etc., Ps 4^{5} 27^{6} 50^{14} (Heb. 'slaughter thanksgiving'; so v.^{23}), 116^{17} (Heb. 'slaughter the slaughtering (sacrifice) of thanksgiving'; so 107^{22}, Lv 22^{29}); and elsewhere, esp. when the obj. is the cognate subst. 'sacrifice.'

(6) הֶעֱלָה 'to cause to go up' (viz. on the altar),—very often, esp. with 'burnt-offering' (the Heb. word for which, עֹלָה, is cognate with this verb, and means properly *that which goes up*, viz. on the altar): in P and Ezk, only Ex 30^{9} 40^{29}, Lv 14^{20} 17^{8}, Ezk 43$^{18. 24}$; elsewhere, Gn 8^{20} 22$^{2. 13}$ (here, and sometimes besides, 'to offer *up*'), Ex 24^{5} 32^{6}, Nu 23$^{2. 4. 14. 30}$, Dt 12$^{13. 14}$ 27^{6}, Jos 22^{23} (first time), 1 K 3$^{4. 15}$ (first time), Am 5^{22}, Is 57^{6} 66^{3}, Ps 51$^{19 (21)}$ 66^{15a}, and often besides, both in S, K, etc., and also in Ch, Ezr (in the Pent. all the occurrences are cited). So 'the offering of' in 1 K 18$^{29. 36}$ and 'offering' in 2 K 3^{20} are both lit. 'the *going up* of.'

(7) עָשָׂה 'to do *or* make' (an idiom. use—cf. ῥέζειν and *facere*—prob. allied to, or developed from, that of the same word in the sense of *to make ready*, *prepare*, or *dress* as food, Gn 18$^{7. 8}$, Lv 6$^{21 (14)}$ 7^{9}, Jg 6^{19}, 1 S 25^{18}, 2 S 12$^{4. 4}$ 13$^{5. 7}$, 1 K 17^{12} (of meal) 18$^{23. 25. 26}$); in RV usually 'offer,' sometimes 'sacrifice,' and (esp. in Nu 15 and Ezk) 'prepare': Ex 10^{25} 29$^{36. 38. 39. 39. 41}$, Lv 5^{10} 6$^{22 (15)}$ 9$^{7. 7. 16. 22}$ 14$^{19. 30}$ 15$^{15. 30}$ 16$^{9. 24}$ 17^{9} 22$^{23. 24}$ (RVm) 23$^{12. 19}$, Nu 6$^{11. 16. 17. 17}$ 8^{12} 15$^{3. 3}$ (prob.: RV 'make'), vv.$^{5. 6. 8. 12. 14. 24}$ 28$^{4. 4. 8. 8. 15. 20. 21. 23. 24. 31}$ 29$^{2. 39}$, Dt 12^{27}, Jos 22^{23} (second time), Jg 13^{15} (?; notice לפניך), v.^{16} ('make ready,' not 'offer' [העלה]), 1 K 3^{15} (second time), 8^{64} (2 Ch 7^{7}), 12^{27}, 2 K 5^{17} 10$^{24. 25}$ 17^{32}, Jer 33^{18} ('to do'), Ezk 43$^{25. 25. 27}$ ('make'), 45$^{17. 22. 23. 24}$ 46$^{2. 7. 12. 12. 13. 13. 14. 15}$, Ps 66^{15b}. The word is meant as a summary description of the process of sacrifice: it is never used where there is a *detailed* description of the ritual, with reference to a particular act.

(8) שָׁחַט 'to slay,' Ex 34^{25}.

(9) קִטֵּר 'to make into sweet smoke,' Am 4^{5}, and הִקְטִיר (*id.*) 1 Ch 6$^{49 (34)}$. See INCENSE, SACRIFICE.

(10) הִסִּיךְ 'to pour (out),' and usually so rendered (as Hos 9^{4}, 2 K 16^{13}): Ps 16^{4}, Dn 2^{46} (Aram.).

(11) נָשָׂא 'to bear along,' 'bring' (not a special sacrif. term): Ezk 20^{31} [cf. 2 S 8$^{2. 6}$, Ps 96^{8}, Heb.].

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* For 'oblations' in this verse see below, No. 9.

* Or, naturally, in Dt 12$^{15. 21}$ (cf. 1 S 28^{24}) by 'to kill.'

(12) נָתַן 'to give': Ezk 6^{13} (exceptional; cf. 20^{28} Heb. [AV and RV 'presented]).

'To offer for sin' stands for one word in the Heb., חִטֵּא, Lv 6^{26} 9^{15}.

'To offer willingly' stands for הִתְנַדֵּב, prop. *to show oneself liberal* or *forward*: Jg $5^{2.9}$ (in battle), elsewhere only in Ch, Ezr, Neh, in giving gifts, etc., to the sanctuary, 1 Ch $29^{5.6.9.9.14.17.17}$, 2 Ch 17^{16}, Ezr 1^6 2^{68} 3^5 $7^{13.15.16.16}$, Neh 11^2. (In Ps 110^3 RV the Heb. is 'are willingnesses').

'To offer incense' stands for קִטֵּר Jer 11^{17} 32^{29}.

In the RV of NT 'to offer (up)' stands for—

(13) *προσφέρω* (in LXX usu. for הִקְרִיב): Mt 2^{11} $5^{23.24}$ 8^4 (=Mk 1^{44}, Lk 5^{14}), Jn 9^2 (λατρείαν), Ac 7^{42} (from Am 5^{25}, LXX [הִגִּישׁ]), 21^{26}, He $5^{1.3.7}$ $8^{3.3.4}$ $9^{7.9.14.25.28}$ $10^{1.2.8.11.12}$ $11^{4.17.17}$.

In Mt 2^{11} *προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ δῶρα* would be in Heb. ויקריבו לו מנחה (so Delitzsch): see Jg $3^{17.18}$ Heb. and LXX. On Mt 5^{23} 8^4 see above, under **3** *b*.

(14) *ἀναφέρω* (LXX mostly for הֶעֱלָה, also for הקטיר, once or twice for עשׂה): He $7^{27.27}$ (cf. Westcott), 13^{15}, Ja 2^{21}, 1 P 2^5.*

(15) *σπένδω* ('to pour out'; in LXX for הִסִּיךְ): Ph 2^{17}, 2 Ti 4^6 (*σπένδομαι*, fig. of St. Paul himself).

(16) *δίδωμι*: Lk 2^{24}.

'Things offered to idols' (*εἰδωλόθυτα*) has been in RV changed uniformly to 'things sacrificed (un)to idols' (as in AV of Rev $2^{14.20}$), Ac 15^{29} 21^{25}, 1 Co $8^{1.4.7.10}$ 10^{19}: 'offered in sacrifice' in 1 Co 10^{28} represents *ἱερόθυτον*.

From the preceding synopsis of passages, it will be apparent what extremely different terms in the original, esp. in OT, are represented by each of the three English words, 'offer,' 'offering,' and 'oblation'; and that though the Heb. (and Greek) terms might, in particular cases, be interchangeable, in others they are not. In Lv 2^1, for example, 'offer' could not be זָבַח or הֵרִים, nor 'oblation' מִנְחָה or תְּרוּמָה: 'offer' in Dt 12^{27}, though it is עשׂה, might also be העלה, but hardly (the writer not being priestly) הקריב, and 'oblation' in Is 19^{21} could not (for the same reason) be קרבן. Conversely, 'offer an oblation' in Ezk 45^1 represents two Heb. words entirely different from those which it represents in Lv 1^2; and 'offer' in Lv 7 is always הקריב, in Nu 18 it is always † הרים, while in Nu 28 it is עשׂה and הקריב. The words in the original are in most cases technical; and the distinctions between them are of importance for those who would properly understand the sacrificial system of the Hebrews. The reader who desires to obtain a practical view of Hebrew or Greek usage is recommended to mark on the margin of his RV the Hebrew or Greek word corresponding in each case to the English. Unless any passages have been accidentally overlooked, the preceding article should enable him to do this for the words here concerned in all their occurrences, except those of הקריב in the Pent., and of זָבַח and העלה out of it.

S. R. DRIVER.

OFFICER.—A word used both in AV and in RV to translate some eight Heb. words in OT and two Gr. words in NT. The Heb. words, according to their derivation, represent five families—(1) *nizẓâb*, *nĕẓîb*, 'one set up'; the former in 1 K $4^{7ff.}$ of Solomon's commissariat officers, the latter in the same sense in 4^{19} (as to its meaning in 1 S 10^5 see Driver, *ad loc.*). (2) *pāḳēd*, *pĕḳuddāh*, *pāḳîd*, 'inspector.' (3) *rab*, 'great one.' (4) *shōṭēr*=(*a*) 'arranger,' (*b*) 'scribe' (see Dillmann on Ex 5^6). (5) *ṣārîṣ*, 'eunuch.' (The *'ōsê hammĕlā'kāh* of Est 9^3, AV, 'officers,' is in RV now rendered 'they that did the business'). 'Officer' most frequently stands for *shōṭēr* and *ṣārîṣ* (LXX εὐνοῦχος, EV in Est always 'chamberlain,' but only once besides, 2 K 23^{11}), and it seems very doubtful whether the meaning of the latter was ever widened into *officer* generally, Potiphar's case being by most critics regarded as no exact exception.

It is noticeable that the idea of subordination which lies in the NT *ὑπηρέτης* (the original for 'officer' in all NT passages except Lk 12^{58} *πράκτωρ*) does not show itself in the Heb. originals. It is noticeable also that *ὑπηρέτης*, the almost sole NT original, is never in the LXX employed to render any of the Heb. words given above, and, though occurring twenty times in NT, occurs but twice in the Gr. canonical OT (Pr 14^{35}, Is 32^5), and but twice in the uncanonical (Wis 6^4, Three ^{23}). It would seem that, apart from *ṣārîṣ* and perhaps occasionally *shōṭēr* (comp. Dt 16^{18} with Mt 5^{25} 'judge . . . officer'), the Heb. words rendered 'officer' suggest no distinctive function, whereas the NT *ὑπηρέτης* (which has lost all reminiscence of its original meaning of 'under-oarsman'—perhaps one of the lower two out of the three assigned to an oar) in some dozen passages out of the twenty means distinctly bailiffs or police officers of the Sanhedrin or other court of justice, in accordance with one use of the same word at Athens, where *ὑπηρέται* were the subordinates of those important police magistrates called the Eleven (Plato, *Phœdo*, 116 B), and one use by Josephus (*Ant.* IV. viii. 14), when, in his account of Moses' judicial arrangements, he gives the same title to the two Levites who were attached as *clerks* to each Jewish court constituted out of the seven chief men of each city. An apparently synonymous term for these clerks, confined, as a translation of *shōṭēr*, to Dt, is the curious and uncertain *γραμματοεισαγωγεύς*, perhaps (as Driver suggests) the title of some law officer at Alexandria.

The duties of 'officers' (*shōṭĕrîm*) as described in OT were various: they made proclamations (Dt $20^{5.8.9}$), they conveyed orders (Jos 1^{10} 3^2) to the people in time of war; in 1 and 2 Ch we find them as subordinate officials, sometimes in a military (1 Ch 27^1), sometimes in a judicial capacity (1 Ch 23^4), and on one occasion superintending the repairs of the temple (2 Ch 34^{13}), much as *shōṭĕrîm* were also Pharaoh's 'taskmasters,' superintending the labour of the Israelites (Ex 5^6 etc.). See Driver on Dt 1^{15}.

In NT, *ὑπηρέτης*, where it does not mean a *servant* generally ('of Christ,' 1 Co 4^1, Ac 26^{16}; 'of the word,' Lk 1^2), or an *assistant* for a special purpose (Ac 13^5, John Mark, possibly in the main for baptizing), or an *attendant* (Lk 4^{20}, the attendant at the synagogue service; see MINISTER),* is most naturally explained in a sense similar to that of *shōṭēr* in Dt 16^{18} (cf. Mt 5^{25}), though perhaps in a sense somewhat more confined, as a subordinate official in connexion with a court of justice, whose duty it was, as warder or sergeant, to carry into effect the decisions or maintain the dignity and authority of the judges. Thus the *ὑπηρέται* of the Sanhedrin were sent to arrest Jesus (Jn 7^{32}), did finally seize Him in Gethsemane (Jn 18^3), 'received him with blows of their hands' (Mk 14^{65}), one *ὑπηρέτης* striking Him for His answer to the high priest (Jn 18^{22}); and similar *ὑπηρέται* under command of a captain of the temple police (*στρατηγός*, cf. Jos. *Ant.* XX. vi. 2; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 258) were commissioned to arrest Peter and John (Ac 4^1 $5^{24.26}$). Probably, when Jesus said, 'If my kingdom were of this world, my *ὑπηρέται* would now be striving' (Jn 18^{36}), He drew His analogy from this temple usage. Luke's *πράκτωρ* (12^{58}), the *avenger* of the Tragedians (Æsch. *Eum.* 319), the *taxgatherer* of Demosthenes (778. 18), the *exactor* of

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* In He 9^{28}, 1 P 2^{24} rendered 'bear'; see in LXX Is 53^{11} (for סבל), v.^{12} (for נשׂא).

† Except v.^{15} (הקריב; cf. Lv 27^9): חרים would not here be suitable.

* Cf. art. MARK (JOHN), p. 245^b, where it is suggested that even the *ὑπηρέτης* of Ac 13^5 is used in this sense—that is to say, John Mark may have been a *ḥazzan*, or 'synagogue minister.'

Isaiah (3^{12} LXX), the *public accountant* of the papyri (3 cent. B.C., see Deissmann, *Beiträge*, p. 152), has now become with him a synonym for the ὑπηρέτης of a court of justice. (See MINISTER, *ad fin.*).
J. MASSIE.

OG (עוֹג, Ὤγ).—The king of Bashan at the time of the end of the wanderings of the Israelites in the wilderness. He and his people were conquered at Edrei. That city and Ashtaroth were his capitals (Jos 13^{12}). He was 'of the remnant of the Rephaim' (*loc. cit.*) or giants, and had in all 'threescore cities, all the region of Argob'* (Dt 3^{4}). These were 'cities fenced with high walls, gates, and bars' (Dt 3^{5}), so that his kingdom was a powerful one. His territory became the possession of the half-tribe of Manasseh (under Jair the son (*i.e.* descendant) of Manasseh), which remained in the trans-Jordanic territory. The bedstead (? sarcophagus) of the king was a famous one; it seems to have been made of black basalt; and it had found its way, when the Book of Deuteronomy was written, to Rabbah of the children of Ammon (Dt 3^{11}).† Many ancient sarcophagi of black basalt have been found in the districts east of the Jordan. The conquest of Og by Moses was looked upon as one of the great events of Jewish history; we find it referred to by the Gibeonite ambassadors to Joshua (Jos 9^{10}), as also in the making of the covenant in Neh 9^{22} and in Ps 135^{11} 136^{20}. Many legends have gathered about his name. Pope Gelasius, in the 5th cent., issued a decree condemning a book which at that time was current under the name of Og.

LITERATURE.—The latest authority on Og is Driver's *Deuteronomy*, see esp. pp. 7 f., 53 f.; cf. also Porter, *Giant Cities of Bashan*, 12 f., 94; Conder, *Heth and Moab*, 160 f.; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* 575 f.; Wright, *Palmyra and Zenobia*, 284 ff.
H. A. REDPATH.

OHAD (אֹהַד).—A son of Simeon, Gn 46^{10} (Ἄωδ), Ex 6^{15} (B Ἰώαδ, A Ἰαωαδί, F Ἄωδ). The name is wanting in the parallel passage 1 Ch 4^{24}, as well as in Nu 26^{14}.

OHEL (אֹהֶל 'tent'; B Ὀσά, A Ὀοά; Luc. Ἀθά).—One of Zerubbabel's sons, 1 Ch 3^{20}. The correctness of the MT is open to suspicion.

OHOLAH (אָהֳלָה, B Ὄο(λ)λα, A Ὄλλα) and **OHOLIBAH** (אָהֳלִיבָה, B Ὀολιβα, A and once [Ezk 23^{36}] B Ὄλιβα) are symbolical names given in Ezk $23^{4f. 11. 22. 36. 44}$ to Samaria and Jerusalem respectively. In this passage the latter are represented as two sisters, both wives of Jahweh (cf. the marriage of Jacob to the sisters Leah and Rachel, a practice afterwards forbidden, Lv 18^{18} [H]), and as having been guilty of adultery, Samaria with Egypt and Assyria, Jerusalem with Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia (cf. ch. 16). The reference is to those intrigues and alliances with foreign peoples (Hos 7^{11}, 2 K 16^{7}, Is 7^{17-25}), which had the natural effect of introducing foreign manners and worship (cf. 2 K $23^{11f.}$, Am $5^{26f.}$, Is 2^{14}, Jer 19^{13}), and which, since the days of Hosea, had been represented and censured by the prophets as infidelity to Jahweh.‡

The name אָהֳלָה may be = אֹהֳלָה 'she who has a tent,' 'tent-woman,' and אָהֳלִיבָה = אָהֳלִיבָהּ (cf. חֶפְצִי־בָהּ, 2 K 21^{1}, Is 62^{4}) 'tent in her' (so Smend [whose words 'soll heissen' show, however, that the sense put upon אָהֳלָה is unusual, not to say forced], followed by *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, Bertholet, etc.), the reference being to the tent-shrines which were found at the *bāmôth* (Ezk 16^{16}, Hos 9^{6}, 2 K 23^{7} [?]; cf. the name *Oholibamah* 'tent [? of the] high place,' Gn 36^{2}), just as the ark of Jahweh had from the first its tent (2 S 7^{6}), and as David pitched for it a tent (2 S 6^{17}) at Jerusalem (cf. Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgesch.*², 137). The two names have sometimes been taken as = 'her tent,' and 'My (*sc.* Jahweh's) tent in her,' and it has been supposed that in the first name there is a covert reproach of Samaria's illicit worship at shrines of her own selection, and in the other an implication that Jerusalem is Jahweh's own sanctuary. But, apart from the improbability of Ezekiel's paying what might be taken as a compliment to Jerusalem, the probability is that the ִי in אָהֳלִיבָה is simply a 'binding vowel' without either suffixal or construct force (cf. Gray's contention to the same effect in a numerous class of compound personal names—*Heb. Proper Names*, pp. 75 ff.). In this way the first part of the name means simply 'tent,' not '*my* tent,' and *Oholah* and *Oholibah* are practically identical in sense. The most suitable explanation of this similarity of name and meaning appears to be that it was intended to imply that Samaria and Jerusalem had sinned in the same way and incurred the same condemnation. The prophet's purpose was facilitated by the circumstance that it was common in the East to give almost identical names to brothers or sisters (Ewald compares *Hasan* and *Husein*, the names of the two sons of Ali the son-in-law of Mohammed). There may be something, too, in the fact noted by Skinner (*Ezekiel*, p. 191 n.) that אָהֳלָה contains the same number of *consonants* as שֹׁמְרֹן (which, however, as Bertholet points out, is always written in OT שֹׁמְרוֹן), and אָהֳלִיבָה the same number as יְרוּשָׁלַםִ. Though the names in Ezk are purely figurative, they have a resemblance to a formation found in Phœnician (אהלבעל, אהלמלך), Himyaritic (אהלעתתר, אהלאל), the above Edomite (?) name אהליבמה, and the Hebrew (?) name אהליאב (cf. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 246 n.).
J. A. SELBIE.

OHOLIAB (אָהֳלִיאָב 'father's tent'; Ἐλιάβ; AV Aholiab).—The chief assistant of Bezalel in the construction of the tabernacle, Ex 31^{6} 35^{34} $36^{1. 2}$ 38^{23} (all P). It is possible (cf., for the name, Phœn. אהלבעל, אהלמלך, Himyaritic אהלעתתר, אהלאל, Edomite (?) אהליבמה Gn $36^{2. 41}$) that he was of non-Israelitish origin (see Gray, *HPN* 246 n.).
J. A. SELBIE.

OHOLIBAH.—See OHOLAH.

OHOLIBAMAH (אָהֳלִיבָמָה 'tent of the high place').—**1.** One of Esau's wives, Gn $36^{2. 5. 14. 18. 25}$ (Ὀλιβεμά, Ἐλιβέμα, Ὀλιβέμα). All the passages where she bears this name belong to R or to a late stratum of P. Elsewhere (Gn 26^{34} P) Esau's wives have quite different names, and the whole subject of his marriages is wrapped in obscurity (see the *Comm.* of Dillm. and Holzinger, *ll.citt.*). **2.** An Edomite 'duke,' Gn 36^{41} (Ἐλιβεμᾶς).
J. A. SELBIE.

OIL (usually שֶׁמֶן *shemen*; 23 t., when coupled with other products of the field in their unmanufactured state [see Driver on Dt 7^{13}], יִצְהָר; in the Aramaic part of Ezr מְשַׁח; LXX and NT ἔλαιον).—One of the most important products of Palestine, mentioned more than 200 times in the Bible. Sometimes it is specifically called 'olive oil,' lit. 'oil of olive,' *shemen zayith*, to indicate its source, as Ex 27^{20} 30^{24}, Lv 24^{2}, or 'oil olive,' lit. 'olive of oil,' Dt 8^{8} (*zêth shemen*), 2 K 18^{32} (*zêth yiṣhār*); but, even when not so expressed, the material referred to is the product of the olive in all cases but one, viz. Est 2^{12}, where oil of myrrh is specially mentioned. The olive tree and its fruit are elsewhere described (see art. OLIVE, and cf. ii. p. 31), and the methods employed in extracting the oil from its fleshy drupes are there given.

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* This district was afterwards known as Trachonitis (Lk 3^{1}), and is now called el-Leja (but see art. ARGOB); though this would not include all that is meant by Argob. There is a curious notice of this district in 1 K $4^{13. 19}$.

† It is quite possible, however, that Dt 3^{11} is a later insertion.

‡ Similarly, the alliances of the Hasmonæan princes with Rome were condemned from the Pharisaic standpoint as 'a going a whoring after strange gods' (*Assump. Mos.* v. 3, ed. Fritzsche, otherwise Charles, *ad loc.*).

Several kinds of olives were cultivated in Palestine. According to *Menaḥôth*, viii. 3, those of Tekoa were the best, those of Ragab the second best. Three other varieties—that of Netophath, that called Saphconi, and that named Bisani—are mentioned in *Peah*, vii. 1. The last is said to be so called because it is so prolific that it makes all others to be ashamed. Columella, who calls the olive the first of all trees, mentions 10 varieties whose culture he describes at length (*de Re Rustica*, v. 8, xii. 49–54, and *de Arboribus*, xvii.); and Pliny names 15 kinds, of which the Licinian was the best (xv. 4). Cato (*de Re Rustica*, 64–69) gives the modes in use for purifying the oil, and Palladius (*de Re Rustica*, i. 20; *Mar.* viii, *Oct.* viii, *Nov.* v) describes the oil cellars and many particulars in olive culture. For descriptions of the olive varieties now in cultivation see Barbe, *Études sur les oliviers*; and details of ancient methods of expressing the oil are given in Blumner's *Technologie*, i. 318. St. Paul uses the figure of olive-grafting in Ro 11^{17} in the opposite sense to that referred to by Palladius (*de Insitione*, xiv., 'fecundat sterilis pingues, oleaster olivas'). In *Geoponica*, ix., there is also an account of the culture of the olive, and of the experiments made of grafting olives on vines; this ἐλαιοστάφυλος and the effect produced on the fruit of the graft is mentioned in an epigram (Brunck, iii. 231).

Different kinds of oil were known in Palestine. Pure (RV) or beaten (AV) oil is specified in Ex 27^{20} 29^{40}, Lv 24^{2}, Nu 28^{5} (LXX ἔλαιον ἐξ ἐλαίων ἄτρυγον καθαρόν; Vulg. *oleum purissimum piloque contusum*). This is the oil now known in commerce as virgin oil, extracted by simple pressure without heat. In Zec 4^{12} it is called *zāhāb* or golden. The inferior kinds are extracted by more powerful pressure, and the coarse or gorgon oils by the aid of boiling water. These contain fermentible materials, the lees or *Amurca*, a watery bitter liquid, whose use, when separated from the oil, as a sheep-dip is mentioned by Virgil (*Georg.* iii. 448); said by Varro to be valuable for killing weeds, and by Cato to be destructive to ants. The coarsest oil is known now in the market as *huile d'enfer*; it is bitter, and soon becomes rancid. In the present day the cheaper oils are largely adulterated with or replaced by cotton-seed oil, which is, for most purposes, illuminant or dietetic, inferior to pure olive oil; for the latter surpasses all others in consisting, to a much larger extent, of the glycerides of unsaturated acids, and it can be recognized and distinguished from its adulterations by the rapidity with which it consolidates in the presence of nitrous acid (Brannt, *On Oils*, i. 318). For the different kinds of oils in Talmudic times see *Menahôth*, viii. 4, 5.'

Oil is coupled with corn and must as an element of national wealth in Dt 7^{13} 11^{14} 12^{17} 14^{23} 18^{4} 28^{51}, 2 Ch 32^{28}, Neh 5^{11}, Hos 2$^{8.\,22}$, Jl 2^{19}. With corn, must, and honey in 2 Ch 31^{5} it formed part of the tribute brought to Hezekiah on the restoration of the priesthood. Raisins, figs, wine, and oil were brought by the northern tribes for the feast of rejoicing when David was made king (1 Ch 12^{40}). Must and oil as the typical produce of the land are mentioned in Neh 10^{37} 13$^{5\text{-}12}$, Jer 31^{12}, Jl 2^{24}; must and oil in Neh 10^{39}, Hag 1^{11}; wine, summer fruits, and oil were gathered by the remnant left in the land after the Captivity (Jer 40^{10}). Sennacherib promised Israel that, if they would submit, he would bring them to a land of oil-olive and honey (2 K 18^{32}), meaning probably some region about Gordyæa or S. Kurdistan; it cannot have been Babylonia, as the oil used there, according to Strabo (xvi. 1. 14), is that of sesamum, the *gingili* oil of commerce, extracted from *Sesamum orientale*, a Bignoniaceous plant. Fine flour, oil, and honey were the gifts wherewith God fed His unfaithful people (Ezk 16^{19}); and wine, oil, and fine flour were the types of the luxuries imported by the mystic Babylon (Rev 18^{13}). The priestly stores of these commodities are mentioned in 1 Ch 9^{29} and Ezr 6^{9}; and a similar phrase, victuals, oil, and wine, is used in 2 Ch 11^{11} for the stores accumulated by Rehoboam in his fortified cities. Probably the great system of underground storehouses, such as those found at Tell Zakarîyeh and elsewhere (*PEFSt*, 1899), were for this purpose. The royal cellars of oil in David's day were in charge of Joash (1 Ch 27^{28}). There is a reference to these secret stores of agricultural produce in the petition of the suppliants to Ishmael (Jer 41^{8}).

Oil, wine, and barley were supplied as food by Solomon to Hiram's workpeople (2 Ch 2^{15}). The quantity allowed is given in v.^{10} as 20,000 baths = about 165,000 gallons (see also Jos. *Ant.* VIII. ii. 9); but according to 1 K 5^{11} the annual gift was 20 cors = about 1640 gallons.

Oil was an important Palestinian export. It was sent to Tyre, as stated not only in the passages cited above, but in Ezk 27^{17} In Ezr 3^{7}, meat, drink, and oil are said to have been given to the Tyrian workers occupied in building the second temple. There are allusions to this commerce in *Shebiith*, vi. 5. The trickery of John of Gischala in manipulating this trade is recited by Josephus (*BJ* II. xxi. 2). Much of this oil sent to Tyre was for the Egyptian market, but Israel sometimes sent the oil directly to Egypt (Hos 12^{1}). Though oil was much used in Egypt, very little was produced there. In Strabo's time the olive tree was grown only in the Heracleote nome, but even there the oil produced had a disagreeable smell. Elsewhere in Egypt, he says, there are no olive trees except near Alexandria, but these furnished no oil (XVII. i. 35). In the Anastasi Papyrus (4. xv. 4) 'oil from the harbour' is mentioned. The Egyptians called the olive trees *dgam* (Copt. ϫⲟⲉⲓⲧ) and olive oil *bḳ* or *ḏet*, different varieties of which, called pure oil, white, dry, and red, are mentioned in Papyrus Ebers and the Medical Papyrus of Berlin. In the earlier days of Ramses III. there was a vigorous attempt to introduce olive culture into Egypt. In the great Harris Papyrus (pl. xxvii.) he says, 'I made to thee (Tmu) fields of olives in thy town An; I provided many cultivators to make pure, excellent oil of Egypt to illuminate thy great house'; and in his inventory (pl. xvii.) there are enumerated 2743 jars of Egyptian oil and 1810 of Syrian oil.

The *uses of oil* were numerous. The most ancient and widespread was that of external application (see ANOINTING, in vol. i. p. 101). All the Homeric references to oil are of this nature, and there are none to the use of oil as food. The same is noticeable in the earlier Egyptian literature, from which we learn that the 'oiling of the limbs and hair was as important to them as their clothes' (Erman, *Life in Anc. Egypt*, 229). Most of the references to the secular use of oil in the Bible are also in the same sense of an external application. Such applications were of two kinds: (*a*) as a cosmetic or part of the toilet, it imparts warmth to the body and protects it against the action of cold (Pliny, xv. 4). And, as the inferior oils used for this purpose are apt to become rancid, there was a special advantage in fresh oil (Ps 92^{10}). (*b*) As a medicinal agent. Oil is an ingredient in a very large number of the remedies prescribed in the Papyrus Ebers for the most diverse diseases. Pliny also speaks of its medicinal use (xv. 4. 7, xxiii. 3. 4). Dion Cassius relates that oil and wine were employed both externally and internally for the unknown disease which attacked the army of Aelius Gallus in Arabia (liii. 29), as we read of their being used in the parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk 10^{34}); see also Vegetius, *Ars Veterinaria*, v. 14, 23, and Columella, *de Re Rustica*, vi. 30. 4. Herod the Great was bathed in oil when suffering from the violent abdominal dropsical disease in which he was eaten of worms (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. vi. 5, and *BJ* I. xxxiii. 5). Cf. Ja 5^{14}, and art. ANOINTING, **4.**

2. As part of a ceremony of consecration of kings, high priests (Ex 29^{7-21}, Lv 21^{10}, Nu 35^{25}), or sacred things (see vol. i. p. 101). The effect of this anointing was the complete setting apart for the Divine service Lv 10^{7}, called in Lv 21^{12} the 'crown of the anointing oil.' Talmudic writers say that Saul, Jehu, and Joash were anointed with common oil; but for this there is no authority. For the sacred oil see OINTMENT.

3. As part of the ritual of the burial of the dead oil was used. This is referred to by our Lord (Mt 26^{12}, Mk 14^{3-8}, Lk 23^{56}, Jn 19^{40}). In the Rhind Papyrus the use of 206 *ḥn* of oil is prescribed for this purpose, and in the funeral Papyrus of *Ḥ'tr* the anointing is said to renew the members and to enlarge the heart. The olive tree is described as springing from the eye of Horus, and the oil is said to be 'holy and separated for divine things.'

4. Oil was also used as an illuminating agent in lamps. Pure olive oil burns without soot, but has the disadvantage of being rapidly consumed. In the usual Jewish lamps half a log = a little less than half a pint, was used in a night (*Menaḥôth*, ix. 3). For tabernacle and temple lamps pure oil was used (Ex 27^{20}, Lv 24^{2}), and the charge of the oil in the tabernacle was given to Eleazar (Nu 4^{16}). This lamp oil is also mentioned in Ex 25^{6} $35^{8.\,14.\,28}$ 39^{37}. The wicks were of flax, as alluded to in Is 42^{3}. Flaxen wicks were also used in Egypt, but in recent times cotton twisted round straws is often employed (Lane, *Mod. Egyp.* i. 201). For the use of oil in NT for this purpose see Mt $25^{3.\,4.\,8}$. For the Sabbath lamps, R. Zarphon says that none but olive oil should be used; but others allow oil of sesame, of *'anuzim* (nuts), of radishes, fish oil, etc. (*Sabbath*, ii. 2).

5. As food, the use of oil is common in the East, and is referred to by almost all travellers from Ibn Batuta to Robinson and Burckhardt; but references to its dietetic employment are not numerous in the Bible. Cakes made with oil supported the widow of Zarephath's household during the famine (1 K 17^{12}). Oil formed part of the food of the unfaithful wife typical of Israel (Ezk 16^{13}). The tithe of oil was to be eaten before the Lord (Dt 12^{17}). The taste of manna is compared to that of oil (Nu 11^{8}).

6. The employment of oil in the meal-offering was a derivative of its use as food. It formed part of the offering—(1) in the daily sacrifice, Ex 29^{23}; (2) the meal-offering, Lv 7^{10}; (3) the consecration-offering for the priests, Ex 29^{2-23}, Lv $6^{15.\,21}$; (4) the consecration-offering of the Levites, Nu 8^{8}; (5) the offering at the expiry of the vow of the Nazirite, Nu 6^{15}; (6) the offering for the purification of the leper, Lv 14; and (7) the special offering at the erection of the tabernacle, Nu 7. No oil was to be used in the sin-offering (Lv 5^{11}), or the jealousy-offering (Nu 5^{15}).

For these ceremonial purposes large quantities of oil were required. The allowance given to Ezra was 100 baths of oil (about 820 gallons), Ezr 7^{22}; the best of the oil was to be given to the priests, Nu 18^{12}. The amount thus offered is called חֹק הַשֶּׁמֶן, the ordinance (AV) or set portion (RV) of oil, Ezk 45^{14}.

The *vessels used for oil* in Bible times were various. Samuel and Zadok used a horn (קֶרֶן *ḳeren*), 1 S 16^{1-10}, 1 K 1^{39}; Samuel also used a vial (פַּךְ *pak*) of oil for anointing Saul, 1 S 10^{1}, as did the prophet who anointed Jehu, 2 K 9^{1} (AV box). The widow's oil was in a cruse (צַפַּחַת *ẓappaḥath*), 1 K 17^{12}. The widow of the prophet, whose oil Elisha multiplied, held it in a pot (אָסוּךְ *'āṣûk*), 2 K 4^{2}. The virgins in the parable carried their oil in a ἀγγεῖον or vessel.

The word 'oil' is used metaphorically in many passages. The pouring of oil out of the rock of flint in Dt 32^{13} and Job 29^{6} is a figure of abundance, the rock being either the stone press by which the olives are squeezed, or more probably the rocky slopes upon which the olives were cultivated. Part of the blessing of Asher (Dt 33^{24}) was that he should dip his foot in oil—a sign of favour and prosperity, a token that oil should be abundant in his territory. Josephus says of Galilee, in which was the lot of Asher, οὔσης ἐλαιοφόρου μάλιστα (*BJ* II. xxi. 2). The foolish use of oil is a token of extravagance and cause of poverty (Pr 21^{17}), while the husbanding of it is a proof of wisdom (Pr 21^{20}). In Job 24^{11}, where the distressful case of the slaves of the oppressor is depicted, one of the labours to which they are condemned is the making of oil within the walls of the enclosed garden of their masters. The word used here (יַצְהִירוּ, Hiph. of a denominative verb from יִצְהָר 'oil') does not occur elsewhere, and was understood by LXX in a different sense, ἐν στενοῖς ἀδίκως ἐνήδρευσαν ὁδὸν δὲ δικαίων οὐκ ᾔδεισαν, and the Vulg. renders it *Inter acervos eorum meridiati sunt qui calcatis torcularibus sitiunt.*

The 'oil of gladness' of Ps 45^{7} = He 1^{9}, and the oil of joy of Is 61^{3}, are marks of joy and festivity. The reproof of the righteous is compared to oil on the head (Ps 141^{5}). AV calls it 'an excellent oil which shall not break my head,' but it is better given in RV, 'oil upon the head, let not my head refuse it.' Words of deceit are said to be softer than oil (Ps 55^{21}, Pr 5^{3}). Cursing permeates the life of the wicked even as oil soaks into bone (Ps 109^{18}). The destruction of the oliveyards in drought is called a languishing of the oil (Jl 1^{10}). A. MACALISTER.

OIL TREE (עֵץ שֶׁמֶן *'ēẓ-shemen*, κυπάρισσος, *lignum olivæ* or *olivarum*, *lignum pulcherrimum*).—This Heb. expression is tr^{d} (Is 41^{19}) AV, RV text 'oil tree,' RVm 'oleaster'; (1 K $6^{23.\,31-33}$) AV 'olive trees,' m. 'trees of oil' or 'oily trees,' RV 'olive wood'; (Neh 8^{15}) AV 'pine branches,' RV 'branches of wild olive.' It is clear from Neh that the plant in question is not the olive, as that is mentioned in the same sentence by its own name. The difference between the latter and the wild olive is so small that it is quite unlikely that it would have been mentioned by a separate name in so brief a list of trees used for the same purpose. A candidate for *'ēẓ-shemen* must fulfil the following conditions, suggested by the passages cited above. (1) It must be an oily or fat tree (*shemen* signifies 'fat' as well as 'oil'; its Arab. equivalent *semen* is the word for 'clarified butter'). This would apply to a tree producing a terebinthine oil or resin, such as constitutes what is known in Eng. as *fat wood*, found in pitch pine and other similar trees. The Arab. has the expression *luḳsh* for such fat wood. Faggots of it are sold in the market for torches, and much used at weddings and other festivities. (2) It must be an emblem of fertility and prosperity, fitted to be associated with the myrtle, the acacia, the fir (בְּרוֹשׁ, see FIR), the pine (תִּדְהָר, see PINE), and the box (תְּאַשּׁוּר, see BOX). (3) It must be a tree capable of furnishing a block of wood of the size, beauty, and hardness required for carving an image 10 cubits high, to be placed in the Holy of Holies, and for making doors and doorposts. (4) Its foliage must be sufficiently dense to be suitable for booths. (5) It must grow in the mountains, and be easily accessible from Jerusalem and the other cities of Palestine. The *wild olive* has already been excluded. The *oleaster*, Elæagnus hortensis, M.B., never grows large enough to furnish such a block of wood as was required for the image. It is also never used for house carpentry. Its foliage is not dense, and its branches are usually thorny, and would be unlikely to be selected for a covering for booths. The *zaḳḳûm*, Balanites Ægyptiaca, Del., grows only in the torrid valley of the Lower Jordan, has a small trunk, and very thorny branches, and a sparse foliage. Its fruit yields a sort of balsam, which is its only claim to be called a tree of oil or fatness. The only trees which fulfil all these conditions are the fatwood trees. The genus Pinus furnishes three species, P. Pinea, L., the *stone* or *maritime pine*, P. Halepensis, Mill., the *Aleppo pine*, and P. Bruttia, Ten., which is perhaps only a variety of the last. Any of these would furnish foliage suitable for booths, and all are constantly used for this purpose in the East. Their massive trunks could easily furnish the log required for the carved image, and the doors and doorposts. They are constantly used in house carpentry. Their heartwood is fat enough to entitle them to be called 'trees of fatness.' They are spontaneous, growing in the wilderness (*i.e.* uncultivated places, and so fit to be associated with the other trees mentioned with them, Is *l.c.*). We are inclined with Celsius (*Hierob.* i. 309) to tr. *ʿēẓ-shemen*, 'fatwood trees,' and to suppose that the reference is to the pines.

In the article ASH we have argued that *'ōren* probably stands for Pinus Pinea, L. This in no way invalidates the inclusion of the same tree under the general head of *fatwood* or *resinous* trees.

In one of the passages (Is 41^{19}) AV and RV tr. תִּדְהָר *tidhār*, 'pine,' RVm 'plane.' The same word (Is 60^{13}) is tr^{d} AV and RV 'pine,' RVm referring to former passage. It is very doubtful whether *tidhār* refers to the pine (see PINE). G. E. POST.

OINTMENT (מִרְקַחַת *mirḳaḥath*, 1 Ch 9^{30}; in general שֶׁמֶן *shemen*, sometimes coupled with מִשְׁחָה *mishḥāh*, as in Ex 30^{25}; LXX *μύρον* Ex 30^{25}, Ps 133^{2}, Ca 1$^{3.5}$, Pr 27^{9}, Am 6^{6}; elsewhere *ἔλαιον*; Vulg. *unguentum*).—Oily, fragrant materials smeared on the surface of the body to allay the irritation caused by the heat in Eastern lands, and to conceal the odour of perspiration. The use of materials of this kind is common in almost every country, and is of ancient date. In Egypt unguents are mentioned even in texts of the Ancient Empire, and in those of the Middle and New Empire they are frequently referred to. There were nine sacred oils used for the purposes of ceremonial anointing: *mt* (probably cedar oil), *htt* or *hti* (a Libyan product), *ḥknnu* (an oil containing 'many spices from Arabia'), *nešnem*, *sfti*, *sgnn* (rose oil), *mrh* (oil of myrrh), *s-ti hb*, and *ṭuau*. Besides these there were other sweet-scented salves and ointments in ordinary use, *aber*, *tpt*, *th-hennu*, etc.

The holy anointing oil made by Bezalel for Moses (Ex 30$^{23ff.}$) consisted of 1 hin of olive oil (about 10 lb.), 500 shekels of flowing myrrh (about 15 lb.), 250 shekels of sweet cinnamon (about 7½ lb.), 250 shekels of sweet calamus, and 500 shekels of cassia (or costus). The Jewish authors who regard the 'shekel of the sanctuary' as twice the ordinary shekel, double these weights. This was to be compounded after the art of the perfumer (see art. CONFECTION). Probably these scented substances, or some of them, were brought into the market in powder, as in Ca 3^{6} these spices are called 'the powders of the merchant.' There are different descriptions given by Rabbinical writers of the process whereby the anointing oil was compounded, but most probably it was simple pulverization of the ingredients, and boiling them in the oil; for, as Pliny has remarked, the strength of the ointment is greater when the ingredients are boiled together (xiii. 2); but see Otho's *Lexicon*, *s.v.* 'Oleum.' The making of ointment in this way was recognized by Hebrew writers (see Job 41^{31}).

As the passage in Ex 30 is assigned to P, the date of the prescription cannot be determined, but it may be late. Pliny says that unguents were not known among the Greeks at the time of the Trojan war; but he has overlooked the *ῥοδόεντι δὲ χρῖεν ἐλαίῳ ἀμβροσίῳ* of *Il.* xxiii. 186 and the *λιπαροὶ κεφαλὰς καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα* of *Od.* xv. 332, and the several references to *λίπ' ἔλαιον*, *Il.* x. 577, xiv. 171; *Od.* iii. 966, vi. 96, etc. He assigns the invention to the Persians, because a chest of perfumes was among the spoils taken by Alexander; but the Egyptians had unguents much earlier, and probably also the Indians preceded the Persians in this respect. There are references to anointings in the ancient Indian poetry (see, for example, *Hitopadesa*, i. 98. For Egyp. origin see P. Aegineta, vii. 18).

Pliny gives a large number of formulæ for sweet-smelling unguents, including one which resembles the holy anointing oil, containing myrrh, cinnamon, cassia, nard, costus, laurel, lily, and fenugreek. The myrrh, he says, gives consistency and sweetness, the cinnamon strengthens the odour, and the costus (or cassia) makes it more pungent. See CASSIA, CINNAMON, MYRRH. RVm substitutes 'costus' for 'cassia' in Ex 30^{24}, and it is probable that this is the material indicated by the word *ḳiddah*. Costus is the dried root of a composite plant *Aplotaxis auriculata*, imported like frankincense through Arabia from India, and is a much esteemed ingredient in hair-unguents. It was formerly supposed to be the root of *Costus Arabicus*, but this is erroneous.

For the uses of these ointments see ANOINTING in vol. i. p. 100, and OIL, above, p. 591 f. For further references to the classical use of toilet oils, see Athenæus, xii. 78. Unguents are said by Pliny to keep best in boxes of alabaster (xiii. 3), and to improve with age, becoming very precious when old; hence Patroclus's body was anointed with ointment nine years old (*Il.* xviii. 350). The very precious alabaster box of ointment mentioned in Mt 26^{7}, Mk 14^{3}, Lk 7^{37} was thus the best of its kind; and the odorous ingredient in this unguent, spikenard, the root of *Nardostachys Jatamansi*, imported from India, was one of the costliest of perfumes. This perfume is called in Mk 14^{3} and Jn 12^{3} *νάρδος πιστική*, the latter word meaning either 'genuine' or 'liquid,' or else it may be from an Indian name of the plant *pisitâ* (Houghton in *PSBA* x. 144).

The making of the holy oil by unauthorized persons was forbidden, and it has been supposed that it was compounded once for all, on account of the large quantity of ingredients specified, whose weight amounted to about half a hundredweight (see *More Nebhochim*, iii. 45). It was used to anoint the tabernacle, the table, the vessels, the candlestick, the altars, the laver and its base, and Aaron and his sons (but the anointing of the priests was not observed in the second temple; Saubert, *de Sacerd. Ebr.* v.), also David and Solomon, possibly Joash; but the Talmudists say that he, Saul, and Jehu were anointed with common oil.

The consistence of the oil may be inferred from Ps 133^{2}, which says that it trickled down on Aaron's beard, where it lay on the collar (not skirt) of his outer garment. It was therefore of a very thick treacly consistence, becoming probably more fluid when warmed. The act of anointing is figured in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 76*b*, 230, and is described in Wilkinson, i. 426. In the Gizeh Museum is the stele of a 'keeper of the ointments of the king,' cf. the royal store of Hezekiah, Is 39^2.

The passage in Pr 27^{16} where of the person who tries to hide the contentious woman it is said, 'Whoso hideth her hideth the wind, and the ointment of his right hand, which bewrayeth itself,' is very obscure. LXX, regarding it as connected rather with the succeeding than with the preceding verse, renders it, 'The north wind is a harsh wind, but in name it is called "auspicious."' In the RV it is translated, 'his right hand encountereth oil,' which seems to be the literal rendering; but it is not much more intelligible. The Vulgate gives *oleum dexteræ suæ vocabit*. It seems to refer to the difficulty of retaining a slippery, oily material in one's hand. For more fanciful interpretations see Rosenmüller's *Scholia*, ix. 653; Maurer's *Comment*. iii. 505, and esp. Toy, *Proverbs*, p. 488 f.

For older literature see, on the whole subject, Scheidius and Weymar in vol. xii. of Ugolini.

A. Macalister.

OLAMUS (Ὤλαμος), 1 Es 9^{30} = **Meshullam** of the sons of Bani, Ezr 10^{29}.—The name appears elsewhere as **Mosollamus** (1 Es 8^{44} 9^{14}).

OLD GATE.—See Jerusalem in vol. ii. p. 593^a.

OLD LATIN VERSIONS.—See Latin Versions (The Old).

OLD MAN.—See Regeneration.

OLD PROPHET, THE (נָבִיא אֶחָד זָקֵן; B *πρεσβύτης εἷς προφήτης*, A *προφ. εἷς πρεσβ.*, Luc. *προφ. ἄλλος πρεσβ.*).—This prophet lived in Bethel at the commencement of the reign of Jeroboam I. A single incident in his life is narrated (1 K 13^{11-32}; cf. 13^{1-10} and 2 K 23^{16-18}). He desired to entertain as his guest a certain '**man of God**' from Judah, who had appeared in Bethel to denounce the royal sanctuary (? on the day of its inauguration). The stranger was already departing when the prophet overtook him and offered his hospitality. It was refused on the ground that J″ had forbidden him to take food in the city. The prophet then falsely declared that he gave his invitation in accordance with a message from J″, and the stranger returned and partook of a meal. He never reached his home again. News came to Bethel that a lion had slain him a short distance from the city. The old prophet recognized this as J″'s punishment, saddled his ass, brought in the body, held lamentation over it, and buried it in his own grave. By this he showed his sympathy and respect.

The old prophet is really a secondary figure in this narrative, a factor in the fate of the man of God. His character and motives are not the centre of interest and lack clearness. They appear more vividly after the death of the man of God. What is then prominent is the prophet's sympathy for the stranger, not a sense of guilt or of responsibility for his death (vv.$^{26-32}$; the LXX addition to v.^{31} is taken from 2 K 23^{18}). This is consistent with what seems to be the writer's view, that the man of God was himself to blame for his death (see below). It might be accounted for by a lack of interest in the situation of the prophet as compared with the sad end of the stranger.

The old prophet of Bethel in this narrative is no doubt represented as one of the true prophets of J″. Without taking account of vv.$^{20-22}$, we may infer this from the use of the name 'prophet,' which is applied to him without qualification. What then does the narrative contribute to a conception of the prophetical character? We may infer from v.^{18} that it was not felt to be impossible that one who had received the Divine call to be a prophet should utter a pretended revelation. It is not supposed that a man once a prophet is always a prophet. Vv.$^{20-22}$ go further. The prophet's misuse of his position does not prevent his receiving an actual revelation immediately after. Disobedience is to be rebuked. The prophet had shared in it. He had even prostituted his office to bring it about. He had uttered a lie in the name of J″,* and now without rebuke for himself he is divinely commissioned to rebuke the man he deceived. The absence of rebuke for himself does not indeed imply that he is considered blameless. It may be accounted for by the lack of interest in the prophet displayed by the narrator. It is only what concerns the man of God that is related. Still the prophet is not for a moment disqualified for his office by his pretended revelation. Or, more accurately, J″ uses him again as the medium for conveying His message. The inference from vv.$^{20-22}$ seems then to be that prophets, truly inspired, may sometimes be guilty of fabricating Divine messages. But the verses contain elements of suspicion. Why should J″ not have spoken to the heart of the stranger himself? An utterance in the mouth of the old prophet loses strength, for his own previous statement contradicts it. The last words of v.^{26} almost imply a direct utterance to the stranger. This may, originally, have been the purport of vv.$^{20-22}$. The pronoun of the 3rd person in v.^{23} certainly refers to the man of God (see below), whereas in the present text of the preceding verses it does not. The verses as they stand are very abrupt. Some further explanation from the prophet to the man of God is required. It may be noted, also, that the words 'who came from Judah' (v.^{21}) are superfluous, and that after the first clause of v.^{20} MT has an unusual blank.

The conception of Divine retribution in the narrative offers nothing that is really peculiar to it. The man of God is punished because of his failure to pay strict obedience to J″'s command. It was the same with Lot's wife. The actual significance of the command has no importance attached to it. We are not justified in supposing that he was unavoidably deceived, and sinned in ignorance. The false statement of the old prophet is probably regarded as a temptation which he ought to have cast aside (comp. above). He had been a direct recipient of revelation, and the assertions of another were not on the same plane of certainty. Presumably, also, he is regarded as one who might, if he pleased, have ascertained for himself the Divine will, and so was responsible for his ignorance. Jeremiah in similar circumstances (Jer 28) recognized, indeed, the possibility that another prophet had received a message reversing his own (v.^{6}), but reserved his judgment (v.^{9}) until the word of J″ came to him (v.^{12}). Retribution, therefore, in his case is not inoperative (against Benzinger on 1 K 13); there was no disobedience, and consequently no ground for retribution. The treatment of the false prophet in Jer 28 is more properly a contrast to the treatment of the prophet of Bethel in 1 K. Hananiah dies within a year because of his false prophecy in the name of J″; the prophet of Bethel continues to be a medium of Divine revelation (1 K 13^{20-22}). But vv.$^{20-22}$ may not be in their original form, and it is not certain that the narrative in Kings really condones the offence of the prophet of Bethel (see above). Besides, there is this difference between the cases: the prophet of Bethel is not regarded as a false prophet, Hananiah is represented as a simple impostor. If the difference be not pressed, it remains true that the immunity of a false prophet is not something peculiar to this narrative. The fate of Hananiah was an exceptional one.

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* The last words of v.^{18} are so abrupt as to suggest interpolation. But there is nothing to support a conjecture that the prophet was simply mistaken, and the tenor of the narrative is against the view that he was inspired by J″ to tempt the man of God.

In estimating the historical value of this narrative the whole chapter must be taken into account. The real theme of the chapter is the message and the death of the man of God from Judah. The message announced the future desecration of the royal altar by a ruler of the house of David, Josiah. It was proclaimed in the king's presence, and only a miracle saved the man of God from the consequences of his act. J″ had commanded him not to linger in the city, and he refused to be the king's guest. It was because he yielded to the invitation of the old prophet that a lion met and killed him on the way home.

The whole fabric of this narrative has been challenged on the ground that it implies such hostility to the worship at Bethel as is inconceivable in the age of Jeroboam. It is supposed to be a product of Deuteronomic opposition to the local worship of J″ (Stade, Benzinger). Such criticism overlooks two further influences capable of explaining contemporary hostility to the sanctuary at Bethel. (1) The worship at this sanctuary was image worship. Whatever the attitude of the majority to such worship, there was doubtless a party of purity strenuously opposed to it (article BETHEL; Kittel, *Hist. Heb.* ii. 253 f.). (2) The sanctuary at Bethel was being made a royal sanctuary. It was the emblem of a new nation, and as such calculated to stir feeling in Judah. It is by no means improbable, in such circumstances, that a prophet, particularly one from Judah, should denounce Jeroboam's double schism on the day he inaugurated his royal sanctuary. The grave of one who did so was shown, it seems, in Bethel (2 K 23^{17}). The cause of his burial there and the manner of his death cannot seriously be pronounced unlikely. The report of his words (1 K 13^2) contains no description of Jeroboam's sin, Deuteronomic or otherwise. The purport of his message simply is that a king of the house of David will undo Jeroboam's work of that day. It admirably fits the situation. The suggestion that the story is pervaded by a confused memory of the appearance of Amos in Bethel ignores too much the fertility of history, and is a treatment of scanty records as if they were complete. The anonymity of the prophet and of the man of God is not evidence of their unhistorical origin. It points rather to a channel of oral transmission, in which the names were lost. Josephus calls the Judæan man of God Ἰάδων (*Ant.* VIII. viii. 5). The name may come from 2 Ch 9^{29}. The writer in the Bk. of Kings avoids confusion by the use of the titles 'prophet' and 'man of God.'* There is no distinction of office in these titles (v.^{18}).

The miraculous features of the story will be estimated, of course, according as we judge all miracle in these histories. The withering of Jeroboam's hand and its restoration (vv.$^{4.6}$), and the lion's quietly remaining beside the ass and the dead body (vv.$^{24.28}$), are not essentials in the narrative. A prophet did not require miraculous protection (comp. Am 7^{10-13}). The sign of the altar (vv.$^{3.5}$) gives the impression of being a later addition. It is not capable of historical proof that the Judæan king Josiah was named in the original prophecy. 1 K 13^2 and 2 K 23^{16} are not independent of each other.

Regarding the date of the narrative in its present form, see article on KINGS. Ewald considers it to have been written down for the first time after the desecration of the altar by Josiah. If it were clear that $13^{33b.34}$ is the original continuation of 12^{31-32}, it might be concluded that ch. 13 was not part of the original Bk. of Kings compiled by R^D, but an addition by R^{D2}. There seems to be no other argument against its inclusion by R^D. The possible difference of date scarcely affects the question of the general historicity of the narrative.

LITERATURE.—Ewald, *History*, iv. 30 ff.; Wellhausen, *Composition*³, 277 f. = *Bleek*⁴, 244; Stade, *Geschichte*, i. 349 f.; Benzinger, *ad loc.* ('Könige' in Marti's *Kurzer Hdcom.*). The possible motives of the old prophet receive special consideration in *The Speaker's Commentary*, and the nature of the guilt of the man of God in *The Expositor's Bible* (Farrar). See also Bähr in *Lange's Commentary*. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. and ix.) expands and adds extensively to the history of the prophet. He represents him as 'a certain wicked old false prophet,' who sought to undo the effect of the miracles and message of the man of God, and pretended friendship and Divine inspiration in order to ruin and discredit him. The revelation of vv.$^{21.22}$ is addressed to the man of God in this account (ὁ θεὸς ἐπιφαίνεται τῷ Ἰάδωνι). But Josephus may be judged capable of ignoring the present text because of prejudice against the 'wicked old prophet.'

W. B. STEVENSON.

OLD TESTAMENT.—

Introduction.
- i. Origin and growth of OT—
    - 1. The Law or Torah.
    - 2. The Prophets.
    - 3. The Writings or Hagiographa.
- ii. The OT in the Jewish Church—
    - 1. Preservation and Transmission: (*a*) pre-Massoretic period; (*b*) Massoretic period, A.D. 600–800.
    - 2. Use or regard and interpretation: (*a*) early Rabbinic and Talmudic period, B.C. 400–A.D. 700; (*b*) later Rabbinic period.
- iii. The OT in the Christian Church—
    - 1. Textual criticism.
    - 2. Use and interpretation: (*a*) in the NT; (*b*) in the early Church,—A.D. 600; (*c*) in the Middle Ages, 600–1500; (*d*) period of the Reformation, 1500–1600; (*e*) post-Reformation period, 1600–1750; (*f*) period of modern Criticism, 1750–1900.
- iv. Permanent religious value of OT.

Literature.

The OT is that portion of the Canon of the Reformed Church which was received as sacred literature from the Jews. (On the name see art. BIBLE in vol. i. p. 286ᵇ). While the Gr. Version of these Scriptures included additional writings, now known as the Apocrypha, and reckoned a part of the OT by the Rom. Cath. Church (see art. APOCRYPHA in vol. i. p. 121ᵇ), the only books recognized by the Pal. Jews as holy, and admitted into their Canon, were those of our present OT. They were arranged as in the present Hebrew Bibles in three groups: the Law (תּוֹרָה *Tôrāh*), Gn, Ex, Lv, Nu, Dt; the Prophets (נְבִיאִים *Nĕbî'îm*), Jos, Jg, 1 and 2 S, 1 and 2 K, Is, Jer, Ezk, and the 12 minor prophets; and the Writings, Hagiographa (כְּתוּבִים *Kĕthûbîm*), Ps, Pr, Job, Ca, Ru, La, Ec, Est, Dn, Ezr, Neh, 1 and 2 Ch.*

The purpose of this article is to describe the origin and growth of these groups as sacred literature, and to give an account of their use and method of interpretation when united into the OT in the Jewish and Christian Churches.

i. ORIGIN AND GROWTH.—1. *The Law or Torah.* A *tôrāh* in ancient Israel was any decision or instruction on matters of law or conduct given by a sacred authority (*OTJC*², p. 299; cf. art. LAW IN OT, p. 64ᵇ). A body of such instruction went by the same name, which was readily transferred to the Scriptures containing this material as its leading element.* Thus arose the name of the first five books of the OT.

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* In v.^{23}, AV and RV, the word 'prophet' denotes the man of God. But this is due to mistranslation. 'He saddled for himself the ass [which belonged] to the prophet who brought him back' is the correct rendering. Besides, the text is faulty. Read as LXX B: 'he saddled for himself his ass and departed back again.' The words omitted, לַנָּבִיא אֲשֶׁר [הֱשִׁיבוֹ], are a gloss by a reader who observed that the ass of the man of God is mentioned now for the first time, and from this concluded that it had been lent or given him by the prophet of Bethel.

* The order of the books in the first group was always the same, and also of the Former Prophets, Jos, Jg, 1 and 2 S, 1 and 2 K, but for the Latter Prophets the Babylonian Talmud (*Baba Bathra* 14*b*) and some ancient MSS give Jer, Ezk, Is, and minor prophets, and in the Writings place Ru before the Ps (Ginsburg, *Introd. to the Bible*, pp. 1–8).

The work of providing regulations for worship naturally belonged to the priests, but in addition in early Israel the administration of justice fell partially, at least, likewise to them. They communicated the Divine will by means of the lot, the ephod, and the Urim and Thummim (1 S 14^{18} [LXX] 23^{9}, Dt 33^{8}).

People repaired to the sanctuaries to have judgments rendered (Ex 21^{6} 22$^{7f. (8f.)}$, 1 S 2^{25}). Such action was called 'inquiring of God,' and the decisions were, 'the statutes and laws of God' (Ex 18$^{15f. 19-22}$; cf. Driver on Dt. 16$^{18-20}$). Thus the priests became the natural guardians and teachers of Divine instruction or law (Dt 33^{10}, Jer 18^{18}, Hos 4$^{6f.}$). They were members of the supreme tribunal of the land (mentioned in 2 Ch 19$^{5-11}$ as established by Jehoshaphat), Dt 17$^{8ff.}$ 19$^{15ff.}$. Tracing evidently their instruction or law to Moses, to preserve its continuity they issued legislation in his name, acting upon the principle that all law emanated from Jehovah, and that Moses was the medium of its communication. At first their work as lawgivers was probably simply carried on by oral decision and transmission. As Israel advanced in culture, however, laws were naturally reduced to writing. When this began, we have no clear means of determining. Some meagre written legislation may have existed as early as the time of Moses. (See the small type on p. 597^{b}). No great stress was laid upon the original legal form or words. They were modified through change in time and circumstance.† Codes remained open. The earliest written laws which have been preserved are those in Ex 20–23 (the Bk. of the Covenant) 34$^{14-28}$. They probably owe their preservation to their incorporation into historical writings (E or J) of the 8th cent., but the laws themselves may be much earlier. (The *lex talionis* reveals a primitive state of society, yet an agricultural people is presupposed, and hence a later date than the settlement of Canaan). Other codes more ancient may have existed in Israel in a written form. The earliest written law or book of Divine instruction of whose introduction or enactment an authentic account is given, was Deuteronomy or its main portion, represented as found in the temple in the 18th year of king Josiah (B.C. 621), and proclaimed by the king as the law of the land (2 K 23) (see article DEUTERONOMY in vol. i. p. 602 f.). From that time forward Israel had a written law which the pious believer was commanded to ponder day and night (Jos 1^{8} Ps 1^{2}); and thus the Torah, as sacred literature, formally commenced in Israel. This law aimed at a right application of original Mosaic principles.

The Mosaic period represented that of Israel's faithful relationship to Jehovah (Hos 2^{16} 11^{1}, Jer 2^{2}). As the cry at present is 'Back to Christ,' so the cry then was 'Back to Moses.' At present in going back to Christ to apply His teaching to immediate needs, we re-formulate them *indirectly*, giving thus laws of Christian conduct. But indirect re-formulation of ancient principles is contrary to the genius of the Hebrew mind and language. Intensity is characteristic of Hebrew utterance, as is well illustrated in Christ's use of the words 'hate' (Lk 14^{26}) and 'thank' and 'hide' (Mt 11^{25}). The Hebrew language refuses also to lend itself readily to indirect speech. It shows reluctance to give an address in substance, except in an apparent reproduction of the ipsissima verba. Thus in the OT historical books, whenever a writer wishes to report that one person made a verbal communication to another, he almost invariably says: 'So and so spoke to so and so, saying.' The direct form is used. Hence if in the reign of Josiah the Mosaic law and teaching were to be re-formulated to meet the exigencies of the time, they were naturally placed directly in the mouth of Moses. Indeed, practically no other method was possible to produce the required effect.

Dt is also far more than a code of laws. It is a hortatory exposition of law, appealing on the ground of Divine love and revelation for obedience in Israel. A religious experience formed its real basis, and gave it a position of Divine authority.

The reformation under Josiah was a failure. The good king fell at the battle of Megiddo. The people lapsed into idolatry, and Judah soon went into exile. Something more than Dt seemed necessary for a religious constitution for Israel. With this thought another re-formulation of the laws began. The Bk. of Ezekiel exhibits this movement. Under the form of a vision he drew up a programme for the future (see art. EZEKIEL). He heightened the sanctity of the central sanctuary by placing it within the domain of priests, that it might not, like the old temple, be liable to defilement through proximity to royal residences (43$^{7f.}$). He heightened the sanctity of the priesthood by restricting it to the sons of Zadok, the Levites being degraded from office on account of their ministration at the high places (44$^{10-14}$). He gave also an elaborate ritual for worship, and described, with the measurements and detail of an architect's plan, a new temple, and apportioned the land among the tribes of Israel with the regularity of a military camp. In accordance with this spirit, which saw no hope for Israel without transforming the State into a church and regulating the whole life of the people through elaborate law and ordinance, supposed Mosaic principles were again restated, and an ideal constitution of Israel in the wilderness was given as a new law for the Jewish people. This was issued in the Priests' Code (see art. HEXATEUCH), and solemnly presented by Ezra to the people, who received it as the law of God (Neh 8–10, B.C. 444 or 443). The reception of the Priests' Code under Ezra marks practically the appearance of the Law, since shortly afterwards Dt, which had previously been united with the historical work JE (see art. HEXATEUCH), and had never been abrogated as a law of Divine authority, was joined with the Priests' Code.

In all this legal literature the historical narrative occupied a prominent place. Laws were thought of not only as expressing abstract principles of justice and worship, but also as having originated in connexion with Divine manifestations. Hence narratives of a progressive revelation of God in the early ages of mankind and Israel formed an integral part of the Priests' Code. An example had already been set in Dt 1–4 and later by combining Dt with the historical work JE.

The enlargement and combination of sacred writings was performed by the *ṣôphĕrîm* or scribes. This class of scholars, of whom Ezra 'the ready scribe in the Law of Moses' (Ezr 7^{6}) was the prototype, grew up during the Exile, or shortly after, probably within priestly circles. The membership was not confined, however, to priests. They became the guardians and students of the Law, which they felt free to annotate and enlarge with some additions. They separated from the Hexateuch the Bk. of Joshua (see below). Thus the Law did not reach its final form until the 3rd cent. B.C. (For revision and gradual compilation of P, see art. HEXATEUCH in vol. ii. p. 374^{a} f.).

2. *The Prophets.*—This division of OT falling into two parts, the Former Prophets Jos, Jg, 1 and 2 S, and 1 and 2 K, and the Latter Prophets Is, Jer, Ezk, and the Twelve, receives its name from the prophetic authorship of these books. The prophets represent the mystical

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* *Torah* (תּוֹרָה) is used in the OT to denote—1. *Instruction*: (*a*) human: Pr 1^{8} 6$^{20. 23}$ *et al.*; (*b*) Divine, Job 22^{22}, Is 30^{9} *et al.*; (*c*) a body of prophetic teaching, Is 42$^{21. 24}$, Jer 9^{13} *et al.*; (*d*) instruction in Messianic age, Is 2^{3} 42^{4} *et al.*; (*e*) a body of priestly direction or instruction, Hos 4^{6}, Jer 2^{8} *et al.* 2. *law* (prop. *direction*): (*a*) of special laws, Ex 13^{9} 16^{4} *et al.*; (*b*) of codes of law—(1) as written in the code of the covenant, Ex 24^{12}, Jos 24^{26} *et al.*; (2) the law of the Deuteronomic code, Dt 1^{5} 4$^{8. 44}$ *et al.*; (3) the law of the Priests' Code, 2 Ch 23^{18} 30^{16} *et al.* (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.* p. 435 f.).

† Cf. the two records of the ten commandments (Ex 20$^{3-17}$, Dt 5$^{7-21}$) and the laws in the different OT codes (see art. HEXATEUCH in vol. ii. 365^{b}).

teachers of religion who gain truth through the emotions or intuitions (see art. PROPHET). Equally with the priests, the prophets unfolded the ancient instruction or law, not, however, in the form of statutes or codes, but as direct revelations of Jehovah expressed in warnings and exhortations. The prophets became thus the conscience of the State and interpreters of history. Handing down their instruction as a living word, they seem not to have taken pains at first to preserve it in writing. Not until the 8th cent. have we indications of a systematic effort in that direction, illustrated in the discourses given in Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah. How far these came directly from the prophets themselves, or represent abstracts or reports furnished by scholars or hearers, we have no means of determining. Isaiah twice commanded that some of his instruction should be preserved as a future testimony to the truth of his doctrine (8[16] 30[8]). A century later Jeremiah took pains, according to a command from Jehovah, to have his discourses, covering a period of some twenty-two years, carefully written out (Jer 36[1ff. 32]). At the time of the Exile, when Ezekiel flourished, a written roll had become the symbol of the prophetic word (Ezk 2[9]–3[3]). He probably himself carefully wrote and arranged his prophecies, and from thence onward prophecy often assumed doubtless in the first instance a written as well as a spoken form. The anonymity of the author (or authors) of Is 40–66 suggests that those prophecies may have been circulated in MS without having been first orally delivered. The last of the prophets, whose writings have been preserved, according to Jewish tradition was Malachi (about B.C. 450), and this tradition is probably true as concerning the writings of those who delivered in the first instances oral messages.* Ob, Jl, Jon, Zec 9–14 and Is 24–27 are assigned by many scholars (see separate articles and Driver's *LOT*) to the Greek period, representing an imitation of the earlier prophetic word, and if we accept this assignment they probably represent a literary rather than an oratorical activity.

No record has been left of the manner or special cause of the collection of the 'Latter Prophets.' The sacred authority of most of them clearly dated from the day of their utterance or composition, and they gained nothing in this respect by collection and union with other writings, and yet their value naturally became greater when living prophets no longer appeared, and then an impulse must have arisen for their union and preservation in a sacred canon. This work was probably formally accomplished by the scribes already mentioned in connexion with the Law; and here, again, as in the case of the Law, liberty was doubtless taken in editing old material to introduce new reflections. (We may account in this way partially for the imitations of ancient prophecy already mentioned).

The historical books Jos, Jg, 1 and 2 S, and 1 and 2 K may have been originally classified as 'Prophets' because they contained narratives concerning inspired or prophetic men, or because they were assigned for authorship to such men as Joshua, Samuel, and Jeremiah, a view of Talmudic Judaism; yet the result was in a degree correct, since these books in the main came from authors imbued with the prophetic spirit. They reveal the will and character of Jehovah by relating His dealings with ancient Israel. Narratives of this sort began to be composed quite early. The lost Book of the Wars of Jehovah (Nu 21[14]) was probably one, and the documents J and E of the Hexateuch and the similar sources (perhaps a continuation of J and E) appearing in Jg, 1 and 2 S, 1 K 1–3, and the prophetic stories of 1 and 2 K were others (see articles JUDGES in vol. ii. p. 807 ff., SAMUEL (BOOKS OF), and KINGS (BOOKS OF)). Next to lyric songs, these narratives containing ancient myths and legends illustrate the earliest literature of Israel. They began, as we have them, to be written not far from the reign of Solomon, and passed probably through many hands, or were preserved in circles of scholars, who copied, edited, and made such combinations of them as are seen in JE.

The subject of the development of literature in Israel is very obscure. It is uncertain whether the art of reading and writing was in vogue among the people before they entered the land of Canaan. After they came in contact with Canaanitish civilization it was clearly known among them. In Jg 8[14] writing by a boy is mentioned. This, it is true, might be an anachronism only revealing a widespread use of the art in the days of the author of Jg. At the court of David a scribe is mentioned (2 S 8[17]), and the knowledge of reading and writing from that time onward is assumed (2 S 11[14], 1 K 21[8], 2 K 5[5] 10[1], Jer 29[1]). Hence schools for the cultivation of this art necessarily then existed, and a literature of some sort must then have been current. This in its earliest form probably consisted of songs and stories, and possibly some laws. The Song of Deborah is usually regarded as the earliest piece of literature preserved in the Bible. (For a chronological list of the writings of the OT, see article BIBLE in vol. i. p. 290; compare the dates there given with those adopted in the articles on each OT book).

From these prophetic sources and from ancient annals, such as were naturally kept in connexion with the court and the temple (or from works based upon these annals), were composed or compiled in the spirit of Dt, and hence later than B.C. 621, the Deuteronomic parts of Joshua, the middle sections of Jg, 1 and 2 S, and 1 and 2 K. Later, these books suffered revision from priests and scribes, who gave them their present form (separating Jos from the Hexateuch). The time of the union of the Former Prophets with the Latter, or whether the books in either division were separately collected before their final union together, cannot be determined. The historical books from the first clearly held a high and revered place in Israel, as distinctly appears from the union of JE with D. They were regarded as records of Divine revelations given to the patriarchs and prophets and illustrating the principles of Jehovah's rule in the world and care for His people. The earliest testimony to their existence is their use in 1 and 2 Ch, written about B.C. 300. In 2 Mac 2[13-15] is preserved a tradition that Nehemiah, founding a library, gathered together the things concerning the kings and prophets, and the writings of David, and the letters of the kings about sacred gifts. Although the list of writings enumerated goes beyond the 'Prophets,' yet a true reminiscence of their collection may be here given. The prophets formed a distinct division of Sacred Scriptures at B.C. 130, when the prologue to Sirach was written, and if the mention of twelve prophets in Sir 49[12] is genuine, then as early as B.C. 180 (see art. OT CANON).

3. *The Writings or Hagiographa.*—This third division of the OT is composed of literature generally later than the Law and the Prophets, and this fact alone is sufficient to account for its separate existence. Dn in character belongs to the Latter Prophets, but was not written until the Maccabæan period (see art. DANIEL). Through the inspiring character of its teachings and revelation it was clearly received on its first appearance as of Divine authority. 1 and 2 Ch, Ezr, Neh, and Est resemble the Former Prophets, and appeared too late to be joined with them. Ezr and Neh bring the history of Israel from a point near that at which the narrative ceases in 1 and 2 K down to the canonization of the Law or the founding of Judaism, and probably

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* No accredited prophets of Israel are mentioned in OT or elsewhere later than the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, and Josephus held that their line of succession had then ceased (*c. Apion.* i. 8). In Zec 13[3-5] the prophet is mentioned as though the office had fallen into disrepute (this passage is, however, obscure), and in Ps 74[9] and 1 Mac 4[46] 9[27] 14[41] prophets are mentioned as having ceased.

thus gained a recognition as Holy Scripture. The same probably is true of Ruth. It was felt to be an integral part of OT history, and through this influence it was sometimes reckoned as a part of Jg (see below). 1 and 2 Ch were originally joined with Ezr and Neh, the four books being the work of one author (see articles); but since 1 and 2 Ch were principally a *midrash* on 1 and 2 S and 1 and 2 K, they were separated from Ezr and Neh, and not so early recognized as sacred. This supposition seems necessary to explain their position *after* Ezr and Neh, and last in the OT Canon. Esther was written to explain the feast of Purim, and received at once, doubtless, a sacred character from this fact and from its inspiring patriotism. Wherever the feast was regarded as a sacred festival, the story of its origin acquired a similar character, and since it commanded the feast, spoke with Divine authority. From this point of view Esther resembles the narratives of the Torah, which explain the origins of religious laws and customs.

Ps, Job, Pr, Ec, Ca, and La represent a different class of literature from the Law and the Prophets, since their contents appear almost entirely as the result of human observation, thought, and aspiration rather than as the product or record of Divine revelation. Hence, although partially of as early a date as some of the prophets, they did not command such immediate attention or force so readily the thought of Divine origin. The main cause leading to their acceptance, clearly seen in Ps, La, Pr, and Job, was their inspiring religious contents. These books are directly akin in their teachings to the Law and the Prophets. To the conscience they spoke with similar authority; they breathed likewise the very spirit of faith and penitence which the Law and the Prophets commanded, and thus they obtained recognition as a Divine word. With Canticles and Ecclesiastes such inspiration is less apparent. The former was probably originally a collection of songs sung at wedding festivities (see, however, article SONG OF SONGS). Highly valued, nevertheless, as a beautiful specimen of Hebrew poetry, and regarded also as a continuous composition, this collection was interpreted as setting forth the love of Jehovah for His people, and thus gained a sacred character, and then probably was assigned to Solomon as its author. Ec was probably received principally on the ground of its supposed Solomonic authorship. As in the case of the prophets, no record has been left of the collection and formal canonization of the Hagiographa. The earliest mention of them is in the Prologue to Sirach (written B.C. 132), where reference is made to 'the law, the prophets, and the other books.' Owing to the indefiniteness of the expression 'the other books,' it is uncertain whether this division was then complete, or whether some books or portions of books were added later. A decision in this regard must be determined by the date of the separate writings.* In 1 Mac 7^{16} (written about B.C. 100) Ps $79^{2f.}$ is formally cited as Scripture. In the NT the three divisions of the OT are recognized, closing with 1 and 2 Ch (Mt 23^{34}, Lk 24^{44}). The second (fourth) Bk. of Esdras as well as Josephus, probably near the close of the 1st cent. A.D., recognize our present OT Canon.

In 2 Es ninety-four divinely-revealed books are mentioned (14^{44}), of which seventy are esoteric (14^{46}). This leaves twenty-four representing the present OT according to a usual Jewish method of reckoning: the law, five; the prophets, eight; the Hagiographa, eleven. All double books, Ezr and Neh, and the minor prophets, are reckoned as one each. This standard way of reckoning the OT books gave rise to the name The Twenty-four (see article BIBLE). Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 8) mentions twenty-two: five belonging to Moses, thirteen covering the interval from Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes, and four containing hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life. This number is obtained by uniting Ru with Jg, and La with Jer, a method of reckoning also adopted by the Jews. Jerome mentions it (*Prologus Galeatus*, passage quoted in Wildeboer's *Origin of the Canon of the OT*, p. 80 f.). It has been questioned whether Josephus did not omit from his Canon the Bks. of Ca and Ec (Briggs' *Introd. to the Study of Holy Scripture*, vi. 4, 1899, p. 127 f.). The canonicity of these two books was under discussion at the Assemblies of Jamnia (OT JABNEH, a Jewish seat of learning after the fall of Jerusalem) about A.D. 90 and A.D. 118, and a decision was rendered in their favour, and this period is frequently given as marking the final close of the OT Canon. This discussion concerning Ca and Ec was probably in regard to their having been rightly received into the Canon, and not their first reception (Buhl, *Canon and Text of the OT*, § 8; Ryle, *Canon of the OT*, p. 187). It is a noteworthy fact, however, that these two books are nowhere quoted or directly referred to in the NT.

The impulse which led to the special setting apart of the writings as Scripture was probably the enhancing of sacred writings through the command of Antiochus Epiphanes for their destruction (1 Mac $1^{56f.}$), and the revival of Jewish patriotism in the Maccabæan period.*

ii. THE OT IN THE JEWISH CHURCH.—1. *Preservation and Transmission.*—(*a*) *Pre-Massoretic period.* The OT Scriptures were originally written upon rolls (cf. Ps $40^{8(7)}$, Jer $36^{14ff.}$ Ezk 2^{9}, Zec 5^{1}) of skin, or possibly in some instances of papyrus paper, and were thus handed down with probably much the same general care or lack of care with which they were preserved before canonization; for the variations of the Sam. and Greek Pentateuchs from the later uniform Heb. consonantal text show that the words and letters of the Scriptures were not at first regarded as especially sacred. Later, however, this idea was developed, and by the 1st cent. A.D. had so far progressed that Philo said that the Jews had never altered a word of what Moses wrote (quoted in Eusebius, *Præp. ad Ev.* viii. 6 *fin.*), and Josephus, that no one had been so bold as to add anything to them [the Scriptures], to take anything from them, or to make any change in them (*c. Apion.* i. 8); and in the Talmud, in the words of a Rabbi held to have lived in the 1st cent., the work of a copyist is called Divine, and a warning is given against dropping or adding a letter (*Erubin* 13*a*, *Sota* [cf. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. i. p. 128]). Synchronous with this growth of reverence for the letter was necessarily an endeavour to have a uniform text for use in the synagogues and schools. Efforts in this direction culminated not long after the fall of Jerusalem (A.D. 70), when in the refounding of Judaism a single consonantal text of the OT under the influence of Rabbi Akiba and his associates at Jamnia was adopted as authoritative, and all others disappeared. The principle of its adoption is unknown. A tradition relates that the text of the Law witnessed by the largest number of MSS was chosen (Jerus. *Taanith*, iv. 2). Probably the choice was determined by the traditional age or genealogy of a certain MS or school of MSS believed to represent best the original archetype. This finally adopted text cannot be regarded as entirely free from corruptions (slight in the Law but conspicuous, for example, in 1 and 2 S and Ezk). These corruptions arose from the inevitable mistakes of copyists, especially before the words and letters were severely reverenced; from the gradual change of the old Hebrew alphabet to the present square character —a change brought about between the period of Ezra and the 1st cent. B.C., and also from emendations made on dogmatic grounds.

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* Dn is probably the latest of the Hagiographa. Some, however, place Est and Ec later (see articles), and also certain psalms (see art. PSALMS, and cf. Duhm, 'Die Psalmen,' in *Kurzer Hdcomm. z. AT*, p. xxi ff., and Cheyne, *OP*, 24 ff., 50, etc.).

* Budde holds that into the third Canon, that of the Hagiographa, were received all books of a religious character, of which the date was believed to go back as far as the prophetic period, that is, to the time of Ezra (art. 'OT Canon,' *Encycl. Bib.*). Josephus and Talmudic Judaism did believe that all the books received were of such an early date, but possibly the canonicity gave the date.

The substitution of *bosheth* (בשת) for *ba'al* (בעל) in proper names (see article ISHBOSHETH), and of *bless* (ברך) for *curse* (קלל) in 1 K $21^{10.13}$, illustrate these dogmatic changes (few in number) introduced to express an abhorrence of idolatry, or to avoid impious expressions toward God. (Cf. Geiger's *Urschrift der Bibel*, p. 257 ff.; Ginsburg, *op. cit.* p. 363 ff.; Siegfried (*SBOT*), Budde (*Hdkomm.*), Duhm (*Kurzer Hdcomm.*), contra, on Job 1^5). In line with these changes introduced into the text are probably the *neḳudim* (נקורים) or fifteen extraordinary points indicating that some change should be made in the text (Ginsburg, *op. cit.* p. 318 ff.).

Within this period the Scriptures were divided into sections for synagogue usage (the Law and the Prophets, see, further, below), into paragraphs (פרשות) and verses (?).*

(*b*) *Massoretic period*, A.D. 600–800. After the canonization of the official consonantal text the greatest care was taken that it should be transmitted with complete accuracy; hence it was studied in respect to all its peculiarities, and these were noted down in a series of marginal notes called *Massorah* (מסורה). These notes embraced such particulars as calling attention to peculiar letters, giving the number of words or letters in each book, and the middle word or letter, and especially in noting variant readings (the *Ḳerê*), the latter being based upon the testimony of MSS, or required for religious reasons, or demanded by the connexion of the passage. All these features were a continuation and preservation of the work of the scribes. In addition to these notes, with the same end in view, and especially to render the OT readable to the people, vowel points fixing the traditional pronunciation were added to the consonantal text, and a system of punctuation (accents) extending to each word, marking off the verses. Thus finally appeared the present Massoretic text, of which the oldest MSS are of the 9th and 10th cents.† (For a description of the most ancient MSS, cf. Ginsburg, *op. cit.* pp. 469–778). All Hebrew MSS represent essentially this Massoretic text, which was first printed, the Psalms 1477, the Pentateuch 1482, both at Bologna, and the entire Heb. Bible at Soncino 1488. The most important subsequent printed Hebrew Bible is the edition of Jacob ben Chayim, with the Massorah, at the Bomberg Press, Venice, 1524–25. All subsequent editions, so far as they are Massoretic, follow this standard edition (Ginsburg, *op. cit.* p. 976) until we come to two recent attempts to furnish an exact Massoretic text, that of Baer and Delitzsch, Leipzig (not yet complete), and that of Christian D. Ginsburg, London, 1894. (For ancient versions of the OT see articles SEPTUAGINT, SYRIAC VERSIONS, TARGUM, and VULGATE; for modern textual criticism see below). [On printed editions of Hebrew text, cf. Buhl, *Canon and Text of the OT*, § 25; Ginsburg, *op. cit.* pp. 779–976; Weir, *Short Hist. of the Heb. Text*, p. 129 ff.].

2. *Use or Regard and Interpretation.*—(*a*) *Early Rabbinic and Talmudic period*, B.C. 400–A.D. 700. —The Law was always regarded in the Jewish Church as of a higher inspiration than the rest of the OT. It was believed to contain the original revelation of the Divine will, while the Prophets and the Writings only contained the same will further delivered; yet these latter were equally Holy Scriptures with the former, and were cited with the same formula (in the NT they are quoted as the Law, Ro 3^{19}, 1 Co 14^{21}, Jn 10^{34} 12^{34} 15^{25}). The early reverence for the Law is illustrated in Ps 1. 19^{7-14} 119 (Ps 1 may have been written in reference to the Deuteronomic law). Both the Law and the Prophets at the time of Christ, and probably from near the time of their canonization, were read each Sabbath day in the synagogue; the former in lessons arranged to complete the Law once in three years.* The lesson from the Prophets was not prescribed. The Hagiographa were not read regularly, except the five *Megillôth*† on the appropriate feast days. Schools were established (as early as the century before Christ) for the instruction of children in the Scriptures, especially the Law; and such study was finally held to precede every other duty (Weber, *Die Jüdische Theologie*, p. 30). The punctilious observance of the Law became the evidence both of patriotism and piety, and the constant endeavour was to apply the Law to every exigency of life, and to justify every cherished institution or notion by some word of the OT.

Such applications or interpretations or inquiries into the meaning of the Scriptures were called *midrāshîm* (sing. *midrāsh*, מדרש from דרש 'to seek'). In them was sought not what a passage might declare according to the natural tenor of its words (although this method of interpretation was recognized, called *peshaṭ*, פשט), but the inferences that might be drawn by combination with other passages, by suggestion, or by allegory. Thus arose a great body of *midrāshîm* of two sorts, legal and homiletical; the former called *Halākhôth* (sing. *halākhā*, הלכה from הלך 'to go'), the latter *Haggādôth* (sing. *haggādā*, הגדה or אגדה from נגד Hiph. 'to tell'). These *midrāshîm* were handed down orally and not compiled in writing until the 2nd cent. A.D., when they appeared, especially the Halakhoth, in the Mishna (Talmud).‡ This oral tradition or interpretation was held to be necessary for an understanding and keeping of the Law, and was assumed to have been given in great part by Moses, and thus gradually, beginning as early as the time of Christ, if not a century or two before, it usurped the place of the Scriptures, becoming of equal, and, according to some, of superior authority (Weber, *op. cit.* § 22, p. 88 ff.).§ It is frequently referred to in the NT (Mt $15^{2.3.6}$, Mk $7^{3.5.8.9.13}$. Cf. Mt $23^{16ff.}$), and its character is well illustrated in the prohibited labours on the Sabbath. These, which are particularized only in a few instances in the OT, are amplified in the Mishna into thirty-nine prohibited labours, each of which is still further analyzed and discussed.

The prohibited labours were: (1) sowing, (2) ploughing, (3) reaping, (4) binding into sheaves, (5) threshing, (6) winnowing, (7) fruit cleaning, (8) grinding, (9) sifting, (10) kneading, (11) baking, (12) wool shearing, (13) bleaching, (14) combing, (15) dyeing, (16) spinning, (17) warping, (18) making two spindle-trees, (19) weaving two threads, (20) separating two threads (in the warp), (21) tying a knot, (22) untying a knot, (23) sewing on with two stitches, (24) tearing to sew together with two stitches, (25) hunting a deer, (26) killing, (27) skinning, (28) and salting it, (29) preparing its skin, (30) scraping off the hair, (31) cutting up the flesh, (32) writing two letters (characters), (33) erasing to write two letters, (34) building, (35) demolishing, (36) extinguishing (fire), (37) kindling (fire), (38) hammering, (39) carrying from one place to another (Tract *Shabbath* vii. 2). Each of these prohibitions was still further explained. On (21), (22), knots of camel-drivers and sailors are forbidden both to be tied and untied; but knots which may be untied with one hand were lawful. A woman might tie up a slit in her chemise, the bands of her hood, her girdle, her shoes and sandals; also the bands of leather bottles of wine or oil, or of a pot with meat. A rope might be tied in front of cattle that they might not escape; a bucket over a well with a girdle but not a rope. Rabbi Judah permits a rope also (Tract *Shabbath* xv. 2; cf. Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. p. 96 ff.). In the Gemara or Rabbinical comments on the Mishna these refinements are still further refined.

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* On the point of verses authorities differ. They are mentioned in the Talmud, but may be those of oral tradition (cf. *JQR*, vol. i. p. 224 f.; Briggs, *op. cit.* p. 174; W. H. Green, *Gen. Introd. to the OT Text*, N.Y., 1899, p. 148 f.).

† When a MS became old it was religiously destroyed, lest through its mutilation the sacred word might be violated. This explains the lack of earlier MSS.

* The Babylonian arrangement was for completion in one year, and this, later, came into general use.

† Ca, Ru, La, Ec, Est read respectively at the seasons of the Passover, Pentecost, Destruction of Jerusalem, Tabernacles, and Purim.

‡ Another view is that the Talmud, though compiled in the 2nd cent., continued to be orally transmitted until the 6th cent. (see art. TALMUD).

§ Its development and place is well compared with that of tradition in the Roman Catholic Church.

In the derivation of the Halakhoth were employed seven rules of interpretation laid down by Rabbi Hillel (contemporary of Herod the Great), and afterwards increased to thirteen by Rabbi Ishmael (2nd cent. A.D.).

These rules are: (1) That which is true of the easier or less is true of the greater or more difficult. An example, Nu 12^{14}. If from the sign of a human father's displeasure Miriam should be ashamed (shut up) seven days, then from leprosy, the sign of the Lord's displeasure, she should be shut out of the camp seven days. (2) A parallel passage or word supplements another: Lv 16^{29} enjoins on the Day of Atonement affliction of souls (תְּענו נפשתיכם 'ye shall afflict your souls'). In Dt 8^{3} ענה ('afflict') is used in reference to suffering from hunger, hence the affliction of the Day of Atonement is fasting. (3) A special provision of Scripture is to be generalized or applied in other analogous passages or cases. Dt 24^{6} forbids the mill or upper millstone to be taken as a pledge. This law is generalized by the Rabbis so that everything which is used for preparing food is forbidden to be taken as a pledge. (4–11) 'Eight rules with reference to the relation of genus to species by inclusion, exclusion, contrast, and their relation to a third term in the forms of Rabbinical logic.' (12) A word or passage is to be explained by the context. (13) Conflicting passages are to be reconciled by a third. Gn 1^{1} 'In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth,' and 2^{4} 'In the day that the LORD made the earth and the heavens.' The question now arises, which did He make first? The answer, 'Both at once,' is found in Is 48^{13} 'Mine hand hath laid the foundations of the earth, and my right hand hath spread out the heavens.' For a full discussion and illustrations of these rules, see Mielziner's *Introd. to the Talmud* (1897), pp. 117–187. They are also given in Barclay's *Talmud*, 1878, pp. 40–44; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, 1897, pp. 108–118; cf. also Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, 1899, p. 430 f.

The fault of Rabbinical exegesis arose not so much from these rules, many of which represent valid forms of reasoning, as from their application, and, indeed, they were not always supposed to be applied: the mere mention or suggestion of anything under discussion was sufficient to constitute a proof text. That a piece of earthenware large enough to stir a fire might be carried on the Sabbath day, was inferred from Is 30^{14b} 'So that there shall not be found among the pieces thereof a sherd to take fire from the hearth.' And that to anoint oneself on the Day of Atonement was equal to drinking, was inferred from Ps 109^{18} 'And it cometh like water on his body and oil into his bones' (Tract *Shabbath* c. viii. and c. ix., Bab. Talmud, Rodkinson, vol. i. pp. 157, 163).

The very language of Scripture was held to be different from ordinary human language, and hence particles of speech, such as adverbs and conjunctions, special constructions of syntax, the position of words, syllables, letters, and even forms of letters, were regarded as capable of a hidden meaning and of giving proof in support of tradition. This method was advocated by the celebrated Rabbi Akiba of the 2nd cent., and, although opposed by some of his contemporaries, yet won a place for itself in the Talmud.

Under this method such particles as אַף, את, גם were held to extend a law, and אך and מן, רק to restrict it. את before יהוה in Dt 10^{20} extended the command to fear God, so that it included also wise men (*Pesachim* 22^{b}). אך in Ex 31^{13} showed that the rigorous precepts of the Sabbath did not apply to cases where life was in danger (*Yoma* 85^{b}—Mielziner, *op. cit.* p. 124 f.). Words were even interpreted according to the numerical value of the letters (*Gematriā*). The ways of dying are inferred to be 903 from 'issues of death' (תוצאות) mentioned in Ps 68^{21} (*Berachoth* 8^{a}). Letters might also stand for words (*Notarikon*). From 'father of a multitude' (אב המון Gn 17^{5}) was drawn: 'Father, chosen, lovely, king, distinguished, faithful (אב בחור חביב מלך נתיק נאמן). The words with which Shimei cursed David are drawn from 'grievous' (נמרצת 1 K 2^{8}), 'adulterer, Moabite, murderer, oppressor, abomination' (נואף מואבי רוצח צורר תועבה) (*Shabbath* xii. 5). Another device was change in the order of letters (*Temoorah*). Thus in Ps 21^{2} 'The king shall rejoice,' refers to the Messiah, by transposing ישמח ('he shall rejoice') into משיח ('Messiah'—Farrar, *History of Interpretation*, p. 102). A species of *Temoorah* called *Atbash*, the substitution of the last letter of the alphabet for the first, and so on, appears in Jer 25^{26} 51^{41}, where 'Sheshach' (ששך) is written for 'Babel' (בבל); cf. Jer 51^{1}. These and other similar methods of interpretation were carried to a great excess during the Middle Ages in the Kabbala, a Jewish system of Theosophy or sacred mysteries.

The homiletical *midrāshîm* or *haggādôth* differed from the *Halākhôth* in not being so much inferences from the text of Scripture as additions to the text. Many of the additions in 1 and 2 Ch, compared with the parallel narratives in 1 and 2 S and 1 and 2 K, illustrate their character, which is still further seen in the Targums (see art. TARGUM), and abundantly exemplified in the Jewish legends concerning the patriarchs and other OT worthies in the Talmud and also in later Jewish treatises.* Examples of *Haggādôth* appear in the NT in the names JANNES and JAMBRES (2 Ti 3^{8}), in the rock *that followed them* (1 Co 10^{4}), in the law given *through angels* (Ac 7^{53}, Gal 3^{19}, He 2^{2}), in the *three and a half years* of famine in the days of Elijah (Lk 4^{25}, Ja 5^{17}). These are all additions to the OT narratives. The apocryphal books of Enoch, Judith, and Tobit are all examples of *Haggādôth*. For Haggadic interpretation were given 32 rules, and it shared in all the fancifulness of Halakhic interpretation.

A species of Haggadic interpretation is the allegorical, frequently called the Hellenistic from its use among Greek-speaking Jews. Philo, the Alexandrian philosopher, an early contemporary of Christ, used this method. The OT Scriptures were to him as a believing Jew not simply an authoritative revelation of religious truth, but of all truth, and hence by means of allegory he deduced from them the doctrines of Greek philosophy, which he also ardently held. He excluded the literal sense, and developed his allegorical interpretation on definite principles, regarding the former as the body and the latter as the soul of Scripture.† (For his principles, cf. Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria*, 1875, pp. 160–197; Briggs, *op. cit.* pp. 434–436). Allegory appears essentially in many Rabbinical interpretations. A New Test. example is Gal 4^{22-26}.

Jewish interpretation during the early Rabbinic and Talmudic period, while not devoid of a certain ethical and spiritual value, is thus seen to have contributed really nothing to an understanding of the historical meaning of the OT. That idea appears almost, if not exclusively, foreign to its purpose. Talmudic tradition claimed the interest of scholars, and had taken in popular estimate the place of the Scriptures.

(*b*) *Later Rabbinical period.*—In the 8th cent. arose a sect of Jews who rejected Talmudic tradition as a sacred authority, and held to the letter of the OT. Hence their views were called *Karaism*, or religion of the text. This movement, however, did not supplant orthodox or Talmudic Judaism, and yet it gave a great impulse to the study of the OT, which resulted eventually in real grammatical and exegetical works, and the period from 900–1500 has been called the golden age of Jewish interpretation. Commentaries were written upon the books of the OT. The pioneer in this movement was Saadia († 942), the Gaon or head of the Jewish school in Babylonia, who, to render the Scriptures accessible to the people, translated them with notes into Arabic, then widely spoken. He aimed to interpret the OT agreeably both to reason and Talmudic tradition, which latter he held to be equally of Divine origin with the Scriptures. In carrying out this aim his interpretations became arbitrary and forced. Followers of Saadia in the Babylonian schools pursued his idea of applying reason to OT interpretation, and one Samuel ben Chofni († 1034) went so far as to endeavour to explain miraculous events of OT as if they were natural (Grätz, *Hist. Jews*, iii. p. 259). Jewish learning, however, fell into decay in the East and became centred in Western Europe, especially in Spain. Here the Hebrew language was cultivated, and OT exegesis along with that of the Talmud. Ibn Janach († 1050) has been called the first rational Biblical critic. Although convinced of the divinity of Holy Writ, he held that it must be interpreted according to the rules of human usage (Grätz, iii. p. 269). Rashi († 1105), whose commentaries, held to be almost as sacred as the text, are printed in Rabbinical Bibles, explained the Scriptures according to the natural meaning of the words, but combined therewith Halakhic and Haggadic fancies. Ibn Ezra († 1167), while paying attention to tradition for the exposition of OT laws, cut loose both from Kabbalistic and Haggadic interpretations and followed the natural sense, and thereby raised OT exegesis to the dignity of a science. (Maimonides († 1204), the Jewish Aristotle and codifier of Biblical and Talmudic law, shows also the activity of the Jewish mind of this period). David Kimchi († 1255) and others followed in the same directions, and Jewish interpretation (save in representing the bias of a Jew compared with a Christian) merges into that of the common stream of Biblical scholarship, represented now in the modern critical movement.*

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* For a list of Haggadic literature, see art. 'Midrash' by S. M. Schiller-Szinnessy in *Encycl. Brit.*^{9}.

† Philo comments thus on Gn 2^{8}: 'Virtue is called a Paradise metaphorically, and the appropriate place for Paradise is Eden; and this means luxury: and the most appropriate field for virtue is peace, and ease, and joy, in which real luxury especially consists. Moreover, the plantation of this Paradise is represented as in the east; for right reason never sets, and is never extinguished, but it is its nature to be always rising. And as I imagine the rising sun fills the darkness of the air with light, so also does virtue when it has arisen in the soul irradiate its mist and dissipate its dense darkness. "And there," says Moses, "he placed the man whom He had formed"; for God being good, and having formed our race for virtue, as His work which was most akin to Himself, places the mind in virtue evidently in order, that it, like a good husband, may cultivate and attend to nothing else except virtue' (*Allegories of the Sacred Laws*, i. 4, C. D. Yonge's transl.).

iii. THE OT IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.—*Textual Criticism.*—Corresponding to the transmission and preservation of the OT in the Jewish Church, is textual criticism in the Christian Church. For early efforts in this direction, see articles SEPTUAGINT and VULGATE. Beyond the interest taken in such criticism by Origen and Jerome and by the Antiochene school, in their indirect manner, none appears until after the Reformation. The Reformers accepted the Massoretic Text of the Jews as infallibly inspired, and the Jewish tradition of its having been kept singularly pure since its origin. This notion in the post-Reformation period was intensified by some on dogmatic grounds into the theory of the Mosaic or Ezraic inspired origin of even the Hebrew vowel points (a view maintained by the elder Buxtorf († 1629) and the younger († 1669), and appearing in the Helvetic Confession (1675). This view was refuted by Cappellus († 1658), who, with Morinus (first a Protestant and then a Roman Catholic, † 1659), showed not only that the Hebrew vowel points were of a relatively late origin, but also that the present Massoretic text is open to emendation by the use of the ancient versions. This laid the foundation of modern textual criticism. Helpful apparatus for such work also then appeared in the polyglott Bibles of the 17th cent., especially Walton's *London Polyglott*. In the next century Hebrew MSS were collated by Kennicott († 1783), and de Rossi († 1831), whose labours showed that all Heb. MSS represent essentially the same text. Textual criticism is now carried forward by a comparison of the Heb. text with the ancient Versions, principally the LXX, and by subjective emendation. In the latter the parallelism of Heb. poetry discovered and thus applied by Lowth († 1787) and the rhythm or tones are of the greatest service. Along these lines scholars have worked slowly and cautiously, assisted by discoveries of the recensions of the LXX text and the work in its revision by Lagarde († 1891) and others (see art. SEPTUAGINT), and in some degree by further collation of Hebrew MSS by Strack (see art. TEXT OF OT).

Among the important contributions to OT textual criticism may be mentioned Olshausen's *Emendationen z. AT*, 1826, *Beiträge zur Kritik Gn.* 1870; Wellhausen, *Text der Bücher Samuel.*, 1871; Cornill, *Das Buch. Ezk.* 1886 (almost an epoch-making work); Driver, *Notes on Heb. Text of Samuel.* Cf. also writings of Baethgen (on Ps), Bickell (on Job, Pr), Beer (on Job), Klostermann (on 1 and 2 S, 1 and 2 K), Wellh. (*Kl. Proph.*), Cheyne (*Psalms*, crit. notes), Ryssel (on Mic), and especially the *SBOT*, Heb. Text, the most elaborate and far-reaching attempt hitherto made in OT textual criticism. Cf. also recent OT commentaries of the *International Series*, by Driver on Dt, Moore on Jg, Smith on 1 and 2 S, Toy on Pr, and those of Nowack's *Hdkomm.* and Marti's *Kurzer Hdcomm.*

2. USE AND INTERPRETATION.—(*a*) *In the NT.*—Both Christ and the apostles or writers of the NT held the current Jewish notions respecting the Divine authority and revelation of the OT. They refer to it in the words used by the Jews, 'the Scriptures' (Mt 22^{29}, Jn 5^{39}), 'the Holy Scriptures' (Ro 1^{2}), and speak of its authors being moved by the Holy Ghost (2 P 1^{21}), and appeal constantly to its statements as unquestioned authoritative truth. But at the same time they regarded the OT revelation as partial and incomplete. Christ not only placed His own authority above that of Rabbinic tradition (Mt $5^{21.33.43}$), but likewise speaks of the teaching of the Mosaic law as permitted owing to the hardness of men's hearts (Mt 19^{8}); and St. Paul regards the dispensation of the Law as decidedly inferior to that of the gospel: the Law was 'rudiments' (Gal 4^{3}), serving to establish a knowledge of sin. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews found the OT dispensation faulty and defective. But in all these views the disparagement of the OT is only relative. Christ never repudiates its revelation and authority. He puts His emphatic seal upon the OT, saying (according to Jn 10^{35}, unless our Lord is here arguing *ad hominem*) that its word cannot be broken, and that not one jot or tittle of the law shall pass away until all shall be fulfilled (Mt 5^{18}). St. Paul held likewise most strongly to its Divine origin and its nature, holy, just, and good (Ro $7^{12.14}$), worthy of all honour, serving to usher in the gospel, a tutor to bring men to Christ (Gal 3^{24}). Likewise also the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews recognized the full validity of the OT covenant, but in Christ and in His gospel the OT had a full and perfect realization. Thus the OT had its chief value, since the Ceremonial Law ceased to be binding, in foreshadowing Christ and the gospel. This led to the conception of the OT as a book of prophecy throughout. Wherever words and incidents suggested events in the life of Christ, or of the early Church, or where they seemed to confirm Christian doctrine, they were so applied. This application of the OT in the NT, although it is in the line of Jewish methods of interpretation, finds its justification in the prophetic elements of the OT. These look forward to a special manifestation of Jehovah, to a new relationship established between Jehovah and Israel and mankind, to a series of blessings—all of which may be summed up in the word redemption, and which likewise were coupled with the appearance of a royal person, an offspring of David. These OT outlooks, according to apostolic experience and observation, were realized in and through Christ; hence the NT view of the OT is fully justified; in details (according to historic exegesis) the applications of the OT in the NT may sometimes be unsound, but taken as a whole

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* The Kabbalistic interpretation of OT (see above) was widespread during the Middle Ages.

the NT method is right. The redemption experienced in Christ is a fulfilment of OT promises.

(*b*) *In the Early Church*, to A.D. 600.—The OT of the early Church was the LXX, used also, though not exclusively, by the NT writers. Hence some of the Church Fathers refer to the apocryphal books as though forming a part of the OT Scriptures, and certain of them came to be canonized by the Council of Trent (see art. APOCRYPHA in vol. i. p. 120 ff.). The NT view and treatment of the OT (see above) passed into the Christian Church.

An excess of disparagement of the OT appears in the Epistle of Barnabas (who regarded certain Jewish institutions as of evil origin) and in Gnostic heretical sects and that of Marcion (who entirely rejected the OT): a failure to recognize sufficiently the transient elements of the OT appeared in the views of the Ebionite and other Judaizing Christians.

The restraint exhibited in the NT interpretation of the OT was no longer continued. Jewish methods, especially the allegorical, prevailed to extravagance (although a literal interpretation along with an emphasis upon the authority of tradition, according to the Jewish notion, was advocated by Irenæus [† 202] and Tertullian [† *c.* 220] against allegorizing Gnostics). The OT was regarded not only as a book of prophecy foreshadowing Christ and the gospel, but even as a compendium of Christian doctrine, to be perceived through its spiritual or allegorical meaning. This view and method of interpretation, appearing in the earliest Christian writers (Justin Mart., † 148–165, and the Apost. Fathers generally), prevailed especially through the influence of Origen († *c.* 254), who disparaged the literal sense and held to a threefold meaning of Scripture, corresponding to the body, soul, and spirit (*de Prin.* IV. i. 11): the literal or grammatical meaning, the practical meaning or application, the mystical or spiritual, *i.e.* allegorical (cf. S. Davidson's *Hermeneutics*, p. 98 ff.). By the last he resolved all OT difficulties. Any statements, whether of history or law, appearing absurd, were rejected in their literal meaning, and received only in their spiritual or allegorical interpretation (*de Prin.* IV. i. 15, 16). Even so gifted a scholar as Jerome († 420), while he said in one instance that the allegorical interpreter is insane (*Comm. Jer.* 27, from Davidson), yet used this method, although not to the extent of rejecting the OT history as literally true. Augustine († 430), in spite of the sound rules of exegesis which he laid down in *de Doc. Christ.*, expounded the OT allegorically, although not without reference to the historical meaning, which he defended, and whose difficulties he sought to remove (as, for example, the six days of Creation, which he resolved into æons, *de Civ. Dei.* xi. 6 f.). He also, however, divided interpretation into four kinds, historical, ætiological, analogical, and allegorical. Scriptural interpretation became after him entirely dominated (as it had been in a large degree before) by ecclesiastical tradition or doctrine. An exception to this allegorical treatment of the OT appeared in the school of Antioch, where, especially by Theodore of Mopsuestia († 429), the allegorizing of the OT was rejected, a difference in degree of revelation between the OT and the NT was recognized, and historical interpretations were given. (He exhibited the tendencies of modern Biblical criticism. All the Messianic psalms except three he interpreted as referring to Hezekiah and Zerubbabel. Canticles he rejected from the Canon. He found no Trinity in the OT). Owing to the Nestorian heresy this school of interpreters died out (Basil, † 379, also rejected the allegorical method).

(*c*) *Middle Ages*, 600–1500.—In this dark period the allegorical interpretation continued, assuming a mystical exposition for inner spiritual growth rather than instruction (cf. Bernhard of Clairvaux's [† 1153] sermons on Canticles). Ecclesiastical usages were found typified in the OT. But little original work on the OT appeared. Scholars contented themselves with copying the opinions of Church Fathers ('Catenæ'). Yet the true character of the OT began to be appreciated. Nicolaus de Lyra († 1340) in his Commentaries, from his regard to the literal meaning, although he insisted upon the fourfold meaning, made the beginning in the Christian Church of a new epoch in Bible study and of a school of natural exegesis. He was influenced by the Jewish interpreters of this period, especially Rashi.

(*d*) *Period of the Reformation*, 1500–1600.—The Reformers made an advance (1) in recognizing the Heb. OT as furnishing alone the authoritative inspired text, (2) in insisting upon the natural meaning and discarding the allegorical method of interpretation, and (3) in interpreting Scripture by Scripture instead of by tradition or ecclesiastical authority. They followed the NT writers in recognizing the unity of the OT and the NT, and also the difference between them. Here, however, they failed (Calvin, † 1564, less than others) to do justice to the OT stages of Divine revelation, and the stage separating the OT from the NT. NT beliefs were ascribed to OT persons. Calvin held that the Israelites 'in the land of Canaan beheld as in a mirror the future inheritance reserved for them in heaven' (*Inst.* II. ii. 1). The notion was common (expressed by Melanchthon, † 1560) that the doctrines of the Church began in Paradise, and continued through all time.

(*e*) *Post-Reformation Period*, 1600–1750.—This was the age of scholastic theology and of the rigid doctrine of verbal inspiration, making the OT infallible, not only in religious truth but in all allusions to other matters, such as those of natural science and history. In the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, also, the failure of the previous period to grasp fully the progress of Divine revelation was generally heightened. Proof texts of Christian doctrine were drawn almost as readily from the OT as the NT. The federal theology of Cocceius († 1669), in which were distinguished two covenants, one before the Fall and one after, and three dispensations, one before the Law, one under the Law, and one under the Gospel, marks an advance, furnishing the germ of a Biblical theology; yet the apprehension of the historic process of Divine revelation was so slight that Witsius († 1677), a follower of Cocceius, held in effect that the traditional exposition of the OT was revealed to our first parents and transmitted by them to their posterity (*Œconomia Fœderum*, iv. i. 26). Such views extensively prevailed, and led to typical interpretations, differing little from the allegorical. An exception to this tendency, however, appeared in a few Arminian scholars, especially Grotius († 1645), who laid stress upon historical exegesis. English Puritan divines excelled also in the practical exposition of the OT during this period, and gave principles leading to a historic understanding of the OT, which unhappily were repressed (see Briggs, *op. cit.* pp. 459–469).

(*f*) *Period of Modern Criticism*, 1750–1900.—The Reformers receiving the Hebrew Scriptures from the Jews, accepted also their tradition concerning their character and authorship. The Pentateuch was written by Moses, the other books by the persons whose names they bear, or when this was excluded by their contents, as in 1 and 2 S, or the *terminus ad quem*, then by other OT persons contemporary with the events described (Jeremiah, for example, was regarded as the author of 1 and 2 K, and Ezra of 1 and 2 Ch). OT narratives were also regarded as entirely historical and without error. Only a slight questioning was heard at this time. Carlstadt († 1541) held that Moses did not write the Pentateuch; and Luther, perhaps in reference to the opinion of Carlstadt, said, 'What difference did it make if Moses had not written the Pentateuch?'. Calvin in his refusal to accept Joshua as the author of the Bk. of Joshua, and in his assignment of Ps 44 and 74 to the Maccabæan period, and the Bk. of Malachi to Ezra, showed the same spirit. But the interest of the Reformers was in other directions, in defending the authority of the Bible against that of ecclesiastical tradition, in framing Christian doctrine, and in developing Christian life. The post-Reformation period, with its high doctrine of inspiration, repressed critical study and freedom of thought within the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. The critical movement commenced among non-Protestant and unbelieving scholars. Peyrere († 1676) a French Catholic, Spinoza († 1677) the Jewish philosopher, and Hobbes († 1679) the English deist, all denied the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch on the ground of passages showing a later date (see art. HEXATEUCH). Masius († 1573), a Roman Catholic, had also recognized these passages as non-Mosaic. Simon († 1712), a Roman Catholic, sometimes called the father of OT Introduction, held to a diversity of authorship within the Pentateuch. The influence of English deists, who rejected the received Christian views respecting the inspiration of the OT and its history, morality, and prophecy, was also felt in Germany. But modern OT study or criticism is really a phase of the intellectual movement of the 18th cent., which has created modern science in all departments of learning. Under this movement the OT began to be studied as literature. Herder († 1803) was a pioneer in this direction, to which also the discoveries of Bishop Lowth in regard to the structure of Hebrew poetry contributed (see above). Semler († 1791) introduced historical interpretation, and Astruc († 1766) in distinguishing the documents in Genesis by their use of the Divine names made a beginning of the scientific investigation of the Pentateuch. But more than all others, Eichhorn († 1827), who, independently of Astruc, discovered the documents in Gn, exerted a wide influence in favour of the literary study of the OT. His results in analysis are remarkably near those received at the present time. He introduced the term 'Higher Criticism,' saying—

> 'I am obliged to give the most pains to a hitherto entirely unworked field, the investigation of the internal condition of the particular writings of the OT by the help of the Higher Criticism (a new name to no humanist).'—*Einl.*^{2}, 1787, Preface.

Geddes († 1802), a Scotchman and Rom. Catholic, held that the Pentateuch was a compilation of documents, pre-Mosaic, Mosaic, and post-Mosaic—the *fragmentary* hypothesis, yet a real advance; so also Vater († 1826) and Hartmann († 1838). The Bk. of Joshua was recognized as a part of the Pentateuch, hence the notion of the Hexateuch. The fragmentary hypothesis contradicting the evident unity of the Hexateuch was shown by Ewald († 1875) to be untenable, and the *supplementary* took its place, presented in various forms by de Wette († 1849), Bleek († 1859), Stähelin († 1875), Knobel († 1863), and others. The general agreement was that the Hexateuch was composed of the Elohistic, the oldest document, written by a priest of the 11th or 10th cent. B.C., containing also genuine Mosaic legislation, supplemented by the Jehovistic writer and then again by the author of Dt (of the 7th cent. B.C.), who possibly was the compiler of the Hexateuch. Hupfeld († 1866) showed that the Elohistic source was not a unity, but made up of a priestly legal part P and a narrative prophetic part E (Ilgen, † 1834, had pointed this out, but his discovery had been disregarded). Nöldeke then showed that J and E had existed independently, and had been united later into JE, before their union with P and D. Graf († 1869), Kuenen († 1891), and Wellhausen have especially contributed to the final solution of this problem, showing that the earliest documents of the Hexateuch are the prophetic ones J and E, resembling in certain features the early prophets Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and that D comes next, belonging to the reign of Josiah, and P, the great priestly document containing most of the Mosaic legislation (Lv and related parts of Ex and Nu), comes last in the exilic or post-exilic period (for details see above, and art. HEXATEUCH). Thus the conception of the order of the development of Israel's religion has been revolutionized: the completed Levitical code coming at the end instead of the beginning of the period extending from Moses to Ezra.

Conclusions, departing almost as widely from previous Jewish and Christian views, have been reached within this same period concerning other books of the OT. The Bk. of Isaiah has been resolved into an anthology of prophecies of various dates (for history of this criticism see article ISAIAH, IV.), that of Daniel placed in the Maccabæan period, Jg and 1 and 2 S shown to be compilations of narratives not always harmonious with each other (see articles on all these books). The conception of the Canon also has very much changed. The post-Reformation view was essentially that of Josephus: each book written by a recognized inspired man, and all collected by Ezra or at his time (*c. Apion.* i. 8). For modern view see above, and article OT CANON.

The conception of the OT history has also been revolutionized. Until the period of modern criticism, the narratives of the OT had generally been received as records of real history. But according to the new view they contain myths and legends, and give a partially erroneous conception of the growth of Israel's religion, whose beginnings are not found in direct Divine communications to primitive mankind and the patriarchs, but in the common primitive religion of the Semitic peoples, whence by revelation through Moses and the prophets, the legal or ecclesiastical stage, represented in the middle books of the Pentateuch, was reached about the time of Ezra. The OT thus can no longer be regarded as an infallible or, indeed, entirely trustworthy guide in science and history. In these particulars it reflects the limitations of its times. (Historical criticism showing the errors of the OT narratives has kept pace with the higher criticism and formed a part of it. Among noteworthy contributors to this were de Wette and Colenso († 1883), and in constructive work Kittel, Stade, and Wellhausen).

A similar limitation appears also in the moral and religious teachings of the OT. (A certain limitation is recognized in the NT, and has always been more or less clearly discerned in the Christian Church. Criticism emphasizes a Pauline conception also in making prophetic religion antecedent to the Law). The new science of OT theology, giving a historical exhibition of the development of the religion contained in the OT, has also arisen, being first clearly presented in 1789 by Gabler († 1826), and carried forward by G. L. Bauer († 1806); de Wette († 1849); von Cölln († 1833); Vatke († 1882), who in a neglected work (1835) put the Prophets and the Law in their true relation, thus anticipating more recent results; Ewald († 1875), Schultz, Smend, and others.

These critical conclusions were controverted from the first by Carpzov († 1767), Michaelis († 1791), Hävernick († 1845), Hengstenberg († 1869), Keil († 1888), and others in Germany, and they received little favour in Great Britain and America until within recent years (especially through the influence of A. B. Davidson, W. R. Smith († 1894), S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs).

iv. THE PERMANENT RELIGIOUS VALUE OF THE OT resides in the simplicity of its revelation and the freshness of its expression of primary and universal religious truths and experiences. (1) God is revealed not as a philosophical abstraction but as a concrete Personality, transcendent and yet thoroughly approachable and ready to enter into the closest fellowship and communion with men, and in loving care, compassion, and forgiveness meeting their deepest religious wants and needs. The OT introduces God 'the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth,' directly into human life. (2) Man in his true experiential relation to God is likewise described in the careers of the patriarchs and other heroes and worthies of Israel, and in the history of Israel itself. Sin is portrayed, and also return and obedience. Moral precepts and laws of conduct are abundantly given, especially in reference to national and social life. (3) The OT is also a book of hope, containing the triumphant note of redemption which is truly fulfilled in and through Christ, and the NT believer always finds Christ and His gospel organically and potentially enshrined in the OT. Modern criticism has not impaired these permanent elements. Their authority, which is that of truth, still remains, and the OT has been transmuted from a mechanical record of doctrines and of forced Divine manifestations into a book of genuine historic life, an epic of salvation, showing the living process of God's revelation through Israel.

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E. L. CURTIS.

OLD TESTAMENT CANON.—

i. Definition of the term 'Canon.'
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vii. Canonicity of the different divisions of the OT—
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x. Some peculiarities in the evidence of the NT and Fathers.
xi. The influence of our present knowledge of the OT Canon upon religion.
Literature.

i. DEFINITION OF THE TERM 'CANON.'—The word 'Canon' may be roughly defined as the list of books *authoritatively declared* to be Holy Scripture. Speaking *a priori*, the authority by which they are so declared may differ in degree and even in kind. It may be, for example, that of a Church Council having power to lay down the law for the whole Church, or it may be the expression of an enlightened public opinion, or, again, the opinion of a few leading scholars, whose views have gradually found general acceptance. For *authoritatively declared* it might therefore be deemed sufficient to substitute *universally received*; but it is preferable to start with a wider definition, leaving the nature of the authority to be decided in each case by the evidence. The term Holy Scripture suggests—(1) in some peculiar sense a Divine origin, (2) in connexion with this a special sanctity distinguishing Scripture from all other books, (3) reading for devotion or edification in public worship, (4) quotations for the purpose of establishing doctrine or argument. But only the first, or perhaps we should say the first two, and even these with some necessary modification, can be considered as belonging to the necessary connotation of the idea; the second, third, and fourth are obviously the result of the first, and all are to some extent questions of degree. In the Jewish Church several of the books which are unquestionably canonical are not read even now, and have never been read, in public worship, namely Chronicles, Job, Proverbs, Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. On the other hand, in the English Church, not to mention the Protestant communities, parts of several books are read in public worship, such as Wisdom, Sirach, and Baruch, which are not received as canonical; whereas the canonical Song of Songs is altogether omitted. Again, a difference of degree, and even to some extent of kind, in the inspiration of the various books has been generally admitted; while, on the other hand, many writers have recognized that we have no right to deny inspiration altogether to books outside the Canon. This was admitted even by Jewish writers, as we may see from the following quotation from the Talmud: 'According to R. Judah, Samuel said, "Esther does not defile the hands" [*i.e.* is not canonical; see below]. Could Samuel have meant by this that the Bk. of Esther was not the work of the Holy Spirit? No, he meant that it was produced by the Holy Spirit, but only for reading, not as Holy Scripture' (Bab. *Meg.* 7*a*, quoted by Buhl, Eng. tr. p. 31). Here we see that it might be supposed that a Jewish Rabbi regarded a book as inspired in the highest sense, and yet as not a part of Holy Scripture. The subject of Inspiration goes far beyond our present inquiry; it will be enough here to state that from the earliest times, among both Jews and Christians, it entered quite as largely as it does now into the idea of Holy Scripture; whereas the holiness of Scripture was felt even more keenly by the Jews of the early Christian era than among the Christians of the present day.

With the Jews, as we might have expected, the thought of the holiness of Scripture took a very material form. We see this in the jealousy with which they regarded the slightest alteration in the text, and in the highly fanciful symbolical meanings that came to be attached to what were originally (many of them) the purely accidental idiosyncrasies of a single Hebrew MS. The formal establishment of this as the authorized text is probably the work of the school of Jamnia in the early part of the 2nd cent. A.D. But the spirit which gave rise to it was certainly much older, and is probably referred to by our Lord in Mt 5^{18}. The words 'one jot or one tittle' have much more point if they express the spiritual counterpart to the exact literalism of the Rabbis of His day, which made the alteration of the smallest letter or particle of a letter a sin. This materialistic view of the sanctity of Scripture appears even more curiously in the definition of what we should call canonical books as those which 'defile the hands,' the idea being that the desecration of a holy thing, as by touch, required expiation much in the same manner as material defilement. To avoid this 'defilement' the books which were read in the synagogue were covered. Thus we hear that at a certain period, before the canonicity of Esther was fairly established, wrappings of the rolls of that book were declared by certain teachers to be unnecessary (Bab. *Sanh.* 100*a*, referred to by Buhl, p. 31).

ii. SCOPE OF THE SUBJECT.—We have, then, to consider what books belong or should belong to the Canon of the OT in the sense already explained, and if possible when and how they received ecclesiastical sanction. The plan proposed is first to trace the evidence backwards, and afterwards to reconstruct, as far as the evidence allows, a connected history of the Canon.

iii. CANON OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH COMPARED.—There is at the outset this difficulty, that Christians are not at the present day agreed, at least technically, as to the extent of the Canon. In the Western Church we meet with this broad distinction, that, while all Reformed Churches accept as strictly canonical only the books found in our ordinary English Bibles, the Roman Catholic Church includes in its Canon those also which are commonly known as the Apocryphal Books. Not only so, but at the Council of Trent she laid special stress on the fact that all the canonical books, as she considered them, were equally inspired: 'Sacrosancta Oecumenica et Generalis Tridentina Synodus . . . orthodoxorum Patrum exempla secuta, omnes libros tam veteris quam novi Testamenti, cum utriusque unus Deus sit auctor . . . pari pietatis affectu ac reverentiâ suscipit ac veneratur.' Then follows a list of books, including the Apocrypha of OT, and, finally, an anathema levelled against those who refuse to accept all those books in their integrity as they were contained in the Vulgate (*Concil. Trident.* Sess. iv. Decr. 8). The Roman Catholic writers of the day did, however, recognize some sort of difference in fact between Apocryphal and other books, and sometimes called the former deutero-canonical. But this term has been understood as intended to express the fact that the canonicity of these books was fully accepted at a later time than the proto-canonical in spite of some doubt and hesitation about them, not to imply a smaller degree of authority or inspiration (see authorities quoted in Sanday, *Inspiration*, v. note B). The English Church, in common with other of the Reformed Churches, gives a sort of formal but limited sanction to the Apocrypha, 'and the other bookes (as Hierome sayth) the Churche doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine' (Art. vi.). The Belgic Confession makes a somewhat similar statement: 'Differentiam porro constituimus inter libros istos sacros et eos quos Apocryphos vocant: utpote quod Apocryphi legi quidem in Ecclesiâ possint, et fas sit ex illis eatenus etiam sumere documenta, quatenus cum libris canonicis consonant; at nequaquam ea est ipsorum auctoritas et firmitas ut ex illorum testimonio aliquod dogma de fide et religione Christianâ certo constitui possit' [Art. vi., quoted in Harold Browne, *Expos. Artt.*, Art. vi. sec. iii.; see also, on the relation of the Reformed Churches to the Apocrypha, Buhl, pp. 69, 70]. On the other hand, the Westminster Confession, (i. 3) would have none of the Apocrypha, but declared emphatically that they were 'of no authority to the Church of God, nor to be otherwise proved or made use of than any other human writings.'

The grounds upon which the Reformed Churches differed from the Roman Catholic Church in the value attached to the Apocrypha, were partly historical and literary and partly doctrinal. It seemed right to limit the books of the OT to those which had been accepted by the Jews and formed part of the Hebrew Bible, and had also been accepted by some of the greatest of the Fathers, notably Origen, Athanasius, and Jerome; whereas the Apocrypha had been clearly distinguished by them from the Canon, and placed upon a lower level. The Reformers were also influenced undoubtedly by the fact that quotations from the Apocrypha were frequently used by Roman Catholic writers in support of the peculiar doctrines of their Church, such as Purgatory (Wis $3^{5.6}$), and the meritorious value of good works (To 4^{10} 12^{9}, Sir 3^{30} $29^{11.12}$).

We have, then, to take account of what may be called a larger and a smaller Canon. The larger included most of those books which were comprised in the Greek LXX and afterwards the Latin Vulgate, and became the Bible of the Mediæval Church; the latter was confined to the Books of the Hebrew Bible, and was equivalent to our Old Testament. It is with the latter that we have directly most to do.

iv. JEWISH ORIGIN OF OT CANON.—The early Christians derived their OT from the Jewish Church. By this is not meant that when the first Christians broke off from Judaism they took with them a well-defined Bible, but that questions of canonicity were referred, as a matter of course, to Jewish opinion. So little idea had the early Christian Church of deciding for itself what books were or were not canonical, that we actually find a bishop (Melito of Sardis, *c.* 170 A.D.) unable to specify the contents of the OT until he had travelled to the country where the sacred books had originated, and there made special inquiries (see Euseb. *HE* iv. 26). Even so his list is not absolutely complete, as it omits Esther. Whether this is merely a slip on his own or his informer's part, or is intentional, it is difficult to say. It is not, of course, to be supposed that Melito was unacquainted with the OT books which he enumerates. They were all to be found in the LXX, and Melito gives them their familiar Greek names as found in that version. The important fact is, that among the Bible books, in this wider sense of the Bible, he considered those to be of special value, or as we should say canonical, which he ascertained to be received among the Jews. That the early Christian Church fully recognized that their OT Canon was thus derived, is shown even more explicitly by the language of Origen nearly a century later, *c.* 250, in which he speaks of 'the Books of the Covenant, as the Hebrews have handed them down' (*τὰς ἐνδιαθήκους βίβλους ὡς Ἑβραῖοι παραδιδόασιν*); and after giving the Canon, only accidentally incomplete,* speaks of 'the Maccabees' as *outside*

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* The omission of the Minor Prophets is inconceivable on any other hypothesis, and is, in fact, required to make up the given number of 22.

of them (ἔξω δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ Μακκαβαϊκὰ ἅπερ ἐπιγέγραπται Σαρβὴθ Σαβαναιέλ, Euseb. *HE* vi. 25). That 'the Maccabees' are, like the other books, given their Hebrew title, meaning probably 'Prince of the House of the Sons of God,'[*] is important as showing that the first book at least was still extant in Hebrew, and that Origen did not accept as canonical all sacred books in that language. The word ἐνδιαθήκους suggests that διαθήκη, 'covenant' (our 'Testament'), was already beginning to be applied technically to the OT collection. This testimony is all the more remarkable because Origen not only made use of the 'external books' himself, but defended the Greek additions to Daniel against Julius Africanus. Similarly Jerome speaks of the books recognized among the Hebrews (*apud Hebræos*) and of those outside as having their proper place among the Apocrypha: 'Ut scire valeamus quicquid extra hos est, inter ἀπόκρυφα esse ponendum' (*Præfat. in libr. Sam. et Mal.*, quoted by Ryle, *Canon*, Exc. D. xiii. etc.).

v. DIVISIONS OF HEBREW BIBLE—THEIR SIGNIFICANCE.—The inquiry therefore resolves itself into that concerning the reception of the sacred books by the Jewish Church. *When and how were certain of the sacred books of the Jews received as canonical and the rest excluded?* One fact is of great importance if we would understand aright the history of the Canon, that we have to deal not with one, but with three groups of books. These are not the result of a later subdivision of the larger 'Divine Library' for convenience' sake into three smaller parts, but, with the probable exception of one book (Joshua), they were with the Jews always distinct, and were regarded with some difference of feeling. In Talmudic Literature they are compared respectively, in point of sanctity, with the Holy of Holies, the Holy Place, and the Temple Court. The three divisions are—(1) The Law (תּוֹרָה Torah), comprising the Pentateuch or so called 'Five Books of Moses.' (2) The Prophets (נְבִיאִים), comprising both the historical books, Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 and 2 Kings—called 'the Former Prophets'; and the prophetical books, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the book of the twelve Minor Prophets—called 'the Latter Prophets.[†] (3) The Writings (כְּתוּבִים *Kĕthûbhîm* = Gr. ἁγιόγραφα, *Hagiographa* = Holy Writings), by which is probably meant the rest of the Scriptures, those which do not come under either of the other heads. The Historical books were included under the Prophets, probably not under the belief that they were necessarily all written by well-known prophets, Samuel, Nathan, Isaiah, etc., but as written under prophetic inspiration. In this article the groups will be called the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa. It will be obvious at once that they are not the result of a division according to subject-matter. The Prophetico-historical books do not include Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The prophet Daniel (so expressly called in NT, Mt 24^{15}) is placed not in the second, but in the third group. This last contains, in fact, books of the most heterogeneous sorts, poetry, ethics, philosophy, prophecy, etc., and its name is of the most general character. It would, strictly speaking, apply to all the groups, and its application to this exclusively can be explained only by the history of its inclusion in the Canon.

vi. EVIDENCE FOR THE JEWISH CANON.—At what period was the Canon of OT completed? or can we indeed settle upon any exact date by which we can say that it was absolutely fixed?

(*a*) *The Baba Bathra*.—The difficulty in answering this question is in part the difficulty of assigning an exact date to a literary document, and in part that of determining what degree of objection or hesitation about a book should prevent our considering it as at the time part of the Canon. The facts are these: In the Talmudic treatise called *Baba Bathra* there is an extract (*baraitha*) from the Mishna which gives a virtually complete list of the books of the OT as we now know it.[*] The Mishna was committed to writing, so it is believed, not long before A.D. 200. On the other hand, Buhl (p. 25) refers to a Talmudic passage to prove that even after this a scholar was found to deny the canonicity of the Bk. of Esther. Whether the omission of this book, or doubts expressed about it by certain Fathers, Melito, Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Amphilochius, were derived from Jewish objectors, or were the result of an independent judgment, cannot be positively determined. The omission by Melito may well be a slip (see Buhl, p. 58).

(*b*) *Talmudic extracts concerning disputed books*, mainly 2nd cent. The evidence so far shows that by the end of the 2nd cent. at latest the Canon was virtually settled, but that it was even then no unheard of thing to doubt the canonicity of a canonical book. As we go back through the 2nd cent., we find such doubts becoming more frequent. There are several references in the Talmud to rabbinical teachers who rejected or disputed certain books. With the exception of Ezekiel, and perhaps Jonah also (see Ryle, pp. 193, 194), what Ryle has happily called the ἀντιλεγόμενα of OT seem to have been confined to the Hagiographa, and included Proverbs, Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs, but especially the last two. The position taken up by these early Biblical critics is in many respects very interesting. They never appeal to an ancient tradition either for or against a book; nor do they, with probably a few exceptions, discuss the question of authorship. And yet it is almost certain that both these considerations must have influenced the formation of the Canon. The objections raised suggest rather that the canonicity of the books was generally admitted—but that in the opinion of the Rabbis quoted it was liable to objection. These objections were usually based on the ground of some supposed defects in the books themselves. They depended, in short, on internal, never on external, evidence. Thus Ec 8^{15} seemed to contradict 2^{2}, and 4^{2} seemed to contradict 9^{4}. Proverbs was by some withdrawn, in common with the Song of Songs, because they spoke in parables,—an interesting proof of the interpretation put upon the latter, and, in point of fact, probably the cause of its recognition as canonical. The far more serious objection was raised to Ecclesiastes, that it betrayed an Epicurean tinge, and tended to favour the Sadducean scepticism. Thus 1^{3} seemed to suggest a denial of the future state; 11^{7} encouraged worldly pleasure, and, moreover, it contradicted the stern precepts of Nu 15^{39}. On this book we learn that there was, or had been, a difference of opinion between the rival schools of Hillel and Shammai, the former accepting, the latter rejecting, the book. Even Ezekiel was at one time objected to on the ground that some of the provisions of the concluding chapters were contrary to those of the Levitical law. Some of these objections and discussions, interesting as showing the extreme views of inspiration then current, belong probably to an earlier date than the 2nd cent. A.D., but we must discount to some extent the common tendency of tradition to ascribe stories and sayings to well-known men, especially those of an earlier period. There is sufficient evidence to show that such discussions were by no means uncommon after the Council of Jamnia, to which we must next refer. They show that during the 2nd cent. A.D. several books, of the Hagiographa especially, were still the subject of free and frequent discussion. This was not inconsistent with their being in a general way recognized as canonical. But such a qualified canonicity, if we may call it so, is hardly the same conception as we find at a later date. It was at this time neither irreverent nor disloyal to dispute a canonical book (see Ryle, ch. x.).

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[*] Seven other interpretations are given by Ryle, *Canon of OT*, p. 185.

[†] These phrases probably refer to their position in the Hebrew Bible, not to a supposed priority or posteriority of date.

[*] *Baba Bathra*, fol. 14*b*–15*a*, quoted in Ryle, Exc. B. The separate books of the Pentateuch are not mentioned, nor more than four of the Minor Prophets; but the former are, of course, implied by the 'Torah' and the latter by 'the Twelve.'

(*c*) *Council of Jamnia.*—It may be asked, *When was this qualified canonicity conferred?* Both the Midrash and the Talmud point very definitely to the close of the 1st cent. A.D. In the former a saying of R. Simeon ben-Azai is quoted: 'I have heard from the 72 elders, on the day when they gave R. Eleazar the presidency of the school (of Jamnia), that the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes defile the hands. R. Akiba [Grätz, R. Jacob] said, "God forbid that any one in Israel should doubt that the Song of Songs defiles the hands; the whole world does not outweigh the day in which Israel received the Song of Songs. All the Kethubhim are holy, but the Song of Songs is the holiest. If they have contested, it was with reference to Ecclesiastes." But R. Johanan ben-Jeshua, R. Akiba's brother-in-law, said, "As R. Simeon ben-Azai has laid it down, so they disputed, and so they decided"' (*Meg. Jadaim* iii. 5, quoted in Buhl, p. 29). The same tradition with some variety of detail is given also in Bab. *Meg.* 7*a*. These extracts refer to a council, or perhaps we should call it a debate, at Jamnia, held, it is said, about A.D. 90. As the discussion from which the above quotation is taken is prefaced by the statement, 'All holy scriptures defile the hands, even Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes defile them,' we may naturally infer that all the disputed books, either tacitly or expressly, received the *imprimatur* of the council. After the fall of Jerusalem, Jamnia became the centre of Palestinian Judaism. The zeal and enthusiasm which had been shown by the Jews in their sacrificial system now seems to have found a new focus in sacred literature (see Grätz, *Hist. Jews,* II. ch. xiii.). The decisions of this school, if not considered absolutely binding, must at least have had a very strong and far-reaching influence on Jewish opinion. If it is an exaggeration to say that the Canon of the OT was finally settled at the Council of Jamnia, it certainly goes a long way towards the truth.

(*d*) *The Second Book of Esdras, c.* 90 A.D.—This tradition, in itself so probable, is confirmed, as far as it goes, by a passage in the Apocalyptic Fourth Book of Esdras (2 Es 14^{44-46}), in which, according to the text of the Oriental versions,[*] of the 94 sacred books miraculously written out at Ezra's quotation, 70 were to be kept secret, the remaining 24 divulged. The number 24 corresponds to that of the canonical books as ordinarily reckoned by the Jews. The writer of this apocryphal work must be understood, therefore, as claiming that all the 24 canonical books were written out at Ezra's dictation. This book is, on internal evidence, ascribed to the age of Domitian, and would therefore be about contemporary with the Council of Jamnia. The writer's object in setting down what is probably a pure fiction of his own, is to give credit to his work, as one of the 70 secret books; as far as the canonical books are concerned, it may be regarded as merely the echo of received opinion.

(*e*) *Josephus, c.* 90 A.D.—Of still greater importance is the practically contemporary evidence of Josephus: 'For there are not with us myriads of books discordant and discrepant, but only two and twenty, comprising the history of all time, which are justly accredited (om. *θεῖα*, Heinichen in Euseb. III. x.). And of these, five are the books of Moses, which comprise the laws and the tradition of man's origin up to the time of Moses' death. This period is little less than 300 years. From the death of Moses until that of Artaxerxes, who was king of the Persians after Xerxes, the prophets who succeeded Moses wrote the events of their times in 13 books. The remaining 4 books contain hymns to God and counsels of life for men. From the time of Artaxerxes up to our own everything has been recorded, but the records have not been accounted equally worthy of credit with those written before them, because the exact succession of prophets ceased' (*c. Ap.* i. 8, quoted in Euseb. *HE* III. x.). Here we find not only a description of books, but a theory of canonicity. Those books could alone be accounted Scripture which preceded the death of Artaxerxes (*i.e.* Xerxes, see Ryle, pp. 161, 162 n.), at which time the prophetic gift ceased. Later books were, therefore, of less esteem, though they might, as, *e.g.*, 1 Mac, have a historical value. The very existence of such a theory seems to imply that the fact of canonicity itself was regarded by Josephus as indisputable, and this is confirmed by his further statement: 'And we give plain proof of our attitude towards our own Scriptures: for though so long a time has passed, no one has dared either to add or change anything, but all Jews are naturally disposed from their very birth to consider them the decrees of God, to abide by them, and gladly to die, if need be, on their behalf' (*ib.*). This cannot, of course, in the face of the literary criticism of the Bible, be accepted as a historical statement of fact; but did it express the current opinion among the Jews of the time of Josephus, and, if so, how is it to be reconciled with the traditions of the Council of Jamnia, and still more with the disputations of certain Rabbis mentioned above?

But there are two other questions which it may be well to answer first. How comes Josephus to speak of 22 books instead of 24? and what are the books which he means? Three explanations of the number 22 have been given. (1) That of Grätz, that Josephus did not include Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs, the two books which, according to the account preserved in *Jadaim,* were the chief subject of dispute at the Council of Jamnia. Grätz maintains that both these books were accepted by the school of Hillel, and rejected by that of Shammai, and that the main object of the council was to reconcile the two schools, so that the question of the Canon was really a secondary consideration. But, had this been the case, Josephus as a Pharisee would almost certainly have followed the school of Hillel and accepted these books. In any case it is not easy to understand why he should so unhesitatingly have rejected books which were soon afterwards, if indeed it was afterwards, accepted by the majority. (2) A more common hypothesis is that Josephus included Ruth in the Bk. of Judges, and Lamentations in that of Jeremiah, with the express intention of making the number of the books agree for symbolical reasons with that of the Hebrew alphabet. The symbolical treatment of the number is in fact common enough, but Josephus himself makes no such use of it, and it seems, as far as we know, to be confined to Christian writers. Conspicuous instances are found in Origen (in Euseb. *HE* vi. 25) and Jerome (*Præf. Sam. et Mal.*). The latter, curiously enough, finds alternative symbolisms for the more ordinary number 24, and even for 27, the latter number being got by dividing the 5 double books—Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Jeremiah-Lamentations—and comparing the whole with the numbers of the alphabet plus the 5 final consonants. In this arrangement it is to be noticed, as Ryle very justly points out (*Canon*, p. 220), that Jerome conveniently ignores the fact that Judges-Ruth was also a double book, and follows the Greek arrangement in dividing the first three books. Their division in the Hebrew Bible is of much later date. It is clear, therefore, that this, at any rate, was no traditional Jewish explanation, but merely the play of Jerome's own fancy. (3) A third explanation is that Josephus in including Ruth in Judges and Lamentations in Jeremiah was so far following the arrangement of the books in the LXX, as we know it. In any case his arrangement of books appears to be peculiar, and is based entirely upon the subject-matter. Apart from any question arising from the inclusion or exclusion of Ecclesiastes and Song of Songs, it is evident that Daniel must be included among the prophetico-historical books, an arrangement quite at variance with Hebrew custom. The descriptions, too, are somewhat vague. Even if Song of Songs is not to be included among 'hymns to God and counsels of life for men,' it is clear that the Bk. of Isaiah must be intended as among the prophets who wrote the history of their own times. What makes it impossible to decide this question absolutely is that we really do not know with any certainty what was the arrangement of the LXX at this date, nor do we even know whether the books were united as yet in one complete collection. It is at least as probable that it existed in the form of separate collections. Again there is some reason to suppose that the LXX did not stand alone in the combination of Ruth with Judges and Lamentations with Jeremiah. In this connexion hardly sufficient weight seems to have been generally given to the express statements of Origen. In his enumeration of Scripture, he describes Judges as Κριταί, Ῥούθ, *παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ἑνί, Σαφατείμ*, and Jeremiah as *Ἱερεμίας σὺν Θρήνοις καὶ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ἐν ἑνί*, Ἱερεμία (in Euseb. vi. 25). This may possibly mean that in his Hebrew copy of the Bible the name 'Judges' included Ruth, and the name 'Jeremiah' both Lamentations and the Epistle (Bar 6).* Such a rearrangement of the Hebrew books is of importance as showing that in the view of Josephus, and those who followed the same arrangement, the Hagiographa were quite as definitely Scripture as the rest.

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[*] The Latin MSS have 204, 84, 974. 904 being, according to Ryle, the best attested reading, but the Oriental VSS agree in 94 (see Ryle, p. 285). This latter reading has also intrinsic probability in its favour, yet not so obviously as to have been a cause of corruption.

When we compare the strong statements made by Josephus as to a Canon long and unalterably fixed with the doubts concerning certain books prevalent during the 1st and 2nd cents. A.D., it seems that we have before us utterly irreconcilable evidence, and that we have no choice but to accept one alternative and reject the other. And this is what writers upon the Canon seem very frequently to have done. But studying the question quite impartially, it is difficult to see what ground there should be for absolute falsification on either side. In fact the evidence of the Council of Jamnia, as far as it goes, is too circumstantial to admit of such a supposition. On the other hand, when we examine the language of Josephus critically, there are two facts that we feel compelled to bear in mind: (1) That he was fond of rhetorical statements, which have an evident flavour of Oriental hyperbole. He could not resist the temptation to make the most of what he thought would interest his readers. We should hardly think, for instance, of treating his account of the events connected with the last siege of Jerusalem as the language of a scientific historian. (2) His object in speaking of the Canon afforded in this particular instance a special temptation to make the most of it, his intention being to show the incomparable superiority of the select Jewish writings to the 'myriads' (the word is itself a gross exaggeration) of Greek books whose accounts of their mythology differed so widely from each other. In fact such an argument helps us to understand why it was that the Jewish doctors of that day were so sensitive about seeming discrepancies in Bible books. A clever heathen disputant might have turned the tables and said, 'Why, your own sacred books often contain like contradictions.' After all, the temptation to inaccuracy and exaggeration is one which some of our greatest historians, even in this scientific age, —Macaulay, for example,—have not been wholly free from. We may, however, reasonably enough accept the statement of Josephus as evidence of the books commonly accepted by the most orthodox of the Jews of his day, without binding ourselves to believe that he was unacquainted with the objections raised in certain quarters. But that statement can hardly be accepted as a positive proof that the Canon had been fixed long before his time. It has its value as making it probable that at that period the objections to certain books were confined to a few persons, whose opinions Josephus felt justified in ignoring.

(*f*) *The New Testament.*—So considered, the evidence of Josephus carries us a step further, showing us that the decision of the Council of Jamnia practically endorsed what may be regarded as the public opinion of the time on the subject of the Canon. Going farther back, we come to the evidence of the NT. From a Christian point of view this is of very special importance. There is a natural desire to prove that the OT Canon has the *imprimatur* of our Lord. For this very reason it is important to be on our guard against even the suspicion of prejudice.

(1) *The way in which the OT was regarded by our Lord and His disciples.*—This is perhaps the most important feature of NT evidence for the OT Canon. It shows unmistakably that the Christians inherited from the Jews the unquestioned belief in a body of literature of a specially sacred and Divine character. The expressions, 'the Scripture,' 'the Scriptures,' *ἡ γραφή, αἱ γραφαί*, are used, much as we use them now, as well-known terms which required no further explanation, as, for example, in Mt 21^{42}, Mk 14^{49}, Jn 7^{42} 20^{9}. The phrase 'it has been written,' *γέγραπται*, Mt $4^{4.\,6.\,10}$, Ro 1^{17}, Gal 3^{13} etc., is equivalent to saying 'it is found in Scripture.' It is true that words signifying 'holy' are only twice applied to Scripture (*γραφαῖς ἁγίαις* Ro 1^{2}, *ἱερὰ γράμματα* 2 Ti 3^{15}), but Divine influence is asserted even more emphatically in such phrases as *πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος* (2 Ti 3^{16}), *Δαυεὶδ ἐν πνεύματι κύριον αὐτὸν καλεῖ* (Mt 22^{43}; cf. Ac 4^{25}). Moreover, the authority of Scripture is appealed to very frequently as sufficient evidence of truth, as in Mt 21^{42}, Lk 24^{27}, Ro 11^{2} etc. etc., and esp. Jn 10^{35} (*οὐ δύναται λυθῆναι ἡ γραφή*, unless our Lord is here arguing *ad hominem*). That authority is equally implied in such expressions as *λέγει, εἴρηκε*, etc., used in introducing Scripture

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* The inclusion of this Epistle is certainly a difficulty; but in the face of the definite reference throughout to the Hebrew titles of the several books, it seems hardly satisfactory to say, with Ryle (p. 107), that Origen is merely following the LXX version. It appears more probable that at this date some Hebrew MSS did actually contain this Epistle, which was regarded by some as a genuine part of Jeremiah.

quotations. Sometimes, no doubt, the true subject is God, not so much as speaking through the writer, but as the actual speaker in the passage quoted, *e.g.* in Ac 13^{34}, He 13^{5}. It is also possible to explain the verb as strictly impersonal, and as practically equivalent to a passive. This view is supported by such a phrase as *διεμαρτύρατο δέ πού τις λέγων* (He 2^{6}); but the very indefiniteness is significant. It is as though the writer were so impressed with the Divine sanctity of the words that it was of little moment to him through whom or how they were first used. In fact, he conceived of them in certain cases as being continued to be spoken, as in He $3^{7.\,8}$. This use, though specially frequent in Hebrews, is by no means confined to that book. We have a remarkable example of it in Ac 2^{16} *τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τ. προφήτου Ἰωήλ*, where Joel is merely the channel of Divine communication. So, too, *ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὡσηὲ λέγει* (Ro 9^{25}). Indeed, phrases of this kind occur so frequently, and with so much variety, that it seems most probable that the writers really thought of God or the Holy Spirit as the true subject, even though grammatically, perhaps, *τις* should be supplied. In He 3^{7} $10^{15.\,16}$ the subject *τὸ Πνεῦμα* is actually given. See, further, *Expos. Times*, Sept. 1899, p. 533 f.

(2) *Books of Scripture quoted or referred to in NT.*—When we come to inquire what books were comprised in the connotation of 'Scripture' as used in NT, we may feel sure from Mt 5^{17}, Lk $24^{27.\,44}$, Jn 1^{45}, Ac 13^{15} 24^{14} 28^{23}, Ro 3^{21}, that it included, at least, the Pentateuch and the Prophetico-Historical Books, as well as the Psalms.* From Ac 13^{15} we learn that the first two groups were regularly read in the synagogue. This is confirmed by quotations in the NT from practically all these books.†

The evidence of Lk 24^{44} cannot be urged against the books of the Hagiographa other than the Psalms. Our Lord is referring to Scripture with special reference to the prophecies of the Messiah. A mention of books which contained no Messianic prophecies could not have been expected. In point of fact, some of the Hagiographa are introduced with what are most naturally understood as formulæ of Scripture quotation, *e.g.* Pr 3^{34} with *διὸ λέγει* in Ja 4^{6}; cf. also Ro $12^{19.\,20}$, where a quotation from Pr $25^{21.\,22}$ is connected with another from Dt 32^{35}, which is introduced with the words *γέγραπται γάρ*. The same formula is used in 1 Co 3^{19} to introduce a quotation from Job 5^{13}. More remarkable is the mixture of Ec 7^{20} with Ps 14^{1} in Ro 3^{10} prefaced by *καθὼς γέγραπται* (see QUOTATIONS, F). The reference in Mt 23^{35} to 2 Ch $24^{20.\,21}$ at least proves that that book was a recognized source of Jewish history. It can hardly prove its canonicity, unless He $11^{34\text{-}38}$ proves the canonicity of 1 Mac.‡

But the absence of quotations in NT is not enough to prove that the rest of the Hagiographa were not at this time regarded as Scripture, when we take into account that of the first two groups there are no quotations from Judges, Obadiah, Nahum, and Zephaniah, and very few from some others (1 from Nu, 1 from Jos, 2 from 1 and 2 S, 2 from 1 and 2 K, 1 from Job), and, above all, that the contents of some of the books would not readily lend themselves to quotation.

(3) *NT evidence to extra-canonical books.*—On the other hand, it may be questioned whether the argument from the quotations in NT does not prove too much. Attention has already been called to the use made of 1 Mac in He $11^{34\text{-}38}$. The quotation from the Book of Enoch in Jude ^{14} is still more remarkable, showing that the writer of the Epistle accepted as a genuine prophecy of the patriarch an extract from a late book which never had a claim to be considered part of the Jewish Canon. To this we should add v.^{9}, evidently taken also from some such extra-canonical source. It is almost certain that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews adapted the phrase *ἀπαύγασμα τ. δόξης . . . αὐτοῦ* in 1^{3} from Wis 7^{26}; but such an adaptation, in view of the sacredness and importance of the subject—the Divine nature of the Son of God—would seem to imply a recognition of the authority of this book. Taken in connexion with the reference to 1 Mac in ch. 11, it suggests that this Alexandrian writer accepted the whole collection of the Alexandrian LXX as Scripture. To these should perhaps be added the quotations in Jn $7^{38.\,42}$, Eph 5^{14}, which, though not found *in their present form* in any canonical books, are definitely quoted as Scripture (see QUOTATIONS, G).

(4) *General estimate of NT evidence.*—Speaking generally, it may be said that while there was in the early Church a very strong feeling of both the sanctity and authority of Holy Scripture, and Holy Scripture connoted at least the majority of the books of OT, there was, on the other hand, by no means a very definite *universally* accepted idea of the exact contents or limits of Holy Scripture, at any rate *among the Christians* of the 1st century. With the learned Jews of Palestine it may have been, and probably was, different. This attitude on the part of Christian writers towards so important a question may seem improbable and illogical. It would be so in modern times. But it is necessary to bear in mind the paucity of MSS in that age, the 'illiterateness' of 'the masses,' and, to some extent, of the writers themselves, and the difference of literary methods and standards then prevalent. Even the learned St. Paul himself hardly ever quotes accurately except from the Law and the Psalms, and mixes up quotations from different books to a most extraordinary extent (see QUOTATIONS, F). It has already been noticed how at a later time a distinguished bishop of the Church actually found it necessary to go and inquire among the Jews what the books of the OT really were. Taking all this into account, it is satisfactory to know that the early Church from the very first accepted very nearly, if not quite, all of the OT books as Scripture. Moreover, there is no indication that the Hagiographa were looked upon as inferior to the rest of Scripture.

(*g*) *Philo, c.* 40 A.D.—Going back to the earlier part of the 1st cent. we find the evidence of Philo somewhat confusing. He appears to have been influenced by four more or less conflicting principles. (1) He recognized, above all, the supreme inspiration of Moses, beside which all other inspiration was comparatively insignificant. (2) He was influenced in his allegorical treatment of Scripture by the methods of the Palestinian Halakha, and quoted the canonical books* as if of greater authority than the rest. (3) He acknowledged the inspiration of the LXX translators, and says that the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures should be reverenced and admired 'as sisters, or rather as one and the same both in the facts and in the words' (*Vita Mos.* ii. 5–7). (4) He advanced the theory that inspiration had a still wider sphere, and embraced the great Greek philosophers, and it would seem even himself (see Drummond, *Philo*, vol. i. 15, 16; Buhl, § 6. 12). We might perhaps best represent and reconcile his different theories by supposing concentric circles corresponding to different degrees of inspiration, the innermost containing the Law of Moses, the next the whole Palestinian Canon, the third the LXX books, the fourth including all inspired books in the very widest sense. But it seems hardly probable that Philo himself ever conceived so definite a system. All that his evidence really seems to prove is that on the whole he was inclined to regard the Palestinian Canon with greater favour than the wider collection of the LXX. In a general way it confirms what we know from other sources, but hardly adds anything definite.

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* Curiously enough, the Psalms are quoted in St. John as the Law in 10^{34} and as the Prophets in 6^{45}.

† Judges, though not actually quoted, is referred to in He 11^{32}. As the 12 Minor Prophets had long before formed one book (Sir 49^{10}), it is sufficient to find quotations as we do from several of them.

‡ The same objection might be urged against the reference to Judges in He 11^{32}, were it not practically certain that it was included in 'the Prophets,' so often referred to in NT.

* Excepting Ezekiel, Daniel, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, and Esther.

(*h*) *Prologue to Sirach, c.* 130 B.C.—It is different when we get back to the evidence provided by the Prologue to the Bk. of Sirach: 'Whereas many and great things have been delivered unto us by *the Law and the Prophets, and by others that have followed in their steps*, for the which things Israel ought to be commended for learning and wisdom; . . . my grandfather, Jesus, when he had much given himself to the reading of the Law and the Prophets and other books of our Fathers, and had gotten therein good judgment, was drawn on also himself to write something pertaining to learning and wisdom.' Further on the translator takes occasion once more to speak of 'the Law itself and the Prophets, and the rest of the books,' as being superior in their original Hebrew to the translation of them (LXX). We gather from these statements that at this time the first two groups, the Law and the Prophets, were at least well-known collections of books of recognized authority; that there were, besides these, other books which were highly esteemed for their wisdom and moral worth. But no very definite distinction is drawn between the spirit of this third group and the work of his grandfather, except that one is the imitation of the other. Both were actuated by παιδεία and σοφία. Such language is clearly inconsistent with the notion of a closed Canon, as we find it in Josephus. The translator lived, it appears, in an age of transition, when the canonicity of the first two groups was practically established (whether a theory or a term expressive of canonicity had yet been formulated matters little), and that of the third was still in the making. It was natural to mention the third also in speaking of the sacred literature of the Jews, but not quite in the same spirit. Such language of commendation would have been quite out of place, almost impertinent, in speaking of the Law and the Prophets. A writer of his own day, Thomas Ellwood, could speak of Milton as 'a gentleman of great note for learning throughout the learned world for the accurate pieces he had written on various subjects and occasions.' Such language would be absurd now.

We may be practically certain from other considerations that this third group of books included Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1 and 2 Chronicles, and others, but we cannot use the passage quoted as an independent argument for the canonicity of any single disputed book, such as the Song of Songs or Ecclesiastes.

(*i*) *Sirach, c.* 180 B.C.; especially chs. 44–50 (Praise of Famous Men).—Of even greater importance is the praise of famous men in chs. 44–50 of the Bk. of Sirach itself. From these chapters we get a very fair idea of the view of sacred literature taken by a learned Jew of that time. His descriptions are evidently taken from the Law, the Prophets, and the historical books of the Hagiographa (Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah). There are specific references to every one of them. His conception of David is largely derived from the Chronicler, the appointment of singers, the use of psalms in the temple worship, and probably the Psalter itself being ascribed to him. 'In all his works he praised the Holy One most high with words of glory; with his whole heart he sang songs, and loved Him that made him. He set singers also before the altar, that by their voices they might make sweet melody, and daily sing praises in their songs' ($47^{8.\,9}$, cf. 1 Ch 25 and Ps 149^{2}). A similar acquaintance with Ezra and Nehemiah seems implied by what is said of Zerubbabel, Joshua, and Nehemiah ($49^{11\text{-}13}$). What is said of the first of these might possibly, however, have been taken from Hag $1^{12\text{-}15}$ 2^{23}, and certainly bears reference to the latter; and the absence of all mention of Ezra is singular. This shows that the author had no knowledge of those legends which connected the Canon so closely with the great founder of later Judaism (2 Es 14; see also Ryle, Exc. D), and probably is to be explained on the supposition that in his eyes Ezra was overshadowed by Nehemiah. It is not improbable that at this time the Bks. of Ezra and Nehemiah were still parts of Chronicles. The separation of these books would have helped to bring out the personality of Ezra. Some of the other books of the Hagiographa seem also recognized. Sir 47^{8}, already quoted, implies the existence of a psalm-book ascribed to David; not necessarily the whole Psalter, but including apparently Ps 149 (see v.^{2}), or at least Ps 100 (see v.^{3}), and therefore probably the whole.* A similar passage, 47^{17}, speaks of the admiration which Solomon elicited by his 'songs, and proverbs, and parables, and interpretations [obviously a mistranslation of מליצות 'figures'; cf. Pr 1^{6}, where מליצה has the sense of 'figure']. This passage might be merely an adaptation of 1 K $4^{32.\,33}$, but it would receive a special point if Proverbs, Song of Songs, and perhaps even Ecclesiastes, formed part of the writer's religious library. That Proverbs was well known to him is obvious from many passages in the book, which were evidently written in imitation of it; cf. Sir 24^{9} with Pr 8^{22}, Sir 1^{14} with Pr 1^{7} 9^{10} etc. etc. In $48^{24.\,25}$ he makes reference to Is 40–66. 'He saw by an excellent spirit what should come to pass at the last, and he comforted them that mourned in Zion' (cf. esp. Is $40^{1.\,2}$ 61^{3}). This shows that in his time these last chapters had long formed part of Isaiah, and implies that a thorough revision of the sacred books had taken place. He would seem to have lived at the end of a literary age, such as was hardly possible in the troublous times of the Maccabees. The absence of any reference in Sir 44–50 to the Bk. of Job is best explained on the supposition either that the latter was regarded as an allegory, or that Job did not belong to the type of those commemorated by Ben Sira, perhaps as not being of the Jewish community. Neither of these suppositions accounts for Daniel being ignored. Had the writer known the book, he could hardly have failed to include among his famous men one who combined the wisdom of Solomon with the courage of David.

Thus the evidence of the Bk. of Sirach points to the general conclusion that at the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C. the whole of the Law and the Prophets, and a considerable number of the Hagiographa, were among the accepted components of sacred literature. But how far the idea of a definite list of sacred books, such as we find in later times, had been formulated, or whether the sacred character of such books was *officially sanctioned by any public authority*, are questions which the evidence at present available seems insufficient to determine; and it appears somewhat rash to assume, as many writers on the Canon have done, the existence of such an authority without more definite proof. It seems most likely that official sanction, when given, confirmed rather than created public opinion.

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* The fact that these psalms are not separately ascribed to David, and do not belong to smaller Davidic groups, makes this all the more likely.

Between the date of Sirach and the promulgation of the Hexateuch in 444 there is a complete dearth of evidence, and yet there is reason to believe that this period was the most fruitful in the literary activity to which the Canon of OT is due.

(*j*) *Ezra and Nehemiah.*—(α) *Promulgation of the Hexateuch*, B.C. 444.—When we go back to the times of Ezra and Nehemiah we are upon firmer ground. That the later or Priestly Code was officially sanctioned is made evident by Neh 8. 9, where there are several references to what criticism has proved to be exilic or post-exilic laws [HEXATEUCH] as distinct from the ancient code of Ex 20–23 and that of Deuteronomy. These chapters of Nehemiah are also important as showing the origin of the conception of a Canon. A Divine law binding the people, and publicly read before them that they might understand its provisions, is a very intelligible idea. Had we only the account of Nehemiah to go by, we should have imagined that it was the Law proper that was so sanctioned and publicly enforced. But the construction of the Hexateuch, *i.e.* the Pentateuch and Joshua, points indisputably to the conclusion that the narratives are an integral part of the book. Even supposing that at this time the Priestly Code had not been actually joined to the earlier strata of the Hexateuch (in itself an improbable assumption), yet in all these strata we find law and history intimately associated. The people had long been familiarized with the thought of a Divine purpose in the lives of their ancient fathers. Thus the authority of Ezra and Nehemiah would have sanctioned the conception of a sacred book, giving the early history of man and especially the Jews, associated especially with the great names of Abraham and Moses, and containing in many different forms the rules of a religious life. It would be hardly too much to say that the Hexateuch was the Bible of the Jews of Ezra's time.

(β) *Influence of the Hexateuch on the formation of the Canon.*—That the same reverence should have come to be felt for the books of the later history and the works of the great teachers, as they were collected and compiled, is only the natural process of evolution. That in process of time a harvest of more miscellaneous, but all more or less religious, literature of different ages should have been gathered in and prized in its turn with at least something like the same degree of reverence, is equally natural. But, it may be asked, Why did this Canon-making process stop? The true answer seems to be that the literary tendencies of the period following the fall of Jerusalem, though vigorous after their kind, were intensely conservative. The learned of that day aimed at reproducing and fixing what they already had, whether written or oral, rather than at producing. The same influences which caused the publication, to use a modern phrase, of the Mishna, closed the OT Canon. The reverence which the Jews had felt for the sanctuary was now monopolized by the sacred writings. It was, even more than the preceding ages, an age of scribes, not of authors. If a few did write such original works as 4 Ezra (the 2 Es of the Eng. Apocrypha), no Jew, in spite of the writer's own transparent artifice, dreamed of placing such a work with books long sanctified by age. It is almost inconceivable that Ecclesiastes would have been so soon after accepted as canonical had it, as Grätz would have us believe, been written about this time.

For the part attributed by Elias Levita (d. 1549) to 'the Great Synagogue' in the process of Canon-forming, see art. SYNAGOGUE (THE GREAT).

vii. CANONICITY OF THE DIFFERENT DIVISIONS OF THE OT.—From what has already been said, it will be seen that it is very nearly correct to say that the OT was the result of a gradual process which began with the sanction of the Hexateuch by Ezra and Nehemiah, and practically closed with the decisions of the Council of Jamnia. It is now proposed to trace out as far as possible, for the separate parts of the Bible, the history of this process, partly by the help of the evidence already given, and partly by the light of biblical criticism. It may be premised that without a full appreciation of the latter a clear view of the history of the Canon is unattainable. Though, properly speaking, the writing of a book or any part of a book is a distinct thing from its authoritative reception, it will be seen that there is often, in fact, a close connexion between the two.

And it should also be remarked that the scattered pieces of evidence, though serving as convenient landmarks, must not be regarded as necessarily marking distinct epochs in the history of the Canon.

(*a*) *Preparatory Stages culminating in the Canonization of the Hexateuch by Ezra and Nehemiah.*—Even before the authorization of the Hexateuch, the idea of a Canon was not entirely new. In the first place, the earlier strata of the Hexateuch, JE and D, were probably well known, and received with various degrees of reverence. This was true also of some other parts of the Bible, several of the psalms, most of the historical books and of the prophets. But more important than this, the various codes of the Law had been from time to time formally enforced. The Decalogue had, according to E, been sanctioned directly by God Himself (Ex 20[1]). At any rate, nothing could exceed the awful reverence with which the Ark and its contents were regarded. The ancient codes preserved by JE, Ex 20–23 and 34[10-26], had certainly been sanctioned at a very early date. The former had, according to E, been inaugurated by a solemn act of sacrifice, Ex 24[3-8],—a passage of great importance as showing how what was originally, as clearly seen from its contents, a sort of common law, came to be sanctioned and enforced by religious authority.* It is well known how, at obviously a much later date, the provisions of D were enforced by the authority of Josiah (2 K 23). What was really new in the promulgation of the Hexateuch in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah was that now we find, as it would appear, not merely a law, but a sacred book authoritatively put forward for the acceptance of the people.

(*b*) *The Prophetico-Historical Canon.*—It is obvious that the canonization of Scripture is not likely to have stopped with the Hexateuch. The increased or fresh-awakened interest in their ancient history must have supplied the Jews with a fresh impulse to historical study. The feelings with which the earlier history was regarded would have insensibly extended to the later history, written in the same spirit and already bearing the impress of a bygone age. In these writings, as well as in those containing the teachings of the Prophets, men realized that they heard the inspired voice of the true successors of Moses, the first of prophets (Dt 18[15-19]). It is easy to see that it would not have been long before the second group of writings came to be regarded with much the same reverence as the first. This feeling was certainly heightened by the cessation of the power of prophecy. Ever since the Captivity the prophetical office had been becoming more and more priestly in its character, as we see from the Bks. of Haggai, Zechariah, and especially Malachi, and was finally absorbed in the priesthood. It is to be noticed that the writer of Sirach speaks of Aaron as vested with authority to teach (Sir 45^{17}), and that according to the Chronicler it was the Levites especially who taught the people in the time of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch $17^{8.9}$). But we have to mark not only the growth of a certain feeling towards Holy Scripture, but also a literary process, which is likely to have taken some time. This consisted of the collection of scattered books and leaflets, and the revision of books, and certainly began long before the time of Ezra. The editorial frame-work of the Bk. of Kings is the work of the Deuteronomic school, and probably belongs to the time of the Exile. But, on the other hand, there are marks of a later revision, and in certain passages, such as 1 K 8^{1-11}, we are reminded of P, if not of the Chronicler. The last five chapters of Judges *in their present form* have close affinities with P. The collections of prophecies of different prophets and different dates under the names of Isaiah and Zechariah, whatever their original cause, would not have found acceptance while the memories of Deutero-Isaiah and Zechariah were still fresh. We may say then that the literary process was probably completed not many years after the time of Ezra, say about B.C. 400, and that this second group had canonical acceptance, *at latest*, before the time when Sirach was written, and certainly *long before* that work was translated. If we put the canonicity about B.C. 300–250, we shall probably be not far wrong, provided that we remember that there is *no proof of official recognition by authority at such an early date.* It should be borne in mind that the Chronicler (*c.* 300) treated the history in a way difficult to explain, had he been possessed with our ideas of canonicity. On the other hand, the separation of Joshua from the Law, and its combination with the other historical books of the second group, suggests that at the time when made—long before B.C. 130 (Prologue to Sirach)—there was no very marked difference of estimation between the first and second groups. But we must not, again, make the assumption that all books of this second group were necessarily regarded with the same degree of reverence and authority.

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* It is quite impossible to fix with certainty the date of the ceremonies described in this passage, but the laws themselves reflect the state of society as we find it in 1 Samuel, which probably continued long after in the north. The code itself is, however, very complex.

(*c*) *The canonicity of the Hagiographa.*—This is more difficult to trace, and more complicated. The very name reminds us that we are dealing with a heterogeneous collection, which could not, like the two other groups, be classed under a really descriptive name. It would be a great mistake to take it for granted that their canonicity began to be deliberately considered after the canonicity of these other groups had been completely recognized. In the case of Psalms and Proverbs this was almost certainly not the case.

Psalms.—The composition of the Psalter shows it to be evidently a compilation from several earlier collections differing very much in character and age. The order suggests that the Psalms were generally placed in the same relative position in the complete Psalter which they had already occupied in these earlier collections. Thus we find together the Psalms of 'the sons of Korah' 42 (+43)–49. 84. 85. 87. 88, the Psalms of Asaph 73–83, 'songs of degrees (? steps)' 120–134, and other cases where similarity of titles or refrains connects consecutive Psalms, showing that such groups of Psalms were taken *en bloc* from collections entitled 'The Psalm-book of Korah,' 'The psalms, *maschils*, and songs of Asaph,' 'The songs of degrees,' etc. So far from critical were the compilers of the Psalter that they did not venture in certain cases to decide whether a poem was more correctly described as a psalm or a song (see titles of 75. 76, etc.). Still more curious is the leaving of the note, 'The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended,' after the Doxology which closes Ps 72, although, as the Psalter now stands, the preceding Psalm is as a fact ascribed to Solomon, and several later Psalms are ascribed to David. The arrangement of Psalms 'to David' makes it likely that at least two independent earlier collections were originally so entitled. All this tends to show that there was a wide interval of time between the composition of the majority of the Psalms and their final compilation in one complete Psalter.

The character of the Psalms themselves is very various. Some are comparatively crude, both in conception and language, and with sometimes a corrupt text, and appear as though a wide interval lay between their composition and the literary tendencies of later Judaism, as, *e.g.*, Ps 10^{2-11} 14. (cf. 53) 16, etc. There is a very fair probability that these at least are pre-exilic. Some bear a striking resemblance to Jeremiah, and have been frequently regarded as having been written either by him or writers of his school (esp. 31. 35. 69. 79). Many are of a personal character, as 4. 12. 13. 139, etc.; others were obviously composed for public worship, to which they have a distinct reference, as 95. 96. 98. 99. 100, etc. etc. Others, again, suggest that, originally personal, they have afterwards been adapted for liturgical use, as 69. 77. 102. This leads many to suspect that in some cases a national interpretation has been placed on Psalms originally designed to express the writer's own feelings and experience. In some Psalms, as in Ps 118, the national interpretation of the 1st person is obvious, and, of course, original.

Unfortunately it is impossible to fix a date for the use of Psalms in religious worship with absolute certainty. It appears almost certain that psalmody did not form a regular part of the temple worship before the Exile. The Bk. of Kings, at any rate, says nothing of it. In the face of this, the constant mention of psalm-singing by the Chronicler, as at the Dedication of the temple, 2 Ch $5^{12.13}$, is of no historical value for the time of which it treats. It is of a piece with the ascription to David of the founding of the singing guilds, 1 Ch 25. The value of the statements in Ezra and Nehemiah are more difficult to estimate. We certainly find singers mentioned, not only in the editorial introduction to the account of Ezra's work (Ezr 7^{7}), but, what is far more important, in the letter of Artaxerxes himself (7^{24}). They are spoken of in a way which implies that they are part of a definitely organized system. But the question arises whether that system was actually at work in Jerusalem, or had been organized by Ezra and his school in Babylon. What is known of the Priestly Code in relation to the Hexateuch makes it extremely probable that a new and highly developed ritual had been so formulated. It is also of some significance that in P only we find the ritual use of trumpets (Lv 23^{24}, Nu 10^{10}). On the other hand we do find, in the list preserved of those who came up from Babylon, the mention of 148 (128, Ezr) singers, 'sons of Asaph' (Neh 7^{44}, Ezr 2^{41}). It is not easy to reconcile this statement with Neh 7^{67}, Ezr 2^{65}, where singing men and singing women are mentioned apparently as among the slaves of the exiles. Is it that these were menials who had no connexion with the sacred guild, or that the guild itself was a creation out of what had been a menial office? Singers are also mentioned by Nehemiah as having been appointed by himself, Neh 7^{1}. In his account of the dedication of the wall, 12$^{27-43}$, the singers and players of instruments take a very prominent part. It is said that they had established themselves in villages, etc., round Jerusalem, whence they were gathered by Nehemiah, 12$^{28.29}$. The statement in v.^{46} that the singers had performed their office 'in the days of David and Asaph,' is made, not by Nehemiah, but by the editor. The account of the music and psalmody in the service connected with the foundation of the temple in Ezr 3$^{10.11}$ is also editorial, and is too much like the accounts of similar services given by the Chronicler (1 Ch 16, 2 Ch 5. 20$^{21.22}$ etc.) to be free from suspicion. It is sufficiently evident that on all such occasions he read into the narrative the religious customs of his own day, which were then believed to have originated with David. But, on the other hand, it must be borne in mind that in this case he was describing events much nearer to his own day, and some time must be allowed for such traditions to have grown up.

Putting all the facts together, it would probably be near the truth to say that music was first introduced into religious worship to some small extent with the second temple, but was first thoroughly organized and greatly developed under the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah. This use of Psalms, under the control of the Priestly guilds, would have given authority not only to those specially composed for the purpose, but to those adapted to liturgical use, and they would have required no further sanction. See, further, artt. PRAISE IN OT, and PSALMS.

Proverbs.—It was different with the Bk. of Proverbs. It belongs to a class of literature the sanction of which is by no means so obvious. If required to place in order of time the Prophetic, the Priestly, and the Ethical spirit among the Jews, we should certainly give them in this order. The last of the three is most closely connected with modern Judaism. The destruction of Jerusalem and the abolition of its sacrificial system must have gone far to give it strength and permanence, but in its inception the ethical spirit is of much earlier date, as we see from Sirach. But, as we see from the Prologue, Sirach itself was an imitation of earlier books, among which we must obviously reckon Proverbs; and these earlier books are spoken of as already ancient, 'the other books of our fathers,' and yet are not so ancient as the prophets, unless indeed the phrase 'others that have followed in their steps' points especially to Chronicles, which was in a sense an imitation of the prophetic Bk. of Kings. The fact, too, that Solomon came to be looked upon as the fountain of proverbial philosophy, is at once a proof of the relative antiquity of the germ and the sanction of what came to be ascribed to him. When once Solomon had gained this reputation, it became customary to ascribe proverbs to him. That many of these were originally popular sayings, handed down as ancient saws, hardly needs saying. That they were gathered together into small collections first, and that such collections were afterwards put together so as to form our present Bk. of Proverbs, is evident to any one who carefully studies the book. See PROVERBS.

With regard to the canonicity of this book, all that we can positively say is, that it is extremely unlikely that a specially sacred character should have begun to be attached to such proverbs only when the whole collection had been finally completed. The words at the beginning of Pr 25^{1} 'These also are Proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, copied out,' make it probable that, when what is believed to be the earliest collection was made, the proverbs which composed it were already believed to be Solomon's. It proves at the least that, when the final compilation was complete, this earlier collection was headed by a title which the compilers did not venture to disturb. The case is parallel to that of Ps 72^{20}. We may, then, safely say that the canonicity of the whole Bk. of Proverbs was firmly established long before B.C. 180, and that of parts of it, certainly chs. 25–29 were recognized long before, possibly as early as the reign of Hezekiah.

Ecclesiastes.—In point of canonicity Ecclesiastes stands on quite a different footing from Proverbs. It was neither a collection of sayings traditionally ascribed to Solomon, nor was it a collection of booklets which bore his name. Ecclesiastes was apparently ascribed to Solomon neither by ancient tradition nor by literary criticism; but the person of Solomon is assumed by the writer. As the authorship of Solomon is precluded on literary grounds, there are no alternatives except either a deliberate fraud or a mere literary device designed to give force to his subject. The latter alternative seems by far the most probable. It was written in a literary age (see 12^{12}), when a modern book would not easily be mistaken for one of ancient date, by a writer, probably an old sage, who had observed much and studied much, and felt that he had a right to speak (12$^{9-12}$), and was giving such advice as Solomon himself might have given had he lived in his day. That in a less critical age this literary device should have been misunderstood, and that, if so, it should have done much for the reception of this book, is not surprising. How soon this was so, or the exact date of its composition, must be largely matter of conjecture. We cannot be certain that it was known to the writer of Sirach. On the other hand, it is said to have been quoted by one Simon, son of Shetach, in the first half of the century before Christ (see Buhl, pp. 15, 17). It probably belongs to the literary age which terminated in the disturbed period of the Maccabees, and was certainly authoritatively recognized by the Council of Jamnia at the end of the 1st cent. A.D. See, further, art. ECCLESIASTES.

Song of Songs.—The Song of Songs is so far like Ecclesiastes that the subject of the poem is connected with the person of Solomon, not obviously as the assumed writer, but as one of the principal characters. The poem, or group of poems, is, however, probably ancient, and originally, there can be no serious doubt, quite secular in character. According to 1 K 4^{32} Solomon was traditionally known as a writer of poetry, and it is quite possible that this work was ascribed to him at a comparatively early date, before the Exile. The allegorical interpretation of the book would have naturally followed. He who was believed to have drawn lessons of morality from plants and animals (cf. 1 K 4^{33} with Pr 6$^{5-8}$ 26$^{2.3}$ etc.), might easily be supposed to have intended some deep mystic meaning in this simple story of pure and natural love. In this case the reception of the book was probably slow and gradual, and naturally enough met with considerable opposition. Had it not been for its allegorical interpretation, it is unlikely that it would have gained a place in the Canon. The Christians accepted the book, but gave it a new allegorical interpretation of their own.

Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah.—The Bks. of 1 and 2 Chronicles, with Ezra and Nehemiah, the four originally one book, were probably received as a trustworthy record before the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C. As already shown, at least Chronicles and Nehemiah are referred to in the praise of famous men in Sir 44–50. Probably they were not written much more than a century earlier, about B.C. 330 (see Kent, *Hist. Heb. People*, ii. 8), and their character suggests that they were compiled *by authority*. If so, the dates of authorship and canonicity are the same. In any case their composition and reception belong to a time not long after the *final revision* of the Bk. of Kings, though possibly a much longer time after the general recognition of *an earlier edition*, so to speak, of that book. The two books present an instructive contrast. The Chronicles are, unlike Kings, not so much a *compilation* as a *composition*. It is only exceptionally that fragments of ancient documents appear in their original shape. For the most part the whole has been recast in its relatively modern form, with its characteristically modern spirit. It shows the marks of a definitely literary effort in a literary age. Its treatment of ancient history may be compared in some respects with that of the later Targums and Midrashim. In fact, the word *midrash* already occurs in 2 Ch 13^{22} 24^{27} (AV 'story'), though hardly in its later technical sense. The book was probably intended to preserve in a permanent form the methods of teaching common in the Jewish schools. That such a literary school should spring into existence after the period of Ezra and Nehemiah is highly probable. It would have been the natural result of the impulse given by them to the study of Scripture.

Job.—Of Job it is difficult to speak very positively. The allusion in Ezk $14^{14.\,20}$ may prove nothing more than that the story of Job, or something like it, was current in the prophet's day. The mention after Daniel (in this case certainly it is the person, not the book, we have to think of) may suggest that the story had only recently become known. In any case the point of the allusion does not make it necessary to suppose that Ezekiel necessarily regarded Job as a historical person. The book bears traces of the kind of religious feelings which were quickened by Deuteronomy, and betrays a still closer relationship to Deutero-Isaiah. Indeed the suffering Servant of J″ forms a striking parallel to the leading thought of the book. Yet the relation between the two appears to be collateral rather than of direct ancestry. This resemblance, taken with the allusions to astronomy in Job 9^{9} 26^{13}, suggest that Job was written in Babylon about the same period. This would be all but a certainty if we could be sure that Job's sufferings are meant to be an allegory of those of the exiled Israel.

Ruth and Lamentations.—The Bks. of Ruth and Lamentations, especially if the latter was believed to be the work of Jeremiah, could hardly have received general recognition when the historico-prophetic group was completed, as they would certainly have found a place in it, the former as a historical, the latter as a prophetic work. Apart from a very possible reference in Sir 49^{6} to La $1^{1\text{-}4}$ etc., we have no evidence to show whether they were known or not to the writer of Sirach, and the internal evidence is too uncertain in this case to give us any real help. All that we can positively say is that both were thoroughly recognized by the end of the 1st cent. A.D., as seen by the testimony of Josephus and the Council of Jamnia, and no doubt is expressed of their genuineness. They must have been received long before; but how long we can only guess. This is, however, just one of those cases in which the evidence of silence is of very little value against a book. The Bk. of Ruth would hardly have suited the purpose of the writer of Sirach, who includes no women among his worthies.

Daniel and Esther.—The Bks. of Daniel and Esther stand on a very different footing. Had they been known, Daniel and Mordecai would certainly have found a place in Sir 44–50 among the 'famous men.' It is true that Ezekiel ($14^{14.\,20}$) knows of Daniel as one whose purity of life might be supposed to have secured the land from Divine wrath, but not necessarily as the great hero of the Babylonian and Persian courts. How could Sirach have failed to commemorate him who combined all the courage of a David with the wisdom of a Solomon? The book bears obvious internal evidence in chs. 7–9 of a date subsequent to the Maccabæan era. From the similarity of subject it seems not unlikely that both Daniel and Esther were derived from the same Eastern source. But it could hardly have been earlier than the beginning of the 1st cent. B.C. The history of the reception of the books forms a rather marked contrast. The Bk. of Daniel, as might have been expected from its contents, appears to have gained favour without opposition, and Daniel is spoken of in the NT as a prophet (Mt 24^{15}). Esther, on the other hand, was received with considerable hesitation, and whether on this ground or otherwise there is less evidence in its favour. It is not quoted in the NT, which may be only accidental; and it is at least possible that the feast of Jn 5^{1} is that of Purim, which would prove the recognition of the book. Several Rabbis objected to the book about the 1st and 2nd cents. A.D., and one at least in the 3rd (see Buhl, p. 25); several Fathers, Melito (perhaps by error), Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, omit it from their lists; and it was not regarded as canonical by Theodore of Mopsuestia. Some objections or suspicions arose, among the Jews at any rate, from its secular character; others, in the opinion of some writers, merely from the fact that the fast of 13th Adar, in connexion with Haman's plot (ch. 9^{1}), conflicted with the feast of the same day commemorating the victory of Judas Maccabæus over Nicanor (1 Mac 7^{49}; see Ryle, p. 139).

viii. SUMMARY OF RESULTS OBTAINED.—In the foregoing inquiry the following facts seem clearly established:—

(1) Canonicity was, like the composition of the books itself, a gradual process. The Council of Jamnia, for example, gave a formal sanction to what had already become, more or less definitely, the public opinion of Jewish writers.

(2) Such sanction appears to have been, in fact, accidental, that is to say, not by any means essential to the idea of canonicity. All the OT books, with a few possible exceptions, would have won their way into the Canon had no such council decided the matter, just as the NT became canonical without the sanction of a general council.

(3) The history of canonicity cannot be completely separated from the history of the books themselves. The separate parts of a book may have been, and in some cases certainly were, accepted authoritatively before the whole was written. This was especially the case with the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Proverbs.

(4) This consideration, among others, points to the conclusion that canonicity was, in its earliest stages, a question of degree, and even, to some extent, of kind. One book, the Pentateuch, for example, was accepted because formally sanctioned by authority; another acquired its authority from its long acceptance by students and writers; a third, from its liturgical use. Again, various factors contributed to the idea of canonicity; among them, certainly, real or supposed antiquity, and also, to some extent, authorship by some famous person, such as David or Solomon.

(5) Lastly, while the beginnings of canonicity lie in the misty period of ancient Jewish history, it may be said to have reached its final stage at the Council of Jamnia, where all our OT books were sanctioned; though, on the one hand, the great bulk, at any rate, were practically recognized as canonical long before; and, on the other, some hesitation in isolated cases was not uncommon

even after the council. Since then, time, habit, and experience have continued to give strength to its decisions.

ix. Claims of the Apocrypha to Canonicity.—So far, the investigation has concerned itself almost exclusively with the Canon accepted by the Jews and by the Reformed Churches of modern times. A few words are necessary concerning the claims of the Apocrypha to canonicity. In the Roman Catholic Church it depends upon the supposed inspiration of the Vulgate. There is, however, some truth in the canonicity of the Apocrypha. The LXX contained these books very nearly as we have them now in our English Apocrypha. The earliest extant LXX texts are certainly Christian, but the references in Hebrews to Wisdom and Maccabees, to which attention has been already called, suggest the probability that the Greek Bible of NT times was the LXX as we know it. It would thus appear that the Alexandrian Jews were accustomed to group together in their sacred literature a larger collection of books than those contained in the Palestinian Canon and sanctioned at Jamnia. It is, then, a common practice to speak of the Alexandrian Canon as distinct from the Palestinian, and it is at least a significant fact that the only book of the NT (if we make the possible exception of the Fourth Gospel) which has distinct affinities with Alexandrian thought, contains the two striking references just mentioned to the Apocryphal books. The term is convenient, no doubt, but it is misleading if it is intended to imply that the Alexandrians placed all their sacred books, whether belonging to the Palestinian Canon or not, on the same footing. It is satisfactory enough if merely intended to mean that they made no definite distinction between the Canon and the Apocrypha. The statement (see above) that Philo, *e.g.*, never quotes the Apocryphal books as canonical, is to some extent outweighed, as already suggested, by his peculiar views of inspiration. His theory of an extended, if graduated, inspiration tended to weaken the conception of a special Canon. The fact that rather a large number of OT books * are not quoted by Philo at all, perhaps points in the same direction. Dr. Sanday sees in the distinction between the so-called Palestinian and Alexandrian Canons the difference between the more strictly religious school and those who welcomed a wider, if more secular, culture (*Inspiration*, p. 93). With reference to the quotation of the Apocrypha by Christian Fathers, it may be enough to observe that even the ultra-Alexandrian Origen very definitely recognized that the books of the Palestinian Canon were in a special sense those of the Covenant (testament).

The sporadic inclusion, so to speak, of altogether uncanonical books as Scripture in the NT or elsewhere, such as the quotation from the Bk. of Enoch in Jude,† shows that, while a small body of learned Jewish experts in Palestine had formulated a fixed Canon, there were others whose critical knowledge was less exact, and who therefore included within their conception of Scripture a far wider circle of books.

x. Some Peculiarities in the Evidence of the NT and Fathers.—It is hardly necessary to do more than mention the curious omission by some Eastern Christian writers of well-established OT books, such as the omission of Chronicles (with Ezra and Nehemiah) and Job by Theodore of Mopsuestia and the Nestorian Canon (see Buhl, p. 53). Such omissions must be regarded as eccentricities outside the general current of canonical history. The omission of Esther stands on a differ footing, and is, moreover, more common.

xi. The Influence of our present Knowledge of OT Canon upon Religion.—Hitherto the subject has been investigated on its purely historical side. The question has been—What books were in point of fact received as Scripture at different times? not—What is the intrinsic value of the books of Scripture, or of particular books of Scripture, as sanctions for religious belief and religious conduct? The latter question belongs rather to the subject of inspiration than to that of the Canon. But it comes within the limit of the present inquiry in so far as the spiritual authority and value of Bible books depend upon canonicity. Except for this, the history of the Canon has nothing more than a purely literary and archæological value. The question may be put thus—Does the scientific method as applied to the history of the Canon—and no other method is really permissible—increase or diminish the practical value of the Bible as a whole or in part? Theoretically, it would appear that it diminishes it. It is one thing to say that the OT was authoritatively fixed by Ezra or a religious school founded by him; another, that it was, as far as the evidence really proves, first officially sanctioned in its completeness by the Council of Jamnia. Christians would far rather believe that the Bks. of Esther and Canticles formed part of the Bible of Christ and His apostles, than that they were sanctioned by a Jewish council held some 70 years after Christ's ascension. A devout Protestant may be somewhat shocked to find that many of the earlier Christians practically included several Apocryphal books in their Bible. The modern study of the subject does certainly tend in some measure to obscure the lines drawn between canonical and Apocryphal books, and to depreciate relatively some of the former and appreciate some of the latter. It affects, in some degree, both the conditions of canonicity and the question to what extent certain books within or without the recognized Canon fulfil those conditions. But what practical bearing has all this as concerns the influence of the Bible upon faith and life? We feel that the books of whose claim to canonicity there is some degree of doubt are just those which, from a purely religious point of view, are the least important. There are those who feel that if Ecclesiastes, Esther, and Canticles had never been included in the Canon, and Sirach and Wisdom had been included, it would have made little real difference. We might still in Ecclesiastes have reverenced the outspoken honesty of a pious Israelite struggling according to his limited light with perhaps the greatest problems of life. We should have been thankful that in Esther we had illustrated for us a phase of character belonging to the most interesting, and once the most religious, nation of the world. We should have found in Canticles at least a pretty love-lyric, and possibly a good deal more. The old questionings and doubts about these books make it easier for us to have some such ideas about them now without shocking our religious sense. We feel that the standard by which all Bible or quasi-Bible books must eventually be appraised is not merely the *ipse dixit* of an infallible Church, Jewish or Christian, which rules all on one side of a line holy and all on the other secular, but an enlightened intelligence which sees in the sacred books, including even some not generally accounted canonical, various degrees of inspiration and spiritual power. By enlightened intelligence is here meant, not the mere private opinion of the individual, but the growing consent of spiritually-minded, right-thinking, honest, and devout Christians. In a word, the study of the formation of the Canon makes it possible to think that the same influences which resulted in the fixed Canon of OT in ancient times, may at a future time lead to some more defined modification in our conception of a sacred Canon.

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* Ezekiel, Daniel, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther (Buhl, tr. p. 15; cf. Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scripture*).

† For quotations from or references to extra-canonical books in NT, see Buhl, p. 14.

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F. H. WOODS.

OLD TESTAMENT LANGUAGE. — See LANGUAGE OF OLD TESTAMENT.

OLD TESTAMENT TEXT.—See TEXT OF OLD TESTAMENT.

OLD TESTAMENT TIMES.—See ISRAEL.

OLIVE (זַיִת *zayith*, *ἐλαία*, *oliva*, Arab. *zeitûn*).—A well-known tree, one of the most characteristic of Syria and Palestine. It belongs to the order *Oleaceæ*, which also includes the ash. It is a tree with gnarled and, when large, usually hollow trunk, and straggling branches. It loves rich soil, but flourishes without irrigation. The small white flowers form axillary clusters. When their function is over, they fall in showers to the ground (Job 15^{33}), and their place is taken by small oblong fruits, at first green, but becoming almost black when ripe. From these comes the fatness of the olive, its rich nutritious oil. The leaves are oblong to lanceolate, of the characteristic dull olive-green at their upper surface, and a frosted silver colour below. This arrangement of colours makes an olive tree at a little distance appear as if covered by a filmy veil of silver gauze, which gives a soft dreamy sheen to the landscape. There are groves of olives near all the cities and villages of Pal. and Syria, and several of them are very extensive. That near Beirût is nearly 5 miles square. That near Tripoli is about as large. There are fine groves near Nablûs, and on the western slopes of Lebanon. The ground in which olive trees grow is ploughed twice or more a year, and enriched with inorganic and organic fertilizers. A favourite dressing is a marl, known as *ḥuwwârah*, which is found everywhere in pockets of the cretaceous rocks of Syria. The first olives begin to fall in September. These are usually left until the time when the owner or his agent, and the lessee, can together pick them up and measure them. In November comes the harvest. The trees are beaten with a long pole (Dt 24^{20}). The 'shakings' (Is 24^{13}) of the olive tree refer to the few olives left after the first beating. These were to be left for the poor; see art. GLEANING. The olive harvest is usually carried home in baskets, on the backs of men or donkeys. 'Olive berries' (Ja 3^{12}), in reality a kind of *drupe*, are used for food in two stages. (1) When green they are pickled in brine, until the bitter taste is somewhat overcome, a result which is hastened by slightly bruising the drupe, so that the brine may more readily penetrate its pulp. They are eaten with bread, and, especially during the fasts, constitute a notable portion of the diet of the people. (2) When quite ripe they are sometimes packed down in salt, or immersed in brine, and at other times preserved in their own oil. The yield varies much in different years. If it is large one year it is usually small the next. The drupes are often beaten in a mortar, as in Bible times (Ex 27^{20} etc.). In this case the marc is placed in a vessel filled with hot water. The oil floats to the surface, and is skimmed off. The more usual way of obtaining the oil, however, is to bruise the ripe berries in a shallow circular basin, excavated in a stone shaped like the nether millstone, or in the solid rock. The bruising is sometimes done with the foot (Dt 33^{24}, Mic 6^{15}), but more commonly by an upright millstone, with a long pole passed through its centre. The short end of this pole is fastened to an upright fixed in the centre of the basin, and the other pushed or pulled round by a man or animal, so that the stone revolves just within the outer edge of the basin. This reduces the berries to a pulp. Part of the oil flows out through a spout in the rim of the basin into a vat (Jl 2^{24} 3^{13}, Hag 2^{16}). After the oil which flows of itself has been drawn away, the marc is packed in soft reed baskets. These are subjected to pressure by piling them one over the other between two stone pillars, with an upright groove at the inner face of each. In these grooves slides a horizontal bar, which is heavily weighted with stones or iron. Under this primitive but powerful press the oil flows down in streams, and is collected in a vat at the foot of the pile. At first it has much extraneous matter and water mixed with it. These gradually separate, leaving the pure sweet oil. This is kept in jars, or in large reservoirs hewn out of the rock or built with great exactness, and well pointed at the joints, or plastered within. The oil is used extensively as food, and large quantities of soap of most excellent quality are made by boiling it with crude soda.

The Scripture allusions to the olive are very numerous. It is the first tree, of those now known, mentioned in the Bible (Gn 8^{11}). Its wealth of nourishment made it a natural candidate for the position of king of trees (Jg $9^{8.\ 9}$). It is an emblem of peace and prosperity (Ps 52^8 128^3) and beauty (Jer 11^{16}, Hos 14^6). The two olive trees in Zec $4^{3.\ 11\text{-}14}$ were emblems of fruitfulness. RV well translates (v.^{14}) 'two sons of oil,' instead of AV 'two anointed ones.' Standing by 'the Lord of the whole earth,' they denote His abundant, overflowing provision for the spiritual wants of mankind. Oil is frequently alluded to as food (2 Ch 2^{10}), medicine (Lk 10^{34}, Ja 5^{14}), unguent (Ps 23^5, Mt 6^{17}), illuminator (Mt 25^3 etc.). The temple oil was beaten (Ex 27^{20}). The name 'Mount of Olives' indicates the importance attached to this tree, and associates it with many of the most interesting incidents in the life of our Lord.

G. E. POST.

OLIVES, MOUNT OF (הַר הַזֵּיתִים; LXX *τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν*; Vulg. *Mons Olivarum*).—In the OT the term 'Mount of Olives' occurs only in Zec 14^4. It is described as the 'ascent of the Olives' (מַעֲלֵה הַזֵּ״) in 2 S 15^{30} (AV 'ascent of Mount Olivet,' RV 'ascent of the *Mount of* Olives'), as 'the mount' (Neh 8^{15}), 'the mount that is before Jerusalem' (1 K 11^7), 'the mountain which is on the east side of the city' (Ezk 11^{23}), and as 'the mount of corruption (or destruction)' (2 K 23^{13}). In the NT it is usually called 'the mount of Olives' (*τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν*), Mt 21^1 24^3 26^{30}, Mk 13^3 14^{26}, Lk 22^{39} 19^{37}, Jn 8^1, but St. Luke twice uses the term 'the mount that is called [the mount] of Olives' (*τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον ἐλαιῶν*), Lk 19^{29} 21^{37}; and once the term 'the mount called Olivet' (*τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ καλ. Ἐλαιῶνος*), Ac 1^{12}, cf. *τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ἐλαιών* Mk 11^1 (B).

There is no doubt as to the identity of the Mount of Olives. The name is applied to the range of hills facing Jerusalem on the east and lying round about from north-east to south-east, and separated from the Holy City by the Valley of Jehoshaphat or Kidron. The only question that may arise in this respect is as to the precise extent of the range which may be included under the expression 'Mount of Olives.'

The range detaches itself from the backbone of the country about two miles north of Jerusalem, south of the village of *Sha'fât* (2824 ft.), and, trending in a south-easterly direction, extends as far as the 'prospect' (*Scopus*), where it runs nearly due south till opposite (or east of) the temple site; it then runs in a south-westerly direction until it is over against the Pool of Siloam. The ridge of the range is generally at a level of about 2600 ft. above the Mediterranean, but it culminates in four, or rather three (see below) somewhat pronounced summits, to which modern tradition has given the names of (1) Galilee, (2) the Ascension, (3) the Prophets, (4) the Mount of Offence.

(1) 'Galilee' (*Scopus*) is due north-east of the temple site, and about a mile distant.

(2) 'The Ascension' is the summit due east of the temple site, and distant about ¾ mile; on it stand the church of the Ascension and the village and mosque of *Jebel eṭ-Ṭur* (the modern Arabic name for the Mount of Olives).

(3) 'The Prophets' is south of and, properly speaking, only a spur of No. 2, and derives its name from some catacombs ascribed to the prophets. It is not really a distinct summit.

(4) 'The Mount of Offence' is about ¾ mile south-east of Ophel, and is the terminating outlier of the range to the south.

To the east this range falls rapidly towards the Jordan Valley; to the west and south it is bounded by the valley called Kidron or Jehoshaphat, which, commencing north of Jerusalem on a level with the high ground of the Holy City, falls rapidly until it becomes a deep ravine dividing the temple site from Olivet, and near the Pool of Siloam is 400 ft. below the summit of Olivet. It is called by the Arabs the *Wâdy en-Nâr* (valley of fire).

The summit of the Mount of Offence is on the same level as the temple site (2440 ft.), but from the church of the Ascension northward the range is in few places less than 2600 ft. in height, and thus commanded a view down upon the temple courts, and stood round about the city to the eastward.

The ancient road leading up from Jericho by *Wâdy Ḳelt* bifurcates at about six miles from Jerusalem (at level 654 ft.); the northern branch running up *Wâdy Rawâbeh* and over Scopus into the city, the southern branch passing through Bethany and crossing the Olivet range between the church of the Ascension and the Mount of Offence; the southern branch appears to have been the main road to Jericho since the Roman occupation.

There are three roads or paths leading to the summit of Olivet, where the church of the Ascension stands; the central path leading straight up the ascent, those to the north and south making a detour to lessen the steepness. These roads all join together near the bridge over the Kidron close to the Garden of Gethsemane, and go to St. Stephen's gate, immediately north of the temple site. It is probable that over this bridge was the road into Jerusalem from the east from the earliest times, as the rocky sides of Olivet lower down the valley are too steep and precipitous to admit of anything more than a rugged footpath.

When Absalom's rebellion broke out, David fled from Jerusalem over the brook Kidron by way of the Mount of Olives to the wilderness (2 S $15^{14.30}$). Probably he crossed the Kidron by the road where the bridge now spans the ravine, and went up the ascent by the north-easterly road already mentioned. There is no reason for supposing that he went up to the summit where now stands the church of the Ascension—this would not lie in his route. He probably went up nearly due north-east from the Kidron ravine, and ascended to the top of the mountain, and thence he went down the eastern slope till he arrived at the *Wâdy Rawâbeh* near Bahurim. If a line be drawn from the Kidron bridge north-east it will be found to go over Mount Scopus into *Wâdy Rawâbeh*.

Bahurim is rendered in the Targum of Jonathan (on 2 S 16^5) as Alimoth or Almon, a city of Benjamin given to the priests, and is identified by Schwarz, Furrer, and Robinson (*BRP* iii. 287) as *'Almît*, north of *'Anâta* (Anathoth), about three miles N.N.E. of Jerusalem. Barclay (p. 563) also conjectures that Bahurim lay on the north side of *Wâdy Rawâbeh*, not far from *'Anâta*, but south of it, probably near *el-'Isâwîyeh*. Lightfoot considers Bahurim as close to Nob (*Prospect*, i. 42), and Josephus (*Ant.* VII. ix. 7) mentions that it was off the main road from Jericho to Jerusalem. It would appear, then, that king David took the northern of the two roads to Jericho, went over Scopus and down the *Wâdy Rawâbeh*, south of Bahurim, from whence Shimei issued, keeping along the hillside above the road, and casting down stones and dust at the king.

Modern tradition has fixed on the southern summit or Mount of Offence as the locality of the high places which Solomon dedicated to Chemosh and Molech, in the hill that is before (or east of) Jerusalem (1 K 11^7). There is no indication where these high places are to be found except in the account of their destruction by Joash (2 K 23^{13}), where they are described as before (or east of) Jerusalem, on the right hand of the הַר הַמַּשְׁחִית 'mount of corruption (*or* destruction)'; and if the latter may be accepted as the name of the summit due east of the temple site, then the high places on the right or south of the Mount of Corruption would be on the Mount of Offence where modern tradition locates them. The Arabic name of this mountain is *Baten el-Howa*, 'the bag of wind.'

There seems to have been considerable variety of opinion as to the position of these high places in early Christian times, but the majority of authorities, including the Jewish writers, do not mention the subject. Burckhardt places them over Siloam on the Mount of Offence, while Brocardus places the altar of Chemosh on the northern summit.

On the southern slope of the Mount of Offence is the village of Siloam (*Silwân*) clinging to the steep hillside, and down below are the fertile fields which are supposed to have formed the king's garden between the Pool of Siloam and the well of Joab (SILOAM). Somewhere here it was that, in the days of Uzziah, about the time that the leprosy fell upon him, an earthquake is said to have rent a part of the mountain on the west at a place called Eroge (En-rogel?), and rolled it four furlongs till it stood still at the east mountain (Olivet), blocking up the roads and the king's garden (*Ant.* IX. x. 4; cf. Am 1^1, Zec 14^5, 2 Ch 26^{16}).

Josephus does not add materially to our knowledge of the Mount of Olives. He relates that in the time of the procurator Felix, in the reign of Nero, the country was full of robbers and impostors who deluded the people, and that among them was one from Egypt who came to Jerusalem and called himself a prophet, and advised the multitude of the common people to go along with him to the Mount of Olives, which lay over against the city, and at the distance of 5 furlongs. He got together 30,000 men and led them round about by the wilderness to the Mount of Olives, and was ready to break into Jerusalem by force from that place

(*Ant.* XX. viii. 6, *BJ* II. xiii. 5; Ac 21^{38}). Josephus also states that at the investment of Jerusalem by Titus two legions had orders to encamp at the distance of six furlongs from Jerusalem at the Mount of Olives, which lies over against the city on the east side, and is parted from it by a deep valley interposed between them, which is called Cedron. He further mentions that during the siege of Jerusalem the Jews made an attack on the Roman guard on the Mount of Olives, and that the wall of circumvallation, built round the city to keep the Jews in, began from the camp of the Assyrians, where Titus' camp was pitched, extended to the lower part of Cenopolis, thence along the valley of Cedron to the Mount of Olives, and then bent towards the south and encompassed the mountain as far as the rock called Peristerion (dovecote) and that other hill which lies next to it, and is over the valley which reaches to Siloam (*BJ* V. ii. 3, iii. 5, xii. 2; VI. ii. 8). It was at this period that the Mount of Olives became denuded of the olives, pines, myrtles, and palms which formerly covered its sides, as mentioned in Neh 8^{15} 'Go forth unto the mount, and fetch olive branches, and pine branches, and myrtle branches, and palm branches, and branches of thick trees, to make booths, as it is written.'

The Mount of Olives was particularly connected in the minds of the worshippers at the temple of Jerusalem with many of the most important ceremonies, such as the proclamation of the new moons, the waters of purification and burning of the red heifer, and the scapegoat. The Talmudical writings are full of references to the Mount of Olives in connexion with these matters.

The Mount of Olives was called the mountain of Three Lights, on account of—(1) the fire from the altar lighting it up at night; (2) from the first beams of the sun lighting up the summit; (3) from the olive oil which it produced for lighting the lamps of the temple.

The Mount of Olives was the starting-point for the signals by means of fire beacons sent throughout the land when the appearance of the new moon was considered satisfactorily proved. On the 30th day of certain months watchmen were stationed on the commanding heights around Jerusalem, and as soon as any one of them detected the new moon he hastened before the president of the Sanhedrin to apprise him of it. When its appearance was finally approved, a beacon fire was lighted on the Mount of Olives, and torches were moved to and fro in the night until answered from *Kurn Surtabeh*, a conical mountain projecting into the Jordan Valley; the signal was carried on to Gryphena, thence to the Ḥaurân, Beth Balten (Biram), and thence to the far east, until the whole land of the Captivity was waving in flames. It is related (*Rosh-hashshanah*, ii. 2) that the Cuthæans of Samaria spoiled this system of signalling by putting up false lights, and that it was found necessary to send messengers instead. See, further, art. NEW MOON.

The Mount of Olives has also a rôle to play in the future (Targum upon Ca 8^{1}). When the dead shall live again, Mount Olivet is to be rent in twain (Zec 14^{4}), and all the dead of Israel shall come out thence; and those righteous persons who died in captivity shall be rolled under ground and shall come forth under the Mount of Olives. The Jews also believe (Midrash, *Tehillim*) that the Messiah will converse much on this mountain.

In connexion with the statement (Ezk 11^{23}) that the glory of the Lord went up from the midst of the city, and stood upon the mountain, which is on the east side of the city, Rabbi Janna says the Divine majesty (*shekinah*) stood 3½ years on Olivet and preached, saying, 'Seek ye the Lord while He may be found; call upon Him while He is near' (Midrash, *Tehillim*), and then, when all was in vain, returned to its own place. Whether or not this story has a direct allusion to the ministrations of Christ, it is a true expression of His relation respectively to Jerusalem and to Olivet. It is useless to seek for traces of His presence in the streets of the ten times since captured city. It is impossible not to find them in the free space of the Mount of Olives (Stanley, *SP* 189).

Stanley (*op. citat.* p. 189) truly points out with regard to the Mount of Olives 'that its lasting glory belongs not to the Old Dispensation, but to the New. Its very barrenness of interest in earlier times sets forth the abundance of those associations which it derives from the closing scenes of the Sacred History. Nothing, perhaps, brings before us more strikingly the contrast of Jewish and Christian feeling, the abrupt and inharmonious termination of the Jewish dispensation,—if we exclude the culminating point of the Gospel History,—than to contrast the blank which Olivet presents to the Jewish pilgrims of the Middle Ages, only dignified by the sacrifice of "the red heifer"; and the vision, too great for words, which it offers to the Christian traveller of all times, as the most detailed and the most authentic abiding-place of Jesus Christ.'

'No name in Scripture calls up associations at once so sacred and so pleasing as that of Olivet. The "mount" is so intimately connected with the private life of our Lord, that we read of it and look at it with feelings of deepest interest and affection. Here He sat with His disciples, telling them of the wondrous events yet to come; of the destruction of the Holy City, of the sufferings, the persecutions, and the final triumph of His followers' (Porter's *Handbook to Pal.*). Here He was wont to retire for meditation and prayer. Here He was met by a concourse of people from Jerusalem when He made His triumphal entry into the Holy City. Here He came on the night of His betrayal, and past this mount He led His disciples on the day He ascended to heaven.

There are many traditional *sites* on the Mount of Olives, but there are some that more particularly claim our attention.

The **Garden of Gethsemane** is to be looked for beyond the Kidron and at the foot of Olivet (Jn 18^{1}, Lk 22^{39}), and the modern traditional site seems to be a likely locality, though both Robinson (i. 347) and Thomson (*Land and Book*, p. 634) suggest it was higher up the hill. This site is probably the same as that alluded to by Eusebius, Jerome, and the Bordeaux Pilgrim, but there is no earlier tradition. The balance of opinion appears to be in favour of its being near the true site. It is situated on the Olivet bank of the Kidron, not far from the bridge, and immediately south of the road leading from the bridge to the summit of Olivet. On the other side of the road are the 'Grotto of the Agony' and the 'Tomb of the Virgin' (el-Jesmânîyeh of the Arabs, *i.e.* Gethsemane). There are continuous links of tradition uniting these chapels with the traditional spot early in the 4th cent., where the site may possibly have been fixed by the empress Helena, A.D. 326. See, further, art. GETHSEMANE.

Theodorus (A.D. 530) states, 'and there is the Basilica of St. Mary the Lord's Mother and her sepulchre'; and St. John of Damascus writing in the 8th cent. states that it existed then. A church was erected over it in the time of the empress Pulcheria (A.D. 390–450); since the 8th cent. there has been an unbroken chain of tradition concerning the tomb. Bernard (A.D. 867) found it in ruins; it had been a round church. It was rebuilt by Godfrey, and is described by Sæwulf and William of Tyre as it now exists. The Moslems handed it over to the Christians, A.D. 1363, but they still visit it on a certain day in the year. Eusebius (A.D. 833) states that Gethsemane was at the Mount of Olives, and was then a place of prayer for the faithful, and that the rock where Judas betrayed Christ was in the valley of Jehoshaphat (*Itin. Hieros*). The Bordeaux Pilgrim also places the same rock in the valley of Jehoshaphat. St. Silvia (A.D. 379–388) describes the service at Gethsemane. Jerome (A.D. 393) says that Gethsemane was at the foot of the mountain, and that a church had been built over it. Eucherius (A.D. 427–448) alludes to the two famous churches where our Lord is said to have had discourse with His disciples, and that of the Ascension. Theodorus (A.D. 530) speaks of a Basilica on the spot where Christ taught His disciples. The presumption is, then, that the Grotto of the Agony was the original site of Gethsemane. The olive trees of Gethsemane are not mentioned by any of the earlier pilgrims, and there is no tradition connecting the very old trees now in the garden with the past.

Modern tradition makes **the triumphal entry of our Lord** into Jerusalem over the summit of the Mount of Olives, and the scene of the lamentation over Jerusalem about half-way down the hill; but Stanley has shown conclusively that His journey lay by the southern road through Bethany—that by which mounted travellers at the present day approach Jerusalem, over the southern shoulder of Olivet, between the summit which contains the tombs of the Prophets and the Mount of Offence. 'There can be no doubt that this is the route of the triumphal entry, not only because, as just stated, it is and must always have been the usual approach for horsemen and for large caravans, such as then were concerned, but also because this is the only one of the three approaches which meets the requirements of the narrative' (Stanley, *SP* 191). The road on leaving Bethany passes over a spur of Olivet which runs out to the south-east; from here a view is obtained of the southern part of the Holy City, then the road descends into a hollow, and mounting again by a rugged ascent it reaches a ledge of smooth rock from which the whole city bursts into view. This point is opposite to the south-east angle of the temple enclosure and considerably above it. 'Nowhere else on the Mount of Olives is there a view like this. By the two other approaches, one being over the summit and one over the northern shoulder of the hill, the city reveals itself gradually; there is no partial glimpse, like that which has just been described as agreeing so well with the first outbreak of popular acclamation, still less is there any point where, as here, the city and temple would suddenly burst into view, producing the sudden and affecting impression described in the Gospel narrative' (*SP* 193).

The last interview of our Lord with His disciples before He ascended into heaven is stated to have taken place on the eastern slopes of Olivet, for 'He led them out as far as to Bethany' (Lk 24^{50}); and it is further stated that 'they returned to Jerusalem from the mount called Olivet, which is from Jerusalem a Sabbath day's journey.' The traditional site, however, from very early times, has been the middle summit of Olivet, at the church of the Ascension; and there are those who consider that this is quite in keeping with the account in St. Luke's Gospel (see report of Schick, *PEFSt*, p. 317, 1896). The church of the Ascension is a small octagonal structure within an enclosure of irregular polygonal form, measuring about 40 ft. north and south, by 30 ft. east and west. It is in possession of the Moslems, and a minaret is close beside the west entrance, and is a very conspicuous feature in the landscape. Christian sects are permitted on certain days to perform mass in the chapel. The chapel was built in 1834 on the plan of one built by the Moslems in 1617 on the ruins of the Crusading Church built 1130 and destroyed 1187. The latter was built on the ruins of the Basilica of Constantine. Dr. Schick (*PEFSt* p. 319, 1896) has carefully traced the indications of the original building from the existing remains, and has proposed a restoration of the place, showing a round church open at the centre to the sky, with the entrance to west and altar to east. This church was built in the 4th cent., and a plan is given by Arculf, A.D. 680, of its restoration in the 7th cent. by the Patriarch Modestus.

The footprints of Christ have experienced various and strange vicissitudes. One is impressed on the pavement of the courtyard; the other has been transferred to the chapel at the south end of the main aisle of the Aksa Mosque in the temple enclosure (see Tobler, *Siloahquelle u. Oelberg*). Willibald (A.D. 922) and other writers speak of two columns within the church in memory of the two men who said, 'Men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven?' This site has now been transferred to the northern hill of Olivet, near Scopus, and is called 'Galilee.'

The Pater Noster Chapel, south of the church of the Ascension, was erected in 1865 by the Princess de la Tour d'Auvergne, and is supposed to stand on an old traditional site of the Middle Ages. The intention of the Princess was to have within 24 small chambers, in which the 'Lord's Prayer' should be written up in 24 different languages, so that pilgrims of all nationalities and all creeds might unite there in repeating the Lord's Prayer.

Within recent years the Russians have erected a high tower and church on the commanding spur north-east of the church of the Ascension, overlooking the eastern slopes of Olivet.

'From the Temple Mount to the western base of Olivet it was not more than 100 or 200 yards straight across, though of course the distance to the summit was much greater, say about half a mile. By the nearest pathway it was only 918 yards from the city gate to the principal summit. Olivet was always fresh and green, even in earliest spring or during parched summer—the coolest, the pleasantest, the most sheltered walk about Jerusalem. Far across this road the temple and its mountain flung their broad shadows and luxuriant foliage, spreading a leafy canopy overhead. They were not gardens in the ordinary Western sense, through which one passed, far less orchards; but something peculiar to those climes, where Nature everywhere strews with lavish hand her flowers, and makes her gardens—where the garden bursts into orchard, and the orchard stretches into field, till, high up, olive and fig mingle with the darker cypress and pine. The stony road up Olivet wound along terraces covered with olives, whose silver and dark-green leaves rustled in the breeze. Here gigantic gnarled fig trees twisted themselves out of rocky soil; there clusters of palms raised their knotty stems high up into waving plumed tufts, or spread, bush like, from the ground, the rich coloured fruit bursting in clusters from the pod. Then there were groves of myrtles, pines, tall stately cypresses, and on the summit itself the gigantic cedars. To these shady retreats the inhabitants would often come from Jerusalem to take pleasure or to meditate, and there one of their most celebrated Rabbis (R. Jochanan ben Saccai) was at one time wont in preference to teach. Thither, also, Jesus with His disciples often resorted' (Edersheim, *The Temple*, p. 8).

LITERATURE.—J. Tobler, *Siloahquelle und Oelberg*, 1882; Stanley, *SP* 185 ff., 452 ff.; Robinson, *BRP* i. 274 ff.; *SWP*, 'Jerusalem' vol.; *PEFSt*, 1889, p. 174 ff.; Barclay, *City of the Great King*, Index; Porter, *Handbook to Syria*, *s.v.*; Thomson, *Land and Book*, i. 415 ff.; and for the traditions, Quaresmius, *Elucidatio Terræ Sanctæ*, ii. 277 ff. (with Robinson's note, *BRP* ii. 604 f.), together with the vols. of the Pal. Pilgrim Text Society. See also under JERUSALEM. C. WARREN.

OLIVET (from Lat. *olivetum*, an oliveyard).—This form has been given to the name of the Mount of Olives in AV at 2 S 15[30] and Ac 1[12]. It was taken from the Vulg. at the latter passage ('a Monte qui vocatur olueti') by Wyclif, who has been followed by all the Eng. versions (including RV) except the Geneva ('the mount that is called the Olive hil'). In 2 S 15[30] the Vulg. has 'David ascendebat Cliuum oliuarum'; it is Cov. who introduces 'Olivet' here, and it is also the form in the Douay version. RV changes into Olives. Amer. RV prefers Olivet to AV and RV 'the Mount of Olives' in Lk 19[29] 21[37]. See OLIVES, MOUNT OF.

OLYMPAS (Ὀλυμπᾶς).—The name of a member of the Roman Church greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16[15]. It is an abbreviated form, like several others in the chapter, being apparently shortened for *Olympiodorus*. He was commemorated Nov. 10.

OLYMPIUS (Ὀλύμπιος).—An epithet of Zeus, derived from Mt. Olympus in Thessaly, the abode of the gods. Antiochus Epiphanes, who was occupied in building the magnificent temple of Zeus Olympius (whom he specially honoured, see art. JUPITER) at Athens (Polyb. xxvi. 10, 12), caused the temple at Jerusalem to be dedicated to the same divinity in December, B.C. 168 (2 Mac 6[2], cf. 1 Mac 1[54-59]).

OMAR (אוֹמָר, perhaps='eloquent').—A grandson of Esau, Gn 36[11] (Ὠμάν); one of the 'dukes' of Edom, v.[15] (Ὠμάρ). Cf. the parallel passage 1 Ch 1[36] (Ὠμάρ). The clan of which he is the eponym has not been identified.

OMEGA.—See ALPHA AND OMEGA.

OMER.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

OMRI (עָמְרִי).—**1.** A king of Israel. See following article. **2.** A descendant of Benjamin, 1 Ch 7[8] (B Ἀμερειά, A Ἀμαριά). **3.** One of the ancestors of a Judahite family living at Jerusalem, 1 Ch 9[4] (B Ἀμρει, A Ἀμρί). **4.** A prince of Issachar in the time of David, 1 Ch 27[18] (B Ἀμβρεί, A Ἀμαρί).

OMRI (עָמְרִי, LXX Ἀμβρ(ε)ί, Assyr. *Ḥumri* or *Ḥumria*[*]) was the first king of a dynasty which reigned nearly sixty years, and consisted of four successive rulers (B.C. 900–842). Omri first appears in biblical history as the general of Elah's army, at that time engaged in conducting siege operations against the Philistine town Gibbethon (1 K 16[16ff.]). On the other hand, at this very moment another military commander, Zimri, was carrying on a plot against the besotted and helpless Israelite king, Elah, who suffered assassination in his royal residence in Tirzah. This conspiracy, however, was only partially successful, as it never succeeded in gathering Israel under its standard. The nation preferred to rally round the more powerful as well as more loyal military rival, Omri, at Gibbethon, and made him king. Under that capable leader Tirzah was besieged and captured, Zimri was compelled to seek refuge in the fortress-citadel of the royal palace, and perished amid the flames kindled either by his own hands or by those of his foes. Omri, however, was not even now left without a competitor for the vacant throne. Yet the opposition of Tibni was probably soon crushed, and Omri commenced a reign not only longer but certainly of far greater importance than the brief narrative 1 K 16[23-28] would lead us to suppose. Even in that short section the military character of the monarch is clearly revealed to us by the reference to his erection of the fortress-city Samaria as a royal residence and capital of the Northern kingdom, to take the place of the less defensible town of Tirzah. The superior strategic position of Samaria, a conical hill standing 400 ft. above the base of the broad valley, is evidenced by the long siege which it endured and the stout resistance which it offered to the armies of Sargon (B.C. 722), as well as to the Syrian hosts in the preceding century (1 K 20, 2 K 6[24ff.]). Its picturesque appearance is described by Isaiah (28[1]) as 'Ephraim's proud crown on the summit of a fertile valley.' This place is said to have been purchased by Omri from Shemer (so also LXX) for two silver talents (or about £800).

Respecting the wars waged by Omri scarcely anything is stated in the biblical narrative. From 1 K 20[34] we derive a valuable hint. Syria, the formidable foe of David, had remained quiescent since that monarch had inflicted upon it a series of overwhelming defeats. But in the days of the divided kingdom Syria became aggressive, and aggrandized itself at the expense of its weakened Southern neighbour. From 1 K 20[34] we learn that Omri must have sustained some reverses in his war with Syria, and was compelled to cede some streets or quarters in Samaria to the Aramæan residents. But these reverses may have been—probably were—only temporary. In any case, they are wholly insufficient to warrant us in following Wellhausen in supposing that Israel became thereby reduced to vassalage by Aram[*] (see art. AHAB). Kittel is probably right in considering it fairly certain that Omri made heroic efforts to rid himself of the pressure of his Northern foe which he had inherited from his predecessors, but without complete success.[†] It is quite evident, however, that the struggle did not leave him in the least degree crippled. Otherwise he would not have been in a position to conduct a war of conquest against his South-eastern neighbour Chemosh-Melech, king of Moab (see below).

Moab, which had been subjugated by David, began to throw off its allegiance to Israel in the troubled years which followed the disruption. But the energetic military rule of Omri put an end to this independence. These facts we learn from the Stone of Dibân, erected by Mesha', son of Chemosh-Melech. We quote (on next page) from the original, which may be found in Smend and Socin's copy, with notes (*Inschrift des Königs Mesa*), in Driver's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, Appendix to Introduction, p. lxxxvi ff., and in the art. MOAB, above, p. 404.

From this passage we can infer the importance of Omri's military operations in Moab. He acquired the district around Mehedeba; and so thoroughly was Moab subdued that it was compelled to pay an enormous tribute of wool (2 K 3[4]. See Driver, *l.c.* p. lxxxix).

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[*] The equivalence of Hebrew-Canaanite ע with Assyr. *ḥ* is illustrated in Schrader, *COT*[2] i. p. 179. Thus עַזָּה is in Assyr. *Ḥaziti*, צָעִיר *ṣaḥru*, כְּנַעַן is *Kinaḥḥi* (Tel el-Amarna Inscr.), עִבְרִי probably=*Ḥabiri*, Ammî-rabi (Amraphel)=*Ḥammu-rabi*.

[*] *Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.* xx. p. 27, *Skizzen u. Vorarb.* i. p. 31. The view adopted above and also in the art. AHAB is also sustained by McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, i. p. 278.

[†] *Gesch. der Hebräer*, ii. p. 223 [Eng. tr. ii. 261].

4 עמר 4

5 י · מלך · ישראל · ויענו · את · מאב · ימן · רבן · כי יאנף · כמש · באר 5

6 צה | ויחלפה · בנה · ויאמר · גם · הא · אענו · את · מאב · בימי · אמר · כ 6

7 וארא · בה · ובבתה · וישראל · אבד · אבד · עלם · וירש · עמרי · את [אר] 7

8 ץ · מהדבא | וישב · בה · ימה · וחצי · ימי · בנה · ארבען · שת 8

> ‘Omri was king of Israel and oppressed Moab a long time [lit. many days], for Chemosh was wroth with his land. And his son succeeded him [*i.e.* Omri], and he too said [=thought אָמַר בִּלְבָבוֹ] “I will oppress Moab.” In my time [*i.e.* of Mesha] he said thu[s]. But I saw [my desire] on him and his house, and Israel perished with an everlasting destruction.* So Omri obtained possession of the land of Mehēdeba, and (one) dwelt therein during his days and half the days of his son, forty years’ . . .

The inscription also sheds a valuable light on the chronology of Omri’s reign, since it shows that the period of his occupation of Moabite territory and of the occupation by his son Ahab covered the remainder of his own reign and half of his son Ahab’s reign, making 40 years in all. It is of course not necessary to take חצי in a strict mathematical sense. On the other hand it is quite clear that the biblical chronology is at fault, since it ascribes to Omri a reign of only 12 years, and to Ahab’s entire reign 22 years, making the *total* length of *both* reigns only 34 years. From these data of the Moabite Stone it is evident that we must extend considerably the reign of Omri. In the scheme set forth in Schrader’s *COT*² ii. p. 322 ff., Omri’s reign is reckoned to be 25 years (B.C. 900–875), ten years being deducted from the reign of Baasha. These dates harmonize better with (*a*) the results of Assyriology, (*b*) with the deep impression which Omri had produced in Western Asia by his military prowess. This impression was no fleeting one, but extended over a very long period. We have clear indication of this in the fact that Palestine was called (*mât*) *Bît Ḫumri*, or ‘land of the house of Omri,’ from the time of Shalmaneser II. (860) to that of Sargon (722–705). The usurper Jehu is called on Shalmaneser’s black obelisk *Ja’ua abal Ḫumri*, ‘Jehu son of Omri.’ And no less deep was the impression produced in Israel and Judah. The reference to the ‘statutes of Omri’ in Mic 6^{16} is an indication of this, his name being coupled with that of his son Ahab. What is meant by this expression, and what forms of practice it is intended to cover, we do not know. Combining it with the phrase that ‘he did evil more than all that were before him’ (1 K 16^{25}), we are led to infer not only that he is judged in an unfavourable light, like Jeroboam and his successors, in accordance with later and stricter canons of Deuteronomic legalism, but also that in all probability the beginnings of Phœnician influence in religion, for which Ahab’s reign became notorious, were already infecting the cultus of Israel in Samaria. To this the passage in Micah seems to point.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

ON (אוֹן; B Αὔν, A Αὐνάν; Luc. ’Αμνάν).—A Reubenite associated with Dathan and Abiram in a rebellion against Moses, Nu 16^1 (JE).† There is reason to believe that the mention of On is due to textual corruption, for no such personage appears in the subsequent narrative, and the name is found nowhere else in the Old Testament. For the probable restoration of the text see KORAH, p. 12ᵇ.

ON (אוֹן, אֹן, ῎Ων).—A city in Lower Egypt, Gn $41^{45.\,50}$ 46^{20} (Potiphera, priest of On). In Ezk 30^{17} it occurs again, but punctuated אָוֶן AVEN (which see). On is the hieroglyphic *Anu*, the name of Heliopolis. In Jer 43^{13} the city is called Beth-shemesh, ‘House of the Sun,’ the hieroglyphic *Per Ra*, its sacred name. The name On seems gradually to have fallen into disuse; the Greeks called the place Ἡλιούπολις, from which the Coptic name is also derived. In the Bible, however, both Gr. and Copt. VSS retained the name On. LXX gives in Jer 43 [Gr. 50]^{13} *τοὺς στύλους Ἡλίου πόλεως τοὺς ἐν ῎Ων*, and in Ex 1^{11} curiously adds to Pithom and Raamses *῏Ων ἥ ἐστιν Ἡλίου πόλις* as another city built by the children of Israel. The ruins of Heliopolis lie on the E. edge of the Delta, but outside the Delta proper, touching the edge of the desert, not far below the forking of the Nile. The city was built partly on the desert, partly on alluvium. Its site is now marked by a considerable mound surrounded by a massive crude brick wall. In the area occupied anciently by the temple there still stands an obelisk, erected by Usertesen I. of the 12th Dynasty, the base hardly above the level of the water that percolates from the canals; and though blocks from the ancient temple are still lying in numbers under the soil, the rise of the water-level makes it extremely difficult to recover them. On the fall of paganism the site was plundered of its building materials for the adornment of Alexandria, Cairo, and other towns in Lower Egypt. Entire obelisks had previously been removed to Alexandria (by Augustus), to Rome, and to Constantinople, and, with the exception of some monuments in museums and of the obelisk mentioned above as being still *in situ*, the chief monuments of Heliopolis now existing are the obelisks of Rome, Constantinople, London, and New York.

Anu was the capital of the 13th nome of Lower Egypt (which nome was probably bounded by the desert on the E., the Pelusiac branch of the Nile on the N., the Memphitic nome on the S., and the nome of Phacusa [20th] on the N.E.), but its great importance was sacerdotal, and due to its chief temple of Ra, the centre of Sun worship in Egypt, and the most important seat of learning in the country. Like other sacred centres, this city is found mentioned in some of the earliest inscriptions, dating from the 4th Dynasty. It is recorded of Usertesen I. (about B.C. 2500) that he built, *i.e.* rebuilt, the temple. Perhaps the greatest event in its early history was the temporary suppression of Ra worship and the substitution for it of Set worship by the Hyksos, as recorded in a papyrus of the Ramesside period, now in the British Museum. A contemporary papyrus (also in the British Museum), known in science as the Mathematical papyrus, and written in the reign of Apepa I., indicates that the Hyksos court sojourned sometimes at Heliopolis, sometimes at Zaru (Avaris?). These two documents show the great importance of Heliopolis at the time of the Hyksos, when Lower Egypt was a separate kingdom. Memphis apparently was less favoured by the Hyksos, though probably it was completely in their power, while Upper Egypt seems only to have acknowledged their suzerainty. On the expulsion of the Hyksos by the first king of the 18th Dynasty, Ra worship was restored, and the temple of Ra at Heliopolis was rebuilt or re-adorned long before any other temple in or near the Delta. Monuments of Tahutmes III. have been found here, while elsewhere in Lower Egypt outside Memphis nothing is found of the New Kingdom earlier than Amenhotep III., whose cartouche occurs at Bubastis and Athribis. Like many of his predecessors, Ramses III. made great gifts to this temple, and the pious Ethiopian invader, Piankhi, in his great inscription from Gebel Barkal, dwells on the ceremonies that he performed here. In Roman times it fell rapidly from its high estate; even Strabo notes its partial desertion. It lay on the road from Syria to Memphis, and thus was peculiarly exposed to attack from the most formidable quarter: important battles have been fought on this site again and again, and even in modern times.

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* This implies that Ahab, son of Omri, was compelled to relinquish his hold of Moab. This probably took place during his wars with Syria. Nevertheless he did not lose all. To identify the ‘son’ (lines 6 and 8) with Jehoram, thus ignoring the two intervening reigns of Ahab and Ahaziah (cf. CHRONOLOGY, vol. i. p. 402), is highly improbable. The campaign of 2 K 3 against Moab was an attempt to retain the slight remnant of power which Mesha now threw off. Comp. McCurdy, vol. i. p. 282.

† B. W. Bacon, who seeks here, as in many other instances, to break up JE into its constituents, suggests that, according to J, On the son of Peleth (v.^{1d}) and Korah (not a descendant of Levi, as P makes him in v.^{1a}, but) a kinsman of Caleb (cf. 1 Ch 2^{43}), were the leaders of the *lay* revolt against Moses, while the leaders in E are Dathan and Abiram (v.^{1ce}). See, further, NUMBERS, p. 570ᵇ.

It is difficult to say to what period the priest **Potiphera,** the father-in-law of Joseph, belonged. His name being compounded with that of Ra, shows that it does not date from Hyksos times, 15–16th Dynasties, when Set overshadowed everything. But the form of the name was very common from the 23rd Dynasty onward (*c.* B.C. 800), though hardly known as early even as the 20th. Zaphenath-paneah (Gn 41^{45}) is also a form of name belonging almost solely to the same late period (see PHARAOH).

The Sun-god was worshipped at Heliopolis first in the form of Ra; secondly, as Tum, the setting sun; thirdly, as Harakhti, the hawk of the horizon, called by the Greeks Harmakhis; fourthly, as Khepera, figured by a scarabæus, and symbolizing the vivifying and reproductive force of the sun. Of sacred animals here the bull Mnevis was the most important; and the heron, called *bnw*, was the original of the famous phœnix. From the earliest times obelisks were connected with the Sun worship (cf. Jer 43^{13} [Beth-shemesh]). There was also a sacred pool or spring, mentioned especially by Piankhi, 'in which Ra was wont to wash his face'; hence the Arab. name for this locality is *'Ain esh-shems*, 'spring of the sun.' In Christian story this is the spring in which the Virgin washed her son while resting in the shade of an acacia tree on her journey into Egypt. The latest successor to the tree is still shown in an enclosure at *Matarîyeh.* See AVEN, BETH-SHEMESH.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

ONAM (אוֹנָם).—**1.** The eponym of a Horite clan, Gn 36^{23} (Ὠμάν) = 1 Ch 1^{40} (B Ὠνάν, A Ὠνάμ). **2.** A son of Jerahmeel, 1 Ch $2^{26.\,28}$ (B Ὠζόμ, A Οὐνομά). See ONAN, footnote.

ONAN (אוֹנָן, Αὐνάν).—A son of Judah, Gn 38^4 46^{12}, Nu 26^{19}, 1 Ch 2^3. After the decease of his elder brother, Er, he was instructed by his father to contract a levirate marriage with Tamar. The device by which he evaded the object of this marriage 'was evil in the sight of the LORD, and He slew him,' Gn $38^{8\text{-}10}$ (J). It is impossible to disentangle from this narrative what was the action of certain individuals and what is tribal history. Probably Er and Onan both stand for Judahite clans which at an early period, from what cause we know not, became extinct.* The present form of the narrative discloses a desire to impress the duty of marriage with a deceased brother's wife (see Dillm. and Holzinger, *ad loc.*).

J. A. SELBIE.

ONESIMUS (Ὀνήσιμος) of Colossæ (Col 4^9), a slave of Philemon (Philem ^{16}), probably a Phrygian by race, but bearing a Greek name which from its signification 'helpful' was often bestowed upon slaves (cf. Zahn, *Einl.* i. p. 324; Lightfoot, *Philemon*, p. 376 note). 'Helpful' had, however, proved unprofitable (ἄχρηστος, Philem ^{11}); he wronged his master, perhaps misusing money intrusted to him (cf. Lk 16^2), perhaps stealing from him, and ran away from Colossæ either to Cæsarea or, more probably, to Rome. There he gained access to St. Paul in his imprisonment; who 'begat' him in Christ and made him profitable (εὔχρηστος, Philem ^{11}) once more. With such goodwill, indeed, did he do service that St. Paul would fain have kept him to minister to himself; but, feeling it a duty to return him to his master, he wrote the Epistle to Philemon, appealing to him to receive his slave, now become a brother worthy of love and trust, and himself undertaking to refund any money which Philemon had lost through the action of Onesimus (Philem $^{8\text{-}20}$). This letter was probably intrusted to Tychicus, who was bearing the Colossian letter, and a special word of commendation of Onesimus was sent to the whole Church (Col 4^9).

The result of St. Paul's appeal is unknown, but subsequent tradition treated Onesimus as a prominent and active member of the Church. These traditions are very various: he was identified with a bishop of Berœa (*Apost. Constit.* vii. 46), with the bishop of Ephesus in the time of Ignatius (*Eph.* i.); he was said to have preached in Spain, and the apocryphal Acts of the Spanish sisters Xanthippe and Polyxena are written in his name (c. 38; *Texts and Studies*, ii. 3, 'Apocrypha Anecdota'): he was said to have been martyred either at Puteoli (Euthalius) or at Rome ('Mart. Ign.' *Roman Acts*, c. 10). But the name was so common, not only in classical times for slaves, but also in later Christian use (Smith, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, *s.v.*), that various Onesimi have probably been confused, and it is impossible to extricate any certain fact. His memory was observed by the Latin Church on Feb. 16, by the Greek Church on Feb. 15, and also in conjunction with Philemon, Appia, and Archippus, on Nov. 22: the various traditions will be found in the *Acta Sanctorum* (ii. 855–859) and the Greek *Menæa* (pp. 89–92) for those days. A most interesting modern romance of his life will be found in *Onesimus*, by the author of *Philochristus* (London, 1882).

W. LOCK.

ONESIPHORUS (Ὀνησίφορος, 'profit-bringer').—A friend of St. Paul at Rome, mentioned twice only in the NT, 2 Ti $1^{16\text{-}18}$ 4^{19}. From the former of these passages it appears that Onesiphorus when he arrived in Rome and learnt that St. Paul was in captivity, sought him out diligently, and 'refreshed' him, not with bodily nourishment only, but with every token of friendship. Of this friendship St. Paul retained a very lively recollection, the more so that others, the Asiatics Phygelus and Hermogenes, had deserted him (2 Ti 1^{15}); and in writing to Timothy recalled further the many good offices which Onesiphorus had performed at Ephesus, of which Timothy from his residence there would know 'better' (βέλτιον) than St. Paul or any one else could tell him. It should be noted that these offices are not represented as extended specially to St. Paul himself, as the AV, by the insertion of 'unto me,' implies; nor is the use of the verb διακονέω sufficient warrant for the belief that Onesiphorus occupied the office of a *deacon* at Ephesus (see Wieseler, *Chronol.* p. 463).

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* Or at least seriously weakened. Er appears in 1 Ch 4^{21} as a sub-clan of Shelah, and Onan is perhaps = **Onam** of 1 Ch 2^{26}, a sub-clan of Jerahmeel.

It is not perfectly clear whether, at the time when St. Paul wrote, Onesiphorus was alive or dead; but the references to his 'house' rather than to himself in 2 Ti 1^{16} 4^{19}, and still more the words of the prayer in 2 Ti 1^{18} 'The Lord grant unto him to find mercy of the Lord in that day,' make it most probable that he was now dead (so de Wette, Huther, Alford, Ellicott, Fairbairn, v. Soden). If so, the passage gains an additional interest from the use that has been made of it in connexion with the argument for prayers for the dead. Thus it is appealed to in support of such a practice by Bishop Archibald Campbell in his anonymously published book on *The Intermediate or Middle State of Departed Souls*, 1713, p. 72; and amongst more recent writers by Plumptre (*The Spirits in Prison*, pp. 128, 266) and Luckock (*After Death*, p. 77, *The Intermediate State*, p. 211). Others, as Barrett (*The Intermediate State*, p. 113), find in the words no more than 'a pious wish.' On the whole question it may be sufficient to quote the carefully weighed words of Hammond (*Paraphrase and Annot. on the NT, in loco*): 'How far it may be fit to pray for them that are departed this life, needs not to be disputed here. 'Tis certain that some measure of bliss, which shall at the day of judgment be vouchsafed the Saints, when their bodies and souls shall be reunited, is not till then enjoyed by them, and therefore may safely and fitly be prayed for them (in the same manner as *Christ* prays to his *Father, to glorifie him with that glory which he had before the world was*). And this is a very distant thing from that prayer which is now used in the Romish Church for deliverance from temporal pains, founded in their doctrine of *Purgatory*, which would no way be conclusible from hence, though *Onesiphorus*, for whom Saint *Paul* here prays for *mercy*, had been now dead.'

Winer (*RWB* ii. 175) quotes a tradition from Fabricius (*Lux. Evang.* p. 117) that Onesiphorus became bishop of Corone in Messenia.

G. MILLIGAN.

ONIARES.—1 Mac 12^{19} (AV). See ARIUS.

ONIAS (Ὀνίας, of which Jastrow suggests a correspondence with אֳנִיָּא 'a man of Oni' [אוֹנִי = אוֹנוֹ Neh 7^{37}], though he appears to prefer the better derivation from חוֹנְיָא or חוֹנְיו, *Menach.* xiii. 10, an abbrev. of נְחוּנְיָא). **1.** ONIAS I. was the son of Jaddua (Jos. *Ant.* XI. viii. 7), and father of Simon the Just (*ib.* XII. ii. 4; Sir 50^{1}; see, however, Herzfeld, *Gesch.* ii. 189 ff.; Zunz, *Vorträge*^{2}, 38). In 1 Mac 12^{7} he is said to have received a friendly letter from the Spartan king Arius (Ἄρειος, more correctly Ἀρεύς; see *Corp. Inscript. Attic.* ii. 352). He must therefore have been a contemporary of Areus I., who reigned from B.C. 309 to 365 (Diod. xx. 29). Areus II. died at the age of eight in B.C. 255 (Pausanias, iii. 6. 6), and, as no other Areus is known, the evidence is strongly against Josephus, who represents the communication as having been made to Onias III. The alleged letter is given in two forms in Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv. 10 and in 1 Mac 12^{20-23}.

2. ONIAS II. was the son of Simon the Just (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv. 1). On the death of his father he was disqualified by youth for immediate succession to the high priesthood, which, however, he afterwards held during the greater part of the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes. He is not mentioned in the Apocr., but Josephus (*Ant.* XII. iv. 1–5) describes how advantage was taken of his imprudence by his nephew to found a family whose civil influence exceeded for a time that of the titular high priest.

3. ONIAS III. was the son of Simon II. (*ib.* XII. iv. 10), whom he succeeded in B.C. 198 or 195. His loyalty to the Syrian over-rule was such that Seleucus Philopator bore the cost of 'the services of the sacrifices' (2 Mac 3^{3}). But he was soon involved in a quarrel with Simon the Benjamite, who held in the temple a high office, similar in part to that of the ædileship. Simon became impatient of the priest's control, and in despite informed the Syrian military governor that the temple was full of treasures, which lay at the mercy of any despoiler. Seleucus quickly despatched Heliodorus to seize this money, but the latter is said (2 Mac 3^{24}) to have been deterred by an apparition, and to have returned to Antioch in dismay. Simon ascribed the failure to the high priest's trickery (2 Mac 4^{1}), and the quarrel became so bitter that the latter decided at length to proceed in person to the king. Scarcely had he reached Antioch when Seleucus was assassinated; and, in the confusion that followed, the high priesthood was secured by purchase by Jason, the brother of Onias, and Onias himself was detained at Antioch. Jason proceeded at once to redeem his promise to thoroughly Hellenize Judæa (2 Mac 4^{9-15}); but in B.C. 171 he was deposed by Antiochus, whose favour had been won by the larger gifts of Menelaus (2 Mac 4^{24}), the brother of Jason (Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 1), or more probably of Simon (2 Mac 4^{23}). Menelaus was rebuked by Onias for sacrilege in stealing some of the vessels of the temple (2 Mac $4^{32f.}$), and in revenge had him decoyed from his refuge in the sanctuary at Daphne and put to death (2 Mac 4^{34}). The account of Onias' murder is regarded by some as apocryphal; see Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen vor d. makkab. Erhebung*, 1895, p. 71 ff., Wellh. *GGA*, 1895, p. 950 f., *IJG*^{3}, 1897, p. 244 ff., cf. Baethgen, *ZAW*, 1886, p. 278 ff.; but see, on the other side, Büchler, *Die Tobiaden u. Oniaden*, 1899, pp. 106 ff., 240 f., 275 f., 353 ff. Josephus simply states (*Ant.* XII. v. 1) that Jason succeeded to the high priesthood on the death of Onias.

4. ONIAS, generally reckoned as IV. though it is not likely that he ever acted as high priest in Jerusalem. On the death of his father Onias III., he was too young for the succession; and, afterwards finding no means of securing the rights of his birth, he took refuge with Ptolemy Philometor in Egypt (Jos. *Ant.* XII. ix. 7). About B.C. 154 (Grätz, iii. 34) he obtained from the king, who wished to conciliate the Jews and use them in his wars with Syria, the gift of a disused temple of Bubastis Agria (the cat-headed goddess Bast or Bastet; see Herod. ii. 137, and *Egypt. Exp. Fund*, Eighth Memoir, 3 f.) in Leontopolis, and reconstructed it after the model of the temple in Jerus. (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iii. 1–3). The foundation was defended as a fulfilment of the prophecy of Is $19^{18f.}$; and a complete temple service was instituted, which was continued until A.D. 73, when the temple was closed by the Romans (Jos. *Wars*, VII. x. 2–4). From *Menachoth* xiii. 10 it appears that only partial sanction was given to the services of this temple by the Jewish authorities at home, whilst in the opinion even of the Egyp. Jews it never entirely superseded the temple at Jerusalem

(Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 7; Phil. *Opp.* ed. Mang. ii. 646). Onias was afterwards appointed civil governor of the district in which his temple was situated, and two of his sons received high commands in the Egyp. army (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. x. 4).

R. W. Moss.

ONIAS, REGION OF (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. viii. 1; *BJ* I. ix. 4, VII. x. 2), used loosely of the part of Lower Egypt that contained Jewish settlements, but strictly of the district in which was the temple built by Onias IV. Its position is variously described by Josephus, as in the nome or province of Heliopolis (*Ant.* XII. ix. 7; Ptol. IV. 5. 3); as at Leontopolis in the said nome (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iii. 2); and as 180 stadia from Memphis (*BJ* VII. x. 3). The reference consequently cannot be to the nome of Leontopolis, but to a district of the same name within that of Heliopolis. The name itself was not uncommon, though there is no evidence of its application to any site within the nome in question. From Memphis to the city of Heliopolis the distance approximates closely to that given by Josephus; but his language is vague, and allows the assumption that he was not calculating the distance to the temple of Onias, but to the chief town of the province within which the latter was situated. North-east of Heliopolis, at a distance of 24 miles, is the town of Belbeis, which has been suggested as the site of the temple, because it was a place of the worship of the goddess Sekhet, who has been identified with Bubastis Agria (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iii. 2; *Egypt. Exp. Fund*, Seventh Memoir, p. 20); but Belbeis is both in another nome, and at too great a distance from Memphis. Less than 10 miles north of Heliopolis, and within that province, is a mound, Tell el-Yahudiyeh, in the neighbourhood of which the remains of a great Jewish cemetery have been found (*Egypt. Exp. Fund*, Seventh Memoir, 51–53, where, however, F. Ll. Griffith pronounces against the identification with the site of the city of Onias on the ground of the general character of the antiquities met with, though on p. 19 Naville strongly supports it). The district is full of traditions of a powerful Jewish settlement; and within its limits, if not on this particular mound, it is almost certain that Onias built his temple.

R. W. Moss.

ONIONS (בְּצָלִים *bĕẓālîm*, κρόμμυον, *cæpe*, Arab. *baṣal*).—This word occurs only once in the Bible (Nu 11^5) in connexion with fish, cucumbers, melons, leeks, and garlic. The latter two are species of the same genus, Allium. The onion is A. Cepa, L. It is universally cultivated in the East, and enters into many cooked dishes and salads. The onions of Syria and Palestine have a very sweet taste, and, when cooked, do not impart to the breath the strong odour which so often forbids the use of the onion as an article of diet elsewhere. Working men often make their midday meal from a loaf or two of bread and a couple of raw onions. It is customary to skewer bits of meat alternating with segments of onion and tomato, and broil them over glowing coals. With fresh native bread they make a most savoury and appetizing meal to persons accustomed to them.

G. E. Post.

ONO (אוֹנוֹ, once Neh 7^{37} אֹנוֹ).—This city is said in 1 Ch 8^{12} (B Ὠνάν, A Ὠνώ) to have been built by the sons of Benjamin at an early period, and the Talmud (Mishna, *Erakhin*, ix. 6) states that it was fortified by Joshua. There is no mention of it, however, in the OT except in books written after the Captivity, when it was inhabited by Benjamites, Ezr 2^{33} (B Ὠνών, A Ὠνώ), Neh 6^2 ('the plain of Ono' בִּקְעַת א׳, B πεδίον Ἐνώ, A π. Ὠνά), 7^{37} (B Ὠνώ, A Ὠνών), 11^{35} ($ℵ^{c.a.}$ Ὠνώ, BAℵ* om.). It is noticed with Lod (which see), and in the Talmud the two towns with their adjoining territory are included in the designation גיא החרשים 'valley of the craftsmen' (Jerus. *Megillah*, i. 1; cf. 1 Ch 4^{14}, Neh 11^{35}). Ono is the modern *Kefr 'Ânâ*, north of *Ludd* (the ancient Lod or Lydda). Its antiquity is shown by its being noticed, along with the last-named place, in the lists of Tahutmes III. *c.* B.C. 1600.

LITERATURE.—*SWP* vol. ii. sheet xiii.; van de Velde, *Mem.* 337; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 86; Guérin, *Judée*, i. 319 ff.; W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, 83; Buhl, *GAP* 196 f.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 160 f.

C. R. Conder.

ONUS (Ὠνοῦς), the form in which the name Ono (wh. see), a town of Benjamin, appears in 1 Es 5^{23}.

ONYCHA (שְׁחֵלֶת *shĕḥēleth*, ὄνυξ, *onyx*).—The operculum of a shell-fish, called by the Gr. and Lat. writers ὄνυξ, *onyx*, from its resemblance to a nail. When burned it emits a pungent, aromatic odour, from the combustion of the animal matter which it contains. The name, doubtless, applied to the opercula of many species of the shells of the Strombus tribe in the Mediterranean and Red Seas. Onycha* is mentioned as one of the components of the sacred perfume (Ex 30^{34}).

G. E. Post.

ONYX.—This is the rendering of the Heb. שֹׁהַם *shōham*, in AV and RV text (see below), but it is impossible to be certain of its correctness. There are no cognate words in Heb. literature to throw light on the inquiry. The attempts to find an etymology in other languages of the same family fail absolutely or fall short at the critical point. The Arab. سحم is, indeed, used in the sense 'to be pale,' which would suit the onyx fairly well; but that meaning is only the secondary, not the radical one. The district سخيم, *Socheim*, in Yemen, produced a specially fine onyx; but there are two weighty objections against the derivation thus suggested, namely, the almost invariable use of the article with the Heb. word (הַשֹּׁהַם), and the impossibility of ה representing خ. Schrader's conjecture, so far as it goes, is decidedly the most helpful. He proposes (*COT*² i. p. 30) to identify the *shōham* with the Assyro-Babylonian *sâmtu*, which means 'dark,' and is used as the name of a valuable stone from Melukhkha in Upper Babylonia. Sayce (*Expos. Times*, vii. [1896] p. 306) accepts the connexion of the two words, and boldly adds, 'a blue-green stone, probably the turquoise.' In this last particular he is too hasty. Fried. Delitzsch (*Assyr. Handwb.* p. 488*b*) holds that the adj. *sâmtu* means 'dark coloured': it is used of clouds, and of a fruit which is neither white nor black. If this is so,—and Pinches agrees with Schrader and Delitzsch,—*sâmtu* would not be the right word for the turquoise.

The Versions are distinctly unhelpful. The Pesh. and Targ. have 'beryl.' The LXX is altogether inconsistent with itself: Gn 2^{12} *πράσινος*; Ex 28^{20} *βηρύλλιον*; Ex 25^7 35^9 *σάρδιος*; 28^9 35^{27} 39^{13} *σμάραγδος*; Ezk 28^{13} *σάπφειρος*; Job 28^{16} *ὄνυξ*; 1 Ch 29^2 *σόομ*. Aq. uses *σαρδόνυξ* at Gn 2^{12} and *ὄνυξ* in Ex; Josephus (*Ant.* III. vii. 5, and *BJ* V. v. 7) has *σαρδόνυξ* and *ὄνυξ*. Vulg. usually employs *onychinus*, but at Ezk 28^{13} *beryl*, and at Job 28^{16} *sardonyx*. Our AV adheres to *onyx*; but, curiously enough, the RV, whilst retaining this in the text, has placed '*or* beryl' in the marg. of some of the passages: cf. Ex 35^9 39^6, Ezk 28^{13} with Gn 2^{12}, Ex $28^{9.20}$ $35^{13.27}$, Job 28^{16}, 1 Ch 29^2. The uncertainty of the Versions reappears in the writings of the expositors. 'Beryl,' 'carbuncle,' 'chalcedony,' 'onyx,' and 'turquoise' have all had their adherents. So far as the Bible is concerned, two points are clear. (1) The *shōham* stone was esteemed of considerable value. Job 28^{16} calls it 'the precious *shōham*.' Ezk 28^{13} names it amongst the valuable stones which bedecked the king of Tyre. It is the one gem which finds mention when the offerings of the Israelites are enumerated (Ex $35^{9.\,27}$), and when the Chronicler recounts the treasures prepared by David for the temple (1 Ch 29^{2}). (2) It was well adapted for engraving. Two *shōham* stones were to be engraven with the names of the twelve tribes, six names on each, and were to be set on the shoulder-pieces of the high priest's ephod, Ex $28^{9.\,12}$ (see art. Ephod). Again, the middle stone in the fourth row of jewels on the high priest's breastplate, bearing the name of one of the tribes, possibly Asher or Manasseh, was a *shōham* (see art. Breastplate of the High Priest).

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* The form 'onycha' is the accus. of Gr. ὄνυξ, Lat. *onyx*, taken by Wyclif and Tindale apparently as a nom., and adopted by all the Eng. versions (except the Geneva, which has 'cleare gumme'). Cf. Sir 24^{15}.

Streeter appears to think (*Prec. Stones*, p. 214) that the claims of the onyx are negatived by the fact that the *shōham* 'is classed with the ruby, topaz, diamond, chrysolite, jasper, sapphire, and chrysoprase.' But the argument is inconclusive. And, seeing that the *onyx* satisfies the two conditions named above,* we must be content in this art. to describe it. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 24) explains the name ὀνύχιον, from ὄνυξ, 'the finger-nail,' by quoting Sudines, 'in gemma esse candorem, unguis humani similitudinem,' and Theoph. (*de Lap.* lvii.) describes its appearance accurately: τὸ δ' ὀνύχιον, μικτὴ λευκῷ καὶ φαιῷ παρ' ἄλληλα. It belongs to the stratified class of silicon stones. It lends itself with great readiness to the gem-cutter's and engraver's art, not only by reason of its toughness, moderate hardness, and absence of grain, but also because the design, cut in one stratum, is thrown into relief by the background of another colour. 'The best stones [for engraving] are those with a white layer on a dark ground. They are still better when there is a third layer above, as white with a reddish or brownish tinge.' In the Oriental onyx there are three layers: that at the top, red, blue, or brown; that in the middle, white; then a jet black or a deep brown. This stone was much used for signets during the Roman empire. But it must be admitted that an unstratified gem is really more suited for intaglio work. No precious stone varies more in value. King (*Antique Gems*, p. 11) speaks of one the size of a crown piece selling for £30. Every one is familiar with the specimens that are worth only a few pence.

Occult qualities were formerly ascribed to this, as to other gems. Marbodus, master of the Cathedral school of Anjou (1067–1081), and afterwards bishop of Rennes, writes of the onyx as follows:—

> 'Called by the onyx round the sleeper stand
> Black dreams, and phantoms rise, a grisly band:
> Whoso on neck or hand this stone displays
> Is plagued with lawsuits and with civil frays;
> Round infants' necks if tied, so nurses shew,
> Their tender mouths with slaver overflow.'

And the same good bishop's *Cives Cœlestis Patriæ* sets forth the symbolism of the sardonyx, which may properly be considered a mere variety of the onyx—

> 'Sardonyx, with its threefold hue,
> Sets forth the inner man to view;
> Where dark humility is seen,
> And chastity, with snow-white sheen,
> And scarlet marks his joy to bleed
> In Martyrdom, if faith shall need.'

Literature.—The books most worth consulting are King's *Antique Gems*; Middleton's *Engraved Gems*; Streeter's *Precious Stones*. Clapton's *Precious Stones of the Bible* is not of much use.

J. Taylor.

OPEN.—This verb (like *aperio* and ἀνοίγνυμι) is occasionally used in AV (though the use was then archaic) in the sense of 'make known,' 'disclose.' Thus Jer 20^{12} 'Unto thee have I opened my cause' (גִּלִּיתִי, LXX ἀπεκάλυψα, Vulg. *revelavi*, Wyc. 'shewide,' Cov. [wrongly] 'committe,' Gen. 'opened,' Douay and RV 'revealed'*); 2 Es 10^{49} 'Of these things which have chanced, these are to be opened unto thee' (*hæc erant tibi aperienda*); 13^{21} 'The interpretation of the vision shall I shew thee, and I will open unto thee the thing that thou hast required' (*adaperiam tibi*); 2 Mac 12^{41} 'who had opened the things that were hid' (φανερὰ ποιῶν; RV 'who maketh manifest'); Lk 24^{32} 'while he opened to us the Scriptures' (διήνοιγεν); Ac 17^{3} 'Paul . . . reasoned with them out of the scriptures, opening and alleging that Christ must needs have suffered' (διανοίγων); He 4^{13} 'All things are naked and opened unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do' (τετραχηλισμένα,† RV 'laid open before'). Examples in contemporary and earlier writers are frequent: Dt 29^{29} Tind. 'the secrettes perteyne unto the Lorde oure God and the thinges that are opened perteyne unto us'; Is 2^{1} Cov. 'Morover this is the worde that was opened unto Esaye the sonne of Amos, upon Iuda and Ierusalem'; Mt 10^{26} Tind. 'There is no thinge so close that shall not be openned' (Wyc. 'schewid,' Gen. 'disclosed,' Rhem. 'revealed'); 16^{17} Tind. 'fleshe and bloud hath not opened unto the that' (Rhem. 'revealed it to thee'); so Lk 2^{35} 10^{21}, Jn 12^{38} ('To whom ys the arme of the Lorde opened?'), 1 P 5^{1} [all 'open' in Tind., 'reveal' in Rhem. and AV]; Jn 15^{15} 'all things that I have heard of my father I have opened to you' (Rhem. 'notified,' Wyc. and AV 'made knowen'). Cf. Lk 19^{heading} in Rhem. NT, 'In Iericho he lodgeth in the house of Zachæus the Publicane, and against the murmuring Iewes openeth the reasons of his so doing'; Gosson, *Schoole of Abuse* (Arber's ed. p. 27), 'Chiron was . . . a Reader of Phisicke, by opening the natures of many simples'; Lever, *Sermons* (Arber, p. 140), 'By God's ordinaunce the scriptures and the preachers of God do open and declare that ye be all synners.'

We have the same use of the adj. in 1 Ti 5^{24} 'Some men's sins are open beforehand, going before to judgment' (πρόδηλοί εἰσι, Vulg. *manifesta sunt*). The AV is from Tindale, the RV gives 'are evident.' Cf. Ac 2^{20} Wyc. 'Befor that the greet and the opun day of the lord come' (ἐπιφανῆ, Rhem. 'manifest,' AV and RV 'notable'); He 7^{14} Wyc. 'It is opene that oure lord is borun of iuda' (πρόδηλον; Tind. and others, including AV and RV, 'evident,' Rhem. 'manifest').

J. Hastings.

OPEN PLACE.—**1.** In AV of Gn 38^{14} Tamar is said to have taken her seat 'in an open place,' but undoubtedly the correct rendering of בְּפֶתַח עֵינַיִם (LXX πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις Αἰνάν) is that of RV, 'in the gate of Enaim'; so also read in v.^{21} with RV 'at

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* Flinders Petrie thinks *shōham* is the green felspar; see art. Stones (Precious).

* In Job 38^{17} the same Heb. verb is translated 'opened,' and RV gives 'revealed' as here; but it is probable, as the reference is to gates ('Have the gates of death been opened unto thee?'), that it is rather a mistrans. than an archaism. The LXX has ἀνοίγονται; Vulg. *apertæ sunt*; both Wyc. and Cov. have 'opened.'

† The meaning of this word is known, but it is not easy to see the exact metaphorical use here made of it. The verb τραχηλίζω comes from τράχηλος, the 'neck,' round which a millstone might be hung (Mt 18^{6}, Mk 9^{42}, Luke 17^{2}), or a yoke placed (Ac 15^{10}), or on which one may affectionately fall (Lk 15^{20}, Ac 20^{37}), or which may be exposed to the executioner (Ro 16^{4}). The verb (which is not found in LXX, and here only in NT) follows the last-named use of τράχηλος (possibly through τραχηλισμός, a technical term for the grip of a wrestler on his adversary's neck). It is used by Philo freely in the sense of 'bringing to one's feet,' 'having at one's mercy'; and so in this passage it is probably more than laid bare (as if the neck were twisted back and exposed to view), rather as Rendall (whose tr. is 'downcast') 'bowed down with remorse and shame.'

Enaim' for 'openly' of AV. See art. ENAIM. **2.** In 1 K 22^{10}=2 Ch 18^9 Ahab and Jehoshaphat have their thrones set up 'in an open (AV 'a void') place' (AVm 'a floor,' RVm 'a threshing-floor') at the entrance of the gate of Samaria. The Heb. בְּגֹרֶן is certainly peculiar, and attempts have been made to emend the text. Klostermann, followed by Kittel (in *SBOT*), instead of MT מְלֻבָּשִׁים בְּגָדִים בְּגֹרֶן would read מְלֻבָּ׳ בִּגְדֵי כְבֹדָם ('clothed in their robes of state'); Wellhausen (in Bleek^4, 249 Anm. 2) thinks בְּגֹרֶן is a dittography of בְּגָדִים, and would simply omit it. This is perhaps favoured by the LXX of 1 K 22^{10}, which reads merely *ἔνοπλοι ἐν ταῖς πύλαις* (A *πύλεσιν*) *Σαμαρείας*, although in 2 Ch 18^9 it has *ἐνδεδυμένοι στολάς, καθήμενοι ἐν τῷ εὐρυχώρῳ θύρας πύλης Σαμαρείας*, which is a *verbatim* rendering of the present MT in the latter passage. The Syr. VS seems to point to בְּגָדִים בְּרֻדִּים ('variegated robes'), and this is adopted by Bertheau, but the word בְּרֻדִּים is used elsewhere (Gn $31^{10.12}$, Zec $6^{3.6}$) only of animals. Other conjectural emendations are בִּגְדֵי אַרְגָּמָן 'purple robes' (Kamphausen), בִּגְדֵי נֶשֶׁק 'military equipment' (Benzinger, founding upon LXX *ἔνοπλοι*). With or without בְּגֹרֶן, the scene of Micaiah's interview with Ahab and Jehoshaphat is clearly marked as the open space that would be found before the gate of Samaria (cf. Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* p. 132). J. A. SELBIE.

OPHAI.—See EPHAI.

OPHEL (הָעֹפֶל, always, except in Is 32^{14} and Mic 4^8, with def. art.; LXX Ὤφαλ, Ὄφαλ, Ὄφελ, Ὀφλά, Ὀπλά, Jos. Ὀφλᾶς).—The name means 'swelling' or 'bulge.' It is used in Dt 28^{27} and 1 S 5^6 for 'emerods,' and in 2 K 5^{24} of a hill probably in the neighbourhood of Samaria. In the other places where the article is used, it refers to a site south of the temple of Jerusalem; 2 Ch 27^3 'On the wall of Ophel he (Jotham) built much'; 2 Ch 33^{14} Manasseh 'compassed about Ophel and raised it up a very great height'; in Neh $3^{26.27}$ 11^{21} it appears as the dwelling-place of the Nethinim.

Josephus in the parallel passages does not mention Ophel by name. He states that Jotham built very great towers, such as were almost impregnable (*Ant.* IX. xi. 2), and that Manasseh built very lofty towers and strengthened the outlying forts.

One may search in vain for any pronounced natural swelling of ground south of the temple area at the present day to account for the term *Ophel*; but if this word may be applied to an artificial mound, the spot where it should be found can be at once indicated by pointing to the source of the water supply at the Virgin's Fountain and the secret passage in the bowels of Ophel, through which it was obtainable within the city.

The site of Ophel south of the temple enclosure is indicated exactly by the accounts given in the Book of Nehemiah. The Nethinim who dwelt in Ophel repaired the city wall over against the water-gate towards the east and the tower that lieth out. 'After them the Tekoites repaired another piece over against the great tower that lieth out, even unto the wall of Ophel' (Neh $3^{26.27}$). At the dedication of the walls the company that came along the southern walls to the temple, when at the fountain gate, 'went up by the stairs of the city of David, at the going up of the wall above the house of David, even unto the water-gate eastward' (Neh 12^{37}). This places the water-gate close to the southern end of the temple, and Ophel was close to the water-gate.

Josephus in speaking of the southern wall of Jerusalem, and moving from west to east, describes its bending above the fountain of Siloam, where it also bends again fronting the east at Solomon's pool, and reaches as far as a certain place called the Ophlas, where it was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple (*BJ* V. iv. 2). John held the temple and the parts thereto adjoining for a great way, as also the Ophlas (V. vi. 1). The next day they set fire to the repository of the archives, to Acra, to the council house, and to the place called the Ophlas (VI. vi. 3).

It can thus be ascertained for certain that Ophel was situated on the eastern hill on which Jerusalem is built, somewhere between the southern end of the temple and Siloam. This is a spur which becomes narrow to the south until above Siloam it ends abruptly and precipitously. On this spur also, according to the account in the Book of Nehemiah, are the sepulchres of David, the house of the mighty, the city of David, and the house of David, so that this must be identical with Zion; but there are other indications elsewhere in the OT and in Josephus that the ancient Jerusalem was identical with the Acra which is north-west of the temple on the same hill as the traditional Holy Sepulchre. The only solution appears to be in the dual notion of the ancient Jerusalem, one portion in Judah over the fountain of the Virgin, called Zion, and one portion near the Hammam esh-Shefa (a fountain) on the Acra, called Millo. Thus the ancient strongholds of Jerusalem were both swelling mounds, probably of stone and earth—Ophel and Millo.

Stanley in his note on Ophel (*Sin. and Pal.* 498) points out that the word in later times appears to have acquired the meaning of 'fort,' as in Ὠβλιάμ, 'bulwark of the people,' the name applied to St. James the Just by Hegesippus (Eus. *HE* ii. 23).

According to the narrative of Hegesippus, James the Just was cast down from the south-east angle of the temple enclosure and was killed below by the club of a fuller. He was thus killed close to Ophel, and nigh to the spot where a fuller's shop cut in the rock was found during the *PEF* excavations, 1867–9 (see *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 299).

See, further, under art. ZION.

C. WARREN.

OPHIR (אוֹפִיר, אוֹפִר only in Gn 10^{29}, אֹפִיר only in 1 K 10^{11}).—A proper name that occurs twelve times in OT. **1.** Gn 10^{29}=1 Ch 1^{23} (LXX Οὐφείρ) represents Ophir as the eleventh of the thirteen sons of Joktan, and locates him in the list between Sheba and Havilah. Gn $10^{30.31}$ testifies that the name designates a people (or land) 'from Mesha as thou goest towards Sephar, the mountain (m. 'hill country') of the east.'

2. 1 K 9^{26-28} (B Σωφηρά, A Σωφαρά), 10^{11} and 2 Ch 9^{10} (LXX Σουφείρ), 1 K 22^{48} (A Ὠφείρ, B om.), and 2 Ch 8^{18} (B Σωφειρά, A Σωφῆρα), with 1 K 10^{22}, designate a place to which the Tarshish ships of Hiram and Solomon sailed from Ezion-geber, at the head of the Gulf of Aḳabah, and after three years returned with gold, silver, precious stones, costly woods, ivory, apes, and peacocks. It is not specified that Ophir was the source of all these products, but simply that such articles were brought back by the merchantmen at the end of a three years' cruise. It is quite possible that some of these wares were purchased at regular ports to which they had been brought by other traders. So that Ophir needs not to be sought for at some point where all these products were native (cf. Cheyne in *Expos. Times*, July 1898, p. 472). Subsequent references in the OT, however, Is 13^{12}, 1 Ch 29^4 (LXX Σουφείρ), Job 22^{24} (LXX Σωφείρ), 28^{16} (B Σωφείρ, A Ὠφείρ), confirm the idea that Ophir was at least a gold-producing region. Its product in these references is synonymous with the finest of that metal.

The definite location of Ophir is still in dispute. Search for it has been made from ancient times. Even the translations of the LXX and the remarks of Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. vi. 4) point to an opinion as to its location. Ancient and current opinions may be classified under three heads. Limits of space will allow the merest outline of the arguments urged for the acceptance of each place.

(1) *On the East Coast of Africa.*—For several centuries travellers, writers, and scholars of several nationalities have found the Solomonic Ophir at some point along the eastern coast of Africa. Most notable among these were Th. Lopez, J. Bruce, Robertson, Montesquieu, d'Anville, Schultess, and Quatremère. The location of Ophir in East Africa, in Mashonaland, opposite the island of Madagascar, has won new friends since the German Mauch (*Reisende in Ost. Afrikas*) made his now famous investigations of 1871. He found, about 200 miles inland from *Sofâla*, at Zimbabye, some remarkable ruins, already described in the works of de Barros, a Portuguese traveller of the 16th cent. The majestic remains of once stately buildings now cover one granite mound 400 ft., and another 300 ft. in height. The natives have preserved among themselves a tradition that white men once lived there and carried on extensive manufactures. Traces of Phœnician pottery, and even of mining operations, add to the evidence of its former importance. Merensky, a superintendent of the Berlin Mission (*Beiträge zur Kenntniss Süd-Afrikas*, 1875), reported that Arabian travellers regarded these ruins as the Ophir of Solomon, and that as far back as A.D. 1500 the Arabs took gold from those districts. Portuguese sailors found near *Sofâla* in 1506 two Arabian ships laden with gold. The Portuguese colonists in this country found many ore mines, and even down to the Transvaal may be found remains of old ore-smelting ovens. A corollary of this view is found in the position of those who find Ophir farther north on the coast of Africa—even as far as the Red Sea. The latest and most ardent advocate of this newer view is Carl Peters (*Das goldene Ophir Salomos*, 1895). Among his array of arguments is found this one on the linguistic evidence. 'Chinese astronomy designates the east by blue, the south by red, the north by black, and the west by yellow.' 'The Black Sea is in the north, the Red Sea in the south, the Turks call the Mediterranean Sea the white, probably a change from yellow.' 'In Arabic red is *ahr*, and Africa is *Afir*, or the land of the south.' 'In Latin *Afer* is used to designate an African, accordingly the terms Ophir and Africa are identical.' Peters agrees substantially with those Egyptologists who would practically identify Ophir with Punt, the great foreign mart of Egypt, especially during the reign of queen Hatshepsu of the 18th dynasty (see art. PUT). W. Max Müller (*Asien u. Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, 1893, p. 111 and n. 1) locates Punt on the Ethiopian coast of the Red Sea, possibly including both sides. The location of Ophir in the land of Punt, which is not as yet a fixed quantity, introduces many of the same questions as the location farther south on the east coast. Müller says that the products of Ophir are all African, and only at a later date were the Indian articles inserted in the list. In the chief passage (1 K 10^{22}) the LXX (B) does not mention 'peacocks' at all, and it 'must be held to be an interpolation.' But while it is not at all improbable that the ubiquitous Phœnician sailors may have touched ports on the east coast of Africa in Solomon's day, arguments based on the ethnographical representation of Gn 10 positively make against this view.

(2) *In the far East.*—Among the most notable advocates of Ophir's location at some point in the far East we may name the LXX, Josephus, Reland, Lassen, Ritter, Thenius, Murchison. There are three general locations which deserve mention: (*a*) Ophir is identified with *Abhîra*, a nomadic people settled on the east side of the delta of the Indus. While gold is not found on the coast-line, it could have come from N.W. India near Kashmir. Precious stones are found in great abundance in India. 'Sandal-wood' (Heb. אַלְמֻגִּים, *var.* אַלְגּוּמִּים) corresponds to the Sanscrit *valgu* or *valgum*; 'peacocks' (Heb. תֻּכִּיִּים) is the equivalent of the Sanscrit *çikhi*; 'apes' (Heb. קֹפִים) is the Indian *kapi*. Largely, then, on the basis of philology and that of the products brought to Solomon, Ophir was located near the mouth of the Indus. (*b*) On the basis of the LXX (Σωφηρά) of 1 K 9^{26-28}, which indicates India on Coptic authority, Ophir has been located (Karl E. v. Baer) on the coasts of *Malabar*, or at Ceylon, whence nearly all of the products brought by Solomon's seamen could be found. An old city, *Supara* or *Uppara*, in the region of Goa, has been identified with Ophir. (*c*) The *Malay Peninsula* has also had its advocates. While von Baer admits that this peninsula yields all the products required by the records, he sees an insuperable objection in the great distance from Ezion-geber. The U.S. Consul, General Wildman of Hong Kong (*Tales of the Malayan Coast*, 1899, p. 178 f.), spent about eight years in this region, and examined with great care the evidence at hand. There is a gold-producing Mt. Ophir near Johore, and good evidence of other kinds. After careful study of the subject, Wildman concludes that Ophir is a comprehensive term, embracing the entire East, the Malay Peninsula, Ceylon, India, and even China—the name Ophir being taken from this mountain because it marks a central point of the region to which Solomon's ships sailed. 'For all ages the gold of the Malay Peninsula has been known; from the earliest times there has been intercourse between the Arabians and the Malays, while the Malayan was the very first of the far eastern countries to adopt the Mohammedan religion and customs. All the articles mentioned in the biblical account of Ophir are found in and about Malacca in abundance. . . . Peacocks are found [native] only in India and Malaya.'

(3) *In Arabia, Southern or South-Eastern.*—Gn $10^{29, 30}$ appears to imply that Ophir was either between Sheba and Havilah or in proximity to them. The fact that the Joktanites settled in Arabia would seem to require that search be made for Ophir within that territory. It is of course assumed, because it cannot be absolutely proved, that this Ophir is identical with the place from which the Phœnician sailors brought their remarkable wares to enrich the coffers of Solomon. This territory has been the favourite location for Ophir from a very ancient day. Among some of its chief advocates we may mention Michaelis, Bochart, Niebuhr, Gesenius, Vincent, Seetzen, and Rosenmüller. One of the most enthusiastic and experienced advocates of our day is Ed. Glaser (*Skizze der Geschichte u. Geographie Arabiens*, ii. 1890, pp. 353–387). He arrays evidence at great length, and with commendable skill, to show that all good evidence from ancient times points to south-eastern Arabia, in the region of the Persian Gulf, as the proper location for the Ophir of Solomon's day. Southern and south-eastern Arabia were famed in ancient times for their gold-producing qualities, according to the testimony of Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Pliny. The gold of this region was called *apyron* (ἄπυρον)-gold, because its purity was so marked that it needed no smelting. It is not improbable that the Greek name for the gold of that region (*apyron*) was applied to the product, since that name for the land had passed out of use.

The chief gold-producing lands of the OT were found in Arabia, and, for the most part, apparently, in the region of the Persian Gulf. We find besides Ophir: (*a*) Havilah, Gn $2^{11\text{ff.}}$ (and 10^{29}); (*b*) Sheba, Ps 72^{15} (cf. 1 K 10^{10}), Ezk 27^{22}; (*c*) Parvaim (see art. PARVAIM), 2 Ch 3^{6}; and also (*d*) Uphaz, Jer 10^{9}, Dn 10^{5}. Of these, Sheba and Havilah at least (and possibly Parvaim) appear to be located, according to Gn 10^{29}, in proximity to Ophir. And again we should note that Ophir was not simply a gold-producing land, but it was so located that ships called at its port or ports (1 K $9^{27.\,28}$). Glaser (p. 368) maintains that the biblical Ophir in the narrow sense is the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, extending from the north to Ras Musandum, and that in a wider sense it extends to both sides of the Gulf.

In the cuneiform records of Elam, dating from prior to B.C. 1000, we find that the territory between Susa and the Persian Gulf was called *Apirra* (Apir), and as late as the 8th cent. B.C. the Elamites make mention of it as Apir (cf. Hommel, *Gesch. Bab.-Assyr.* p. 720; also Del., *Paradies*, pp. 131, 231).

These regions of the Persian Gulf did not produce the full list of articles brought back by the Phœnician and Jewish sailors, but the importance of this location both for land and sea trade would account for the presence in the emporia of trade of articles brought from and native in many and far-distant lands.

The trip, too, from Ezion-geber to this region, either in the Persian Gulf or the Gulf of Oman, and return, in view of the periodical monsoons which prevail on the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, and the Indian Ocean, would occupy just about the required three years.

Taking into account, then, (1) the location of Ophir as related to the other names mentioned in Gn 10; (2) the gold-producing properties attributed to it in the OT; (3) the testimony of ancient authorities to its richness in the precious metal; (4) the time required to make the trip in view of the annual monsoons; (5) the testimony of the cuneiform inscriptions as to the name; (6) the cumulative strength of these points,—it seems most probable that Ophir was a territory situated in south-eastern Arabia, in the region of the Gulfs of Oman and Persia.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the many works mentioned in the article, see Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiv. 348-431; Commentaries of Delitzsch and Dillmann on Gn $10^{29.\,31}$, and of Benzinger (in *Kurzer Hdcom.*) and Kittel (in *Nowack's Hdkom.*) on 1 K 9^{26}; Zöckler, *Eden, Ophir, Ephraim*, 1893; Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 1874, p. 49 ff.; Goergens, *SK*, 1878, pp. 458-475; Soetbeer, *Das Goldland Ophir*, 1880; Keil, *Heb. Archaologie*, pp. 617-620; Nowack, *Lehrb. d. Heb. Arch.* i. p. 248; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* p. 219; E. Meyer, *Ges. d. Alterthums*, i. §§ 185, 187, 304, 307; Herzfeld, *Handelgeschichte d. Juden d. Alterthums*, 1879; Lieblein, *Handel u. Schiffahrt auf dem rothen Meer in alten Zeiten*, 1886, p. 142 ff.

IRA M. PRICE.

OPHNI (הָעָפְנִי, lit. 'the Ophnite'; BA om., Luc. Ἀφνή).—A town of Benjamin, Jos 18^{24}. The site is unknown. It may be (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*, and Buhl, *GAP* 173) the later Gophnah of Josephus (*BJ* III. iii. 5), now *Jufnah*, 2½ miles N.W. of Bethel. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xiv.

OPHRAH (עָפְרָה possibly 'fawn,' feminine of עֹפֶר.—There are both place and personal names in the OT which are derived from names of animals [*Journ. Philol.* ix. 92 f.]. עָפָר 'dust,' 'soil,' suggests a derivation that agrees better with the transliterations of LXX).

1. One of the Benjamite towns enumerated in Jos 18 (A Ἰεφραθά, B Ἀφρά, Luc. Ἀφαρά). It is included (18^{23}) in what seems to be a north-eastern group. This agrees with Jerome's statement that it was *vicus Ephrem* (*Ephraim*) 5 Roman miles from Bethel, eastward (Lag. *Onom.*² p. 129; Eusebius' text is imperfect; in it the name is κώμη Ἀφρήλ—Lag. p. 241). The locality so determined is a few miles north of Michmash, and consequently suits also the Ophrah of 1 S 13^{17} (LXX Γοφερά, Euseb., Jer. Ὀφρά). The Philistines are said to have sent troops from their camp at Michmash in the direction of Ophrah. There is even an indication that this direction was northward. Two other bands went east and west respectively, it seems, and Saul's troops were on the south. The modern *eṭ-Ṭaiyibe*, about 5 miles north-east of Bethel, has been suggested as the site of the ancient Ophrah (Robinson¹, ii. 121 ff., more at length in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1845, ii. 398). The place is described as strikingly situated on a conical hill, and part of the argument is that such a site must certainly have been occupied in ancient times. The distance from Bethel corresponds with that given by Jerome. But nothing more decisive can be urged. The suggested correspondence of the modern name with the ancient is too hazardous to be assigned any weight (Winer³ *sub voce*). The assumption that the עֶפְרוֹן of Jos 15^{9} is identical with Ophrah is not well founded, for Ephron is plainly on the north-western frontier of Judah. Eusebius' statement, therefore, that Ephron was 20 miles north of Jerusalem (Lag.² p. 260), does not help to determine the site of Ophrah. Negatively it may be argued that *eṭ-Ṭaiyibe* lies too far north to have been included in Benjamite territory (Dillm. on Jos 18^{23}).

Six place names, in addition to Ephron, have been identified with Ophrah. They are:—(1) עֶפְרַיִן 2 Ch 13^{19} (*Kethibh* עפרון); (2) Ἐφράιμ Jn 11^{54}; (3) Ἐφράιμ Jos. *BJ* IV. ix. 9; (4) אֶפְרַיִם 2 S 13^{23} (Luc. Γοφράιμ = עפרים?); (5) Ἀφαίρεμα 1 Mac 11^{34}; (6) בֵּית לְעַפְרָה Mic 1^{10}. Regarding all of them it should be observed that the mere fact of their being situated on the borders of Judah and Ephraim (or Judæa and Samaria) leaves it open to identify them with Ephron. The names also are as much equivalent to עפרון as to עפרה, and the testimony of Eusebius is that, later, Ephron actually became Ἐφράιμ (Lag.² p. 260; Jerome calls it *Efraea*). A brief statement may be made regarding each. (1) Presumably on the borders of Judah and Israel, and possibly not distant from Bethel, in which case it may be Ophrah. (2) See EPHRAIM. Eusebius identifies it with the Ephron of Jos 15^{9} (Lag.² p. 262), and so is against an identification with Ophrah. (3) Occupied by Vespasian on his march from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, and named along with Bethel. But there is nothing to show that it was near Bethel. If it can be assumed that Bethel was in the toparchy of Gophna, which is mentioned on the same occasion, it might be argued that Ephraim was in the toparchy of Akrabatta, too far from Bethel to be Ophrah. (4) From Jerusalem this town lay in the direction of Ὠρωνήν (B, 2 S 13^{34}, Luc. Σωράιμ). If that name represents Hebrew חֹרֹנַיִם and stands for Beth-horon (Driver, *Sam. ad loc.*), this Ephraim lay north-west of Jerusalem and may be identical with Ephron. The direction is the same, and Ephron was known to Eusebius as Ἐφράιμ. All that supports identification with Ophrah is an uncertain resemblance of name which might equally be claimed for Ephron. (5) On the borders of Judæa and Samaria (Ἀφερειμά in Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 9). But there is nothing to show at what point, whether to the east or west. (6) See BETH-LE-APHRAH. The direction of Ephron is more suitable than that of Ophrah.—For further references to literature see EPHRAIM.

2. A town in Manasseh (Jg $6^{11.\,24}$ $8^{27.\,32}$ 9^{5}) distinguished from the preceding as Ophrah (LXX Ἐφραθά; in 6^{11} 8^{27} Luc. Ἐφρά, in 8^{27} 9^{5} A Ἐφράιμ); of the Abiezrites (see ABIEZER). It was the home of Gideon, and is mentioned only in his history and in that of his son Abimelech. It was situated evidently on the western side of Jordan and within easy reach of the plain of Jezreel (Jg $6^{33\text{f.}}$,[*] cf. also 8^{18}). It is natural to suppose that the Abiezrites were apprehensive of Midianite attack when they took the offensive. Jg 9 does not imply the close proximity of Shechem. Abimelech's relations with that town are expressly accounted for by his kinship. The area within which the site may be looked for is accordingly sufficiently wide. No modern name closely resembling the ancient has been pointed out. (Suggestions in Schwarz, *Geog.* 1850, p. 158; van de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 337; *PEFSt* 1876, p. 197, by Conder, who quotes an Arabic translation of Samar. Chron. which gives *Fer'ata*, 6 miles west of Shechem, for Ophrah). Some of the places already named because of their identification with Ophrah of Benjamin have also been identified with this Ophrah. The third of them may have been as far north as to come within the boundaries of Manasseh.

3. A family or clan (B Γοφερά, A Γοφορά, Luc. Ἐφράθ) in the tribe of Judah, according to the list of the Chronicler (1 Ch 4^{14}). There are certainly names of towns in this list, and this may be one, the Judæan Ephron or even the Benjamite Ophrah. Border towns may be counted at one time to Benjamin, at another to Judah.

W. B. STEVENSON.

OR.—There are obsolete uses of this word in AV. **1.** For *before*, Ps 90^{2} 'Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the earth'; Pr 8^{23} 'or ever the earth was'; so Ec 12^{6}, Ca 6^{12}, Dn 6^{24}, Sir 18^{19}. All the examples are of 'or ever,' and all are retained in RV. The RV has even introduced the phrase into Ec $12^{1.2}$. The Amer. RV allows it in Ps 90^{2} but substitutes 'while' in Ec $12^{1.2.6}$. In other writers we find 'or' alone, as Dn 8^{26} Cov. 'It wylbe longe or it come to passe'; Hos 8^{5} Cov. 'How longe wil it be, or they can be clensed?'; Ex 10^{3} Tind. 'How longe shall it be, or thou wilt submyt thy selfe to me?' As an example of 'or ever' take Shaks. *Hamlet*, I. ii. 183—

> 'Would I had met my dearest foe in heaven,
> Or ever I had seen that day, Horatio.'

The word in this sense is probably a corruption of Anglo-Saxon *aer*, which is properly represented in modern English by 'ere,' but is found in early English under various forms, as *er*, *ear*, *yer*.[†] We find also 'or ere,' as Milton, *Nativity*, 85—

> 'The shepherds on the lawn,
> Or ere the point of dawn,
> Sate simply chatting in a rustick row.'

And 'ere ever' is found in Sir 23^{20} 'He knew all things ere ever they were created,' RV 'or ever.'

2. For *either*.—1 S 26^{10} 'Or his day shall come to die; or he shall descend into battle, and perish.' Cf. Shaks. *Henry V.* I. ii. 12—

> 'We pray you to proceed,
> And justly and religiously unfold
> Why the law Salique, that they have in France,
> Or should, or should not, bar us in our claim.'

J. HASTINGS.

ORACLE.—A Divine utterance given for man's guidance (2 S 16^{23} דְּבַר), or the place in which such utterances were usually given. In OT the word in EV is intended to have the latter meaning in 1 K 6^{16}, where Solomon, in building his temple, makes a Most Holy Place for an oracle, and in 7^{49} $8^{6.8}$, 2 Ch 3^{16} 4^{20} 5^{9} 8^{6}; also Ps 28^{2}, where, however, the correct meaning of the Heb. is given in RVm 'the innermost place of thy sanctuary.'[*] In the Apocr. (Sir 33^{3}) it is used in a wider sense of any supernatural utterance, and (Sir 36^{14}) of the manifestation of the Divine Will in Sion. The Israelites used to ask for Divine guidance in any enterprise (1 S 28^{6}) by means of Urim and Thummim (which see). In NT 'oracle' (λόγιον) stands for a Divine utterance, and generally refers to OT Scriptures, *e.g.* Ac 7^{38} Moses is said to have received living oracles in the wilderness, *i.e.* commands from the living God. In Ro 3^{2} the Jews are the favoured nation, because to them were entrusted the oracles of God. In He 5^{12} the first principles of the oracles of God are mentioned as needing to be taught afresh to the Hebrews. St. Peter says (1 P 4^{11}), 'If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God.'

Among the Greeks till the time of the Persian war, oracles were in high repute, that of Delphi enjoying the pre-eminence. Answers were given either orally, in which case they were usually in hexameter verse and of ambiguous interpretation, or by signs or dreams. They had a most important influence on Gr. colonization, since questions were generally addressed to them about the place to be colonized (Herod. v. 42). The Romans as a nation did not consult oracles for divine guidance. Prophesying by means of lots (*sortes*) was practised at Praeneste and other places. In imperial times, however, the custom became prevalent, and foreign as well as native deities were consulted. Lucan (*Phars.* ix. 577) has expressed in noble words the contempt felt by the Romans for divination: 'Non vocibus ullis numen eget,' etc. The emperor Theodosius at the end of the 4th cent. forbade the publication of oracles. *Sortes Vergilianæ* had a wide influence in the Middle Ages, and recourse to them was forbidden by the Church.

C. H. PRICHARD.

ORATOR.—For AV Is 3^{3} (RV 'enchanter') see DIVINATION. In Ac 24^{1} we are told that 'the high priest Ananias came down with certain elders, and with an orator, one Tertullus'; and a short speech delivered by Tertullus is given. The orator (ῥήτωρ), who differed from the professional lawyer (*iurisconsultus* or νομικός), was the skilled speaker who was hired to present the case in court. His training was rhetorical not legal, so that he does not quite correspond to our barrister. The need of his employment arose partly, as was natural, from the necessity of having the case well stated, partly from the fact that the language of the courts was Latin. So Valerius Maximus (ii. 2. 2) quotes it as an instance of the manner in which the magistrates guarded the majesty of the Roman people, that even in Greece and Asia they refused to give *responsa* except in Latin. Many young Romans started their oratorical career by practising in the provinces. A good illustration of the duties of the ῥήτωρ will be found in the lengthy *Petition of Dionysia to the Prefect* (Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, pt. ii. pp. 160, 162).

A. C. HEADLAM.

ORCHARD (פַּרְדֵּס *pardēṣ*, παράδεισος).—*Pardēṣ*, a loan-word from the Zend, is used in three places: Ec 2^{5} where it is tr^d AV 'orchards,' RV 'parks,' Vulg. *pomaria*; Ca 4^{13} AV and RV text 'orchard,' RVm 'paradise,' Vulg. *paradisus*; Neh 2^{8} AV and RV text 'forest,' RVm 'park,' Vulg. *saltus*. Doubtless the term *pardēṣ* (probably 'enclosure') had the same generic meaning as *gannāh*, including gardens, orchards, and parks. Hence it is legitimate to tr. it by different words according to the context. It is applied by Diodorus Siculus (ii. 10) to the hanging gardens of Babylon. Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 287) describes a park, belonging to Cyrus, like the game preserves of Europe, under this name.

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[*] It may be argued that it is not the writer that mentions Ophrah (Moore's J) who localizes the battle in the plain of Jezreel. That does not seem to matter, unless it be suggested that Ophrah was not Gideon's home in this other source. Besides, the grounds for refusing 6^{33} to J may be challenged, if they are only that $8^{4\text{-}21}$ is his and that 8^{5} is inconsistent with 6^{33}.

[†] This form is found in the 1611 ed. of AV, Nu 11^{33} 'While the flesh was yet betweene their teeth, yer it was chewed'; 14^{11} 'How long will it be yer they beleeve me?'

[*] The EV tr^n 'oracle' follows Aq. and Symm. χρηματιστήριον (Vulg. *oraculum*) on the incorrect theory that the Heb. term דְּבִיר (which really means 'the part behind') was derived from דִּבֶּר 'speak' (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*). 'Oracle' is also uniform tr. in RVm of מַשָּׂא (AV BURDEN), *e.g.* 2 K 9^{25}, Is 13^{1} 14^{28} 15^{1} etc., and in text of Pr 30^{1} 31^{1} (AV 'prophecy'), where the same Heb. term occurs.

G. E. Post.

ORDER (like 'ordain' from Lat. *ordo, ordinis*, and through the French *ordre*, a form which arose from the old Fr. *ordene, ordine* by changing *n* to *r*, as in *diacre* from *diaconus*, and *Londres* from *Londinum*—see Brachet, *Fr. Etymol. Dict.* § 163; cf. also 'coffer' and 'coffin,' the same in origin and formerly also in meaning).—The subst. 'order' has the following meanings in AV—

1. *Position* or *proper place*, Ezk 41^{6} 'One over another, and thirty in order' (פְּעָמִים); 1 Co 15^{23} 'Every man in his own order' (*ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι*); Lk 1^{8} 'He executed the priests' office before God in the order of his course' (*ἐν τῇ τάξει*); 1 Co 14^{40} 'Let all things be done decently and in order' (*κατὰ τάξιν*). The phrase 'in order' has this meaning. It occurs frequently with the verbs 'lay,' place,' 'set,' always as the tr. of a simple verb, as 1 Co 11^{34} 'The rest will I set in order when I come' (*διατάξομαι*). Once (Ps 40^{5}) the Heb. verb עָרַךְ to arrange, is tr. 'reckon up in order.'

In Lk 1^{3}, Ac 11^{4} 18^{23}* *καθεξῆς* is translated 'in order.' The meaning is *in proper sequence*; but Blass, writing on Lk 1^{3}, disputes that meaning, and holds that the reference is not to arrangement, but to completeness. St. Luke promises not a chronological arrangement of events, but a complete record so far as he could gather it; St. Peter, in his narrative of the reception of the Gentiles, did not omit any important fact. See *Philology of Gospels*, p. 18 f.

2. *Position in office, rank.*—This is the meaning of Ps 110^{4} 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek' (Heb. [דִּבְרָה] *dibhrāh*, found also in Ec 3^{18} 7^{14} 8^{2} in the phrase עַל־דִּבְרַת 'because of'), which is so often quoted in the Ep. to the Hebrews (5$^{6.\,10}$ 6^{20} 7$^{11\ \mathit{bis}.\ 17.\ 21}$), according to the LXX rendering *κατὰ τὴν τάξιν*. The Eng. phrase comes from the Vulg. *secundum ordinem.* The reference is to the position of Melchizedek as both priest and king. Cf. Wyclif, *Select Eng. Works*, iii. 121, 'Lucifer wiste that God moste be above hym, bot he coveyted an ordir in servise of God whiche that God wolde not.'

3. *Arrangement* or *orderly array*, Job 10^{22} 'A land of darkness . . . without any order' (וְלֹא־סְדָרִים); Col 2^{5} 'joying and beholding your order' (*ὑμῶν τὴν τάξιν*, Lightfoot, 'your orderly array': Ltft. thinks it is a military metaphor, suggested by St. Paul's enforced companionship with the soldiers of the Prætorian guard; but Abbott holds that the idea of a well-ordered State lies much nearer than that of an army—see Abbott in *Intern. Crit. Com.*); 1 Es 1^{10} 'The priests and Levites . . . stood in very comely order' (*εὐπρεπῶς*); Wis 7^{29} 'She [wisdom] is more beautiful than the sun, and above all the order of the stars' (*ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἄστρων θέσιν*; Vulg. *super omnem dispositionem stellarum*, RV 'above all the constellations of the stars,' RVm 'above every arrangement of stars'); 1 Mac 6^{40} 'They marched on safely and in order' (*τεταγμένως*). In Jg 17^{10} for 'a suit of apparel' (Heb. עֵרֶךְ בְּגָדִים) the margin has 'an order of garments,' which is an attempt to translate the Heb. literally. Here may be noticed the obsolete phrase 'take order for,' which occurs in 2 Mac 4^{27} 'As for the money that he had promised unto the king, he took no good order for it' (*οὐδὲν εὐτάκτει*; Vulg. *nihil agebat*; Wyc. 1388 'he dide no thing'; Cov. 'he dyd nothinge therin'; Gen. 'he toke none order for it'; RV 'nothing was duly paid,' RVm 'was in due order'). The Eng. phrase means to *make proper arrangements* to secure a particular end. We find it in Rhem. NT, note to Jn 19^{26} 'The marvelous respect that Christ had to his mother, vouchsaving to speak to her, and to take order for her even from the crosse in the middes of his infinite anguishes and mysteries aworking for mankind,' as well as in the note to Ac 19^{19}. Cf. also Knox, *Hist.* 366, 'He had there also taken order for the home coming of the Earle of Lennox'; and Rutherford, *Letters*, No. xviii. 'I hope our Lord, who sent His angel with a measuring line in his hand to measure the length and breadth of Jerusalem, in token he would not want a foot length or inch of his own free heritage, shall take order with those who have taken away many acres of His own land from him.' A similar phrase is found in 1 Mac 16^{14} 'Simon was visiting the cities that were in the country, and taking care for the good ordering of them' (*φροντίζων τῆς ἐπιμελείας αὐτῶν*). For the general use of the word in this sense of *orderly arrangement*, cf. *Forty-Two Articles of* 1553 (Gibson, i. 71), 'profitable for an ordre and comelinesse' (Lat. *ad ordinem et decorum*); Spenser, *FQ* II. ix. 15—

> 'But soone the knights with their bright-burning blades,
> Broke their rude troupes, and orders did confound.'

4. *Prescribed custom*, 1 Ch 6^{32} 15^{13} 'we sought him not after the due order,' 23^{31}, 2 Ch 8^{14} 'He appointed, according to the order of David his father, the courses of the priests to their service' (Heb. always *mishpāṭ*); 1 Es 1^{6} 'Offer the passover in order' (*ἐν τάξει*). Cf. Rogers' note on Lv 7^{5} 'Trespace after the order of the scrypture signifyeth somtyme all the lyffe past which we have lyved in infidelyte.' The modern meaning of 'command' easily arose out of this. It is not found in AV, but the following passages approach it, 1 Es 8^{10} 'I have given order, that such of the nation of the Jews . . . as are willing and desirous, should go with thee' (*προσέταξα*); 1 Mac 9^{55} 'He could no more speak anything nor give order concerning his house' (*ἐντείλασθαι*); 1 Co 16^{1} 'As I have given order to the churches of Galatia' (*ὥσπερ διέταξα*, RV 'as I gave order').

The verb 'to order' is always used in the obsolete sense of *place properly, arrange*, or *direct.* Thus Lv 24^{4} 'He shall order the lamps upon the pure candlestick'; Jer 46^{3} 'Order ye the buckler and shield, and draw near to battle'; Job 23^{4} 'I would order my cause before him'; Ps 119^{133} 'Order my steps in thy word'; Jg 6^{26} 'Build an altar . . . in the ordered place'; 13^{12} 'How shall we order the child?'; Jth 2^{16} 'He ranged them, as a great army is ordered for the war'; Wis 8^{1} 'Sweetly doth she [wisdom] order all things' (*διοικεῖ*, Vulg. *disponit*); 9^{3} 'That he should . . . order the world according to equity' (*διέπῃ*, Vulg. *disponat*); 12^{15} 15^{1}, Sir 2^{6} 'Order thy way aright.' Cf. Ps 40^{6} Pr. Bk., and other passages (given in Driver's *Par. Psalter*, p. 478); also Fuller, *Holy Warre*, 185, 'The Christians were ordering themselves in aray'; More, *Utopia*, ii. 7 (Robinson's tr.), 'They define virtue to be life ordered according to nature'; and Shaks. *Rich. II.* II. ii. 109—

> 'If I know how or which way to order these affairs,
> Thus thrust disorderly into my hands,
> Never believe me.'

Orderly, which is properly an adj., is used as an adv. in Ac 21^{24} 'thou thyself also walkest orderly.' Cf. Jer 32^{11} Cov. 'it was orderly sealed'; Golding, *Calvin's Job*, 571, 'We know that in God's Church all things ought to be handled orderly and comely, as Saint Paule sayth'; and Pr. Bk. 'The New Testament . . . shall be read over orderly every year thrice.' RV introduces the word as an adj. into Jg 6^{26}, 1 Ti 3^{2}.

J. Hastings.

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* The only remaining occurrences of *καθεξῆς* are Lk 8^{1} *ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς*, AV 'afterward,' RV 'soon afterwards'; and Ac 3^{24} *ἀπὸ . . . τῶν καθεξῆς*, AV 'from . . . those that follow after,' RV 'from . . . them that followed after.'

ORDAIN, ORDINANCE.—There are eleven Heb. or Aram. words translated 'ordain' in the OT of AV, and in the Apocr. and NT no fewer than twenty-one Greek words* are so translated. When we add three Lat. words found in 2 Es we see that the Eng. verb had a wide range of meaning. Its meanings may, notwithstanding, be gathered under four heads. **1.** *To put in its proper place* (the deriv. of the word is *ordo, ordinis*='order'), *make ready for any purpose.* Thus Lk 14^{16} Tind. 'A certayne man ordened a greate supper, and bade many'; Ac 6^{13} Wyc. 'Thei ordeyneden false witnessis'; He 10^{5} Tind. 'A bodie hast thou ordeyned me'; Berners, *Froissart*, 18, 'There was ordained three great battles (=divisions) afoot'; and Shaks. *Rom. and Jul.* IV. v. 84—

'All things that we ordained festival,
Turn from their office to black funeral.'

In AV this meaning is found in Ps 7^{13} 'He ordaineth his arrows against the persecutors,' 132^{17}, 1 Ch 17^{9}, Is 30^{33}, Hab 1^{12}, He 9^{6}. **2.** *To bring into existence, establish,* as Dt 32^{6} Tind. 'Is not he thy father and thyne owner? hath he not made the and ordeyned the?'; Mk 7^{13} Tind. 'Making the worde of God of none effecte, through youre awne tradicions which ye have ordeyned'; 12^{1} Tind. 'A certayne man planted a vineyarde . . . and ordeyned a wyne presse'; He 3^{4} Tind. 'He that ordeyned all thinges is god'; Shaks. *I Henry VI.* IV. i. 33—

'When first this order was ordained, my lords,
Knights of the garter were of noble birth.'

So in AV, Nu 28^{6} 'It is a continual burnt offering, which was ordained in Mount Sinai for a sweet savour,' 1 K 12$^{32.33}$, Ps 8$^{2.3}$, Is 26^{12}, 2 Es 6^{49}, Sir 7^{15}. **3.** To *decree* or *enact*: thus *Irish Articles of Religion* (1615), art. 11, 'God from all eternity did by his unchangeable counsel ordain whatever in time should come to pass'; Milton, *PL* vii. 187—

'To Him
Glory and praise whose wisdom had ordained
Good out of evil to create.'

In AV this meaning occurs in Est 9^{27} 'The Jews ordained . . . that they would keep these two days,' 1 Es 6^{34} 8^{23}, 2 Es 7^{17} 8^{14}, To 1^{6} 8^{7}, Ad. Est 14^{9}, 1 Mac 4^{59} 7^{49}, 1 Co 2^{7}, Eph 2^{10}. **4.** To *destine, set apart, appoint.* This is the most frequent use of the word in AV, but it must not be confounded with the modern eccles. use, which does not occur. It is found in 2 K 23^{5}, 2 Ch 11^{15} 'He ordained him priests for the high places,' Jer 1^{5}, Dn 2^{24}, 1 Es 8^{49}, Ad. Est 13^{6}, Wis 9^{2}, Sir 48^{10}, 1 Mac 3^{55} 10^{20}, Mk 3^{14}, Jn 15^{16}, Ac 1^{22} 10^{42} 13^{48} 14^{23} 16^{4} 17^{31}, Ro 7^{10} 13^{1}, 1 Ti 2^{7}, Tit 1^{5}, He 5^{1} 8^{3}, Jude ^{4}. Cf. Gn 24^{14} Tind. 'The same is she that thou hast ordened for thy servaunte Isaac'; Shaks. *I Henry VI.* I. i. 171—

'To Eltham will I, where the young king is,
Being ordained his special governor,
And for his safety there I'll best devise.'

Ordinance.—The translators of the Rhemish version complain of the 'corrupt translation of Heretikes' in rendering δικαιώματα in Lk 1^{6} by 'ordinances.' Their own word is 'justifications,' and they say, 'This word is so usual in the Scriptures (namely [=especially] in the Psal. 118) to signifie the commaundements of God, because the keeping of them is justification, and the Greeke is alwaies so fully correspondent to the same, that the Heretikes in this place (otherwise pretending to esteeme much of the Greeke) blush not to say, that they avoid this word of purpose, against the justification of the Papists. And therefore one [Beza] useth Tullies word forsooth, in Latin *constituta*, and his scholars in their English Bibles say *Ordinances.*' The word is, however, used by the 'Heretikes' for δικαίωμα only thrice, Lk 1^{6}, He 9$^{1.10}$. For other Heb. and Greek words it is frequently employed, but the meaning is always 'that which has been ordained or appointed.' 'Ordnance' (the appointed size or bore of a cannon, thence transferred to the cannon itself) is the same word, and was not distinguished in spelling in Old English. Thus Erasmus, *Commune Crede*, fol. 31, 'This fayth doth arme us, and make us bolde without ony feare, and invincible agaynst all the engynes and all the ordinaunce of the world and of the deville.' J. HASTINGS.

ORDINATION.—It is not easy to trace in NT any precise form of ordination or consecration to ecclesiastical office. When our Lord sent forth the Ten (Jn 20$^{22.23}$) He breathed on them, and said, 'Receive (a gift of the) Holy Spirit,' etc. But this is a consecration rather of the whole body than of the individuals present; and at all events we do not find the symbolism repeated. The Seven (Ac 6$^{3-6}$) were chosen by the people and set before the apostles, who prayed and laid their hands on them. The consecration of Barnabas and Saul (Ac 13$^{2.3}$) for their work was by direct command of the Holy Spirit—there is no election this time, but the prophets and teachers fast and pray, and lay their hands on them, and so dismiss them. In the course of their journey (Ac 14^{23}) they appoint (χειροτονήσαντες as 2 Co 8^{19}—mere appointment, not laying on of hands) elders in every church, and after prayer with fastings commend them to the Lord. This is all that we hear of the consecration of elders. Timothy held a higher position. He is told (1 Ti 3) what sort of men bishops ought to be, and (5) how to deal with them. But 5^{22} (lay hands hastily on no man) cannot refer to ordination, for the whole current of thought $^{19-25}$ runs on offenders, not on officials (Ellicott, Hort, etc.). But what of Timothy's own consecration? In 1 Ti 1^{18} the apostle commits this deposit to him 'according to the prophecies which led the way to thee' (*κατὰ τὰς προαγούσας ἐπὶ σὲ προφητείας*). He is also told (4^{14}) not to neglect 'the gift that is in thee, which was given to thee through prophecy with the laying on of the hands of the body of elders' (*διὰ προφητείας μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου*). And he is further reminded (2 Ti 1^{6}) to stir into flame 'the gift of God which is in thee through the laying on of my hands' (*διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν μου*).

These passages fall into two sharply contrasted groups. (*a*) The Seven are chosen by the people, the elders in Ac 14^{23} seem nominated by the apostles. After that, they are commended to God with prayer, joined in one case to its customary accessory of fasting, in the other to its natural symbolism of the laying on of hands. (*b*) Saul and Barnabas are nominated by the Holy Spirit through prophecy, and also Timothy; for 'the prophecies which led the way to thee' must have been commands to separate Timothy as Saul and Barnabas were separated before. After that, hands are laid,—in the earlier case by the prophets and teachers with prayer and fasting; in the later by St. Paul and the body of elders, pretty certainly at Lystra. This close parallel seems to establish Hort's contention, that

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[*] The Heb. words are: עשׂה Nu 28^{6}, 1 K 12$^{32.33}$; יסד 1 Ch 9^{22}, Ps 8^{2}; שׂים or שׂום 1 Ch 17^{9}, Ps 81^{5}, Hab 1^{12}; נתן 2 K 23^{5}, Jer 1^{5}; העמיד 2 Ch 11^{15}; הכין Ps 8^{3}; ערך Ps 132^{17}, Is 30^{33}; פעל Ps 7^{13}; שׁפת Is 26^{12}; הקים Est 9^{27}; מנא or מנה Dn 2^{24}. And the Greek words: *ἀναδείκνυμι* 1 Es 8^{23}; *γίνομαι* Ac 1^{22}; *γράφω* To 1^{6}; *διατάσσω* 1 Co 7^{17} 9^{14}, Gal 3^{19}; *δίδωμι* 1 Es 8^{49}; *δογματίζω* 1 Es 6^{34}; *ἐκτίνω* Sir 7^{15}; *ἐπιτάσσω* To 8^{7}; *ἵστημι* 1 Mac 4^{59} 7^{49}; *καθίστημι* 1 Mac 3^{55} 10^{20}, Tit 1^{5}, He 5^{1} 8^{3}; *καταγράφω* Sir 48^{10}; *κατασκευάζω* Wis 9^{2}, He 9^{6}; *κρίνω* Ac 16^{4}; *ὁρίζω* Ad. Est 14^{9}, Ac 10^{42} 17^{31}; *ποιέω* Mk 3^{14}; *προγράφω* Jude ^{4}; *προετοιμάζω* Eph 2^{10}; *προορίζω* 1 Co 2^{7}; *τάσσω* Ad. Est 13^{6}, Ac 13^{48}, Ro 13^{1}; *τίθημι* Jn 15^{16}, 1 Ti 2^{7}; *χειροτονέω* Ac 14^{23}. The words in 2 Es are *conservo* 6^{49}, *dispono* 7^{17}, *ordino* 8^{14}.

Timothy's consecration was not to a definite church office, but to the work of an evangelist (2 Ti 4^{5}), as St. Paul's companion in the place of Barnabas. See, further, Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*, 1897, and cf. art. LAYING ON OF HANDS.

H. M. GWATKIN.

OREB and **ZEEB** (עֹרֵב, זְאֵב 'raven,' 'wolf,' 'Ωρήβ, Ζήβ).—Two Midianite princes captured and slain by the Ephraimites after Gideon's victory, Jg 7^{25} 8^{3}, Ps 83^{11}, Is 10^{26}, cf. 9^{4}. The places where they fell were remembered by the Rock of Oreb and the Wine-press of Zeeb, perhaps near the point where the Wady Fâr'ah in Ephraim falls into the Jordan (Moore); Osh el-Ghurab in Judah (Conder) seems too far south. It is noticeable that Oreb and Zeeb are animal names, such as occur in the totem stage of society. In times when totemism prevailed, clans were often named after animals; so it has been suggested that Oreb and Zeeb were names of Midianite clans (Stade, *GVI* i. 189): if they were individuals, the names would belong to the stage when the totem tribe was passing into a national organization of society (Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 114). According to Is 10^{26} the slaughter of Midian, not of the chiefs alone, took place at the rock of Oreb; but this divergence from the narrative in Jg is merely an inaccuracy of tradition, and need not imply a different account. The narrative, Jg 7^{24}–8^{3}, is assigned to E; parallel to this is another account, Jg 8^{4-21} J, in which the Midianite chiefs are kings, and their names Zebah and Zalmunna (wh. see). See art. GIDEON and note ††.

G. A. COOKE.

OREN (אֹרֶן 'fir-tree'; B 'Αραιὰ καὶ 'Αμβράν, A 'Αράν).—A son of Jerahmeel, 1 Ch 2^{25}. The correctness of the MT vocalization is doubtful; perhaps it should be אֲרָן = 'wild goat' (cf. Gn 36^{28} = 1 Ch 1^{42}, and Stade, *GVI* i. 409).

ORGAN.—See MUSIC.

ORION.—The common noun *kĕṣîl* is of frequent occurrence in OT, especially in the Wisdom literature, and is regularly tr^{d} 'fool' or 'foolish.' At Am 5^{8}, Job 9^{9} 38^{31} our Versions have correctly treated it as a proper noun, and rendered it by 'Orion.' At Is 13^{10} the true tr^{n} of the same word is 'and the Orions thereof,' *i.e.* the great constellations such as Orion. It has also been suggested that at Job 15^{27} *kĕṣîl* (Orion) should be substituted for *keṣel* (flanks); but this is very doubtful. Sa'adya, Abulwalid, and others have thought that *kĕṣîl* is Canopus in Argo, the second brightest star in our heavens [cf. Am 5^{8}]. The evidence of the ancient VSS is strongly in favour of the identification with Orion. The LXX has ὁ 'Ωρίων at Is 13^{10}, Job 38^{31}; Jerome, 'Orion' at Am 5^{8}, Job 9^{9}; the Targ. נפילא (giant) at Is 13^{10}, Job 9^{9} 38^{31}; the Pesh. *gabara* (giant) at Am 5^{8}, Job 9^{9} 38^{31}. The deviations, such as Ἕσπερος (LXX, Job 9^{9}) and 'Arcturus' (Jerome, Job 38^{31}), do but illustrate the admitted fact that absolute certainty on these points is unattainable. The literal meaning of the Heb. word falls in with the evidence just adduced, if *kĕṣîl* = 'fleshy,' 'fat,' and, as overloaded with fat, 'foolish and arrogant.' It would therefore easily become the name of a giant who was supposed to have rebelled against God, and after his death was punished by being chained in the heavens. Job 38^{31} seems to sanction this; the word *mōshĕkōth* having, indeed, been rendered 'girdle' by Hitzig, but more probably meaning, like the cognate Arabic word, 'bands' or 'fetters.' On this interpretation the stars which we call the Belt are looked on as a chain which none but the Almighty can unloose, and the poet's thought was that God alone can 'release the earth from Winter's sterile bands.' It must, however, be admitted that there is no other proof of the Hebrews having conceived of this constellation as a chained figure. The attempt to show that Orion and Nimrod are identical must be pronounced a failure. The *Chron. Pasch.* says that in Orion the Persians saw Nimrod. Josephus (*Ant.* I. v. 2) makes the latter a rebel against God [cf. Dante, *Inferno*, xxxi. 41–81, *Purg.* xii. 33–35]; the later Arabic writers speak of him as chained in heaven for haughtiness. But these witnesses are too late to be of much value. The Bab. Talmud (*Berachoth* 58*b*) refers to the visibility of Orion during the hot season,—our dog-days,—saying that but for the heat of Orion the world could not stand the cold of the Scorpion, and but for the cold of the Scorpion could not stand the heat of Orion. In this connexion it should be remembered that in Syria this constellation is visible during a greater part of the year than with us, and rises 17° higher above the horizon.

The mythological fancy of many nations has played around these brilliant stars. New Zealanders called the Belt the Elbow of Maui or the Stern of Tamererete's canoe. Norsemen saw in it Frigga's Spindle. To the Esquimaux these stars were seal-hunters who lost their way home. In classic legend Orion is a handsome Bœotian giant and hunter. The *Odyssey*, xi. 309, 310, says of Otus and Ephialtes—

> οὓς δὴ μηκίστους θρέψε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
> καὶ πολὺ καλλίστους μετά γε κλυτὸν 'Ωρίωνα.

Again, xi. 572-575—

> Τὸν δὲ μετ' 'Ωρίωνα πελώριον εἰσενόησα
> θῆρας ὁμοῦ εἰλεῦντα κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα,
> τοὺς αὐτὸς κατέπεφνεν ἐν οἰοπόλοισιν ὄρεσσιν
> χερσὶν ἔχων ῥόπαλον παγχάλκεον, αἰὲν ἀαγές.

In the *Iliad*, xviii. 486, the *σθένος 'Ωρίωνος* forms part of an enumeration of important star groups. The Egyptians recognized in Orion (whom they called *Sahu*) the soul of Horus. The constellation is represented in the round zodiac which was discovered at Denderah and in the astronomical drawings in the Ramesseum at Thebes. The most interesting mythology, so far as Orion is concerned, is that of the Euphrates valley. In the ancient star-maps of that land Orion is known as Duwuzi (= Tammuz, Ezk 8^{14}), and appears as a hunter accompanied by his dogs. In the earliest ages the sun was the great heavenly hunter; afterwards Orion took his place. Hence the dogs of the latter hunt the hare (the moon). Aratus, in the *Phænomena*, writes—

> 'And ceaselessly beneath Orion's feet
> The hare is ever chased.'

With respect to the name, Brown remarks: 'His name Uriôn - Aoriôn - Oariôn - Oriôn would = an original Akkadian *Uru-anna* ("Light of Heaven," *i.e.* the sun), as the moon is *Uru-ki* ("Light of the earth").' Hommel says that the Sumerian name was *shu-gi*.

LITERATURE.—See Brown, 'Celestial Equator of Aratus,' p. 457 of *Trans. of Ninth Cong. of Orientalists*, and literature referred to in notes there; also, in same *Trans.*, Hommel, 'Bab. und Ægyp. Göttergeneal.,' p. 234.

J. TAYLOR.

ORNAMENT is in RV the tr^{n} of עֲדִי in every instance except Pr 25^{12}, where the Heb. is חֲלִי. In other instances RV gives a more specialized rendering for 'ornament' of AV: as 'chaplet' (*livyah*, Pr 1^{9} 4^{9}); 'garland' (*pĕ'ēr*, Is 61^{10}); 'crescents' (*sahărōnîm*, Jg $8^{21.26}$); 'anklets' (*'ăkhāṣîm*, Is 3^{18}); 'ankle-chains' (*ṣĕ'ādôth*, Is 3^{20}); 'plating' (*'ăphuddah*, Is 30^{22}). This last probably refers to the richly embroidered cloth with which the image was partly covered. At the present day, in a shrine-chamber there is such a cloth spread over the ridge of the stone-tomb on which the devotee, usually a woman interceding with regard to childlessness, sits while making the petition and vow to the saint. The same belief in the immanence of power and personality in the clothing is seen in Elisha's taking of Elijah's mantle (2 K 2^{13}), the obtaining of St. Paul's handkerchiefs (Ac 19^{12}), and in the superstitious use of holy relics generally. RV has 'apparel' instead of 'ornament' in 1 P 3^{4}.

The Bible abounds in references to the appreciation of ornament, and at the present day in the East the love of decoration is deep-seated and universal. The laying aside of ornaments appears in Ex $33^{4ff.}$ as a token of mourning. One of the eminent services rendered by Assyrian and Egyptian archæology has been the revelation of the wonderful proficiency to which these nations had attained in the cutting and setting of gems, and in the designing of gold and silver ornaments.

The investigation of the place and value of ornament in the Bible does not necessarily imply that the Oriental estimate is faultless because it is interwrought with Scripture metaphor and teaching. The Bible does not differ from other literature when referring to the customs and preferences of those addressed, the one requirement being that the statements should correspond with fact. The same simple recognition of things as they are that characterizes its references to natural and industrial surroundings and family relationships also marks its allusions to the Oriental love of ornament, and its illustrative use of articles of beauty and decoration.

Oriental life is pervaded by the charm of the picturesque and the attractiveness of whatever is unique or magnificent. The reality of the gratification afforded by it is evidenced by the presence of ornament in little things, and its preservation even when in conflict with comfort and activity. Male costume has many embellishments that we are accustomed to regard as feminine, and the last stage is often reached in which the man proclaims the apparel. The day-labourer feels himself to be on a higher level if he can wear a shirt with loose pendant sleeves and a skirt long enough to reach the ground. Until quite recent times the wearing of soft woollen cloth was jealously restricted to the patriarchal emîrs and ruling families (cf. Lk 7^{25}). An Oriental cabman in arranging his coloured head-napkin for protection from the sun crosses it under the chin and throws the loose ends over his shoulders to hang down the back and wave in the wind. In the course of an hour he may have to rearrange it several times, but he never ties a knot or fastens it with a pin, as that would destroy the picturesqueness of the flowing form. A photograph always shows the cheek that has a mole or 'beauty spot.' The common water-jar, in addition to its own beauty of form, has usually a waved line of etching or colour-stain around the neck. Camels and donkeys have the hair cropped so as to show ornamental patterns on the legs. The stonework of the village fountain generally has some ornamental treatment. Doors of peasants' houses have intricate geometrical patterns. Houses are built in alternate layers of dark and light coloured stone. The arch abounds in the humblest architecture. The lattice-screen covering the lower half of the window is ornamentally developed in lemon and walnut wood into the beautiful and intricate *meshrabîyeh* work. Infants in swaddling-clothes have the edges of the eyelids blackened with antimony from the paint-horn (cf. the name Keren-happuch, Job 42^{14}), the finger-nails stained with the raw-sienna brown of henna-dye (Ca 1^{14} 4^{13}), and the little wrist is adorned with a few bangles of coloured glass. The appearance of unusual beauty in a child, as in the case of Moses, is such a source of gratification to the parents that the fact must not be referred to without reverent allusion to the Giver of all good. Such particulars from the common life of the people indicate the general attachment to ornament, and suggest that any symbolical use of things outwardly ornamental would receive easy and sympathetic recognition.

The chief materials of ornament are those which Achan coveted (Jos 7), namely, gold and richly-woven cloth. Ornaments of gold, silver, and copper are still worn by women in the nose and ears, on the neck, arms, and ankles, as alluded to in the Bible.

FEMALE ORNAMENTS: HORN, BELT-BUCKLES, BRACELETS, AMULETS.

The attachment to jewellery (Jer 2^{32}) was recently illustrated in the Lebanon in the case of a young wife who, in a time of dangerous sickness, had the picture of the Virgin brought from the church, and tied to the frame her best pair of ear-rings as a votive-prayer for recovery. Shortly afterwards, her husband found her weeping, and, guessing the cause of her distress, assured her that he meant to buy back the ear-rings from the priest!

In the *Arabian Nights* there is constant allusion to the beautiful clothes worn by the heroes and heroines whose exploits are recorded. Lucian, in his *Dialogues of the Dead* ('*The Pagan Olympus*'), contrasts the gorgeous appearance of the Oriental divinities with the simple elegance of the Greek images. The tendency to excess in ornament led Milton to describe the East as the home of 'barbaric pearl and gold' (*Par. Lost*, ii. 4).

It is this devotion to outward ornament that the Bible transfers to the inner graces of character and the beauty of sainthood when it speaks of 'the garments of salvation,' 'the robe of righteousness' (Is 61^{10}), 'the apparel of a meek and quiet spirit' (1 P 3^{4}), and the obligation to 'put on Christ' (Ro 13^{14}, Gal 3^{27}). The moral pronouncement on ornament, as in the case of wine, is one of use and abuse. Thus the eloquent description in Ezk 27 of ancient Tyre as Empress of the Seas, and adorned with the riches of many lands, may be compared with the indignant scorn expressed in Is 3 with regard to the excesses in dress then prevailing in Jerusalem.

See also ANKLET, CRESCENT, DRESS, EAR-RING, EMBROIDERY, ENGRAVING, HOUSE, JEWEL.

G. M. MACKIE.

ORNAN (אָרְנָן, 'Ορνά).—The form in 1 Ch 21^{15-28} 2 Ch 3^{1} of the name ARAUNAH (wh. see). The original form of the word cannot be recovered; see Driver, *Notes on Heb. Text of Sam.* p. 288 f., and H. P. Smith on 2 S 24^{16}.

ORPAH (עָרְפָּה; 'Ορφά), a Moabitess, sister of Ruth and daughter-in-law of Naomi. When the latter was returning to her own country, Orpah, following Naomi's advice, elected to go back to her own people and to her god (or gods), while her sister went with her mother-in-law (Ru 1^{4-14}).

H. A. REDPATH.

ORPHAN.—The Heb. subst. יָתוֹם *yāthôm*, which occurs frequently throughout OT, is always rendered in LXX by *ὀρφανός*, which is properly an adj., 'fatherless,' 'orphaned.' The meaning is not bereft of both parents (of that there is not a single unmistakable example), but of the father only. The Heb. word is accordingly rendered 'fatherless' in the Eng. versions, as in Ex 22^{24} 'Your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless.' This was not, however, because the English word 'orphan' (formed from *ὀρφανός* through Old Fr. *orphane*) denoted, as it now does, one bereft of both parents. In the only case in OT in which *yāthôm* is translated 'orphan' (La 5^{3}) the meaning is evidently *fatherless*, 'We are orphans and fatherless, our mothers are as widows' (LXX *ὀρφανοὶ ἐγενήθημεν, οὐχ ὑπάρχει πατήρ, μητέρες ἡμῶν ὡς αἱ χῆραι*).

The adj. *ὀρφανός* occurs occasionally in Apocr., and is rendered 'orphan' in To 1^{8}, 2 Mac 8^{28} (also 2 Es 2^{20}, from Lat. *orphanus*). In NT there are only two occurrences (though Codex D adds another in Mk 12^{40}), viz. Jn 14^{18}, Ja 1^{27}. In both places the meaning is 'fatherless,' and that is the tr. of most of the Eng. versions in Ja 1^{27} (Tind., however, 'frendlesse,' Rhem. 'pupilles'). But in Jn 14^{18} only Wyc. has 'fatherless.' Tind. introduced 'comfortless,' an unfortunate rendering, as it gave support to the widespread mistake that the Paraclete was to be sent chiefly to comfort the disciples (see PARACLETE). Tind. was followed by Cranmer, the Geneva, the Bishops, AV, and even RV (though AV and RV give 'orphans' in the marg., which is the text of the Rhemish version).

J. HASTINGS.

ORTHOSIA (*Ὀρθωσίας*), 1 Mac 15^{37}.—Acc. to Pliny this city was N. of Tripoli and S. of the Eleutherus (*HN* v. 17). The Peutinger Tables place it 12 Roman miles N. of Tripoli, and 30 S. of Antaradus. Coins of the city exist of the time of Antoninus Pius. The name has not been discovered.

OSAIAS (A *Ὠσαίας*, B om.), 1 Es 8^{48} (LXX ^{47}) = **Jeshaiah** (B *Ὠσαίας*, A *Ἰσαιά*), Ezr 8^{19}.

OSEA.—The form in which in 2 Es 13^{40} (both AV and RV) the name of **Hoshea** the last king of the Northern Kingdom occurs.

OSEAS.—The form in which the name of the prophet **Hosea** is given in 2 Es 1^{39} (both AV and RV).

OSNAPPAR (Aram. אָסְנַפַּר; B *Ἀσενναφάρ*, A *Ναφάρ*; Lagarde, *Σαλμανασσάρης*).—Only in Ezr 4^{10}. The word occurs in a letter written in Aramaic, and sent by the chancellor and the scribe of the Samaritans to Artaxerxes, king of Persia (B.C. 464–424), to urge him to stop the building of the walls of Jerusalem by the Jews. Among the Samaritans who inspired this letter were 'the Babylonians, the Shushanchites, the Dehaites, the Elamites, and the rest of the nations whom the great and noble Osnappar brought over, and set in the city of Samaria, and in the rest (of the country) beyond the river.' This name does not appear in the inscriptions as the name either of any Assyrian king or of any high official of any people. The connexion seems to require that Osnappar was invested with authority to transport peoples from their homes to Samaria. Among these peoples we see 'Shushanchites,' and we are well aware that the only Assyrian king of the last period of Assyrian history who conquered Susa was Assurbanipal (cf. *WAI* v. (Rassam Cyl.) col. v. 128–vi. 76). This last great king (B.C. 668–626) wrought frightful destruction upon this strong and rich capital city, and carried large numbers of its population captives to Assyria. Following in the wake of the policy already established by his predecessors, Tiglath-pileser, Sargon (2 K 17^{24}, and Sargon's *Annals*, 95–97) and Esarhaddon (Ezr 4^{2}), Assurbanipal doubtless distributed many of his captives in the provinces of the empire which were sparsely populated.

The unlikeness of 'Osnappar' to 'Assurbanipal' has left room for doubt as to their identification. Now, we must note that the letter in which this name occurs originated about 200 years after the occurrence mentioned; and also that the name now appears in a different language from that in which it was native. Gelzer ('Die Colonie Osnappars,' in *Zeits. f. d. Ægypt. Sprache*, 1875, 78–82) supposed that אסנפר is a degeneration from אס[רב]ניפל. To represent this by a different division we have אסר־בניפל. By a change of the ר of אסר into נ (cf. the scribal error Nebuchad*n*ezzar for Nebuchad*r*ezzar), an ellipsis of the middle element of the name, and the change of the final 'l' to 'r' (cf. 'Porus' in the canon of Ptolemy, Smith, *Eponym Canon*, p. 102 f., where the Bab. Chron. reads 'Pulu'), we arrive at the name אסנפר. The identification of Osnappar with Assurbanipal is now conceded by most authorities (Schrader, *COT* ii. 65; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 329; Hommel, *Ges. Bab.-Assyr.* p. 740; E. Meyer, *Ges. d. Alterthums*, p. 477, and *Entst. d. Judenth.* p. 29 f.). Halévy (*REJ* ix. 12), however, does not agree with the above authorities. Taking into account (1) the period in which Osnappar is said to have lived, (2) the particular peoples he transported, (3) the probable identification of the name with that of the last great king of Assyria, we can scarcely escape the conclusion that Osnappar was the Assurbanipal of the last period of Assyrian history (so also Driver in Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology*, p. 112).

IRA M. PRICE.

OSPRAY (עָזְנִיָּה *'ozníyyāh*, *ἁλιαίετος*, *haliæetus*).—The name of an unclean bird (Lv 11^{13}, Dt 14^{12}). It is pretty certainly Pandion haliæetus, L. It is somewhat rare, and found along the coast and in the Ḥûleh marshes. Its food is fish, which it catches by poising above the water until it fixes an exact perpendicular over its victim, and then dropping suddenly into the water, from which it generally rises with the fish in its claws. Like other fish-eating birds it is seldom used as food for man, and would naturally be counted unclean.

G. E. POST.

OSSIFRAGE (פֶּרֶס *pereṣ*, *γύψ*, *gyps*), RV 'gier eagle.'—The etymology 'breaker' (פֶּרֶס), corresponding to *ossifrage* ('bone-breaker,' from the Lat.), strengthens the claim of the tr$^{\text{n}}$ of AV. As the bird is mentioned only twice (Lv 11^{13}, Dt 14^{12}), we have no side-light from Scripture to help us. The ossifrage is the *Lämmergeier*, Gypætus barbatus, L. It is one of the largest of the vultures, being 4 ft. 6 in. long. It is known in Arab. as *bidj* or *nisr*. It is not numerous in Pal., but generally diffused. Tristram says that there is a pair in nearly every wady. Its name is derived from its habit of carrying tortoises and bones in its claws to a height, and dropping them on to a rock to break them, in order to get at their contents. It also preys on lambs, kids, hares, and serpents. It often catches its prey by pushing it off from a cliff. It has been known to attack men in this situation. The male has a black beard, pencilled upper and tawny lower plumage, and blood-red eyes. It is diffused throughout the mountains of northern Europe, Asia, and northern Africa. It breeds on inaccessible cliffs. The female lays one egg, which is hatched in February.

G. E. POST.

OSTRICH.—1. יָעֵן *yā'ēn*, בַּת־הַיַּעֲנָה *bath-hayya'ănāh.* The root יָעַן *yā'an* signifies in Syr. 'to be greedy or voracious.' From this is derived *yā'ēn* = 'the voracious one' = 'ostrich.' This word occurs in the masc. pl. יְעֵנִים *yĕ'ēnîm* (La 4^{3}), tr^{d} AV and RV 'ostriches.' It occurs in the sing. in construction with בַּת and בְּנוֹת in eight passages. In all of these RV correctly gives 'ostrich.' In Lv 11^{16}, Dt 14^{15} AV tr. it 'owl,' Jer 50^{39} 'owls,' Mic 1^{8} 'owls,' m. 'daughters of the owl,' Is 34^{13} 43^{20} 'owls,' m. 'daughters of the owl' or 'ostriches,' Job 30^{29} 'owls,' m. 'ostriches.' Bochart, arguing from the prefix *bath* = 'daughter,' thought that the expression *bath-hayya'ănāh* refers to the female ostrich, while *taḥmâs* (Lv 11^{16}, Dt 14^{15}) refers to the male. But *bath*, with the name of an animal in the construct state, does not necessarily refer to the female. In the Semitic languages the feminine termination to the specific name often refers to an *individual*, male or female. *Benât-âwa* in Arabic is literally 'the *daughters of the jackal*,' but means *jackals*. Numerous similar instances could be adduced. (For the discussion of *taḥmâs* see NIGHT HAWK). The derivation of this name of the ostrich from the idea of greed corresponds with its traditional voracity, which leads it to swallow pebbles, bits of glass, metal, bone, etc. This, however, is the same instinct as that which leads fowls to swallow small angular pebbles, to assist in the trituration of their food. The large size of the substances swallowed by the ostrich has given him his special reputation. Some have attributed to the root the meaning 'to cry out,' and fortify their etymology by referring to the voice of the ostrich, which they say resembles that of the lion (cf. Mic 1^{8}).

2. רְנָנִים *rĕnānîm.* AV (Job 39^{13}) tr. this word 'peacocks,' RV 'ostrich.' It is derived from a root signifying 'to give forth a sound,' esp. a *twanging* or *resonant* sound (cf. Arab. *ranna*). While this derivation would suit the peacock, there is a special name for that bird, תֻּכִּיִּים *tukkîyyîm* (1 K 10^{22}), or תּוּכִּיִּים (2 Ch 9^{21}). It eminently suits the cry of the female ostrich. The description (vv.$^{14-18}$) can apply to no other bird than the ostrich. AV recognizes this by wrongly translating *nôẓāh* = 'feathers' at the end of v.^{13} by 'ostrich.'

The ostrich, *Struthio camelus*, L., is a bird of Arabia and Africa. It has been found on the S.E. confines of the Syrian desert. It is the largest of existing birds. The Bible alludes to a number of its characteristics. It is a desert bird. It is several times (Is 34^{13} 43^{20}) mentioned in connexion with *tannîm*, which we believe to be the *wolf* (see DRAGON, 1). It is the swiftest of runners, surpassing in this respect even the warhorse when he is urged on by his gallant rider. It is said (Job 39^{17}) that 'God hath deprived her of wisdom, neither hath he imparted to her understanding.' This is said to explain her leaving her eggs in the dust. The facts are that the ostrich lays her eggs in a shallow excavation in the sand and then covers them to the depth of a foot. They are left by day, in tropical climates, to the heat of the sun, and incubated at night. A few eggs, supposed to be reserved for the nourishment of the chicks, are laid near the nest, and left exposed on the sand. This mode of nesting and incubation is probably the basis of the allusion in the above passage. In any case it must be regarded as the reflexion of a popular opinion, founded on the external aspects of the case. It is intended to heighten the contrast of the opening verse of the passage, which describes her beautiful plumage, and the closing which praises her speed. It is true, however, that when the ostrich is surprised with her brood she runs away from her chicks (v.^{16}). She is unable to defend them, and cannot conceal them in the open desert. The charge of stupidity is, however, borne out in some other ways. For instance, the ostrich runs usually toward the wind, contrary to the practice of most wild animals. In this way it can sometimes be approached to within shooting distance. Again, it runs in large circles, and does not swerve from its course, which can thus be calculated, and the bird awaited where it is pretty sure to pass. The old allegation that it hides its head in the sand to escape danger is not true. Although forbidden in the law as food (Lv 11^{16}, Dt 14^{15}), its flesh and eggs are much prized by the Arabs.

The feathers of the ostrich, so well known for their beauty, quite justify the eulogy of Job (39^{13}) RV 'The wing of the ostrich rejoiceth; (but) are her pinions and feathers kindly?' The feathers of the male are white and black; of the female and young dusky grey.

G. E. POST.

OTHER.—1. Moon (*Revisers' English*, p. 120 ff.) contends that (following the AV) the RV has omitted 'other' where it should be, and inserted it where it should not be. As an example of the former he quotes Mk 4$^{31. 32}$, where the mustard seed is said to be 'less than all the seeds that are upon the earth,' a sentence which strictly means that it is less than itself. For the latter he quotes Mk 12^{32} 'There is none other but he.'

2. In Old English the plural of 'other' was *othre.* When this inflexion was dropped there was for a time no distinction between the sing. and the plu. of the word. After a time, however, a new plural was formed by adding *s*. There are a few examples in AV of the old plu. 'other,' viz. Jos 8^{22} 'The other issued out of the city against them'; 2 Ch 32^{22} 'From the hand of all other'; Job 24^{24}, 1 Mac 9^{48}, 2 Mac 7^{34}, Lk 23^{32}, Jn 19^{18}, 1 Co 14^{29}, Ph 2^{3} 4^{3}. In OT the RV retains 'other'; in NT it is changed into 'others' except Ph 2^{3} which is retained, and 4^{3} which is changed into 'the rest.' In 1 Mac 9^{48} RV gives 'they,' and omits the word in 2 Mac 7^{34}. Examples are in Tindale, Mt 21^{8} 'Other cut downe braunches from the trees'; 27^{42} 'He saved other, him sylfe he can not save'; and from the Rhem. version He 7^{23} 'And the other in deede were made priestes, being many, because that by death they were prohibited to continue'; cf. Ps 7^{16} *al.* [Pr. Bk.].

3. The phrase 'other some,' formerly very common when 'some' preceded, is twice retained in AV, 2 Es 13^{13} 'Some were glad, some were sorry, some of them were bound, and other some (so RV) brought of them that were offered' (*quidam . . . quidam . . . aliqui . . . aliqui*); Ac 17^{18} (καὶ τινες ἔλεγον . . . οἱ δέ, so RV). The archaism is not in 'other' but in 'some,' which in the sing. was equivalent to 'one,' 'a certain,' and so in the plu. meant 'persons' or 'things'; hence 'other some' is 'other persons' or 'things.' Cf. Mt 13^{5} Rhem. 'Othersome also fell upon rockie places, where they had not much earth'; and Eph 4^{11} Rhem. 'And he gave, some Apostles, and some Prophets, and othersome Evangelists, and othersome pastors and doctors.' Also in *Judgment of Dort*, p. 35, 'The cause of which his divers dispensation is not to be imputed to the worthinesse of one nation above another, or to the better using of the light of nature by some then by other some.'

J. HASTINGS.

OTHNI (עָתְנִי; B Γοονεί, A Γοθνί).—A son of Shemaiah, 1 Ch 26^{7}.

OTHNIEL (עָתְנִיאֵל, Γοθονιήλ), described in Jg 1^{13} 3^{9} as בֶּן־קְנַז אֲחִי כָלֵב הַקָּטֹן.—It is not impossible from the point of view of strict grammar to construe this Heb. phrase so as to make Kenaz the brother and Othniel the nephew of Caleb (so B of LXX, *υἱὸς Κενὲζ ἀδελφοῦ Χάλεβ*; cf. art. JUDGES, 4 (*b*), vol. ii. p. 811^{a}). It is more probable, however, that Caleb, who is elsewhere called the Kenizzite (Nu 32^{12}), was viewed as a son of Kenaz, and thus a brother of Othniel (so A . . . *ἀδελφός*, and Vulg. *filius Cenez, frater Caleb*). This conclusion is strengthened by the expression '*younger* brother,' which would have no relevancy as applied to Kenaz, but is quite appropriate in reference to Othniel 'as indicating that the disparity in age between uncle and niece (Jg 1^{13}) was not so great as might be thought, or (in 3^{9}) as explaining how Othniel so long outlived Caleb' (Moore, *Judges*, 27). In pre-critical times there can be little doubt that apologetic reasons weighed heavily with many interpreters. The uncle, it was imagined, must be saved from the scandal of marrying his niece, although marriages within closer degrees than this were sanctioned by usage (*e.g.* Abraham and Sarah, Gn 20^{12}; cf. 2 S 13^{13} Amnon and Tamar).

In one of the narratives (Jos 15^{17}, Jg 1^{13}) of the conquest of Canaan it is related that Othniel smote Kiriath-sepher and obtained as a reward the hand of his niece Achsah the daughter of Caleb (see ACHSAH). The story of the springs which the bride obtained from her father (Jos 15^{18}, Jg 1^{14}) is introduced in all probability in order to account for the possession by Achsah, a branch of Othniel, of waters which would more naturally have belonged to the Kalibbites, an older constituent of the Kenizzite clan. In Jg 3^{7-11} Othniel is introduced by D^{2} as the first of the 'Judges' and the deliverer of Israel from CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM (wh. see). His victory is said to have secured rest to the land for forty years. Very serious difficulties lie in the way of our accepting the historicity of this latter narrative. These difficulties are not in the least evaded by the purely hypothetical combinations of Sayce in *HCM* 297 ff. and *EHH* 286 f. See Moore, *Judges*, p. 85.

Ethnologically and as an eponym Othniel has much the same significance as CALEB (wh. see), being a younger branch of the important clan of the Kenizzites.

LITERATURE.—See under CALEB, and cf. Dillmann, *Nu-Dt-Jos*, 523; Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* i. 267 f., ii. 77 f.; Moore, *Judges*, 29, 84 f.; Wellhausen, *Comp.* 219; Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 4 ff., 94 ff.

J. A. SELBIE.

OTHONIAS (Ὀθονίας), 1 Es 9^{28}, a corruption of the name **Mattaniah,** in Ezr 10^{27}.

OUCHES.—*Ouche*, like *adder*, *apron*, etc., belongs to a group of words that in modern English have lost an initial *n* through a mistaken division —'a nouche' (cf. Chaucer, *House of Fame*, 1350, 'They were set as thick as nouchis Fyne, of the fynest stones faire') having become 'an ouche.' The term was applied to gold ornaments, particularly those of the nature of a clasp or brooch, set with jewels.

1. The two large jewels of *shôham*-stone (EV 'onyx,' RVm 'beryl') on the shoulders of the high priest's ephod (see vol. i. p. 725^{b}) were 'set in ouches of gold' (מִשְׁבְּצוֹת זָהָב Ex $28^{11f.}$ $39^{6f.}$). The word *mishbĕẓôth* seems to denote a setting of open work in contradistinction to the method of setting jewels in a solid capsule of gold, and since it is derived from a root signifying 'to weave *or* wreathe' (see Dillm. on Ex 28^{11}), it may safely be taken as the technical term for **filigree** work, which was known to the Egyptian goldsmiths from very early times. The gold, as we are expressly informed in Ex 39^{3}, was beaten out into thin sheets, which were cut up into narrow strips. These strips or wires, as we may call them, were formed into elaborate gold filigree by means of a most delicate process of soldering (see Blümner, *Technologie*, etc., *der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechern u. Römern*, iv. 250 f., 316 f.), and used as a setting to the jewels, the open nature of the work facilitating the attachment of the whole, presumably by the use of gold thread, to the fabric of the ephod. The same method of attachment by means of a setting of gold filigree (Ex 39^{13}, RV 'enclosed in ouches of gold in their settings') was adopted for the twelve jewels of the breastplate.*

The statement of Josephus that the jewels on the shoulder-straps of the ephod (termed by him 'sardonyx stones') served as *agraffes* or clasps to fasten the two ends of the straps (*πορποῦσι δὲ τὴν ἐπωμίδα σαρδόνυχες δύο . . . πρὸς τὸ ταῖς περονίσιν ἐπιτήδειον, κ.τ.λ.*, *Ant.* III. vii. 5 [Niese, § 165]), like several other statements of his in this paragraph, conflicts with P's description of the ephod, and of the purpose of these jewels 'as a memorial before J".'

2. In the description of the high priest's BREASTPLATE (vol. i. p. 319^{b}) it was pointed out that the gold chains, by which the breastplate was held in position, 'were passed over, or through, or otherwise attached to a couple of gold ornaments (AV 'ouches,' Ex $28^{13.14.25}$ $39^{16.18}$) which had previously been fixed to the shoulder-pieces of the ephod in front.' These 'ouches' (Heb. as before, *mishbĕẓôth*) were also of open filigree work, and, if we can trust the Greek translators, had the shape of rosettes (*ἀσπιδίσκαι*), one of the commonest 'motives' in ancient art, including architecture and embroidery. For these rosettes or 'daisy† pattern' see Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, vol. i. 260 ff. [note jewelled bracelet, fig. 133, p. 305], and vol. ii. 332 ff., noting figs. 244, 250. It is not improbable that the same pattern was followed in the setting of the jewels above described (under **1**).‡

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

OUGHT.—**1.** 'Aught' and 'ought' are different forms of the same word. Aught is from *a* (=ever) and *wiht* (=thing, whit) as ought is from *o* (=ever) and *wiht*. So the meaning is 'any thing whatever.' The early forms were numerous. AV has only the form 'ought,' which RV everywhere changes into 'aught,' the modern form. See NAUGHT.

2. In AV 1611 'ought' is found as the past tense of 'owe' in Mt $18^{24.28}$, Lk 7^{41}. This was originally its use, but in time it was regarded as distinct from 'owe,' from which another past tense, 'owed,' was formed, and looked upon as a present with another meaning. Cf. Spenser, *FQ* III. i. 44—

> 'Now were they liegmen to this Ladie free,
> And her knight's service ought, to hold of her in fee.'

J. HASTINGS.

OUTLANDISH.—Neh 13^{26} 'Even him did outlandish women cause to sin' (הַנָּשִׁים הַנָּכְרִיּוֹת, LXX *αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ἀλλότριαι*). The Heb. word is usually tr. 'stranger' (*i.e.* 'foreigner') in AV, and RV gives 'strange women' here. 'Outlandish' (from Anglo-Sax. *utlendisc*, an adj. fr. *utland*, foreign countries) is Coverdale's word. Cf. Milton, *Hist. Eng.* v. 'He had taken with him Alfrid his youngest son to be there inaugurated King, and brought home with him an out landish Wife; for which they endeavoured to deprive him of his Kingdom'; and Bunyan, *PP* p. 84 (Clar. Press ed.), 'The Pilgrims were cloathed with such kind of raiment as was diverse from the raiment of any that traded in that fair. The people therefore of the fair made a great gazing upon them. Some said they were Fools, some they were Bedlams, and some they are Outlandish-men.' J. HASTINGS.

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* Acc. to a very plausible textual emendation, Ps 45^{13b} (Heb. 14b) should read: פְּנִינִים מִשְׁבְּצוֹת לְבוּשָׁהּ (so Krochmal, Graetz, Cheyne, Wellh.) 'of pearls (set) in gold filigree (Cheyne, 'in ouches of gold') is her raiment.'

† 'A silver shield with boss of gold' (Wordsworth).

‡ The *ἀσπιδίσκαι* of 1 Mac 4^{57} are best taken in the same technical sense, as ornamental 'rosettes' or 'bosses,' rather than literally as 'small shields.'

OUTRAGE.—An outrage is that which goes beyond bounds (being formed by adding the common suffix *age* to *outre*, Old Fr. *oltre*, from Lat. *ultra*, beyond). It occurs in the heading to Ps 10, 'David complaineth to God of the outrage of the wicked.' The adj. **outrageous** is found in Pr 27^{4} 'anger is outrageous' (lit. as RVm 'anger is a flood'; Amer. RV 'overwhelming'). For the prim. sense of the adj. cf. Guylforde, *Pylgrymage*, p. 36, 'There be iiii. rowes or range of pylers thrughout ye church, of ye fynest marble yt may be, not onely mervaylous for ye nombre, but for ye outragyous gretnes, length, and fayrenes thereof.' J. HASTINGS.

OUTROAD is now lost to the Eng. language, though 'inroad' remains. It was never common, and occurs in AV only at 1 Mac 15^{41} 'He set horsemen there, and an host of footmen, to the end that issuing out they might make outroads upon the ways of Judah' (ἐξοδεύωσι). RV retains the word here, and even introduces it into 1 Es 4^{23} 'A man taketh his sword and goeth forth to make outroads' (ἐξοδεύειν; AV omits to translate). The same Gr. verb occurs in 2 Mac 12^{19}, but AV gives 'went forth,' RV 'sallied forth.' J. HASTINGS.

OVEN (תַּנּוּר *tannûr*, κλίβανος).—The Arab. name is the same as the Heb., and the use of the *tannûr* to-day indicates, no doubt, the kind of oven in use formerly. It is commonly made by sinking a hole in the ground, 3 or 3½ ft. deep, and 2½ to 3 ft. in diameter, somewhat in the form of a large jar; the walls are plastered with cement that will resist the action of fire, which is kindled in the oven when it is to be heated for use. The fuel is grass, thorns, or dry twigs (Mt 6^{30}), which heat the oven rapidly, and of course blacken it with smoke and soot. This explains the allusion in La 5^{10}. The inner surface is wiped when it becomes sufficiently heated, and the dough is moulded into broad thin loaves, hardly thicker than parchment, and placed, one at a time, on the wall of the oven by means of a large cushion, with a convex surface to fit the concave inner surface of the oven. The baking process is over in a few seconds. See BREAD, FURNACE. This form of oven is sometimes built above ground, and in Arabia sometimes on a movable base (Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Ar.* pp. 45, 46). These ovens are usually outside the house, as the smoke would fill the dwelling if within. Often the same oven serves for several families (Lv 26^{26}). This kind of oven is doubtless referred to in Ex 8^{3}, though the Egyptians had various kinds.

Large ovens, 6 to 8 ft. square, are used in bakeries at the present day, of brick or stone, raised 2 or 3 ft. from the ground, with an arched roof and chimney, to allow the escape of the smoke. The bottom is paved, and the fire burns at one side while the bread is being baked on the other. The loaves are introduced on a narrow wooden shovel, which will take several at a time, and by which they are turned and removed when baked. A kind of portable oven, called in Arabic *sâj*, is much used by the nomads of Syria. It consists merely of a circular piece of sheet-iron, hemispherical in form, and is used by raising it on stones, concave side down, the fire being kindled under it, and the thin loaf placed on the convex surface.

The oven is figuratively employed in Scripture to indicate fierce heat and quick destruction, the materials used in heating it being soon consumed (cf. Ps 21^{9}, Hos 7^{7}, Mal 4^{1}). H. PORTER.

OVERSEER.—See MELZAR, STEWARD. Once in AV (Ac 20^{28}) ἐπίσκοποι is translated 'overseers.' It is the tr. of Tindale, who was followed by Cranmer (Great Bible), Geneva, and even the Bishops. RV has returned to Wyclif's and the Rhemish 'bishops.' See BISHOP.

OWL.—Five Heb. words are translated 'owl' in AV. **1.** בַּת הַיַּעֲנָה *bath-hayya'ănāh*, RV 'ostrich' (see NIGHT HAWK, OSTRICH).

2. יַנְשׁוּף *yanshûph* (Lv 11^{17}, Dt 14^{16}), 'great owl'; יַנְשׁוֹף *yanshôph* (Is 34^{11}), 'owl,' RVm 'bittern.' In all the LXX gives εἶβις and Vulg. *ibis*. The passage in Isaiah gives a considerable list of creatures, some fabulous, others uncertain, but all supposed to suggest desolation and ruin. *Yanshôph* is one of these. It is a strong objection to the *ibis* that it is a swamp bird, hardly to be thought of in connexion with an accursed and forsaken ruin. Yet the same is true of the *bittern*, the *cormorant*, and the *pelican* (RV text and AV margin) in the same passage. We may therefore accept *ibis*, in spite of this difficulty, or tr. the word 'twilight bird,' in allusion to its etymology,* leaving the question of species unsettled. This tr^{n} would emphasize the desolation and evil omen, which it is the object of the writer to portray.

3. כּוֹס *kôṣ*. Here again we have a word occurring only in the lists of unclean birds (Lv 11^{17}, Dt 14^{16}, AV and RV 'little owl'), and in one other reference (Ps 102^{6} AV and RV 'owl'), where the psalmist compares himself to 'an owl of the desert' (RV 'waste places'). The owl is called by the Arabs *umm al-kharâb*, *i.e.* 'mother of ruins,' from the fact that it frequents such places. The LXX νυκτικόραξ (Lv 11^{17}, Ps 102^{6}) confirms the tr^{n} 'owl,' which is to be taken generically. Among the owls of Pal. and Syria are *Asio Otus*, L., the long-eared owl; *A. brachyotus*, J. R. Forster, the short-eared owl; and *Bubo ascalaphus*, Sav., the Egyptian eagle owl. LXX tr. *kôṣ* in Dt 14^{16} by ἐρωδιόν, Vulg. *herodium*.

4. קִפּוֹז *ḳippôz*. This word occurs but once (Is 34^{15}). The LXX ἐχῖνος implies the reading קִפּוֹד *ḳippôdh*, which AV tr. 'bittern,' RV 'porcupine' (see BITTERN). As the bittern or porcupine has already been mentioned in the list of creatures in the ruins of Edom (v.^{11}) we must reject this. Nor can we accept the RV rendering **arrowsnake** (adopted by Ges., Dillm., Siegfried-Stade, Cheyne, etc., following Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 199), a kind of snake that leaps from trees on passers-by (Gr. ἀκοντίας), from Arab. *ḳafazd*, 'to leap.' The description is clearly that of a bird. No snake lays, incubates, 'hatches, and gathers its young under its shadow.' The fact that some owls specially frequent ruins makes it probable that, though there is no positive authority in its favour, some species of owl is intended. *Scops giu*, Scop., and *Athene glaux*, Sav., are dwellers in caves, ruins, and desolate places, and would suit the context.

5. לִילִית *lîlîth*, is also found in but one passage (Is 34^{14}). AV tr. it 'screech owl,' m. 'night monster'; RV 'night monster,' m. 'Lilith.' The etymology points to a nocturnal creature. It is probably fabulous. The unearthly hootings and boomings of the nocturnal birds about ruins and in lonely wastes would easily suggest to the imaginative Oriental mind such spectres. The LXX ὀνοκένταυρος refers to some unknown ape, or an apparition. The *lamia* of the Vulg. is a hag or witch who does harm to children. See, further, art. LILITH. The *ghûl* of the Arabs is a fabulous spectre, which haunts graveyards, and lives on human flesh (see NIGHT MONSTER).

It will be seen from the above analysis that three out of the five words tr^{d} 'owl' in AV probably do not refer to owls. The other two are generic. The Arab. *bûm* expresses, as a tone word, the cry of some of the owls. The Arabs are superstitious in regard to all the species, and look upon them as emblems of evil. G. E. POST.

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* From נֶשֶׁף 'twilight' (so Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 281 ff.) Others derive from נָשַׁף 'wheeze.'

OX (Ὤξ).—An ancestor of Judith, Jth 8^{1}.

OX (שׁוֹר *shôr*).—The unit of the bovine species (בָּקָר *bāḳār*, as *horse, ass, sheep*) without reference to age or sex. It includes *bull, bullock, cow, heifer*, and *calf*. Nevertheless, each of these has a special name, as seen below. *Shôr* is sometimes tr$^{\text{d}}$ 'ox,' and sometimes 'bull' or 'bullock.' The Aramaic form תּוֹר *tôr* corresponds exactly with the Arab. *thaur*, Gr. *ταύρος*, and Lat. *taurus*. In those languages, however, it refers esp. to the *bull*. Sometimes, for emphasis, *shôr* is coupled with אֶחָד *'eḥād*, meaning then a single ox (Nu 15^{11}, Neh 5^{18}). Rarely it is used collectively (Gn 32^{5}, 1 S 22^{19} 'oxen,' Dt 15^{19} 'bullock,' Jg 6^{25} פַּר־הַשּׁוֹר *par-hash-shôr*, lit. 'bull of the ox,' AV 'young bullock,' RV 'bullock'). *Shôr* is also used metaphorically בְּכוֹר שׁוֹרוֹ 'the firstling of his bullock' (Dt 33^{17}), to indicate the favoured position of Joseph. עִקְּרוּ שׁוֹר AV 'digged down a wall' (Gn 49^{6}), is more correctly tr$^{\text{d}}$ RV 'houghed an ox.' Another Heb. term for 'oxen' is אֲלָפִים [only in plur.]. Its only occurrences are Pr 14^{4}, Is 30^{24} (where oxen are spoken of as used in tillage), Ps 8^{7} (oxen subject to man), Dt 7^{13} $28^{4.\,18.\,51}$ (their increase [שֶׁגֶר] a blessing).

Bull, bullock, cow, kine.—**1.** פַּר *par* (fem. פָּרָה *pārāh*, the female of the bovine species). When intended to refer to a young bull there is often added בֶּן־בָּקָר (Ex 29^{1} etc.); once in construct state with *shôr*, פַּר־הַשּׁוֹר='bullock of the ox' (Jg 6^{25}); once in apposition, שׁוֹר פָּר='ox-bullock,' *i.e.* 'bullock of the oxen' (Ps 69^{31}). *Par* and *pārāh* are usually employed to designate bulls or heifers for sacrifice. They are, however, occasionally used otherwise (Ps 22^{12} etc.).

2. אַבִּיר *'abbîr*. A metaphorical term, derived from the idea of his strength and valour (Ps 22^{12} 50^{13}, Is 34^{7}). In the same metaphorical sense it is used to designate the *horse* (Jer 8^{16} 47^{3}, AV 'strong *horses*,' RV 'strong ones' 50^{11}, AV 'bulls,' m. 'steeds,' RV 'strong horses').

3. תְּאוֹ *tě'ô* (Dt 14^{5}), AV 'wild ox,' RV 'antelope'; תּוֹא *tô* (Is 51^{20}), AV 'wild bull,' RV 'antelope.' In the absence of any certainty as to the species it is better to adopt *oryx*, after the LXX (Dt 14^{5} ὄρυξ. In Is 51^{20} LXX has ὡς σευτλίον ἡμίεφθον, 'like a half-cooked *beetroot*') and Vulg., and to suppose that the wild animal here intended is *Oryx beatrix*, formerly confounded with *Antilope leucoryx*, Pall. It is found on the borders of the Syrian desert. The horns are sold in Damascus and Jerusalem; they are over 3 ft. long. The creature is between 3½ and 4 ft. high. Its lower parts and a portion of the face are sandy white, and the rest of the face, back, and flanks tawny.

Calf, heifer.—עֵגֶל *'ēgel*, is the young of the bovine species, irrespective of sex. With the feminine suffix, עֶגְלָה *'eglāh*, either 'a single calf,' irrespective of sex (Dt 21^{3}), or 'a young cow' (Is 7^{21}). Heifer is the tr$^{\text{n}}$ once of פָּרָה *pārāh* (Nu 19^{2}), usually of *'eglāh* (Dt 21^{3}, Jg 14^{18} etc.). See HEIFER.

There is no evidence that the buffalo, *Bos bubalus*, L., was known in Bible times. It is now common in the marshy districts, where it can wallow in the mud, but always as a domestic, not a wild animal. It is common in the Ḥûleh region, in the plain of Esdraelon, the Jordan Valley, and about Ḥems and Ḥama.

The Scripture allusions to oxen and their congeners are too numerous to be cited. They were used for ploughing (1 K 19^{19}), for draught, yoked in one or more pairs (Nu 7^{3}), as beasts of burden (1 Ch 12^{40} etc.), for treading out the corn (Dt 25^{4} etc.), for food (Dt 14^{4}), sacrifices (Gn 15^{9} etc.), dairy purposes (Dt 32^{14}, Is 7^{22}, 2 S 17^{29}). Herds were investments of wealth (Job 1^{3} 42^{12}). The pasture grounds of Palestine and Syria were extensive. Oxen were also kept and fattened in stalls (1 K 4^{23}, Pr 15^{17}, Lk 13^{15}). In the winter they were fed on stubble and straw, *tibn* (Is 11^{7}) and 'clean (AVm 'leavened,' RV 'savoury') provender' (30^{24}). The Mosaic law provided for their protection (Ex 22^{12}, Dt 25^{4}). The ox is found only where water is abundant and there is green pasture in springtime. Most of the cattle of the Holy Land at present are of inferior breeds. Probably this is but a part of the degeneracy of the country. The best races of animals would thrive there, and even now one sometimes sees fine specimens of horned cattle. See CATTLE.

G. E. POST.

OX-GOAD.—See GOAD, and AGRICULTURE in vol. i. p. 49^{b} where an ox-goad is figured.

OZEM (אֹצֶם).—**1.** An elder brother of David, 1 Ch 2^{15} (Ἄσομ). The vocalization of MT is of doubtful correctness. Kittel thinks אָצֹם (cf. LXX) more probable than אֹצֶם. Cf. the parallel case of *Oren* (wh. see) and *Aran*. **2.** A son of Jerahmeel, 1 Ch 2^{25} (B Ἀσάν, A Ἀσόμ).

OZIAS (Ὀζείας).—**1.** 1 Es 8^{2} (B Ὀζείας, A Ἐζίας), 2 Es 1^{2} (*Ozias*), one of the ancestors of Ezra (cf. Ezr 7^{4}). **2.** 1 Es 5^{31}, head of a family of temple servants which returned with Zerubbabel, called UZZA, Ezr 2^{49}, Neh 7^{51}. **3.** The son of Micah, of the tribe of Simeon, one of the rulers of Bethulia in the history of Judith (Jth 6^{15} 7^{23} $8^{10.\,28.\,35}$ 10^{6}).

OZIEL (Ὀζειήλ).—An ancestor of Judith, Jth 8^{1}. The name occurs frequently in OT under the form **Uzziel** (עֻזִּיאֵל).

OZNI (אָזְנִי).—A son of Gad, Nu 26^{16}, called in Gn 46^{16} **Ezbon** (אֶצְבֹּן). In the passage in Nu the same word הָאָזְנִי is used also as a patronymic=the **Oznites**.

P

PAARAI.—In MT of 2 S 23^{35} פַּעֲרַי הָאַרְבִּי 'Paarai the Arbite' appears as one of David's thirty heroes. The parallel passage, 1 Ch 11^{37}, has נַעֲרַי בֶּן־אֶזְבָּי '**Naarai** the son of Ezbai' (B Ναaραὶ υἱὸς Ἀζωβαί, A Νοορὰ υἱὸς Ἀζβί; cf. the reading of some twenty MSS of LXX in 2 S, τοῦ Οὐραὶ (Οὐρὲ) υἱὸς τοῦ Ἀσβί). It is impossible to decide with any confidence between the names *Naarai* and *Paarai*, or the readings 'son of Ezbai' and 'the Arbite' (cf. the name *Arab* in Jos 15^{52}) or 'the Archite' (cf. Jos 16^{2}, 1 S 16^{32} *al.*). This last reading is favoured by Klostermann, and seems to be pointed to by the corrupt reading of B, Οὐραιοερχεί, in 2 S 23^{35} (cf. Driver, *ad loc.*), as well as by that of A, Φαραεὶ ὁ Ἀραχειείς. See, further, ARBITE, EZBAI, NAARAI, and cf. Kittel's note on 1 Ch 11^{37} in *SBOT*.

J. A. SELBIE.

PADDAN, *i.e.* Paddan-aram, is found in Gn 48^{7} only. Perhaps ארם has fallen out of the Heb. text; it is present in the Sam., as well as in the LXX (Μεσοποταμία τῆς Συρίας).

PADDAN-ARAM (פַּדַּן־אֲרָם, Μεσοποταμία Συρίας).—See Aram, in vol. i. p. 138^{b}. *Padanu* is used in Bab. contracts of the age of Abraham as a measure of land. It is the modern Arabic *feddân*, 'acre.'

A. H. Sayce.

PADDLE (יָתֵד; πάσσαλος; *paxillus*) occurs only in Dt 23^{13} AV and RV, but RVm 'shovel' (which is Coverdale's word). The Heb. word is elsewhere used of a tent-pin (Ex 27^{19}, Jg 4^{21} *et al.*), and of a peg for hanging on (Ezr 9^{8}, Is $22^{23.24}$, Ezk 15^{3}), always of wood, so that the translation 'nail' should be avoided. Once also it signifies the batten or pin with which the woof is beaten up into the web (Jg 16^{14}; see Weaving). In Dt 23^{13} it is used of a wooden tool for digging, a spade. In earlier English a small spade used for cleaning the plough-share was called a 'paddle,' which explains the choice of this word in the Geneva Bible, whence it reached AV and RV.

J. Hastings.

PADON (פָּדוֹן, Φαδών).—The name of a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^{44} = Neh 7^{47}; called in 1 Es 5^{29} **Phaleas** (Φαλαίας).

PAGIEL (פַּגְעִיאֵל).—Son of Ochran, mentioned by P as chief of the tribe of Asher at the time of the Exodus, Nu 1^{13} 2^{27} (Φαγαιήλ), 7^{72} (B Φαγεήλ, A Φαγαιήλ), ^{77} (B Φαγεήλ, A Φαγαί), 10^{26} (Φαγαιήλ). The Heb. name is probably of late origin and of artificial character (see Gray, *HPN* 200 f., 210).

PAHATH-MOAB (פַּחַת־מוֹאָב 'governor of Moab'; A Φααθμωάβ, B Φααθμ., Φααβμ., Φααδμ., Φαλαβμ., Φθαλειμ., Μααθμ.; *Phahath-moab*, and in 1 Es 8^{34} *ductoris Moab*(*ilionis*) [the *-ilionis* represents the Greek word after *Moab*]).—In the list of those who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel there are included 'Bĕnê Pahath-moab of the Bĕnê Jeshua (and) Joab 2812,' Ezr 2^{6}, 1 Es 5^{11}, '2818' Neh 7^{11}; in the list of those who returned with Ezra, 'Of the Bĕnê Pahath-moab, Eliehoenai ben Zerahiah and 200 males,' Ezr 8^{4}, 1 Es 8^{31}; in the list of the husbands of foreign wives are named eight of the Bĕnê Pahath-moab, Ezr 10^{30}; in the list of the repairers of the wall of Jerusalem is named Hasshub ben-Pahath-moab (Neh 3^{11}); and amongst those who signed the covenant, 'the chiefs of the people . . . Pahath-moab,' Neh 10^{14}. Here we must understand the chief of the clan Pahath-moab, this being a Jewish clan, part of which remained in Babylon, while part returned with Zerubbabel and part with Ezra. The language of Ezr 2^{6} etc. shows that at the Return this clan consisted of two branches, *Jeshua* and *Joab*. In Ezr 8^{9} the *Bĕnê Joab* are enumerated as a separate clan, which furnished Ezra with Obadiah and 218 males.

Pahath-moab, as the name of a Jewish clan, is an enigma of which we have no satisfactory solution. It is commonly explained as 'governor of Moab.' The first part of the compound name would thus be connected with the Assyrian *peḥah*, which occurs so frequently in the Inscriptions. Pahath-moab may be a reminiscence of the Israelite dominion in Moab, and may have some connexion with 'the dominion in Moab' of the Judahite Bĕnê Shelah mentioned in 1 Ch 4^{22}. Or 'Pahath' may have replaced syllables of similar sound but different meaning, a familiar phenomenon in the history of proper names, *e.g.* 'Cat and Wheel' for 'Catherine Wheel.' In this case the clan Pahath-moab may have been connected with some Israelite settlement in Moab, or even with a settlement of Moabite refugees in Judah. Or, again, 'pahath' may be the word for 'pit'; or the whole word Pahath-moab may be a corruption of some name which had no connexion in meaning with either *peḥah* or Moab. A process of corruption antecedent to MT would be paralleled by Vulg. *Phæmo* in 1 Es 5^{11}, which no doubt goes back to the Pahath-moab of MT. Cf. Meyer, *Entstehung des Judenthums*, pp. 146, 157.

W. H. Bennett.

PAI (פָּעִי).—The capital city of Hadad (1 Ch) or Hadar (Gn), a king of Edom, 1 Ch 1^{50}. In the parallel passage, Gn 36^{39}, the name occurs in the form **Pau** (פָּעוּ). The LXX has in both passages Φογώρ (= פעור; cf. Φαγώρ in Jos 15^{59a}), and Ball thinks פעור 'is probably right,' while Kittel pronounces it 'perhaps the more original.' The site of the place referred to has not been identified, although there is some plausibility in the comparison Seetzen (*Reisen*, iii. 18) suggests with the ruins of *Phau'ara* in Edom (cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiv. 995; but see, against this identification, Buhl, *Edomiter*, p. 38 Anm. 3). Hommel (*AHT* 264) suggests reading *Pa'îsh*.

J. A. Selbie.

PAINFUL, PAINFULNESS.—'Painful' was formerly used as we now use 'painstaking,' *i.e.* careful, industrious, laborious. We find three examples in AV, Ps 73^{16} 'When I thought to know this, it was too painful for me' (בְעֵינָי [*Ḳerê* הוּא] עָמָל היא, *i.e.* as AVm and RVm 'it was labour in mine eyes'), 2 Es 7^{12}, 2 Mac 2^{26}. So Elyot, *The Governour*, ii. 275, 'Suppose ye that the same Anniball . . . coulde haue wonne from the Romagnes all Spayne . . . if he had not ben a man paynefull and of labour incomparable?'; Livingstone in *Select Biog*. i. 316, 'Mr. David Dickson—a man singularly gifted with an edifying way of preaching, and whose painfull labours were eminently blessed with successe.'

'Painfulness' also was used in the sense of carefulness, industry, but in its only occurrence in AV the meaning is 'toilsomeness,' 2 Co 11^{27}, Gr. μόχθος, which is elsewhere (1 Th 2^{9}, 2 Th 3^{8}) rendered 'travail,' and that is accordingly the rendering of RV here also. Cf. Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* I. vii. 7, 'The search of knowledge is a thing painful, and the painfulness of knowledge is that which maketh the will so hardly inclinable thereto.'

J. Hastings.

PAINT.—Mention is made Jer 22^{14} of the painting (מָשַׁח *mashaḥ*) of interiors with vermilion, probably after the manner of lacquer-work, which in a somewhat debased form is still practised in Damascus. The shields of the warriors of Nineveh were painted red, Nah 2^{3}. The variegation by colour was, however, chiefly by dyes in cloth, and by inlaying in wood, stone, and metal.

The application of paint was especially an art practised by the ancient Egyptians, some of whose pigments were exceedingly beautiful, and have retained their freshness through the centuries.

The other biblical references are to the painting of the eyes, 2 K 9^{30}, Jer 4^{30}, Ezk 23^{40}. The substance used for this purpose is antimony (פּוּךְ *pûkh*, Arab. *kuḥl*), and the act of applying it is כָּחַל (*kaḥal*). It is pounded to a powder of extreme fineness, so that 'as soft as *kuḥl*' has passed into a proverbial expression. The eyelids are held between two fingers and drawn forward a little, and then a fine rod covered with the black paste is drawn along between the edges of the eyelids. The powder does not irritate the delicate coating of the eye with which it comes in contact, but there is a collection of the powder under the eyelid so as to produce actual distension. The effect is one of apparent enlargement of the eyes, and this is further enhanced by a line of stain prolonging the eyelashes. While the result is universally acknowledged in the East to be ornamental, the motive is too obviously ostentatious to meet with approval among the more cultivated classes. Among the Bedawin of the desert men as well as women apply *kuḥl* to the eyes. According to popular belief, it strengthens the eyes and protects against ophthalmia. See EYE-PAINT.

G. M. MACKIE.

PALACE is used to tr. the following words:—**1.** אַרְמוֹן *'armôn*, Am 4^{3} הַרְמוֹן [very dub.]; *βάρις, βασίλειον, θεμέλιον*, etc.; *palatium, domus*, etc.; properly 'citadel,' probably connected with the root רום 'to be high'; chiefly used in Pss and Prophets, especially Amos. **2.** הֵיכָל *hêkhāl, βασίλειον, οἶκος*, etc., *palatium*, etc., supposed to be derived, through the Assyr. *ekallu*, from the Akkadian *e-gal*, 'great house.' The same word is used more frequently in the sense of 'temple' as the house of J". **3.** בִּירָה *bîrāh, πόλις, βάρις, οἶκος*, etc., *civitas, castrum*, etc., properly 'castle'; only in late post-exilic literature, Ch, Ezr, Neh, Est, Dn; in 1 Ch 29$^{1.\,19}$ of the temple at Jerusalem. **4.** אַפֶּדֶן *'appedhen*, not tr. in LXX and Vulg.; only in Dn 11^{45}=Old Pers. *apadâna*, 'treasury,'* 'armoury.' **5.** בַּיִת *bayith*, בִּיתָן *bîthān*, 'house.' **6.** טִירָה *ṭîrāh*, only in Ezk 25^{4}, *σκήνωμα, tentorium*, RV 'encampment,' and Ca 8^{9} *ἔπαλξις, propugnaculum*, RV 'turret,' RVm 'battlements.' **7.** *αὐλή, atrium*, 'court.' **8.** *πραιτώριον, prætorium*, the 'prætor's court.' Of these, **3** and **6** are incorrectly translated 'palace.' The other words used remind us that a 'palace' differs from other buildings only by the size and complexity necessitated by the private life and public functions of a ruler. Primarily, it is simply a large house (**2, 5**); so the Egyptian royal title *Pharaoh* or *Palace* (cf. *Sublime Porte*) means 'great house'; and the ordinary OT term for 'palace,' in its strict sense of 'royal residence,' is 'the king's house,' or 'his house,' 1 K 7^{1} 9^{10}. *'Armôn* indicates that in troubled times a palace was a fortress; (*'appedhen* and) *prætorium* that, in early times, a palace included government offices, law courts, and prisons, Jer 32^{2}. See, further, PRÆTORIUM.

The only royal residence of which we have any details in the Bible is Solomon's palace, 1 K 7$^{1\text{-}12}$, which took thirteen years to build. This included the 'House of the Forest of Lebanon,' a great hall, 100 cubits long, 50 broad, 30 high, with four rows of pillars; a 'porch of pillars,' 50 cubits by 30; the 'porch of the throne' for a court of justice; a dwelling-house for himself, and another for Pharaoh's daughter. Round about the whole was a great court of hewn stones and cedar beams. The description was probably written while the buildings were still standing; but it is very obscure, and the text has suffered in transmission. Moreover, the account is obviously incomplete; the writer does not profess to mention all the apartments in the palace, and only gives the dimensions of the 'House of the Forest of Lebanon' and the 'Porch of Pillars.' With these meagre data, the various reproductions of the ground-plan are little more than guesses which help us to imagine the possible arrangement of the rooms and courts of an Israelite palace. Cf. HOUSE; see for Solomon's Palace, the Commentaries on 1 K, the Histories of Isr. on Solomon, and the Archæologies on 'Palace,' especially Benzinger, *Arch.* 233–243.

In Egypt the palace was not only the royal residence, but also the seat of government. The royal apartments were in an inner, the halls of audience in an outer court. If we include all the buildings required for courtiers and officials, the 'palace' becomes not a house, but a royal city. A characteristic feature was a balcony on which the king would show himself to his people. See Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 69 f., 182 f.; Maspero, *Dawn*, etc. 275 f.

The Assyrian and Babylonian palaces were large and magnificent. In Babylonia the palaces, like the temples, were built on the top of artificial mounds of crude bricks; and were groups of buildings forming a great fortress. For account, plans, etc., of Gudea's palace at Lagash, see Maspero, *Dawn*, etc. 709 f.; Hommel, *Gesch. Bab. u. Assyr.* 201. In Assyria a typical palace is that of Sargon II. at Dursarrakin, a huge walled square, with numerous buildings and inner courts, including a *ziggurat* and other temples. Special features of the Assyr. palaces were the sculptures on the walls, and the winged human-headed bulls (specimens in Brit. Mus.). See Maspero, *Hist. Anc. Egyp.-Assyr.* ch. xi.; Hommel, *op. cit.* 682 ff. (both illustrated).

W. H. BENNETT.

PALAL (פָּלָל 'judge'), the son of Uzai, took part in the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah (Neh 3^{25}; B Φαλάλ, A Φαλάξ).

PALANQUIN.—Ca 3^{9} RV 'King Solomon made himself a palanquin of the wood of Lebanon' (RVm 'car of state,' AV 'chariot,' AVm 'bed'). The Heb. word, אַפִּרְיוֹן, occurs only in this place, and is of unknown origin; for possible affinity cf. Sanscrit *paryañka* and Gr. *φορεῖον* (the LXX rendering): if it is a form of either of those words it becomes an element in determining the date of Canticles, for which see Driver, *LOT*^{6} 449, 450.

PALE.—Besides Is 29^{22}, where the verb חָוַר in its single occurrence is translated 'wax pale'* (cf. חוּר 'white stuff,' *i.e.* cotton or linen, in Est 8^{15}; חוֹרָי with the same meaning, Is 19^{9}; and חֹרִי 'white bread,' Gn 40^{16}), the adj. 'pale' is used in AV only in Rev 6^{8} to describe the horse whose rider was Death (see REVELATION [BOOK]). The Gr. is *χλωρός*, which elsewhere in NT only describes grass, and is translated 'green' (Mk 6^{39}, Rev 8^{7} 9^{4}), but is common in classical writers for the paleness or lividness of the countenance. In this sense the Eng. subst. 'paleness' occurs in Jer 30^{6} 'all faces are turned into paleness,' Heb. יֵרָקוֹן, which elsewhere (Dt 28^{22}, 1 K 8^{37}, 2 Ch 6^{28}, Am 4^{9}, Hag 2^{17}) is used of 'mildew,' and which means, says Driver (Am 4^{9}), 'pale and unhealthy *greenness*.'

The 'pales' of Sir 22^{18} 'Pales set on an high place will never stand against the wind,' are stakes, palings, used for ornament or enclosure, as in Shaks. *Com. of Err.* II. i. 100—

> 'Too unruly deer, he breaks the pale,
> And feeds from home.'

The Gr. is *χάρακες* after B (confirmed, acc. to Edersheim, by Syr.), but AC give *χάλικες*, 'pebbles.'

J. HASTINGS.

PALESTINA, PALESTINE.—AV in Ex 15^{14}, Is 14$^{29.\,31}$, Jl 4^{4} (3^{4}), where RV has 'Philistia.' See PHILISTINES, and next article.

PALESTINE (פְּלֶשֶׁת; Ex 15^{14} *Φυλιστιείμ*, Is 14$^{29.\,31}$, Jl 3 [Heb. 4]^{4} *οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι*).—

i. Geology.
ii. Natural Features.
iii. Climate and Natural Products.
iv. Races.
v. Geography.
vi. Antiquities.

The word as used in the OT is more correctly rendered **Philistia** (so AV of Ps 60^{8} 87^{4} 108^{9}, and RV uniformly), which is mentioned (see *COT* i. 86) with Canaan, Edom, and Moab, and as a coast region attacked by the Assyrians in the 8th cent. B.C. From an early Christian period it has, however, been used to mean the Holy Land, from Dan to Beersheba and beyond Jordan. West of the river it extends 143 miles north and south, with an average breadth of 40, and an area of 6000 square miles. Eastern Palestine runs to the Syrian desert, and includes 4000 square miles. Western Palestine is thus about the size of Wales, and the central mountains are about the same height above the sea as in Wales. The country thus possesses a less trying climate than that of the regions to the south and east (Egypt and Mesopotamia), and in character and products resembles the hilly parts of Southern Italy.

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* So Schultze (explaining it as ‖ Gr. *ἀπο-θή-κη*), but Darmesteter (*Ét. Iran.* ii. 1. 133) as 'bâtiment élevé sur une hauteur.' In Syr. it certainly='palace,' cf. Sir 50^{7} (Syr.), where it is used of the Temple.

* RV has 'wax pale' also in Jl 2^{6} Nah 2^{10} for AV 'gather blackness.'

i. GEOLOGY.—The underlying formation is the Nubian sandstone (of the Greensand period), but this never appears west of Jordan. In the north it is found on the west slopes of Hermon and Lebanon, and east of Jordan it appears at a considerable elevation on the slopes of Moab and Gilead. Above the sandstone are limestones belonging to the Chalk period, and conformable with the lower strata. There are two main formations, the lower being a hard dolomitic limestone, often metamorphic, the upper a soft chalky stone with bands of chert, and containing ammonites, belemnites, and many genera of shells of the Cretaceous period. Where the hard limestone occurs the country is very rugged, with precipices, and with springs and streams on the surface; but in districts where the softer formation prevails, the features (like those of the upper chalk in England) are more rounded, and the water sinks in, being only attainable in deep wells, or in places where the lower strata are laid bare. Highest of all, on the summits of Gerizim and Carmel, a nummulitic limestone is occasionally found.

The present formation of the country is due to convulsions, which took place in the early Tertiary period. An immense fault was formed from Hermon southwards, rending the strata and forming the depression of the Jordan Valley and Dead Sea. The western strata fall with a steep dip to the valley, while the eastern are less contorted, the sandstone cliffs having been sheared in two, north and south. There are subsidiary parallel faults west of the valley, where the upper strata have fallen over into the great chasm. The fault continues south of the Dead Sea, but is less considerable, and a watershed 600 ft. above the Mediterranean here dammed up the waters of the Jordan Valley, forming a lake 1300 ft. deep, the surface of which is now 1292 ft. below the Mediterranean. This convulsion was accompanied by volcanic outbreaks in the north, covering the plains of Bashan and of Lower Galilee with floods of basaltic lava. Minor outbreaks of the same are traceable also on the west slopes of Carmel.

West of the main ridge of Western Palestine, cretaceous sandstones were deposited, forming foot hills, which, though dipping westwards, are unconformable with the older strata of the central ridge. Beyond these an alluvial plain was formed, and is now banked in by sandy rocks and sand dunes. In the Jordan Valley a great salt lake at first occupied the whole length of the chasm. Ancient sea-beaches are visible, especially at the *Meidân el-'Abd*, north of Jericho. The shells generally are lacustrine and not marine. The drying up of these waters has now left only the smaller sheets of the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea; but south of the former the bed of the valley is still strongly impregnated with salt, and salt springs occur on the slopes to the west in Samaria. The volcanic activity of this region is still not quite exhausted. Earthquakes such as are mentioned in earlier times (1 K 19^{11}, Am 1^{1}, Mt 27^{54}) still occur, like that which destroyed the towns of the north in the twelfth century A.D., and ruined Sâfed in Galilee in 1846. Hot springs occur on both sides of the valley, and the temperature of those at Tiberias rose considerably at the time of the last-mentioned earthquake. This sketch of geological structure enables us to understand the physical features of Palestine; and it is important as showing that the destruction of the Cities of the Plain cannot be explained as by Josephus (*Wars*, IV. viii. 4), who believed them to be buried under the Dead Sea (see Gn 14^{3}), which was certainly in existence before the appearance of man.

ii. NATURAL FEATURES.—The hills of Western Palestine are the continuation of the higher Lebanon ridge to the north, of which Mount Hermon (9200 ft.) is an outlier on the east at the springs of Jordan. In Upper Galilee, where the hard limestone prevails, the highest elevation is 4000 ft. above the Mediterranean near Meirûn, and the eastern slopes are very steep. On the west the foot hills and long spurs from the watershed exhibit the softer chalk in parts. Lower Galilee includes the plateau of Tabor, 600 ft. above the Mediterranean, and the western plain of Asochis (*Buṭṭauf*), separated from the shore of the large shallow Bay of Acre by the low chalky hills, which also rise on the south round Nazareth. Mount Tabor (1800 ft.) is an outlier of these hills on the south-east, with a rounded summit like an immense molehill, and south of this again the volcanic peak of *Nebi Dhahy* (called Little Hermon in the twelfth century) rises from the plateau, divided by the valley of Jezreel from Gilboa farther south. At this point the Palestine watershed is only about 200 ft. above the Mediterranean, at the north-east corner of the large triangular plain called Esdraelon. This plain has the range of Gilboa (1600 ft.) on its east, and is bounded on the west by the long spur which divides it from the shore plain of Sharon, and which rises into the ridge of Carmel, which, projecting north-west, attains 1700 ft. above the sea, and, continuing 15 miles, falls to 500 ft. at the promontory which forms the natural harbour of Haifa on the south side of the Bay of Acre. A smaller plain lies west of the main shed, and south of Esdraelon near Dothan, separated by lower hills from Sharon. Entering the Samaritan region the watershed gradually rises. Gilboa, which is capped with chalk, spreads north, from the rounded watershed hills to the south near Jenin; but round Shechem, and as far south as Bethel, the dolomitic limestone mountains form one of the highest and most rugged districts in Palestine. The principal features on this watershed are the summits of Ebal (3077 ft.) and of Gerizim (2850 ft.) divided by the deep pass of Shechem; and, south of Shiloh, Baal-hazor (3300 ft.). Long ridges run out westwards from this chain, sinking to the chalky foot hills east of Sharon, and on the opposite side of the watershed are rugged slopes and small plateaus bounding the Jordan Valley. Approaching Jerusalem the watershed sinks to about 2500 ft., and the chalk appears to the east on Olivet (2600 ft.); but after passing Bethlehem the flatter plateau rises again to the Hebron hills, which are in parts as rugged as those of Samaria, rising to 3000 ft. at Râmeh, north of Hebron. On the west the spurs are here longer than in Samaria, with deep ravines; and the chalky foot hills form a yet more distinct district, called *Shephēlah* in the Bible ('lowlands'), while the Plain of Sharon widens into that of Philistia. On the east a desert plateau extends below the Hebron mountains, about 1000 ft. above the Mediterranean, and is terminated in magnificent precipices of hard limestone above the Dead Sea. The surface of this plateau is cut up with ravines and sharp chalky ridges, and this 'desert of Judah' is the wildest and most desolate region in Western Palestine. South of Hebron the mountains are divided by a long open valley, which runs south to Beersheba. The plateaus gradually sink towards the southern plain, 800 ft. above the Mediterranean, which reaches round the hills towards that of Philistia, and sinks in steps and rounded ridges towards the Sinaitic desert, and on the east to the Arabah or broad valley south of the Dead Sea.

The extremes of elevation between the summit of Hermon (9200 ft.) and the bottom of the Dead Sea (2600 ft. below the Mediterranean) mark the depth of the great fault of the Jordan Valley, which is at first wide and marshy, at about sea-level near the Waters of Merom, flanked by the Galilæan mountains to the west, and by the volcanic ridges and craters of the Jaulân to the east. A steep spur from the Sâfed mountains forms a narrower gorge north of the Sea of Galilee, which is a natural basin, deepest on the south and east, pear-shaped, and 12 miles north and south by 8 at the widest, with precipices 2000 ft. high on the east, and others of less elevation on the south-west. On the west and north steep slopes strewn with basalt sink into the lake. The surface is 680 ft. below the Mediterranean, and the Jordan falls thence to the Dead Sea, 1292 ft. below the same level. The Jordan plain is about 10 miles wide, with high mountains on either side. The Dead Sea is flanked by mighty precipices on either side throughout its stretch of 40 miles, and is 10 miles broad; but immediately to its north the foot hills recede, forming the wider plains of Jericho and Shittim, west and east of the river, about 1000 ft. below the Mediterranean. Eastern Palestine includes the plateau of Bashan, the hills of Gilead, and the barren plains of Moab. The first of these regions is a broad plain about 2000 ft. above the Mediterranean, broken by the ridge of the Jaulân craters east of the Upper Jordan, and seamed by precipitous ravines with dolomitic cliffs, east of the Sea of Galilee. The plateau is divided from the Syrian desert by the isolated ridge of the Hill of Bashan (Ps 68^{15} only), rising to 5700 ft. The Gilead hills rise to about 3000 ft., and are only some 500 above the eastern desert. Their western slopes, of hard limestone and sandstone, are very steep, and the plateau is from 3000 to 4000 ft. above the Jordan Valley. Rugged ravines score these slopes, and the region is divided by the valley of the Jabbok into two districts, now called *'Ajlûn* and *Belḳa*—north and south respectively of the stream. The mountains sink on the south to the general level of the plateau east of the Dead Sea, and a lower terrace of barren desert here answers to the desert of Judah west of the sea. Among the ridges which run out west from the plateau, Mount Nebo is one of the most conspicuous (2643 ft.), but it is not as high as Jebel Osh'a in Gilead (3597 ft.), and does not command as extensive a view. It is, however, the nearest high point to the plains of Shittim, and projects farther west than the others. The tremendous gorges which divide the precipices west of the Moab plateau present some of the grandest scenery in Palestine; and among these the torrent of Arnon is the most famous. The black basalt, white chalk, pink and yellow sandstones of the Zerḳa Ma'in rise sheer above a narrow brook; and into this flow the sulphur streams, bordered with orange deposits, from the hot springs of Callirrhöe, passing by a palm grove, and flowing in a cataract to the Dead Sea. This wild gorge may be the Nahaliel or 'ravine of God' (Nu 21^{19}) mentioned in the Pentateuch. The Moab plateau continues in the ridge of Edom, east of the Arabah, rising to 4580 ft. at Mount Hor. Its western ridges are called the *'Abarim*, or mountains 'beyond' the Dead Sea, in the Bible (Nu 27^{12}, Dt 32^{49} 34^{1}).

These various natural features are distinguished in the OT by special terms: *Har*, 'mountain country'; *Sādeh*, 'plain' (in Philistia); and *Shārōn*, 'plain' farther north, and, according to Jerome, near Tabor; *Shephēlah*, 'lowland,' for the foot hills on the south-west; *Mishôr* for the plateaus of Bashan and Moab; *Midbār* for the desert of Judæa; and *Negeb*, or 'dry land,' for the plains of Beersheba and the lower plateau south of Hebron, where no surface water is found as a rule. The various kinds of valleys include: *Naḥal* for a torrent-valley (the modern *wādy*), *'Emeḳ* for a broad flat valley flanked by mountains; *'Ărābāh* for 'desert' valleys like that of Jordan and south of the Dead Sea; *Shāveh* for a smaller vale; and *Gai* for a waterless ravine. The term *Biḳ'ah* appears to signify a plain between mountains, and is still so applied (Arab. *Buḳ'ah* and diminutive *Buḳei'ah*) in many places, both to the plain of the Orontes in Syria, and to the remarkable cup-shaped depression on the Gilead plateau, south of the Jabbok, which seems to be the 'circle of Mahanaim' (Ca 6^{13}). The terms *Bithron* (2 S 2^{29}) and *Migron* (1 S 14^{2}) apply to rugged gorges; and *Debir*, or 'the back' (Jos 15$^{7.49}$, cf. 13^{26}), in three cases to ridges. None of these terms are now in use except the one mentioned; and the old names of natural features in Palestine have, as a rule, been lost.

The **water supply** of Palestine is fairly abundant, except in the deserts and in the Negeb, and it includes lakes, rivers, brooks, and springs. The waters of the Dead Sea are intensely bitter, containing 25 per cent. of chlorides washed down from the valley; but those of the Sea of Galilee and of Merom are sweet. The most important river is the **Jordan**, the geographical source of which is on the west side of Hermon near Hasbeya, 1700 ft. above sea-level; but its most important supply issues as a foaming stream, 1000 ft. above sea-level, from under the cave of Baniâs at the foot of Hermon, by the snows of which it is fed. Rushing down through a thick copse, by rows of poplars, it joins several other streams, which flow over the basalt slopes into the plain of *Tell el-Ḳâḍi* (the site of Dan) from the north-west; and the river is then lost in the papyrus marshes of Merom, but gathers as the valley narrows, and descends rapidly to the Sea of Galilee, where a delta about a mile long has been formed, during the last nineteen centuries, at its junction with the lake. On issuing into the southern valley the course becomes narrow and tortuous, a deep channel about half a mile to a mile wide having been worn in the valley bed. The stream is here shallow, and crossed by about twenty fords, of which the most important on the main road is called *'Abārah*, and may be the Bethabara (?) of the NT (Jn 1^{28}): there is a cataract in the stream farther south, but the slope of the river-bed gradually becomes flatter after passing the Dâmieh ferry (Adam, Jos 3^{16}), the river having, however, acquired a rapid flow, which continues to its mouth. Opposite Jericho it is fordable for horses in the dry season, and is here about thirty yards wide. In early spring, however (see Jos 3^{15}), when the Hermon snows begin to melt, and after the winter rains, the Jordan will sometimes overflow its banks, and fill the whole channel, nearly a mile wide. The banks are formed by hillocks of white soft marl, which are at times undermined, and fall into the river. An Arab writer asserts that the river was known to have been thus blocked for a time (cf. Jos 3^{16}) in A.D. 1267. Sultan Beybars was then building a bridge at the Dâmieh ford, and the western bank of the river fell in on 8th December, damming the stream for four hours (Nowairi, see *Pal. Expl. Fund Quarterly Statement*, July 1895, p. 257). The river is often quite hidden by groves of tamarisk and cane brakes. The plains on either side are much cut up by tributary channels, but are covered in spring with rich grass; towards the south, however, the bushes and acacia trees (*shiṭṭim*) cease, and a muddy saline flat grows only the alkali plant. The shores of the Dead Sea are strewn with gravel and salt-covered tree trunks brought down by the river in flood, and a swampy delta is also formed where the Jordan enters this lake. The name of the river Jordan ('the descender') is thought to be due to its rapid fall of 2000 ft. in a course of 100 miles. There are several important perennial affluents on both sides of the river. On the west the streams of *Wâdy el-Ḥamâm* flow by the small plain of Gennesaret into the Sea of Galilee. Farther south the perennial stream from Jezreel, and the waters of many springs under the Tabor plateau and Mount Gilboa, join the river. In Samaria the brook of *Wâdy Farʿah* (probably the waters of Ænon, Jn 3^{23}) is an important affluent north-east of Shechem, and near Jericho the ravine of the *Ḳelt* is a winter torrent of great velocity, identified without reason with the Brook Cherith (1 K $17^{3.5}$), which was 'east' of Jordan, probably in Gilead. East of the river several perennial brooks flow in, and the most important of these are the *Yarmûk*, south of the Sea of Galilee, and the *Jabbok*, which is fed by springs at and north-east of Rabbath-ammon. It flows north at first, and south of Gerasa turns to the west. Its bed is fringed with canes in the lower part of its course, and it is easily passable in summer. The springs of *Nimrah* (Nu 32^{3}) also flow with other perennial brooks through the Shittim plains, and others which rise high up on the Moab plateau flow direct into the Dead Sea.

In Western Palestine there are other perennial streams flowing into the Mediterranean. The *Leontes* (or *Kasimîyeh*), which rises in the southern Lebanon, reaches the sea north of Tyre. The *Belus*, which gathers the waters of the low hills to the east, is a swampy stream south of Acre, and seems to be the *Shihor-libnath*, Jos 19^{26} (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*). It is fordable at its mouth. The *Kishon*, which debouches on the south side of the Bay of Acre, is more important, and is perennial, though in a very dry summer its bed shows only a chain of pools, and its mouth is choked by sand dunes. It flows north-west under Carmel from a narrow pass leading out of the Esdraelon plain, where it is formed by two branches, of which the eastern is the true Kishon of the OT (see Jg $4^{6.7}$), springing from swampy pools west of Tabor. The western stream is formed by springs from the downs south of Carmel, and its chief source is at Lejjûn (the Legio of Roman times) near Taanach, west of the plain of Esdraelon. The waters of the south slopes of Carmel drain into the marshy *Zerḳa* or Crocodile River, remarkable from the 2nd cent. downwards as the only place where crocodiles were found in Palestine. They still inhabit its swamps. Sharon, farther south, is drained by several streams, unnoticed except in the 12th century; and north of Jaffa is one more important (the *ʿAujeh*), which carries a turbid sandy flood from the springs of *Râs el-ʿAin* (Antipatris) to the sea. It appears to be the *Me-jarkon*, or 'yellow water,' of Jos 19^{46} (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*). The only perennial stream in Philistia is the *Nahr Rubîn*, or 'river of Reuben,' named from a Moslem shrine, and flowing under the cliff of *el-Mughâr* (probably Makkedah) to the shore near Jamnia. A great valley, south of Gaza, collects the waters of the Negeb hills, and supplies the deep wells of Beersheba and the shallow pits at Gerar (Gn $26^{6.15}$); but the water is only found by digging in its pebbly bed. Its modern name is the *Wâdy Ghŭzzeh.*

Many of the other great ravines, such as the *Brook Kanah* (Jos 16^{8}) in Samaria, flow with water in winter; and the most remarkable of these is the stream which bursts out of the *Bîr Eyûb* at Jerusalem in winter, flowing down the Kidron gorge towards the Dead Sea.

Palestine is also well supplied with **springs** in all parts where the hard limestone is near the surface. The hills of Gilead run with small brooks. There are minor streams in Galilee, and good springs in the central region and on the western slopes of the Hebron mountains. Near Jerusalem there is less water, and the dry regions of the Negeb and the deserts have been already noticed. The springs mentioned in the Bible include the fountain of Jezreel (1 S 29^{1}), one of several near the city, two of which (*ʿAin Jalûd* and *ʿAin Tubʿaûn*) form large pools; the pool of Samaria (1 K 22^{38}), which has a fine natural spring; the pool of Gibeon (2 S 2^{13}), which rises in a cavern under the ancient site of the town; the fountain of Gihon (1 K 1^{38}, 2 Ch 32^{30}) east of Jerusalem, also now rising in a cavern—the probable site of Bethesda (Jn 5^{2}); and the well of Sirah (2 S 3^{26}), a spring well near Hebron, which retains its ancient name. To these we must add the well of Jacob at Shechem, and the Beersheba wells, which still contain natural waters. The towns called *ʿEn* (with an affixed name) in the Bible still present springs, as a rule, when the site is known. The hot springs most famous in Palestine are those near Tiberias, near Hammath (east of Jordan), and at Callirrhöe (*Ant.* XVII. vi. 5) as already mentioned; others occur at Gadara and in the valley south-west of Beisân.

The Palestine coast is very deficient in **harbours.** The ports of Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Jamnia, Joppa, Cæsarea, Accho, Tyre, and Sidon, are all formed only by reefs. The Haifa open roadstead is protected by the bluff of Carmel, and is the only one now visited in winter storms. Fleets, however, found refuge at Tyre and Joppa as early as B.C. 1500, and the latter port was used by Solomon (2 Ch 2^{16}).

The natural **highways** of the country are equally indicated by its formation and by history. The great shore road has always been the main route of armies, and an important cross road led from Sharon across the downs south of Carmel, and from the Bay of Acre, to the Valley of Jezreel, crossing the Jordan at Bethabara (?), and gaining the Bashan plateau on the way to Damascus. The mountain roads are difficult paths; and until the Romans in the 2nd cent. laid out roads, marked with milestones, all over both Eastern and Western Palestine, commerce appears to have been mainly confined to the natural routes above indicated. The pilgrim road from Damascus to ʿAḳabah on the Red Sea leads over the eastern plateau, and formed the route by which Israel appears to have entered Moab and marched to Bashan.

iii. CLIMATE AND NATURAL PRODUCTS.—In the short distance of a hundred miles the traveller passes from an Alpine region on Hermon to the tropical plains of the Dead Sea, and finds in Palestine a fauna and flora ranging from that of Northern Europe to that of Africa. In the Bible we read of snow, hail, and ice, as well as of the desert whirlwinds and the sunstroke. There is no reason to suppose that the climate and productions of the country now differ much from those of the earliest times. Forests have, no doubt, been destroyed in Sharon and in the Hebron mountains; but, on the other hand, copses now cover the sites of former vineyards, marked by towers, terraces, and rock-cut winepresses, on Carmel and elsewhere. With decrease of population the great tanks and cisterns have fallen into ruins, with the aqueducts and rock-cut canals of Roman times. But in the Gospels we read of the fevers of Gennesaret; and the swampy plains must always have been malarious. The regions now desert or waterless are the same so described in the OT. The palm culture of the Jordan Valley has ceased, but it was mainly an artificial product of Herodian times. The plains are still as thickly covered with grass and flowers in spring as they ever were, and woods and pastures by the waters still exist.

The *climate* of Palestine resembles that of Sicily, and the seasons are the same as in other Mediterranean lands. The average temperature in summer rises to nearly 90° F. by day, the nights being cool, with heavy dews. When the east wind blows from the desert, and ozone is absent from the air, the heat increases sometimes to 105° F., and the nights are also very hot; but this usually only lasts for three or four days at a time. In the Jordan Valley in summer 118° F. in the shade may be experienced. The extremes from 90° F. by day to 40° F. by night in the bare deserts of Moab are severely felt in autumn, but the prevalence of a fresh breeze from the sea makes the summer heat in the hills very moderate. In winter the hills of Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee are often white with snow for several days, and the Edomite chain may be seen snow-covered from Jerusalem. The palm will consequently not grow in the hills, and there are but few groves even in the plains, where frost is rarely felt. Lebanon and Hermon retain snow patches till autumn every year. The winter begins usually in December or earlier, and in January there are heavy gales and much rain. The 'former rains' (Dt 11^{14}) fall at the time of the autumn equinoctial gales, and the 'latter rains' about the spring equinox; but in March the spring begins, and April is the month of grass and flowers. In May the east wind prevails, and dries up the herbage, but in June and July the west wind rises about 10 a.m. daily. The heat increases in August and September, and the country is entirely dried up in October. The most unhealthy time is when the autumn ploughing begins, after the first thundershowers in November. Thunderstorms in June during the harvest (1 S 12^{17}) occasionally occur suddenly. The dust whirlwinds (Job 37^{9}), which swirl along the plains in later summer—esp. in Bashan—are a peculiar feature of the hot season. The rainfall averages 25 to 30 in. in ordinary years, and is quite sufficient; but the storage of water in dry districts is very imperfect. Years of drought occur from time to time, as do earthquakes and visitations of locusts; and these are noticed in every age from the earliest times. But in spite of the deserts, and of the barrenness of the mountains, Palestine has a good soil, esp. in Bashan and Sharon, and is a land of 'corn, must, and oil,' answering to the descriptions of Deuteronomy (8^{7-9} 11^{10-12}), and capable of supporting a large population if fully cultivated.

The *natural growth* is dependent on the moisture brought by the sea-breeze, and thus in Lebanon and in Palestine alike the slopes west of the watershed are covered with copse, while those to the east—shut out from the moisture—are bare. In Eastern Palestine the woods of oak and pine covering Gilead are more extensive than in any other district. The slopes here face the west, and springs issue from the surface of the dolomitic rocks, the water having sunk through the chalky surface of the desert plateaus farther east. The oak woods west of Nazareth, and in Sharon, have been sadly thinned, and a pine wood south of Bethlehem—noticed by Arculphus about A.D.. 670—is now represented only by a few stunted trees. The words used for forest in the OT (*ya'ar* and *ḥōresh*) refer, however, to copse rather than to woods; and the occurrence of single trees (oak and terebinth), often noticed in the OT, is still a feature of the scenery. The Aleppo pine (*P. Haleppensis*), which appears on Lebanon and Carmel, is probably not native. It bears a name (*sinôbar*) which appears to be Greek, and under this term is noticed in the Mishna in the 2nd century A.D. The native pine (*P. Carica*) found in Gilead is more probably the 'fir' (1 K $6^{15. 34}$, Ezk 27^{5}) of the OT. The copse, consisting of dwarf oak, mastic, styrax (stacte, Ex 30^{34} *nāṭaph*), hawthorn, and other shrubs, is found chiefly on the harder limestone, especially in Upper Galilee, on Carmel, in Samaria, and on the Hebron mountains and the spurs west of Jerusalem. Near the watershed the hills are mostly bare, but covered with thyme, mint, and the *bellân* (or *Poterium Spinosum*), a brown prickly rosaceous plant. The hyssop, and other kinds of marjoram, are commonly found growing on ruins. The carob occurs as a single tree, like the sycomore fig, and the *dilb* or plane (Gn 30^{37}). The poplar is found in various localities in Palestine (see Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of Bible*, 290, and cf. Hos 4^{13}, where, however, the rendering should perhaps be 'styrax,' see art. POPLAR); but the beech does not occur south of the Northern Lebanon, though growing on chalky soils in Asia Minor. The acacia and the tamarisk (Gn 21^{33}, 1 S 22^{6} 31^{13}) are mainly found in the Jordan Valley, and the white broom (1 K 19^{4}, Ps 120^{4}, Job 30^{4}) is common in the deserts of Moab and Judah and in the Negeb. Among smaller plants the cistus (*lôṭ*, AV and RV 'myrrh' [which see], RVm 'ladanum,' Gn 37^{25} 43^{11}) is very common on the chalk; and the plains of Sharon and Jordan are covered with many wild flowers, esp. the pink phlox, the pheasant's eye, and the narcissus (probably the Rose of Sharon); while the common lily of the country, planted by Moslems in graveyards, is the purple iris. A complete account of the fauna and flora of Palestine occupies two volumes of the *Memoirs of the Survey*, and only the more conspicuous features noticed in the Bible are here mentioned. Cultivated plants in Palestine, as corn (wheat and barley), balm, and fruits, together with wine, oil, and honey, are noticed in Egyptian records (*Records of Past*, 1st series, ii. 17 f.) as early as B.C. 1600. The almond (*luz*, Gn 43^{11}) grows wild in Lebanon and Moab, and the oil tree (1 K 6^{23}) or oleaster is also not uncommon on the hills. The apple (*tappuaḥ*) is not common, but the Heb. word survives in the Arabic *tuffâḥ*; the ash (Is 44^{14}) is the *Fraxinus Ornus*, the common ash being unknown. The box (Is 41^{19} 60^{13}) grows in Lebanon; the Syrian papyrus differs from that of Egypt, and is found in Merom, in the Sharon rivers, and at Gebal, as well as the Egyp. species. The chief fruit trees are the olive, fig, pomegranate, and apricot, which last, however, with the citron, prickly pear, walnut, and other fruits, seems to have been introduced at a late period. The vegetable products noticed in the Pentateuch appear to be all of great antiquity. The citron (introduced from Media by the Persians) and the walnut (*'ĕgōz*, Arab *jôz*), said to bear a Persian name, are unmentioned, as are cotton and silk, though both are now known in the country. Flax (Hos 2^{9}, see Jos 2^{6}), which was grown at Nazareth in the 12th cent. A.D., and which is noticed in the Mishna, is one of the oldest materials used by man. It may be here noted that the only foreign plants in the Pentateuch are calamus and cassia from Ionia (Ezk 27^{19} [?; text dub.]), or from Uzal in Arabia according to the LXX, with myrrh from Arabia, and probably frankincense and cinnamon.

The sea trade with Asia Minor is, however, mentioned on monuments of the 15th cent. B.C., and that with Arabia goes back ten centuries earlier. Gum tragacanth and balm (Gn 37^{25}), pistachio nuts (Gn 43^{11}), honey, and almonds, were natural products of Palestine, as were stacte (or styrax) and ladanum (Gn 37^{25} 43^{11}) or cistus. Palestine has also always been very productive of gourds, cucumbers, vetches, melons, pulse, and other vegetables. The henna used as a dye (Ca 4^{13}) is native, as is saffron or crocus (Ca 4^{14}). The *kirsenneh*, which is a common crop, probably represents the Heb. *kuṣṣemeth* (Ezk 4^{9}). The alkali plant (Jer 2^{22}, Mal 3^{2}) grows esp. near the Dead Sea. Millet (Ezk 4^{9}) is also known by its Heb. name; and the coriander (Ex 16^{31}, Nu 11^{7}) is cultivated, with cummin (Is 28^{27}) and anise (Mt 23^{23}); the mustard (Mt 13^{31}) grows to a tree in the Jordan Valley, where the 'Vine of Sodom' (Dt 32^{32}) is found in the *'oshîr* tree (*Calotropis Procera*); the mulberry, now grown extensively for silkworms, is noticed in the NT (Lk 17^{6}) but not in the OT; willows (Ezk 17^{5}) occur along the Jordan; and the 'heath' of the OT (Jer 17^{6} 48^{6}) is the *'ar'ar* or stunted juniper of the Judæan desert, from which more than one desert town was named.

Palestine has never been remarkable for its *mineral products*. Mines of copper and lead (Dt 8^{9}) occurred only in Lebanon. Flint (of which knives were made, according to Jos 5^{2} and the LXX of 24^{30a}) is abundant, and is not only noticed in the 16th cent. B.C. on monuments, but is found worked into weapons in the city mounds at a great depth (as, for instance, at Lachish). The pitch of the Dead Sea is noticed (Gn 14^{10}, and perhaps Is 34^{9}), and was collected in the time of Josephus. Precious metals were in use, however, in the country long before the Exodus.

The *fauna* of the country is almost unchanged from the earliest historic times. The lion and the wild ox have become extinct; the former is noticed by an Egyptian traveller in Lebanon in the 14th cent. B.C., and is even said to have survived to the 12th cent. A.D.; its bones are found in caves and in the Jordan gravels. The wild ox (*rĕ'ēm* or *Bos Primigenius*, the 'unicorn' [μονόκερως] of the LXX) was hunted in Lebanon by Tiglath-pileser in B.C. 1120, and its bones have also been found. Both these animals were still hunted in Assyria in the 7th cent. B.C. On the other hand, the buffalo, now found in the marshes, is said to have been introduced by Mohammedan rulers in the post-biblical times. With these exceptions, the Palestinian animals are those of the OT. The bear, which according to the OT (1 S 17^{34}, 2 K 2^{24}) was found on the Palestine mountains, is now known only on Hermon and Lebanon. The leopard (in the Jordan Valley), the wolf, the hyæna, the jackal, and the fox are all found in the wilder districts; the boar is common in the mountains as well as in swamps. The wild ass is still to be found in the Eastern desert. The cat and domestic fowls, which were brought from Persia before the Christian era, are not noticed in the OT; nor are mules (1 K 18^{5}) noticed in the Pentateuch, though known by the Assyrians in the 8th cent. B.C. in Palestine, and now common. The fishes of the Jordan and Sea of Galilee are numerous, but as a rule coarse. The wild bee, *Apis fasciata*, the cochineal insect (Is 7^{18}), which feeds on the Syrian oak, and various species of locust (Lv 11^{22}) and of ant, are native. Scorpions are common in the plains and deserts, where swarms of flies are also very troublesome in summer. Snakes are less numerous than in Africa, but many species are found. The camel is monumentally noticed in Palestine in the 14th century B.C.; the coney (*Hyrax*) is common near Sinai; the hare is also found in the desert as well as in Palestine; the fallow deer (AV hart) and roebuck (*yaḥmūr*) are found in the woods of Tabor and Gilead respectively, and the latter also in Lebanon and on Carmel; the gazelle (AV roe) and the wild goat (*Ibex*) belong to the plains and southern desert; the wild ox (*Bubale*) is known only in the desert; the wild sheep (AV chamois) is found in the Sinaitic desert—it is the *koi* of the Mishna (Turk. *koi*, 'sheep').[*]—Among birds the ostrich (AV owl) is distinctive of the desert, and the 'cuckoo' is believed to be a gull; the pelican is found in the Mediterranean and in the Waters of Merom, and the cormorant (*shālak* or 'diver') is a sea bird; the stork is found in the Jordan Valley in spring, and both it and the heron (Assyr. *anpatu*) are common in other parts of Palestine. The hoopoe (AV lapwing) also occurs in the Gilead woods, as well as in Western Palestine. Among other animals noticed in the Bible the mole rat (*Spalax Typhlus*) is common (Is 2^{20}); the weasel is also found (Lv 11^{29}). All kinds of birds of prey, vultures, eagles, falcons, kites, hawks, and ravens, are common, with small and great owls, partridges and pintails, quails, pigeons, doves, sparrows, swallows, and cranes, even in the Beersheba desert. With regard to two animals described by Job (40. 41), *leviathan* is usually supposed to be the crocodile, which, as above noticed, is found in Palestine; *behemoth* answers best to the elephant [although taken by most modern commentators to be the hippopotamus], and the Asiatic elephant seems to have been known as late as B.C. 1600 on the Euphrates near Nii (*RP*, 1st series, iv. 6). Ivory was commonly used in Palestine in the 15th and 14th cent. B.C., and even apes were then sent from Syria to Egypt, according to the records of Thothmes III., in which also we find notice of asses, flocks and herds, goats and horses, taken from the Canaanites (*ib.* 17 f.). The Hebrews did not use horses to any large extent till Solomon's time, but the Canaanites (cf. Jos 11^{6}) had horses and chariots long before the Exodus, and in the 15th cent. B.C. they held the dog in as little estimation as did the Hebrews. It is remarkable that seals have been captured off the Palestine coast, though rare in the Mediterranean. Some writers think that the 'badger' (*taḥash*, Ex 26^{14}) should be rendered 'seal'; but others prefer 'porpoise,' which is found all round the coast, and was hunted by Tiglath-pileser I. in the Mediterranean. The natural history of the Song of Songs embraces that of all Palestine; that of the Book of Job is confined to the deserts round Petra; that of the Pentateuch may be said to belong to the desert, the hills of Gilead, and the Jordan Valley.

iv. THE RACES OF PALESTINE.—Among the earliest inhabitants are noticed the Zuzim or Zamzummim, the Emim, and the Anakim. These words seem to be non-Semitic, and the latter may mean 'tall,' as a Mongol word. The Canaanites are regarded by the author of Gn 10^{6}[†] as not Semitic, and there is monumental evidence (Tel el-Amarna Letters, No. 10 Berlin Collection) that the Syrian Hittites spoke a non-Semitic language (perhaps Mongolic) in the 15th cent. B.C. In this enumeration, however, the Amorites (? 'highlanders') are included; and from the same monumental source it seems clear that they spoke an East Aramaic language like Assyrian. They had driven out the Moabites at the time of the Exodus, and covered Eastern Palestine, as well as the Western mountains and the Lebanon.[*] The Hittites, according to Gn 23, extended to Hebron in an early age, but they were driven out of Central Palestine before the Exodus by Thothmes III. (Brugsch, *Hist. Egyp.* i. 325). The Philistines, said to appear on monuments B.C. 1200, and whose god Dagon was worshipped at Ashkelon in the 15th cent. B.C., are thought to have been of Cretan origin (Gn 10^{14}[†]), but the remaining tribes bear Semitic names, such as Canaanites (?'lowlanders' of Sharon and the Jordan Valley), Perizzites or 'villagers' (?), Kenites or 'spearmen' (?), Kenizzites or 'hunters' (?), Kadmonites or 'easterns.' The same cannot be said, however, of the Amalekites, who seem to have lived even in Central Palestine (Jg 12^{15}, though they are usually spoken of as a tribe in the desert S. of Palestine), or of the Girgashites—perhaps near Gergesa. The Hivites in Shechem and near Hermon (but see art. HIVITES) may be 'villagers,' and the Rephaim 'giants' little distinguished from the Anakim, whose last survivors were found near Gath (2 S 21^{22}) in Philistia, whence the original Avvim, living in enclosures, were expelled by the Philistines (Dt 2^{23}). The population thus seems originally to have included three distinct stocks, though many of the above names may be descriptive. The Hittites and Amorites alone are monumentally known—the first a hairless race with slanting eyes and pigtails, apparently Mongols;[‡] and the latter a darker people, bearded and black-haired, with aquiline Sem. features. The Heb. groups, including Ammonites, Moabites, and the half-breed Ishmaelites and Edomites, were distinguished by language from the aborigines. Hebrew, Moabite, Phœnician, and the Aram. of Syria (as known from B.C. 900 to 200) are kindred dialects, widely differing from the Eastern Aram. of Assyria and the Babylonian of the Tel el-Amarna letters. The Can. glosses in the latter show, however, that the then (*c.* 1450 B.C.) inhabitants of Pal. spoke a language akin to Hebrew. See also the many Sem. names quoted below (p. 647^{a}). In the 3rd cent. B.C. the Phœnician power and language extended over Sharon as far as Joppa, and about the same time the Greeks began to form a new element of population. The Romans were never numerous in Palestine, but during their rule a new Arab element from Yemen entered Bashan, and after Omar's conquest the old Aram. tribes (including Nabatæans and Palmyrenes) became mingled with Arab tribes from the Hejâz, whose names still denote districts in the mountains of Western Palestine, while the Bedawîn nomads trace their descent also to Arabia in the present day. European elements were added before the crusades, and in the 12th cent. colonists from all parts of Europe were numerous, especially Italians and Franks.

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[*] The fallow deer, roebuck, gazelle, wild goat, wild ox, wild sheep are mentioned only in Dt 14^{5} (see Driver's note), and not in the parallel passage, Lv 11.

[†] Gn 10 is treated in this art. as an 'ethnological table' (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*, and Sayce, *HCM* 119 ff.).

New European and Jewish colonies are now still arising; and further elements of population have been due to the transplanting of Aramæan tribes into Palestine by the Assyrians; to the inroads of the Turks, Mongols, and Turcomans, who have left small tribes behind them in Sharon and Esdraelon; and to the recent importation of Circassians into Bashan, and Bosnians into Sharon. The evidence of language shows that the present peasantry are mainly of Aramaic extraction; they have been hardly touched by the European element except at Nazareth and Bethlehem: there has, however, been some Greek influence from an early period; and they use a few Persian and Turkish words; but their language is an Arabic dialect, though differing considerably from that of the pure Arabs or Bedawîn nomads, found in the Jordan Valley, the southern deserts, and the eastern plateau, and preserving, in vocabulary, in pronunciation, and in grammar, many archaic features of the older Syriac and Aramaic. In the Philistine plain the peasants approach the Egyptians in dress and in appearance, but the general type is very different from that of the Arabs, and is similar to that of the Assyrians on the monuments. A very ancient Can. element may be suspected to have survived, modified by a strong infusion of true Arab blood, in the 7th and even as early as the 2nd cent. A.D. The modern Jewish element, which is constantly increasing, is entirely foreign, recruited earliest from Spain and Africa, and recently from Russia, Poland, and other European countries. The Turks and Kurds are present only as a ruling class, but Greek blood is no doubt found among the native Christians of the Greek sects, and Italian among Latin Christians. The tall, handsome Druzes of Hermon and Bashan seem, by language, to be partly of Persian origin; and the Metâwileh of Upper Galilee (among whom blue eyes are not uncommon) are also Persian immigrants of the Shî'ah or Persian Moslem creed. Some of the oldest Jerusalem families, however, trace their descent to the pure Arabs who came with Omar. There is no known evidence of the survival of Norman blood derived from crusaders; and the language which they used has not affected the speech of Syrians. In the OT we have early reference to Aram. speech (Gn 31^{47}, Is 36^{11}) as distinct from Heb., and to the later mixed language of the Jews in Ashdod (Neh 13^{24}). The evidence of inscriptions seems to show that, about the Christian era, a very strong Greek element existed in Bashan, where in one case we have an Aram.-Gr. bilingual of the time of Herod the Great. The dialects spoken between B.C. 900 and 200 are moreover attested, by texts and coins, to have been cognate to ancient Heb.; and the Greek boundary-stone of Herod's temple attests the presence of Greeks, even in Jerusalem, about the time of Christ.

As regards **population,** the evidence of ruins shows that it was much larger in Roman and Byzantine times—and probably in the 12th cent. —than it is now. The numbers stated on Assyr. texts would indicate a population exceeding 200,000 souls in the southern mountains in B.C. 701; and the Syrian forces opposing the Assyrians in B.C. 850 are said to have numbered 80,000, representing a population of at least 400,000 souls. It cannot be said (but see Buhl, *Die Soc. Verhältn. d. Isr.* p. 52) that Palestine was incapable of holding a population of 6,500,000 souls (cf. 2 S 24^{9}), though the question of numbers is rendered difficult by textual alterations.[*] At the present time the population of Western Palestine is estimated to be not more than about 600,000; but the country fully cultivated would support ten times that number. According to Ex 12^{37} 38^{26}, Nu 1^{46}, the Hebrews at the Exodus were about three millions.

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[*] On the 'Amorites' see also Driver in Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology* (Index *s.* 'Amorites'), and in *Comm. on Deut.* p. 11.

[†] The order of words in this verse is thought to have suffered dislocation (see Dillm. *ad loc.*, or Sayce, *HCM* 136; and cf. for the supposed Cretan origin of the Philistines, Am 9^{7} and Dt 2^{23}).

[‡] Jensen supposes that the Hittites were the ancestors of the modern (Aryan) Armenians [cf. his *Hittiter u. Armenier*, and a series of papers on 'The Hittite Inscriptions' by him and Hommel (who opposes Jensen) in the *Expos. Times*, 1898-99]. The recently discovered texts found by Chantre in Cappadocia (see translations in *The Times* of 10th and 24th October 1899) appear to the present writer to show that the Hittite language was Mongolian. The whole subject is considered in detail in Conder's *The Hittites and their Language*, 1898.

[*] Instances of these variations in numbers are not confined to the chronology of Gn 11^{10-26}, which differs so greatly in the Heb. Sam. and LXX VSS, or 1 K 6^{1}, where the LXX differs by forty years. In 1 S 13^{5} the Peshiṭta reads 3000 for 30,000. In 2 S 8^{4} the LXX has 7000 for 700, and in 1 K 5^{11} 20,000 for 20. In 1 Ch $11^{20.21}$ the Peshiṭta has 30 for 3; in 2 Ch 3^{4} the LXX A (agreeing more nearly with 1 K 6^{2}) reads 20 for 120; and in Ezk 45^{1} BA have 20,000 for 10,000 (Q): to say nothing of minor differences as to the regnal years. The numbers in some parts of the OT have evidently been miscopied or altered, and sometimes largely increased. The difficulties as to numbers may thus in some cases be due to the state of the text. See, further, NUMBER, p. 562^{a}.

v. BIBLE GEOGRAPHY.—The geography of Palestine forms an important element in the OT, and no book therein can be noticed on which this study does not throw some light. The Bible geography is to some extent illustrated by monumental information. The lists of Thothmes III., about B.C. 1600, include 119 towns in Palestine; others of great importance are noticed in the Tel el-Amarna letters, about B.C. 1450; others in the time of Ramses II., about B.C. 1330. Shishak gives a list of 133 towns in all parts of Palestine about B.C. 935 and Sennacherib mentions others in B.C. 701. About 90 cities noticed in the Bible are thus monumentally known, between B.C. 1600 and 700. Those earliest noticed have Aram. rather than Heb. names, and were named by the Canaanites before the Exodus. The Hebrews seem very rarely to have altered the name of any city, though alternative names sometimes occur. We may consider generally the outline of the topography during the various ages—the Patriarchal, that of the Conquest, that of the Kingdom, that following the Captivity, and that of the Greek and Roman age down to the 1st cent. A.D.—with a briefer reference to later topographical records.

Study of the topography is not seriously affected by textual discrepancies between the Hebrew and the Versions. The most important addition is in Jos (15^{59a}), where 11 cities are noticed by the LXX and not in the Heb., viz. Tekoa, Ephratah, Peor (*Faghûr*), Etam (*'Ain 'Aṭân*), Kulon (*Kolonia*), Tatam, Sores (*Ṣarîṣ*), Karem (*'Ain Kârim*), Galem (*Beit Jâla*), Bether (*Bittîr*), and Manocho (*Malhah*), said to belong to Judah. The mention of Kolonia seems to show that this is a very late addition, and the cities lie, not in Judah but in Benjamin, except Tekoa, Ephratah, and Etam. There are other textual differences where the Heb. text seems to be the less probable. Zoan (Pesh. Gn 13^{10}) is better than Zoar, and the addition of Seir (Pesh. Gn 36^{6}) supplies a gap: 'at Jazer' (LXX Nu 21^{24}) is better than 'was strong.' In Sam. Beth-jashan for Shen (Pesh. 1 S 7^{11}) points to Jeshanah (*'Ain Sinia*) for this site, and Gibeah (indicated by LXX) is apparently the meaning of 'the high place' (1 S 10^{13}). Gath (LXX B in 1 S 17^{52}) is also preferable to 'the valley.' Ezel (1 S 20^{19}, cf. v.^{41} in Pesh. and LXX) disappears as a proper name, and Hareth (now *Kharâs*) becomes a city instead of a 'wood' (LXX of 1 S 22^{5}). Maon is also more probable than Paran (LXX of 1 S 25^{1}), and Bethzur than Bethel (LXX B of 1 S 30^{27}), as is Carmel for Racal (LXX B in v.^{29}). Geshur for Ashurites (Pesh. and Vulg. 2 S 2^{9}) is probable; and Tibhath for Betah (Luc. Ματεβάκ, 2 S 8^{8}) is certainly correct; while Edom for Aram (after same VSS in vv.$^{12, 13}$) agrees with the notice of the Valley of Salt and with the succeeding verses. Gath (Pesh. and LXX in 2 S 21^{18}) is better than the unknown Gob, and 'the Hittites to Kadesh' (Lucianic text) is an important improvement on Tahtim-hodshi (2 S 24^{6}), as is Ai for Gaza (MSS of 1 Ch 7^{28}). Geshur for Asshur (Ps 83^{8}) is a probable emendation (so Lagarde, but see Duhm *ad loc.*), and Baal-hermon (Ca 8^{11}) for Baal-hamon (so Grätz, but see Budde, *ad loc.*). Gibeah (Pesh. Jer 31^{39}) is better than the unknown Goath, and Accho (indicated by LXX) takes the place (so Reland *et al.*, but see Nowack, *ad loc.*) of 'at all' (Mic 1^{10}). In the few remaining cases of textual differences affecting topography, the Heb. text seems to be preferable.

The town names of Palestine are so ancient that their occurrence does not, as a rule, affect critical questions; yet the absence of the names of Jerusalem, Samaria, Tirzah, and Zereda in the Pent. is notable. The permanence of the population has preserved some three-fourths of the OT nomenclature to the present day, and these names are equally traceable in the 4th and 12th centuries A.D. in a large number of instances. The survey of the country has brought to light some 150 biblical sites which were unknown, because, as a rule, they do not appear on earlier maps. In Genesis the Heb. ancestors are represented as migrating from Ur on the Lower Euphrates to Harran in the north, thus entering Canaan through Syria; and Phœnician tradition points to the same line of immigration. The Amraphel and Arioch, with whom in Gn 14 Abraham is said to have been contemporary, have been supposed (though Jensen, Ball, and King [*Letters and Inscriptions of Khammurabi*, 1899] dispute this) to be the Bab. Khammurabi and Eriaku, whose date is fixed by many at about B.C. 2376–2333 (see Sayce, *EHH* 281). The Hebrews naturally reached Bethel before Hebron and Beersheba. Of the cities noticed in Gn, those of Syria (Gn 10^{15-18}) are known in B.C. 1700, 1600, and 1500 on monuments in the cases of Sidon, Arka, Arvad, Zemar, and Hamath. Gerar and Gaza in Palestine (v.^{19}) are noticed in B.C. 1600 and 1500 respectively; but Dan (if really a town name in Gn 14^{14}) does not seem to have been so named till the time of the judges (Jg 18^{29}). Dothan (Gn 37^{17}) is noticed by Thothmes III. about B.C. 1600, and its site is equally certain with those of the preceding cities. Damascus (Gn 15^{2}) is noticed by Thothmes III. in B.C. 1600, and on the Tel el-Amarna tablets a century later.* These tablets also refer to the land of Hobah (Gn 14^{15}) north of Damascus, and to the land of Ham (Gn 14^{5}) in Bashan. The topography of Exodus is mainly confined to the desert, and unfortunately contains many names of unknown localities. That of Numbers refers largely to a region never reached by the Egyptians, and only conquered by the Assyrians in the 8th cent. B.C. The chief sites in Moab and Gilead retain their ancient names, and some are noticed on the Moabite Stone about B.C. 850. The conquest of Eastern Palestine in five months by the Israelites was less arduous than many of the yearly campaigns of the Egyptians and Assyrians, which extended over much greater distances through hostile parts of Palestine. The view of Palestine from Nebo (Dt 34^{1-3}) accords with the actual view, excepting that Dan and the 'Western Sea' are hidden by nearer mountains.

The great geographical book of the OT is, however, that of Joshua. The description of the *boundaries of the land* applies, in the judgment of the writer of the present article, to a time previous to that of the captivity of Gad in B.C. 734 (1 Ch 5^{26}), and to that of the Moabite conquest in B.C. 850. It also refers to a period not later than that of David, according to the note (1 Ch 4^{31}) concerning the dispersion of Simeon. Ai (Jos 8^{28}) was apparently no longer in ruins in B.C. 701 (Is 10^{28}), and was repeopled after the Captivity (Neh 11^{31}). The curse of Joshua on Jericho (Jos 6^{26}) was fulfilled (1 K 16^{34}) in Ahab's time, about B.C. 850; and the regions unconquered by Joshua (13^{2-6}) were part of David's kingdom. Jebus (Jos 15^{63}) was also taken by David; and Nob, which is unnoticed in Jos (21) as a priestly city, had its population massacred by Saul (1 S 22^{19}), but apparently was reoccupied by B.C. 701 (Is 10^{32}). On the other hand, the distinction of Israel and Judah seems to be indicated geographically (Jos $11^{16, 21}$), and it is very remarkable that there is no account of the conquest of Central Palestine, and that the description of the Samaritan region is much less complete than that of Galilee and Judæa. There is an important difference in the order of the passage referring to the fulfilment of the law at Shechem (Jos 8^{30-35}) in the LXX, and it has been suspected that the original book has lost portions referring to Samaria. The geography, however, does not represent that of the later period (Neh 11^{25-36}), when Judah colonized the earlier possessions of Simeon, and Benjamin settled in towns that had belonged to Dan. The forty-eight Levitical cities were assigned in obedience to the law (Nu 35^{6}), but the arrangement laid down in Ezk ($45^{4.5}$) is quite different, and these cities are not so assigned in Neh (11^{36}). The majority of the Levitical cities are well-known sites, and the variations in the imperfect parallel list (1 Ch 6) are few. Beth-shemesh, Gezer, Beth-horon, Eltekeh, Aijalon, Gath-rimmon, Taanach, Ashtaroth, Daberath, and En-gannim are among the Levitical cities which are noticed on Egyp. monuments, and in the Tel el-Amarna letters, in the 16th and 15th cents. B.C., excepting Beth-horon and Eltekeh—noticed by Shishak (B.C. 935) and by Sennacherib (B.C. 701) respectively.

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* On the names in these tablets see esp. Petrie's *Syria and Egypt from the Tell el-Amarna Letters*, pp. 144–187.

When we compare the final arrangements of the conquest — for at first Judah, Benjamin, and Joseph occupied country (Jos 16. 17) out of which portions were taken for Issachar, Dan, and Simeon —with the twelve provinces which existed in the time of Solomon, the two accounts are found to coincide very closely, but in subsequent ages the boundaries mentioned differ considerably from those of the Bk. of Joshua. Ephraim, Naphtali, and Asher are noticed as provinces with Issachar and Benjamin (1 K 4^{8-18}); the second province included towns of Dan; the third appears to have been in Judah; and the fourth perhaps in Zebulun. East of Jordan the northern province had its capital at Ramoth-gilead (*Reimûn*) and the southern at Mahanaim (probably *Makhneh*), while the twelfth province coincided with the lot of Reuben. Simeon had already ceased to hold the Beersheba plains.

The most completely described region in the Bk. of Joshua is that south of Jerusalem.* The north boundary of Judah ran south of Jericho by Gilgal and Adummim (*Tal'at ed-Dumm*) to Enrogel in the Kidron Valley; and, leaving the capital in Benjamin, it ran southward by Rachel's Tomb (1 S 10^{2}, Jer 31^{15}) to Nephtoah (Jos 15^{9}), which was at Etam according to the Talmud of Jerusalem (*'Ain 'Aṭân*, south of Bethlehem), whence it ran west to Chesalon (*Kesla*) and to Kiriath-jearim (*'Erma*), and south of the valley of Sorek, and to Ekron and Jamnia and the sea. The cities within this border are enumerated (Jos 15) in groups according as they were in the *Negeb* or 'dry land,' the *Shephēlah* or western foot hills, the *Har* or 'mountain region,' and the *Midbār* or desert. Of those in the Beersheba desert little is known, and the total is given as twenty-nine, while the details amount to thirty-four. Amam, Shema, Hazar-gaddah, Heshmon, and Bethpelet are, however, omitted in the parallel passage (Jos 19^{2-8}). Of the rest, only Adadah (*'Ad'adah*), Kedesh (*'Ain Ḳades*), and Kerioth-hezron (at *Jebel Hadhîreh*) are known, with Beersheba (*Bîr es-Seb'a*), Rimmon (*Umm er-Rumâmin*), and perhaps Ziklag (*'Asluj*). In the second list (Jos 19^{6}) Sharuhen stands for Shilhim, and appears to be the present *Tell esh-Sheri'ah* in the Philistine plains, which is noticed as early as B.C. 1700, when the Egyptians were advancing on Canaan. The second group in the 'lowlands' (Jos 15^{33-36}) is much more perfectly known, as lying south-west of the Jerusalem mountains. Of these, Zorah is noticed monumentally in the fifteenth century B.C., and is now the village *Sur'ah*. Eshtaol (*Eshu'a*), Zanoah (*Zanûh*), En-gannim (*Umm Jina*), Enam (*'Ain 'Ainah*), Jarmuth (*Yarmûk*), Adullam (*'Aid el-Mia*), Socoh (*Shuweikeh*), and Gederoth (*Jedîreh*) retain their old names little changed. The third group is less known, but seems to have included cities on the edge of the plain of Philistia, among which Migdal-gad (*Mejdeleh*), Lachish (*Tell el-Hesy*), Eglon (*'Ajlân*), Beth-dagon (*Beit Dejan*), Naamah (*Na'aneh*), and Makkedah (probably *el-Mughâr*) are fixed. Eglon is monumentally noticed in B.C. 1600, Lachish and Makkedah about B.C. 1480–1440, and Beth-dagon in B.C. 701. The fourth group included towns nearer to the Hebron mountains, of which Nezeb (*Beit Nusib*), Keilah (*Ḳîlah*), Achzib (*'Ain Kezbeh*), and Mareshah (*Mer'ash*) are all apparently noticed in the Tel el-Amarna letters of the 15th cent. B.C., and the two latter by Micah ($1^{14.15}$) in the 8th cent. B.C. The three Philistine cities which follow do not appear to have been conquered till the time of Solomon. Ekron (*'Akir*), Ashdod (*Esdûd*), and Gaza (*Ghuzzeh*) were, no doubt, ancient sites, but only the latter — an important city long held by Egypt —is noticed in the 15th cent. B.C. The sixth group in the mountains begins in the south, including the Negeb hills. Among these cities (vv.$^{48-59}$) Jattir (*'Attîr*), Socoh (*Shuweikeh*), Dannah (*Idhnah*), Debir (*Dhaherîyeh*), Anab (*'Anab* close to the preceding), Eshtemoa (*es-Semû'a*), Anim (*Ghuwein*), and perhaps Holon (*Beit Aula*) and Giloh (*Jâla*), are fixed; while in the seventh group nearer Hebron occur Arab (*er-Rabîyeh*), Dumah (*Dômeh*), Beth-tappuah (*Tuffûh*), Hebron itself (*el-Khalîl*), and Zior (*Si'air*). The eighth group includes towns farther east in the Hebron hills, such as Maon (*Ma'in*), Carmel (*Kurmul*), Ziph (*Zîf*), Juttah (*Yuttah*), Zanoah (*Zanu'a*), Ha-Kain (*Yukîn*); while Gibeah and Timnah (*Jeb'a* and *Tibneh*) may be ruined sites north-west of Hebron, though this is uncertain. The ninth group is in the mountains north of Hebron, including Halhul (*Halhûl*), Bethzur (*Beit Sûr*), Maarath (*Beit Ummâr*), Beth-anoth (*Beit 'Ainûn*), and Eltekon — perhaps Tekoa (*Teku'a*). Two towns forming a separate group (v.^{60}) are Kiriath-jearim (*'Erma*), and Rabbah (*Rubba*) south-west of the preceding. The six cities of the desert are less known, but the 'City of Salt' (v.^{62}) may be *Tell el-Milh* east of Beersheba, and the last is En-gedi (*'Ain Jidy*) on the cliff above the Dead Sea. Several of the towns in the southern mountains are noticed in the lists of Thothmes III. about B.C. 1600, such, for instance, as Carmel; but the Egyptians did not penetrate far into the mountains, though they held Jerusalem before the Hebrew conquest, and knew it by that name (*Urusalim*), which occurs in the Bk. of Joshua (15^{63}, cf. $10^{1.3.23}$).

The north boundary of Benjamin ran from Jordan north of Jericho (Jos 18^{11-20}) to Bethel (*Beitîn*) and to Ataroth-addar (*ed-Dârieh*) on the hill south of lower Beth-horon (*Beit 'Ur et-Taḥta*, *i.e.* 'the lower'). The west border ran due south to Kiriath-jearim (*'Erma*), joining the border of Judah. The cities included in this mountain region (vv.$^{21-28}$) are not all known, but among them were Bethel and Parah (*Fârah*), Ophrah (probably *Ṭaiyibeh*), Chephar-ha-Ammoni (*Kefr 'Ana*), Ophni (thought to be *Jufna*), and Geba (*Jeb'a*), with Gibeon (*el-Jîb*), Ramah (*er-Râm*), Beerôth (*Bîreh*), Mizpeh (perhaps *Tell en-Naṣbeh*), Chephirah (*Kefîreh*), Irpeel (*Rafât*), Eleph (*Lifta*), Jerusalem itself, and Kiriath (*el-Kurieh*, called also *Kuriet el-'Anab*): all these are within the border.

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* Throughout this article the identifications of towns, etc., are those which were first proposed by or which commend themselves to the present writer. Space forbids the reasons for his conclusions being stated. The reader may refer to the separate articles, in some of which a different identification is adopted, and where the authorities are cited.

The lot of Dan (Jos 19^{40-46}) was in the low hills and plain west of Benjamin. Its boundaries are not stated, but on the south coincided with Judah, from which tribe Zorah and Eshtaol on the border were taken. Near these was Ir-shemesh (*ʻAin Shems*), and farther north Shaalabbin (*Selbît*) and Aijalon (*Yalo*). Timnah and Ekron (*Tibneh* and *ʻAkir*) were also on the Judah border. Eltekeh (perhaps *Beit Likia*) and Gibbethon (*Kibbieh*) were on the north-east, and Jehud (*el-Yehudîyeh*) with Bene-berak (*Ibn Ibrak*) in the plain north of Joppa. Me-jarkon ('yellow water') may have been the boundary stream already noticed, and Rakkon ('shore') may be the present *Tell er-Rakkeit* on the shore north of Joppa (*Yâfa*). The territory was insufficient (v.^{47}), and the plain was held by the Canaanites (Jg $1^{34. 35}$), so that the Danites were forced to migrate from their plain or 'camp' (*Mahaneh-dan*, Jg $18^{2. 12}$) west of Kiriath-jearim (in the valley of Sorek, south of Zorah) to the extreme north under Hermon.

Of the cities of Dan, Joppa is noticed in the Tel el-Amarna tablets (15th cent. B.C.) as well as by Sennacherib in B.C. 701, and the latter also notices Beth-dagon (on the border of Judah), Bene-berak, Eltekeh, and Timnah.

The children of Joseph appear at first to have spread over all Samaria and Lower Galilee, as well as over Bashan and half Gilead. Their original boundary (Jos 16^{1-3}) coincided with that of Benjamin, and approached Judah at Gezer (*Tell Jezer*), which was, however, not taken (v.^{10}), though they claimed the plains subsequently given to Dan. Out of their territory also Issachar received a portion in the final division by lot. Ephraim had a small and rugged portion; but Manasseh was a 'great people' (Jos 17^{12-18}), yet unable to drive the Canaanites out of the chariot cities in the plains. Manasseh held some of the best lands in Central Palestine, and a wooded mountain, perhaps Carmel (see Mic 7^{14}). The north border of Ephraim is briefly described (Jos 16^{5-8}), running on the west from the north-west angle of Benjamin to Michmethah east of Shechem (17^{7}), apparently the *Mukhnah* plain, and thence east to Taanath-shiloh (*Tʻana*) and Janoah (*Yanûn*), and thus to the Jordan Valley near Jericho. The river Kanah (*Wâdy Ḳanah*) formed the border on the north-west, running to the sea; but the plains north of Dan were not occupied. The list of 'separate cities' (16^{9}) seems to have been lost. The boundaries of Manasseh are not stated, and only two towns within the portion of this tribe west of Jordan are noticed, namely, Shechem and Tappuah. The site of the latter is unknown, but it is perhaps the same as *Yashubi ʻEn Tappuaḥ*, which would find a fitting site at *Yâsûf* close to the Mukhnah plain, the border of Ephraim (see Heb. Jos 17^{7}). Manasseh had originally 'touched upon' Asher and Issachar, and claimed cities in these tribes, of which in Issachar Bethshean (*Beisân*), Ibleam (*Yebla*), Endor (*Andûr*), Taanach (*Tʻânuk*), and Megiddo (probably *Mujeddʻa*) are well known. It is remarkable that very few Samaritan towns are noticed, but in the Bk. of Joshua generally we find Shiloh, Tirzah, and Shechem mentioned. Monumental records are equally silent as to this very rugged mountain region. On the other hand, Megiddo and Taanach are noticed by Thothmes III. (in B.C. 1600) and in the Tel el-Amarna texts (a century later); and again, in the reign of Ramses II. (about B.C. 1330), Megiddo is noticed as if near the Jordan.

The boundaries of Issachar are also unnoticed (Jos 19^{17-22}), but coincided with those of Manasseh, Naphtali, and Zebulun, including the plain of Dothan and that of Esdraelon. The known cities include Jezreel (*Zerʻin*), Chesulloth (*Iksâl*), Shunem (*Sûlem*), Hapharaim (*el-Ferrîyeh*), Anaharath (*En Nʻaûrah*), Rabbith (*Râba*), Remeth (*Râmeh*), En-gannim (*Jenîn*), and En-haddah (perhaps *Kefr Adân*). Of these, Anaharath, and perhaps others, are noticed by Thothmes III. in his lists.

The borders of Zebulun are more particularly described. The lot included the Nazareth hills and the plain of Asochis with hills to its north. The north and south limits seem to be fixed by Dabbesheth (*Dabsheh*) and Jokneam (*Tell Keimûn*) respectively (Jos 19^{10}). The south border was at Sarid (or perh. Sadid, cf. LXX B in v.^{12}), which may be *Tell Shadûd* at the foot of the Nazareth hills. It ran east to Chesulloth and Daberath (*Debûrieh*), where, at the western foot of Tabor, the three tribes, Zebulun, Naphtali, and Issachar met (see 19^{22}). The south border of Zebulun also touched Japhia (*Yâfa*, west of Nazareth), and reached the Kishon at Jokneam. The east border skirted the Tabor plateau on the west, running north on the hills to Gath-hepher (now *el-Mesh-hed*) and to Rimmon (*Rummâneh*) east of the Asochis plain. The north border started on the east at Hannathon (*Kefr ʻAnân*) and passed along a deep valley to Dabbesheth. The remainder of the line coincided with the south border of Asher (Jos 19^{27}), running north of Cabul (*Kabûl*) to Beth-dagon (probably *Tell Daûk* south of Acre) and to Shihor-libnath—apparently the river Belus. The shores of the bay of Acre seem to have belonged to Asher, perhaps as far as the Kishon (19^{26}), but Zebulun would seem to have had a 'haven' for 'ships' (Gn 49^{13}), probably at *Haifa* under Carmel, in which name the Heb. word for 'haven' or 'shore' survives. Of the other cities of Zebulun, only Bethlehem (*Beit Laḥm*) is certainly known.

It appears to be quite clear that the Tabor plateau, as well as the hills of Upper Galilee, belonged to Naphtali. The towns included (19^{33}) those in the plain, Bezaanannim (*Bessûm*) as well as Heleph (perhaps *Beit Lîf*) in the north. Among those in the plain were Adami (*ed-Dâmieh*), Hammath (south of Tiberias), Rakkath (believed by the Rabbis to be the old name of Tiberias, meaning 'shore'), and Adamah (*Admah* north of Beisân); Hukkok (*Yaḳûḳ*) formed with Tabor the border on the south-west. In the upper mountains were Hazor (near *Jebel Hadhîreh*), Kedesh (*Ḳedes*), Horem (*Ḥûrah*), Beth-anath (*ʻAinatha*), and others which are doubtful.

The tribe of Asher claimed the lower hills between Accho and Tyre (19^{24-31}), but failed to drive the Canaanites from many of the cities (Jg 1^{31}). Many of the towns of Asher are doubtful, though all appear to have been north of Acre. Dor (Jos 17^{11}, cf. 12^{23} and 1 Ch 7^{29}) is quite unknown, though fixed by Eusebius at *Tantûrah* south of Carmel. This, like many other assertions of his *Onomasticon*, is unauthorized and confusing, especially as Dor seems to have been on the 'uplands.' Achshaph is probably *el-Yasîf* near Acre. Hammon seems to have been an important site near the shore farther north, where Renan discovered inscriptions to Baal Hammon. Kanah is in the hills east of Tyre, and Achzib (*ez-Zîb*) is north of Acre in the plain. Among these cities Tyre and Accho are noticed in the 15th cent. B.C. in the Tel el-Amarna tablets and Achzib by Sennacherib in B.C. 701.

East of Jordan, Reuben held the plateau round Heshbon, and the lot seems to have been bounded by the hills north of that city (Jos 13^{15-23}), extending to Jordan in the valley of Shittim; but in Ahab's time several of the cities of Reuben are noticed on the Moabite Stone as having been held by 'men of Gad.' The south border was Arnon (now *Wâdy Mojib*) and Aroer (*Arʻaîr*) on the N. brink of its valley. The sites of Medeba (*Mâdebeh*), Heshbon (*Hesbân*), Dibon (*Dhibân*), and Beth-baal-meon (*Ma'în*) are those of considerable towns. Kiriathaim (*Ḳeriût*) and Beth-jeshimoth (*Suweimeh* on the north-east shore of the Dead Sea) are known, with probably Sibmah (*Sûmieh*) near Heshbon.

The boundary of Reuben and Gad was at Jazer (probably *Beit Zâr'a* north of Heshbon), and the latter tribe held the Jordan Valley east of the river, and the western slopes of Gilead, bounded on the east by Aroer near Rabbath-ammon (*'Ammân*). On the north-east they held Ramath-mizpeh (probably *Sûf*, the Mizpeh of Jephthah, Jg 11^{34}) and Betonim, perhaps the district in north Gilead now called *el-Buṭein*. Mahanaim was on the border between Gad and Manasseh, the latter tribe holding 'half Gilead' (13^{31}), which appears to mean the eastern half, Gad extending to the 'border of the ridge' (Debir), and holding in the Jordan Valley Beth-aram (*Râmeh*), Beth-nimrah (*Nimrîn*), Succoth (*Tell Der'ala*), Zaphon (supposed by the Rabbis to be *'Amatah*), and the lowlands to the Sea of Galilee. This agrees with the notice of Mahanaim in Solomon's south Gilead province (1 K 4^{14}). The rest of the large portion given to Manasseh east of Jordan included all Bashan (v. ^{31}), with the towns of Ashtaroth (*Tell 'Ashterah*) and Edrei (*edh-Dhra'a*), which are noticed on monuments in B.C. 1600–1500.

This tribal distribution of Palestine was broken up by the Assyrians. Tiglath-pileser III. (B.C. 745–727) conquered Galilee (2 K 15^{29}), and took captive the tribes east of Jordan (1 Ch 5^{26}) shortly before Sargon took Samaria (B.C. 722). In 711 Ashdod was besieged by Sargon, and when Hezekiah was attacked by Sennacherib in B.C. 701, Beth-dagon, Joppa, Bene-berak and Hazor (*Yazûr* in the plain) are said to have belonged to Ashkelon. Ammon, Moab, Edom, Ekron, and Gaza were then all independent, and Moab indeed had rebelled nearly two centuries earlier. Thus the geography of the Book of Joshua represents a condition which did not long exist after the death of Solomon. The narrative chapters show that the conquest resembled those made by the Egyptians or Assyrians in their annual campaigns: 'the cities that stood still on their mounds' (Jos 11^{13}) were not destroyed, unless taken by stratagem. The invading army attacked usually the smaller places, but the fortresses with garrisons of chariots remained in the hands of the Canaanites, and subsequent attacks had to be made on places burned by Joshua and re-fortified by their inhabitants (*e.g.* Jg 1^{11}, Jos 10^{38}). The first campaign from Gilgal by Ai and Gibeon to Aijalon, and thence to Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Hebron, and Debir, followed apparently the line of the conquests of the *Habiri* noticed in the Tel el-Amarna texts (B.C. 1480–1440): for they also came from Seir, and fought at Aijalon and Lachish, and penetrated by Keilah up the valley towards Hebron. The site of Debir was in the Negeb (Jg 1^{15}) and near Anab (Jos $15^{49.50}$), so that there is reason to place it at the important ancient site *Dhaherîyeh* ('the place on the back or ridge') near Anab, at a village where rock-cut tombs and other marks of antiquity are found. This was the southernmost extent of Joshua's original conquest. The conquest of Shechem (only about 20 miles from Ai) is not described, but the law was here fulfilled (Dt 27^{4}, Jos 8^{30}); the next great contest was in Upper Galilee, where Hazor looked down on the Waters of Merom (Jos $11^{1.5}$), and where all the northern Canaanites gathered. Hazor is also a place whence letters were sent asking aid from Egypt in the 15th cent. B.C. The Book of Joshua ends with his burial at Timnath-heres (Jg 2^{9}) in Mount Ephraim (now *Kefr Hâris*), and that of Eleazar in Gibeah of Phinehas, probably at the site now shown at *'Awertah* east of Gerizim. The bones of Joseph were buried at Shechem, where his tomb is shown near Jacob's Well; and the altar on Ebal (Jos 8^{30}) and stone monument in the plain of Shechem (Jos 24^{26}) seemed to make this central city the capital of Israel. There were, however, several successive sanctuaries which were recognized before the building of the temple, namely at Gilgal, Shiloh, Nob, and Gibeon. The ark rested in Kiriath-jearim, and an altar of Jehovah was built on Carmel before Elijah's famous visit (1 K 18^{30}). We have no notice, however, of contemporary local sanctuaries till after the division of the kingdom. The six cities of refuge were placed equidistant, three on either side of the river, at Hebron, Shechem, and Kedesh-naphtali, at Bezer (*Buseirah* in Moab), Ramoth-gilead (*Reimûn*), and Golan (*Sahem el-Jaulân*), in the south, the centre, and the north of the country (Jos $20^{7.8}$).

A careful consideration of the geography of the Pent. and Bk. of Joshua, by the aid of modern exploration, shows that the whole is easily understood, and that in no case does there appear to be any element suggesting that the descriptions were penned after the Captivity. Towns appear in the later books, such as Samaria, Zereda (*Surdah*), Lod (*Lydda*), Ananiah (*Beit Hanîna*), etc. (Neh $11^{32.35}$), not noticed in Joshua, just as the later Heb. differs in the use of Persian and Gr. words, and in syntax and vocabulary, from the older Heb. of the Pentateuch. The geography of the Bk. of Joshua is, however, so exhaustive, that little is added to it in the OT books that follow. In Judges, Bezek (1^{4}) may be the southern *Bezkah* rather than the Bezek of Saul (1 S 11^{8}), now *Ibzîḳ* north-east of Shechem. Conquests were pushed farther south than Debir to Zephath (*es-Sufa*) in the Beersheba plateau; but Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ekron were not taken (LXX Jg 1^{18}), or any chariot city in the plains. Bethel fell, and its inhabitants migrated to Luz (*Luweizeh*) under Hermon (v. ^{23}); but intermarriage with Canaanites (3^{6}) destroyed the power of the conquering race, and the king of Mesopotamia is said (3^{10}) to have overrun Palestine (cf. the words of Burnaburias to Amenophis IV. in the Tel el-Amarna Collection). The episode of Sisera (Jg 4^{5}) is elucidated by its geography. His chariot city was Harosheth ('the woods'), now *el-Ḥarathîyeh* by the oak wood near the Kishon. The Kishon under Mount Tabor (v. ^{7}) is treacherous and swampy, and after the battle near Endor (Ps 83^{10}) the chariots were engulfed in the stream (Jg 5^{21}), while Sisera fled east to Bezaanannim (*Bessûm*), near the Kedesh (*Ḳadish*) of the Sea of Galilee. The episode of Gideon's victory is equally clear topographically. He lived at Ophrah (probably *Fer'ata*) in Samaria (Jg 6^{11}), but encountered his eastern foes near the spring of Harod (Jg 7^{1}), and pursued them down the valley of Jezreel to Beth-shittah (*Shuṭṭa*), and to Abel-meholah (*'Ain Helweh*) in the Jordan Valley, and by Succoth (*Tell Der'ala*) to Jogbehah (8^{11}), now *Jubeihah* on the hills north of Rabbath-ammon. The story of Jephthah belongs to Mount Gilead, Tob (Jg 11^{3}) being the present *Ṭaiyibeh* south-east of the Sea of Galilee, and Mizpeh, probably *Sûf*, farther south on the Gilead upland. The pursuit of the Ammonites extended to Aroer on Arnon. The exploits of Samson were confined to Philistia and the Shephēlah near Zorah—the valley of Sorek (Jg 16^{4}) retaining its name at *Surîḳ* close to his home, while the 'cleft' of the rock Etam ($15^{8.11}$) may be the curious cavern in the cliff at *Beit 'Aṭâb* rather farther east. The rock Rimmon (Jg 21^{13}) was not far south of Shiloh at *Rummôn*, and vine cultivation (v. ^{21}) still continues south of Shiloh (*Seilûn*), the position of which is specially described as east of the road to

Shechem, and south of Lebonah (*Lubben*) on that road (v.[19]).

The first capital of the Heb. kingdom was at Gibeah (*Jeb‘a*) in Benjamin (1 S 13[2]), near Michmash (*Mukhmâs*), where the two great precipices divide these villages (14[5]) in the valley of *Suweinît*—‘the little thorn trees’—which perhaps preserves the name of Seneh, ‘the thorn.’ The valley of Elah (*Wâdy es-Sunṭ*) is still remarkable for the large terebinths whence its Heb. name was derived, and its site is fixed by the notice of Socoh (1 S 17[1]), now *Shuweikeh*, and of Gath (v.[52]) and Ekron. Gath (*Giti Rimuna*) is pretty clearly fixed by a notice in the Tel el-Amarna letters at the site usually accepted—the cliff of *Tell es-Sâfi*—at the mouth of the valley of Elah. David's wanderings from this Philistine fortress extended up the valley of Elah to Adullam (‘*Aid el-Mia*) on its western side; to Hareth (*Kharâs*), in the hills above it on the east; and to Keilah (*Ḳîlah*) farther up its course towards Hebron (1 S 21[1. 5] 23[1]); and thence to Ziph (*Tell Zîf*) south-east of Hebron, and Maon (*Tell Ma‘în*) farther south. He was finally driven to the deserts of En-gedi (‘*Ain Jidy*), but returned to Maon (LXX 1 S 25[1]) immediately south of Carmel (*Kurmul*)—a region still rich in sheep (1 S 23[14. 25] 24[1] 25[2]). Ziklag (27) was south of Beersheba not far from Arad (*Tell ‘Arâd*), where the Kenites lived (cf. Jg 1[16] and 1 S 27[10]), but not more than three days' journey from Jezreel (30[1]) for men mounted on riding camels. The Philistines, driven from the mountains, encamped by a ‘stream’ (*Aphek*) in Shunem (29[1], cf. 28[4]), which still runs from the spring at *Sûlem*. Saul's army being to the south, on the rugged and barren slopes of Gilboa near Jezreel, his night journey to Endor, north of the Philistine camp, was especially dangerous.

The second Heb. capital was at Hebron, Saul's adherents having their centre at Mahanaim in Gilead. The well of Sirah (2 S 3[26]) retains its name (‘*Ain Sârah*) north of Hebron. The conquests of David extended north of Hermon to Tibhath (perhaps *Kefr Dubbeh*) in the Baalbek plains, but not to Kadesh farther north (2 S 8[8] 24[6]), now *Ḳades*, on the Orontes. Damascus and Edom were subdued, with Moab and Ammon. The border towards Phœnicia extended to Dan-jaan (*Daniân*) near Achzib south of Tyre (24[6]), but the region from near Accho to Cabul (*Kabûl*) was ceded later to Tyre by Solomon (1 K 9[13]), whose kingdom extended, however, north of Damascus to Tadmor (1 K 9[18]). Tadmor retained its native name at Palmyra to the 1st cent. A.D., as attested by a Palmyro-Gr. bilingual on the site. Tiphsah (Thapsacus on the Euphrates south of Carchemish) is stated (1 K 4[24]) to have been the limit of his power, including the country of the Hittite princes (v.[21], cf. 9[20] 10[29]); and Gezer, recently wasted by the Egyptians,.was ceded to Israel (1 K 9[16]). We thus reach the period of greatest prosperity, when Joppa (2 Ch 2[16]) was a Heb. port as well as Elath (1 K 9[26]) on the Gulf of ‘Aḳabah. The Phœnicians and the Hittites (1 K 10[29]) in Syria remained, however, as dependent allies. The Cherethites and Pelethites (2 S 20[23]) may have been guards from Philistia like the Gittites (15[18]), for a town called *Keratiya* exists south-west of Gath (but see art. CHERETHITES). Mahanaim is described (2 S 18[23]) as situated in a ‘round,’ not far from a forest (v.[9]), and the remarkable basin on the Gilead plateau in which the ruins of *Makhneh* stand is not far from the southern oak and fir woods, whence *es-Salt* (the Saltus of later times) was named.

The third Heb. capital at Jerusalem had existed from the 15th cent. B.C. as a city. It requires to be separately treated (see JERUSALEM), but was chosen, probably in preference to the older centre at Shechem, from military and political considerations. The southern mountains have always been the last refuge from foreign invaders from the plains. The gradual decay of the kingdom began, even in Solomon's age, with the loss of Damascus (1 K 11[24]); and Zereda (*Surdeh*) in Ephraim became a centre of revolt (v.[26], cf. LXX additions, 1 K 12[24a ff.]). Shishak's conquests (14[25]), according to his own record, extended over all Palestine except Upper Galilee, which was conquered by the Syrians (15[20]). The earlier boundary of Israel and Judah seems to have been near the Michmash Valley (v.[22], cf. 2 Ch 13[19] 16[1-6], Zec 14[10], 2 K 23[8]); and Tirzah, the northern capital (1 K 15[33]), was probably at *Teiasîr*, an ancient site north-east of Shechem. The site of Elijah's sacrifice (1 K 18) is supposed to have been at the southern peak of Carmel, now called *el-Mahraḳah*—‘the place of burning.’ The Aphek of the Syrian wars (1 K 20[30]) is probably *Fîḳ*, on the precipices east of the Sea of Galilee. The vine cultivation of Jezreel (1 K 21[1]) is attested by the remains of rock-cut winepresses east of the town, though no vines are now grown.

A new capital at Samaria now appears in history (1 K 16[24]) in a well-watered mountain region, at *Sebastieh* west of Shechem, but much exposed to invasion both from the western and the northern plains. Tiphsah (2 K 15[16]), smitten by Menahem, was probably not the distant Thapsacus on the Euphrates, but the modern *Tafsaḥ* (spelt with the final guttural) south of Shechem; for the Hittites were still an independent people, unconquered by Assyria till the time of Sargon (cf. 2 K 7[6]), and the conquests of Jeroboam II. in Syria (2 K 14[28]) extended only to Hamath, half-way to the Hittite capital at Carchemish (2 Ch 35[20]), now *Jerâbis* on the Euphrates.

After the Captivity geographical indications are less numerous, but many new towns are noticed (Ezr 2), such as Netophah (*Beit Netîf* in the Shephēlah), Azmaveth (*Hizmeh*), Neballat (*Bîr Nibâla*), and Ono (*Kefr ‘Ana*) in Benjamin, Elam (perhaps *Beit ‘Alâm* west of Hebron) and others already noticed: ‘the other Nebo’ (Neh 7[33]) may be *Nûba* in the same district; the villages in the Shephēlah were colonized by men of Judah and Benjamin, who spread as far as Ziklag, Lachish, and Lod (Neh 11[25-35]). The topographical notices of the poetical and prophetic books do not require special consideration, but that of the Song of Songs is remarkable as covering the whole of Palestine east and west of Jordan, and as indicating the various natural features of the different regions—the flowers of Sharon (2[1]), the mountains of Bether (probably *Bittîr* near Jerusalem, 2[17]), the pastures of Gilead (4[1]), the wild summits of Lebanon and Hermon (4[8]), the fertile plain round Tirzah (6[4]), the hills above Damascus (7[4]), the pools still found beneath Heshbon (7[4]), and perhaps the copses of Carmel, and the ‘circle’ of Mahanaim (6[13] 7[5]).

The geography of the Hasmonæan period, in the First Book of Maccabees, is evidence of the genuine character of that work. The revolt began at Modin (*Medieh*) on the hills east of Lydda; and the three great passes at Bethhoron, Bethzur, and Berzetho (*Bîr ez-Zeit*), on the west, south, and north of Jerusalem, were defended by Judas. Adasa, the site of his last victory, was at ‘*Adasah* near Gibeon. Bethzacharias (*Beit Skaria*), where Eleazar was killed under the elephant (1 Mac 6[32]), was within sight of Jerusalem on the south. The raids of Judas were carried over the whole of Eastern Palestine and into Philistia and Edom, but the only parts securely held were in the mountains round Jerusalem. After his death the surviving brothers found refuge in the desert of Judah and in the Jordan jungle before establishing themselves at Michmash. Under Jonathan the Jewish boundaries extended over all Western Palestine and Syria, even to the river Eleutherus north of Tripoli (*Nahr el-Kebîr*), the port of Joppa and the cities of Philistia having been also won. Gerasa (*Jerash*) in Gilead is first noticed in the time of Alexander Jannæus.

The NT topography is mainly confined to Lower Galilee, but the works of Josephus, the Mishna, and other early Talmudic tracts enable us to trace the boundaries of Samaria, while the village names of Lower Galilee are noticed in great numbers in the *Life* of Josephus, including many places not otherwise mentioned, but which retain their ancient names. The most important topographical questions in the Gospels, from a critical point of view, are those concerning the sites of Bethabara, Emmaus, and Sychar. Christian tradition from the fourth century has placed **Bethabara** (on the reading in Jn 1^{28} see article BETHABARA) at the Jericho ford, because John preached in the wilderness of Judæa (Mt 3^{1}); but this does not accord with the distance from Cana of Galilee, a day's journey (Jn 1^{43} 2^{1}), and the Baptist preached in all parts of the Jordan Valley (Lk 3^{3}). The name of Bethabara ('house of the ferry') survives at only one of the Jordan fords, *Makhâḍet 'Abârah*, 'the ford of the ferry,' and this is on the confines of Galilee (Mt 3^{13}), and a day's journey from Cana. The site of **Emmaus** is not known (possibly *Khamasa* south-west of Jerusalem); the emendation of the Sinaitic MS (Lk 24^{13} reading 160 for 60 furlongs), clearly intended to point to Emmaus Nicopolis (*'Amwâs*), gives too great a distance from Jerusalem to agree with the context (vv.$^{13.\ 33}$). **Sychar** (Sam. *Ischar*, translated in the Arabic of the Sam. Chronicle *'Askar*) is clearly the village *'Askar* close to Jacob's Well (Jn $4^{5.\ 6}$). Ænon near Salim (Jn 3^{23}), where there was 'much water,' is probably to be found at the perennial stream north-east of Shechem, between the sites of *'Ainûn* and *Sâlim*, where alone in Palestine the two names occur near each other. The site of Chorazin (Mt 11^{21}) is fixed at *Kerâzeh*, north of the Sea of Galilee, but that of Capernaum (Capharnaum in the earlier MSS) is disputed. Christian tradition from the 4th cent. has placed it at *Tell Hûm*, but the fountain of Capernaum watered the plain of Gennesaret (Jos. *BJ* III. x. 8), and Isaac Chelo (14th cent. A.D.) identifies the town with a city of the Minim, who, according to the Rabbis, were heretics of Capernaum; Jewish tradition seems thus to point to the ruin of *Minieh* in the small plain of Gennesaret. Bethsaida Julias (Jos. *BJ* III. x. 7) was at the mouth of the Jordan, east of the river, where it entered the Sea of Galilee. It is usually placed at *et-Tell*, a ruin now a mile from the mouth. The swampy delta between this site and the lake has probably been formed during the last nineteen centuries. This city appears to be the Bethsaida of the Gospels (Mk 8^{22}) on the way to Cæsarea Philippi under Hermon (v.^{27}), and apparently east of Jordan (cf. Mt $14^{13.\ 22.\ 34}$, Lk 9^{10}), although two of the oldest MSS omit the name in the last cited passage. This view is not contradicted by the other passages in which Bethsaida is noticed (Jn 1^{44}, Mt 11^{21}). Magdala (Mt 15^{39}), called Magadan in some early MSS, and possibly identical with Dalmanutha (Mk 8^{10}), is the little hamlet *Mejdel* north of Tiberias. Gerasa (Mk 5^{1}, Lk 8^{26} = Gadara of Mt 8^{28}) or Gergesa is usually placed at the ruin *Khersa*, under the cliffs east of the Sea of Galilee, a site which answers to the notice of a 'steep place' (Mt 8^{32}). See, further, under the articles GADARA, GADARENES, and GERASENES. The site of Bethphage (Mk 11^{1}) is unknown, but it was near Bethany (*el-'Azerîyeh*) on Olivet. Gethsemane is only traditionally indicated, but it was clearly at the foot of Olivet, east of the Kidron Valley. Ephraim (Jn 11^{54}) is traditionally the village *Ṭaiyibeh* near Baal-hazor (cf. 2 Ch 13^{19} and 2 S 13^{23}). Antipatris (Ac 23^{31}), at *Râs el-'Ain*, on the old road from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, was a city built by Herod the Great.

The boundaries of Samaria coincided roughly with those of the old territory of Manasseh west of Jordan, and extended to the Jordan Valley (cf. Mk 10^{1}) as well as to the sea—Cæsarea Palestina and Capharsaba (*Kefr Sâba*) being Sam. towns according to the Rabbis. Samaritans also lived in Bethshean and on Carmel, where *Kefr es-Samîr* represents the older Castrum Samaritorum. The south boundary followed a great ravine eastwards from Antipatris, having Beth Rima (*Beit Rîma*) and Beth Laban (*Lubben*) on the south, and passing by Anuath and Borceos (*Berkît*). Acrabbi (*'Akrabeh*) and Sartaba (*Ḳurn Sartabah*) were in Judæa; and the boundary, leaving Shechem on its west, thus seems to have followed the valley of Ænon. En-gannim (*Jenîn*) was the border town of Galilee in the plain of Esdraelon; but Carmel, Gilboa, and all Sharon north of Antipatris appear to have been in Samaria. Galilee was bounded on the north (see Tosephta, Siphri, and Talm. Jerus.) by Achzib north of Accho (*ez-Zib*), Gatin (*Ja'thûn*), Beth Zanita (*Zuweinita*), Melloth (*Ma'lia*), Gelil (*Jilîl*), and Kanah (*Ḳanah*), and thence on the north the line ran along the Leontes, and to Cæsarea Philippi (*Baniâs*) under Hermon. The 'coasts of Tyre and Sidon' (Mt 15^{21}) were thus beyond the Holy Land. On the east, Bashan was divided into the districts of Gaulanitis (*Jaulân*), Trachonitis (the *Lejja* or 'basalt' region), Ituræa,—usually supposed to be the *Jedûr* region under Hermon,—Batanæa and Auranitis (*Ḥaurân*). See BASHAN. Decapolis (Mt 4^{25}, Mk 5^{20}, Pliny, *HN* v. 18) was a confederation of ten cities in Bashan, including Gadara (*Umm Ḳeis*), Gerasa (*Jerâsh*), Canatha (*Kanawât*), Abila (*Abil*), Susitha (*Sûsieh*), Dion (*Adûn*), Capitolias (probably *Beit er-Râs*), Pella (*Fahil*), and Raphana, with Bethshean (*Beisân*) west of the Jordan.

Palestine was enriched by Herod the Great with new cities, such as Cæsarea, and by great buildings at Jericho, Phasaelis (*Fusail* in the Jordan Valley), Samaria, Antipatris, Ashkelon, etc. He built the desert fortress of Masada (*Sebbeh*) on the south-west shores of the Dead Sea; and his tomb was in the circular fortress of Herodium, which still stands on its conical hill south of Bethlehem (*Jebel Fureidîs*). His successors added Tiberias, Cæsarea Philippi, Bethsaida, Archelais (probably *Kerâwa* in the Jordan Valley), and other towns; but his dominions were divided (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. xi. 4), Archelaus ruling Edom, Judæa, and Samaria; Philip ruling Bashan and Abilene (north of Hermon); and Antipas ruling Galilee, with Gilead and Moab (Peræa); until under the Roman procurators Palestine became a province subject to the legate of Syria. During this period Damascus and the regions far east of the Jordan were subject to the Nabatæan princes of Petra from B.C. 95 to A.D. 106. Bashan was incorporated in the province of Syria in A.D. 34 after the death of Philip.

Later Geography.—Knowledge of the later topography of Palestine is important for a right understanding of many questions, but the subject cannot here be fully treated. The scattered notices in Pliny, Strabo, and other Roman writers do not add materially to our information, nor are many places noticed in the Mishna; but in the 4th cent. the Jerusalem Talmud contains many references. The conquests of Cornelius Palma under Trajan in A.D. 105 gave to the Romans the whole of Gilead and Moab from Bostra (*Busrah*) to Petra and 'Aḳabah on the Red Sea. Bostra was the capital of this new province of Arabia, and the quarters of the Third Legion (Cyrenaica). In A.D. 295 Auranitis, Batanæa, and Trachonitis were added to this province (which was ruled by a proprætor and a procurator), these districts having previously belonged to Syria. The Syrian province continued to use the Seleucid era for dating texts, but the Arabian cities dated from A.D. 106, the era of Bostra. Hence (see Mr. A. G. Wright's paper in *Pal. Expl. Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1895, p. 67) it becomes possible to draw the north boundary of Arabia in A.D. 106 on the south side of Bashan passing just north of Adraa, while after A.D. 295 the border between Arabia and Syria ran farther north by Neve (*Nawa*) and Aere (*es-Ṣunamein*) in the north part of Bashan. The most important places historically in the 2nd cent. A.D. were Bether (*Bittîr* near Jerusalem), where the great revolt of the Jews from Hadrian was suppressed, and Jamnia (*Yebnah*), the seat of the Sanhedrin after A.D. 70; while after A.D. 135 it sat at Shafram (*Shefa 'Amr*), Oshah (*Hûsheh*), Shaaraim (*Sha'rah*), and Tiberias in Lower Galilee. The great *Onomasticon* of Eusebius, translated from Gr. into Latin by Jerome, is very important for a knowledge of the 4th cent. topography, but the identification of Bible sites by these writers, who were intimately acquainted with the whole country, is as often wrong as right (as may be shown in cases such as Aijalon, etc.), and it has no authority, although upon it was founded the Greek tradition which all pilgrim diaries repeat down to the 12th cent., and which still survives. The crusaders further confused the topography by new and ignorant identifications, often rejecting sites fixed by the consensus of Jewish, Sam., and Gr.-Christian tradition. Before the first crusade (A.D. 1099) the Greek Church divided the country into three provinces, Palestina Prima, Palestina Secunda (Galilee and East of Jordan), and Palestina Tertia in the south, including S.E. Palestine and the southern desert—all under the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem. The crusaders had four metropolitans (at Jerusalem, Cæsarea, Tyre, and Nazareth) under the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem until A.D. 1187. Under the Romans and Byzantines the boundaries of the country were guarded by Legions and native auxiliaries, established at centres like Bostra (*Busrah*) on the edge of the Syrian desert, and at Sinai, with posts along the plains of Moab and Damascus. The tombstones of Roman officers are commonly found in these regions with Greek (and sometimes Latin) inscriptions. The crusaders divided all Palestine (except Bashan, which was never conquered) into fifteen baronies and fiefs under the king of Jerusalem in the 12th cent. The treaty of Richard I. and Saladin (A.D. 1192) left to the Christians all the plains of Philistia and Sharon, with Galilee and Tyre, and many new fortresses were built in these regions early in the 13th century. The last region left to the Christians, after the conquest of Bibars, consisted, about A.D. 1282, of Carmel, the plains of Acre, and the hills east of Tyre, all finally lost in 1291 on the fall of Acre. Moslem accounts of Palestine are slight and, as a rule, late, excepting the geography of El Muḳaddasi, which throws light on the condition of the country before the first crusade. A considerable Christian population continued to exist under the Moslems during the centuries following Omar's conquest, and was found in the country by the crusaders. Soldiers from the west of Europe had already been planted in Palestine by the Romans in the 2nd cent., and a large population of European settlers occupied the land in the 12th; but after the 13th this element was represented till recently only by Italian traders on the coast, and by monks at Nazareth, Carmel, Jerusalem, and Bethlehem. During the last twenty years the immigration of Circassians (in Bashan), of Bosnians (at Cæsarea on the coast), and of Jews at Jerusalem, with colonies near Jaffa, on Carmel, in Galilee, and in Bashan, are the most remarkable changes in the population of the country. Our knowledge of Palestine under the Franks, in the 12th and 13th cents., is singularly minute, and the remains of their churches and castles are among the most conspicuous ruins in the country; but their influence on the native race and language seems to have been very small. Modern Palestine under the Turks is divided into four provinces,—that of Jerusalem, that of Nâblus (Shechem), to which the Belḳa or 'empty land' (in Moab and Gilead) is attached, and that of Acre. Bashan is directly under the ruler of the capital at Damascus. The country still possesses fine cornlands, especially in Sharon, Lower Galilee, and Bashan; its hills are covered with vines, especially on Hermon and round Hebron; and large groves of olives cover the lower foot hills. Most of its ancient towns are now either villages of huts built of mud in the plains and of stone in the hills, or they are ruins. The only city is Damascus (250,000 inhabitants), and the chief towns are Jerusalem (perhaps 60,000), Hebron (10,000), Gaza (18,000), Jaffa (7000), Bethlehem (5000), Nâblus (15,000), Jenîn (3000), Nazareth (6000), Tiberias (2000), Accho (Acre, 8000), and Tyre (3000); but these are only estimates based on local information, and the numbers constantly vary, the Moslem population and the Samaritans at Nâblus (140 souls) tending to decrease, while the Jewish, Greek, German, and Maronite-Christian elements tend to increase, in numbers and in prosperity.

vi. ANTIQUITIES.—At a time approximately dated B.C. 2800, the Akkadians from the lower Tigris were sending ships to Sinai for granite (Telloh inscriptions of Gudea), and cutting cedars in Amanus (*Amalum*), and it is not improbable that they entered Palestine as did Amraphel (*Khammurabi*) and Arioch (*Eriaku*), who raided (Gn 14^{5-7}) through Bashan, Moab, and Edom to Kadesh-barnea, returning by En-gedi up the Jordan Valley to Dan, and to the land of Hobah north of Damascus. The date of the participators in this alleged early Chaldæan raid may possibly be fixed by the cuneiform tablets *c.* B.C. 2300 (see above, p. 647^b). During the same period the *Men* or Minyans (Jer 51^{27}, but see *KAT*^{2} *ad loc.*) were ruling in Lower Egypt, and are said in Egyp. records (see Brugsch, i. 234) to have come from Assyria and from east of Syria, probably from near Lake Van. Their language, like the Akkadian, appears (Tel el-Amarna tablets, No. 24, Berlin) to have been Mongolic, and they adored Set, a deity worshipped by the Hittites, to whom they were probably akin. It is not impossible, therefore (but see above, p. 646^a), that at this early period a Hittite tribe may have been established among the Amorites in the south at Hebron (Gn 23), though in the later times of the Heb. conquest and in Solomon's age (Jos 1^4, 1 K 4^{29}) the Hittites are confined to North Syria. In the lowest strata of the mound at Lachish pottery as well as flint instruments occur, which may belong to this period, and with these a signet which appears to have on it both Egyptian and Hittite hieroglyphics. To this early period may also be attributed the rude stone monuments, which are numerous in Moab, and which also occur near the Jabbok, at Rabbath-ammon, and near Sûf in Northern Gilead, as well as in the Jaulân. There are three or four examples in

Upper Galilee, and a group west of *Tell el-Ḳâḍi* (Dan), but none are known in Western Palestine south of the Sea of Galilee. These monuments resemble those of our own islands, including monumental pillars (*maẓẓēbôth* of the Hebrew), circles of village enclosure stones (*ḥăzērîm*, Arab. *hadhr*), and tables supported on upright or flat stones, such as are called cromlechs or dolmens in Britain. The Moabite examples of the latter class of monuments cannot have been sepulchral, and were never covered over with mounds like the tomb-chambers of Europe. They can only (in many instances) have served as tables, probably as altars, and they have often 'cup hollows' in the top stone, fitted for libations, such as are still poured into similar cup hollows in the north of Europe. The distribution of these monuments is remarkable, since they have disappeared from the regions in which Hezekiah and Josiah (2 K 18^{4} $23^{4\text{-}20}$) destroyed the Canaanite altars and pillars, surviving only in regions beyond the influence of the kings of Judah. They occur on Nebo (cf. Nu 23^{14}), and at Dan, both of which were centres of idolatrous worship.

The monumental history of Palestine from Egyp. sources begins about B.C. 1700 (Brugsch's date), before which time the foreign kings of the Delta (Minyans or Hyksos) were in communication with 'the north.' Ahmes, first of the new native dynasty from Thebes (the 18th), drove the Asiatics from the Delta, and pursued them to Sharuhen (*Tell esh-Sheri'ah*) on the borders of Palestine. Thothmes I. marched into Palestine and Syria, and beyond the Euphrates, about B.C. 1633; and a generation later Thothmes III. won a great victory at Megiddo in Central Palestine, defeating a league of Canaanites and Hittites, and pursuing his conquests through Phœnicia by Aradus and Tunep, and beyond the Euphrates. The list of cities conquered in Palestine, about B.C. 1600, includes those of Philistia, Lower Galilee, and Bashan, as far as Ashtaroth and Damascus; but none appear to be mentioned in Samaria or Upper Judæa, or in Gilead or Moab. The Egyp. chariots could not enter these rugged mountains. Among the 119 towns in Palestine mentioned on this valuable list at Karnak (first published by Mariette) the following cities noticed in the Bible are found in the order here given:—Megiddo, Gaza, Dothan, Rabbith, Kartan, Damascus, Edrei, Abila (of Bashan), Hammath, Madon, Lasharon, Ashtaroth, Maachah, Laish, Hazor, Adami, Kishion, Shunem, Misheal, Achshaph, Taanach, Ibleam, Anem, Kadesh (of Issachar), Anaharath, Nekeb, Joppa, Lod, Ono, Shochoh (near Adullam), Naamah, Saphir, Rakkon, Gerar, Aroer (of Simeon), Lebaoth, Rehoboth, Adoraim, Anim, Gezer, Rabbath, Zorah, Anem, En-gannim (of Judah), Gibeah (of Judah), and Zephathah. These cities therefore all bore their biblical names in B.C. 1600, before the Exodus, and the list has the highest value for critical purposes. The civilization of the Canaanites at this period as described in the spoil lists of Thothmes III. is most remarkable. All the precious metals were in use; art objects from Phœnicia and Assyria were imported; ivory was used for inlaying; chariots were plated with gold and silver, or painted; armour of bronze, and iron weapons are noticed with flint axes. Thrones, footstools, and sceptres, of precious wood, were adorned with gold and ivory; tables were set with gems; and tents had pillars of iron and of gold. The cities had walls, and fine harvests of wheat and barley were reaped, while horses and flocks were captured by the Egyptians. Statues with heads of gold are also mentioned. Wine, oil, honey, balm, and fruits were presented. Even the ploughs seem to have been adorned with gold; and cedar wood was commonly used. Ships laden with timber and corn were sailing on the Mediterranean (cf. Gn 49^{13}, Nu 24^{24}), and often carried slaves from the north. In the time of Thothmes IV. further expeditions were made against the Hittites, now driven from Palestine to Ḳadesh on the Orontes. These conquests were maintained during the greater part of the long and prosperous reign of Amenophis III. (about B.C. 1500 to 1464).

The Egyptian monuments do not mention any Exodus, though Thothmes IV. is said to have driven out the Asiatics. The notices of the place Rameses (Gn 47^{11}, Ex 1^{11} *) do not serve to fix any date for such an event, and our only sources of information (see Jg 11^{26}, 1 K 6^{1}) point to the 15th cent. B.C. as that during which the conquest of Palestine by the Hebrews was effected. In the ruins of Lachish the seal of Teie, the Armenian queen of Amenophis III., is found, showing intercourse with Egypt about B.C. 1500; and the Egyptians were in constant intercourse with Babylon, Assyria, and Armenia at this time, the royal houses being allied by marriages from the time of Thothmes IV. A curious cuneiform tablet, sealed with a Bab. cylinder signet (Tel el-Amarna), is addressed to 'all the kings of Canaan, servants of my brother, the king of Egypt,' and served as a passport for an envoy. The great collections of 300 cuneiform tablets, found in 1887 at Tel el-Amarna (between Memphis and Thebes), contain letters to Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV. from the kings of Babylon, Assyria, and Armenia, from princes in Asia Minor, and (in about 200 instances) from chiefs of the Hittites, Amorites, Phœnicians, and Philistines, who ruled as subjects of the Pharaoh, assisted by Egyp. residents in the chief towns of the Syrian and Palestine plains, and guarded by forces of chariots. But towards the end of the reign of Amenophis III. revolutions occurred, which destroyed the Egyp. domination. The Canaanites sought alliance with Babylon, but this was refused. The Hittites and Cassites attacked Damascus, and overran Bashan. The Amorites made war on the Phœnicians, and besieged Tyre. The Egyp. forces were defeated and withdrawn from the north and from Jerusalem, and the king of that city wrote to Egypt to complain of the entire destruction of 'all the rulers,' which followed, and which was due to the conquests of a people called the *Habiri* or *'Abiri*. They are said to have come from Seir to Jerusalem, and to have fought at Aijalon, and subdued Gezer, Ashkelon, Zorah, Lachish, Keilah, and other cities. The date coincides with that of the Heb. conquest according to the OT notices, and it appears probable that (as Zimmern has proposed) the Habiri are to be identified with the Hebrews.

In the reign of Amenophis IV. communication with the north was (according to these tablets) much interrupted, and about B.C. 1400 the 18th dynasty was overthrown. Seti I., a generation later, began to attempt the reconquest of the lost empire when the 19th dynasty had arisen. He penetrated to Kanana (*Kana'an*) near Hebron, and into the land of Zahi, famous for its wine and corn, and thought to have lain in the south of Pal., near which apparently lived the Anaugas (perhaps Anakim). Seti also fought a battle at Inuamu, perhaps Jamnia, and his famous successor, Ramses II., besieged and took Ashkelon, and the towns of Shalama, Maroma (*Meirûn*), Ain Anamim (*'Ainatha*), Dapur (*Debûrieh*), and Kalopu (perhaps *Shalabûn*), in Upper and Lower Galilee. He pursued his conquests into Phœnicia, and, after taking Ḳadesh, entered into treaty with the Hittites, who had become independent, and marched to the

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* These two statements were clearly written not earlier than the time of the 19th dynasty.

Euphrates and to Ephesus. This period of conquest in Galilee seems to have coincided chronologically with the oppression of Israel under Jabin II., king of Hazor, whose 'captain' (*sar*), with a force of iron chariots (Jg 4^2), bears a name not apparently Semitic, but easily explained as Egyp., viz. Sisera, *i.e. Ses-Ra*, 'the servant of Ra.' The conquests of Ramses II. were lost about B.C. 1300 by Merenptah, who was attacked in Egypt by tribes from the north, and after his time Arisu (Hareth), a Phœnician, ruled in the Delta. The power of Egypt steadily declined, and about B.C. 1200 Ramses III. was attacked by northern tribes, coming both by sea and by land to Egypt. Among those enumerated are the *Danau* or Greeks, and the *Pulesta*, thought to be the Philistines.

Early Assyr. invasions occurred (see ARAM) about this period; and in B.C. 1150 Assur-risisi set up a monument at Beirut, and about 1120 Tiglath-pileser I. entered the Lebanon. An Assyr. king was also buried at Abydos in the time of Ramses XIV., and may have passed through Palestine. But, after the death of Solomon, Shishak (B.C. 966–933) invaded Palestine, and took 133 cities, among which Jerusalem is perhaps mentioned last (Maspero). The only monument of this later age is the famous Moabite Stone, found at *Dhibân*, which records the revolt of Moab in the 9th cent. B.C., during the reign of Ahab (cf. 2 K 3^{4-27}). But the power of the Assyrians in Palestine was not severely felt until the time of Tiglath-pileser III., who conquered Damascus in B.C. 732. Prior to this event Menahem of Israel and Ahaz of Judah brought tribute, as Jehu had done in the 9th cent. The fall of the Syrian power beyond Jordan was followed by the capture of Samaria in B.C. 722 by Sargon. The advance to Ashdod followed eleven years later, and the attack on Jerusalem by Sennacherib, in B.C. 701, failed in consequence of the success of Tirhakah, the Ethiopian king of Egypt, after his defeat near Joppa. Sennacherib 'dwelt at Nineveh' (2 K 19^{36}) till his death twenty years later, and Judah was saved for a century. The great inscription of Sennacherib attests the wealth of Hezekiah, and mentions his ivory throne. The Siloam inscription, belonging to this age, not only gives us the characters then in use,—closely like the Phœnician,—but also shows us that the language of Judah was the pure Heb. in which the earlier books of the OT are written. Sennacherib speaks of 30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver given as tribute by Hezekiah, with precious woods, gems, eunuchs of the palace, horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep. Forty-six fortresses were besieged with battering-rams in Judæa. Manasseh is again noticed as tributary to Esarhaddon, who rebuilt Babylon (cf. 2 Ch 33^{11}) and conquered Egypt. Very few Palestine antiquities are as yet recovered previous to the time of Nebuchadnezzar (B.C. 600), excepting those noticed above. At Samaria a Heb. quarter-shekel weight* has been found (about 40 grains), and in the ruins of Lachish clay images, with pottery and seals. Certain inscribed seals from Jerusalem and Northern Palestine bear Hebrew personal names compounded with the sacred name Jah, which occurs on the Moabite Stone, and also early in Assyria and Syria. The Siloam aqueduct, and probably many rock-cut tombs of the old Phœnician character, date from this period.

After the Captivity we possess silver shekel coins (worth about 2s. 8d.), adorned with the pomegranate, which appear to be earlier than the 2nd or 3rd cent. B.C.; and the great inscription of Eshmunazar (probably of the 3rd cent. B.C.) shows that Sharon was ruled by the Sidonian kings under the Ptolemies, while dated texts of the same period attest the worship of Baal near Tyre. The Greek influence which began to affect Palestine after the conquest by Alexander the Great is witnessed by the ruins of Tyrus in Gilead, where the palace of the priest Hyrcanus (built in B.C. 176) is adorned with gigantic figures of lions, and with semi-Gr. semi-Egyp. pillars and cornices. To the 2nd cent. B.C. belong the coins of the Hasmonæan kings, inscribed in the later Heb. character, and also (from the time of Alexander Jannæus) in Greek. The Gr. masonry (like that of the Acropolis), with drafted margins to the stones, is found at Tyrus and in Phœnicia, and continued in use in the time of Herod the Great. About the Christian era the Gr. tomb also began to supersede the earlier Heb. tomb with *kokim* or tunnel graves, and the adornment of the façades was executed in a peculiar native style, much influenced by Greek ideas, the best examples of which occur near Jerusalem.

The second century of the Christian era was a great building period in Palestine. Roman cities like Gadara and Gerasa sprang up, and the temple of Baalbek was built. Numerous family mausolea—towers containing sarcophagi—were erected, esp. in Bashan and Gilead, and Gr. inscriptions prove that they were built in the lifetime of the owner. Bashan presents us with hundreds of Gr. texts of this age, dating from the time of Herod onwards, and witnessing to the existence of a mingled Arab-Gr. population, adoring Arab and Gr. gods. The synagogues of Upper Galilee (to which probably others on Carmel and at Shiloh may be added) are equally influenced by Gr. art, though in some cases giving square Heb. inscriptions. The most notable examples occur at Chorazin, Tell Hûm, Irbid, and in the mountains of Naphtali. Roman roads, with milestones inscribed in Gr. and in Latin, belong to the same period (esp. under the Antonines, A.D. 140 to 180); and at Gerasa we find a very perfect example of a Roman city, with its streets of columns, forum, theatres, naumachia basin, triumphal arch, baths, judgment basilica, and temples. To the 2nd and 3rd cents. A.D. belong also the Jewish and Christian osteophagi (or bone boxes) found on Olivet with Gr. and Heb. texts, and the tombstones of the old Jewish cemetery at Jaffa. The tomb of Eleazar bar Zachariah (A.D. 135) bearing his name has perhaps been found on Carmel, and that of a descendant of Rabbi Tarphon at Jaffa.

The Palestine ruins of the Byzantine period (4th to 7th cent.) are extremely numerous, including fortifications, churches, chapels, and monasteries in all parts of the country. Gr.-Christian texts are commonly found. The Gr. tomb continued in general use, and copper coins of the later emperors are found in great numbers. The remains of the Arab period before the crusades (especially the mosques at Jerusalem, Damascus, and 'Ammân) are less numerous. A text from Harrân (south-east of Damascus) proves the use of the Kufic character in Palestine before the time of Omar. The Norman buildings of the 12th and 13th cents. represent a new and foreign element in architecture, and to this age belong many coins, seals, inscribed tombstones, glass mosaics, and frescoes, with other art objects. The latest important architectural remains are found in the mosques built by the great Egyp. rulers of the 13th and 14th cents. Modern additions to the architecture include the Latin monasteries at Jerusalem, Nazareth, Bethlehem, Carmel, etc., with smaller Greek monasteries, and Protestant churches and orphanages at Jerusalem, Nazareth, etc. The real antiquities of Palestine are, however, for the most part hidden in the great mounds which mark the sites of ancient cities such as Ashkelon, Megiddo, Lachish, Cæsarea, etc., which require further excavation.

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* The old Jerusalem shekel, according to Maimonides, weighed about 320 grains, but the Galilæan shekel was half the weight of the Jerusalem shekel. The weight has on it the words *reba' neẓep*, 'quarter of half' (Clermont-Ganneau), and *reba' she-l* for 'quarter shekel' (Robertson Smith). See the discussion by the latter in the *Academy*, 18th Nov. 1893, p. 443 ff., or *PEFSt*, July 1894, p. 225 ff. The weight agrees with that of the quarter of a Galilæan shekel. After the Captivity the shekel weighed only 220 grains (see also *PEFSt*, July and Oct. 1899 and Jan. 1900, for further papers on the metrology). A specimen, apparently of the full *neẓep*, weighing 156 grs., has recently been found by Bliss at Tell Zakarîya (*PEFSt*, July 1899, p. 207 f.).

LITERATURE.—The Bibliography of Palestine occupies a stout volume recently published by Herr Röhricht, but the number of standard works necessary for the student is not large. Reland's *Palæstina Illustrata* is still valuable, and Robinson's *Biblical Researches* form an invaluable storehouse of literary notices. The results of exploration are found in the publications of the *Palestine Exploration Fund* (1865–1900), and esp. in the Memoirs of the Survey, including seven quarto volumes illustrated. Three of these treat of Western Palestine, one of Moab, one of Jerusalem, one contains Special Papers, and the last gives the Arab nomenclature. Three volumes are added on the Natural History, Botany, and Geology, and two more are to follow on the Archæological discoveries of M. Clermont-Ganneau. To these must be added the maps (1 inch to the mile), with those on a smaller scale which give the results as bearing on ancient geography. The Egyp. records relating to Palestine will be found in Brugsch's *History of Egypt*, and in Chabas' *Voyage d'un Egyptien*, see also W. M. Müller, *Asien u. Europa*; Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, *Struggle of the Nations*, and parts of Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology*; the spelling of the names is given in hieroglyphic types in Pierret's *Dictionary*. The Tel el-Amarna tablets are published in facsimile (*Thontafelfund von el Amarna*) by Winckler and trd by him in vol. v. of *KIB* (see also Petrie's *Syria and Egypt from the Tell el Amarna Letters*, and Conder's *Tell Amarna Tablets*, 2nd ed.). The Assyr. records are tr. in *RP*, and (better) in *KIB* i.–iii., and in Schrader's valuable work on the *Cuneif. Inscript. and OT*. The early Christian and Moslem accounts are treated in the publications of the *Palestine Pilgrim Texts Society*. The Greek inscriptions were collected by Waddington and de Vogüé (*Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*), and to the latter we owe valuable works on Jerusalem and on the churches of the crusaders. The history of the various scripts is given by Isaac Taylor (*The Alphabet*), and the coinage is treated by Madden (*Coins of the Jews*). The Talmudic geography is detailed by Neubauer (*Géographie du Talmud*), and the Arab geographies by Guy le Strange (*Pal. under the Moslems*); while the most important works treating of the crusaders include Bongars' *Gesta Dei*, the History by William of Tyre, the valuable *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* by Herr Röhricht, and Rey's *Colonies Franques de la Syrie*. Many other publications might be added to this list of leading works, such as the publications of the *German Palestine Society*, the works of de Saulcy, Guérin, and others, and scattered papers, given by the *Biblical Archæological Society* and other antiquarian societies. Popular works on the country are not included in this list. The features of the country may be best understood from the large model by Mr. G. Armstrong published by the *Palestine Exploration Fund*. The topographical questions and antiquities are treated in G. A. Smith's *HGHL*; Baedeker, *Pal.* (last ed.); Nowack, *Heb. Arch.*; Benzinger, do.; see also Conder's *Handbook to the Bible*. Important details may also be studied in the British Museum catalogues; and M. Maspero's studies of the geographical lists of Thothmes III. and Shishak have been published in the *Transactions of the Victoria Institute* (for Thothmes, 1886, p. 277 ff., 1888, p. 53 ff.; for Shishak, 1894, p. 63 ff.), which, together with those of the *Royal Asiatic Society*, contain other papers bearing on Palestine; cf. also parts of Sayce's *Patriarchal Palestine*. The Mediæval Samaritan Topography is to be found in Juynboll's *Samaritan Book of Joshua*, and in Neubauer's *Samaritan Chronicle*, to which Nutt's *Samaritans* may be added as of value. Recent researches have so entirely changed the basis on which Palestine antiquities are now studied, that the traditional Christian topography has ceased to be regarded as of primary importance, and many works founded on this information have become obsolete. Outside the Bible the most important ancient work bearing on the condition of the country, about the Christian era, continues to be that of *Josephus*; but his text is so corrupt, and his statements of distance and area are so discordant, that it is impossible to rely on his accuracy in these details.

C. R. CONDER.

PALLU (פַּלּוּא; Φαλλούς, Φαλλούδ).—One of the sons of Reuben, Gn 46^{9}, Ex 6^{14}, Nu $26^{5.8}$, 1 Ch 5^{3}. The patronymic **Palluites** (הַפַּלֻּאִי, Φαλλουεί) occurs in Nu 26^{5}. We should probably read *Pallu* for PELETH (wh. see) in Nu 16^{1}.

PALM (OF THE HAND).—The Heb. word כַּף *kaph* (from כָּפַף to be bent, bowed), signifies the hand as bent or hollow, the palm in readiness for holding or grasping, and it is used with great freedom in OT. Pharaoh's cup is set upon the palm of his hand (Gn $40^{11.21}$); the widow of Zarephath had 'but a palmful of meal' (1 K 17^{12}); the palms are clapped in applause (2 K 11^{12}) or in derision (Nu 24^{10}); men seize with the palm (Ezk 29^{7}), and smite their palms together in hand-grasp (Pr 6^{1}); the palms are spread out in prayer (Ex $9^{29.33}$); it is by the toil of the palms that men earn their bread (Gn 31^{42}); and to be in one's palm is the Heb. expression for to be in one's power. The Eng. idiom uses 'hand' in almost all these places. Indeed 'palm' never occurs in AV except when followed by 'of the hand' (Lv 14^{15}, 1 S 5^{4}, 2 K 9^{35}, Is 49^{16}, Dn 10^{10}). In Dn $5^{5.24}$ 'part' (AV and RV) should be 'palm.'

In Sir 18^{3} God is said to govern the world with the palm of His hand (*ἐν σπιθαμῇ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ*, lit. 'with the span of his hand,' cf. Is 40^{12}). The Geneva and Bishops' Bibles have 'with the power of his hand'; other VSS, including RV, omit, following a better text.

The palm of the hand is thrice mentioned in NT. In Mt 26^{67} it is said that 'others smote him with the palms of their hands'; the Gr. is simply *οἱ δὲ ἐρράπισαν* (edd. *ἐράπισαν*). The only other occurrence of *ῥαπίζειν* in NT is Mt 5^{39} *ὅστις σε ῥαπίζει εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα* [*σου*], 'whosoever shall smite thee (RV 'smiteth thee') on thy right cheek,' where the smiting is clearly with the palm of the hand. And, as Swete (on Mk 14^{65}) points out, in two at least of the three LXX instances of *ῥαπίζειν*, the reference is to a blow on the face by the hand of another (Hos 11^{4}, 1 Es 4^{30}). Field (*Otium Norv.*^{2} on Jn 18^{22}) quotes, further, a clear example from Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. xv. 4), who represents Zedekiah as saying, before he struck Micaiah on the cheek, 'If he be a true prophet, as soon as he is struck by me, let him disable my hand' (*εὐθὺς ῥαπισθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ βλαψάτω μου τὴν χεῖρα*); and he decides, after examining the use of the word in classical writers, that *ῥαπίζειν* (though from *ῥάπις*, *a rod*) is not used as equivalent to *ῥαβδίζειν*, 'to strike with a rod,' later than Herodotus. RV therefore need scarcely have repeated the AV margin 'or *with rods*.' In Mk 14^{65} (*ῥαπίσμασιν αὐτὸν ἔβαλλον* [but edd. after best MSS *ἔλαβον*, on which see Swete, *in loc.*]) and in Jn 18^{22} (*ἔδωκε ῥάπισμα τῷ Ἰησοῦ*) we have the subst. *ῥάπισμα*, of which the meaning is determined by the meaning of *ῥαπίζω*: it means a stroke with the palm of the hand. RV has in Mk 'received him with blows of their hands,' with marg. 'or *strokes of rods*'; and in Jn 'struck Jesus with his hand,' with marg. 'or *with a rod*.' The margins are to be rejected on the ground of congruity as well as the use of the word.

J. HASTINGS.

PALM TREE (תָּמָר *tāmār*, in Jg 4^{5} and Jer 10^{5} תֹּמֶר; *φοῖνιξ*, *palma*).—The palm is indigenous in tropical and subtropical climates. It is the tree *par excellence* of Egypt and Nubia. It flourishes, however, in the maritime plain of Pal. and Syria, as far north as Beirût and Tripoli. Beyond this it exists, even as far as Smyrna. It grew formerly in abundance in the Jordan Valley, and would do so now if planted. Although a few trees grow in sunny places on the lower mountains, they do not usually bear fruit at an altitude above 1000 ft. The palm of Scripture is *Phœnix dactylifera*, L., of the Order Palmeæ. It is an endogenous tree; the trunk, composed of interlacing fibres, is very light, but exceedingly flexible and strong. A palm tree sways to and fro in the wind with inexpressible gracefulness, but seldom breaks, even in the fiercest gales. Its trunk grows by additions from above, not increasing in thickness after it has once become fairly established. Indeed, by the wearing off of the stumps of the leaves, it becomes more slender as it increases in height. This tall, slender, flexible trunk springs from an immense tuber, a little below the surface of the ground. From the lower surface of this tuber descend cord-like white roots, which spread laterally about as much as the diameter of the head of leaves, and downward for 6–8 ft. or more. These give off coarse fibres, which absorb the moisture from the soil. From the upper aspect of the tuber, and the lower part of the trunk, spring true branches. If not cut off, they will grow and produce the effect of a clump of several trees. Such clumps are the usual form of growth in the desert, or in neglected places. But branches very seldom grow at any considerable height above the ground. The palm 'branches' (called technically כַּפּוֹת in Lv 23^{40} [see Driver's note in *PB*], 'palms' [of the hand], from their shape [cf. כִּפָּה Is 9^{14} 19^{15}, Job 15^{32}]) do not refer to these, but to the fronds, which form a hemispherical or nearly spherical dome, which waves and tosses often at a height of 50–100 ft. The fronds themselves are 6–12 ft. or more in length, with a stiff midrib, and pinnæ half folded lengthwise, ending in a prickly tip. The lowermost of these fronds are deflexed, the middle horizontal, and the uppermost erect. From the terminal bud arise the spathes, which enclose the flowers. The staminate flowers are on one tree and the pistillate on another. As soon as they have shed their pollen, the staminate flowers wither and drop off. But the clusters of dates on the fertile tree grow more beautiful as they curve more and more outward and downward on their long yellow or red stalks, and the ripening dates turn from green to yellow or red, and sometimes to a rich maroon colour or almost black. The fruit is gathered by a man who climbs the tall slender trunk, cuts the great clusters, places them in a basket, and lowers them to the ground.

The Scripture allusions to the palm tree are numerous. Its evergreen foliage and wealth of delicious fruit are compared with the righteous (Ps 92^{12}), its tall, graceful stature and mien with the loveliest of women (Ca 7^{7}). Immediately after the latter allusion there is another to the mode of gathering the fruit: 'I will go up to the palm tree, I will take hold of the boughs thereof' (v.^{8}). The *boughs* here are the graceful stalks of the date clusters, often 4–6 ft. long, loaded with their tempting fruit, under the dome of leaves. The upright port of the palm is noticed (Jer 10^{5}). The withering of this tree is mentioned with that of the vine, fig, pomegranate, apple, and other trees, as a sign of the desolation of the land (Jl 1^{12}). Sculptured and carved palm trees were used for architectural decoration (1 K 6^{29}, Ezk 41^{19} etc.). Fronds were used for booths (Lv 23^{40}). They were also used in token of triumph (Jn 12^{13}, Rev 7^{9}).

The palm gave its name to Phœnicia and to Phœnix in Crete. Jericho was the 'city of palm trees' (Dt 34^{3}, Jg 1^{16} 3^{13}, 2 Ch 28^{15}). They existed in great numbers there in the time of Christ. A few wild ones exist now in the Jordan Valley. Perhaps the fronds used in Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem came from that region. Hazazon-tamar (Gn 14^{7}, 2 Ch 20^{2}) possibly means 'the felling of the palm tree.' Palms must have been abundant in En-gedi (Sir 24^{14}), a fact confirmed by Josephus and Pliny. Baal-tamar (Jg 20^{33}) and Deborah's palm tree (Jg 4^{5}), in the hill-country of Benjamin, were probably isolated trees —perhaps, according to Stanley, the same tree. As above said, palms were never common in the upper hills. This would make a single tree in such a situation a landmark. There are still a few in the hills of Pal. and Lebanon. Tamar in the south of Judæa (Ezk 47^{19} 48^{28}) must have been within the wilderness of the wanderings. Robinson (*BRP*^{2} ii. 198, 202) places it at *el-Milḥ*. Tadmor (2 Ch 8^{4}) is a corruption of (or a mistake for) Tamar. It was noted for its palm trees. None now remain. Bethany is derived by some from בֵּית־הִינֵי=*house of dates*, while others derive it from בֵּית־עֲנִיָּה=*house of sorrow*. The improbability of dates being produced in quantities sufficient to give their name to a place, inclines us to think that the latter is the more correct etymology. Three women are named Tamar (Gn 38^{6}, 2 S 13^{1} 14^{27}). See TAMAR.

Dates are a staple article of food among the Bedawîn of Sinai and elsewhere. A seedless palm tree flourishes in the Convent of Mar Sâba. Fine groves of palm trees are found in all the oases. The dates are dried separately, not compressed into cakes. For their weight, they contain a very large proportion of nutritious matter. A handful of them lasts an Arab a day or two. Date brandy is made in the Convent of St. Catherine in Sinai, and elsewhere. Date honey, called *dibs*, is also made. Though there is no unmistakable allusion to the use of dates as food in the Bible, there can be no doubt that they were so employed. No mention is made of the use of palm wood in building. In modern times it is used only for gate-posts and rafters. The midribs of the fronds are used in making crates for fruit and coops for fowls.

G. E. POST.

PALMER-WORM (גָּזָם *gāzām*, *κάμπη*, *eruca*).—In the article on LOCUST, 6, we have pointed out the uncertainty as to the identification of the creatures referred to in Jl 1^{4} 2^{25}, Am 4^{9}. Bochart and his followers suppose them to be stages in the growth of the locust. The *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* agrees with him. The root גָּזָם=Arab. *jazam*, signifies 'to cut off.' This would apply to any destroying larva. We have further pointed out (LOCUST, 9) that the *ḥāsîl* (AV and RV 'caterpillar') is probably, as in RVm, a stage of the locust. There are numerous larvæ of moths and butterflies which infest plants in Pal. and Syria, but none which amount to a pest, or do any damage comparable to that inflicted by the successive stages of the locust. The Eng. *palmer-worm* is an old name for the caterpillar, which is so called either from its wandering about like a pilgrim, or (more probably) from its resemblance to the *palm*, provincial Eng. for the catkin of a willow.

G. E. POST.

PALSY.—From Gr. *παράλυσις* (*παρά* and *λύω* 'to loosen') came Lat. *paralysis*, whence Fr. *paralysie*. In Old Fr. there were several forms, of which *paralasie* and *palasie* are typical. In Middle Eng. also the longer and shorter forms were in use with a great variety of spelling, paralisie, parlesi, palasie,* palasye,† palesie,* palsey, palsye, etc. Thus 'paralysis' and 'palsy' are doublets. The former gradually dropped out of common use, and does not occur in AV; but now it is supplanting the latter, except in echoes of biblical language.

The subst. *παράλυσις* is used only once (Ezk 21$^{10\ (15)}$) in LXX. It is not used in NT; 'palsy' is the tr. of either the adj. *παραλυτικός* or the verb *παραλύομαι*, generally in the form 'sick of the palsy.' When the Greek is the verb (Lk 5$^{18.\ 24}$, Ac 8^{7} 9^{33}) RV translates by the Old Eng. verb 'to palsy,' which is not used in AV, but occurs twice in Shaks. *Coriol.* V. ii. 46, and *Meas. for Meas.* III. i. 36—

> 'All thy blessed youth
> Becomes as aged, and doth beg the alms
> Of palsied eld';

and is still in poetic use. For palsy or paralysis see under MEDICINE, p. 326.

J. HASTINGS.

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* These two forms are found in Wyclif's version.

† As in Chaucer, *Rom. of Rose*, A 1098—

> 'The mordaunt, wought in noble wyse,
> Was of a stoon ful precious,
> That was so fyn and vertuous,
> That hool a man it coude make
> Of palasye, and of tooth-ake.'

PALTI (פַּלְטִי, Φαλτ(ε)ί).—**1.** One of the twelve men sent by Moses to spy out the land, Nu 13^{9}. He was the representative of the tribe of Benjamin. **2.** The man to whom Michal, David's wife, was given by Saul, 1 S 25^{44}. See MICHAL, MARRIAGE, p. 274^{b}. In 2 S 3^{15} he is called **Paltiel.** See following article under No. **2.** J. A. SELBIE.

PALTIEL (פַּלְטִיאֵל Φαλτ(ε)ιήλ).—**1.** The prince of Issachar, one of those appointed to divide the land, Nu 34^{26}. **2.** 2 S 3^{15}, the same as **Palti** of 1 S 25^{44}. It is uncertain which is the original form. *Paltiel* is quite in place in P's list of names in Nu 34, but is less so in 2 S 3^{15}, where moreover *Palti* has the support of the Syr. and Arab. versions (see Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, 204, 310). Löhr, on the other hand, takes *Palti* to be a shortened form of *Paltiel* 'my refuge is El.' J. A. SELBIE.

PALTITE, THE (הַפַּלְטִי; B ὁ Κελωθεί, A ὁ Φελλωνεί; Vulg. *de Phalti*).—A native of Beth-pelet in the Negeb of Judah (Jos 15^{27}, Neh 11^{26}). To this town belonged Helez, one of David's thirty heroes (2 S 23^{26}). In the parallel lists (1 Ch 11^{27} 27^{10}) Helez is described as 'the **Pelonite**' (הַפְּלוֹנִי), a variation which is supported by the reading of the LXX (A) in 2 S. Probably, however, 'the Pelonite' of the Chronicler is due to a scribal error, and 'the Paltite' of the MT (cf. Pesh. ܕܦܠܛܝܐ) is to be retained. See PELONITE.

J. F. STENNING.

PAMPHYLIA (Παμφυλία) was a country on the south coast of Asia, having Lycia to the west and Cilicia Tracheia (called in later times Isauria) on the east. In the earlier and classical usage, Pamphylia included only the narrow strip of flat, low-lying ground between the sea and the lofty front ridge of the broad belt of mountains called Taurus, which stretches from east to west along the southern edge of the great central plateau of Asia Minor. The Pamphylian coast-lands were entirely dominated by Mount Taurus, which forms a singularly grand and impressive feature as one sails along the coast or approaches it from the sea. On the west frontier and on the east, in the borderlands of Lycia and Tracheiotic Cilicia, Taurus approaches very close to the sea, and in some places actually rises straight out of the water with hardly room for a road to pass between the mountain wall and the sea. But the Pamphylian strip of land is in some places as much as 15 to 20 miles broad, and its length from east to west was estimated by Strabo at 640 stadia or 80 miles.

The Taurus ridge along almost its whole front presents an exceedingly steep and lofty face towards the south; and hence the ascent from the level plain of Pamphylia up the ridge of Taurus is very steep. In one place the road that ascends the precipitous face of Taurus was called Klimax, the Ladder; and it is still correctly described by that name, for the road ascends literally by a series of broad steps for more than 2000 ft. On reaching the summit there is no corresponding descent on the northern side; but the traveller finds himself on a high-lying ground, containing many large open valleys as well as narrower glens, and many mountains and hills. This high ground is distinguished in the most marked way from the low plain by the sea; and the classical nomenclature observed the distinction, Pamphylia being the name of the sea plain and Pisidia being the high country. In later time the name Pamphylia was extended over a considerable part of Pisidia owing to new political conditions, for in A.D. 74 the Romans made an enlarged province of Pamphylia, whose bounds reached north to the frontier of Asia and the lake Askania (see PISIDIA). But in the NT times Pamphylia had the old and narrower limits.

Though many paths across Taurus connect the Pamphylian cities with the country on the north side of the mountains, they are all so long and difficult that none of them has ever been an important route for trade. It was more convenient to send the produce of the southern plateau lands either westwards to the Ægean harbours (especially Ephesus) or by the Cilician Gates to Tarsus. Thus the Pamphylian harbours served as export and import stations only for the Pamphylian strip of coast-land and for the nearer Pisidian glens and valleys; and the Pamphylian cities never became especially important or wealthy, as they had a comparatively small country behind them. Still the land was rich enough to attract Greek colonies at an early period; the coinage of Side and Aspendos shows that they were half-Greek cities as early as the 5th cent. B.C.; and Sillyon appears as a partially Græcized city about 300 B.C. But the Greek language spoken in these Pamphylian cities was much corrupted, and in Side is said to have passed wholly out of use before the time of Alexander the Great. The coin-legends and inscriptions in dialects of Greek are sometimes hardly intelligible, owing to the peculiar character of the alphabet and of the words.

These facts prove that the Greek colonizing element in Pamphylia was not strong enough to maintain itself and to dominate the native element. It died out or melted into the native population. Even after the victories of Alexander the Great strengthened the Greek influence in Asia, Perga in Pamphylia, a purely native priestly centre, rose to importance, and struck a variety of coins. In opposition to it arose the Greek city Attalia, a Pergamenian foundation of the 2nd cent. Perhaps Ptolemais during the 3rd cent. marks a similar attempt to establish Greek influence under the protection of the Ptolemies; but the attribution of the coins ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΕΩΝ to Pamphylia is far from certain, though it is quite natural that in the acme of Ptolemaic power the name may have been temporarily applied to some Pamphylian city, which was used as a centre of the authority of the Græco-Egyptian kings. But in the 2nd and 1st cents. B.C. the greatest and wealthiest city of Pamphylia was Side, whose rich coinage at this period is attributed by numismatists to its serving as the market where the pirates of Cilicia Tracheia disposed of their booty.

In these circumstances it was inevitable that the Greek, or rather Græco-Roman, element should be weak in Pamphylia in the period when Christianity first entered the country. It was not one of the more highly civilized regions, but rather one where the native Anatolian and Oriental character had proved stronger than the Western influence. This fact determined its history in the Christian period. In Pamphylia Christianity played a very small part during the early centuries. The new religion spread most in the more civilized and educated regions, and not in lands like Pamphylia.

Another feature of the country must have exercised a strong determining influence on its history. A flat plain little raised above sea-level,—sheltered by the lofty wall of Taurus from the cooling and invigorating northern breezes which make the climate of the central Anatolian plateau for the most part invigorating and temperate—with a soil always saturated with the waters that flow down from Taurus or rise in great springs at its feet, and therefore at once fertile and fever-laden—with an atmosphere also heavy and saturated with the moisture from the soil and from the sea, moved only by fitful breezes setting from and to the sea,—Pamphylia was not a country likely to keep alive the vigour and energy of European colonists. Though the soil, being more thoroughly cultivated in ancient than in modern time, would not give forth the same malaria that gives the coast so infamous a reputation, yet the natural circumstances make it necessarily and always an enervating climate.

Christianity was brought to Pamphylia by Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary journey. This was the country which naturally came next within their sphere of work after Cyprus. Cilicia had already heard the word; and in their progress from Cyprus they must next proceed to Pamphylia. There seems no doubt that the plan of work for the missionaries, probably sketched out even before they started from Syrian Antioch (Ac 13[2]), must have contemplated the evangelization of Pamphylia next after Cyprus. Thither, then, the missionaries proceeded; but after they had reached the country there arose a difference of opinion, and John Mark left his companions and returned to Jerusalem, while the two apostles crossed Mount Taurus and reached Pisidian Antioch. It appears that they did not preach in Pamphylia at this time. The only reasonable interpretation of these circumstances is that the first intention had been to preach in Pamphylia (which, as we have seen, was the natural order of evangelization); and that all three concurred in that purpose: but, when the sphere of action was removed from Pamphylia to Pisidian Antioch, John Mark refused to acquiesce in the change of plan. Some time later, on their return, the apostles preached in Perga (though apparently with small success); and their action on that occasion proves that Pamphylia was included in their intended sphere of work. It seems irrational to suppose either that the plan of proceeding to Antioch was formed at Paphos, or that John acquiesced in that plan until he reached Pamphylia, and then abandoned the work (Ac 13).

As to the reason why the sphere of work had been changed from Pamphylia to Antioch, no information is given in Acts; but a plausible conjecture has been advanced that residence in the moist and enervating atmosphere of Pamphylia, coming after the fatigue of missionary travel and the intense effort of the scene in Paphos, brought out a certain weakness in St. Paul's constitution, causing the illness alluded to in Gal 4[13].

Christianity seems to have been slow and late in acquiring a strong footing in Pamphylia. When St. Peter wrote to the Churches in the provinces of Asia Minor, he sent no message to Pamphylia or to Lycia, which may fairly be taken as a proof that there was no body of Christians in those districts (his omission of Cilicia, where there was a body of Christians, arose from that district being classed along with Syria, and therefore being outside the range of the Epistle). On the extinction of Christianity in Pamphylia see PERGA.

A long succession of travellers have visited and described the Pamphylian country: by far the most elaborate study of some Pamphylian cities is contained in the splendid folios of Lanckoronski's *Städte Pamphyliens*. W. M. RAMSAY.

PAN.—See FOOD in vol. ii. p. 40, *s.* 'Vessels.'

PANNAG (פַּנַּג *pannag*, κασία, *balsamum*).—One of the articles of commerce of Judah and Israel (Ezk 27[17]). The LXX κασία is defined as 'a shrub similar to the laurel,' but there is no hint as to its identity. Balsamum is alike indefinite. Acc. to the book *Zohar* (13th cent.) לֶחֶם פַּנַּג *lehem-pannag* means 'pastry work.' Dr. Van Dyck in his Arab. VS of the Bible gives *ḥalâwa*. This is a well-known confection, made of syrup, carob honey, dibs (grape honey), or date honey, boiled with decoction of soapwort roots and sesame oil. This sweet is very extensively made and eaten by Orientals, and is a considerable article of commerce. It is known in Turkish as *pěk-měs*. We have not seen any description of it in ancient authors, and its etymology bears no resemblance to that of *pannag*. In the absence of decisive evidence, the Eng. versions wisely transliterate the original, RVm gloss 'perhaps a kind of confection.' Cornill (*ad loc.*) and Hoffmann (*Phön. Inschr.* 15) emend to דּוֹנַג 'wax.' G. E. POST.

PAPER, PAPER REEDS, PAPYRUS.—See REED, WRITING.

PAPHOS (Πάφος) is mentioned in Ac 13[4-13] as the residence of the proconsul of Cyprus, SERGIUS PAULUS, who was visited and converted by St. Paul on his first missionary journey.

The city here meant is *New Paphos*, the administrative capital of the Roman province of Cyprus, the ruins of which are to be seen at *Baffo*, about a mile south of the modern town of Ktima, on the west coast of the island. These remains, which are all of Roman date, include a small theatre and amphitheatre, traces of a temple, numerous house foundations, parts of the city wall, and the moles of the ancient harbour. Outside the wall are traces of another columnar edifice, and on and near the site are the ruins of a Greek cathedral and other mediæval buildings. Several groups of rock-tombs in the neighbourhood seem to be of earlier than Roman date, but nothing is known of the settlement to which they may have belonged.

Old Paphos, which was deserted in favour of the site already described, lies at *Kouklia*, on the left bank of the Diórizo river (anc. Bocarus), about 10 miles W.S.W. of Baffo, and a little inland. Paphos was one of the most notable cities of ancient Cyprus, and owed its celebrity to the temple and cult of the 'Paphian goddess,' whom the Greeks identified with Aphrodite. Paphos is said to have been founded by the legendary Kinyras, whose clan retained royal privileges down to the Ptolemaic conquest (B.C. 295), and the priesthood of the goddess until the annexation of the island to Rome (B.C. 58). The goddess was worshipped under the form of a conical stone, in an open-air sanctuary, the general appearance of which is known from numerous representations on Roman imperial coins, and the ground plan from excavations made in 1888 on behalf of the Cyprus Exploration Fund. The temple is known to have suffered severely from earthquakes, and to have been rebuilt more than once. It consisted in Roman times of an open court surrounded on three sides by chambers and porticos, and was entered through them from the east by a gateway. The position of the sacred stone, and the interpretation of many details shown on the coins, remain uncertain. To the south of the main court lie the remains of what may be an earlier temple, or the traditional tomb of Kinyras, almost wholly destroyed except the western wall of gigantic stone slabs.

After the extinction of the native and Ptolemaic dynasties, and the foundation of New Paphos, the importance of the old town rapidly declined: the place was ruined by earthquakes, and desolate already in Jerome's time (*Vita Hilarionis*); though the *Acts of Barnabas* mention a Christian resident, formerly a ἱερόδουλος.

LITERATURE.—Meursius, *Cyprus*, *s.v.*; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, ix. 158-271 (esp. literary sources for history of Old Paphos, 175-192: excavations in the temple, 193-215).

J. L. MYRES.

PARABLE (IN OT).—

1. The psychological origin of the use of Parables.
2. Relation of Parables to other devices of style.
3. The Parables of the OT and their closest analogues.

1. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ORIGIN OF THE USE OF PARABLES.—It is a necessity imposed by its very nature upon the human spirit to illustrate with the greatest possible clearness the objects and processes belonging to the sphere of ideas. There are two leading paths which literary style pursues in order to satisfy this psychological want. The first of these is chosen when one expressly points to a parallel which the phenomenon in question has in another sphere. The second method is when two spheres of phenomena are as it were looked at *together*, and when in the description of the one sphere those expressions are *directly* employed which properly designate the notions and the phenomena of the other sphere.

2. RELATION OF PARABLES TO OTHER DEVICES OF STYLE.—(*a*) When the first of the above-named ways of illustrating spiritual phenomena is adopted, this gives rise to the following stylistic devices:—(*α*) The *Simile*, as in the expressions, 'he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water' (Ps 1^{3}), or 'thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel' (2^{9}), or in the Arabic 'arrows blue like the teeth of the Ghûls' (غول, lit. 'the surprising one,' a species of demon), cf. A. F. Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, p. 21. (*β*) The Simile, however, not infrequently expands into an independent description. Hence arise the following five devices of style: (i.) The *Fable* is a narrative in which subjects from the mineral, vegetable, or animal kingdoms are introduced as if they were capable of thought and speech. The only instances of the Fable in the OT are the story told by Jotham (Jg 9^{8-15}; Kimchi, *ad loc.* (משל העצים הם אנשי שכם) and that spoken by Jehoash to Amaziah (2 K 14^{9}). Ezk 17^{3-10} is not a Fable (see below, 2 *b*). (ii.) The *Parable*, again, is a narrative whose subject is personal, and which is constructed in order to depict something vividly. Along with its closest analogues it will be dealt with more fully below (see 3), and the question will be answered whether the OT contains something similar, such as (iii.) the *Paramyth*. These three kinds of fictitious illustrative narrative have their opposite in (iv.) the παράδειγμα (*exemplum*) or *Example*, for the latter is a narrative of a real occurrence, which serves to illustrate the situation in view. Instances of the παράδειγμα are found in Ps 99^{6} (Moses), $106^{30f.}$ (Phinehas), Neh 13^{26} (Solomon), 1 Mac 2^{52-60} (Abraham and others), 2 Mac 6^{17-31} (Eleazar), Jth $8^{19f.}$ (Abraham and others), 4 Mac $3^{6ff.}$ (David), etc. To the same category belong the stories of Tobit and Susanna in so far as these have a real historical kernel. It is a narrative of the same kind which has for its subject that emperor's daughter (ברתו דקסר) who at the sight of Rabbi Joshua exclaimed, 'What a pity that such renowned wisdom should be stored in so ugly a casket'; to which the Rabbi replied, 'In what does the emperor, your father, store his wine?' 'In earthen vessels,' said she; whereupon the Rabbi retorted that an emperor should use more costly vessels. When this counsel was followed, the wine deteriorated (Bab. Talm. *Ta'anîth* 7^{a}; see, further, Fürstenthal, p. 150). So, too, the narrative of Ishtar's descent to Hades (*Die Höllenfahrt der Ištar*, ed. Alfred Jeremias, 1887) is related as an 'Example' (*l.c.* p. 7). Finally, (v.) the *Parallel* consists in placing side by side the particular points which two sets of phenomena have in common. It is altogether a rare product of the rhetorical art, and as yet the present writer has failed to discover it in the OT.

(*b*) When the material and the ideal spheres are looked at as the two sides of a unity, and the expressions which properly belong to the description of the concrete sphere are applied to the ideal sphere, we have the *Metaphor*. One sees it in such instances as the following: 'the light of thy countenance' (Ps 4^{7} [Eng.^{6}]); 'they that be wise shall shine,' etc., *i.e.* be held in honour (Dn 12^{3}), cf. ἀναλάμψουσιν (Wis 3^{7}), 'super stellas fulgebunt facies eorum qui abstinentiam habuerunt' (4 Ezr 7^{55}), 'ye shall shine' (Enoch 104^{2}), οἱ δίκαιοι ἐκλάμψουσιν (Mt 13^{43}). When the metaphorical expressions extend through a number of sentences, the description is called *Allegorical*; cf. Cicero, *de Oratore*, 27: 'cum confluxerunt plures continuæ translationes, *alia* plane fit *oratio*: itaque genus hoc Græci appellant ἀλληγορίαν.' Certain instances of allegorical language are found in Gn 49^{9}, Nu $24^{8b.\,9}$ etc., Is 1^{5b} etc. Further, Ezk 17^{3-10} is not a 'Fable' [against Bertholet, *Kurzer Handcomm.*, 1897, *ad loc.*], for the very expression 'the great eagle,' with which the passage commences, is to be understood *not* as if the author had in view a *real* eagle, but as referring to the subject Nebuchadnezzar which was well known to his contemporaries (cf. König, *Syntax*, § 297*a–c*, 298*a*, *b*). Consequently the phrase 'the great eagle' is a mark of the Allegory, which could not be better characterized than in the following terms: 'When an author does not describe that phenomenon of which he really means to speak, but another which has more or fewer points of resemblance to it, and yet carries out the description in such a way that one easily perceives that it is not the latter but the former phenomenon that he has in view, this constitutes an *Allegory*' (Heinrich Kurz, *Handbuch der poetischen Nationalliteratur der Deutschen*, 1840). Good instances of Allegories are Hans Sachs' *Die Wittenbergisch Nachtigall*, or Schiller's 'Das Mädchen aus der Fremde,' not to speak of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.

3. THE PARABLES OF THE OT AND THEIR CLOSEST ANALOGUES.—(*a*) Parables in the ordinary sense of this term (see above, 2 *a*) are found in 2 S 12^{1-4} $14^{6f.}$, 1 K $20^{39f.}$, Is 5^{1-6} 28^{24-28}. An interesting essay by P. Cersoy (of Lyons) on Is 5^{1-6} appeared in the *Revue Biblique* (Jan. 1899; summary in *Expos. Times*, April 1899, p. 325) under the title 'l'Apologue de la Vigne.' He proposes to render v.^{1a} 'I will sing to my beloved my love-song touching his vineyard' (*je vais chanter à mon ami mon chant amical à propos de sa vigne*). But if the prophet had intended himself as the primary author of this poem, it would have been unnatural to introduce God as the speaker in vv.$^{3-6}$. On the other hand, the circumstance that at the beginning of the parable (vv.$^{1b.\,2}$) the owner of the vineyard is treated as a third person, is quite explicable. By the selection of this third person a twofold object is gained. In the first place the commencement of the parable connects itself directly with the exordium, and in the second place the appearance is avoided of Isaiah himself being the owner of the vineyard. Cersoy suggests, further, that in v.^{1b} Isaiah 'probably utilized a short popular song.' But this view finds no support either in the difference of structure between the clauses of vv.$^{1b.\,2}$ and vv.$^{3-6}$, or in the transition to the first person (vv.$^{3-6}$ 'I pray you,' etc.), for it is perfectly natural that the outburst of the Divine anger should find its expression in a direct address by God Himself.

Although none of the above-cited five passages of the OT is actually called a מָשָׁל (*māshāl*), it is not therefore to be inferred that this term could not be appropriately applied to them. Its absence may be sufficiently explained as simply due to the fact that the particular writers did not take occasion to add the *terminus technicus*. Jerome was quite right in his remark on Is 5^{7} 'Quæ prius per metaphoram dicta sunt vel per *parabolam* postea exponuntur manifestius.' So Ḳimchi began his exposition of 2 S 12^{1-4} with המשל הזה, introduced the passage $14^{6f.}$ with the words והיא תקנה המשל, began his exposition of Is $5^{1ff.}$ with דברי הנביא עושה משל, and finally explained האזינו וג׳ of $28^{23ff.}$ by אמר להם דרך משל 'He spoke to them in the way of a *māshāl*.' The correctness of this last interpretation results from two considerations, namely the original sense of *māshāl*, and the later usage of this word and its linguistic congeners.

This leads to the remark that the original sense of *māshāl* is very open to dispute. The now prevailing theory was argued for by Fleischer in an Excursus to Delitzsch's *Commentar über die Proverbien*, p. 13 f., and it is maintained also in Gesenius-Buhl, *HWB* ^{13} ('eigentlich wohl: als etwas stehen, repräsentiren etwas,' *i.e.* 'lit. perhaps: stand for something, represent something'). Essentially the same view is shared by E. Meier, *Wurzelwörterbuch*, p. 503 f. It may be stated thus: In Arabic *maṯala*='stetit erectus,' etc. Hence *maṯalun* (=*māshāl*) was originally a 'positio' κατ' ἐξοχήν. This might be looked at from the point of view of security and then became ='affirmatio' (cf. משל ב 'impose on one,' *i.e.* rule over one), or from the point of view of the formulating of a thought, and then the 'positio' became the investiture or representation of an idea. But this derivation of *māshāl* requires some very bold leaps in order to reach its goal, and hence we venture to suggest another derivation. Our starting-point shall be the fact that the sense of 'resemble,' 'be like,' is the predominating one with the verb משל and its Semitic cognates. This is the only sense of the Assyr. *mašâlu*, the Eth. *masála* (Dillmann: 'similis, consentaneus fuit'), the Aram. *mĕtal*, and it is the prevailing one also of the Arab. *maṯala*. On this we would rest the thesis that *māshāl* originally had the sense of 'likeness' or '*complex*,' a view which is supported by the circumstance that the Assyr. *mašlu* means 'totality.' Now, what is the commonest form of an identification or combination? It is the judgment, and the embodiment of this is the simple sentence. Accordingly *māshāl* might be the designation of a sentence, but also of other kinds of combination of individual conceptions and of whole sets of conceptions. From *māshāl* ('judgment') may come a denominative verb משל ('rule') which meets us in Phœnician (cf. Bloch, *Phœn. Glossar*, p. 43) and in Hebrew. For the activity of a ruler exhibited itself originally in the pronouncing of judgments (cf. Solomon's words, 'to judge thy people,' 1 K 3^{9}). From the stability which is a natural quality of such judgments may be derived, further, the Arab. *maṯa(u)la*, 'stand fast.' * With this agrees the circumstance that the Arab. *maṯalun* is used both for 'sententia' and 'parabola.' In like manner the Heb. *māshāl* has the sense of 'general proposition' (γνώμη, *sententia*, 'maxim'), as in 'the proverb of the ancients, Out of the wicked cometh forth wickedness' (1 S 24^{13}). In the sense of 'proverb' מָשָׁל is found also in Sir 47^{17}. See, further, art. PROVERB.

But none the less has *māshāl* the sense of 'parable.' * This is clear from the later identification of it and its cognates with 'similitude' (Germ. *Gleichniss*). 'Three *mĕsâle*' are announced in Eth. Enoch 37^{5}, namely those contained in chs. 38–44. 45–57. and 58–71. In these *mĕsâlyât* or *mĕsâlêyât* phenomena and processes of the supramundane sphere are employed to illustrate the earthly fortunes of the kingdom of God. These three sections, then, contain essentially what we call parables. The same purpose is the starting-point of visions. This comes out clearly in the words, 'demonstra mihi et hoc, si plus quam præteritum sit habet venire' (4 Ezr 4^{45}), for this request is satisfied by a vision which is described thus, 'ecce fornax ardens transiit coram me,' etc. (v.^{48}), and this vision is expressly called in v.^{47} a 'similitudo.' We read of another 'similitudo' in $8^{2f.}$, and again a vision is expressly called a 'similitudo' in the words 'vidisti similitudinem eius, quomodo filium lugeret' (10^{49}). Likewise the *'amsâl*, which make up the third part of the *Shepherd of Hermas*, are visions in which the vine, etc., is shown (see the Ethiopic version published by Antoine d'Abbadie in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, ii. 1, p. 47 ff.). In any case the Syr. ܡܬܠܐ, which exactly corresponds to the Heb. משל, is used to render παραβολή in Mt $13^{18. 31. 33}$ etc. 21^{45}, Mk 4^{2} etc., Lk 5^{36} 6^{39} 14^{7} etc.

The post-biblical literature of the Jews exhibits the same use of the word *māshāl*. For instance, the Talmud (*Shabb.* 152*b*) records how a certain king distributed royal garments among his servants. The wise amongst these placed the garments in a chest, but the foolish wore them in going about their ordinary work. One day the king asked for his garments. The wise gave them back to him just as they had been when they received them, but the garments returned by the foolish were soiled. Then the king commended the wise, but ordered the foolish to be cast into prison, and their garments were handed over to the fuller (לכובס). This story is expressly called a משל למלך 'a parable of a king,' and is introduced to illustrate the saying, 'Give it (the soul) back to Him (God) as He gave it to thee' (תְּנֵהּ לוֹ כאשר נְתָנָהּ לך). The very same expression, משל למלך, is met with in *Shabb.* 153*a*; and in *'Aboda Zara* 54*b* one finds אמשול לך משל וג׳, namely the parable of the king who presented his son with a dog, etc. In like manner the celebrated stories of 'the seven sages' were called *Mishlê Sindbad* (ed. P. Cassel, 3 Auflage, 1884), and in point of fact they are only partially 'Examples' (see above 2 *α β* (iv.)), namely in so far as they are intended to describe real occurrences. The most of them are parables, and they contain such expressions as 'the second parable of the empress,' etc. It may be added that we hear of a Buddhist parable (cf. *e.g.* Edmund Hardy, *Der Buddhismus*, 1890, p. 124 f.), and that Herodotus (i. 141) records the parable of the flute-player and the fishes which would not dance to his playing. Volkmann (p. 379), too, speaks of the παραβολή which is clothed in the form of a narrative.

(*b*) How closely connected the expression *māshāl* was with the notion of a parable is evident from the circumstance that משל is the title of the passage Ezk 24^{3-5}. V.^{3a} reads מְשֹׁל וג׳ מָשָׁל וְאָמַרְתָּ ‘Utter a parable unto the rebellious house, and say’ (=saying); and in vv.$^{3b-5}$ we read, ‘Set on a pot, set it on, and also pour water into it: gather its pieces (*i.e.* those which belong to the pot), etc. Take the choice of the flock, and burn also the bones under it, and make it boil well, and let them seethe the bones of it therein.’ This last passage furnishes a double proof of our position. On the one hand, it contains a narrative which corresponds with the above-cited stories in 2 S 12^{1-4} etc. Consequently these five passages also might have been equally designated by the title applied to Ezk 24^{3b-5}, namely *māshāl* (Arab. VS مَثَلٌ, Pesh. ܡܰܬ݂ܠܳܐ, LXX παραβολήν; while the Targum alone, from a supposed necessity to heighten the dignity of the passage, rendered by נבואה ‘a prophecy’). On the other hand, there is a formal agreement between Ezk 24^{3-5} and 3^{24b-26} 4^{1-12} 5^{1-4} etc. In all these passages, that is to say, there is mention of a Divine command to perform some action, and then it is added that this action illustrates some idea. Thus the five passages, 2 S 12^{1-4} etc., and Ezk 3^{24b-26} $4^{1ff.}$ etc. 24^{3-5}, agree in their didactic aim; and both sets of passages are *parabolical*. This conclusion is strengthened further by the consideration that the passages in Ezk just cited cannot be separated from Is 20^{2-4}, Jer $25^{15ff.}$. According to the last passage, the prophet received the commission, ‘Take the wine-cup of this fury at my hand, and cause all the nations to whom I send thee, to drink it’; and the prophet adds, ‘Then took I the cup at the Lord’s hand, and made all the nations to drink.’ This action cannot really have been performed. Hence the view is recommended that also in Ezk 3^{24b-26} 4^{1-12} 5^{1-4} etc. we have *parabolical* narratives. The same category includes the Bk. of Jonah, as has been shown in vol. ii. p. 746 ff., and we must add the story of Judith, for the very name יְהוּדִית means ‘a Jewess,’ and stamps the heroine of this book as a personification of the Jewish nation. The Bk. of Jth is, as Luther said, ‘ein geistlich schön Gedicht’ (cf., further, König, *Einleitung*, p. 479 f.).

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* Fuerst (*Heb.-Chald. Wörterb.*^{3} 1876, *s.v.*) co-ordinates משל 'rule' with the Arab. بَسُلَ (*basula*), 'strenuus fuit.' This is not absolutely impossible. For the Aram. מחל is not found with the sense of 'rule,' and therefore there need not be found an Arab. مثّل answering to the Heb. משל 'rule.' Further, a correspondence between *m* and *b* is not altogether rare in Semitic (cf. J. Barth, *Etymolog. Studien*, p. 32). But it is not necessary to appeal to this *basula*. By the way, the connexion between the two leading senses of משל is not explained by Abu 'l-walid in his *Kitâbu 'l-'uṣûli* (ed. Ad. Neubauer), p. 395. He contents himself with simply linking together the different groups of words by the formula ومعنى اخر 'and another sense' [appears, etc.]. David Ḳimchi, in his *Book of Roots*, says וענין המשל הוא דמות דבר אל דבר, *i.e.* 'the sense conveyed by the term *māshāl* is the likeness of one thing to another.' Likewise the two latest commentators on the Book of Proverbs (Wildeboer in the *Kurzer Hdcomm.* and Frankenberg in Nowack's *Hdkomm.*, published in 1897 f.) have made no attempt to solve the linguistic difficulty presented by the word משל.

* A combination of 'sententia' and 'similitudo' may be observed in מִשְׁלֵי אֵפֶר of Job 13^{12}, 'sentences which are strewn as lightly as ashes.'

(*c*) The *Paramyths*, which, according to J. G. Herder, are to be distinguished from the parables, have also their analogues in the Hebrew literature (cf. παραμύθιον, which in Wis 3^{18} is used for ‘consolation’ [=παραμυθία of 1 Co 14^{3}], and in Ph 2^{1} for ‘comfort [of love]’). Herder understood by Paramyths such narratives ‘as serve for the cheering of the soul, and are based upon the ancient Greek myths.’ They are stories in which personifications of ideas or of natural processes are introduced as living beings. One of Herder’s paramythical narratives commences with ‘Aurora complained to the gods,’ and another with ‘Night and Day contended with each other for the preeminence,’ and a third with ‘Once beside a murmuring stream Care sat down and mused.’ Now we find instances of personification in the OT as well. For instance, we read ‘the light of the righteous rejoiceth’ (Pr 13^{9}), and ‘foolishness (14^{1b}) plucketh that down which wisdom of women has built’ (v.^{1a}). The same foolishness is further described in a whole narrative as a seductive woman (9^{13-18}); and the same wisdom, with whose help Jahweh Himself founded the earth ($3^{19f.}$, cf. 1^{20}), comes forward as the subject of a dramatically worked action in ‘Doth not Wisdom cry,’ etc.? ($8^{1ff.}$). A story of the same kind meets us in Sir $24^{3ff.}$, for there, likewise, ‘wisdom’ is an attribute of God which was displayed in the creation of the world and the guiding of Israel. This appears with the greatest clearness from the words, *καὶ ἐρρίζωσα ἐν λαῷ δεδοξασμένῳ*, ‘and I took root in a people that was glorified’ (v.^{12}). It is only a personification of wisdom that is found in Wis $6^{15bff.}$. The words ἵνα μάθητε σοφίαν (v.^{10b}) show this in the most decisive fashion. Likewise in 7^{12a} wisdom stands simply for the attribute of God (cf. ‘Thy wisdom’ in 9^{2}) which controls the world and the course of history. For Solomon could imbibe and reproduce this wisdom, cf. *ἔμαθον* (7^{13}), *εἰς ψυχὰς ὁσίας μεταβαίνουσα* (v.^{27c}), *εἰσῆλθεν εἰς ψυχὴν θεράποντος Κυρίου* (10^{16}); and by wisdom nothing else is meant than by *ἀφροσύνη* of 10^{8b}.

The post-biblical literature of the Jews also contains narratives, in which personifications appear as subjects. One of these commences, ‘While Noah lived in the ark, one day the *Lie* appeared and begged to be admitted. Noah, who did not know the Lie, was prepared to grant her request, but he declared that he could not do this until she should have procured a companion, because only pairs could be admitted into the ark. The Lie had thus to retire after a bootless errand. But scarcely had she gone a few paces when she met *Injustice*. Along with her the Lie was now admitted into the ark, but the two over-reached one another’ (Midrash, *Yalḳût*, Gn 56; Fürstenthal, *op. cit.*, No. 497). See, further, the following article.

LITERATURE.—A. F. Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, 1853; R. Volkmann, *Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer*, 2 Auflage, 1874; R. J. Fürstenthal, *Rabbinische Blumenlese*, 1835. Other works are named in the body of the article.

ED. KÖNIG.

PARABLE (IN NT).—The subject will be treated under five heads: Terminology, Christ’s Use of Parables, their Distribution in the Gospels, their Classification, and their Interpretation.

1. *The Term* παραβολή (παραβάλλω) means ‘a placing of one thing beside another’ with a view to comparison. Trench contends that ‘this notion of *comparison* is not necessarily included in the word.’ But it appears as early as the word itself, and is very frequent (Plato, *Phil.* 33 B; Arist. *Top.* i. 10. 5; Polyb. i. 2. 2). From the original idea of ‘throwing beside’ come the derived meanings of ‘exposing,’ represented by παράβολος, and of ‘comparing,’ represented by παραβολή. Latin writers use *collatio* (freq. in Cic.), *imago* (Cic. Sen. Hor.), and *similitudo* (Cic. Quint.). The Lat. VSS commonly have *parabola* (Mt $13^{3. 10. 13}$ etc.), which survives in the Fr. *parole* and through *parabolare* in *parler*; but *similitudo* is fairly common, esp. in Lk (4^{23} 5^{36} 6^{39} 8^{4} 12^{16} 13^{6} 20^{19} 21^{29}). But in most of these cases some representatives of the Old Lat., esp. *a* and *d*, have *parabola*. Conversely, many Old Lat. texts sometimes have *similitudo* where the Vulg. has *parabola* (Lk 12^{41} 15^{3} 18^{9} 19^{11}).

In LXX παραβολή very commonly represents the Heb. *māshāl*, which also implies comparison (Nu $23^{7. 18}$ $24^{3. 15. 20. 21. 23}$ etc.). But *māshāl* is also rendered παροιμία (Pr 1^{1}, Sir 6^{35} 8^{3} etc.), and θρῆνος (Is 14^{4}), and προοίμιον (Job 27^{1} 29^{1}). Like *Beispiel* in German, it sometimes indicates an example set up for edification or warning (Jer 24^{9}, Mic 2^{4}, Wis 5^{3}). When it means an utterance of deeper meaning than appears on the surface, it is sometimes joined with πρόβλημα (Ps 48^{4} 77^{2}, Hab 2^{6}), or αἴνιγμα (Dt 28^{37}, Sir 39^{3} 47^{15}), or διήγημα (2 Ch 7^{20}, Ezk 17^{2}), or σκοτεινὸς λόγος (Pr 1^{6}). The meaning of such dark utterances becomes clear through the application or comparison which is indicated; and those who miss the application lose the true meaning of the parable, which is often a short saying, such as we should rather call a proverb (1 S 10^{12} 24^{13}, Ezk $12^{22. 23}$ $18^{2. 3}$, 1 K 4^{32}).

In NT παραβολή is freq. in the Synoptic Gospels; and, excepting He 9^{9} 11^{19}, is found nowhere else. It is generally used of a longer utterance or narrative intended to set forth a spiritual lesson (Mt $13^{3.\ 18.\ 24.\ 31.\ 36}$ etc.); but sometimes of a short saying or proverb (Mt 15^{15}, Mk 3^{23} 7^{17}, Lk 4^{23} 6^{39}). Of the other renderings of *māshāl*, neither θρῆνος nor προοίμιον is found in NT, while παροιμία (παρά, οἶμος) occurs only Jn 10^{6} $16^{25.\ 29}$, 2 P 2^{22}. Originally παροιμία meant an out-of-the-way saying, or possibly a wayside saying, and hence was used of any didactic, symbolic, or figurative utterance. Like παραβολή, it is used both of longer utterances or allegories (Jn 10^{6}) and shorter ones or proverbs (2 P 2^{22}); comp. κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, Κοινὰ τὰ τῶν φίλων (Philo, *de Vita Mos.* i. 28; *de Abr.* 40). Most Lat. VSS distinguish παροιμία by rendering it *proverbium*, which is never used for παραβολή. Eng. VSS render both words sometimes by 'parable' (Mt 21^{33}, Jn 10^{6}), sometimes by 'proverb' (Lk 4^{23}, Jn 16^{25}). Tindale and the Genevan use 'similitude' for both (Mt 13^{33}, Jn 10^{6}), and are capricious in using both 'parable' and 'similitude' for παραβολή; so also is Coverdale. As St. John never uses παραβολή, and as there are no parables in the strict sense in his Gospel, it is unfortunate that RV retains 'parable' in Jn 10^{6}.

Attempts at definitions of 'parable,' taken from Greek Fathers and others, are given in Suicer, *s.v.* παραβολή. Trench quotes several Lat. definitions from Jerome and later writers. However it may be expressed, the main elements in a parable are two: (1) a saying, commonly in the form of a narrative, respecting earthly things, with (2) a spiritual or heavenly meaning. A *fable* differs from a parable in both these elements. It often distorts the earthly things in using them as a vehicle of instruction, making brutes and trees talk, and the like. This a parable never does; for nature, as God's wisdom made it, is far better adapted for teaching Divine truths than nature as man's fancy can imagine it. And a fable never aims higher than human morality. At best it teaches prudence, industry, caution; and it often inculcates mere shrewdness, selfishness, and cunning. Hence the only fables found in Scripture are used by men for their own ends; by Jotham (Jg 9^{8}) and by Jehoash (2 K 14^{9}). They are never employed by God's prophets in conveying His message, nor by Christ in explaining His kingdom. In the direct teaching of Scripture, nothing is attributed to animals or plants which is not found in nature. Moreover, it is their relation to man that is made instructive (the sheep to the shepherd or the owner, the fig-tree to the vine-dresser or the owner), not that of sheep or trees to one another. The mutual relations of brute to brute or of tree to tree are less fitted to illustrate the kingdom of God. Much the same holds good of a *myth*, when it is the natural product of primitive imagination, and not the artificial invention of an ingenious teacher. The latter are parables or fables rather than myths; *e.g.* the myths of Plato. But the myth, while resembling the fable in not being bound by the facts of nature and in not teaching spiritual lessons, differs from both fable and parable in that the myth mingles truth and fiction, whereas the parable and the fable keep them apart. Those who frame or hear parables and fables know that the narrative is nothing, and is not set forth as being historical, although accidentally it may be so. It is the lesson indicated by the narrative which is of value. But the uncritical age which spontaneously generates and accepts myths makes no distinction between fable and figure. The figurative narrative is regarded as actually true. In an *allegory* figure and fact, or rather figure and interpretation, are not mixed, but are parallel, and move simultaneously, as in the allegory of the True Vine or of the Good Shepherd.

As already indicated, the distinction which we draw between a parable and a *proverb* is not found in the Gospels. The evangelists call the short figurative sayings of Christ, no less than the longer narratives, parables (Mt 15^{15}, Mk 3^{23} 7^{17}, Lk 6^{39}), as also does Christ Himself (Lk 4^{23}, Mt 24^{32}); partly because *māshāl* is used for both, but mainly because both in parables and in proverbs there is comparison, and the hearer has to catch the analogy in order to be instructed. We may, if we like, give the name of a parable to Christ's sayings about the salt of the earth, the lilies of the field, building on the sand, whited sepulchres (Mt 5^{13} 6^{26} 7^{26} 23^{27}), fishers of men, light under the bushel (Mk 1^{17} 4^{21}), a reed shaken with the wind, the green and the dry tree (Lk 7^{24} 23^{31}), living water, fields white unto harvest, a woman in travail (Jn $4^{10.\ 35}$ 16^{21}), etc. etc. Not a few of these might be expanded into a narrative without difficulty.

2. *The Use of Parables* was familiar to the Jews,* and ancient Rabbinic writings are full of them; but as illustrations of truths already set forth, rather than as a means of conveying truths. In the hands of Christ the use of parables as vehicles of truth reached perfection. Just as His miracles are parables,—*factum Verbi verbum nobis est*, as Augustine says,—so His parables are miracles, both of literary beauty and of instructive power. As elements of His teaching they had several purposes, some of which are obvious, while others He explained to His disciples (Mt 13^{10-15}, Mk $4^{11.\ 12}$, Lk $8^{9.\ 10}$). They served both to reveal and to veil the truth; and the truths with which they are specially concerned are the mysteries of 'the kingdom of God.' They revealed these mysteries to those who deserved to know them and were capable of receiving them; and they concealed them from those who lacked these qualifications. And this *pœnalis cæcitas* (Aug.) with regard to Divine truth when it is clothed in parables is not merely a fact (ὅτι, Mt) in the impenitent; it is designed (ἵνα, Mk, Lk) by God, in order to withhold the mysteries of the kingdom from the unworthy. This withholding is therefore a judgment; but a judgment which is merciful in its operation. It saves unworthy hearers from the responsibility of knowing the truth and rejecting it, for they are not allowed to recognize it. It saves them also from the guilt of profaning it, for herein Christ observes His own maxim (Mt 7^{6}). Nor does the mercy end here. The parable puts the truth in a form which arrests the attention at the time, and which is easily remembered afterwards. *Longum est iter per præcepta, breve et efficax per exempla* (Sen. *Ep.* 6). Those who are already receptive are caught at once; they get their lesson and do not forget it. Those who are not, although they get no lesson, yet hear something which they remember, and which will convey the lesson to them, if ever they become capable of receiving it. Moreover, the vehicle of the lesson being taken from very familiar objects, he who has once heard a parable of Christ is likely to be often reminded of it. Christ knew the grander scenery of Palestine; yet His parables are taken, not from mountains and forests, cedars and palm-trees, but from things which are common, not only in Palestine, but almost throughout the world (Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* p. 432). Thus teaching by parables is both educational and disciplinary. It is a marked illustration of the law, that to him who hath shall more be given, while from him who hath not even that which he seems to have shall be taken away. The unreceptive hearer seems to have the opportunity of being instructed; but this is really withheld, because instruction is given in a form which, through his own fault, he cannot

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* Comp. 2 S $12^{1ff.}$, Is $5^{1ff.}$, and see preceding article.

understand: *ἀείσω συνετοῖς, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι.** It is quite in harmony with this principle that, at the beginning of Christ's ministry, His parables were occasional and brief; but, as opposition to Him increased, they became His usual mode of public instruction and were more elaborate.

The chief purpose of parables is to instruct by means of the exquisite analogies which exist between things natural and things spiritual, and which are the outcome of the Divine Wisdom that fashioned both. In them Christ 'utters things which have been hidden from the foundation of the world' (Mt 13^{35}), for the whole universe is a parable, which hides God from the unworthy, while it reveals Him more and more to the devout. Schelling says that nature and history are to one another as parable and interpretation (*Philos. Schriften*, ed. 1809, p. 457). Christ makes both nature and history a parable, of which the kingdom of God is the interpretation; and thus the whole world becomes a 'picture-gospel' to those who can understand it. In His synagogue-teaching Christ expounded the book of the OT. In His parables He expounded the book of nature and of human life. In the one case the written letter, in the other the experience of facts, was used to reveal the spirit which inspires both. By the facts of everyday life the parable shows how the principles of the higher life may be known; for the universe is the outward expression of the laws of the kingdom of God.

It is remarkable that the Epistles, although they contain allegories and frequent similes, never exhibit anything which corresponds to the parables of our Lord. The attitude of the writers to this element in His teaching is analogous to that of the evangelists to the title 'the Son of Man,' which they record as often used by Jesus of Himself, but which they never apply to Him themselves (Nösgen, *Gesch. Jesu*, p. 346). Reverence of this kind, whether conscious or not, renders the hypothesis that some of Christ's parables have been altered by those who recorded them all the less probable. It is more reasonable to believe that the differences between parables which have marked resemblances are the result of variations made by Jesus Himself. He certainly sometimes employed pairs of parables, in order the better to impress the required lesson upon His hearers; *e.g.* the Treasure in the Field and the Pearl of great Price (Mt 13^{44-46}), the Ten Virgins and the Talents (25^{1-30}), the Garment and the Wine-skins (Lk 5^{36-39}), the Mustard-seed and the Leaven (13^{18-21}), the Rash Builder and the Rash King (14^{28-32}), the Lost Sheep and the Lost Coin (15^{3-10}). And it should be noted how often the effect of Christ's parables is intensified by a contrast; *e.g.* obedient and disobedient sons (Mt 21^{28}), wise and foolish virgins (25^{1}), profitable and unprofitable servants (25^{14}), heartless clergy and charitable Samaritan (Lk 10^{30}), Dives and Lazarus (16^{19}), Pharisee and Publican (18^{9}), etc.

3. *The Distribution of the Parables* in the Gospels is very unequal. In the narrower sense of the term there are no parables in Jn. It is in harmony with the respective characteristics of the other three Gospels that Lk, who aims at completeness, gives us most, and that Mk, who records events rather than discourses, gives us fewest parables. Only one parable is peculiar to Mk,—the Seed growing secretly (4^{26}); and he gives three others, which are also in Mt and Lk,—the Sower, Mustard-seed, and Wicked Husbandmen. Two are common to Mt and Lk,—the Leaven (Mt 13^{33}, Lk 13^{20}) and the Lost Sheep (Mt 18^{12}, Lk 15^{1}). Of the remainder, eighteen are peculiar to Lk and ten to Mt. Lk's eighteen include some of the most beautiful. They are the Two Debtors, Good Samaritan, Friend at Midnight, Rich Fool, Watchful Servants, Barren Fig-tree, Chief Seats, Great Supper, Rash Builder, Rash King, Lost Coin, Lost Son, Unrighteous Steward, Dives and Lazarus, Unprofitable Servants, Unrighteous Judge, Pharisee and Publican, and the Pounds. The ten peculiar to Mt are the Tares, Hid Treasure, Pearl of great Price, Draw-net, Unmerciful Servant, Labourers in the Vineyard, Two Sons, Marriage of the King's Son, Ten Virgins, and the Talents.* Reasons have been given above why the Marriage of the King's Son in Mt should not be identified with the Great Supper in Lk, nor the Talents in Mt with the Pounds.

The number of Christ's parables cannot be satisfactorily determined, because of the difficulty of deciding what is to be regarded as a parable. Some, as Trench, omit one or two of those given above, as the Watchful Servants (Lk 12^{36}) and the Chief Seats (Lk 14^{7}). But many would have to be added, if all the short parabolic sayings of Christ were included. The usual estimate is from thirty to thirty-five, of which about two-thirds are preserved by Lk, the majority of them being peculiar to his Gospel.

It is one of the many signs of inferiority in the apocryphal Gospels that they contain no parables. While they degrade miracles into mere arbitrary and unspiritual acts of power, they omit all that teaches of the deep relations between the seen and the unseen.

4. *The Classification of the Parables* is a problem which perhaps does not admit of a satisfactory solution. One of the simplest is that of Goebel in *Die Parabeln Jesu*, Gotha, 1880, which is followed by Edersheim in *The Life and Teaching of Jesus the Messiah*, i. p. 579. He makes three groups, distinguished by the time and place of delivery: (i.) those belonging to Christ's ministry in and near Capernaum, collected in Mt 13; (ii.) those belonging to the journeyings from Galilee to Jerusalem, recorded in Lk 10–18; and (iii.) those belonging to the last days in Jerusalem. The first group mainly has reference to *the kingdom of God as a whole*, the second to *the individual members of it*, and the third to *the judgment of the members of it*. Godet, in Schaff's *Herzog*, suggests another arrangement into three groups, which is more elaborate. Out of thirty parables he regards six as showing *the preparatory existence of the Kingdom under the Jewish dispensation*; viz. the Wicked Husbandmen, Marriage of the King's Son, Great Supper, Strait Gate, Barren Fig-tree, and Two Sons. Six others show *the realization of the Kingdom in the form of a Church*; viz. the Sower, Tares, Mustard-seed, Leaven, Draw-net, and Unrighteous Judge. The remaining eighteen refer to *the realization of the Kingdom in the life of individual* members. This group is subdivided; nine being referred to those who are entering the Kingdom (Lost Sheep, Lost Coin, Lost Son, Pharisee and Publican, Friend at Midnight, Hid Treasure, Pearl of great Price, Rash Builder, and Rash King), and nine to those who have already become members (Chief Seats, Labourers in the Vineyard, Unmerciful Servant, Good Samaritan, Unrighteous Steward, Dives and Lazarus, Rich Fool, Talents, and Ten Virgins). But to put the Unrighteous Judge and the Friend at Midnight, which teach much the same lesson, into different classes, does not seem to be right. Nor does one see how the sheep, coin, and son could be lost, unless they were already members of the community. Lange, in his *Life of Christ*, i. p. 484, and in Herzog^{2}, art. 'Gleichnis,' makes another threefold classification. The first cycle treats of *the Kingdom in its development*; the second of *its completion by acts of mercy*; the third of its *completion by acts of judgment*. Somewhat similar is the division made by Steinmeyer in *Die Par. des Herrn*, Berlin, 1884, into kerygmatic, pastoral, and judicial. A very elaborate classification is drawn out by Westcott in his *Elements of the Gospel Harmony*, App. D; and *Int. to the Study of the Gospels*, App. F. He makes two main classes, of which the second has three divisions; and each of these divisions has three subdivisions, some of which are bisected or trisected. The chief features are these. I. Parables drawn from *the material world*; viz. the Sower, Tares, Seed growing secretly, Mustard-seed, and Leaven. II. Parables drawn from *the relations of man* (i.) *to the lower world*; viz. the Draw-net, Fig-tree, Lost Sheep, and Lost Coin: (ii.) *to his fellow-men, e.g.* the Lost Son, Friend at Midnight, and Unrighteous Steward, etc.: (iii.) *to Providence*; viz. the Hid Treasure, Pearl of great Price, and Rich Fool. Thus the parables drawn from the relations of man to his fellows (which is not one of the main classes) are the largest group, being about two-thirds of the whole. Secondly, those under the head of man's relations to Providence might be assigned to man's relations to the lower world; for to the lower world treasure, pearls, and crops belong. Thirdly, the Tares and the Draw-net seem clearly to belong to the same group; and, if this is admitted, then the two groups to which they are respectively assigned may be merged in one. These changes would give us two main divisions: (i.) Parables drawn from *man's relations to the lower world*; and (ii.) parables drawn from *man's relations to his fellows*. Nösgen also, in his *Gesch. Jesu*, München, 1891, p. 342, makes two main classes, partly on the same lines as Goebel and Godet: (i.) those which treat of the development of *the Kingdom as a whole*; and (ii.) those which treat of *the lives of individual members of it*. And he regards this classification as indicated by Christ Himself, according as He uses or omits the formula 'The kingdom of heaven is likened' (Mt 13^{24} 18^{23} 22^{2} 25^{1}), or 'the kingdom of heaven is like' (Mt $13^{31.\ 33.\ 44.\ 45.\ 47}$ 20^{1}), or 'so is the kingdom of God' (Mk 4^{26}). Comp. Mt 11^{16}, Lk 7^{31}, Mk 4^{30}, Lk $13^{18.\ 20}$.

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* See the anticipation of this principle in the symbolical teaching of the Pythagoreans as given by Stobæus, *Serm.* v. 72, ed. Gaisford, i. p. 164.

* 'St. Matthew's are more theocratic, St. Luke's more ethical; St. Matthew's are more parables of judgment, St. Luke's of mercy' (Trench).

It is probable that the three parables which are in all three Gospels are in some way typical: they are taken from seed-time, growth, and harvest. The Sower tells of the preparation for the kingdom in the hearts of the recipients; the Mustard-seed of its powers of development; and the Wicked Husbandmen of God's long-suffering mercy and stern judgment upon those who persist in opposing it. But it does not follow from this that a basis for classification is thus indicated.

5. In *the Interpretation of Parables* we have to be on our guard against the opposite dangers of ignoring important features, and attempting to make all the details mean something. No general rules can be given, for the amount of symbolical detail differs greatly in different parables. This is clear from those cases in which we have Christ's own interpretations. In the Sower nearly all the features have meaning; not only the seed and the various soils, but the birds, the heat, and the thorns. In the Tares several features are explained: the sower, the good seed, the enemy, the tares, the field, the harvest, and the reapers. And several are left unexplained: the people sleeping, the enemy's going away, the blade springing up, the servants of the householder, and the binding of the bundles (Mt $13^{24-30.\ 37-43}$). In the Unrighteous Steward the meaning of the parable as a whole is indicated, viz. the wisdom of using present opportunities as a provision for eternity (Lk 16^{9}); but none of the details are interpreted; and it is probable that they have no meaning. Most of the difficulties respecting this parable have been produced by making the separate features of the story mean something, especially the reduction in the bills. Nevertheless, the interpretations of the Sower and of the Tares forbid us to assert that each parable has one main lesson, and that when this is ascertained all the details may be ignored as meaningless. Chrysostom seems to go too far when he declares *οὐδὲ χρὴ πάντα τὰ ἐν ταῖς παραβολαῖς κατὰ λέξιν περιεργάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν σκοπὸν μαθόντας, δι᾽ ὃν συνετέθη, τοῦτον δρέπεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν πολυπραγμονεῖν περαιτέρω* (*in Mt. Hom.* lxiv. 3). But the extravagant lengths to which some patristic commentators go in the interpretation of minute details, especially of numbers (*e.g.* on Mt 13^{33} 25^{15}, Lk 7^{41} 11^{5} 13^{7}), provoked strong protests, as from Tertullian (*de Pud.* 9) and others, who sometimes erred in this way themselves. The question is well handled by Trench, whose third chapter is one of the best in his admirable work, *Notes on the Parables*, which for English readers is likely to remain the chief guide on the whole subject.

LITERATURE.—In addition to works mentioned in the above article, the following may be consulted: Lisco, *Die Parabeln Jesu*, 1832–40, Eng. tr. by Fairbairn, 1840; Buisson, *Paraboles de l'Évangile*, 1849; Guthrie, *The Parables*, 1866; Stier, *Reden d. Herrn*, 1865–74, Eng. tr. by Pope, 1869; Arnot, *The Parables of our Lord*, 1870; Beyschlag, *Die Gleichnissreden d. Herrn*, 1875; Thiersch, *Die Gleichnisse Christi nach ihrer moral. und prophet. Bedeut. betrachtet*, 1875; Bruce, *The Parabolic Teaching of Christ*, 1882; Tamm, *Der Realismus Jesu in seiner Gleichnissen*, 1886; Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 1888, 1899 [see Sanday in *Journ. Theol. Stud.* Jan. 1900]; Freystedt, *Die Gleichnisse d. Herrn, Predigten*, 1896; Heinrici, art. 'Gleichnisse Jesu' in *PRE*^{3}. Most *Lives of Christ* contain a discussion of the subject. See also Danz, *Universalwörterbuch*, p. 727.

A. PLUMMER.

PARACLETE.—This is the English form of the Gr. *παράκλητος*, *paraklētos*, which occurs only in the writings of St. John. In Jn $14^{16.\ 26}$ 15^{26} 16^{7} it is used by Jesus to describe the Holy Spirit, promised to the disciples after His own departure; and in 1 Jn 2^{1} it is applied by St. John to the ascended Lord Himself. In AV the word is translated 'Comforter' in the Gospel and 'Advocate' in the Epistle, without any marginal alternative. In RV these translations are retained, but at each occurrence in the Gospel there is found the marg. note 'Or *Advocate*, or *Helper*, Gr. *Paraclete*'; and at 1 Jn 2^{1} the note 'Or *Comforter*, or *Helper*, Gr. *Paraclete*.' These translations reflect the history of the interpretation of the word in NT. In its reference to Christ the meaning of 'Advocate' has been generally acquiesced in; but, in its references to the Holy Spirit, it has all along been disputed whether the meaning is Advocate (taken by most in the largest sense, not only Pleader or Defender, but Helper) or Comforter (in the sense of Consoler).

i. THE ETYMOLOGY AND USE OF THE WORD.—The verb *παρακαλεῖν* is frequently used both in LXX and in NT (though not found in St. John's writings) with the meaning to comfort or console, a meaning which is rare in classical Greek. Thus Gn 37^{35} 'And all his sons and all his daughters rose up to comfort him; but he refused to be comforted' (*ἦλθον παρακαλέσαι αὐτόν· καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν παρακαλεῖσθαι*); Mt 5^{4} 'Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted' (*μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες· ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται*). Moreover, the abstract subst. *παράκλησις*, formed from *παρακαλεῖν*, often means comfort or consolation, as 2 Co $1^{3.\ 4}$ 'Blessed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort; who comforteth us in all our affliction, that we may be able to comfort them that are in any affliction, through the comfort wherewith we ourselves are comforted of God' (*θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως, ὁ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πασῇ τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν, εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖν τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ θλίψει, διὰ τῆς παρακλήσεως ἧς παρακαλούμεθα αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ*). But the oldest meaning of *παρακαλεῖν* is not to 'comfort,' but to 'send for,' 'summon to one's aid' (=Lat. *advocare*). Thus in Xenoph. *Anab.* i. 6. 5, *παρακαλεῖν τινα σύμβουλον*, 'to call one in as adviser';* and this meaning is found in NT, Ac 28^{20} *διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς ἰδεῖν καὶ προσλαλῆσαι*, 'For this purpose, then, have I called for you, to see and to speak with you.' The question, then, is whether *παράκλητος*, which is undoubtedly passive in form, signifies 'one called in' (for aid of some kind), or has assumed an active meaning (after *παρακαλεῖν*, to console), 'one who comforts or consoles.' The question must be determined by an examination of the use of the word elsewhere and of its context in NT.

1. *The Classical Use.*—In classical Greek *παράκλητος* is a judicial word. It is the equivalent in use as well as etymology of the Lat. *advocatus*. Both are wider in meaning than our 'advocate,' and approach nearer our 'counsel.' Asconius (ad Cic. in *Q. Cæcil.*) says, Qui defendit alterum in judicio, aut *patronus* dicitur, si orator est; aut *advocatus*, si aut jus suggerit, aut presentiam suam commodat amico. Our 'advocate' is the Rom. *patronus* (qui orator est), the Gr. *παράκλητος* is the Rom. *advocatus*. Thus Demosth. *de Falsa Leg.* p. 341, 10, *αἱ τῶν παρακλήτων δεήσεις καὶ σπουδαί*, 'the petitions and pains of the partisans.' The occurrence of the word is rare, but, where it occurs, this, or something very near this, is its meaning.†

2. *The Evidence of the LXX.*—The word *παράκλητος* is not found in the LXX. The adj. *παρακλητικός* occurs in Zec 1^{13} 'And the LORD answered the angel that talked with me with good words, even comfortable words' (*λόγους παρακλητικούς*). Once also there occurs the subst. *παρακλήτωρ*, Job 16^{2} 'Miserable comforters are ye all' (*παρακλήτορες κακῶν πάντες*). The use of this word, which has a proper active form and meaning, is on the whole to be regarded as evidence against the sense of 'comforter' for *παράκλητος*. The one being already in existence, taken directly from *παρακαλεῖν* in the sense of 'console,' it is improbable that the other would have come (against its passive form) to be used for the same meaning. It is true that Aq. and Theod. use *παράκλητος* in this passage; but they may have felt the influence of the word as used in St. John's Gospel, which at the time they wrote (*c.* 120–150 A.D.) was probably interpreted 'Comforter.' Symm. uses *παρηγοροῦντες*.

3. *The Use of the Word by Philo.*—Philo employs *παράκλητος* several times in the sense of 'intercessor' or 'advocate' (in its classical meaning). In *de Joseph.* c. 40, Joseph, after discovering himself to his brethren, is made to say, *ἀμνηστίαν ἁπάντων παρέχω τῶν εἰς ἐμὲ πεπραγμένων· μηδενὸς ἑτέρου δεῖσθε παρακλήτου*, 'I grant forgiveness for all that you have done against me; you need no one else as intercessor.' And in *Vit. Mos.* iii. 14, the reason why the high priest on entering the Holy of Holies should wear the symbol of the Logos, is given in the words, *ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἦν τὸν ἱερωμένον τῷ τοῦ κόσμου πατρὶ παρακλήτῳ χρῆσθαι τελειοτάτῳ τὴν ἀρετὴν υἱῷ πρός τε ἀμνηστείαν ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ χορηγίαν ἀφθονωτάτων ἀγαθῶν*, 'It was indispensable that he who was consecrated to the Father of the world should employ as his Advocate the Son, most perfect in virtue, for both the forgiveness of sins and the supply of unlimited blessings.' It has been claimed that Philo uses *παράκλητος* once in the direct active sense of *παρακαλεῖν*, to comfort, viz. in *de Opif. Mund.* c. 6; but there also the meaning is passive and general, 'one called to help'—*οὐδενὶ δὲ παρακλήτῳ. τίς γὰρ ἦν ἕτερος, μόνῳ δὲ ἑαυτῷ χρησάμενος ὁ θεὸς ἔγνω δεῖν εὐεργετεῖν . . . τὴν . . . φύσιν*, 'employing no helper (for who else was there?) but only Himself, did God think good to bless the world.'

4. *In the Targums and Talmud.*—The Gr. word appears in the Targ. and Talm. in the form פְּרַקְלִיט or פְּרַקְלִיטָא, and always in the sense of helper, intercessor, or advocate, *i.e.* always as a passive. Thus the Targ. at Job 16^{20} 'My *pĕraḳliṭs* are my friends' (AV and RV 'My friends scorn me'); and at 33^{23} the *pĕraḳlîṭ* is placed in antithesis to קָטֵיגוֹר, Gr. *κατήγορος* (in Rev 12^{10} *κατήγωρ*), 'accuser.' At Job 16^{2}, however, where the LXX has *παρακλήτωρ* and the meaning is 'comforter,' the Targ. does not use *pĕraklîṭ*. The passages from the Talm. have been collected by Buxtorf, *s.v.* Perhaps the most pertinent example is found in *Pirḳe Aboth*, iv. 15 (see Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*², p. 69): 'Rabbi Li'ezer ben Jacob said, He who performs one precept has gotten to himself one advocate (פְּרַקְלִיט); and he who commits one transgression has gotten to himself one accuser (קָטֵיגוֹר).'

5. *The Earliest Christian Writers.*—We find the same passive sense—called to one's side, as advocate or intercessor—even in the early Christian writers, when they are using the word independently and not interpreting the NT use. Take II Ep. of Clement, vi. (Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, p. 46)—'Who shall be our advocate, unless we be found having holy and righteous works?' (*τίς ἡμῶν παράκλητος ἔσται, ἐὰν μὴ εὑρεθῶμεν ἔργα ἔχοντες ὅσια καὶ δίκαια*); and Ep. of Barnabas, xx. (*Apost. Fathers*, p. 274)—'advocates of the wealthy, unjust judges of the poor, sinful in all things' (*πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί, πενθαμάρτητοι*).

ii. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE NT WORD.—It seems, then, that *παράκλητος*, wherever it is used outside and independently of the NT, agrees with its etymology. A passive participle in form, it follows the passive voice of the verb *παρακαλεῖν* in the meaning of 'called to one's side' for help, and especially against an accuser or judge. But the interpretation of the word as found in St. John's Gospel has not followed its etymology and usage. It has there been often understood to mean 'comforter' or 'consoler' (=*ὁ παρακαλῶν*). This is the prevailing interpretation in the Fathers and in the Versions, and it is still upheld by some modern expositors.

1. *The Greek and Latin Fathers.*—ORIGEN (as quoted in Latin by Ruffinus, *de Princ.* II. vii. 4) says, 'The Holy Spirit is called Paracletus from consolation. For in Latin *παράκλησις* is called consolatio. . . . But in 1 Jn paracletus is used of the Saviour in the sense of intercessor. For in Greek *παράκλητος* signifies both intercessor and consoler (deprecatorem et consolatorem).' Thus Origen gives to *παράκλητος* a double meaning, 'consoler' in the Gospel, 'intercessor' in the Epistle. But even 'intercessor' he takes from the active voice of *παρακαλεῖν* in the sense of 'request,' 'plead' (as in Mt 8^{5} *προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ ἑκατόνταρχος παρακαλῶν αὐτόν*, 'There came to him a centurion beseeching him'), for in his *Com. on St. John*, i. 33 [38] (Brooke's ed. 1896, vol. i. p. 45), he says, 'But none of the names mentioned above expresses His representation of us with the Father, as He intercedes for the nature

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* Cf. Æsch. c. *Ctesiph.* § 200, *τί δεῖ σε Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖν;*

† Cf. Diog. Laert. *Vita Bionis*, iv. 50, *τὸ ἱκανόν σοι ποιήσω, ἐὰν παρακλήτους* ['a deputation' is Field's trans.] *πέμψῃς, καὶ μὴ αὐτὸς ἔλθῃς.*

of men and atones for it, as the intercessor and propitiation and the atonement' (*παρακαλοῦντος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνθρώπων φύσεως καὶ ἱλασκομένου, ὡς ὁ παράκλητος καὶ ἱλασμὸς καὶ τὸ ἱλαστήριον*). CHRYSOSTOM in his *Com.* on Jn 14^{16} says, 'He calls the Spirit *παράκλητος* because of the afflictions that then beset them'; but in his *Hom. in Joh.* lxxv., 'Concerning the Spirit He said . . . *παράκλητος* in order that they might not be disheartened in thinking there would be none to be their patron and helper.' CYRIL gives the meaning 'consoler'—*Catech.* xvi. 20, 'The Holy Spirit is called *παράκλητος* because He comforts and consoles and helps our infirmities' (*διὰ τὸ παρακαλεῖν καὶ παραμυθεῖσθαι καὶ συναντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν*). With this the most of the Gr. Fathers agree. On the other hand, the Lat. Fathers (influenced probably by the early Lat. versions) generally use *Advocatus* (esp. in 1 Jn, very often *Paracletus* in the Gospel) as the trans., and seem to interpret as Advocate or Helper. But, as Pearson (*On the Creed*, p. 500, Bohn's ed.) has pointed out, it is probable that the Lat. writers when using *advocatus* mean *consolator*, 'for in the ancient Christian Latin, *advocare* signifieth "to comfort," and *advocatio* "consolation," as being the bare interpretations of *παρακαλεῖν* and *παράκλησις*.' Cf. Rönsch, *It. u. Vulg.* 348. Thus Tert. translates *παρακαλέσαι πενθοῦντας* (Is 61^{2}) *advocare languentes* (*adv. Marc.* iv. 14). And both Hilary (Sumus nunc quidem consolati, quia Dominus ait, 'Mittet nobis Pater et alium Consolatorem'—*Enar. in Ps. 125*) and Aug. (Consolabuntur Spiritu Sancto, qui maxime propterea Paracletus nominatur, id est, Consolator—*de Serm. Dom. in Monte*, i. 2) as well as others, use *consolator* as the tr. of *παράκλητος*.

2. *Ancient and Modern Versions.*—(1) The *Old Latin* has *Advocatus* in the Ep. in all copies; in the Gospel there is variation between *Advocatus* (Pal. at 15^{26} 16^{7}; Pal. Verc. Colb. at 14^{16}) and *Paracletus* or *Paraclitus* * (Pal. Verc. Ver. Colb. Corb. in the other passages). (2) The *Syriac* versions seem to have retained the original word 'Paraclete' everywhere. So at least in all extant passages (Curetonian in Jn 14^{16}; Pesh. in all places; Sin. in the Gospel). (3) The *Arabic*, *Ethiopic*, and *Memphitic* versions also retain 'Paraclete.' The *Thebaic* has 'Paraclete' in the Gosp., but in the Ep. 'One that prayeth for us' (Lightfoot, *Fresh Rev.*^{2} 61). (4) The *Vulg.* has *Paracletus* (or *Paraclĭtus*) in the Gosp. and *Advocatus* in the Ep. (5) Wyclif and Purvey translated the Vulg. *Paraclĭtus* into 'Comforter' in the Gosp., and retained 'Advocate' from *advocatus* in the Ep. (1382 'we han avoket anentis the fadir'; 1388 [Purvey] 'we han an advocat anentis the fadir'). Luther likewise has 'Tröster' in Jn and 'Fürsprecher' in 1 Jn. Then Tindale also adopted 'Comforter' in the Gosp. and 'Advocate' in the Ep., and these translations have come down through all the Eng. versions, except the Rhemish, which in the Gosp. has taken 'Paraclete' † directly from the Vulgate.

It must be remembered that in the language of the English versions 'to comfort' is not always to console as it is in the English of the present day, and 'comfort' is not always consolation. Its first meaning, like the Latin *con-fortare* (from *con* intensive prefix, and *fortis* 'strong'), is to strengthen. Thus Wyclif's translation (1382) of Is 41^{7} is 'he coumfortide hym with nailes, that it shulde not be moued' (1388, 'he fastenede hym with nailis'). Coverdale translates 2 S 2^{7} 'Let youre hande now therefore be comforted, and be ye stronge' (AV 'let your hands be strengthened, and be ye valiant'; RV 'let your hands be strong'). And AV gives in Job $10^{20. 21}$ 'Let me alone, that I may take comfort a little, before I go whence I shall not return, a translation which RV retains, though the same Hebrew word is translated 'recover strength' in Ps 39^{13} by both versions. We next find the meaning *exhort* or *exhortation*, as Wyclif's translation of He 12^{5} 'And ye han forgete the comforte that spekith to you as to sones.' And then *encouragement* (not necessarily to goodness), as in Wyclif's *Select Works*, iii. 328, 'Not to coumforte hem in here synne'; and in Cranmer's *Works*, i. 209, 'By your comfort the vulgar people conceiveth hatred towards such things as by the prince's commandment are set forth.'

But when Wyclif chose the word 'Comforter' to express the Latin *Paracletus* (he may have coined the word, since the earliest examples of 'comforter' yet discovered are in his writings), it is probable that the sense he desired to convey was 'one who consoles.' His translation (1382) of Job 16^{2} is 'Alle yee ben hevye coumfortoures'; and this was the meaning which was attached to the Greek word *παράκλητος* and the Latin *paracletus* in the Church in his day. Any other sense, indeed, is somewhat rare. Lord Berners' *Froissart* (ch. ccci. Globe ed. p. 229) may be quoted for the meaning 'aider' or 'abettor': 'Who durst begin such a riot as to enterprise to slay the earl's baily holding the earl's banner in his hands, doing his office, without some bolsterer or comforter in their deed?'

iii. How has it come to pass that *παράκλητος*, which nowhere else has the meaning of 'consoler,' has been so generally taken in that sense in St. John's Gospel? The explanation must be found in the context. Our Lord, in promising the Paraclete, spoke of His own impending departure. The disciples' hearts were filled with sorrow. It is natural to understand that the Paraclete the Holy Ghost was promised to the disciples to console them for the loss of their Lord. And when that meaning was found in the context, it was easy to give it to the word itself. The same thing happened to *advocatus* in Latin; the sense of 'consoler' is equally unknown to that word outside ecclesiastical usage; Tertullian must have given it that meaning because he found it in his version as the designation of Him who was sent to *console* the disciples.

But the Paraclete was not sent to console the disciples. They did not really need consolation. If they had understood, no sorrow at Christ's departure would ever have filled their hearts. As soon as they did understand, the sorrow left them. *Before the Paraclete came* they 'returned to Jerusalem with great joy' (Lk 24^{52}). As soon, indeed, as they realized the fact of Christ's resurrection their sorrow was turned into joy. Even the women 'departed quickly from the tomb with fear and great joy' (Mt 28^{8}). But it was then that the battle with unbelief had to begin—the unbelief of their own hearts in part, but chiefly the unbelief of the world. And the Paraclete was sent to aid them in that strife.

In Jn $14^{16. 26}$ 15^{26} the reference seems to be to the unbelief or half-belief of the disciples' own hearts. The Paraclete as the Spirit of truth guides them into all the truth. He brings to their remembrance the things the Master had said to them; in the light of events He interprets these things; they understand that 'all is of God that is and is to be, and all is good.' He witnesses for Christ in their hearts; and then when they know that He is the Messiah, the Son of God and Saviour of the world, they are ready to be witnesses themselves (Jn $15^{26. 27}$).

In Jn 16^{7} the Holy Spirit is the Paraclete of the disciples in their witness before the world. Just like the *παράκλητος* and *advocatus* of the ancients (but not quite as the advocate of our day), He comes to the disciples. 'I will send him *unto you*' (Jn 16^{7}). He is their personal unofficial Friend; His services are at their disposal. In their debate with the world He is at their right hand that they may not be moved. Through them He convicts the world concerning sin, concerning righteousness, and concerning judgment—a conviction which means their acquittal and the world's condemnation.

In 1 Jn 2^{1} it is Jesus Himself that is the Paraclete: 'If any man (*i.e.* here 'any believer') sin, we have a Paraclete with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.' So the believer has a conflict in heaven as well as on the earth. The conflict upon the earth is with the sin of the world; the conflict in heaven is with his own sin. Through faith he wins the battle upon the earth, for 'this is the victory that hath overcome the world, even our faith' (1 Jn 5^4). Through repentance he wins the victory in heaven. In both cases it is not he but his Paraclete that wins. Both victories are of grace, lest any man should boast. But why two Paracletes? Because the Holy Spirit has to do, not with the sin of man, but with his holiness. In so far as the believer does *not* sin, the Holy Spirit is his Paraclete. When he sins it is Jesus Christ that becomes his Paraclete. For Jesus has always to do with his sin, and Jesus only.

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* On the spelling *paraclĭtus* see Hare's note in *Mission of the Comforter*, ii. 522, note Ja (in later ed. note K).

† The Rhem. version has the foll. marg. note to Jn 14^{16}, '*Paraclete* by interpretation is either a comforter or an advocate; and therefore to translate it by any one of them only is perhaps to abridge the sense of this place.' There is no note on the tr. at 1 Jn 2^{1}, where the Vulg. 'advocatus' is given as 'advocate,' with the Gr. *παράκλητον* in the margin.

iv. The question remains, Which is the best translation?

1. COMFORTER is false to the etymology of the Greek word and to its usage, and it misses the meaning. The arguments used in its favour are these: (1) That it agrees with the Hellenistic usage of παρακαλεῖν 'to comfort' and παράκλησις 'comfort.' To which M'Clellan replies that this usage justifies the sense of 'comforter' for παρακλήτωρ but not for παράκλητος, which would rather be *one comforted*. 'It would be just as reasonable to contend that in harmony with the use of καλεῖν to "call," the word κλητός "called" (Ro $1^{6.7}$ etc.) signifies a *caller*; or that in harmony with the use of *parere* to "bring forth," *parens* signifies "a child."' (2) That the Eng. word 'comforter' really means 'strengthener' (so esp. Hare and Trench). It does not mean so now, however; and it has been shown that in the Eng. versions it probably never meant so. (3) That it is better to retain 'Comforter' 'on the ground of prescription and long familiarity.' So Field, who recalls Schaff's remark (*Companion to Gr. Test. and Eng. Versions*, p. 446) that 'after long deliberation the Revisers retained the dear old word.' Field does not blame the Revisers; but if it is to be retained he would derive it, not from παρακαλεῖν 'to console,' but from παρακαλεῖν 'to send for.' 'We send for a confidential friend on various occasions; and according to the particular service which we require from him he is our Counsellor in difficulties, or Advocate in danger, or our Comforter in distress.' But he warns against the apparent countenance given to the old favourite by the mistranslation of ὀρφανούς in Jn 14^{18}, AV 'comfortless'; RVm rightly 'orphans.'

2. ADVOCATE. This is the word approved of by most modern commentators. It has also no little 'prescription' in its favour. It is etymologically identical with παράκλητος. And it accounts for the passive form. The objection to 'Advocate' is that it does not in modern use correspond closely enough with either the Lat. *advocatus* or the Gr. παράκλητος. It answers fairly well to the Paraclete of 1 Jn, but in the Gosp. the Holy Spirit does not plead for but in or through the disciples.

3. INTERCESSOR. Pearson (*On the Creed*, pp. 499, 501) urges the adoption of 'Intercessor,' and others agree. Its fitness to express the Paraclete of 1 Jn is evident. And it is clear from certain passages (cf. the words already quoted from Demosth., τῶν παρακλήτων τούτων δεήσεις) that entreaty or intercession was at least part of the work of the Paraclete in the ancient law courts. But the word is somewhat restricted in meaning to cover all that is said of the Holy Spirit as Paraclete.

4. PARACLETE. It is perhaps best to transcribe the word, as has been done in so many versions, including the very oldest, and as the Eng. versions have unanimously done with 'Christ,' 'apostle,' 'deacon,' and other words. The objection to this is, not that it empties the word of all meaning (M'Clellan), for that is better than putting a wrong meaning into it, and it would gather its meaning for itself;* but that it might come to be applied as almost a proper name to the Holy Spirit, who is after all only 'another Paraclete' (Jn 14^{16}). If this danger were avoided, it is the best word, for there is no English word in existence that covers the original both in the Gosp. and the Ep. and covers it exactly; and Paraclete, says Westcott (*Lessons of RV*, p. 94), 'is now almost naturalized among us.'

LITERATURE.—Besides the Comm. (esp. Meyer on Jn 14^{16} and Düsterdieck on 1 Jn 2^1), Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* p. 1843 (ed. Fischer, p. 916); Grimm-Thayer, *NT Lex.*, and Cremer, *Bibl.-Theol. Lex. s.v.* Also Knapp, *Scripta Var. Argum.* p. 124 ff.; Pearson, *On the Creed*, p. 499 ff.; Hare, *Mission of the Comforter*, ii. 521 ff., note Ja (in later ed. note K); Trench, *On the AV of NT*, p. 23 f.; Lightfoot, *On a Fresh Revision*^{2}, p. 55 ff.; M'Clellan, *The Four Gospels*, p. 337 (on Jn 14^{16}), and p. 733 ff.; Westcott, *Speaker's Com.* (Add. Note on Jn 14^{16}) p. 211 ff.; Watkins, *Com. for Eng. Readers* (Add. Note on Jn 14^{16}), p. 561 ff.; Hatch, *Essays in Bibl. Greek*, p. 82; Field, *Notes on Trans. of NT* (*Otium Norv.* III.^{2}), on Jn 14^{16}, p. 102 f.; Robson in *Expos. Times*, v. (1894) 320 ff., and *The Holy Spirit the Paraclete*, p. 1 ff.

J. HASTINGS.

PARADISE (פַּרְדֵּס, παράδεισος, *Paradisus*, Fr. *Paradis*, Ital. *Paradiso*, Sp. *Parayso*).—A word used in different applications in Scripture, and having an interesting history both before and after its appearance in the Bible. In all probability it is of Median or Persian origin.

Other explanations indeed have been given of it. Some fanciful etymologies have been proposed for it; *e.g.* from פרה and דשא, as if the root idea was 'bringing forth herbs'; from παρά and δεύω, as if 'well watered'; from παρά and a supposititious δεῖσα with the sense of 'plant' or 'plants,' etc. (cf. Suidas and Suicer, *s.v.*). It has been taken by some from an Armenian source, *pardez* being Armenian for 'garden.' It has been held to have Sanskrit connexions. But the term *paradeça*, with which it is thought to be in affinity, or from which it is supposed to come, means a 'foreign country' (from *para* = distant, and *deça* = country), and the likeness is only accidental (cf. Benfey, *s.v.*). A Semitic origin has been claimed for it by some scholars of repute. Fried. Delitzsch, *e.g.*, suggests a Babylono-Assyrian source (cf. *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 95–97). But there is no evidence that the Assyrian people had the thing which was called by this name among the Persians; while, on the other hand, they expressed the idea of 'garden' or 'wood' by other words (cf. Schrader, *COT* ii. 71 f.). The attempt to find for the term a Semito-Assyrian or an Akkado-Sumerian etymology, therefore, is now generally given up, and most scholars are of opinion that the word comes from the Zend *pairidaêza* (cf. modern Persian and Arabic *firdaus* = 'garden,' 'paradise,' pl. *faradis*), meaning a wall enclosing something, and then the space enclosed, a park, a pleasure-ground, or hunting-ground (Ges. *Thes.* ii. 1124; Max Müller, *Chips*, iv. 22; Renan, *Langues Sémitiques*, II. i. 153; Justi, *Zendsprache*, 180; Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.* p. 75; Haug in Ewald's *Jahrb.* v. 162; Spiegel in Delitzsch's *Hoheslied* under ch. 4^{13}; Nöldeke, *ZDMG* xxxvi. 182; Skeat, *Etymol. Dict. of Eng. Lang. s.v.*). The old Greek etymologists also explained the word as of Persian origin. So Pollux (*Onom.* ix. ch. 3) expresses himself thus: οἱ δὲ παράδεισοι, βαρβαρικὸν εἶναι τοὔνομα, ἥκει καὶ μετὰ συνήθειαν εἰς χρῆσιν ἑλληνικήν, ὡς καὶ ἄλλα πόλλα τῶν περσικῶν.

The word came very early into use in English, *e.g.* in Layamon, l. 24,122. It was adopted by Wyclif in his rendering of Rev 2^7: 'To hym that overcometh Y Schal gyve to ete of the tre of lijf that is in the paradis of my God.' The different forms in which it has appeared, and the different things for which it has served as a name, make a curious story. It has been used to designate the magnificent parks of Persian monarchs, the original abode of man in his integrity and happiness, the residence of righteous souls in the intermediate state, and the heaven of the future. It has been employed as a figure of the Word of God by some of the Fathers (*e.g.* Chrys. *Hom. I. ad pop. Antioch.* t. vi. p. 448; *Hom.*, *Quod Scripturarum lectio utilis sit*, t. viii. p. 111); and from these higher uses it has descended to be the name of humbler things—courts, porches, altars, berths, etc. The word *parvis*, denoting the outer court of a great house or palace, and more particularly the porch of a church, is supposed to be *paradise* in the Low Latin form *paravisus*, a Neapolitan *paraviso* being quoted as a variety of the Italian *paradiso* (Skeat, *Etym. Dict. of Eng. Lang. s.v.*). The church-porch is said to have been taken to represent *paradise* when the old mystery-plays were enacted in the yard. (Cf. Littré, *s.v.*, and Tyrwhitt's ed. *Cant. Tales*, v. 183). The word (*paruis, parvis, parvys*) occurs in Chaucer—

> 'There was no wight in all Parys
> Before our ladie at parvys
> That he ne mighte bye the book
> To copy, if him talent took.'
> —(*Rom. of Rose*, 7108).

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* Cf. 'demon' of RV for AV 'devil' (δαιμόνιον).

Among the Persians the term meant a royal park, the enclosed pleasure-ground of king or of noble, richly wooded, well watered, and amply stocked with game, comprehending at once the *vivarium* and the *viridarium* of the Romans. Classical Latin did not possess the word, and Roman writers of the classical period had to express the thing in a roundabout way (cf. Cicero, *de Senect.* 17). From Persia it passed over into later Hebrew and into Greek. It appears to have been introduced into the latter by Xenophon, and it occurs frequently in Greek writers from his period onwards. In these it is applied mostly to the great parks of the Persian kings. Numerous references are made to these, and large descriptions are given of them (cf. Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 7, iii. 4. 14, *Cyr.* i. 3. 14, viii. 1. 38, *Œc.* iv. 13, 14, *Hell.* iv. 1. 15; Diodor. Sic. xvi. 41; Plut. *Artax.* 25; Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* v. 8. 1; Lucian, *Ver. Hist.* ii. 23; Ælian, *Var. Hist.* i. 33, etc.). The word seems to have been used sometimes also of smaller gardens or enclosures (Inscript. Car. in *CIG* 2694*b*). In the sense of 'park' it occurs also in Josephus and some of the Apocryphal books (Jos. *Ant.* VII. xiv. 4, VIII. vii. 3, IX. x. 4, X. iii. 2, etc., *Bell. Jud.* VI. i. 1; Sus v.^{4} etc.; Sir 24^{30}). It is explained to the same effect by Hesychius, Olympiodorus (*Eccles.* ch. ii. p. 611), Greg. Nyss. (*Hom. IX. in Cantic.* t. i. p. 611), etc.

It was taken over into the OT in the Hebrew form פַּרְדֵּס (LXX *παράδεισος*), and with the literal sense. It occurs thus in Ca 4^{13} (RV 'orchard,' with marginal note, 'or, *a paradise*'); Ec 2^{5} (AV 'gardens and *orchards*,' RV 'gardens and *parks*'); Neh 2^{8} ('keeper of the king's *forest*,' where the reference is explicitly to the royal Persian park, in the primary sense. But the OT occurrences (in the Greek form) are not confined to these three cases. The word is exalted to a higher use, the Seventy having adopted it as their translation of the גַּן עֵדֶן in which man was placed at first by his Creator. The עֵדֶן is sometimes left as a proper name Ἔδεμ; sometimes it is reproduced in its etymological sense as *τῆς τρυφῆς*. So in the LXX (and a similar form is used in the Peshiṭta) *παράδεισος, παράδεισος τῆς τρυφῆς*, is the Garden of Eden (Gn 2$^{8.10.15}$ 3$^{2.3.23.24}$). Outside the record of man's creation and fall it was also used by the LXX where the Heb. has 'garden,' especially in figurative passages, or when the idea of the glory of man's first abode was in any way in view. In Gn 13^{10}, *e.g.*, the plain of Jordan is said to be 'as the paradise of God' (*ὡς ὁ παράδεισος τοῦ θεοῦ*); Nu 24^{6} Balaam describes the tents of Jacob and the tabernacles of Israel (*ὡς νάπαι σκιάζουσαι καὶ ὡσεὶ παράδεισος ἐπὶ ποταμῶν*). See also Is 1^{30}, Jl 2^{3}, Jer 29^{5}, and especially Ezk 31$^{8.9}$, where it is said of the Assyrian under the figure of a great cedar tree in Lebanon that 'the cedars in the garden of God could not hide him' . . . 'nor any tree in the garden of God (*ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τοῦ θεοῦ*) was like unto him in his beauty,' and that he was made so fair that 'all the trees of Eden that were in the garden of God (*τὰ ξύλα τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς τοῦ θεοῦ*) envied him.'

In the NT it is raised to still higher uses. The primeval Eden gives place to a 'garden of God' that is not of earth, the thought of the Paradise of the past is lost in the hope of a Paradise of the future, and the word becomes a name for the scene of rest and recompense for the righteous after death. Only the most sparing use, however, is made of it in the NT. While the idea which it expresses appears more frequently, the word itself occurs only in three passages—once in the Gospels (Lk 23^{43}), once in the Epp. (2 Co 12^{4}), and once in the Apoc. (2^{7}). The history of the term suggests reasons for this remarkable abstention in the case of the NT writings. To understand the place which it has in these writings, and to define its precise meaning in these few passages, it is necessary to look into the course which Hebrew thought took on the subject of *Sheol* and a future existence after the close of OT prophecy, and into the condition of popular Jewish belief in the times of Christ and the Apostles. It is of the greatest importance to know the ideas which had become connected with the term 'Paradise' and its cognates in the various sections of Judaism.

In some cases 'Paradise,' the 'garden of Eden,' and such terms, lost their objective meaning, and were made symbols of spiritual things. The tendency to idealize is seen, *e.g.*, in *Sirach*, where the rivers of Eden become symbols of the streams of true wisdom (Sir 24$^{25-30}$). It appears, too, in the *Psalms of Solomon*, where we have the 'garden of the Lord' and the 'trees of life' introduced as figures of the saints in their blessedness—*ὁ παράδεισος κυρίου, τὰ ξύλα τῆς ζωῆς ὅσιοι αὐτοῦ* (14^{2}). It is seen in its absoluteness in the philosophizing Judaism of Alexandria. To Philo himself 'Paradise' was a symbol of *ἀρετή*, or spiritual excellence. The spiritualizing method of interpretation, however, was limited for the most part to that school, and was not of a kind to affect popular Jewish thought to any great extent. The prevailing tendency was in the opposite direction. To what extremes of literalism and curious circumstantial definition it ran, and in what extravagant and incongruous speculation it indulged, can be gathered from the Rabbinical literature and from the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical writings.

Fancy ran riot in the Rabbinical schools on the subject of Paradise, its location, its extent, its glories, etc. The Rabbinical theology as it has come down to us exhibits an extraordinary medley of ideas on these questions, and in the case of many of them it is difficult to determine the dates to which they should be assigned. In some Rabbinical books פַּרְדֵּס is used for Paradise; which has, however, the sense of 'park' in the Mishna and Targums. But the more frequent term is the OT גַּן עֵדֶן. The primeval garden of Eden was held by some to exist still, and to lie in the distant east. Paradise was regarded as created before the world. In later Jewish theology it had seven names, and copious rhetorical descriptions of its blessedness abounded. Two gates of rubies were said to lead into it. Beside them stand sixty myriads of holy angels, with countenances shining like the light of heaven. When a righteous man enters, the vestures of death are taken off him; he is clad in eight robes of the clouds of glory; two crowns are placed upon his head—one of pearls and precious stones, another of gold of Parvaim; eight myrtles are put into his hand; he is lauded and hailed with words of welcome, etc. (*Jalkut Schim.*, *Beresch.* 20). It was believed also that in Paradise there are degrees of blessedness (*Baba bathra* 75*a*). Seven ranks or orders of the righteous were said to exist within it, and definitions were given both of those to whom these different positions belonged and of the glories belonging to each. Taking the literature as it is, it might appear that Paradise was regarded by some as on earth itself, by others as forming part of Sheol, by others still as neither on earth nor under earth, but in heaven; while some also held that there were two Paradises—one in heaven, for those who are perfect in holiness, and one on earth, for those who come short of that. But there is some doubt as respects, at least, part of this. These various conceptions are found indeed in later Judaism. They appear most precisely and most in detail in the mediæval Cabbalistic Judaism; in which also extravagant descriptions are given of the relations of the earthly

Paradise and the heavenly, the latter being declared to be sixty times as large as the lower earth (Eisenmenger, *Entd. Jud.* ii. 297). But it is uncertain how far back these things can be carried. The older Jewish theology at least, as it is represented in the Rabbinical literature, seems to give little or no place to the idea of an intermediate Paradise. It speaks of a *Gehinnom* for the wicked, and a *Gan Eden*, or garden of Eden, for the just. It is questionable whether it goes beyond these conceptions and affirms a Paradise in Sheol (cf. Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 244, etc.).

Of more importance, however, is the witness of the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical writings. These books reflect a remarkable variety of opinions, which it is impossible to harmonize, and many of which were extremely fantastic. In the later Jewish belief Sheol appears to be regarded as a place of moral issues, with preliminary rewards and punishments, and with different divisions in it for different classes of the departed. The more prevalent view seems to have been that the world of the dead had two sections separated by a wall or a chasm—one for the righteous, and one for the unrighteous. But the opinion also was held that Sheol had four divisions—one for the righteous who on earth suffered death for their righteousness' sake; one for sinners who on earth suffered penalty for their sins; one for others of the just; and one for sinners who were not punished on earth (*Enoch* 20, 102^{15}). But in addition to these, which were no doubt the prevalent beliefs and were held especially by the Pharisees, there was also the opinion, favoured especially by Jews influenced by Alexandrian thought, that the separation of the righteous from the unrighteous took place immediately after death, and that the souls of the just were received by God into heaven (*Wisdom* 3^{14} 4^{10} $5^{5.17}$; cf. Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. i. 3, *Bell. Jud.* II. viii. 14). The Essenes, again, are reported to have held the abode of the departed just to be neither in the under-world nor in heaven, but in a Paradise belonging to earth itself; and this idea also appears elsewhere (*e.g.* *Enoch* $32^{8.23}$ etc.). There is reason to say that by our Lord's time various ideas of Paradise had become current among the Jewish people. So that sometimes it was thought of as an earthly place or scene, sometimes as a heavenly, sometimes as a thing of the distant future. Sometimes it was supposed to be hid in heaven and to be destined to reveal itself on earth, and sometimes it was supposed to be destined to realize itself in the perfected theocracy, and to be transported to Sion.

This idea of a Paradise somewhere on earth appears frequently in the *Book of Enoch*, in the *Book of Jubilees* (ch. 4), and elsewhere. It persisted into Christian times, and on even to the Middle Ages (cf. Thilo, *Cod. Apoc.* etc.). In 4 Ezr we find also the idea that the Paradise which formed the dwelling-place of man in his integrity was made before the earth (1^7). It is implied in this that the original Paradise was not of the earth, and so the book speaks elsewhere of a heavenly Paradise (6^{51-76}). And this upper Paradise is practically a Paradise of the future. Select souls, such as Enoch, Elijah, Moses, are indeed received into it immediately, and Ezra himself was to be so received. But it is not exhibited as the present dwelling-place of the righteous generally. These pass into preliminary abodes in the underworld.

A special interest belongs here to the *Book of Enoch*, although the composite nature of its contents and the different ideas which are expressed in its different sections make it difficult to define the precise force of its testimony as a whole. In its more recent parts and in the Noahic fragments the primeval Paradise is in view, and it is described repeatedly as on earth itself (20^7), among the more mysterious parts of earth (65^2 106^8), in the east of the earth. It is visited by Enoch in his journey (32). Enoch and Elijah are taken up into it (60^8 $87^{3.4}$ 89^{52}), and other righteous souls are understood to be included ($60^{8.23}$). The general idea of the under-world as the gathering place of all the dead, with different sections in it for the evil and the good, seems at the same time to subsist (32. 102^{11} 103^7). In the older parts of the book, again, the Messianic kingdom is represented as one hid in heaven at present, and to be revealed on earth hereafter; and in these parts the dwellings of the righteous appear to be heavenly abodes (39^4 $41^{1.2}$ 48^1 70^4 71^{14-17}). The passages bearing more directly on Paradise itself are these:—32^{3-6}, which speaks of the 'garden of justice,' with its varieties of trees, and refers to the earthly Paradise; $60^{8.23}$, which also speaks of the 'garden where the chosen and holy ones shall dwell'—'the garden of the just'; 61^{12}, which refers to the 'chosen who dwell in the garden of life'; $70^{3.4}$, in which the seer is said to have seen the 'place for the chosen and the just,' and in it 'the first fathers and the just, who dwell in the place from the beginning'; and 77^3, where the 'fourth quarter called the north' is said to be divided into three parts—one for the dwelling of men, one for the seas, the valleys, the winds, and the streams, and the third for 'the garden of justice.' The ideas which are expressed in these passages, therefore, are far from consistent, and the same is still more obviously the case with the book as a whole. In 37–70 and in the Noahic fragments the garden is the abode of the departed just; but in 1–37 the righteous dead dwell in a special division of Sheol. The garden in view in 32^3 etc. is the earthly Paradise; but in 37–70 it is the heavenly. The locality of Paradise varies in different sections. In $32^{2.3}$ the garden lies in the east; in 70^{2-4} between north and west; in 77^3 in the north. The accounts of those who people it also differ. In 32^3 it appears to be empty; in $60^{8.23}$ 61^{12} it is the abode of the righteous and elect in Enoch and Noah's time; in 70^{2-4} the fathers are found in it; in 89^{52} it is described as receiving Enoch and Elijah. (See the editions of the Book of Enoch by Dillmann, Schodde, and Charles).

Among other writings of this class a special value belongs also to the *Apocalypse of Baruch*. The idea that the earthly tabernacle and its contents were copies of antitypes or originals in heaven (Ex $25^{9.40}$, He 8^5) is applied in this book to the holy city. In B^1 (ch. 6^9) Jerusalem, the centre of the new theocracy, is described as destined to be restored and established for ever; in which case it is the Jerusalem of earth that is in view. But elsewhere (4^3 30^{2-4}) it is the heavenly Jerusalem that appears—the city that is preserved in heaven and is to come from heaven. In this connexion the book speaks also of Paradise, of the counsel which the Lord took to make it, and of its preservation with the Lord in heaven. In ch. 4^{3-6} (in a passage, however, which is suspected of being an interpolation) God is represented as speaking of the city as that which 'will be revealed' with Him; which was 'prepared beforehand' from the time when He 'took counsel to make Paradise, and showed it to Adam before he sinned'; which was removed from Adam, 'as also Paradise,' when he transgressed; which was shown afterwards to 'Abraham by night among the portions of the victims,' and again to Moses on Mount Sinai; of which also the Lord says, 'And now, behold, it is preserved with me, as also Paradise.' In ch. 59^8, too, we are told how the Lord showed to Moses 'the height of the air and the greatness of Paradise, and the consummation of the ages, and the beginning of the day of judgment'; as in the Book of Enoch (61^{1-4} $70^{3.4}$) the angels are said to take the measures of Paradise for Enoch.

The ideas, therefore, which had become connected with the terms גַּן עֵדֶן, παράδεισος, and the like, were of a very mixed kind—crude, fantastic, and inconsistent. They impressed themselves in their sensuousness, extravagance, and confusion on the popular Jewish sentiment and belief. There was much in the history and associations of the word παράδεισος that made it a doubtful vehicle for the communication of spiritual truths, but a very ready instrument of fanciful and overdriven speculation. Much is made of it in the Apocryphal Gospels and Apocalypses. In the Gospel of Nicodemus, in particular, a considerable place is given it. In the section on the 'Descent of Christ into Hell' the story is told in large and swelling terms of the Saviour's victory over Satan—how He sprang out of Hades and set out to Paradise, taking Adam and all the just and delivering them to the archangel Michael; how, as they were entering the door of Paradise, they were met by Enoch and Elijah; how there came to them also a lowly man carrying a cross upon his shoulders, who declared himself to be the thief who was crucified with Christ and received the promise of Paradise; how the robber described himself to have come to Paradise bearing his cross, and to have been received by Michael; how the flaming sword, seeing the sign of the cross, opened to him, so that he went in, and so forth (ch. ii. 25, 26, Greek form). In sharpest contrast with all this is the NT way of dealing with the subject and with the term. The general reticence of the NT writings on the question of Paradise, and their extreme sparingness in the use of the word, are remarkable. Neither in Gospel nor in Epistle is the word selected for the purposes of direct instruction. In speaking of the blessedness of the future, our Lord makes use of figures of speech taken from marriage feasts, the drinking of wine, and the like. But He never employs the term 'Paradise,' so far as the Gospels show, either in His public discourses or in words addressed more privately to His disciples. Nor does St. Paul use it anywhere in the argument of his Epp. The one occasion on which it occurs in his writings is in his account of a singular experience of his own belonging to the region of rapture or ecstasy, and expressed in apocalyptic terms.

It has been asked what view of 'Paradise' is expressed by our Lord Himself in His words from the cross (Lk 23^{43}). Some have argued strongly that His promise to the robber was a promise of entrance with Himself into the happy side of Sheol; others that it meant that the penitent thief would be taken with Himself, as it was believed had been the case with Enoch, Elijah, and Moses, immediately into heaven. It is certain that the belief in a *lower* Paradise prevailed among the Jews, as well as the belief in an *upper* or heavenly Paradise. But it is not clear that the lower Paradise was ever conceived to be in the under-world, or that the happy side of Hades was called by that name. The probability, looking at the witness of the Jewish literature, is on the side of the second interpretation, that Christ referred to the Paradise of heaven. But it is difficult to say what sense the robber would attach to the word. It would give him the solace which he needed—the hope of rest and happiness associated with the idea of Eden. It is questionable whether it can be pressed beyond that large and general idea. To bring it into the service of the dogma of the *Descensus ad inferos*, in the Lutheran sense or any other, seems to the present writer to be beyond the mark. Some have even identified it with the *φυλακή* of 1 P 3^{19} (*e.g.* Horsley), and have drawn remarkable inferences from it with regard to Christ's preaching to the spirits in prison. But this is surely in defiance of the Greek usage.

It has been held, too, that the 'Paradise' of Lk 23^{43} is identical with the 'Abraham's bosom' of Lk $16^{22.23}$, both being designations of a particular division of the under-world. But in the Parable it is only the rich man that is described as in Hades, while of Lazarus it is said simply that dying he was carried into 'Abraham's bosom.' Even granting that the Parable is meant to represent the rich man and the beggar as both in Hades, the one in the division of retribution and the other in that of reward, it would not follow that 'Paradise' and 'Abraham's bosom' are synonymous. The point would be, that being in Paradise the beggar is received into the fellowship of Abraham (see Meyer on Lk 16^{22}; also art. ABRAHAM'S BOSOM).

In 2 Co 12^{4} it is the *heavenly* Paradise, not the lower or earthly, obviously, that is in view. It is impossible to understand it, in this case of *rapture*, of the intermediate state or any place in Hades. Neither does it satisfy the terms to say that *παράδεισος* here is nothing more than an abstraction or a figure of speech for 'the present communion of the blessed dead with God as it is on this side of the end of things' (Hofm. *Schriftbeweis*, II. i. p. 489). It denotes the heaven that is the dwelling-place of God. The question of the relation in which the 'Paradise' of v.^{4} stands to the 'third heaven' of v.^{2}, however, is much debated. It has been supposed that St. Paul has the doctrine of a threefold heaven in view here, and identifies Paradise with the third or highest heaven. There is abundant evidence indeed that the belief in a plurality of heavens prevailed among the Jews. But it is doubtful whether it was a belief in a *threefold* heaven. The doctrine of a threefold division of heaven, it is true, obtained at one time a considerable place in the Christian Church (Suicer, *Thes.* ii. p. 520, etc.), and it has been asserted by some even to be the doctrine of the Bible (Estius, le Clerc, etc.). But the evidence is rather to the effect that the prevailing, if not the only, conception among the Jews of our Lord's time was that of a sevenfold heaven. (See article on HEAVEN). It is improbable, therefore, that St. Paul speaks with reference to a triple order of heavens. The main reason for questioning whether in this passage he identifies 'Paradise' with the 'third heaven' is that he seems rather to be indicating distinct stages in his rapture—up to the third heaven, and even to Paradise. The chief argument in favour of the identification is the fact that in the Pseudepigraphical literature Paradise is sometimes placed in the third heaven. In the Slavonic Enoch, *e.g.*, it is said that in the third heaven the seer beheld, in the midst thereof, 'the tree of life, in that place on which God rests, when He comes into Paradise' (ch. 8)—a passage in which an attempt seems to be made to reduce to one the older idea of an earthly Paradise and the later idea of a heavenly (cf. Morfill and Charles, *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, p. xxxvii and pp. 7, 8). The words of St. Paul do not themselves define how the 'third heaven' and 'Paradise' are related.

In Rev 2^{7}, where the reading 'in the Paradise of God' is to be preferred, it is the heavenly Paradise that is in view. The imagery is taken again from the picture of Eden in Genesis. The terms recall Ezk 28^{13}. In briefer form they express what is given with greater fulness of description in 22^{1-5}. The promise being to him that overcometh, is a promise of the final recompense and blessedness under the figure of a restored Eden. Some, however (*e.g.* Bleek), have taken it to be founded on the idea that the primeval Paradise of Adam still exists somewhere.

The idea expressed by the word *Paradise* has prevailed widely. Many different peoples have had the conception of a Paradise in the sense of a home of innocence and peace and blessedness on earth or its confines. The Hindus have had their visions of Meru, the mountain of the gods, whence flow the great streams into all the world. The Arabs have dreamt of the garden of bliss on the summit of the hill of jacinth, in the East. Iranian thought has dwelt upon the stream Arvanda, that went out of the throne of Ahuramazda to water the earth, and on Airyanavaejo, the land in the extreme East, among the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes—in later Persian ideas a fabulous land. The term *Pardêsu* is reported to have been found on some Babylonian cuneiform tablets, coupled with the land of Bit-Napsanu as the name of a country, apparently mythological; and the resemblance to the word Paradise פַּרְדֵּס is noticed. (See art. EDEN, vol. i. p. 644). The Chinese and many ruder races have also had the same idea, and have clothed it in many strange forms.

Theologians have also given the rein to fancy and speculation on the subject. They have often overlooked the restraint of Scripture, and have gone in the way of Rabbinical definition and refinements. The Patristic writings give much attention to *Paradise.* Some of the Fathers spoke of it as a resting-place or *refrigerium*, in which the righteous dead have visions of Christ and His saints and angels (Just. Martyr, *Resp. ad Orthod.* 75, 85). Some distinguished between Paradise and heaven. Irenæus refers to what the presbyters said of a distinction between awards,—how some shall go to heaven, some to Paradise, and some to the splendour of the city; those who produce an hundredfold being taken up into the heavens, those who produce sixtyfold being destined to dwell in Paradise, and those who produce thirtyfold being to inhabit the city (*adv. Hær.* v. 1, 2). Some, descending to more detail, taught that no one enters at once into the presence of the Lord in Paradise except by the prerogative of martyrdom, but that all pass into Hades. Tertullian dwells at length upon the Christian idea of Hades and the blessedness of Paradise immediately after death. He explains the Christian belief to be that Hades is 'a very deep space in the interior of the earth'; that the souls of the faithful pass into it; and that heaven shall be opened only after earth has passed away. 'Shall we then have to sleep,' he asks, 'high up in ether, with the boy-loving worthies of Plato; or in the air with Arius; or around the moon with the Endymions of the Stoics? No, but in Paradise, you tell me, whither already the patriarchs and prophets have removed from Hades in the retinue of the Lord's resurrection. How is it, then, that the region of Paradise, which, as revealed to John in the Spirit, lay under the altar, displays no other souls as in it besides the souls of the martyred?' (*de Anima*, ch. xliii., and espec. ch. lv.; Clark's 'Ante-Nicene Lib.'). Origen held it to be somewhere on earth, and to be a kind of schoolroom for souls. 'I think, therefore,' he says, 'that all the saints who depart from this life will remain in some place situated on the earth, which holy Scripture calls *Paradise*, as in some place of instruction, and, so to speak, classroom or school of souls, in which they are to be instructed regarding all the things which they had seen on earth, and are to receive also some information respecting things that are to follow in the future.' And he adds that 'if any one indeed be pure in heart, and holy in mind, and more practised in perception, he will, by making more rapid progress, quickly ascend to a place in the air, and reach the kingdom of heaven through these mansions, so to speak, to the various places which the Greeks have termed spheres, *i.e.* globes, but which holy Scripture has called heavens' (*de Princ.* bk. ii. ch. ix. 6; Clark's 'Ante-Nicene Lib.'). Augustine, too, in his great treatise on the City of God, discoursed of the primeval Paradise as both physical and spiritual, and went into curious discussions on the conditions of life in it. The leading theologian of the Greek Church gave a chapter to it in his great dogmatic work, describing the 'divine Paradise' as planted in Eden by the hands of God, on a site 'higher in the East than all the earth,' flooded with light and transcending imagination 'in sensuous freshness and beauty' (John of Damasc. *de Fide Orth.* ch. xi.). Mediæval Latin Theology and Roman Catholic Dogmatics have dealt largely with it in connexion with the doctrine of the Intermediate State. In these systems Paradise has been identified with the *Limbus Patrum*, and some notable divines of the Roman Catholic Church have taught further that Christ, in His Descent to Hell, preached to those in Paradise on the fringe of Hades, as well as to the souls in Purgatory (so Estius). And in some modern theologies, Lutheran and Anglican no less than Tridentine, much has been made of it in connexion with the Doctrines of a Middle State, the position of the righteous dead before Christ's Advent, and the like. But all this is in the most singular contrast with the silence and reserve of Scripture, and is of little profit.

LITERATURE.—The articles in the great Dictionaries, especially those in Hamburger, *Real-Encycl. für Bibel und Talmud*; Herzog, *Real-Encycl.*; Riehm, *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums* (those on 'Eden' and 'Hölle'); Schenkel, *Bibellexicon* (Dillmann on 'Paradies'); Cremer, *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch*; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*; Alger, *Critical History of a Future Life*; A. Kliefoth, *Eschatologie*; Atzberger, *Eschat.*; Delitzsch, *Bibl. Psych.*; Dillmann, *Buch Henoch*; Charles, *Book of Enoch*; Schodde, *Book of Enoch*; Morfill and Charles, *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*; Wetstein, *Nov. Test.* 818–820; Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Lk 23^{43}; Schöttgen on Lk 23^{43}; Schulthess, *Paradies das irdische und unterirdische, historische, mythische, und mystische*; Beyschlag, *New Test. Theology*; Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, 346 ff.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

PARAH (הַפָּרָה; B Φαρά, A Ἀφάρ).—A city in Benjamin, near Ophrah, Jos 18^{23}. Now the ruin *Fârah*, near the head of the Valley of Michmash. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.; Guerin, *Judée*, iii. 71 f.; *ZDPV* iii. 7 f.

PARALYSIS, PARALYTIC.—See MEDICINE, p. 326.

PARAN (פָּארָן, Φαράν) occurs in Gn 14^6 21^{21}, Nu 10^{12} 12^{16} $13^{3.26}$, Dt 1^1 33^2, 1 S 25^1, 1 K 11^{18}, Hab 3^3. Note the insertion in Nu 33^{36} by LXX after the word 'Zin,' 'and they removed from the wilderness of Zin and pitched in the wilderness of Paran.' Paran is here introduced into the itinerary of Nu 33 and identified with Kadesh as in Nu 13^{26} ('and they went and came to Moses and to Aaron . . . unto the wilderness of Paran, to Kadesh'). κατασκίου δασέος in LXX of Hab 3^3 should not be passed by unnoticed.

Of these passages two are poetical, and contain the expression 'Mount Paran' or the mountains of Paran (Dt 33^2, Hab 3^3). With these should be compared the opening verses of the Song of Deborah (Jg 5) and of Ps 68. The similarity of thought in these passages is evident. Although there is some variation in the use of proper names (*e.g.* Paran occurs only in the first two, and Sinai is not found in Hab), yet one idea is prominent in all, that God comes forth from His holy habitation as a deliverer of His people when in distress. Around Him rages the thunderstorm, and at His presence the hills melt. Sinai, Seir, the Field of Edom, Teman are mentioned as the region whence He 'came' or 'shined forth,' and the mountains of Paran form part of that region. If the emendation of Dt 33^2 noticed in art. MERIBAH be accepted, Mt. Paran stands in parallelism with Kadesh, as well as in close connexion with Sinai and Seir.

El-paran (? the terebinth of Paran) occurs in the description of Chedorlaomer's campaign in Gn 14^6. It appears to have been the southern limit of the expedition which 'smote the Hivites in their mount Seir' and returned to 'En-mishpat, which is Kadesh.' Here the indications of position are similar to those in the poetical passages; El-paran is in the neighbourhood of Seir and Kadesh. It is 'by the wilderness,' with which may be compared the expression 'wilderness of Paran' occurring elsewhere. El-paran is by many identified with Elath at the head of the Gulf of Aḳabah. In Dt 1^1 the connexion between the names mentioned and the context is so uncertain that no inference can be drawn. The LXX of 1 S 25^1 has Μαάν in B, Φαράν in A. The MT may be questioned here; but if it be accepted, the wilderness of Paran extended into the southern part of Judah.

According to 1 K 11^{18} Hadad, with a company of his father's servants, fled from Edom to Midian, and then passed through Paran on their way to Egypt. The remaining passages all contain the expression 'the wilderness of Paran.' In Gn 21^{21}

it is Ishmael's place of abode when he and his mother Hagar are driven away at Sarah's instigation. From the context it seems to be on the way from Beersheba to Egypt. In the narrative of Hagar's flight, contained in Gn 16 (which is considered by many as another version of the same tradition), the well where the angel of the Lord appeared to her was between Kadesh and Bered. The connexion between Kadesh and Paran is most marked in the passages which have yet to be considered. They are all in Nu, and given above. According to 10^{12}, when the children of Israel moved out of the wilderness of Sinai the cloud rested in the wilderness of Paran, so that the wilderness of Paran is regarded as adjoining that of Sinai. According to 12^{16} the people pitched in the wilderness of Paran after the encampments at Taberah, Kibroth-hattaavah, and Hazeroth. According to $13^{3.\,26}$ the spies were sent from the wilderness of Paran to search the land, and returned to the same place after completing their search. The account in Dt 1 gives Kadesh as the place whence the spies were sent (cf. Nu 13^{26}). From these notices it appears that the wilderness of Paran stretched from the wilderness of Sinai to the border of the Promised Land, and the inference from Nu 13^{26} as well as from comparison of the accounts in Nu and Dt is that Kadesh was within its border. The position is thus indicated as south of Palestine and west of Edom, a position which accords generally with the other passages in which Paran is mentioned. The positions of Sinai, Kadesh, and Hormah must be determined before anything more definite can be stated as to the boundaries of the wilderness of Paran, and the articles on these names may be consulted. Some remarks will be found in § iv. of art. EXODUS (vol. i. p. 804^b) on the connexion between Paran and Zin, and it is there stated that Paran does not occur in the itinerary of Nu 33. The attempt of the LXX to supply this deficiency (referred to above) adds to the difficulty by making Paran *follow* Zin. See ZIN. A. T. CHAPMAN.

PARBAR (פַּרְבָּר,—as pointed, with the art.).—A colonnade (it is supposed) on the W. side of the outer temple-court, mentioned in 1 Ch 26^{18} as a place at which six of the gatekeepers were stationed, four apparently outside, at the 'causeway' (v.^{16}), and two in the 'Parbar' itself. The account purports to be a description of the arrangements made by David, but in reality it refers to those of the Chronicler's own time, as the word Parbar alone is sufficient to show; for this is certainly not a native Hebrew word, and to all appearance it is Persian. As Ges. (*Thes.*) observed, 'parbār' agrees closely with the Pers. *parwār* (acc. to Ges. from *par* 'light,' and *-bār* a termination meaning 'possessing'), a *summer-house* or open kiosk; and so it is supposed to have found its way into late Hebrew—like *apadâna*, for instance, in Dn 11^{45}—with the sense of a sun-lighted *portico* or *colonnade*. What is generally explained as the same word, in a form exactly corresponding to the Persian, occurs in the plur. (פַּרְוָרִים; LXX φαρουρειμ) in 2 K 23^{11}, where the horses given by the kings of Judah to the sun are said to have stood 'by the chamber (לִשְׁכָּה) of Nethan-melech the eunuch, which was *in the colonnades*.'[*] In the Targums (occasionally) and in the Mishna, etc., *parwār* occurs in the sense of the *suburbs* of a city (*e.g.* of Jerusalem), probably (as Ges. observed) because in Oriental cities, as with us, such suburbs would consist largely of the open summer-houses of the wealthy. This usage is the source of AV 'suburbs' (cf. Targ. פרוריא) in 2 K 23^{11}, and of RV 'precincts' (2 K 23^{11}, and marg. of 1 Ch 26^{18}); but the sense thus obtained is not suitable in either passage. By what means, however, a Persian word can have reached Judah before the Exile (2 K 23), is difficult to understand: if this explanation of the word in 2 K 23^{11} is correct, the text would seem to have been adjusted to post-exilic usage.

S. R. DRIVER.

PARCEL.—Derived from Lat. *particula* (dim. of *pars* a 'part') through Fr. *parcelle*, a parcel is 'a small part' of anything; and that is the primitive sense in which it is used in AV. The words so tr. are (1) חֶלְקָה *ḥelḳāh* (Gn 33^{19}, Jos 24^{32}, Ru 4^3, 1 Ch $11^{13.\,14}$), and χωρίον (Jn 4^5); and as both words mean specifically a portion (or 'plot,' as 1 Ch $11^{13.\,14}$ RV) *of land*, it is always to land (and not, as now, to something that can be carried) that the word is applied. It was, however, used of 'a part' or 'a small part' of almost anything, as Erasmus, *Commune Crede*, fol. 18, 'Sanctorum communionem. The communion of sayncktes. This parcel certayne men do so understonde, that it do by apposytion expounde the nexte parcel goyng before, whiche is sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, The holy catholike churche.' So T. Adams, *Works*, i. p. xix—'These Meditations, which before were scattered abroad in parcels, are now presented to thee in one entire volume.' Shaks. has it exactly as we now use 'particle,' *I Henry IV.* III. ii. 159—

> 'I will die a hundred thousand deaths
> Ere break the smallest parcel of this vow.'

J. HASTINGS.

PARCHED CORN.—To parch is to scorch, as in Mt 13^6 Rhem., 'After the sun was up, they parched,' where it is used intransitively. The trans. use is more common, as Sir 43^3 'At noon it [the sun] parcheth the country' (ἀναξηραίνει, RV 'drieth'); but it is rarely used except in the ptcp. 'parched.' Parched is used of the ground (Is 35^7,[*] Jer 17^6, Sir 43^3) as we still use it. But it is also used of corn (Lv 23^{14}, Jos 5^{11}, Ru 2^{14}, 1 S 17^{17} 25^{18}, 2 S 17^{28}) in the obsolete sense of 'roasted.' Cf. Haliburton, *Sam Slick, Clockmaker*, xxv—'Marm Porter moved about as brisk as a parched pea.' The process of parching corn is described by Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 40 f., 'A quantity of the best ears, not too ripe, are plucked with the stalks attached. These are tied in small parcels, a blazing fire is kindled with dry grass and thorn bushes, and the corn-heads are held in it until the chaff is mostly burned off. When the grain is sufficiently roasted, it is rubbed out in the hand and eaten as there is occasion.' See also Robinson, *BRP* ii. 50 f., 'In the season of harvest, the grains of wheat, not yet fully dry and hard, are roasted in a pan or on an iron plate, and constitute a very palatable article of food. Indeed, the use of it is so common at this season among the labouring classes, that this parched wheat is sold in the markets.' J. HASTINGS.

PARCHMENT.—Parchment is a writing material prepared from the skin of the sheep or goat. 'The skins are first soaked in lime to remove the hair, and are then shaved, washed, dried, stretched, and ground or smoothed with fine chalk or lime and pumice-stone.' The finest kind is made from the skins of calves or kids, and called vellum. The Eng. word 'parchment' is a form of *pergamina* or *pergamena* (Gr. περγαμηνή), an adj. signifying 'of Pergamum,' the city of Pergamum (now Bergamo) in Asia Minor being the place where parchment was invented, or at least brought into use. The *t* is no proper part of the Eng. word which was adopted from the Fr. *parchemin*. Chaucer says (*Bœthius*, v. iv. 14, Skeat's ed. p. 200), 'Thilke Stoiciens wenden that the sowle hadde ben naked of it-self, as a mirour or a clene parchemin, so that alle figures mosten first comen fro thinges fro withoute-forth in-to sowles, and ben empreinted in-to sowles.' The word occurs only in 2 Ti 4^{13}, where St. Paul asks Timothy to bring to him the cloke which he left at Troas, 'and the books, especially the parchments' (καὶ τὰ βιβλία, μάλιστα τὰς μεμβράνας). The Greek word is simply the Lat. *membrana* (properly an adj. *membrana cutis*, from *membrum*, a limb, member of the body), the skin, parchment. This is its only occurrence in bibl. Greek. It is impossible to say what the parchments were, or why they chiefly were wanted. Perhaps they were more precious than the books because parchment and not paper (papyrus); they may even have been vellum.* Perhaps their value was in their contents—the Old Test. in Greek (Kenyon), his diploma of Roman citizenship (Farrar), his 'commonplace books' (Bull), or even a copy of the *Grundschrift* of the Gospels (Latham).

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[*] For a conjectural site, cf. Schick's art. on ancient Jerus., *ZDPV*, 1894, p. 13, with the accompanying Plan.

[*] Is 35^7 'The parched ground shall become a pool.' The word rendered 'parched ground' here is שָׁרָב *shārābh*, which occurs also in Is 49^{10} and nowhere else. As the Arab. word for the *mirage* is serâb, and as the idea of the mirage suits the sense here, it has generally been understood that the prophet's meaning is that where there is only the mocking semblance of water there will be found real pools. Cf. *Koran* (Sura xxiv 39—quoted in Ges. and Skinner)—

> 'The works of the unbelievers are like the mirage in the desert,
> The thirsty takes it for water, till he comes up to it and finds that it is nothing.'

But this sense is less suitable to the other passage; so RV has here 'glowing sand' and at 49^{10} 'heat,' with 'mirage' in the marg. at both places (see, further, Cheyne, *Intr. to Is.* 269).

J. HASTINGS.

PARDON.—See FORGIVENESS in vol. ii. p. 56.

PARENT.—See FAMILY in vol. i. p. 848.

PARLOUR occurs in AV as translation of three different Heb. words. **1.** עֲלִיָּה, used of the room in which Eglon, king of Moab, was interviewed and assassinated by Ehud, Jg $3^{20.\ 23.\ 24.\ 25}$ (LXX ὑπερῷον, cf. Ac 1^{13} $9^{37.\ 39}$ 20^{8}). This was an upper storey 'raised above the flat roof of the house at one corner, or upon a tower-like annex to the building,' containing generally only a single apartment, thoroughly ventilated by lattice windows on all sides, and constituting the most comfortable part of the house (see Moore, *Judges*, pp. 96, 98, and cf. also such passages as 1 K $17^{19.\ 23}$, 2 K 1^{2} $4^{10.\ 11}$, Jer $22^{13.\ 14}$, Neh $3^{31.32}$). Moore's rendering 'roof-chamber' is much more suitable than 'parlour,' which is most unfortunately retained by RV, although American RV has 'upper room.' **2.** לִשְׁכָּה (RV 'guest-chamber,' LXX κατάλυμα), 1 S 9^{22}. This was a room in which the sacrificial meals at the *bāmāh* were held (cf. the mention in 1 S 1^{18} [in the LXX, according to which the MT ought to be restored—Wellh., Driver, etc.] of a *lishkah* also at Shiloh, near the הֵיכַל יהוה). A suitable rendering would be 'sacrificial dining-room.' In later times the Heb. word was used for a chamber in a palace, Jer 36^{12}, or for the chambers in the Temple court in which the priests lived, Jer $35^{2.\ 4}$, Ezk 40^{17}, or for store-rooms in the second Temple, Ezr 8^{29}, Neh $10^{38.\ 39}$. **3.** חֶדֶר, 1 Ch 28^{11}, where AV tr. חֲדָרִים הַפְּנִימִים 'inner parlours,' but RV has 'inner chambers.' The most suitable rendering for חֶדֶר is 'chamber.' The Heb. word generally connotes the idea of privacy. The LXX tr. in 1 Ch 28^{11} by ἀποθῆκαι.

In no case is the Eng. word 'parlour' a very suitable tr. of the Heb., and it was formerly less suitable than now. Coming from *parler*, to speak (Low Lat. *parabolare*, to talk; Gr. παραβολή, a parable), it signified in early Eng. the public reception-room, the drawing- (= with-drawing) room being then what is now the parlour, the private apartment of the family.

J. A. SELBIE.

PARMASHTA (פַּרְמַשְׁתָּא; B Μαρμασιμά, A Μαρμασιμνά, *Phermesta*).—The seventh of the ten sons of Haman, put to death by the Jews (Est 9^{9}). The name is perhaps the Sansk. *parmashta*=chief (so Benfey).

PARMENAS (Παρμενᾶς).—One of the 'Seven' appointed, Ac 6^{5}. The name is Greek, a shortened form of *Parmenides*. Nothing further is known of him. He is said by later tradition to have been martyred at Philippi, and is commemorated by the Latins on Jan. 23, by the Greeks on July 28.

A. C. HEADLAM.

PARNACH (פַּרְנָךְ, Φαρνάχ).—The father of Elizaphan, who as prince of Zebulun took part in the dividing of the land, Nu 34^{25}.

PAROSH (פַּרְעֹשׁ 'flea'; Φορός, Φαρές).—The name of a post-exilic family, of which 2172 returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^{3} (=Neh 7^{8}), and 150 with Ezra, Ezr 8^{3}. Seven of the Bĕnê-Parosh had married foreign wives, Ezr 10^{25}. The name appears also in connexion with the repairing of the walls, Neh 3^{25}, and the sealing of the covenant, 10^{14}. The Gr. form **Phoros** is adopted in 1 Es (5^{9} 8^{30} 9^{26}).

PAROUSIA [παρουσία, lit. 'presence,' as opposed to absence (2 Co 10^{10}, Ph 1^{26} 2^{12}), hence the arrival which introduces that presence (cf. Col 1^{6} τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ παρόντος εἰς ὑμᾶς, 'the gospel which is come unto you'; 1 Co 16^{17} the coming of Stephanas; 2 Co $7^{6.\ 7}$; 2 Th 2^{9}; 2 P 3^{12} the coming of the Day of God)].—A technical term used in NT to denote the coming of Christ in glory at the end of the age. In this sense it is used Mt $24^{3.\ 27.\ 37.\ 39}$, 1 Co 15^{23}, 1 Th 2^{19} 3^{13} 4^{15} 5^{23}, 2 Th $2^{1.\ 8}$ (cf. v.^{9} where it is used of Antichrist), Ja $5^{7.\ 8}$, 2 P 1^{16} 3^{4}; cf. v.^{12}, 1 Jn 2^{28}. Both AV and RV translate 'coming,' although RV adds in the margin the alternative rendering 'presence.' The expression **Second Coming,** while it occurs in later ecclesiastical Greek (*Ev. Nicod.* c. 22 *end*; Just. *Apol.* i. 52, *Trypho*, cc. 40, 110, 121) in contrast to the first coming (*Trypho*, cc. 40, 110, 121), is not found in Scripture. Synonymous expressions are the *Apocalypse* (ἀποκάλυψις; so 2 Th 1^{7} the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven; 1 Co 1^{7}, 1 P $1^{7.\ 13}$ 4^{13}, the revelation of His glory, cf. Lk 17^{30}) and the *Day* (ἡμέρα) of Christ (1 Co 1^{8}, 2 Co 1^{14}, Ph $1^{6.\ 10}$ 2^{16}, 1 Th 5^{2}, 2 P 3^{10}, 2 Th 2^{3}; cf. Lk 17^{22} one of the days of the Son of Man). The term Parousia differs from these latter in that it emphasizes the element of *permanent presence* which the coming of Christ is to introduce. But it is incorrect, with some modern interpreters (so Warren, *Parousia*, p. 21), so to magnify this element as to reject altogether the meaning 'coming.' Both elements, the coming and the presence, are united in the word as in the doctrine.

Interpreters find reference to several distinct comings of Christ in the NT. There is (1) a physical Advent at His resurrection (so Jn 14^{18} 16^{16}; cf. Holtzmann, *Hdcomm.* iv. 163); (2) a spiritual Advent by the Paraclete, which is to take place during the lifetime of the disciples, and to result in a perpetual dwelling of Christ and the Father in their hearts (Jn 14^{23}; cf. 16^{7}); (3) an Advent to the disciples at death, when Christ will come to receive them into the mansions which He has prepared for them above (Jn 14^{3}, and comments of Holtzmann, *l.c.* iv. p. 160; cf. also 2 Co 5^{8}); (4) a historical Advent for judgment, taking place at different times in the history of the Church, but distinguished from the final Advent at the end of the age (Rev $2^{5.16}$ $3^{3.11}$; cf. also Mt 26^{64} 'Henceforth [ἀπ' ἄρτι] ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming on the clouds of heaven,' which Meyer interprets in the sense of a continual historical revelation of Christ's power and triumph); and, finally, (5) an Advent at the end of the age (Mt 24^{3}) to judge the world, to destroy evil, to reward the saints, and to establish the Kingdom of Glory. While it is with the last of these that we are primarily concerned in the doctrine of the Parousia, it is impossible wholly to ignore the others. The sharp line of distinction which later theology has drawn between the final Advent and these preliminary advents is not always observed in the NT. There are passages, like Mt 26^{64}, where the coming of Christ in glory is represented as a continuous process. There are others, like those in the Fourth Gospel (*e.g.* Jn 14^{23} $16^{7\text{ff.}}$), in which the spiritual advent by the Paraclete takes the place elsewhere filled by the final Advent. It is important, therefore, while clearly recognizing the technical meaning of the phrase, not to interpret our theme too narrowly.

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* On the early use of vellum see Kenyon, *Palæog. of Gr. Papyr.* p. 112 ff., and Sanday, *Studia Biblica*, iii. 234 ff.

The doctrine of the Parousia is a New Testament doctrine. It had its origin in Jesus' prophecy of His own return, and depends for its existence upon the unique position which He holds in Christian faith. Nevertheless, it is not without preparation in the past. It has its parallel within the OT in the prophetic anticipation of the **Day of the Lord** (*e.g.* Am 5^{18}, Is 2^{12} 13^{6}, Jl 1^{15} 2^{1}, Zeph 3^{8}),—that great crisis of human history when J″ shall be manifested as the Judge and Saviour of Israel, and His Kingdom shall be set up among men (see ESCHATOLOGY in vol. i. p. 735 f.). Many features in the NT doctrine are anticipated in OT. Thus the warlike imagery of Rev $19^{11\text{ff.}}$ finds parallels in Is 13^{4} 34^{6}, Jer 46^{10} etc. The connexion of the resurrection of the dead with the deliverance and judgment of the living is made in Dn 12^{1-3}. The great convulsions of 2 P 3^{10} have their anticipation in Is 34^{4}. The signs in the heaven predicted in Mt 24^{29} and parallels are foretold in Is $13^{10\text{ff.}}$, Jl $3^{15.16}$ etc. The renewal of nature prophesied in Is 65^{17} reappears in Rev 21^{1} (cf. Ro 8^{21}, 1 Co 7^{31}). Most striking is the parallel in Dn $7^{13\text{ff.}}$, where the seer has a vision of one like unto a Son of Man coming with the clouds of heaven to receive 'dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve him.'

A further preparation for the doctrine of the Parousia is to be found in the revived Messianic expectation which characterized the period immediately before Christ, and which has left its traces in the contemporary Apocalyptic literature. This literature prepared the way for our doctrine, partly by intensifying the sense of an impending crisis, partly by identifying that crisis, as was not always the case in the OT, with the coming and activity of the Messiah. It is true that in some of the Apocalyptic books there is no mention of a personal Messiah. But in others, and these among the most important (*e.g.* Ps.-Sol, Eth. Enoch, Baruch, 4 Ezra), the Messiah holds a prominent place. The material is so fully presented by Charles in the article on the ESCHATOLOGY OF THE APOCRYPHA AND APOCALYPTICAL LITERATURE in vol. i. p. 741 ff., that it is unnecessary to enter into it here. Suffice it to say that the climax is reached in the great passage in the Eth. Enoch (c. 48 ff.), in which the Son of Man is revealed upon the throne of His glory as the righteous judge both of the living and of the dead. This passage, which in many ways reminds us of Dn 7^{13}, is the closest parallel, outside the NT, to the great judgment scene in Mt 24^{31-45}.

The points of contact thus briefly indicated suggest an interesting question. Are we to conceive the doctrine of the Parousia as simply the continuation on Christian soil of the contemporary Jewish expectation? Or does it stand for something new and distinct? Did Jesus and the apostles understand the OT prophecies in substantially the same sense in which they were understood by the Jews of their day, with this difference only, that the Messiah of whose identity the latter were ignorant was known by them to be Jesus? Or did they give to these prophecies, as we know that our Lord gave to the law (Mt 5–7), a deeper and more spiritual interpretation? And if the latter, was this equally true of them all, or must we distinguish within the NT between the teaching of the Master and the more or less imperfect apprehension of the disciples? These are questions of the highest importance, not merely for the understanding of the teaching of Jesus, but of Christianity itself.

The answer to these questions is by no means easy. No part of the biblical material is more difficult to interpret than the eschatological passages. This is true not merely of the Bk. of Revelation,—admittedly the most obscure portion of the NT,—but of the Apocalyptic portions of the Synoptic Gospels as well. Scholars are not agreed how far the language of these passages is to be taken literally, how far symbolically. Moreover, there are critical questions of great intricacy connected with the present condition of the text. There are some (like Haupt) who, while admitting that all the eschatological discourses in the Synoptics are composed of genuine sayings of Jesus, maintain that these sayings are not always given by the evangelists in their original connexion. There are others (Wendt, Weiffenbach, etc.) who hold that in their present form these discourses include foreign elements, the teaching of Jesus having been combined by the evangelists with materials drawn either from Jewish or Jewish-Christian sources. Under the circumstances, a thorough discussion of the critical question would seem to be a necessary prerequisite to an adequate treatment of the doctrine.

Such a discussion it is manifestly impossible to give within the limits of the present article. Nor is it necessary to our immediate purpose. Without settling all the critical questions involved, it may be possible to give a bird's-eye view of the material as it lies in our sources, to discover how far it lends itself to a single consistent interpretation, and to indicate what are the chief problems which it presents, and what are the most important methods proposed for their solution. We shall begin our survey with the Synoptics, partly because in them the eschatological teaching of Jesus is most fully set forth, partly because they present the difficulties connected with our doctrine in their most acute form. We shall then offer a brief survey of the doctrine of the Parousia as it is found in the other NT books, giving special attention to the teaching of St. Paul. The Fourth Gospel, for reasons presently to be explained, will be reserved for separate treatment. In conclusion, we shall briefly indicate the course of the later development, and point out the chief lines which the interpretation of the doctrine has followed. Thus our discussion will cover the following four points:—(i.) The Parousia in the Synoptics; (ii.) the Parousia in Acts, Epistles, and Revelation; (iii.) the Parousia in the Gospel of John; (iv.) the Parousia in the later Church.

i. THE PAROUSIA IN THE SYNOPTICS.—The doctrine of the Parousia is set forth in the Synoptics most fully in the so-called Apocalypse of Jesus (Mk 13, and parallels Mt 24, Lk 21). A prophecy of Jesus as to the destruction of the temple leads to a question by the disciples (so Mt; Mk specifies Peter, James, John, and Andrew; Lk leaves the questioner indefinite), 'when these things shall be, and what shall be the sign when these things are all about to be accomplished' (Mk, Lk). In the discourse which follows, Jesus not merely answers this question, but passes on to give the signs of His own Advent in glory, which He represents as following immediately after that tribulation (Mt 24^{29}; cf. Mk 13^{24}, otherwise Lk)—a connexion for which Mt has already prepared the way in the introductory question, 'When shall these things be, and what shall be the sign of thy Parousia, and of the end of the age?' After the prediction of certain preliminary woes (the coming of false Messiahs, wars and rumours of wars, the rising up of nation against nation, famines, and earthquakes; Lk adds signs from heaven) and a warning to the disciples to be firm under the persecutions which are to come, not merely at the hands of the civil and religious authorities (the synagogue, Mk, Lk; the Gentiles, Mt), but of their relatives and friends,—persecutions incidental to that world-wide preaching of the gospel (Mt 24^{14}, Mk 13^{10}; otherwise Lk, who omits all reference to the preaching of the gospel to the world) which must precede the end (Mt 24^{13}), but in which they will be supported by the Holy Ghost (Mk) and preserved from all harm (Lk),—He goes on to predict the destruction of Jerusalem, and the miseries connected therewith. The ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION (wh. see) of Mt and Mk is replaced in Lk by the Roman armies, but the general situation is the same in all three Gospels. Then follows in Mt and Mk a renewed warning against the false Messiahs who will arise at that time, working signs and wonders, and seeking to deceive the very elect. Many shall say 'Lo here, or lo there,' but they are not to be deceived. When the Christ comes there will be no possibility of mistaking Him, for His Parousia will be like the lightning which 'cometh forth from the east and is seen even unto the west' (Mt 24^{27}). This last saying, which Mk omits, is given by Lk in another connexion (17^{24}). It is therefore probable that Mt $24^{27f.}$ formed no part of the original text, a suggestion which Weiss (*Marcusev.* p. 424; cf. Briggs, *Mess. Gosp.* p. 151) extends to the previous context omitted by Lk (Mt 24^{23-26}, Mk 13^{21-23}). After the destruction of Jerusalem follows the Parousia. Mt and Mk make the connexion immediate. 'But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened,' etc. (Mk 13^{24}; Mt is even stronger, introducing the word εὐθέως; 'immediately after those days'). Lk, on the other hand, introduces between the destruction and the Parousia certain 'times of the Gentiles' (21^{24}), which seem to take the place of the preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles in Mt and Mk. All the evangelists represent the Parousia as preceded by certain theophanic signs in the heaven (cf. Jl $3^{15.16}$ $2^{1.10}$, Is 13^{10}). Lk adds, 'upon the earth distress of nations in perplexity for the roaring of the sea and the billows; men fainting for fear and for expectation of the things which are coming on the world' ($21^{25.26}$). Peculiar to Mt is a reference to 'the sign of the Son of Man in heaven' and the mourning of the tribes of the earth (24^{30}; cf. Zec 12^{10-14}). The Parousia itself is described in language suggestive of Dn $7^{13.14}$ 'And then shall they see the Son of Man coming in clouds with great power and glory' (so all three evangelists). 'And he shall send forth his angels (Mt adds 'with a great sound of a trumpet'), and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other' (Mt, Mk). As to what takes place after this, we are not told in this place. The 'Apocalypse' concludes with certain further indications of time. By the parable of the fig-tree, Jesus indicates the close connexion between the signs and the Parousia, and ends with the explicit statement given by all three evangelists, 'Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away till all these things be accomplished. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away,' to which Mt and Mk add the qualifying clause, 'But of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father (only)' (cf. Ac 1^{7} 'It is not for you to know times or seasons which the Father hath set within his own authority').

The exegetical difficulties of this passage are such as to render a consistent interpretation of the present text difficult. On the one hand, the account in Mt and Mk associates the Parousia with the destruction of Jerusalem, and puts both within the lifetime of the generation then living (cf. Gould, *Mark*, 240 ff.). In Lk the connexion between the destruction and the Parousia is not so close, but the closing verses (Lk $21^{32f.}$) agree with the other evangelists in placing all the events described within a single generation. On the other hand, we have in Mt (24^{14}) and Mk (13^{10}) references to a world-wide preaching of the gospel preceding, and in Lk (21^{24}) a prophecy of certain times of the Gentiles following the destruction of Jerusalem. If it were not for Mt 24^{14}, Mk 13^{10}, it would be easy exegetically to bring the entire prophecy of Mt and Mk within the limits of a single generation. On the other hand, were it not for Lk 21^{32}, it would be natural to regard the account in Lk as postponing the Parousia to a distant future—a postponement natural in view of the later date of the Gospel. Various attempts are made to meet the difficulty. It is claimed that γενεά may mean an indefinite period of time (Dorner). But, apart from the linguistic objections to this translation, it does not overcome the close connexion between the destruction and the Parousia. One of the most elaborate attempts to solve the difficulty without recourse to interpolation has been made by Briggs (*Mess. Gosp.* p. 156 ff.), who distinguishes between the *time* and the *signs.* To the first he finds reference in Mt 24^{14}, Mk 13^{10}, Lk 21^{24}, where the text points to an extended period. On the other hand, only the signs are referred to in the 'all these things' which are to be accomplished within the generation then living (cf. Mt 24^{34}, Mk 13^{30}, Lk 21^{32}). According to this view, Jesus predicted His Parousia after an unknown period (εὐθέως=the prophetic קָרוֹב), but the signs within a single generation, a position which is certainly difficult to reconcile with the close connexion between the signs and the Advent in the parable of the fig-tree. Under the circumstances, many scholars believe that the difficulty can be most easily solved by the hypothesis of composite origin. E. Haupt (*Die eschatologischen Aussagen Jesu*) argues that the evangelist has brought together in this passage a number of sayings originally spoken by Jesus on different occasions. Others hold to the interpolation either of a Jewish (so Weizsäcker, J. Weiss) or of a Jewish-Christian Apocalypse (Colani, Pfleiderer, Keim, *et al.*). As constructed by the most recent and careful scholars (Weiffenbach, *Der Wiederkunftsgedanke Jesu*, p. 170 f.; Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu*, i. 10 ff.), this consists of three sections: Mk 13^{7-9} and parallels giving the beginning of tribulation; vv.$^{14-20}$ giving its height (the destruction of Jerusalem); and vv.$^{24-27}$ giving the Advent at the conclusion of the tribulation. Vv.$^{30.31}$, which conclude the 'Apocalypse,' put the entire content of the prophecy within the generation then living. After these excisions, there remain in the original text only the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the prediction by the Saviour of His own return at an hour of which He knows not (cf. the reconstruction in Weiffenbach, p. 182 ff.; Wendt, i. pp. 10, 11).

Apart from this 'Apocalypse,' the Parousia of Jesus is predicted in the Synoptics in many passages. Thus in Mt 16^{24-28} (cf. Mk 8^{34}–9^{1}, Lk 9^{23-27}) Jesus predicts His Advent in glory with His angels to reward every man according to his works, adding, 'Verily I say unto you, There be some of them that stand here, who shall in no wise taste of death till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom' (so Mt; Mk 'the kingdom of God come with power,' Lk 'the kingdom of God'). At His farewell over Jerusalem, He declares that they shall not see Him again until they shall say, 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord' (Mt 23^{37-39}, Lk 13^{35}). When declaring His Messiahship before the high priest, He predicts that His judges shall 'see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming on the clouds of heaven' (Mt 26^{64}, Mk 14^{62}). So in interpreting the parable of the tares (Mt 13^{36}) He declares that at the end of the age 'the Son of Man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that cause stumbling, and them that do iniquity, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth,' adding, 'Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.' Especially important is the great judgment-scene, Mt 25^{31-46} 'When the Son of Man shall come in his glory, and all the angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory: and before him shall be gathered all the nations; and he shall separate them one from another, as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats.'

As to the *time* of the Advent we have conflicting evidence. Mk 9^{1} and parallels represent it as within the lifetime of the disciples. There is nothing in the context leading us to discriminate two Advents, as has sometimes been done. The same is true of Mt 10^{23}. In referring to the terrible persecutions which are to come upon the disciples (cf. Lk 17^{22}), He declares that they shall not make the circuit of the cities of Israel in their flight before the Son of Man come. On the other hand, Ac 1^{7}, which seems to take the place in Lk of Mt 24^{36}, Mk 13^{32}, makes the time of the Advent unknown. Lk represents the parable of the pounds as spoken to those who supposed that the kingdom would immediately appear (19^{11}; cf. 12^{45} 'my Lord delayeth,' etc.). In Mt 26^{64} the coming, which in Mk (14^{62}) seems to be a single event, is transformed after the analogy of the Fourth Gospel into a continuous process, beginning immediately after Christ's death. The two points continually emphasized are (1) the necessity of *watchfulness*, since the hour of the Parousia is uncertain (so the parables of the servants, Mk 13^{33-37}, Mt 24^{42}, Lk $12^{37.\,38}$; cf. Lk 21^{34-36} the day coming 'suddenly as a snare'; of the goodman taken unaware by the thief, Mt $24^{43.\,44}$, Lk $12^{39.\,40}$; of the virgins, Mt 25^{1-13}, cf. Lk 12^{35}; the reference to the days of Lot and of Noah, Lk 17^{26-30}). (2) The necessity for *faithfulness*, since, though the Lord seem to delay, He will surely come and reward His servants according to their works (Mt 24^{45-51}, Lk 12^{41-46}, and the parable of the talents Mt 25^{14-30}, and the pounds Lk 19^{11-27}; cf. Lk 18^{8} 'When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?').

It thus appears that the Synoptics represent Jesus as predicting His own return, now within His own generation, now after an indefinite future. This return is to be preceded by great trials, which none but the faithful shall be able to endure. The return itself is pictured as a glorious coming on the clouds to punish evil-doers, to reward the saints, and to establish that kingdom predicted from the foundation of the world. This coming is by Christ Himself associated with the end of the age and the day of final judgment, which is represented, now, after the fashion of OT, as a destruction of all the enemies of the Messiah before His face; now, as in the great judgment-scene in Mt, as a formal process in a law court in which all the nations are assembled to receive the sentence of the judge. For the disciples it introduces the time of their redemption (Lk 21^{28}), a period of joy and glad communion with Christ, set forth now by the figure of the marriage feast, in which the Master Himself ministers to His faithful servants, now by that of the kingdom in which the disciples enjoy special honours, sitting upon thrones and judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

Those interpreters like Wendt, Weiffenbach, etc., who regard the Apocalypse of Jesus as of Jewish-Christian origin, explain the other Apocalyptic features in the Synoptic doctrine as due to a similar source. Those who refuse to take this view are obliged either (1) to explain away those passages which predict an Advent within the generation then living; or (2) preserving the connexion to regard Jesus as actually predicting during the lives of men then living a visible advent in the clouds—a prediction which was not fulfilled; or (3) to understand the language of Jesus symbolically as the prediction, in language taken partly from OT, partly from the Apocalypses of the time, of an advent which, while seemingly external and catastrophic, is really to be understood after the analogy of Mt 26^{64}, Rev $2^{5.\,16}$ $3^{3.\,11}$ and Jn 14^{23} as spiritual and continuous.

ii. THE PAROUSIA IN ACTS, THE EPISTLES, AND REVELATION.—The expectation of a speedy Advent of Christ to establish the Messianic kingdom is one of the most prominent features of the apostolic hope. It is a part of the gospel of St. Paul no less truly than of that of the Jewish Christians. As in the Synoptics, it is ordinarily associated with the judgment at the end of the age, the only certain exception being Revelation, which distinguishes a preliminary from the final judgment, associating the former, which, after OT analogy, it conceives as a battle-scene, with the Advent of Christ, and inserting between this and the final judgment a millennial kingdom of 1000 years. Cf. MILLENNIUM. Thus the first chapter of Acts begins with the prediction of the angels to the weeping disciples that 'this Jesus . . . shall so come in like manner as ye beheld him going into heaven' (1^{11}). Accordingly we find St. Peter regarding the gift of the Spirit at Pentecost as a sign of that impending Day of J″ to which OT prophecy looks forward (2^{20}), and urging the Jews to pray that God may send the Christ whom He hath appointed, even Jesus, whom the heavens must receive until the time of the restoration of all things (3^{19-21}). To Cornelius he preaches Christ as the judge of quick and dead (10^{42}); while St. Paul warns the Athenians to repent, inasmuch as God 'hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by the man whom he hath ordained' (17^{31}; cf. 24^{15}, the resurrection of just and unjust). Equally explicit is the testimony of the Epistles. St. James urges patience until the coming of the Lord, and warns Christians not to judge one another, since 'the judge standeth before the doors' ($5^{7.\,9}$). St. Peter regards the present tribulations of Christians as the beginning of that judgment which is presently to overtake 'the ungodly and the sinner' (1 P $4^{17.\,18}$), and the preceding context (v.^{13}) shows that reference is had to the Parousia. St. Paul, while in certain passages associating the final judgment directly with God (so Ro 1^{18} $2^{2.\,3.\,7}$, and especially vv.$^{5.\,6}$ 'the day of wrath and of the revelation of the righteous judgment of God, who will render to every man according to his works'; cf. He 10^{30} 12^{23}, Rev 20^{11}), elsewhere explicitly connects the judgment with Christ (so Ro 2^{16} 'the day when God shall judge the secrets of men according to my gospel, by Jesus Christ'; 2 Co 5^{10} 'the judgment-seat of Christ'; 2 Th $1^{6\text{-}8}$, 2 Ti 4^{1} 'Christ Jesus, who shall judge the quick and the dead'). At this judgment not only must Christians themselves be tested to see whether their work shall abide (1 Co 3^{13}), but they themselves shall take part as judges in the great world assize, which includes even the angels (1 Co 6^{3}).

But although the Parousia is thus associated with the judgment, it is not upon this aspect of Christ's return that the Epistles lay the most stress. The Advent is to introduce that salvation which is the end of their faith (1 P $1^{7\text{-}9}$; cf. Ro 13^{11}, He 9^{28}); that redemption for which they were sealed (Eph 4^{30}; cf. 1^{14}, Ro 8^{23}). Then shall be established 'the eternal kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ' (2 P 1^{11}; cf. 2 Th 1^{5}, 2 Ti 4^{18}, Ja 2^{5}). Then shall appear that heavenly Jerusalem in which there shall be no more sin and sorrow (Rev $21^{2\text{ff.}}$. It is true that Revelation postpones the appearance of the heavenly Jerusalem till after the Millennium, but the conception itself is found in other books which show no trace of millenarianism, *e.g.* Gal 4^{26}, He 12^{22}). Then shall be revealed the glory of Christ (1 P 4^{13}; cf. Tit 2^{13}); and His followers, renewed in body (1 Th 5^{23}, Ph $3^{20.\,21}$, Ro 8^{23}), soul (1 Th 5^{23}), and spirit (1 Th 5^{23}, 1 Co $5^{3\text{-}6}$), shall be manifested with Him in glory (Col 3^{4}, 2 Th 1^{10}), and rejoice in the vision and likeness of Christ (Ph 3^{21}, 1 Jn 3^{2}). Then shall they receive that inheritance incorruptible and undefiled and that fadeth not away, which, during this present period of tribulation, is reserved for them in heaven (1 P $1^{4\text{ff.}}$; cf. Eph 1^{14}); that rest for which now they vainly long (2 Th 1^{7}); that crown of life which the Lord has promised to all who love His appearing (2 Ti 4^{8}, cf. 1 Co 9^{25}, Ja 1^{12}). This is the Day of Visitation (1 P 2^{12}), that consummation for which the whole creation, now groaning in pain, longs and cries, the revelation of the children of God in the liberty of that glory when all sin shall have ceased, and the bondage of corruption have been done away (Ro $8^{21.\,22}$).

To the emphasis which St. Paul lays upon the Parousia as introducing the kingdom of glory is doubtless to be attributed the fact that he speaks only of a resurrection of believers (1 Th 4^{16}, Ph 3^{11}, 1 Co 15^{23}). From this fact many have concluded that St. Paul was a chiliast, distinguishing, like Revelation, between the first resurrection introducing the millennial kingdom and the final resurrection of all men before the last judgment. In favour of this view is quoted 1 Co $15^{23.\,24}$, where St. Paul distinguishes between the resurrection of believers and the end when Christ shall deliver up the kingdom to the Father. Cf. MILLENNIUM. But, apart from possible exegetical objections (Salmond, pp. 520 ff., 561 ff.), this view not only ignores those passages in which St. Paul seems to associate the final judgment with the Parousia (*e.g.* Ro 2^{16}; cf. Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*^{2}, p. 280 f.), but also fails to account for the admitted fact that St. Paul nowhere speaks of a higher glory to follow that of the Messianic kingdom.

As to the *manner* of the Advent, with the exception of the Apocalyptic passages, 2 Th 2^{8}, Rev 19, which follow the warlike imagery of the OT, it is represented, as in the Synoptic Gospels, as a coming on the clouds of heaven (Rev 1^{7}, Ac 1^{11}, 1 Th $4^{16.\,17}$), accompanied by hosts of angels, to gather His saints living and dead into His heavenly kingdom. The fullest account is 1 Th $4^{16\text{ff.}}$ 'For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we that are alive, that are left, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air. And so shall we be ever with the Lord'; cf. 1 Co 15^{52}. This coming is further associated with a renewal of nature (Ro 8^{21}, 1 Co 7^{31}; cf. Ac 3^{21}, Rev 21^{1}), after the fashion of Is 65^{17}, a transformation which 2 P represents as a great world conflagration in which all the present elements shall be dissolved and melt away in fervent heat (3^{10}, cf. He 12^{26}).

As to the *time* of the Advent, it is near (Ja 5^{8}, 1 P 4^{7}, He 10^{25}, Rev 22^{7}, Ro 13^{11}, 1 Co 7^{29}). 'The Lord is at hand' (Ph 4^{5}). 'Yet a little while, and he that cometh will come, and will not tarry' (He 10^{37}). St. Paul expects His arrival within his own lifetime (1 Th 4^{15}, 1 Co $15^{51.\,52}$). Yet the exact time is unknown (1 Th 5^{2}, 1 Ti 6^{15}). There are certain preliminary signs which must be accomplished (the destruction of Antichrist, 2 Th 2^{8}; the conversion of Israel, Ro $11^{25.\,26}$; cf. Eph 1^{10} 'a dispensation of the fulness of the times'). It is with these preliminary signs (the things shortly to come to pass, 1^{1}) that Revelation chiefly deals. The coming to which the seer looks forward most vividly is not the Advent of the Last Day, but the impending judgment which awaits unfaithful Christians (Rev $2^{5.\,16}$ $3^{3.\,11}$). When the day comes it will be as a thief in the night (1 Th 5^{2}, 2 P 3^{10}). Hence there is need of patience (Ja 5^{7}), and of watchfulness (1 Th 5^{6}). Even in St. Paul's day there were those who doubted the resurrection (1 Co 15^{12}; cf. 2 Ti $2^{17.\,18}$). In the later books such doubt has become common. 2 Peter speaks of mockers who ask, 'Where is the promise of his coming? For from the day the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation,' and answers their objection by reminding them that one day with the Lord is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. 'The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some count slackness, but is long-suffering to you-ward, not wishing that any should perish' ($3^{3\text{-}9}$).

From this brief survey the importance of the Parousia in the apostolic thought has been made manifest. Especially significant in this connexion is the teaching of St. Paul. The Christian to St. Paul is indeed already a spiritual man (Ro $8^{9.\,10}$), and as such a new creature (2 Co 5^{17}). Even in this life he rejoices in the peace of Christ (Ro 15^{13}), and sits with Him in heavenly places (Eph 2^{6}, cf. He 6^{5}). But his full salvation lies in the future, in that completed kingdom to which his thought continually turns (see SALVATION). Entrance to this kingdom is the goal of all his endeavour (Ph $3^{11\text{-}14}$). By the hope of it he is sustained when all seems darkest. Without it he would be of all men the most pitiable (1 Co 15^{19}). Thus the entire thought of St. Paul is dominated by the expectation of the speedy coming of Christ. This expectation he finds expressed in the frequent celebration of the Eucharist, which shows forth the death of Christ 'until he come' (1 Co 11^{26}). It gives character to his ethics, leading him to desire for himself and for his disciples freedom from those family cares which may render their service less efficient during that short time which remains before the coming of the Lord (1 Co 7). It is ever present in his prayers, whether, in his fear lest he himself fail to reach the goal, he commit himself to Him who is able to keep that which he has entrusted to Him against that day (2 Ti 1^{12}), or, in his fatherly anxiety for those converts who are to be his glory and crown at the Parousia (2 Co 1^{14}), he prays that the good work begun in them may be perfected unto the day of Jesus Christ (Ph 1^{6}).

This sense of the nearness of the time leads to a passing over in St. Paul's thought of the period between death and the Advent. The middle state, when referred to, is described as a sleep (1 Th 4[14], 1 Co 15[20. 51]), from which the disciples of Christ shall awake to share the gladness and triumph of the Parousia. This is not, indeed, always the case. In certain important passages (2 Co 5[1-9], Ph 1[21. 23]) we find St. Paul's thought passing over into that mysterious region, and expressing the hope of a communion with Christ which nothing can disturb, not even death before the Parousia. Especially significant in this connexion is 2 Co 5[1ff.], where St. Paul associates this hope with the possession of a new body to be put on at death. In this much-discussed passage some interpreters find evidence of a departure from St. Paul's earlier views of the future—a departure to be accounted for only on the ground of experiences which have led him to revise his former expectation of himself living to witness the Parousia, and hence have brought into the foreground of his thinking the life immediately after death. Hence they attribute to it great historic significance, as marking the transition between St. Paul's own earlier thinking and that type of doctrine represented in the Fourth Gospel. See especially Schmiedel, *Hdcomm.* ii. pt. i. pp. 200–202. Cf. also art. RESURRECTION.

iii. THE PAROUSIA IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL.—With the Fourth Gospel, we find ourselves transported into a different atmosphere. The Coming at the Last Day is not, indeed, denied (cf. 5[29] 6[40] 21[23], 1 Jn 2[28], possibly also 14[3]; cf. Stevens, *Joh. Theol.* p. 333), but it is no longer the centre of interest. The coming on which Jesus lays most stress in His farewell words to His disciples is not His judicial coming at the end of the age, but His personal Advent to His disciples, whether physical at His resurrection or spiritual in the gift of the Paraclete (Jn 14[18. 23]). This fact is the more significant, because these discourses take the place in the Fourth Gospel of the 'Apocalypse' of the Synoptics with its prediction of the Parousia and the destruction of Jerusalem. The Day to which reference is repeatedly made in these discourses (14[20] 16[26]) is not the 'Last Day' of the judgment, but the gospel dispensation. So of the allied conceptions, the resurrection and the judgment. The resurrection at the Last Day is not denied, but it is not upon this that Jesus lays the most stress, but rather upon that present resurrection which introduces a man here and now into the life which shall never end. 'I know,' says Martha, 'that [my brother] shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day.' Jesus answers, 'I am the resurrection and the life. He that believeth on me, though he die, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die' (11[24-26]; cf. the passages which speak of eternal life as a present possession, *e.g.* 6[54] 17[3]). So of the judgment of which Christ is the agent. While its decisions are not finally disclosed till the last day, they are being passed upon men here and now. 'He that believeth not hath been judged already' (3[18]). This emphasis on present spiritual life is not, indeed, peculiar to St. John. We have found it already in St. Paul, who no less than St. John has the doctrine of a spiritual resurrection. But with St. Paul the chief stress falls on the future, with St. John on the present. This change of emphasis, while no doubt chiefly due to the mystic tone which pervades the entire Gospel, may be partly explained by the changed conditions under which it was composed. St. Paul and his generation have passed away. The period between death and the last day looms ever larger, as an increasing company of believers pass over into the unseen world. The Church is firmly established as an institution in the world, and looks forward to a period of continued existence. The Antichrist to be feared is no longer external but internal; not a hostile power to appear at the end of the ages, but those false teachers who are already working in the Church (1 Jn 2[18]). It is natural, then, that chief stress should be laid on present communion with Christ—a communion not only real and precious here, but continuing unbroken in the life immediately after death. In such a theology the Parousia is no longer, as with the Synoptics, the centre of interest. Instead of a sudden catastrophe, introducing the disciples into a new order of existence, we have a gradual process, of which the 'Last Day' is only the final consummation. Cf. Holtzmann, *Hdcomm.* iv. 177.

We have thus completed our survey of the NT material, and we find that it presents us with two distinct types of thought. To the one, represented most fully in the 'Apocalypse' of the Synoptics and the earlier Epistles of St. Paul, but present also in most of the other books, the Parousia is conceived after the analogy of the contemporary Jewish Apocalypses as a great catastrophe, bringing to a conclusion the present order of the universe, and introducing the new age in which alone the Kingdom of God can be realized. To the other, represented most fully in the Fourth Gospel, but having points of contact in Revelation, in such Synoptic passages as Mt 26[64] 18[20], and in the Pauline doctrine of the present union of the believer with Christ, the Parousia is rather the completion of an order of things which is already existing, than the beginning of one which is new. The question naturally presents itself as to which of these two types most fairly represents the teaching of our Lord? Are we to think of Him (with Holtzmann and others) as sharing the common expectation of the early disciples of a visible Advent in glory within the first generation? And does the Fourth Gospel represent the fading out of this early expectation, in view of later experiences? Or is the very opposite the truth? And is it the fact (as E. Haupt contends) that the Fourth Gospel presents us with the true eschatology of Jesus—a teaching which, because of its depth and originality, the disciples were able only gradually to apprehend? It is perhaps not possible to answer this question from a study of the eschatological passages alone. The view taken must be determined in part by considerations drawn from Jesus' teaching as a whole. Here, as elsewhere, our Lord's doctrine of the Kingdom is fundamental. Those who give the phrase a purely eschatological meaning, and minimize Jesus' teaching concerning the present Kingdom (*e.g.* J. Weiss), will naturally interpret the passages concerning the Parousia after the analogy of their Jewish parallels. Those, on the other hand, who see in Jesus' doctrine of the Kingdom something radically new, and who find this newness in His assurance that the Messianic Kingdom is already present in the little company of believers who accept His gospel, will favour a spiritual interpretation. Faced with a difficulty on either side, it will seem to them easier to account for those passages which are inconsistent with such an interpretation as due to an imperfect apprehension by the disciples of the Master's meaning, than to believe that He, who in all other respects possessed an insight so much clearer than His contemporaries, should, in the matter of eschatology alone, have had nothing new to contribute.

iv. THE PAROUSIA IN THE LATER CHURCH.—No doctrine was more prominent in the early Church than that of the Parousia. It was the great hope by which the Christians were supported under the persecution and contempt which were so frequently their lot. It meets us not only among the Jewish Christians, with whose expectation of a conquering Messiah it was naturally in accord, but among the Gentile Christians as well. In many cases, as in the Canonical Apocalypse, it is associated with the hope of a Millennial Kingdom, preceding the final judgment—a Kingdom conceived now carnally (Papias), now spiritually (Barnabas). See MILLENNIUM. In others, as in most of the NT books, it is associated with the final judgment, and regarded as introducing the world to come. By Marcion and the Gnostics it was rejected as part of the Jewish corruption of the gospel. The Montanists preached a speedy Advent, and looked for the setting up of a Millennial Kingdom at Pepuza. The extravagances of their doctrine, together with the growing strength and self-consciousness of the Church, led to a gradual shifting of emphasis to other doctrines. Tertullian, Irenæus, and Hippolytus still look for a speedy Advent; but with the Alexandrine Fathers we enter a new circle of thought. As in the Fourth Gospel, the Parousia is not denied, but another set of conceptions is placed in the foreground. With Augustine's identification of the Millennium with the period of the Church militant, the Second Advent is postponed to a distant future, and the way prepared for that view of eschatology which has been on the whole controlling ever since.

Into the history of modern interpretation we cannot enter. We may distinguish four different positions, each of which has its advocates—(1) It is possible with Marcion and the Gnostics to regard the hope of the Parousia as a remnant of Judaism, useful indeed in supporting the faith of the disciples in the trying days of the beginnings, but without foundation in fact, and so destined to give place in time to a higher and purer set of conceptions. But this involves the assumption of a mistake not only on the part of the apostles, but on that of Jesus Himself, since it seems impossible to deny not only that Jesus predicted His own return, but that this expectation was an important element in His Messianic consciousness. (2) It is possible, with Augustine and the majority of theologians since his day, to regard the Parousia as a literal coming on the clouds to judgment, but to postpone this coming to an indefinite future, concentrating attention in the meantime upon the life immediately after death. But this does violence to those passages, both in the apostolic teaching and in that of Jesus, which predict the Parousia within the generation then living. (3) It is possible, with Russell, to identify the Parousia with the destruction of Jerusalem, and so to regard it as past. But this is open to the objection that the present condition of the Church does not correspond to that glorious state to which the NT writers look forward. (4) It is possible, finally, following the suggestion of the Fourth Gospel, to regard the Parousia rather as a dispensation than as a single event, beginning with the spiritual Advent by the risen Jesus, and continuing on through all the intermediate experiences of the Church until that 'Last Day' when the work of salvation shall be fully accomplished, and the kingdoms of the world shall have become the kingdoms of the Lord and of His Christ. See also MAN OF SIN, MILLENNIUM, and PAUL, p. 729 f.

LITERATURE.—The art. 'Second Advent' in Kitto's *Bibl. Cycl.* i. p. 75, which gives references to the older Eng. literature; Warren, *The Parousia*; Russell, *The Parousia*; Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*; Beet, *The Last Things*; Terry, *Biblical Apocalyptics*; Dieckmann, *Die Parousie Christi* (1898); Schmoller, *Die Lehre vom Reiche Gottes in d. Schr. des NT* (1891); and the appropriate sections in the Biblical Theologies of Weiss, Beyschlag, Holtzmann, and Stevens.—For the doctrine of Jesus, consult Weiffenbach, *Der Wiederkunftsgedanke Jesu*, where the older critical literature is fully given; Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, p. 193 ff.; Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu*, ii. p. 543 ff. [Eng. tr. ii. pp. 265-307]; Bruce, *The Kingdom of God*, p. 273 ff.; Briggs, *The Messiah of the Gospels*, esp. pp. 132-165; Schwarzkopff, *Weissagungen Jesu*; E. Haupt, *Die eschatologischen Aussagen Jesu* (1895); Pünjer, 'Die Wiederkunftsreden Jesu' (*ZwTh*, 1878); J. Weiss, *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*, also *SK*, 1892, p. 246 ff.; Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*; Gould, *Comm. on Mark*, p. 240 ff.—For the teaching of St. Paul, cf. Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*², p. 274 ff.; Kabisch, *Die Eschatologie des Paulus*, p. 228 ff.; Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*; Stevens, *The Pauline Theology*, p. 339 ff. For the teaching of St. John, cf. Stevens, *The Johannine Theology*, p. 329 ff.; Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Theologie*, ii. p. 511 ff. Much information may be obtained also from the special notes on eschatology in Holtzmann, *Hdcomm.* (*e.g.* ii. p. 200 ff., iv. p. 177). See also the literature given under MILLENNIUM.

W. ADAMS BROWN.

PARSHANDATHA (פַּרְשַׁנְדָּתָא; *Φαρσάν, Φαρσανεστάν*).—The eldest of the sons of Haman, put to death by the Jews in Shushan (Est 9[7]). For the etymology Benfey suggests Pers. *fraçna-data*='given by prayer.'

PARTHIANS (*Πάρθοι*; Vulg. *Parthi*). — This nationality is mentioned only in Ac 2[9], in which passage the descendants of Jews that had settled in Parthia and afterwards returned to Jerusalem are clearly intended (see v.[5]). The Parthians inhabited a mountainous district, situated south of the Caspian Sea, having on its north Hyrcania, on its south Carmania, on its west Media, and on its east Ariana. Justin (bk. xli.) describes them as Scythian exiles, the word Parthian meaning 'refugee' in their language. The tract where they located themselves is a very fertile one, and is watered by a number of small streams that flow down from the mountains, liable to sudden and violent floods on the melting of the snow thereon, but of exceedingly small volume in summer-time. The principal mountains were the Labus or Labutas (identified with the Sobod Koh), the Parachoathras (Elburz), and the Masdoranus. It was divided into several districts, of which Camisene on the north, Parthyene on the south-west of Camisene, Choarene on the west, Apavarticene on the south, and Tabiene along the borders of Carmania Deserta, were the principal. From the second of these divisions, Parthyene, the country is regarded as having received its name. In ancient times it was, to all appearance, much more densely populated than now, as, according to Fraser (*Khorassan*, p. 245), the tract contains the ruins of many large and apparently handsome cities; and Ptolemy relates that it had 25 large towns. The capital of the district was Hecatompylos, and Darius Hystaspis (*Behistun Inscription*) refers to two other cities—Vispauzatiš, where a battle took place, and Patigrabana.

It is doubtful whether any credence can be given to the various stories of the origin of the Parthians. Moses of Chorene calls them descendants of Abraham by Keturah, and John of Malala agrees with Strabo (xi. 9, sec. 2), Arrian (Fr. 1), and Justin (xli. 1–4), in regarding them as Scythians brought by Sesostris from Scythia when he returned from that country and settled in a district of Persia. The first authentic information about them, however, is given by Darius Hystaspis, who speaks of them as inhabiting the tract with which they are generally associated. However faithful they may have been to their suzerain in the centuries preceding the rule of the great Persian, on the accession of Darius they evidently joined with the Hyrcanians in support of the pretender Fravartis. Darius' father, Hystaspes, went against them with those who were faithful to his son's cause, and defeated the allied army of the rebels at Vispauzatiš, on the 22nd of the month Viyakhna. To all appearance, however, the Parthians and Hyrcanians were far from being beaten, and Hystaspes was in want of reinforcements. Darius therefore at once sent to him an army of Persians from Raga. With these Hystaspes once more took the field against the allies, and a second battle was fought at Patigrabana, on the 1st of Garmapada, the result being a second victory for the Persians. ‘Thereafter,’ says Darius, ‘was the land mine. This did I in Parthia.’

According to Herodotus (iii. 93), the Parthians were in the 16th satrapy of the Persian empire as divided by Darius, and they had along with them the Chorasmians, the Sogdians, and the Areians. This united province had to pay to the royal treasury a sum of 300 talents of silver. In the war of Xerxes against the Greeks, according to Herodotus (vii. 66), the Parthians were in the same division as the Bactrians, and had the same commander as the Chorasmians. To all appearance they remained faithful to the Persians to the end, serving with them at Arbela against Alexander, to whom, however, they made but a feeble resistance when he passed through their country on his way to Bactria (Arr. *Exp. Alex.* iii. 8).

After the death of Alexander they formed part of the domain of the Seleucidæ, but revolted about B.C. 256, under Arsaces, who founded the native dynasty known as the Arsacidæ. This dynasty contained no fewer than thirty-one kings, and lasted from about B.C. 248 until about A.D. 226, when Sassan founded upon its ruins the dynasty of the Sassanidæ. The family of the Arsacidæ, however, continued to exist in Armenia as an independent dynasty.

Having founded the empire of the Parthians, which was to overshadow that of the Romans, Arsaces devoted himself to the development of his kingdom, and founded, in the mountain Zapaortenon, the city of Dara. His son Tiridates is supposed to have defeated Seleucus. Arsaces III. (Artabanus I.) came into conflict with Antiochus III. Arsaces V. (Phraates I.) subdued the Mardi, and, notwithstanding that he had many sons, following an old Persian custom, he left his throne to his brother Arsaces VI. (Mithridates I., B.C. 164–139). This king is renowned as having greatly extended the limits of his kingdom. Having subdued the Medes, the Elymeans, the Persians, and the Bactrians, he enlarged his dominions into India, beyond the conquests of Alexander. He also overcame the king of Syria, and added Babylonia and Mesopotamia to his empire, which now had the Ganges as its eastern and the Euphrates as its western boundary. Other great rulers down to the Christian era are the 7th, 9th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th of the name (Phraates II., Mithridates II., Phraates III., Mithridates III., Orodes I., and Phraates IV.). Additional accounts of the earlier rulers will probably be obtained from the astronomical tablets of Babylonia, which often give details of historical events, the material for dates, and the names of distinguished personages with their doings.

In the end the Parthians possessed the rule of the greater part of Western Asia, from India to the Tigris, and from Chorasmia to the shores of the Indian Ocean. Their long wars with the Romans are well known, and their peculiar method of fighting enabled them to make a more successful resistance to the advance of the Roman armies than any other Eastern race. The greater and more organized power at last gained the upper hand, however, and Arsaces XV. (Phraates IV.), who reigned from B.C. 37 to A.D. 13, delivered to Augustus his five sons, with their wives and children, who were all sent to Rome. Arsaces XIX. (Artabanus III.), who began to reign in A.D. 16, was the ruler of the country at the period referred to in Ac 2^{9}. He had a chequered career, and came into conflict with the Romans, who set up other members of his family in opposition to him. Though twice obliged to quit his kingdom, he was twice recalled, and was succeeded, in A.D. 43, by his son Gotarzes. The subjection of the country was continued by Trajan, Antoninus, and Caracalla; and the new Sassanian native dynasty of Persia, under the command of Artaxerxes I., son of its founder, put an end to Parthian rule A.D. 226.

Like the Boers in S. Africa, the Parthians early learned the importance of accurate shooting, and they became celebrated in the use of the bow, which was apparently their chief weapon. It is also noteworthy that they were good horsemen; and these two facts enabled them, like their more modern imitators, to harass their opponents and cause them loss. It was apparently on account of this that they were enabled to retrieve, in the reign of Hadrian, losses that they had suffered under Trajan. The fact that they were all mounted gave them an enormous advantage in the matter of mobility, which is now recognized as an all-important feature in operations in the field of battle. Indeed, the Roman writers of the period of the defeat and destruction of Crassus near Carrhæ (Haran), attribute to them great military prowess, for which they became renowned. Even whilst their horses were going at full speed, they shot their arrows with wonderful precision, thus preventing an enemy from following them in their flight.

In art and civilization they were inferior to the Persians and the Greeks, whose heirs, in a sense, they were. Notwithstanding this, however, their decorative designs sometimes possess a simple excellence of their own that reminds one of similar designs of the Greeks, by whom, indeed, they must have been greatly influenced, as is indicated by the figures on the arch at Takht-i-Bostan, by the designs on the reverses of their coins, and by the fact that the inscriptions on the last are in the Greek language. They would thus seem to have adopted a gloss from that nation whom they conquered. That they were not a literary people may be gathered from the circumstance that their language is still practically unknown to us, the Parthians having produced no literature that could preserve it. Nevertheless, it is at least probable that they were not so regardless of literature as they have been thought; for Justin states that Mithridates I., having conquered several nations, gathered from every one of them whatsoever he found best in its constitution, and framed from the whole a body of most excellent laws for the government of his empire. If this be true, he must have been one of the wisest rulers of his time. Among the cities founded by the Parthian dynasty, Dara has already been mentioned, and the foundation of Ctesiphon is also attributed to them (Ammianus, xxiii. 6). This city is described by Strabo as the winter residence of the Parthian kings (*Epit.* xi. 32). Its ruins are even now the wonder of the beholder. T. G. PINCHES.

PARTICULAR, PARTICULARLY.—1 Co 12^{27} ‘Ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular’ (*μέλη ἐκ μέρους*, RV ‘severally members thereof,’ RVm ‘members each in his part’); Eph 5^{33} ‘Let every one of you in particular so love his wife even as himself’ (*καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ καθ’ ἕνα, ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα οὕτως ἀγαπάτω· ὡς ἑαυτόν*; RV ‘Do ye also severally love each one his own wife even as himself’). RV has given the mod. equivalent of the phrase ‘in particular’ which is found in those places only. So Melvill, *Diary*, p. 308, ‘The King . . . calling the Magistrats and certean of the ring-laders, ordeanit them to be tryed, in particular, be the Barones, and gentilmen of the countrey about St. Androis.’ The subst. is used in 2 Mac in the sense of detail, 2^{30} ‘To be curious in particulars belongeth to the first author of the story' (*ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος*); 11^{20} 'Of the particulars . . . to commune with you' (*ὑπὲρ τούτων κατὰ μέρος*, RV 'in detail'). Cf. Shaks. *I Henry IV*. II. iv. 414—'Examine me upon the particulars of my life'; and *II Henry IV*. IV. ii. 36—

> 'I sent your grace
> The parcels and particulars of our grief.'

'Particularly' has the same meaning as 'in particular.' It occurs in Ac 21^{19} 'He declared particularly what things God had wrought' (*ἐξηγεῖτο καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον ὧν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός*; RV 'He rehearsed one by one the things'); and He 9^{5} 'Of which we cannot now speak particularly' (*κατὰ μέρος*, RV 'severally'). So Knox, *Hist.* 115—'This present Writ is to make answer particularlie to everie Article.'

The adj. is used in the first Prol. to Sirach, 'It [Sirach] containeth . . . certain particular ancient godly stories of men that pleased God' (*μερικάς τινας παλαιὰς θεοφιλεῖς ἱστορίας*), where the meaning is evidently 'special' (Vulg. *peculiares*), as in Bunyan, *Holy War*, p. 142, 'Then did Emmanuel address himself in a particular Speech to the Townsmen themselves.' J. HASTINGS.

PARTRIDGE (קֹרֵא, *ḳōrē'*).—This word occurs but twice in OT, 1 S 26^{20} (where the LXX tr. it *νυκτικόραξ*) and Jer 17^{11} (*πέρδιξ*). In both the Vulg. gives *perdix*. That *ḳōrē'* is not an owl (*νυκτικόραξ*) is evident from the context of the passages in which this Gr. word is trd 'owl.' On the other hand, *Caccabis chukar*, C. R. Gray, the red-legged partridge, or *Ammoperdix Heyi*, Temm., the sand partridge, would suit exactly the comparison which David makes between himself and the *ḳōrē'*. As regards the passage in Jeremiah, the best explanation is to view the act of the partridge there alluded to as founded upon a popular belief as to its habits rather than upon strict fact. Bochart quotes such a belief (ii. 85) from Damir, who says that 'it is of the nature of the partridge to come to the nests of its congeners, and take their eggs and incubate them; but when the chicks come to fly they return to the mothers which laid their eggs.' There are numerous instances in the Bible of the adoption of popular beliefs and their use to point a moral. Such have been adduced in articles on the ostrich, goat, owl, night-monster, leviathan, satyr, horseleech, etc. The proper name '*En-hakḳōrē'*' (Jg 15^{19}) means 'spring of the partridge.'

Caccabis chukar is a gallinaceous bird, the male with a drab coat, beautifully mottled with crescentic markings of white and black beneath, red legs, and a white throat. *Ammoperdix Heyi* is a little smaller. The plumage of the male is sandy buff, washed with dark grey on the crown and cheeks, pencilled and barred beneath with brown, with a strip of white behind the eyes, an orange beak, and olive-yellow legs. Both species inhabit the most retired situations they can find, preferring rocky hillsides clothed with shrubs and tufted grass. *C. chukar* is much more widely disseminated than its relative. It is found most abundantly in the middle and upper regions of Lebanon and Antilebanon. It is also very abundant in the mountains of the Syrian desert, often many miles away from water. The Arabs of that region say that it does not drink. The sand partridge is found only in the Dead Sea and Jordan Valleys. Both species, but especially the latter, will run a considerable distance rather than take to wing. A hen with chicks will almost allow herself to be caught in her anxiety to lead them out of danger. The present writer once dismounted and caught two chicks out of a brood which the hen was luring away. She waited near by until he had satisfied his curiosity by examining the fluffy creatures, and, when he released them, ran to meet them, and evinced the greatest satisfaction as she led them to the rest of her brood, and got them all out of sight as soon as possible. Red-legged partridges are hunted by means of tame decoys (Sir 11^{30}), which call the wild birds. The sportsman shoots them from an ambush. Sometimes wheat is scattered near the decoy, and large numbers of wild birds settle down to eat it, and numbers are killed by a single shot. This, however, is considered quite unsportsmanlike by the better class of natives. The partridge is also hunted by falconry. The red-legged species is easily tamed, and becomes very affectionate and confiding towards his owner. G. E. POST.

PARUAH (פָּרוּחַ; B *Φουασούδ*, A *Φαρρού*, Luc. *Βαρσαούχ*).—Father or clan of Jehoshaphat, Solomon's prefect in Issachar. Issachar stands tenth (in the LXX twelfth) among the prefectures. In Galilee these coincide with tribal districts. Outside Galilee only Benjamin is a prefecture in itself.

PARVAIM (פַּרְוַיִם, LXX *Φαρουάιμ*).—Only in 2 Ch 3^{6}, where Solomon, in the ornamentation of his temple, is said to have used 'gold of Parvaim.' Gesenius (*Thesaurus*, p. 1125) suggests after Wilford its derivation from Sanscrit *pûrva*, 'eastern,' *i.e.* eastern regions. Sprenger (*Alte Geog. Arabiens*, p. 54 f.) found a *Farwa* in Yemen. Glaser (*Skizze d. Ges. u. Geog. Arabiens*, ii. p. 347) identifies Parvaim with *Sâḳ el-Farwaim*, which lies about one day from *Dharijja*, and not far west of the two *Abâns*, between which flows the Wady er-Rumma. IRA M. PRICE.

PASACH (פָּסַךְ; B *Βαισηχί*, A *Φεσηχί*).—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7^{33}.

PAS-DAMMIM (פַּס דַּמִּים; B *Φασοδομή*, A *Φασοδομί*, Luc. [*ἐν*] *τοῖς Σεῤῥάν*).—The name of a place in the west of Judah, between Socoh and Azekah, as given in 1 Ch 11^{13}. It is simply a variant of EPHES-DAMMIM (wh. see), the place where David slew Goliath (1 S 17^{1}).

PASEAH (פָּסֵחַ). — **1.** A descendant of Judah, 1 Ch 4^{12} (B *Βεσσῆε*, A *Φεσσή*). **2.** The father of Joiada, who repaired the old gate, Neh 3^{6} (*Φασέκ*). It is possible, however, that 'Paseah' here has not an individual but a family sense, as in—**3.** The eponym of a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^{49} (B *Φισόν*, A *Φασή*) = Neh 7^{51} (B *Φεσή*, A *Φεσσή*, ℵ *Φαισή*). The name appears in 1 Es 5^{31} as Phinoe.

PASHHUR (פַּשְׁחוּר; *Πασχώρ*, *Φασχώρ*, *Φα(σ)σούρ(α)*, *Φάσσορος*, *Φαισούρ*, *Φασε(δ)ούρ*; *Fosere* [1 Es 9^{22}], *Pha(s)sur*, *Pheshur*. Etymology unknown; Ges. Thes. suggests 'safety on every side' [Arab. *fsḥ* and סְחוֹר] in contrast to *Magor-missabib*; others 'splitter,' from פשח).—**1.** The son of Malchiah, one of the princes sent by Zedekiah to inquire of Jeremiah concerning Nebuchadrezzar's invasion, Jer 21^{1}. He is named also among the princes who heard that Jeremiah was urging the people to desert to the Chaldæans. He joined in urging the king to put Jeremiah to death, and in imprisoning him in a muddy oubliette, from which he was rescued by Ebed-melech, Jer $38^{1\text{-}13}$. This Pashhur was perhaps the father of the Gedaliah ben Pashhur also mentioned in 38^{1} (but cf. 2); and probably the Pashhur ben Malchiah mentioned in 1 Ch 9^{12} Neh 11^{12} as the ancestor of a certain Adaiah is the same person.

2. The son of Immer, governor of the temple, and priest. When Jeremiah announced the ruin of Judah, Pashhur had him beaten and placed in the stocks, but released him the next day. Thereupon Jeremiah repeated his threats, declaring that J″ had called Pashhur's name not *Pashhur* but MAGOR-MISSABIB (wh. see), 'terror on every side,' and added that Pashhur should die in exile at Babylon, Jer 20^{1-6}. V.^{6} implies that Pashhur had prophesied the deliverance of Judah from the Chaldæans. Pashhur ben Immer was perhaps the father of Gedaliah ben Pashhur mentioned in Jer 38^{1}, but cf. **1**.

3. Pashhur, the father of Gedaliah, Jer 38^{1}, may be identical with either **1** or **2**; or may be a third Pashhur.

4. Bĕnê Pashhur, a priestly clan, mentioned in Ezr 2^{38} Neh 7^{41} as contributing 1247 (1 Es 5^{25} 1047) to those who returned with Ezra; and six, mentioned by name (Ezr 10^{22}, 1 Es 9^{22}), to those who divorced foreign wives. According to Neh 10^{3}, Pashhur, either the clan or its chief, sealed the covenant referred to in that chapter. It is possible, but very improbable, that the name of the clan was derived from one of the above Pashhurs. Cf. Meyer, *Entstehung d. Judenthums*, p. 169 f.

W. H. BENNETT.

PASS, PASSAGE, PASSENGER.—The verb to pass is both trans. and intransitive. Of its trans. use in AV the only meaning demanding attention is *to exceed, surpass*: 2 S 1^{26} 'Thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women'; 2 Ch 9^{22} 'King Solomon passed all the kings of the earth in riches and wisdom' (RV 'exceeded'); Ezk 32^{19} 'Whom dost thou pass in beauty?'; 1 Es 1^{49} 'The governors . . . passed all the pollutions of all nations'; Sir 25^{11} 'The love of the Lord passeth all things for illumination'; Eph 3^{19} 'The love of Christ, which passeth knowledge'; Ph 4^{7} 'The peace of God, which passeth all understanding.' Cf. Gn 26^{1} Tind. 'There fell a derth in the lande, passinge the first derth that fell in the dayes of Abraham'; Dt 25^{3} Tind. 'xl. stripes he shall geve him and not passe.' So the participle as adj. in Rhem. NT, Eph 1^{19} 'That ye may know . . . what is the passing greatness of his power.' A slight difference=*go beyond*, is Pr 8^{29} 'When he gave to the sea his decree, that the waters should not pass his commandment' (לֹא יַעַבְרוּ־פִיו, RV 'should not transgress his commandment').

Intransitively 'pass' is used in AV as we now use 'pass away': Job 14^{20} 'Thou prevailest for ever against him and he passeth'; Ps 148^{6} 'He hath made a decree which shall not pass'; Mt 5^{18} 'Till heaven and earth pass'; Mt 24^{34}, Mk 13^{30}, Lk 16^{17} (RV always except Job 14^{20} 'pass away,' which is the usual AV tr. for the verb used). So Hamilton, *Catechism*, fol. xiv, 'Hevin and erd sall pas, bot my word sall nocht pas'; Ja 1^{10} Rhem. 'As the floure of grasse shal he passe.' Cf. also Chaucer, *Squieres Tale*, 494—

'Whyl that I have a leyser and a space,
Myn harm I wol confessen, ere I pace';

and Shaks. *K. Lear*, v. iii. 314—

'Vex not his ghost: O let him pass! he hates him much
That would upon the rack of this tough world
Stretch him out longer.'

A **passage** is in AV either a *ford* across a river or a mountain *pass*, except that once the word is used for 'leave to pass,' Nu 20^{21} 'Edom refused to give Israel passage through his border.'[*] The Heb. is always some form from עָבַר *'ābhar*, 'to cross.' The meaning is *ford* in Jos 22^{11} 'at the passage of the children of Israel' (אֶל־עֵבֶר בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, RV 'on the side that pertaineth to the children of Israel'),[†] Jg $12^{5.\,6}$ (RV 'ford'), Jer 51^{32} (RVm 'ford'); and *mountain pass* in 1 S 13^{23} 14^{4}, Is 10^{29} (all 'pass' in RV), Jer 22^{20} (RV 'Abarim,' which see). Cf. Coryat, *Crudities*, i. 210, 'There are in Venice thirteen ferries or passages.' Passage occurs also in Jth 6^{7} 7^{7} of the approach to a city (ἀνάβασις, RV 'ascent'), and in Wis 19^{17} of the way to the door of a house (δίοδος). Cf. Milton, *PL* x. 304—

'From hence a passage broad,
Smooth, easy, inoffensive down to Hell.'

Passenger in AV means 'passer-by,' not, as now, one 'booked for a journey': Pr 9^{15} 'She sitteth at the door of his house . . . to call passengers who go right on their ways' (לִקְרֹא לְעֹבְרֵי־דָרֶךְ, RV 'to call to them that pass by'); and Ezk $39^{11\ bis.\ 14.\ 15}$ (הָעֹבְרִים, RV 'they that pass through').[*] Cf. Hall, *Works*, ii. 104, 'Not as a passenger did Christ walke this way, but as a visitor, not to punish, but to heale'; Adams on 2 P 1^{3} 'The passengers in mockery bad Christ come down from the cross.'

J. HASTINGS.

PASSION in AV has two meanings. **1.** *Suffering* (the lit. sense of Lat. *passio*; cf. 'compassion'),[†] applied to the suffering of our Lord in Ac 1^{3} 'To whom also he showed himself alive after his passion' (μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν αὐτόν). The word is a good one (being etymol. connected with παθεῖν), it was taken by Wyclif from Vulg. *post passionem suam*, goes right through the Eng. versions, and is retained in RV. Cf. 'Passion-week.' But it is the only case in which 'passion' was accepted by AV from the earlier VSS: see He 2^{9} Wyc. 'Ihesus for the passioun of deeth, crowned with glorie and honour' (so Rhem., the rest 'suffering'); 1 P 1^{11} Wyc. 'the passiouns that ben in Crist' (so Tind., Cran., Rhem., but Gen., AV 'sufferings'); 4^{13} Wyc. 'Comyne ye with the passiouns of Crist,' Tind. 'partetakers of Christes passions,' so all until AV 'partakers of Christ's sufferings.' Also in ref. to the believer's sufferings (in the plu.) Ro 8^{18} Wyc. 'I deme that the passiouns of this tyme ben not worthi to the glori to comynge,' so Rhem., but Tind. and the rest 'afflictions,' AV 'sufferings'; He 10^{32} Wyc. 'Ye suffriden greet striif of passiouns,' Tind. 'a greate fyght in adversities,' Rhem. 'a great fight of passions,' AV 'a great fight of afflictions.' It is evident that 'passion' in the sense of suffering was passing away when AV was translated (the Rhem. version follows the Vulg. too slavishly). Craik says that Shaks. retains the word in this sense only in two or three antique expressions. Indeed, except *Hamlet*, II. i. 105, 'Any passion under heaven that does afflict our natures,' the only use in this sense is in strong scurrilous exclamations in reference to Christ's last sufferings. But it is of course found in writers of the time and later; cf. Hall, *Works*, ii. 150—'Jewes and Samaritanes could not abide one another, yet here in leprosie they accord, . . . community of passion hath made them friends, whom even religion disjoyned.'

2. *Feeling, emotion*, only twice in AV, and both plural, Ac 14^{15} 'We also are men of like passions with you' (ὁμοιοπαθεῖς ἐσμεν ὑμῖν, RVm 'of like nature'); Ja 5^{17}. Cf. Article i. (in *Thirty-nine Articles*), 'There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions.' This is nearly the sense of 'passions of sins' in Ro 7^{5}, AVm and RV for AV 'motions,' where it is a literal tr. of the Gr. (*τὰ παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν*), though the approach is nearer to our modern use of 'passions.' In the mod. sense RV has introduced the word also into Ro 1^{26}, Gal 5^{24}, Col 3^{5}, 1 Th 4^{5}. J. HASTINGS.

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[*] Cf. Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, i. (Selby's ed. p. 36), 'As if the multitude, or the wisest for the multitude's sake, were not ready to give passage rather to that which is popular and superficial, than to that which is substantial and profound.'

[†] The AV tr., which is from the Geneva Bible, refers to the place where the Israelites crossed the Jordan. But the word so tr. means usually 'the other side,' as in 1 S 26^{13}, whence LXX ἐν τῷ πέραν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ, Vulg. *contra filios Israel*.

[*] The Hebrew is difficult, probably corrupt. See Davidson, *in loc.* Some (by changing עֹבְרִים into עֲבָרִים) translate 'a valley of Abarim.' This, however, is to enlarge the extent of that geographical name on the basis of an emendation.

[†] Andrewes, *Works*, ii. 123, 'Compassion is but passion at rebound.' Cf. also 'passionless renown' in the well-known hymn.

PASSOVER.—Our knowledge of the origin and early history of the Passover is derived from the accounts of the OT, supplemented by the relevant material thus far gained from the study of the early customs of other Semitic and primitive peoples. The most important passages are, of course, found in the laws of the Pent., and for our present purpose we shall accept the generally received conclusions as to the age and authorship of the various strata of legislation (see HEXATEUCH). But even so, our attempt to trace the history and development of this feast will necessitate considerable critical discussion.

- i. Old Testament References.
  - *A.* In the Law and Ezekiel.
    - 1. JE.
    - 2. Deuteronomy.
    - 3. Ezekiel.
    - 4. P.
  - *B.* In the Historical and Prophetical Writings.
    - 1. Prophets } Pre-exilic.
    - 2. 2 Kings }
    - 3. The Chronicler.
  - *C.* Résumé.
- ii. Origin and Primitive Significance.
  - 1. Name.
  - 2. Older Views.
  - 3. The Offering of the Firstborn.
  - 4. A Feast of Atonement.
  - 5. A Blood Covenant.
  - 6. Conclusion.
- iii. The Post-exilic Passover.
  - 1. Manner of Observance.
  - 2. Number of Participants.
  - 3. Time.
  - Literature.

i. OT REFERENCES.—The passages to be considered are—Ex 23^{18} 34^{25} 12^{21-27}, Dt 16^{1-8}, Ezk $45^{21ff.}$, Ex $12^{1-13.\ 43-49}$, Lv 23^{5}, Nu $9^{1ff.}$ 28^{16}, Jos 5^{10}, Hos 2^{11} 9^{5} $12^{9\,(10)}$, Am 5^{21} 8^{10}, Is 30^{29}, 2 K 23^{21-23}, 2 Ch 8^{13} 30. 35^{1-19}, Ezr $6^{19f.}$.

A. In the Law and Ezk.—1. JE.—In the so-called 'Second Decalogue' (Ex 34^{10-26}) we have the command (^{25}) 'Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread; neither shall the sacrifice of the feast of the Passover (זֶבַח חַג הַפָּסַח) be left until the morning.' The same prohibition appears Ex 23^{18} in the 'Book of the Covenant' (Ex 20^{22}–23^{33}), but instead of the phrase '*the sacrifice of the feast of the Passover*' we there have 'neither shall *the fat of my feast* (חֵלֶב חַגִּי) remain all night until the morning.' Many have held that this latter expression has precisely the same content as the former, and have thus established the entire agreement of the two verses. We should then find our feast mentioned in the very oldest portions of the Law. That this is really the case, however, becomes somewhat doubtful upon closer examination. In both sections we have mention of the three great feasts of later legislation, which are to be kept unto J″—the feast of Unleavened Bread, of Weeks, and of Ingathering. And according to subsequent usage it is in connexion with the first, the feast of Unleavened Bread, held in the month of Abib, the month in which Israel came out of Egypt (Ex 23^{15} 34^{18}), that we should expect to find mention of the Passover. It might, indeed, seem that this was intended in Ex $34^{19f.}$, where, breaking the parallelism to the account of Ex 23, there is a command regarding the offering of the firstborn males of all the herds. One might naturally conclude that this sacrifice came at the time of the preceding feast. However this may be, the 'Book of the Covenant' in its present form knows nothing of such a connexion, for there the firstborn is to be offered on the eighth day, after being seven days with its dam (Ex $22^{29\,(30)}$; cf. Lv 22^{27}, Nowack *et al.* make this a later insertion; see *Arch.* ii. 147, n. 3). Furthermore, there is in the 'Book of the Covenant' nothing that can be legitimately interpreted as a reference to the Passover. This is certainly true of the expression in 23^{18}, which one would naturally limit neither to the Passover nor to the sacrifice of the firstborn, but rather would understand as referring to all bloody offerings and as including all feasts. Possibly we should so vocalize as to read the plural 'my sacrifices' and 'my feasts' (זְבָחַי, חַגַּי; cf. Dill.-Rys. *Com. in loco.* In Ex 34^{25} LXX reads θυμιαμάτων μου). As to Ex 34^{25}, where the explicit mention of the Passover is met with at present, we need to note, first, that the term *ḥagg* (חג הפסח) is nowhere else in the Pent. applied to the Passover, but confined mainly, if not exclusively, to the three great feasts mentioned above (cf. Driver, *Deut.* p. 188; and on *ḥagg*, Wellh. *Reste Arab. Heidentums*, 1897, pp. 68 ff. and 79 ff.). Such a usage (cf. Ezk 45^{21}) as we have here indicates the blending of Passover and *maẓẓôth* (feast of Unleavened Bread); but in Dt, where this actually occurs, we find no such designation for the Easter festival as a whole. It may well be, as some maintain (Wellh. *Proleg.*^{4} p. 84; Benzinger, *Arch.* 470 n.; W. R. Smith, *Encyc. Brit.*^{9} xviii. 343 as against *RS* 221 n.), that the expression is a later insertion which makes specific application of the more general principle stated in 23^{18}. If, however, we think the passage should be retained and assigned to J, as many do (Nowack, *l.c.* ii. 147, n. 3; Bertholet, *Deut.* p. 50, *et al.*), then we may claim the early occurrence of the name Passover, but can not affirm any connexion between it and *maẓẓôth*. The point of the verse would be, that in the case of the Passover, as in that of other animal sacrifices, everything in the nature of putrefaction must be avoided. It would thus stand as a precursor of the kindred Levitical ordinances of later times. We find among other primitive peoples injunctions of like nature in relation to sacrifice (cf. *RS* p. 221; Smend, *AT Relig.-Gesch.* p. 140).

Ex 12^{21-27} may be next considered. It states how Moses summons the elders, and bids them go and kill the Passover, as though such a command needed no further explanation. With a bunch of hyssop (cf. Lv $14^{4ff.}$) they are to stain the lintel and the doorposts, and no one is to leave his home until the morning. All this is to be done because J″ is to pass through and smite the Egyptians; but where He sees the blood on the doorway He will not allow the destroyer to enter. This same ceremony is to be observed hereafter as a lasting memorial. In the Promised Land they are to keep it, and explain its significance to their children. They are to tell them it is the sacrifice of the Passover to J″, who *passed over* the houses (פסח על בתי) of Israel, and delivered them, when He smote the Egyptians. On hearing this the people bow in worship and proceed to do as commanded.

It is generally recognized that we have in this section an account not originally belonging to the present context, although it seems at first sight to fit in admirably with the preceding narrative, and to tell how Moses imparted the command to the people which he had received from J″. It is, however, a very different command in content and in language. The essential details previously given (v.$^{3ff.}$) are not included, and, what is even more important, new ones are introduced and emphasized. There is no hint that it is the firstborn who are slain, no allusion to the paschal meal, but the blood ceremonial * is the all-important feature. The conception is, that the blood stained on the doorway works exemption from destruction for all within; but there is no explanation as to how this comes about. The resemblance to v.$^{7ff.}$ may explain why the section was inserted here. Whatever the source from which it came, the simplicity of detail as over against the former account (vv.$^{1-13}$) supports the view of its priority and independence. In its essence it may go back to JE, even though, as most agree, its present form is later than Dt (cf. Wellh. *Comp. d. Hex.* p. 75; Dill.-Rys. *Com.* pp. 111, 126; Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 148 n. 1).

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* On the translation *threshold* in v.^{22} for *basin* (סַף), cf. below, ii. 5.

These are the only passages where we can look for explicit references in JE. But there are, besides, the notices of Israel's oft-repeated request for permission to go forth and celebrate a feast in the wilderness of Sinai (Ex 3^{18} 7^{16} 8$^{25ff.}$ 10^{9} *et passim*). These indicate the existence at this period of a festival that may in some way be related to the Passover. We return to this question later on (ii. 6).

2. Deuteronomy.—Here in 16$^{1-8}$ we have the earliest undisputed explicit reference to our feast and use of the word Passover (cf. above, and Wellh. *Proleg.*^{4} 84 n.). Its observance, we are told, falls in the month of Abib, the month of ears (cf. Ex 13^{4} 23^{15} 34^{18}), which is the older name for Nisan (Mar.-Apr.), because in this month J″ brought them out of Egypt at night. At this season they are to sacrifice to J″ the Passover, consisting of sheep and cattle, at the place which He may choose for His worship. With the sacrificial meal and during seven days they are to eat only unleavened bread. This is the bread of affliction, because of the trepidation with which they came forth from Egypt. So are they to be ever reminded of that anxious day. During the seven days no leaven is to be allowed to remain within Israel's borders, and of the offerings of the first day none of the flesh is to be permitted to remain until the morning (cf. Ex 23^{18} 34^{25}). The Passover may *not* be sacrificed at one's dwelling-place, but only at that place which J″ shall choose for His worship. There at the setting of the sun, at the time when they came forth from Egypt, it shall be sacrificed. *Six* days shall unleavened bread be eaten, and on the seventh there shall be a festal gathering to J″, and no work shall be done.

As compared with other legislation, four points are especially noteworthy. (*a*) Instead of merely introducing *maẓẓôth* (P), the Passover here becomes an integral part of it, *i.e.* the Passover day becomes the first day of that feast. It is striking that so much attention should be paid in these eight verses to this one ordinance, and so little to the further regulations. The explanation may be that the centralization of all worship in one sanctuary, which is the novel and most important feature of Deuteronomic legislation, especially affected the Passover, and so required more explicit formulation (cf. Nowack, *Arch.* ii. p. 153). But even then other difficulties still remain, and it may be reasonably doubted whether the section stands at present in its original form. Vv.$^{3b-4b}$ seem an interpolation into the connected account contained in vv.$^{1.2}$ and $^{5-7}$ (בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן in v.^{4} would then, of course, be a later addition). V.^{8}, which makes further mention of *maẓẓôth*, seems incongruous in suddenly speaking of six days when seven were named before (v.^{3}). The stated assembly (עצרת) recalls the priestly legislation, and contradicts the preceding command to return home on the following morning. So it seems probable that this apparent blending of the two feasts comes from reconstruction by a writer of later date than the Deuteronomist.* (*b*) It is expressly stated and strongly emphasized that the Passover is *not* to be observed as a domestic rite in the individual homes, but at the temple in Jerusalem (vv.$^{2.6.7}$). But this does not mean, as we see, that it is to take the form of a general offering for all (so Ezk), but that it is rather made up of the private individual sacrifices (cf. Wellh. *Proleg.*^{4} p. 89). (*c*) The offering is not limited to a lamb (Ex 12), but may be taken from the flock or the herd (v.^{2}). To explain this statement in the light of later usage, *i.e.* as referring to the private sacrifices alluded to in 2 Ch (30$^{22-24}$ 35$^{7-9}$), the later *ḥagîgah* (חגיגה), or peace-offerings, does violence to the text. This would mean the mention of a detail, and silence regarding the all-important feature. Furthermore, the use of the sing. in vv.$^{6.7}$ shows that the writer has in his mind the sacrifice on the Passover evening.* (*d*) Another point to be noted is the manner of preparing the Passover sacrifice. It is to be boiled (v.^{7}).† The OT allusions seem to point to this as an early method of preparing sacrifice (Jg 6$^{19ff.}$, 1 S 2$^{13.15}$; and cf. Ex 23^{19} 34^{26}, Dt 14^{21}), and some think that this was gradually replaced by the more refined mode of roasting (cf. Benzinger, *Arch.* 435, 451; Wellh. *Proleg.*^{4} p. 68). The prohibition of the use of leavened bread is found in the three great codes of the Pent., but nowhere else is it called the bread of affliction (לחם עני). We can compare this with the account in Ex 12$^{34.39}$ (JE), which is suggested by the expression 'in trepidation' (בחפזון Ex 12^{11}).

3. Ezk 45$^{21-24}$.—Turning next to Ezk, we find the Passover mentioned in a section discussing the part of the prince in the feasts and sacrifices (45^{17}–46^{15}). It is assigned to the 14th day of the first month, and spoken of as a feast of seven days, during which unleavened bread is to be eaten. On the first day the prince is to prepare a bullock as a sin-offering for himself and the people of the land, and otherwise daily a he-goat for this same purpose. There shall be, besides, a daily burnt-offering of seven bullocks and seven rams, with an accompanying daily offering of fourteen ephahs of meal (509·6 lit.), and fourteen hins of oil (84·98 lit.). This is such a large quantity that Cornill would so correct as to make it indicate the amount for the entire seven days; but it is probably better explained by Ezk's conception of the fruitfulness of the land in the new age. The sacred year is here clearly divided into halves, and so the suggestion (Smend, Bertholet) that v.^{21} has been corrected according to Ex 12^{18} (Lv 23^{5}, Nu 28^{16}), seems in place, especially as the text has been disturbed (שבעות for שבעת). The parallelism of the feasts makes probable an original reading, 'In the first month, on the *fifteenth* day of the month, ye shall have the Passover' (cf. Bertholet, *Com. in loco*). The Passover appears with the atoning significance which Ezk puts into all the cultus. This is manifested especially in the sin-offering, which is not elsewhere so connected with it. The festival is to be celebrated *throughout* at the central sanctuary, whereas Dt seems to demand this expressly for only the first part. The daily sacrifice is accurately defined, and the record is otherwise more explicit than Dt in naming not only the month, but in giving further the exact day. As in Dt, it is a seven-day festival, and *maẓẓôth* is so blended with the Passover as almost to lose its

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* Cf. Steuernagel, 'Deut.' in *Handkom.* He assigns the Passover to J and *maẓẓôth* to E, and considers all references to *maẓẓôth* here as later additions after the union of J and E, *i.e.* makes R^{JE} later than D; cf. Bertholet in *Kurzer Handcom.*; Cornill, *Einleit.* p. 25, regards vv.$^{3.4}$ as an interpolation correcting v.^{8}; Stade, *Gesch.* i. 658, thinks vv.$^{1-4}$ and $^{5-8}$ are irreconcilable doublets. In support of this, cf. Holzinger, *Hex.* p. 399.

* Cf. Driver, *Com.* p. 191; Bertholet, *Com.* p. 50; Wellh. *Proleg.*^{4} p. 99; Nowack, *Arch.* ii. p. 153, n. 1. J. Müller (*Kritischer Versuch über d. Ursprung u. d. gesch. Entwicklung d. Pesach- u. Mazzothfestes*, Bonn, 1884) makes this a later custom than P. Against this see Dill.-Rys. *Com.*

† בשל, primarily 'to become ripe,' but is the usual word (in Piel) for boiling, so used in related dialects. The later (harmonizing?) expression בַּשֵּׁל בָּאֵשׁ (2 Ch 35^{13}) cannot count against this usage. The usual verb for *roasting* is צלה; cf. Driver, *in loco*; and Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 153, n. 3.

identity. There is no mention of a Passover lamb or of any private celebration whatever. It is rather the sacrifice of the community offered by the prince for himself and the people.

4. Lv 23^{5}, Ex 12$^{1-13.\ 43-51}$, Nu 9$^{1-14}$ 28^{16}, Jos 5^{10}.—As we pass to the body of law assigned to the priestly stratum, we can begin with the 'Law of Holiness' (Lv 17–26), which is supposed to embody in a later modified form an earlier independent body of law. A very close relationship clearly exists between this section and Ezk, but as a whole it is probably later (but see the discussion of this point in Driver, *LOT*^{6} 147 ff., and the literature there cited). All that bears on our subject is confined to the simple statement that the Passover, as the opening festival of the year, is to be held on the evening of the 14th of the first month (23^{5}). Apparently it is mentioned only for the sake of completeness in the enumeration of the feasts, and presupposes the fuller legislation of Ex 12.

Ex 12$^{1-13}$ explains the origin of the Passover, and gives details not elsewhere mentioned. While they are yet in Egypt, the LORD speaks to Moses and Aaron, and directs that they reckon the current month as the first month of the year. In anticipation of what is to come, they are to command all the congregation to take, on the tenth day of the month, lambs according to their families. Where the family is too small to dispose of a lamb, the head of the household is to unite with his neighbour, and they together are to take one, the number thus included and the capacity for consumption of each member being taken into account. A lamb or a kid may be taken, but it shall be a perfect animal (so usually for sacrifices, cf. Lv 22^{19}), a male (cf. Lv 1$^{3.\ 10}$), and one year old (cf. Lv 22^{27}; for all these points cf. Benzinger, *Arch.* 451 *et passim*). It shall be kept until the 14th of the month, and then all the congregation shall slay it (*i.e.* each his lamb) at the evening hour. With the blood they are to stain the lintel and doorposts of the house in which the feast is held. The flesh shall be eaten that night with unleavened cakes and bitter herbs. It may not be eaten raw or boiled, but roasted, the victim being kept intact with head, legs, and inwards. All remnants shall be burned that night, and no part left till morning. The participants are to eat in haste, prepared for a journey, with their flowing garments girt about them, their sandals bound on, their staves in their hands. For this is the feast of the LORD'S Passover, who saith, 'I will pass through the land of Egypt this night, and smite all the firstborn of man and beast. And against all the gods of Egypt will I execute judgment. I am the LORD.' The blood shall be a sign to mark the houses where Israel dwells, and into these the destroying plague shall not enter when the LORD smites Egypt. In vv.$^{43-51}$ comes an added ordinance as to those who may observe the Passover. The context implies that this was given in Succoth, apparently because of the presence of the mixed multitude (v.^{38}); but all the allusions show that the observance in the Holy Land is especially intended. No foreigner, sojourner, or hired servant may eat the Passover. Only the circumcised are to be admitted under any circumstances. If a stranger be circumcised with all the males of his household, and thus becomes identified with the Jewish nation, he may observe it. So also circumcised servants are to be included, for all Israel must observe it. In v.^{46} we have repeated, from the previous section, the particulars which serve to lay emphasis on the idea of unity which is here throughout made so prominent. V.^{50} would seem to mean that ever after they observed the Passover as here directed. V.^{51} repeats ^{41b}, and is not in place at present.

In Nu 9$^{1-14}$ another law is added. The date of this is given as the first month of the second year after the Exodus. In obedience to the command of J″ given through Moses, they observe the Passover. But some who were ceremonially unclean by reason of contact with a dead body are excluded, and they come to ask why they must be deprived of their share in the sacrifice. Moses seeks instructions from J″, and receives command that any who are unclean at the Passover season, or who are absent on a journey, shall observe it on the 14th day of the second month in the same manner as the regular Passover is observed. Several details are repeated (vv.$^{11.\ 12}$): unleavened bread and bitter herbs are to be eaten with it; nothing shall remain until the morning, and no bone is to be broken. If a man who is not hindered in either of the above ways fails to keep the Passover, he is to be cut off from the nation. Strangers must observe the same regulations that are binding for the Jews.

Once more—and again apparently for the sake of completeness—we find an allusion to the Passover in Nu 28^{16}. The section deals with regular and special sacrifices; but since there are no temple sacrifices in the case of the Passover, only the mention of its occurrence on the 14th of the first month was needed.

The same writer records in Jos 5^{10} the first Passover in Canaan. At the close of the wandering in the wilderness, after the renewal of circumcision, it is celebrated on the 14th of the month while they are encamped at Gilgal.

These accounts of P, which we have thus brought into review, show certain divergences from the ordinances of the previous writers, and reveal a wealth of detail not elsewhere found. As over against Dt (as it now stands) and Ezk, the Passover is always carefully distinguished from *mazzôth*, which begins on the following day. The celebration is domestic, and not apparently at all connected with the central sanctuary. In Dt we found the time given simply as the month of Abib. P does not use this name, but calls it the first month, and gives the exact day; in both these particulars agreeing with the present form of Ezk. Why the lamb was chosen on the tenth day, so long in advance, we are not told. Possibly it is because of the significance attached to the decad among ancient peoples (cf. Nowack, *Arch.* ii. p. 172, n. 3; Ideler, *Chronol.* i. p. 279, on Attic month), or it may be to fit into some scheme giving this day a special significance like that of the corresponding day of the seventh month celebrated as New Year's Day (Lv 25^{9}, Ezk 40^{1}), and then as the Day of Atonement (Lv 16^{29}). The killing of the lamb and the staining of the doorway was probably done by the father of the house. This feature is made of less importance than in 12$^{21 \mathrm{ff.}}$, and there is no mention of the hyssop. The significance of the command to roast the lamb whole with all its members, and to consume it before the morning, may be made to consist either in the desire to keep its parts from profanation, or to emphasize the idea of its unity, *i.e.* as a single sacrifice valid for all in the common group which partake of it (cf. Bahr, *Symbolik*, p. 635). The command to *roast* might be explained along these same lines, as also the prohibition of the earlier mode of boiling. Eating the flesh raw would mean the eating of the blood, which was always forbidden (*e.g.* Lv 7^{26}). With this and the other details noted above we can compare the accounts of certain Arab sacrifices, where a camel was killed and devoured—skin, bones, entrails, and all—in wild haste, between the appearance of the day-star and sunrise (cf. *RS* p. 338 ff.; Well. *Reste d. Arab. Heid.*^{2} 119 ff.). In our account, of course, all are dressed and eat in haste, that they may avail themselves of the opportunity for flight which will follow the impending plague. The bitter herbs (Ex 12^{8}, Nu 9^{11}) are not explained. They may have at first been used as relishes, apart from any atoning significance or reference to the suffering in Egypt which later rabbinical writers gave them.* In P the covenant idea is made especially prominent. So at the first Passover, and so also at each recurrence of the festival, when this covenant is renewed. This explains why only those who have entered into the unity of the nation by circumcision can participate; and, on the other hand, why any one who does not so participate is to be cut off from the nation. To meet emergencies which might work injustice,—such as necessary absence on a journey, ceremonial impurity arising from contact with the dead,—a second opportunity is given on the 14th of the succeeding month.

B. In the Historical and Prophetical Books.—1. The Prophetical Writings.—Outside the Hexateuch there is no explicit mention of the observance of a Passover until after the discovery of Dt (B.C. 621). For the time of the earlier kings, indeed, none of the feasts are explicitly mentioned except Tabernacles; but others together with the Passover may be included in such general statements regarding feasts as we find, *e.g.* Hos 2^{11} 9^{5}, Am 5^{21} 8^{10}, and Is 29^{1} ('add year to year: let the feasts come round'). Some (Nowack, *Arch.* ii. p. 149) find an almost certain reference in Hos $12^{9\ (10)}$ 'I will yet again make thee to dwell in tents, as in the days of the solemn (*i.e.* fixed) feast.' And this is more probable than that the reference is to Tabernacles (Wellh. *Die kl. Propheten*^{2}, p. 126 f., excludes this passage from Hosea. He does not think it suits the threat there expressed; cf. Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 155, n. 2).

In Is 30^{29} the allusion to the Passover was formerly considered (Dill. Del. *et al.*) to be beyond question, but at present it is thought by many others to refer to the night preceding the New Year's feast (see art. TIME; cf. Duhm, *Com.* p. 203; Budde, *ZAW*, 1891, p. 200).

2. The Historical Writings (pre-exilic).—Here we find our first reference in 2 K 23^{21-23} 'And the king commanded all the people, saying, Keep the Passover unto J″ your God, as it is written in this book of the covenant. Surely there was not kept such a Passover from the days of the judges that judged Israel, nor in all the days of the kings of Israel, nor of the kings of Judah; but in the eighteenth (cf. 22^{3}) year of king Josiah was this Passover kept to J″ in Jerusalem.' There seems little doubt that this celebration under Josiah was novel, above all else, in following the law in Dt 16, and thus being celebrated at the central sanctuary. Such a fact would give ample reason for the extraordinary character assigned to it. The extreme brevity of the notice may be due to later curtailment (cf. Benzinger, 'Könige,' in *Kurzer Handcom.* 194 ff.). This is the only explicit reference to a Passover before the Exile. There are, to be sure, notices in 2 Ch (8^{13} (?) 30. 35) of Passovers during this time, but these very probably reflect the usages of the writer's own age, and cannot be classed along with the passage in 2 K. The most that can be deduced from them is that the Chronicler may have found in his sources mention of Passovers on the occasions where he gives his fuller descriptions.

3. The Historical Writings (post-exilic).—In Ezr $6^{19.\ 20}$ (in Heb.) we have an account of how the returned exiles celebrated the feast. The Levites killed the lambs at this time, not only for themselves, but for the priests and the rest of the community as well. This is also made to be the case, in part at least, in 2 Ch. There in ch. 30 is a description of a Passover in Hezekiah's reign. For this the king sends out an especial summons (v.^{1}); and since they could not arrange for it in the first month it is held in the second (Nu 9^{11}), as is also the feast of *mazzôth* (v.^{13}). It is explained that it is because some were not purified according to the law, that the Levites kill the lambs for them (v.^{17}, but cf. v.^{18}). The priests receive the blood from the Levites and sprinkle it on the altar. An exception is made to the usual requirements, and all present are allowed to eat the Passover, although not purified according to the law. The following feast of seven days is extended yet another seven; and we are told that since Solomon's time such a festival had not been held in Jerusalem (v.^{26}). 2 Ch 35^{1-19} gives an extended description of the same Passover under Josiah, mentioned in 2 K 23. In this instance the implication seems to be that the Levites kill the lambs for all (v.^{6}). The priests receive the blood and sprinkle it on the altar (v.^{11}) as before, and as was usual in the case of other sacrifices. The Levites skinned the lambs, and apparently the other sacrificial animals as well (vv.$^{11.\ 12}$). Here the writer tells us that since the days of Samuel the prophet no Passover like to this one had been kept. This same account with modifications is reproduced in the opening chapter of 1 Es. (For a comparison of the text of 2 Ch with the Greek of 1 Es see *ZAW*, 1899, p. 234 ff.).

C. Résumé.—We have thus in our OT Canon notices that take us down to the Greek era, and range back over documents falling within a period of some six centuries. For the earlier ones there are only the briefest notices, which do not justify many deductions, even if accepted in their present form. But it is extremely probable that our feast continued to be observed during all this time in the Southern, even if not so generally in the Northern kingdom. Many of the rites mentioned by the later writers were certainly of very ancient origin. In Dt, in the last quarter of the 7th cent., we get on undisputed ground. In this first extended account, the strong emphasis on the historical significance of the Passover is especially marked. It commemorates the emancipation from Egypt, the day of the nation's birth. The domestic character, which it probably possessed originally, disappears, but not the *individual idea*, which is so far retained that we still have *separate* sacrifices. There continues to be room for much of the spontaneity and joyousness that belong to a voluntary celebration. At this time it would seem it either stood by itself or introduced the *mazzôth* feast as later.—We find our next notices after a half century in the ideal portrayal of Ezekiel. Here the memorial significance gives way to the piacular conception which grows out of Ezekiel's exalted view of J″'s holiness. The *individual element* disappears in the *collective idea* of the nation. Thus it comes that the Passover loses its distinctive character, and is taken up and embodied in the general class of sacrifices. It is accurately dated so as to fit into his scheme of the sacred year. All this falls within Ezekiel's vision of Israel's future restoration, and so his notice serves to emphasize the importance of the Passover in the religious life of the people. From a historical point of view, the account is not so much valuable in itself as it is in marking the transition from Dt to the priestly document.

During the Exile the Passover was probably one of the few observances still possible to the Jews, and must have greatly aided in keeping alive religious faith and hope. The memory of the deeds once done for the fathers would become the ground of assurance of that inevitable future when J‴'s promise to His chosen people would be realized. The commemorative side would be thus developed, the more so as any connexion with the sacrificial cultus was, of course, impossible. Just as in later days, after the destruction of the temple, so now they would love to linger long, on this night, recalling the past and thinking of the future. The fact that in P the Passover is seen to be in its essential nature a sacrifice, and yet is so unlike all other sacrifices, may be due in large measure to the development and strengthening of the domestic and historical features during this period. We might then understand in part the departure from the view of the Deuteronomist. Undoubtedly, the Passover assumes a new prominence in P. In many points there is a close connexion with Ezekiel, but there is greater amplification and much that differs. Not only is the day definitely fixed, but all the minute details of observance are added. With this writer, further, it is not merely a memorial, but it was instituted beforehand as a means of accomplishing deliverance, and thus gains a deeper historical meaning. It is in the first instance *the saving deed itself* (cf. Wellh. *Proleg.*^{4} p. 100).—The Chronicler gives us our last notices in the Canon. By him the priestly legislation is usually followed, as it is throughout the norm of post-exilic worship; but in the case of the Passover a striking preference is given to the ordinances of Dt. The sacrificial character again comes into prominence, possibly under the growing influence of worship in one sanctuary.

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* On meaning, herbs used, etc., cf. Dill.-Rys. *Com.* Ex, p. 117 f.; Nowack, *Arch.* ii. p. 173, n. 4; and Tract *Pesachim*. Dr. W. M. Patton, in conversation, expressed it as his opinion that the herbs represented an original vegetable offering from the pastures of the herds.

ii. ORIGIN AND PRIMITIVE SIGNIFICANCE.—Whatever differences there may be in our OT records as to the manner of observing the Passover, we have seen that it is uniformly associated with and commemorative of the deliverance from Egypt. Of its meaning to the Israel of historic time there can be no question. But do we thus arrive at the real explanation of its origin and primitive significance? Our accounts in their present form are, of course, an inadequate explanation for the institution of an entirely new feast. So much is mentioned as well understood that we see it must have been firmly rooted in the national life when the writers lived. In view of this fact; in view of the many features which seem to point to something behind the interpretation given to them; in view of what we find in the observances of related peoples, so far as these are known to us; and in view of the development in the case of all the other great feasts, and the historical interpretation which came to be given them,—it is probable that we have here another instance in which Israel's religion takes up, transforms, and appropriates an existing institution. We might expect to find some starting-point for conjecture in the name *Passover*, but it proves of little aid.

1. *Name.*—פֶּסַח, J.-Aram. פִּסְחָא, Syr. ܦܶܨܚܳܐ, and hence πάσχα (2 Ch, Jer 38 (31)^8 φασέκ; Jos. several times φάσκα. Later derivatives πασχάζω, πασχάλιος, πασχαλικοί). The root פסח[*] appears in what are usually regarded as two distinct verbs: (1) 'to pass over' in sense of *sparing*, with the prepos. עַל Ex $12^{13.\,23.\,27}$, and without Is 31^5, cf. תִּפְסַח 1 K 5^4; (2) 'to be lame,' 'to limp' (cf. فسخ, فصح), 1 K 18^{21}, Pi. 18^{26} ('dance'?), Niph. 2 S 4^4. For the first, from which the noun Passover is derived, there is no means of gaining a primitive meaning (so Wellh., Benzinger, *et al.*). It is undoubtedly an old word. In Syriac ܦܨܚ means *to be joyous*, which might give the idea of festal rejoicing, and this would be the most we could infer as to a primal conception. The name Passover is used in a twofold way, (*a*) of the feast, (*b*) of the sacrifice at that time (in 2 Ch we meet the plural פסחים). It is made the object of various verbs. So of עשה 'to keep the feast of the Passover' (*e.g.* Ex 12^{48}); שחט 'to kill the Passover' (*e.g.* Ex 12^{21}); זבח 'to sacrifice the Passover' (*e.g.* Dt 16^2); בִּשֵּׁל בָּאֵשׁ 'to roast the Passover' (2 Ch 35^{13}); אכל 'to eat the Passover' (*e.g.* Ex 12^{43}). (On חג הפסח cf. above, i. *A*. 1).

2. *Older Views.*—From the many conjectures regarding the pre-Mosaic Passover there are several which do not commend themselves at present sufficiently to warrant more than a brief mention. George (*Die Jüd. Feste*, p. 239) starts from the root פסח and makes it a commemorative feast of *the passage of the Red Sea.* Redslob (*Hamburger Gymnasial Programm*, 1856) regarded it as a shepherd's festival celebrated in the pastures on the night before the Exodus ('Ein in der Nacht vor dem Auszug der Hirten auf die Triften gefeiertes Hutfest'). Von Bohlen (*Gen.* p. 140 ff.) and Vatke (*Bibl. Theol.* i. p. 492 ff.) make it the celebration of the entrance of the sun into the zodiacal sign Aries, and so many others have connected it with the spring. (See Kalisch, *Ex*, p. 184 ff.; Dill.-Rys. *Ex*, p. 120 ff.). There have been from time to time views connecting the early rite with human sacrifice (cf. Kalisch, *l.c.* 186 ff.).

3. *Offering of the Firstborn.*—This is the view at present most widely accepted, and perhaps best set forth by Wellhausen in the chapter of his *Prolegomena* dealing with the whole question of the feasts (4th ed. pp. 82–117; cf. also p. 358 f.).[*] This holds that, in the main, the Passover was the sacrifice of the firstborn. The simple and natural meaning and occasion of the feasts is to be found in the statement of Gn 4^{2b-4a} 'And Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground. And in the process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the LORD. And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock.' The Passover is the shepherd's offering, given in thankful recognition that the fruitfulness of the herd is from J″. That the firstborn belong to J″ is a primitive ordinance, and it is pointed out that in our present accounts such an offering is closely connected with the Passover (Ex $13^{12\text{ff.}}$ 'Thou shalt set apart unto the LORD all that openeth the womb . . . the males shall be the LORD'S,' Dt $15^{19\text{ff.}}$ $16^{1\text{ff.}}$). This custom, it is said, can alone explain the remarkable choice made by the plague in smiting the firstborn. Because Pharaoh prevents the bringing of this offering which is due, J″ takes the firstborn of the Egyptians. The oft-repeated demand is to let the people go to keep a feast in the wilderness with cattle and sheep (Ex 3^{18} 7^{16} 8^{27} *et passim*). For this purpose they borrow the ornaments from the Egyptians. Thus in reality the feast was the occasion of the Exodus, if only the ostensible one, and not the Exodus of the feast, as would appear from the accounts in Dt and Ex 13. (For Ex 13^{1-16} is held by Wellhausen to belong in its present form to a Deuteronomic editing). And he concludes that, while a slight inclination to assign a historical motive to the Passover may possibly be traced earlier, this first actually occurs in Dt. This is apparently due to the fact that in the older tradition the feast explains the occasion and time of the Exodus. Then comes the change that the slaying of the Egyptians is the reason for offering the firstborn;

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[*] Ewald would trace to root פס *Salvere*, and from this derive other meanings.

[*] Cf. also in this connexion J. Müller, *Kritischer Versuch über den Ursprung und die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Pesach- und Mazzothfestes*, Bonn, 1884.

and the time is in the spring, because the Exodus took place then. Then in P comes the further change that the connexion of the Passover with the sacrifice of the firstborn is lost to view. It is no longer based on the fact that J″ slew the firstborn of the Egyptians, but it was instituted before the Exodus, that He might spare the firstborn of Israel.

4. *A Feast of Atonement.*—Another line of conjecture starts from the piacular ritual appearing in both the accounts of Ex 12. We have seen that the second section there (vv.$^{21-27}$) deals almost exclusively with the blood ceremonial. F. C. Baur (*Tübinger Ztschr. f. Theol.* 1832, p. 40 ff.) connects the feast with that celebrated in India, Persia, Asia Minor, and Egypt at the time of the vernal equinox. The Passover sacrifice is offered in place of the firstborn of men, and is thus essentially a sacrifice of atonement. Cf. העביר in Ex 13^{12} (JE) with the use of the same word in connexion with the rite of Molech in such passages as Lv 18^{21}, 2 K 23^{10}, Jer 32^{35}. Dillmann in his *Com.* on Ex and Lv (p. 636 and cf. 121, ed. by Ryssel, Leipzig, 1897) regards the Passover as an offering of reconciliation and purification, introducing the equinoctial festival. The connexion with the Exodus came from the fact that Israel left Egypt at this season. Contiguity in time also explains the later association with *mazzôth*.

In the same way Ewald (*Antiquities of Israel*, p. 352 ff.) affirms—'from the earliest times an atonement offering was an indispensable constituent of every Spring festival.' It comes at a time when there is serious reflexion and anxious care for the unknown future, and so man felt himself impelled to offer 'sacrifices of purification and reconciliation, not alone on account of particular transgressions of which he knew himself to be guilty, but also to secure the Divine exemption and grace generally on the occasion of this uncertain transition, so that, as it were, if, during the new year, his god were to visit him and call him to account, he might not slay him, as he perhaps deserved, but might graciously pass him over.' The lamb was accordingly 'unmistakably an expiatory offering,' and the streaking of the doorway with blood was 'to make atonement for the whole house and all who were contained therein celebrating the festival.'

Schultz in his *OT Theol.* (Eng. tr. i. p. 364) presents much the same view, although he admits the possibility that it 'may originally have been the feast of the firstlings of the cattle.'

5. *A Blood Covenant.* — In the *OT Theol.* of Kayser-Marti we find a somewhat different presentation. Here (2nd ed., Strassburg, 1894, p. 37 f.) it is maintained that originally the Passover was unconnected with the Spring or the Firstborn, but was rather a celebration by means of which one secured his house from all harm in times of pestilence. This was effected by the blood ceremonial which brought one into the closest relations with his divinity, and so, as he believed, secured him from all danger. The application of blood to the doorway suggests that the house divinities (*Hausgötter*) who dwelt there are possibly the ones whose protection was sought.* H. C. Trumbull (*The Threshold Covenant*, p. 203 ff.) holds that the Passover goes back to a rite, which he seeks to trace among many peoples, of a covenant welcome given to a guest, or to a bride or bridegroom in marriage, 'by the outpouring of blood on the threshold of the door, and by staining the doorway itself with the blood of the covenant.' The Passover sacrifice was, then, the *threshold cross-over sacrifice* which marked the welcome of J″ to the household. The idea was familiar, and so needed no explanation when commanded for the night of the deliverance (Ex 12). He would translate 'threshold' (סף) rather than 'basin' in Ex 12^{22}, as is done in the LXX and Vulg. (cf. *op. citat.* p. 206 ff.). The sacrifice killed is one of welcome,* and J″ honours this by covenanting with those who proffer it; where He is not so welcomed, His executioner enters. The firstborn of the Egyptians are taken, since it was a common thought of primitive peoples 'that the first-fruits of life in any sphere belonged of right to God or the gods,' and so His taking them is evidence that the gods of Egypt could not protect them. The Egyptian Passover was in the eyes of the people the rite of marriage between J″ and Israel. The 'stamp of the red hand of the bridegroom is the certification of the covenant union, at the doorway of the family.' But since here Israel is the virgin, the hyssop (Ex 12^{22}), *i.e.* the tree or bush as a feminine symbol, is used for this purpose. In his earlier work, *The Blood Covenant*, Trumbull suggests that in the rite of circumcision it was Abraham and his descendants who supplied the blood of the covenant, while in the Passover sacrifice it was the Lord who commanded the substitute blood in token of His blood-covenanting (p. 351, cf. 230 ff.).

6. *Conclusion.* — In the Passover we probably have one of Israel's oldest feasts. It is the only one represented in the OT as established before the Exodus. The only other occasion that could at all be compared to it in the matter of age would be the feast at sheep-shearing (1 S 25^{2}, 2 S $13^{23f.}$; cf. H. P. Smith's *Com. in loco*). Both point to the nomad stage of development, and may well date from those early days. All expositors, whatever their lines of conjecture, agree in recognizing this. Many of the writers cited above do not advance their views to the exclusion of all others, although that is true of some, but rather as setting forth that which they think was of central significance in the primitive Passover. In valuing any of these theories we must always distinguish between the facts at the foundation and the brilliant reconstruction that imagination has built upon them, and by so doing we shall probably conclude that it is extremely hazardous to attempt anything like a complete picture of the *primitive Passover.* For the Passover of historic times this result will doubtless be ultimately so far attained that there will be general agreement; but for the earlier age we must be content to note the separate features which the existing material preserves to us, and to recognize them as such. We shall probably in this way approximate more nearly to the truth. For it would not be strange if the Passover which we know, combined in itself features belonging to an *original feast of much larger proportions*, or rather if it had taken up into itself in the course of time various features from what were in reality *different festivals.* As within the period covered by our records we find modifications coming in from time to time, so it undoubtedly was earlier, although not with the same rapidity or to the same extent. In this way it is quite possible that certain particulars, which now receive little notice more than the mere mention, at one time had a much greater importance. Recalling what seem to be the most important features of this primitive festival, we may note — (*a*) the time of its celebration, namely, *the vernal equinox.* This is not unimportant or accidental. It suggests a connexion with the changing seasons, and affords a legitimate

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* One is reminded in this connexion of the presentation in the Bk. of Jubilees (49^{15})—'And no plague shall come upon them in this year (*i.e.* any year) to kill and destroy them, if they observe the Passover at its season according to its ordinance' (cf. further, Ex 5^{3b}).

* He cites the custom of modern Jews of opening the outer door at a certain stage of the feast, and placing an extra cup and chair.

basis for those hypotheses cited above, which give especial recognition to this feature. The fact that so many other peoples celebrate this occasion lends credibility to such a view. Of course, however, we cannot be certain that we do not have here a feature of lesser antiquity than some one of the others. The further observance at the middle of the month and at night, indicates an almost certain connexion with the full moon. Later on, in Israel and outside, the new moon was apparently much more regarded, but not to the entire exclusion of the full moon (Dill.-Ryssel on Lv, p. 632 ff.).

(*b*) In the older days a *feast* seems always to have meant a *sacrifice*. And we have found both these conceptions embodied in the Passover, the festal side being very evident, and the sacrificial hardly less so. The fact that it does not conform in its details to any one of the later classes of Levitical sacrifices, cannot be made an objection to such a view. For here we go back to a time when all such requirements were as yet undeveloped. All the later treatment of the Passover, as well as most of the terms applied to it (cf. above), indicate throughout such a conception of its significance.

(*c*) As a sacrifice, the *piacular* side stands out in the present accounts with especial prominence. For the blood ceremonial (cf. Ex 12) can hardly have any other meaning. In it a practice from the early tribal life seems to be preserved to us. We see that blood had much the same significance in worship in the case of Israel as was given to it by other peoples. Developments of this same conception could then be found in the many later rites of blood: the pouring, the sprinkling, and the staining. Trumbull's books greatly help one to see how this could come about. At the same time, as a *sacrifice* the Passover has another side, no less important and no less primitive (cf. *RS* p. 239 *et passim*). It ranks with the *shĕlāmîm* or peace-offerings, where the common meal is central, as the means of establishing or renewing the covenant with God and with one another.

We have seen how P gave marked emphasis to this sacramental side. And this cannot be made to conflict with the previous aspect or to exclude it. The fact that the sin-offering of later times could not be used for such a meal, cannot be made a norm for practice at this early stage. Rather one could urge, as some do, the probability that in the case of all sacrifices the blood then found some such application. And in saying this we must remember that it by no means implies that the words *atonement* and *reconciliation* need to have the same serious content that a later age gave to them. Originally offered as all other sacrifices, we should expect no other priest than the head of the family.

(*d*) If we keep within the bounds of our records, it can hardly be denied that the sacrifices at this feast were for the most part, if not entirely, *the firstborn*. Such an offering is mentioned in the oldest portions of the law, and is closely associated with those passages dealing with the Passover. In view of the previous discussion, we need at present merely mention this aspect (cf. ii. 3).

(*e*) It seems, furthermore, to be an undoubted part of the old tradition, that *the Exodus* was closely connected with the observance of this ancient feast. In the case of P there is, to be sure, a demand for complete release, but otherwise there is no indication that the Israelites gave any hint of their intention not to return. The demand which Moses and Aaron repeatedly urge upon Pharaoh is—'Thus saith J″ the God of Israel, Let my people go, that they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness . . . let us go, we pray thee, three days' journey into the wilderness, and sacrifice unto J″ our God, lest he fall upon us with pestilence or with sword' (Ex 5^{1-3}). With young and old, with its sons and its daughters, with its flocks and its herds, Israel seeks to go forth into the Sinaitic peninsula to hold a feast unto the Lord (Ex 10^{9}). That they should ask to do so, does not apparently seem a strange or unintelligible demand to the king. Possibly because such religious pilgrimages, which were a frequent occurrence with later Semitic peoples, were not unusual in those earlier times (cf. Dillmann, *Ex.* p. 46 f.).

Such a feast as this need not, of course, be the Passover; much less the prototype of the later *maẓẓôth* (so Dill. *in loc.* p. 636). But that it stood in close relation to the Passover and the sacrifice of the firstborn, seems an almost necessary conclusion from the OT accounts.

Such are the features which the Passover seems to include within itself. But to give the name Passover especial application to any particular one of them in this early time does not seem warranted, for we have no means of judging of its age or meaning. It may have belonged originally to some particular part, or may have been the designation of *the entire feast or series of feasts*. In any case it has come to stand for a most important recurring occasion in the early nomad life of Israel, one that was possibly then what the feast of Tabernacles was for the early agricultural life—*the* Feast. The very fact that it survived the many changes attending the passing from this nomad to the agricultural stage, as well as later changes hardly less revolutionary, points to something deeply rooted in the popular life and tradition. From first to last it keeps this character of *a people's feast*, and reforms which failed to recognize this feature could not be ultimately successful. Such a celebration could well be the occasion of the Exodus, and this supposition affords adequate explanation for the subsequent traditions. That the old character should become merged in the memorial significance, was to be expected in the face of the new life and institutions. Contiguity in time seems the best explanation for its association with *maẓẓôth*, which always remains really distinct.

iii. THE POST-EXILIC PASSOVER.—1. *Manner of Observance.*—The practice subsequent to the return from captivity, as we have seen in 2 Ch and Ezra, conformed more closely to Dt than to P. This is borne out by the extra-canonical sources (esp. Tract *Pesachim*, Josephus, Bk. of Jubilees). Many details in Ex 12 were interpreted as intended only for the *Egyptian Passover* (פסח מצרים) as over against the *permanent Passover*, which future generations were to observe (פסח לדרות or פסח ראשון as distinguished from the *second or little Passover* פסח שני). Such features were (*a*) the selection of the lamb on the 10th day; (*b*) the slaughter at the home; (*c*) the sprinkling of blood on the doorposts; (*d*) the admission of those who might be Levitically impure; (*e*) the haste indicated in dress and manner of eating (*i.e.* standing); (*f*) lodging where the feast was held. These were assigned to the *feast of preparation*, but not intended to be perpetuated in the *feast of commemoration*. It is to be noted that the priestly writer does not expressly enjoin these features save for the first Passover, but the whole tenor of his narrative indicates that they were undoubtedly given for all time. The Samaritans so continue to understand them. It is only among them that there is still an attempt to observe the Passover with actual sacrifice as in earlier days (cf. the account in Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria*; Trumbull's *Studies in Oriental Social Life*, p. 371 ff.; Thomson in *Expos. Times*, xi. (1900) 377).

Preparation for the Passover really began at the middle of the preceding month (Adar). Roads and bridges were repaired, sepulchres were whitened anew, that they might be readily seen and avoided. It was the season of ceremonial and all other kinds of purifications. In the last days the household utensils were all carefully cleaned. The Sabbath preceding the 14th of Nisan came to be known in the modern synagogue as *the Great Sabbath* (שבת הגדול), because it was held that the 10th, when the lamb was selected in the first instance, fell on a Sabbath. There seems to be no evidence, however, that this view was in existence at the beginning of the Christian era.

On the evening of the 13th the head of the family searched the house with a lighted candle, that he might seek out all the leaven. The hour on the 14th at which one must refrain from eating leavened cakes was variously fixed. It was *always* before noon, however, the precise time being indicated by the disappearance of two cakes which were exposed before the temple. When the signal was thus given, all leaven must be burned or scattered to the winds. Under the head of leaven the Mishna (*Pesach.* 2–5) includes cakes made from wheat, barley, spelt, oats, and rye. If bread be made from any of these grains, it must be before the dough ferments at all. Work ceased on the morning, or at noon, of the 14th, save in a few occupations (tailors, barbers, laundresses). All able-bodied males, not ceremonially impure, within a radius of 15 miles were required to appear this day before the LORD at His sanctuary with an offering. Women were not required to attend, but apparently did so[*] (Jos. *BJ* VI. ix. 3; *Pesach.* IX. 4).

The regular evening sacrifice was killed and offered an hour earlier than usual (*i.e.* at 1.30 and 2.30 respectively) in order to give opportunity for sacrificing the Passover. When the 14th fell on a Sunday the evening sacrifice came two hours earlier (12.30 and 1.30). The time of the Passover sacrifice is defined in the Law as 'between the two evenings' (בֵּין הָעַרְבָּיִם Ex 12^{6}, Lv 23^{5}, Nu 9$^{3. 5. 11}$). This was interpreted by the Pharisees and Talmudists to mean from the hour of the sun's decline until its setting; and this was the later temple practice (cf. *Pesach.* v. 1; Jubilees, 49; Jos. *BJ* VI. ix. 3). The Samaritans, Karaites, and Sadducees, on the other hand, held that the period between sunset and dark was intended.

Companies, which could consist of from 10 to 20 persons, were organized indiscriminately, and not of a man and his neighbour (Ex 12^{4}); the number in each instance to be definitely fixed in advance. At the appointed hour the representatives of these various groups, each provided with a lamb not less than eight days old nor more than a year, were divided into three divisions. These were admitted successively to the temple court. The priests blew a threefold blast from the silver trumpets, and thereupon each Israelite in the division just admitted killed his lamb. The blood was caught by the priests, who stood in two rows, one row having gold and the other silver bowls. These bowls were then passed along from hand to hand, and the priest nearest the altar dashed the contents on its base. The lambs were hung on nails, or from staves resting upon the shoulders of two men (not allowed when the day was a Sabbath), and dressed. The fat was removed, and offered by the priests on the altar. While all this was taking place, the Levites sang the Hallel (Ps 113–118); and this they repeated, or sang even a third time, if the division had not meantime finished its sacrifice. This same order was followed in the case of each division.

The lambs were then taken to the homes outside and roasted whole on a wooden spit, pomegranate wood being used, that no sap exude. No bone was allowed to be broken under penalty of scourging, and the flesh must not come in contact with any foreign substance: should this happen, the portion must be cut away. Nothing was eaten after the evening sacrifice until the Passover meal. This must close at midnight. The participants were clad in their best garments. Though not enjoined in the Law, wine came to be regarded as an indispensable part of the feast. Each one must be provided with at least four cups of red wine, even if the money had to come from the fund for public charity, or was raised by the pledging of one's garments, or by his labour. Another dish, which later seems to have been usual but which was not obligatory, was the *ḥarôṣeth* (חרוסת). It consisted of bruised fruits, such as dates and raisins, mingled with vinegar (a symbol, it was said, of the clay from which the bricks were made in Egypt). The real meal, however, had for its elements (*a*) the bitter herbs, of which the Mishna specifies five varieties; (*b*) the unleavened cakes; (*c*) the *ḥagigah* (חגיגה) or free-will festal offering; (*d*) the Passover lamb. The supper was opened with the blessing, pronounced by the head of the company over the first cup of wine, which was then drunk. Then came a hand-washing and an accompanying prayer. Then the bitter herbs, dipped in the *ḥarôṣeth*, were handed round. After the pouring of the second cup of wine came the question of the son, or of one speaking for him, as to the significance of the feast (Ex 12^{26}). Following the father's explanation came the first part of the Hallel (Ps 113 and 114). After the third cup grace after meals was said, and after the fourth followed the completion of the Hallel (Ps 115–118). In earlier times nothing was eaten after the paschal lamb, but a later custom permitted a piece of unleavened cake as dessert (*apiḳômen*). There were slight modifications for the observance of the second Passover on the 14th of the following month.

With the destruction of the temple and the cessation of the sacrificial cultus there naturally came a considerable change in the mode of celebration. This was partly in the direction of amplification. The historical significance was emphasized, and an elaborate ritual took shape, cf. the paschal Haggâda, portions of which are as late as the 15th cent. A.D. (Hamburger, Supplement to *Real-Encyc.* p. 113). Much the same general order was observed and much the same articles of food were used, except that for the temple sacrifices the roasted shankbone of a lamb and a roasted egg were employed.

2. *Number of participants.*—The number of those who attended the feast at Jerusalem was undoubtedly great, even if Josephus' use of figures makes us somewhat sceptical of his estimates. At one time, under Nero, he makes the probable number over two and a half millions, and on another occasion (A.D. 65) three millions (*BJ* VI. ix. 3, II. xiv. 3). It was at such times that Rome took especial measures to guard against insurrections (*Ant.* XVII. ix. 3, XX. v. 3; cf. Mt 26^{5}). It may be that there were both executions and pardons on these occasions; both aimed at the restraint of the multitude (cf. Mt 27^{15}). The city could not accommodate all the visitors, and so they camped outside in tents or lodged in neighbouring villages. Guests were freely entertained, but left the skins of the lambs and the utensils used at the feast with their respective hosts (Mishna, *Yoma* xii. 1).

3. *The Date.*—The day of the celebration was determined by the condition of the harvest. If this did not promise in the 12th month to be ready to be gathered in four weeks, and the animals were not yet grown sufficiently for sacrifice, then the month was declared intercalary, and a thirteenth

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[*] The Karaites do not admit them.

was added. This question was settled by the Sanhedrin, and there were certain regulations laid down to guide their decision. The opening of the month of Nisan was also proclaimed by them. This took place when messengers came who had actually seen the new moon (see art. NEW MOON). It was not till about the time of Christ that there came to be a fixed calendar. Fires on the hill-tops sent the signal through the land that the Passover month had begun. After the Samaritans made use of such fires to mislead the Jews, it was ordered that messengers should carry the news throughout the country. The difficulty of fixing this date, and of informing those who were remote when it had been done, led to the doubling of important festal days for those in the Diaspora. (On question of date cf. Mishna, *Rosh hashshana* ii. 1 ff.; Ideler, *Chronol.* pp. 491 ff. and 508 ff.; Schürer, *GJV* i. 625 [*HJP* I. ii. 370 f.]).

The question of the number of passovers traceable during our Lord's ministry, as well as that of the relation of the Last Supper to the Passover, are discussed in art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT, vol. i. p. 406 ff.; cf. JESUS CHRIST, vol. ii. p. 633 f.

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2. Archæologies, esp. Nowack (Freiburg and Leipzig, 1894); Benzinger (*ib.* 1894); Ewald, *Antiquities of Israel* (tr. by H. S. Solly, London and Boston, 1876).

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4. General.—H. C. Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant* (N.Y. 1896), and *The Blood Cov.* (Phil. 1893); W. R. Smith, *RS*; Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heidentums*^{2} (Berlin, 1897). For older literature see citations in Winer's *Realwörterbuch* under 'Passah,' and works given by Dill.-Rys. *Com.* on Ex, p. 112 ff.; and at close of Orelli's article 'Passah,' in Herzog's *RE*^{2}.

5. Literature for post-exilic period.—Various tracts of the Mishna, esp. *Pesachim*; the Paschal Haggâda (regarding this cf. Hamburger, Supplement to *RE*); Book of Jubilees, ch. 49; Josephus (see Index); Philo, *Vita Mos.*; Edersheim, *The Temple, its Ministry and Services as they were at the Time of Jesus Christ* (London, 1874).

See also artt. on the Passover by W. R. Smith in *Enc. Brit.*^{9}; Ginsburg in *Kitto's Cyclop.*; Delitzsch in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*; Hamburger in *RE* (Jewish). W. J. MOULTON.

PASTOR.—This word was at first used literally (like its Lat. equivalent) of a keeper of sheep. So in the OT, Jer 2^{8} 3^{15} 10^{21} 12^{10} 17^{16} 22^{22} $23^{1.2}$. But already in AV it has assumed a metaph. meaning. In Eph 4^{11} (the only NT occurrence) RV retains 'pastor'; but elsewhere (except Jer 2^{8}, RV 'ruler') changes 'pastor' into 'shepherd,' probably on account of the special modern use of the word to designate the minister of a Christian congregation. For the lit. use see Mt 25^{33} Rhem. 'As the pastor separateth the sheep from the goates'; and for the transition Mt 26^{31} Rhem. 'I wil strike the Pastor, and the sheepe of the flocke shal be dispersed.' Cf. also Knox, *Hist.* 266, 'Our Brother, our Pastour, and great Bishop of our soules'; and for the mod. sense see the quotation from Calderwood's *Hist.*, under MINISTER.

PASTORAL EPISTLES.—See NEW TESTAMENT, p. 527^{b}, and arts. TIMOTHY, TITUS.

PATARA (*τὰ Πάταρα*) was a city on the Lycian coast, about 60 stadia south-east from the mouth of the river Xanthos, at the modern village Gelemish. It served as the principal harbour for the inland cities in the valley of that river, including Xanthus the city, Tlos, Araxa, etc. It was also a link in the chain of coasting trade, which had been maintained for more than a thousand years before Christ, and which steadily grew and in the centuries immediately before and after Christ attained vast proportions. Ships sailing between the Ægean or Italian harbours and the Levant (Cyprus, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Syria, Egypt) touched at Rhodes and then at Patara, making a straight run across the intervening sea. That is well exemplified in the account of St. Paul's voyage (Ac 21^{1}) from Miletus and Cos by Rhodes and Patara to Syria. In Patara he found a ship bound for Phœnicia by the direct sea voyage; and he transhipped into it with his company. The ship in which he had come to Patara was not so suitable for his purposes, whether because it was bound for the continuous coasting voyage, hugging close the shore of Asia Minor, or possibly because it was not going farther than the Lycian harbours. Many ships engaged in the Syrian or the Egyptian trade, especially those which were larger and stronger, stood direct across the Levant from the Lycian coast to their destination, keeping west and south of the island of Cyprus. They could do this easily with the prevailing westerly breezes of the Levant; but the return voyage outside (*i.e.* south and west) of Cyprus was not easy; it could be tried from Egypt, but from Syria was hardly possible for the ancient ships. Hence, when St. Paul was coming back from Cæsarea to Rome, he had to keep inside, *i.e.* east and north, of Cyprus, on account of the prevailing westerly breezes, Ac 27^{2}. See also MYRA, which was the next important link in the chain of trade eastward.

This situation assured to Patara considerable importance and wealth. Its coinage begins about B.C. 440, sometimes as autonomous with Lycian legends (name Pttara) or under dynasts about 430–410. In the 4th and 3rd cents. B.C. it seems to have struck no coins, being under foreign rule; but when the Lycian League was established (see LYCIA), Patarean coinage began again, B.C. 168–81, and it continued in bronze under the Roman empire until about A.D. 230–240. Alliance coins with Myra, under Gordian III., attest the close relations of the two cities, as above mentioned.

The importance of Patara as a link in the connexion between Egypt and the Ægean harbours is shown by the fact that, when the Ptolemaic power attained its acme in the 3rd cent., Ptolemy Philadelphus enlarged the city and re-named it Arsinoe after his queen; but the new name disappeared with the Egyptian power.

The name of Patara in ancient times was closely connected with the cultus and the oracle of Apollo; and its later coins show Apolline types, though on its earlier coinage Athena and Hermes (Greek ideals of art and trade) are the prominent figures. The Roman poets, and the later Greeks like Lykophron, associate the epithet Patarean with Apollo, just as they call the god Delphian. The oracle spoke only during part of the year, viz. the six winter months.

In the history of Christianity Patara was of small consequence. Lycia, like Pamphylia, seems to have been slow in adopting the new religion. Patara was a bishopric, and is mentioned as such in all the *Notitiæ*. There are still considerable ruins of the city, on which see Beaufort, Texier, Fellows, Spratt, and Forbes, and, above all, the splendid work of Benndorf-Niemann on *Lykia*.

W. M. RAMSAY.

PATE (formed by loss of *l* from 'plate,' which came to be applied to the crown of the head, esp. the bald crown, from its appearance: cf. Germ. *Platte*, 'a plate,' 'bald head,' and vulgarly 'the head') occurs once in AV (Ps 7^{16} 'His mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violent dealing shall come down upon his own pate') and is retained in RV, because of the distinction thus brought out between ראֹשׁ *rôʼsh*, the usual word for ‘head,’ and קָדְקֹד *ḳodhḳōdh*, the ‘crown of the head’ (which elsewhere, however, is rendered ‘crown of the head,’ Gn 49^{26}, Dt 33^{20}, 2 S 14^{25}, Job 2^{7}, Is 3^{17}, Jer 2^{16} 48^{45}, or ‘top of the head,’ Dt 28^{35} 33^{16}, or ‘scalp,’ Ps 68^{21}). The AV tr. in Ps 7^{16} comes from Coverdale (Wyc. has ‘nol’ in 1382, ‘necke’ in 1388); it is used by Knox in a tr. of the passage (*Works*, iii. 90), ‘The dolour whilk he intendit for me sall fall upon his own pate; and the violence whairwith he wold haif oppressit me sall cast doun his awn heid.’ Shaks. uses the word freely, and always in contempt or ridicule, which seems to accompany its use everywhere, but this is not pronounced in, *e.g.*, Tymme, *Calvin's Genesis* on Gn 31^{22} (p. 650), ‘It was a heavie and miserable sight, that Jacob . . . should flee away as one that had done amisse; but this was more sharpe and fearefull, that the destruction which Laban intended against him, was readie to light on his pate.’ J. HASTINGS.

PATHEUS (Παθαῖος), 1 Es 9^{23}, the same as PETHAHIAH the Levite, Ezr 10^{23}.

PATHROS (פַּתְרוֹס, LXX *γῆ Παθουρῆς*, B also *Φαθωρῆς*, Ezk 29^{14} 30^{14}, Vulg. *Phatures*, also *Phethros*) appears in the following passages:—Jer 44^{1}, the Jews fleeing before the Babylonians settled ‘in the land of Egypt, and at Migdol, and at Tahpanhes, and at Noph (*i.e.* Memphis, so far three cities of Lower Egypt), and in the country of Pathros,’ evidently a part of the land south of Memphis. $V.^{15}$, all people that dwelt in the land of Egypt [and] in ‘Pathros’ answer Jeremiah's accusation. The ‘and’ is wanting in the Heb. and already in the text of the LXX, but it has evidently been omitted by mistake, and must be inserted after the analogy of the first verse. Pathros denotes, not a part of (Lower) Egypt or Mizraim, but a region parallel to it. Is 11^{11} ‘the remainder of Israel will be brought home from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros (LXX strangely ‘Babylonia’), and Ethiopia (Cush), and Elam,’ etc. Ezk 30^{14}, we find again, in the prophecy against Egypt, this country parallel to Pathros (the following cities are not arranged in any geographic order).

We see, consequently, that the prophets did not use Mizraim in the old sense ‘Egypt,’ but in a limited sense, distinguishing between Mizraim, Egypt proper, *i.e.* Lower Egypt or the Delta of the Nile, and Pathros or Upper Egypt (this definition was correctly perceived already by S. Bochart in his book *Phaleg*). Pathros denotes, therefore, the same thing as the Thebais of the Greeks, the country beginning a few miles S. of Memphis, at a place called Acanthus by the Greeks and extending to Syene on the first cataract. The name is of good Egyp. formation: *P-to-rês*, ‘the southern (*rês*) country,’ an etymology given correctly already by Quatremère. Other etymologies have not maintained themselves; *e.g.* the comparison with the Pathyrite (*νόμος Παθυρίτης*) of the Greeks, a small county or nomos of Upper Egypt, which was very tempting for former scholars (G. Ebers in 1867), is inadmissible. (It would be in Heb. letters פחתחור[ס] *Pe-ḥathor-*(*res*) or something similar). The Assyr. king Esarhaddon calls himself in a cuneiform inscription ‘king of the kings of Egypt (*Muzur*), of *Paturisi* and Ethiopia’ (*Kusi*, *i.e.* Cush of the Hebrews). Possibly the Heb. word should be read פתרים *Pathoris*, in accordance with this testimony, the versions, and the Egyp. etymology.

The reason why the prophets drew this line of distinction between Egypt proper and the ‘Southern country’ was their old political division, renewed about 800 B.C. At that time the Eth. king of Napata extended his power beyond the first cataract and seized Thebes. About 770 B.C. the Ethiopian *P*(*i*)*ʻankhi* (Piankhi) possessed Upper Egypt down to Hermopolis. The rest of Egypt was split up into ten small kingdoms perfectly independent of the legal Pharaoh, Shoshenk IV. Of these petty kings residing in Sais, Bubastis, Hermopolis, etc., Tefnakht of Sais finally gained the supremacy. He failed to subject Middle Egypt owing to the interference of the Ethiopians. Tefnakht's defeat and nominal subjection under P(i)ʻankhi's sovereignty did not prevent him and his successor Bocchoris (Egyptian *Bok-en-renef*, the famous founder of the Egyptian code of laws) from gaining finally all Lower and Middle Egypt. In 728 the Eth. Shabako, interfering again, defeated Bocchoris, burned him alive, and united Egypt under his rule. But the political division of Pathros under administration of the Eth. kings and of Mizraim under native rulers, which had lasted for some 70 years, was kept in memory by the Hebrews during the 7th cent. and even by Ezekiel (572 B.C.)

Ezk 29^{14} (after Egypt has been desolate for 40 years and its inhabitants exiled), ‘I will bring back the captivity of Egypt, and will cause them to return into (LXX, ‘will cause them to dwell in,’ perhaps better) the land of Pathros, into the land of their birth, and they shall be there a base kingdom.’ It is very remarkable to find in Ezekiel a knowledge of the correct Egyp. tradition concerning the priority of the Southern country over the North. The earliest known dynasties of kings resided in Memphis on the border of Upper and Lower Egypt, but the first historical king, Menes, came from This (Thinis) near Abydos in Upper Egypt. Therefore the inscriptions always place the South as the aboriginal country before the North. The issue of that prophecy is not quite clear. The downfall of Egypt's power and the loss of her independence for ever in 525 B.C., brought about by Cambyses, are a clear fulfilment. But we do not know of an independent Egyp. kingdom limited to Upper Egypt, except about 200 B.C., when the Egyptians, rebelling against the Greek kings (Ptolemy IV. and V.), held their own in the Thebaid for about 20 years. Ezekiel's words apparently require some less literal interpretation, which we cannot well give in our present state of knowledge. From Pathros the branch of the Egyptians came, called **Pathrusim** (Gn 10^{14}, LXX *οἱ Πατροσωνιείμ*).

W. MAX MÜLLER.

PATMOS (Πάτμος).—This island is once mentioned in the Bible, Rev 1^{9} ‘I John . . . was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus Christ.’ Patmos lies off the coast of Asia Minor, in 37° 20′ N. Lat. and 26° 35′ E. Long., and on the map has roughly the shape of a horse's head and neck, the nose pointing eastwards. It is about 10 miles long by N. and S., and 6 broad along its northern end. Its much indented coastline is 37 miles round; according to Pliny, 30 Roman miles. It consists of three main masses of volcanic hills which, at their highest point, Hagios Elias, rise to over 800 ft. In the Middle Ages its palms won it the name of Palmosa, but under Turkish rule its vegetation, trade, and inhabitants have nearly disappeared. The ancient capital occupied an isthmus connecting what are now called the inlets of La Scala and Merika. Its ruins are still visible, and the Cyclopean work of the citadel denotes great antiquity. The chief feature of the modern island is the monastery of St. John, dominating with its battlements the modern town, which lies a mile and a half south of La Scala, the landing-place. This monastery was founded in 1088 under Alexius Comnenus by St. Christodulos. Whether the 'cave of the apocalypse' halfway up the hillside, now shown as the spot at which St. John received his revelation, was already famous before that date, is not known. The monastery contains a poor remnant of the valuable library which was once there. Mai, in his *Nova Bibliotheca*, VI. ii. p. 537, has published from a Vatican MS a list of the books preserved there in the 13th cent. It was here that the English traveller E. D. Clark purchased of the monks, in Oct. 1814, the great 9th cent. codex of Plato now in the Bodleian. It remains to add that, according to an uncertain tradition preserved in Irenæus, v. 30; Eusebius, *HE* iii. 18; Hieronymus, *de Scr. Ill.* c. 9, and others, St. John was exiled to Patmos in the 14th year of the emperor Domitian, and returned thence to Ephesus A.D. 96 under Nerva. A modern traveller, Mr. Theodore Bent, has suggested that the natural scenery of the island determined some features of the imagery of the Apocalypse: a suggestion which Dean Stanley in his *Sermons in the East* had already made.

LITERATURE.—H. F. Tozer, *The Islands of the Ægean*, 1890, pp. 178–195; Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage*, Lyon, 1717; Walpole, *Turkey*, London, 1820, vol. ii. 43; E. D. Clark, *Travels*, London, 1818, vol. vi. ch. 2; Ross, *Reisen*, Stuttgart, 1840, vol. ii.; Guérin, *Description de l'Ile de Patmos*, Paris, 1856. Among ancient authorities Patmos is mentioned by Thucyd. iii. 33; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. 23; Strabo, bk. x. ch. 5.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

PATRIARCHS.—The discussion of this subject falls naturally into two parts, viz., a few general remarks, and a more detailed examination of the immense age ascribed to the individual members of this class.

i. *General Remarks.*—When the title 'patriarch' is applied to a biblical character, it is usually understood to mean one of the earliest fathers of the human race, or one of the three great progenitors of Israel, namely, Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob. In the NT it is extended so as to embrace the sons of Jacob (Ac $7^{8.9}$) and David (Ac 2^{29}). The LXX, from which the title comes, favours the less restricted use. At 1 Ch 24^{31} *πατριάρχαι* (Heb. רָאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת) are heads of the Levites; at 1 Ch 27^{22} *π. τῶν φυλῶν* 'Ισ. (שָׂרֵי שִׁבְטֵי יִשׂ׳) are the chief officials of the kingdom; at 2 Ch 19^{8} *τῶν π.* 'Ισ. (רָאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת לְיִשׂ׳) are leading men, fit to serve as judges; at 2 Ch 23^{20} *τοὺς π.* (שָׂרֵי הַמֵּאוֹת) are the captains of hundreds; at 2 Ch 26^{12} *π. τῶν δυνατῶν* (רָאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת לְגִבּוֹרֵי חָיִל) are officers in Uzziah's army; 4 Mac 7^{19} speaks of *οἱ π. ἡμῶν* 'Αβ. 'Ισ. 'Ιακώβ, and 4 Mac 16^{25} of 'Αβ. *καὶ* 'Ισ. *καὶ* 'Ιακ., *καὶ πάντες οἱ π.* In this article we shall not need to say anything about the later patriarchs: for them the articles ABRAHAM, etc., should be consulted. We have to deal only with two classes—the antediluvian patriarchs, and those who are placed between the Flood and the birth of Abraham.

Of the former we possess two lists: a Cainite, in Gn $4^{17.18}$, ascribed to J; and a Sethite, Gn 5^{3-31}, the work of P. They cover the same ground, Lamech being the *terminus ad quem* in both cases; but the former begins with Cain, the latter with Seth. They run as follows:—

Gn $4^{17.18}$	Gn 5^{3-31}
Cain	Seth
Enoch	Enosh
Irad	Kenan
Mehujael	Mahalalel
Methushael	Jared
Lamech	Enoch
	Methuselah
	Lamech

The editors to whom we owe the Book of Genesis in its present form evidently understood the Lamech of ch. 4 to be the same person as the Lamech of ch. 5. Yet one and the same man cannot have been the descendant in the direct line of two individuals so sharply distinguished from each other as Cain and Seth. And there is a striking similarity between some of the names on the one side and on the other, compelling us to conclude that P altered Irad into Jared, Mehujael into Mahalalel, Methushael into Methuselah. See, further, the separate articles on these names.

The 11th chapter of Genesis carries us from the Flood to the birth of Abraham. MT and Sam. have here a list of nine names: LXX (followed by Lk 3^{36}), obviously for the sake of reaching the number ten, as in Gn 5, inserts Cainan between Arpachshad and Shelah, and attributes to him precisely the same age at the birth of his firstborn and at death as to Shelah. Many of the names in this genealogy have been identified (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*) as those of localities in Mesopotamia.

There is much to be said for Ryle's conclusion respecting the patriarchs as a whole: 'Perhaps we should not be far wrong in regarding them as constituting a group of demigods or heroes, whose names, in the earliest days of Hebrew tradition, filled up the blank between the creation of man and the age of the Israelite patriarchs. Such a group would be in accordance with the analogy of the primitive legends of other races. The removal of every taint of polytheistic superstition, the presentation of these names as the names of ordinary human beings, would be the work of the Israelite narrator' (*Early Narratives of Gen.* p. 81). In such purification of derived material we see inspiration at work.

For more particulars see articles ARPACHSHAD, etc.

ii. *Longevity of the Patriarchs.*—A notable difference between J and P is, that the former (Gn $4^{17.18}$), if he furnishes anything beyond a name, connects with it an interesting statement; whilst the latter (Gn 5. 11) gives the age at which each patriarch begat his firstborn son, and that at which he died. The figures mentioned for the second of these events are so high that, if they had been found anywhere but in the Bible, we should have dismissed them as inventions. We do not trouble to inquire whether the first seven Egyptian kings reigned in all 12,300 years, or whether any credence is due to Ephorus and Nicolaus, who, as Josephus (*Ant.* I. iii. 9) says, 'relate that the ancients lived a thousand years.' And the attempts hitherto made to vindicate P's numbers are powerless to carry conviction.

There is no sufficient historical evidence to show that in earlier ages or under more favourable conditions human life has been prolonged to anything like 900 years. Delitzsch would have liked to make a point of this, but it is nothing to the purpose when he quotes (*New Comm. on Gen.* p. 212) Becker's statement that 'a lifetime of 150 is not uncommon in the snow mountains of South Dagestan.' Prichard (*Nat. Hist. of Man*, p. 653) is inclined to accept Easton's tables, according to which three Europeans have attained the age of between 170 and 180, two between 160 and 170, and so on. Yet, even if this were so, it falls far short of the mark. The human frame, as men have known it in historical times, is not calculated to last 200 years, to say nothing of 900. And there is no more reason for believing that its vigour gradually declined during and after the days of the grey forefathers of the race, than there is for accepting the Talmudic absurdity that the first man reached from earth to heaven, but after his sin the Holy One laid His hands upon him and made him little (*Chag.* 12*a*). Gn 6^{3b} has been adduced as marking a turning-point at which the deterioration began. But this clause is either a gloss, explanatory of the preceding words (Wellh.), or, more probably, it has been transposed from its original position in the story of the Fall (Budde).

In any case it will not serve the purpose for which it is brought forward. It precedes the account of the Flood. But Gn 11 does not limit the patriarchs after the Flood to 120 years: Shem lives 600 years; Arpachshad, 438, etc.

When it is said that 'the numbers 930, 912, 905, etc., designate epochs of antediluvian history, which are named after their chief representatives' (Del. *New Comm. on Gen.* p. 213), it must be remembered, on the other hand, that this was not P's meaning. To him Methuselah and the rest were individual men who actually attained the age with which he credits them. And under the same heading of arbitrary attempts to vindicate the trustworthiness of the figures must be classed the suggestion that the year was not one of 12 months' duration, but of 1 or 2 or 3 or 4 or 6. שָׁנָה 'year,' in the Bible, has only one signification, the ordinary one.

Are these desperate attempts necessary? Our answer might conceivably have been in the affirmative if there had been no uncertainty about the numbers themselves. But the three authorities, the MT, the Sam., and the LXX, are hopelessly disagreed. To see this, it needs but a glance at the two following tables, which are reproduced mainly from Holzinger's *Gen.* pp. 61, 115:—

TABLE I.

FROM GN 5.

	MT.			SAMARITAN.			LXX.			YEAR A.M. IN WHICH HE DIED.		
	Birth of First-born.	Remainder of Life.	Total.	Birth of First-born.	Remainder of Life.	Total.	Birth of First-born.	Remainder of Life.	Total.	MT.	Sam.	LXX.
1. Adam . .	130	800	930	130	800	930	230	700	930	930	930	930
2. Seth . .	105	807	912	105	807	912	205	707	912	1042	1042	1142
3. Enosh . .	90	815	905	90	815	905	190	715	905	1140	1140	1340
4. Kenan . .	70	840	910	70	840	910	170	740	910	1235	1235	1535
5. Mahalalel .	65	830	895	65	830	895	165	730	895	1290	1290	1690
6. Jared . .	162	800	962	62	785	847	162	800	962	1422	1307	1922
7. Enoch . .	65	300	365	65	300	365	165	200	365	987	887	1487
8. Methuselah .	187	782	969	67	653	720	187	782	969	1656	1307	2256
							[Luc. 167	802]				
9. Lamech .	182	595	777	53	600	653	188	565	753	1651	1307	2227
												[Luc. 2207]
10. Noah . .	500	..	(950)	500	..	(950)	500	..	(950)	..	..	..
To the Flood .	100	..	..	100	..	..	100	..	..	..	..	..
Year of the Flood	1656	..	..	1307	..	..	2262	[Luc. 2242]		..	..	..

TABLE II.

FROM GN 11.

	MT.			SAMARITAN.			LXX.		
	Birth of First-born.	Remainder of Life.	Total.	Birth of First-born.	Remainder of Life.	Total.	Birth of First-born.	Remainder of Life.	Total.
1. Shem	100	500	600	100	500	600	100	500	600
2. Arpachshad	35	403	438	135	303	438	135	430	565
[Καινάν	..	..	..	..	..	..	130	330	460]
3. Shelah	30	403	433	130	303	433	130	330	460
4. Eber	34	430	464	134	270	404	134	370	504
		[Ball 370	404]						
5. Peleg	30	209	239	130	109	239	130	209	339
							[Luc. 134]		[Luc. 343]
6. Reu	32	207	239	132	107	239	132	207	339
7. Serug	30	200	230	130	100	230	130	200	330
8. Nahor	29	119	148	79	69	148	79	129	208
								[Luc. 125	204]
9. Terah	70	135	205	70	75	145	70	135	205
Total	390	..	..	1040	..	..	1170 [Luc. 1174]		..
From Flood to Birth of Abraham	290	..	..	940	..	..	1070 years		..

The slightest inspection of Table I. shows that the discrepancies are not due to accident. The regularity with which the LXX advances the age of the father at the birth of his first son by 100 years betrays purpose. The manipulation of MT and Sam., so that, although they do not agree as to the year after the Creation in which Methuselah died, they yet, both of them, date his death in the year of the Flood, is equally significant. The date of the Flood in MT, 1656, is obtained by adding the remaining 349 years of Noah's life to the 1307 of the Samaritan. Our documentary authorities, therefore, did not pay blind respect to the numbers which they found before them.

Budde (*Urgeschichte*, ch. iv.), followed by more recent writers, has endeavoured to show that the Sam., by dating the death of Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech in the same year as the Flood, meant to imply that they perished in that catastrophe. He also sees in the names of these patriarchs indications of sinfulness and degeneracy. But the etymology is too uncertain to justify the latter inference (see the new *Oxford Heb. Lexicon*, and also the name list in Ball's *Light from the East*).

The list in ch. 11 is still more evidently artificial. In all three authorities the purpose is to indicate a gradual diminution of longevity from 600 to 200 years, thus preparing the way for the still shorter lifetime of Abraham and his successors. The LXX, by adding 100 to each of the earlier lives, after the first, makes the slope more gradual. The Sam., by adding 100 to the age at the birth of the firstborn, avoids the startling transition from 100 in Shem's case to 35, 30, etc., in the succeeding ones. This version also, to escape the apparent inconsistency between the supposition that Abraham's begetting a son when 100 years old is a miracle, and the statement that 130 was the ordinary age for this in the preceding cases, has the 79 and 70 of the LXX for Nahor and Terah. As an example of the freedom with which the MT treated this matter, the instance of Terah may be cited. The Sam. gives him 145 years: this would make Abraham leave Haran immediately on his father's death. But Gn 12^{1} relates that Abraham was called to leave his father's house. Hence the 205 years ascribed to Terah in the MT: according to it, Terah survived his son's departure 60 years. Finally, we must note the startling discrepancy between the 290 years of MT, the 940 of Sam., and the 1070 of LXX, as the length of the period from the Flood to the Birth of Abraham.

In endeavouring to account for these extraordinary figures we must never forget that we owe them to P. The earlier documents, J and E, show no trace of anything similar. It is P, too, who attributes to Abraham 175 years, to Isaac 180, to Jacob 147; and, when compelled to limit Moses to 120, seems to think his comparatively early decease requires comment: 'his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.' The periods determined by such landmarks as Creation, Flood, Birth of Abraham, needed to be filled up. P was especially attracted by names and numbers. The names were supplied by tradition. We have no evidence to prove that a definite number was attached to each of these names. But we do know that in ancient times the belief prevailed that human life had formerly been prolonged far beyond the limits which have since been familiar. Hesiod asserts that in the Silver Age childhood lasted 130 years. A Hebrew prophet (Is 65^{20}), picturing the Messianic future in colours drawn from popular ideas respecting the far-distant past, predicts that 'the child shall die an hundred years old' (on this passage see *Expos. Times*, Nov. 1899, p. 61).

LITERATURE. — Besides the best Commentaries on Genesis, Budde's *Urgeschichte* is helpful. See also Ryle's *Early Narratives of Genesis*, and the art. CHRONOLOGY OF THE OT in the first vol. of this Dictionary. J. TAYLOR.

PATROBAS (Πατρόβας).—The name of a member of the Roman Church greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16^{14}. It is a shortened form of *Patrobius*. The name was borne by a well-known freedman of Nero, who was put to death by Galba (Tac. *Hist.* i. 49, ii. 95), and occurs in inscriptions (Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 175). Patrobas is commemorated on Nov. 4, and all later legends about him will be found in *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov., vol. ii. 1, p. 222. A. C. HEADLAM.

PATROCLUS (Πάτροκλος).—The father of the Syrian general Nicanor (2 Mac 8^{9}).

PATTERN.—Various words are so rendered. **1.** תַּבְנִית *tabhnîth* [from *bānah*, to build], the shape of a thing, elsewhere tr. 'example' or 'ensample,' 'figure,' 'form,' etc., is tr. 'pattern' in Ex. $25^{9\,bis.\,40}$, Jos 22^{28}, 2 K 16^{10}, 1 Ch $28^{11.\,12.\,18.\,19}$, in reference to the model or idea (lit. 'construction') of the tabernacle, etc. **2.** תָּכְנִית *tokhnith* [fr. *tākhan*, to regulate, adjust, used in Job 28^{25}, Is $40^{12.\,13}$ of God's work 'in ordering creation by weight or measure'] occurs only in Ezk 28^{12} (of the symmetry or perfection of the prince of Tyre [see Davidson, *in loc.*], AV and RV 'sum,' RVm '*Or* measure, *or* pattern'), and 43^{10} (of the idea of the temple before building, AV and RV 'pattern,' AVm '*Or* sum *or* number,' RVm '*Or* sum'). **3.** מַרְאֶה *mar'eh* [fr. *rā'ah*, to see], a sight, the appearance of something, is tr. 'pattern' in Nu 8^{4} 'According unto the pattern which the Lord had showed Moses.' **4.** ὁμοίωμα [fr. ὅμοιος, ὁμός, *similis*, same], something made like some other thing, a copy, is in Sir 38^{28} tr. 'pattern,' 'His eyes look still upon the pattern of the thing that he maketh,' Gr. κατέναντι ὁμοιώματος σκεύους. **5.** τύπος, which is both the model and 'copy' (see FIGURE, § 3), is tr. 'pattern' in Tit 2^{7} (RV 'ensample'), He 8^{5} (quot. from Ex 25^{40}). The meaning is clearly image, an idea before one in the formation of character (Tit 2^{7}) or of the tabernacle (He 8^{5}), not copy. Cf. Hall, *Works*, ii. 148, 'There must be much caution used in our imitation of the best patternes, (whether in respect of the persons or things;) else we shall make our selves apes, and our acts sinful absurdities.' **6.** ὑποτύπωσις in 1 Ti 1^{16}, AV 'pattern,' RV 'ensample,' but in 2 Ti 1^{13} (its only other occurrence) AV 'form,' RV 'pattern.' It is an outline or sketch under one's eye. **7.** ὑπόδειγμα, like τύπος, is used for both the model and the copy, and in the only place where it is rendered 'pattern,' He 9^{23} (as well as in 8^{5}, where it is tr. 'example,' RV 'copy'), the meaning is clearly copy or representation: He 9^{23} 'It was therefore necessary that the patterns (RV 'copies') of things in the heavens should be purified with these; but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these.' But in 1611 this tr. was quite legitimate, as 'pattern' then was used for both the exemplar and its copy. Trench (*On AV of NT*, p. 118 f.) denies this; but there are unmistakable examples in Shaks. as well as elsewhere. Thus *I Henry VI.* V. v. 65—

> 'For what is wedlock forced but a hell,
> An age of discord and continual strife?
> Whereas the contrary bringeth bliss,
> And is a pattern of celestial peace.'

So *Othello*, V. ii. 11—

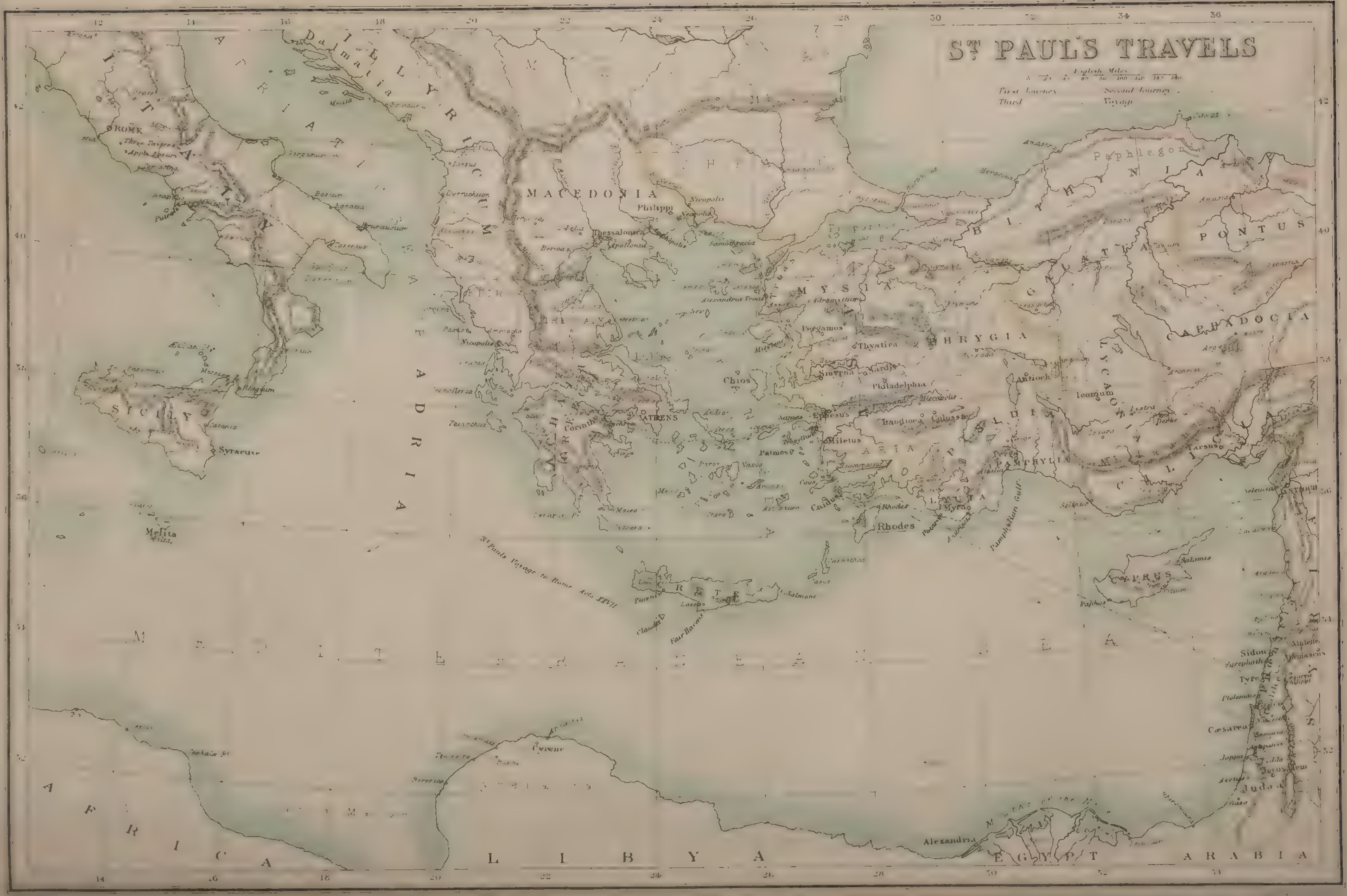
> 'Thou cunning'st pattern of excelling nature.'

See also *Henry V.* II. iv. 61, *Lucrece* 1350, *Lover's Complaint*, 170; and cf. *Book of Homilies* (1573), 'where most rebellions and rebels be, there is the express similitude of hell; and the rebels themselves are the very figures of fiends and devils, and their captain the ungracious pattern of Lucifer and Satan, the prince of darkness.' J. HASTINGS.

PAU.—See PAI.

PAUL THE APOSTLE.—

i. THE LIFE.
  1. BIRTH AND TRAINING:
    Autobiographical Notes; Personal Names; Jewish nature, Greek environment, Roman citizenship—influence of Tarsus, of Jerusalem and Gamaliel.
  2. IDIOSYNCRASY:
    Mental gifts, Physical constitution, Emotional temperament; the χαρίσματα; the σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί.
  3. CONVERSION:
    The Root of Paul's Doctrine; Narratives of the Acts; Allusions of the Epp.; Internal antecedents; Actual Appearance of Jesus; Sequel of the Conversion.
  4. MISSIONARY CAREER,—dating from Conversion; the Vision in Jerusalem:
    (*a*) *First Period, of Apprenticeship:* Tarsus and Cilicia.
    (*b*) *Second Period, of Co-operation with Barnabas and First Missionary Tour:* Syrian Antioch, Relief of Famine in Judæa; Cyprus (Sergius Paulus, Elymas), Behaviour of John Mark;


St PAUL'S TRAVELS
English Miles
First Journey
Second Journey
Third
Voyage
ITALIA
ROME
Three Taverns
Appii Forum
Puteoli
Rhegium
SICILY
Syracuse
Melita
ILLYRICUM
Dalmatia
MACEDONIA
Philippi
Neapolis
Thessalonica
Apollonia
Berea
Samothracia
ADRIA
Nicopolis
ACHAIA
Corinth
Cenchrea
ATHENS
Alexandria Troas
MYSIA
Adramyttium
Pergamos
Thyatira
Chios
Smyrna
Sardis
Philadelphia
Hierapolis
Laodicea
Colossae
Samos
Ephesus
Miletus
Patmos
ASIA
Cnidus
Rhodes
Patara
Myra
LYCIA
PAMPHYLIA
Perga
Attalia
Pamphylian Gulf
PISIDIA
Antioch
PHRYGIA
GALATIA
BITHYNIA
Paphlagonia
PONTUS
CAPPADOCIA
LYCAONIA
Iconium
Lystra
Derbe
CILICIA
Tarsus
Seleucia
ANTIOCH
CYPRUS
Salamis
Paphos
CRETE
Phenice
Lasea
Fair Havens
Clauda
Salmone
St Pauls Voyage to Rome Acts XXVII
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Sidon
Damascus
Tyre
Ptolemais
Caesarea
Joppa
Jerusalem
JUDAEA
Gaza
Cyrene
LIBYA
AFRICA
Alexandria
EGYPT
ARABIA

S. Galatian cities (Speeches at Pisidian Antioch and Lystra); 'Door of Faith opened to the Gentiles,' Growing Ascendency of Paul; Council at Jerusalem.

- (c) *Third Period, of Established Leadership; Second Missionary Tour:* Silas and Timothy; 'The Phrygian and Galatian Country'; Meeting with Luke and crossing to Macedonia—Work at Philippi, Thessalonica, Berœa; Preaching at Athens; Founding of Corinthian Church; Thessalonian Epistles.
- (d) *Fourth Period, of Judaistic Controversy; Third Missionary Tour:* Collision with Peter at Antioch; Anti-Pauline campaign of the Legalists; Journey to and Mission in Ephesus; Communications with Corinth—the two Epp.; the Collection for Jerusalem; Severe Illness; Journey in Macedonia; Epp. to Galatians and Romans; Sojourn at Corinth; Reception at Jerusalem.
- (e) *Fifth Period, of Imprisonment in Cæsarea and Rome:* Assault of the Jews in the Temple; Apprehension and Trials of Paul; Appeal to Cæsar; Voyage to Rome; Probable Acquittal and Release; Epistles of the First Captivity; Paul at Rome.
- (f) *Sixth Period, of Last Journeyings, Renewed Imprisonment, and Martyrdom:* Data for this Period; Revisitation of old Churches; Voyage to Spain; Movements indicated in 1 and 2 Ti and Titus; Character of Pastoral Epistles; Tradition of Paul's Death.

5. CHRONOLOGY:
   Fixed Datum of Ac 12; Gal 2^{1}, and Ac 11. 12 or 15; Year of Paul's Conversion; Year of Voyage to Jerusalem (Ac 20); Space for the Last Period; Harnack's Chronological Scheme.

ii. THE DOCTRINE.

INTRODUCTION:
Nature of Paul's Writings; Modern Analyses—Baur, Holtzmann, Pfleiderer, The Dutch School, Reuss and A. Sabatier, Beyschlag, A. B. Bruce, Somerville, G. B. Stevens; OT Antecedents and Starting-point.

1. DOCTRINE OF GOD:
   - (a) *The Fatherhood of God:* Basis of Paulinism in the Teaching of Jesus; Supremacy of Grace.
   - (b) *The Righteousness of God:* its relations to Fatherhood and Grace.
   - (c) *The Anger of God.*
   - (d) *The Law of God:* Double sense of the term in Paul.
2. DOCTRINE OF MAN:
   - (a) *The Constitution of Mankind:* The Image of God; Solidarity of the Race; Man and Woman.
   - (b) *Spirit and Flesh:* General and Specific Sense; Flesh and Sin; Heredity of Sin; the First and Second Man.
   - (c) *Sin and Death.*
   - (d) *History of the Race:* the Two Ages; the Heathen World; the Discipline of Israel; the Fulness of the Times.
3. DOCTRINE OF CHRIST AND OF SALVATION:
   - (a) *The Person of Christ:* Recognized in Paul's Conversion; God's 'Own Son'; 'the Lord'; Preexistence of Christ; Christ and the Human Race; Christ and the Curse of Sin.
   - (b) *The Death of the Cross:* central to Paul's teaching; representative, justifying, propitiatory, reconciling, sanctifying; Juristic and Ethical Theories.
   - (c) *The New Life of Faith:* Nature and Implications of Faith; the Resurrection of Christ and the *Unio Mystica*; Filial Adoption.
4. DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT:
   - (a) *God Immanent:* the Teaching of Jesus and of Paul; the Spirit in the Heart.
   - (b) *The Spiritual Man:* Progressive Sanctification; Holiness and the Ethical Life.
   - (c) *The Communion of the Spirit.*
   - (d) *The Earnest of the Inheritance.*
5. DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH:
   - (a) *The Body of Christ:* Expansion of Paul's Idea of the Ecclesia; the Church no temporal Institute.
   - (b) *The Brotherhood:* Love, and the Works of Faith.
   - (c) *The Charismata:* Edification, Church-meetings, and Administration.
   - (d) *Baptism and the Lord's Supper:* relative to Christ, and to the Church; Picture-signs, and Covenant-signs.
   - (e) *Church Organization:* Development within the Epistles; Charismatic and Clerical, Missionary and Local Ministries; the Apostolate; no 'Model' of Church-government.
6. DOCTRINE OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD:
   Based on the Jewish conception, as spiritualized by Jesus; Eschatological in outlook.
   - (a) *The Divine Sovereignty:* Election and Foreknowledge; the Call of Believers.
   - (b) *The Enemies of God:* Satan, Evil Spirits; the Kingdom of Darkness; the Final Struggle.
   - (c) *The Consummation:* (α) The Moral Perfection of Christians; (β) The Resurrection of the Body; (γ) The Intermediate State; (δ) The Second Coming of the Lord Jesus—the *Dénoûment* of Human History.

i. THE LIFE OF ST. PAUL.—1. *Birth and Training.* 'I am a Jewish man, a Tarsian of Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city (Ac 21^{39}) . . . brought up at the feet of Gamaliel in this city [Jerusalem], trained in the strict way of the law of our fathers, full from the first (ὑπάρχων) of zeal for God' (22^{3}); 'Whom I serve from my forefathers in a pure conscience' (2 Ti 1^{3}); 'Circumcised on the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew sprung from Hebrews, in respect of the law a Pharisee, in respect of zeal a persecutor of the Church, in respect of legal righteousness showing myself blameless' (Ph 3$^{5.6}$, 2 Co 11^{22}, Ro 4^{1} 9^{3} 11^{1}, Ac 23^{6}); 'I made proficiency in Judaism beyond many of my contemporaries, being more extreme than they in zeal for my ancestral traditions' (Gal 1^{14}, Ac 26$^{4.5}$); at the same time, a 'Roman' and so 'born' (Ac 22$^{26-28}$, 16^{37}). Thus much we learn from St. Paul about himself. [On the genuineness of the speeches see art. ACTS OF APOSTLES]. Jerome (*de Vir. Illustr.* 5; *ad Philem.* 23), who knew Palestine, has a tradition that St. Paul was born at *Gischala* in Galilee, 'quo a Romanis capto cum parentibus suis Tarsum Ciliciæ commigravit'; Krenkel (*Beiträge z. Aufhellung d. Geschichte u. d. Briefe d. Ap. P.* § 1) prefers this story to the statement of Paul's Tarsian origin in the Acts, insisting that a 'Hebrew sprung from Hebrews' signifies one born in Palestine. The above condition was fulfilled, however, if St. Paul's family retained the native traditions; and Jerome's tale, besides its gross anachronism, is too late and isolated to weigh against that of St. Luke. A modicum of truth there may be in it: Gischala may have been the old domicile of the family (tradition is tenacious on this point), which in any case had emigrated not many generations before Paul's birth, for it was still 'Hebrew' in home-speech and spirit. Hence Saul is sent in his boyhood for education to Jerusalem; in later years he had a 'sister's son' residing there (Ac 23$^{16-22}$). The Cilician Jews kept up a close connexion with the mother city, where they appear to have had a synagogue of their own (Ac 6^{9}); they distinguished themselves by patriotic bravery in the siege of Jerusalem. The wealth of Paul's father we may fairly infer from the education given him (see Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, etc., pp. 31, 310, 312); his occupation as a tent-maker is no disproof of this, for well-to-do Jews wisely taught their sons some handicraft. His mother's piety is implied in Gal 1^{14}; comp. the sympathetic allusions of 2 Ti 1^{5} 3^{15}.

He was named **Saul** (*Σαῦλος* in Acts where spoken of, *Σαούλ* where spoken to), presumably after the hero-king of his tribe (Ac 9^{1} etc., 13^{1} etc.; cf. 13^{31}). But his Hebrew name (*Σαῦλος* has, moreover, in Greek, the ridiculous sense of 'waddling') is displaced in Acts by the Roman cognomen *Paul* (*Παῦλος*, *Paulus*, 'little') from the time the apostle enters on his wider career and meets Roman society. With the Heb.-Rom. *Saul-Paul* compare *John-Mark* (Ac 15^{37}), *Jesus-Justus* (Col 4^{11}), also *Flavius-Josephus.* The change of name occurs in Luke's narrative on the occasion of the conversion of Sergius *Paulus*, proconsul of Cyprus—a coincidence suggesting to many, after Origen (*Comment. ad Rom., præfat.*), Jerome (*ad Philem.* 1: 'a primo ecclesiæ spolio, proconsule Sergio Paulo, victoriæ suæ trophæa retulit erexitque vexillum'), Augustine (*Confess.* viii. 4), that St. Paul took his apostolic name from this conquest—a proceeding in bad taste, and on other accounts improbable. If Paulus was a personal name, it might have been due to the bearer's littleness; Saulos perhaps suggested it by resemblance of sound (Renan): so *Jesus-Jason*, *Joseph-Hegesippus*, etc. (but these combinations are Heb.-Greek, not Latin). Others explain it as an epithet, self-assumed in humility (cf. 1 Co 15^{9}), or conferred by way of contrast with Elymas (Ac $13^{8.9}$) overcome by the apostle as Goliath by *little* David (Lange); or as derived from a Hebrew root—*sc.* פָּעַל = '*wrought* (by God),' or the like. But these conjectures are needless. With his Roman citizenship Paul inherited a Latin name; and *Paulus* was a cognomen not uncommon in Roman families, borne, *e.g.*, by the great Æmilian gens. What his Roman *gentile* name (or *nomen* proper) and prænomen were, never appears. The low stature which, according to good tradition (*Acta Pauli et Theclæ*, 3; see Ramsay's *Ch. in the Rom. Emp.*^{5} p. 32; cf. 2 Co $10^{1.2.10}$), distinguished Paul, may have been a family trait suggesting the sobriquet, as in other instances. The apostle was 'Paulus' to Romans, Παῦλος amongst Greeks, while he was 'Saul' to his fellow Jews and at Jerusalem. As 'Saul, Saul,' in his mother-speech, the voice of Jesus addressed him (Ac 26^{14}). See, further, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, etc. p. 81 ff.; and Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 184 ff.

In this apostle, Jew, Greek, and Roman met. The *Jew* in him was the foundation of everything that Paul became. He was 'Jew' (Judæan in nationality and education), 'Israelite' (in descent and creed), 'Hebrew' (in language and tradition). The current Hebrew (*i.e.* Aramaic) of Palestine was spoken in his father's house; and his student days gave him the mastery of it which enabled him to address the multitude of Jerusalem in their vernacular (Ac 22^{2}) and to make himself everywhere 'to the Jews as a Jew' (1 Co 9^{20}). His OT quotations, though based on the LXX, occasionally indicate the knowledge of the ancient Hebrew which the pupil of Gamaliel must have possessed. No man more highly prized the privileges of Israel, or more fervently believed in its Divine election (Ro $3^{1.2}$ $9^{4.5}$ 11. 15^{8}, Ph 3^{7}); no man more passionately loved his Jewish kin (Ro 9^{1-5} 11^{14}); none had drunk more deeply at the springs of OT revelation. As a Christian and a Gentile apostle Paul claimed to be the truer Israelite, for he was carrying out 'the promise of God to the fathers' (Ac $13^{32.33}$ 24^{14}, Gal 3^{7-14} 6^{16}, 2 Co 11^{22}, Ro $4^{16.17}$ 9^{4-6} 10^{4} 15^{8-12}); imprisoned in pursuance of his calling, he was 'wearing this chain for the hope of Israel' (Ac $26^{6.7}$ 28^{20}).

Bearing in his Pharisaic youth all the weight of its yoke, Saul had proved the impotence of the law as a means of justification before God, and the hopelessness of Israel's attempts to win through its observance the Messianic salvation (Ac $13^{33.39}$, Ro 4^{13-15} 7^{5-25} 8^{3} 9^{31}–10^{4}, Gal $2^{15.16}$ 3^{10-25} $5^{2.3}$, 1 Co 15^{56} etc.). This was the chief gain of Paul's apprenticeship to Mosaism: 'through law I died to law'; the law acted as a relentless spur on Saul's sensitive conscience; it was his παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν, driving him from itself to the gospel of Jesus even while, in its fancied interests, he was His persecutor (Ac 26^{14}). Thus Paul's legalistic rearing was an essential negative preparation for his conversion and apostleship. But it contributed thereto in a positive sense. At Rabban Gamaliel's feet (see art. GAMALIEL) he learnt much that never left him. Paul's theological method and style, and use of Scripture, are Rabbinical of the purest age. The most fruitful recent expositions of his teaching (such as Sanday-Headlam's *Romans*, Pfleiderer's *Paulinismus*,^{2} and Kabisch's *Eschatologie*) draw their best illustrations from Jewish theology. In several of his doctrines, notably that of original sin and of the resurrection (Ac 23^{6-9} $24^{14.15}$ 26^{8}), Paul continued a Pharisee. As against the sceptical, minimizing Sadducees, his sympathies were always with his early comrades (Ro 10^{2}). He had an intimate knowledge, both practical and theoretical, of the ground of the legalistic controversy, on which he was to play a decisive part. He brought with him to the Christian camp the resources of a trained Jewish jurist, a skilled Rabbinical scholar and disputant. He was the one man qualified to effect the transition in doctrine and institutions from the old faith to the new, to transplant Christianity, without destroying any of its roots, from the ancient soil of Judaism into the wide and rich field ready for it in the Gentile world. This transition had been virtually effected in his own conversion to Christ. Hausrath questions the account in Acts of his studentship under Gamaliel at Jerusalem (*Der Ap. Paulus*, i. 3), on the ground of Gamaliel's mildness and Paul's severity of temper; but Paul was a zealot, Gamaliel a moderate, by temperament.

St. Paul's education and native bent were strongly Palestinian and Pharisaic. But he could not help acquiring knowledge of the broader Hellenizing theology that had spread from Alexandria amongst the Greek Diaspora, with which Apollos (Ac 18^{24}) and the writer of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* were imbued. He used freely the Book of *Wisdom*, which emanated from this school. In Col 1^{12-20} (written, however, after Paul had met with Apollos) he shows his mastery of the theosophic speculations of the Alexandrian (and Essenic) Jewish teachers; and his language appears to indicate some literary contact with his elder contemporary Philo (see Lightfoot and Klöpper on *Col. ad loc.*, and Jowett's Essay on 'St. Paul and Philo' in his *Epp. of St. Paul*). Paul's use of types and allegory may have been learnt from his masters at Jerusalem.

St. Paul's *Tarsian birth and Roman citizenship* secured to him an outfit for the Gentile apostleship such as no mere Palestinian Jew could possess. When Krenkel (as referred to above) contests the former point, and Hausrath (*op. cit.* p. 19), with Renan and others, the latter, they show undeserved distrust of the Acts; and they deny to Paul the status and equipment indispensable for his mission to the Græco-Roman world (see Lightf. *Bibl. Essays*, iv.). Of his Gentile connexions, along with his Jewish antecedents, the apostle was thinking when he spoke of God as 'having marked me out [for my life-mission] from my mother's womb' (Gal 1^{15}). The Rabbinical student of Jerusalem was first a Jewish boy in the streets of a heathen city, and his home continued to be there (he was certainly absent from Jerusalem during the visits of Jesus). St. Paul's insight into the moral working of idolatry, and his ready appreciation of Gentile sentiment, speak for this. He is everywhere at home in the synagogues of the Dispersion. In the Græco-Asiatic Tarsus (see art. TARSUS) the products of East and West met, ships of all countries lay at its wharves—a place to stir in an impressionable child thoughts and dreams of the wide world, and to impart an instinctive aptitude for mixing with all sorts of men. In Saul's nature Greek versatility was blended with Jewish tenacity.

Tarsus was the capital of Cilicia, then incorporated in the province of Syria. This city issued fortunately from the troubles of the Roman civil wars, receiving the title of *metropolis* and the immunities of an *urbs libera* (Dio Chrys., *Orat.* 2; Pliny, *HN* v. 27; cf. Ac 21^{39}); it had therefore its *ecclesia*, its elective magistrates and local jurisdiction; and Paul's father doubtless held the municipal along with the imperial franchise. This environment made Saul a citizen of the world, while he was a Jewish scholar and devotee. His mental imagery is not gathered, like that of Jesus, from the fields and the face of nature; where not borrowed from the OT, we trace it to the Jewish household and synagogue within doors, and out of doors to the streets, the agora, the stadium, the temples, the traffic of a Greek seaport town. Such cities Paul sought by predilection; their society was his native element. The contact of Jew and Gentile gave the apostle his point of vantage; and he found his main constituency in the large circle of piously disposed men and women of Greek culture attracted to the Hellenistic synagogues. Tarsus was at this period a university town of the highest repute (Strabo, xiv. 10. 13–15; Philostratus, *Apollonius*, i. 7); it sent out distinguished professors of the Stoic philosophy, and afterwards of Roman law. Strict Jewish families held aloof from the Greek schools, and Paul's style bears scarcely any trace of classical discipline; his Greek is the κοινὴ of the Levantine shores, enriched with Hebraisms of the LXX and the Synagogue and adapted to the new Christian ideas with creative originality. The citations he makes from Greek authors are of a popular, proverbial stamp (Ac 17^{28}, 1 Co 15^{32}, Tit 1^{12}). Passages like 1 Co 1^{20} and Col 2^{8} indicate St. Paul's contempt for the empty sophistic and meretricious show into which philosophy had degenerated. Tarsus was a conspicuous arena for such display, and must often have witnessed scenes resembling that in which Paul himself took so ready a part in Athens (Ac $17^{17ff.}$). At the same time St. Paul could not but receive intellectual stimulus, if only by way of aversion, from such a theatre of mental activity. His master Gamaliel is said to have encouraged Greek studies. Especially when Saul returned home after his conversion (Ac 9^{30} 11^{25}, Gal 1^{21}), with his mission to the heathen definitely in view, we cannot suppose that he failed to use the facilities afforded by his native city for studying the Gentile thought of the day (see Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 354). His address to the Areopagus shows that the apostle, when he chose, could become a philosopher to the philosophers. The parallels in thought between St. Paul's ethics and those of Seneca and the Stoics (see the Essay *ad rem* in Lightfoot's *Philippians*) are, however, scarcely closer than may be accounted for by the Stoical ideas in the air and by the unconscious sympathy with the nascent Christian faith existing in high-minded Gentile thinkers of the age.

In regard to *form and expression*, it is likely that Paul learnt something from the schools of his native town. 'In general, the Epp. of St. Paul stand much nearer to the forms of the Cynic and Stoic *diatribê*, as regards their methods and the complexion of their speech, than to the involved Rabbinical dialectic. Recent investigations on the subject (Wendland u. Kern, *Beiträge z. Geschichte d. griech. Philos. u. Relig.* pp. 3–75, *Philo u. d. kynisch-stoische Diatribe*) bring this relationship increasingly into light': so Heinrici, Vorrede to 1 Co in *Krit.-exeg. Kommentar*^{8} (Meyer); also Canon Hicks' Paper on 'St. Paul and Hellenism' in *Stud. Bibl.* iv.

From Tarsus Paul carried off, if not a scholarly Greek training, at least his trade of **tent-making** (Ac 18^{3}). Tarsus was a centre for the manufacture of *cilicium*, the coarse goats' hair fabric of the district, famed for its durability, of which shoes, mats, and coverings of all kinds were made; and the boy Saul was taught this local handicraft. An industry everywhere in demand, this craft supplied him in his wandering apostleship with a means of livelihood, laborious and irksome enough, but adequate for his scanty needs (1 Th 2^{9}, 2 Th 3^{8-10}, 1 Co 9^{6-18} etc.). 'These hands,' as Paul held them up, rough and black with stitching at the hard canvas, told their tale of stern independence and self-denial (Ac 20^{33-35}).

Of *Roman law* Paul had the knowledge qualifying him to exercise his valued rights as a citizen of the Empire. This discipline contributed to his large Christian apprehension of 'law' as a universal Divine institute, which has its nearest analogue in the Roman *jus gentium*. His prominent doctrine of *Adoption* (υἱοθεσία) is based upon Græco-Roman, not Jewish practice. His conception of the Church borrowed something from the Roman State as well as from the Israelite Theocracy (see Eph 2^{19}, Col 2^{19}, Ph 1^{27} 3^{20}). Not merely for his own protection (Ac 16^{37} 22^{25}) and as a passport to his message did the apostle pronounce the words 'Civis Romanus sum' and 'Cæsarem appello,' but with genuine loyalty and with a true sense for the grandeur and enduring power of the rule of Rome. 'We cannot fail to be struck with the hold which Roman ideas had on the mind of St. Paul. . . . He had conceived the great idea of Christianity as the religion of the Roman world; and he thought of the various districts and countries in which he preached as parts of the grand unity' (Ramsay, *Ch. in the Rom. Emp.*^{5} pp. 147, 148, *St. Paul the Trav.* pp. 125–127, 135; also Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. xiv). He had the Roman genius of the statesman and organizer. He planted his churches, by preference, in Roman colonies (Pisidian Antioch, Philippi, Corinth, etc.). To Rome St. Paul addressed his most studied and complete Epistle; toward this metropolis of the world the advance of his mission from Jerusalem westwards, for many years previously, had been directed (Ro 1^{8-15} 15^{22-29}, Ac 19^{21} 23^{11}). Only when at last he had made his defence and delivered his message before the Imperial Court, could the 'teacher of the Gentiles in faith and truth' consider that his 'preaching was fulfilled' and his course finished (1 Ti 2^{7}, 2 Ti $4^{7.17}$). To the Jewish student and the Greek cosmopolitan in Paul there was added *the Roman gentleman*. His courteous dignity of bearing enabled him worthily to stand before magistrates and kings (Ac 9^{15} 26, etc.). He commanded the respect of governors like Sergius Paulus and Porcius Festus, and the deference and goodwill of Julius the centurion in whose charge he voyaged to Rome. There, too, an 'ambassador in chains,' he gained a wide influence, and his presence greatly stimulated the Christian cause (Eph 6^{20}, Ph 1^{13} 4^{22}, Ac $28^{30.31}$). Though his prison, Rome was his best vantage-ground and his adoptive home. It was here that the apostle arrived, as appears from the Epistles of the First Captivity, at his loftiest conceptions of the nature and destiny of the Universal Church.

2. *St. Paul's Idiosyncrasy.*—The 'striking originality' of Paul's character is 'due to the fruitful combination in it of two spiritual forces, which are seldom found united in this degree in one personality—*dialectical power* and *religious inspiration*, or (to borrow Paul's own language) the activity of the νοῦς and that of the πνεῦμα' (A. Sabatier). Add to these attributes the apostle's heart of fire, the glow of passion and imagination which fused his mystical intuitions and logical apprehensions into one, his fine sensibility, his resolute will, his manly sincerity and courage and woman-like tenderness, his vivacity, subtlety, and humour, his rich humanity and keen faculty of moral observation, his adroitness and ready tact, his genius for organization and inborn power of command, and the vigorous and creative, though not facile, gift of expression that supplied the fitting dress, as original as the thought behind it, with which his doctrine clothed itself,—all these qualities and powers went to the making of Jesus Christ's apostle to the nations, the master-builder of the universal Church and of Christian theology.

St. Paul's physical frame appears by no means to have matched the greatness of his soul. With a frankness that charms while it pains the reader, he quotes the taunt of his Corinthian opponents, 'His bodily presence is weak, and his speech of no account'; he reproaches those who 'counted of' him 'as though walking according to flesh,' and 'had an eye for matters of (bodily) presence,' judging the lowly apostle by his unimposing exterior (2 Co 10^{1-10}). The barbarians of Lystra took Barnabas for Zeus, but Paul for Hermes, comparing the dignified port of the one with the lively speech of the other traveller. The disadvantages of his bodily presence were aggravated by the effect of his occupation as a journeyman tentmaker, and of the severe mishandling he had suffered from time to time on the part of his persecutors (Gal 6^{17}, 2 Co 11^{23-26}). Yet these physical disabilities and humiliations became, through 'the power of Christ overshadowing' him, a new source of spiritual strength (2 Co 11^{30} $12^{9.\ 10}$). It was a constant feeling of Paul's, only heightened by recent illness, to which he gave expression in 2 Co 4^{7}–5^{6}: 'We have this treasure in frail earthen vessels. . . . In this tabernacle we groan, being burdened' (cf. Gal 4^{12-14} 6^{17}). The *Acta Pauli et Theclæ*, as Ramsay has shown (*Ch. in Rom. Emp.*^{5} xvi.), 'goes back ultimately to a document of the 1st cent.'; and it thus describes (§ 3) Paul's appearance as he first approaches Iconium: 'bald-headed, bowlegged, strongly built, a man small in size, with meeting eyebrows, with a rather large nose, full of grace, for at times he looked like a man and at times he had the face of an angel.' 'This plain and unflattering account seems to embody a very early tradition' (*op. cit.* pp. 31, 32). The lifelike and unconventional figure of the Roman ivory diptych, 'supposed to date not later than the 4th cent.' (Lewin's *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*, Frontispiece, and vol. ii. p. 211), partly confirms the above description.

St. Paul's constitution, if somewhat stunted and sickly, must have been nevertheless of a tough and stout fibre. His arduous travels, attended for many years with the double strain of manual and intellectual labour, above all the catalogue of his hardships in 2 Co 11, bespeak in him a man of exceptional vitality and nervous energy. And, in spite of his uncomeliness, he exerted a rare personal fascination. 'Rude in speech' as he was to a fastidious Greek ear, his charm of manner and the incisive force and sympathetic aptness of his address commanded a hearing from all kinds of assemblies. He could never be listened to with indifference. His preaching excited warm assent or contradiction. He set all minds astir and in debate around him; his presence and discourse acted like an electric current that drives to opposite poles the mingled elements through which it passes (Ac 13^{42-45} 14^{4} etc., 2 Co 2^{14-16}).

The emotional nature of the apostle counted for as much in the effects of his eloquence as did his intellectual powers. His temperament was choleric and impetuous, his nervous organism finely strung and quivering with sensibility. There was nothing in him of the impassive Stoic. His affections towards his converts were those of a mother or a lover, rather than of a pastor. He 'travailed a second time in birth over' the untoward Galatians, 'till Christ should be formed in' them (4^{19}; cf. 2 Co 11^{29}, 1 Th $2^{7.\ 8}$). 'Now we live,' he writes to the Thess., 'if you stand fast in the Lord' (1 Th 3^{6-10}). The attacks of sickness and the anxieties and disappointments of his calling threw him at times into paroxysms of anguish. But his mental buoyancy and elasticity were equally marked; his 'consolation through Christ' brought him an exultancy proportioned to the depth of grief in which he shared 'the sufferings of Christ' (1 Co 2^{3} $15^{31.\ 32}$, 2 Co 1^{3-11} 4^{7-11} 7^{4-6}, Col 1^{24}, Eph 3^{13}, Ph $2^{17.\ 18}$). His letters—esp. 2 Co, Gal, Ph, 2 Ti—reflect the ardour and quick responsiveness of the apostle's feelings, his sudden alternations of mood, the conflicts of fear and hope, of affection and indignation, by which his soul could be torn and tossed. This lively play of emotion, expressed by look and gesture (*e.g.* Ac 13^{9} 14^{12-14} 20^{34} 23^{1-6} 26^{1}, Gal 3^{1}, Ph 3^{18}, etc.) but held under the firm control of judgment, gave a peculiar animation to Paul's discourse, which, however abrupt and unpolished in phrase, was arresting and affecting in the highest degree. He spoke from the heart and to the heart. The effectiveness of his utterance he ascribed to the energy of the Spirit of Christ possessing his mind; he was conscious of 'Christ speaking' in him; a Divine force 'energized mightily' through his 'wrestling' of spirit and of speech (2 Co 13^{3}, Col 1^{29}, 1 Th 1^{5}, etc.). Here was the true secret of St. Paul's transcendent power. Before everything else he was a *πνευματικός*—a man of the largest spiritual capacity, filled with the living Spirit of Jesus Christ. If we must admit a fault, his vehemence was apt to break out into a heat and haste of temper, manifested occasionally in expressions which he was disposed afterwards to regret (see Ac 15^{39} $23^{4.\ 5}$; and perhaps 2 Co $7^{8.\ 9}$, Gal 5^{12}).

St. Paul shared eminently in the supernatural experiences and *χαρίσματα* special to the apostolic age, as well as in the permanent and normal endowments of the Church. He exercised miraculous powers of healing and of discipline (Ac 13^{9-11} $14^{9.\ 10}$, 1 Co 4^{19-21} $5^{4.\ 5}$, 2 Co 13^{1-10}), though he did not regard these as the chief 'signs of the apostle' (2 Co $11^{23\text{ff.}}$ 12^{12-14} 3^{1-3}). He 'spoke with tongues more than all,' but thought this an inferior gift (1 Co 14^{18-20}). In 'visions and revelations of the Lord' no one could rival him (2 Co 12^{1-4}); he had been once 'caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words.' To Paul the living God, the Lord Christ, the indwelling Spirit, the unseen world, were immediate and overwhelming realities.

His **thorn in the flesh** (or rather, *thorn for the flesh, σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί*) is connected by himself with his unique experiences of trance and vision (2 Co 12^{1-9}). The former served as a kind of counterpoise to the latter: 'Because of the excess of the revelations, that I might not be excessively lifted up, there was given to me a thorn for my flesh, an angel of Satan sent to buffet me,—that I might not be excessively lifted up.' We gather that this infliction was bodily in nature, acutely painful and humiliating, prostrating in effect, and repeated in occurrence (*ὑπεραίρωμαι* and *κολαφίζῃ* are both Greek *presents* of recurrent action); that it was also mysterious in origin, and such as to be fitly associated with the working of a malignant unseen power. From the connexion of v.^{7} with the foregoing context, it appears probable that the outbreak of this malady attended Paul's supreme vision, 'fourteen years' previously to 2 Co (*i.e.* about A.D. 43), when in a state of trance (vv.$^{2.\ 3}$) he was 'seized and caught up into paradise and heard unspeakable words.' The 'thorn' attached itself to this '*ὑπερβολή* of the revelations' (cf. Gn $32^{10.\ 31}$), in which the apostle 'exults' as he writes, and which, he feels, might otherwise have excited him to an unholy pride; this cruel affliction was therefore used by God for a merciful end. Hence the Lord, though thrice besought, did not remove the evil; He allowed 'Satan's angel' 'to buffet' His servant; but He promised grace sufficient for endurance, and assured the sufferer that 'power is perfected in weakness.' Thus Paul learnt to glory in this as in other weaknesses and injuries, and had indeed found himself strongest when nature was most beaten down (vv.$^{9.\ 10}$).

Further light is thrown on St. Paul's malady by Gal 4^{13-15}, for it is probably the same affliction that we meet with here: 'In nought did you (Galatians) wrong me. But you know it was due to an infirmity of the flesh that I preached to you at that former time. And your temptation in my flesh (my physical condition) you did not treat with contempt nor loathing [lit. *did not spit out*], but as an angel of God you received me,—as Christ Jesus! Where, then, is your self-gratulation? For I bear you witness that, if possible, you would have dug out your eyes and given them me!' The 'thorn,' then, was disabling; it compelled Paul unexpectedly to halt on his way, and so to preach to these 'Galatians' (but see Ramsay's view of the circumstances, stated below). Its effects were such as to excite the scorn and aversion of beholders, so that it supplied a severe test of the candour and generosity of the Galatians who had witnessed Paul's abject condition under its infliction. It may also be inferred, though less certainly (see Lightfoot, *ad loc.*), that the complaint, at least temporarily, affected the patient's eyesight.

The diagnosis excludes—(1) the hypothesis of *spiritual temptations* (to pride, blasphemy, etc., *injectiones Satanæ*) made current by Luther; and (2) equally that of *carnal incitements*, favoured by mediæval and Roman Catholic interpreters in accordance with the erroneous Latin rendering, *stimulus carnis*. (3) Nor could the 'thorn' have signified *human opposers*, such as the 'ministers of Satan' of 2 Co 11^{15}; nor the hindrances and afflictions related in 2 Co 11^{23-33} (Chrysostom, Erasmus, and others). (4) The evidence points to *physical disease* of some distressing and disfiguring kind, recurrent at intervals, having its seat in St. Paul's nervous constitution and supervening upon the ecstasy of his 'visions and revelations' (so Ewald, Holsten, v. Hofmann, Klöpper, Lightfoot, Schmiedel, Krenkel). Of known diseases, *epilepsy*, or some obscure form of *hysteria*, best answers to these conditions. Krenkel has elaborately discussed the question in his *Beiträge* (pp. 47–125), showing that epilepsy was regarded by the ancients with peculiar horror as a supernatural visitation, and often associated with lunacy (Mt 4^{24} 17^{15}), with which also Paul was taxed (2 Co 5^{13} 12^{11}). He observes, further, that spectators witnessing epileptic attacks used to *spit out* in superstitious dread and by way of averting the evil (the *morbus qui sputatur* of Plautus' *Captivi*, III. iv. 18, and the *despui suetus* of Pliny's *HN* x. 23 [33])—a circumstance explaining the *οὐδὲ ἐξεπτύσατε* of Gal 4^{14}. Epileptic seizures taking place in mature life and at distant intervals are not necessarily fatal to activity and mental vigour: witness the cases of Julius Cæsar, Peter the Great, Napoleon I.; the instance of king Alfred (Lightfoot, *Galatians*, pp. 183–188) is strikingly parallel in some particulars to that of Paul. The hypothesis of *ophthalmia* (advanced in Farrar's *St. Paul*, vol. i. Excursus x.) has its starting-point in Gal 4^{15}; it meets some but not all the conditions of the case. This disease, in the severe form supposed, damages the eyes to a degree inconsistent with Paul's quick observation and powerful gaze. W. M. Ramsay has recently suggested *malarial fever* (comp. Conyb. and Hows. *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*, ch. viii.), which (Ramsay conjectures) attacked Paul in Pamphylia (Ac $13^{13.14}$), compelling Barnabas and himself to seek relief in the bracing air of the uplands of Asia Minor. To this necessity Ramsay supposes Paul to refer in Gal 4^{13}, on the theory that the 'Galatians' of the Ep. are the South Galatians of Antioch, Iconium, etc. (*Ch. in Rom. Emp.*^{5} iii., *St. Paul the Trav.* v. 2, and more recently in *Hist. Com. on Gal.*, 1899, p. 422 ff.). This hypothesis, again, agrees with some but not all the symptoms of the malady. A long and perilous journey, like that from Perga to Pisidian Antioch, would scarcely be undertaken in such 'weakness of the flesh.' Nor is malarial fever likely to have excited the aversion indicated in Gal 4^{14}. And Mark's desertion, under these circumstances, becomes almost incredibly base. The references of Tertullian, and other early interpreters, to violent *headache* and similar complaints are in the right direction, but inadequate. They may be an echo of the earliest tradition. If the apostle's liability to nervous disorders supplies unfriendly critics with a ground on which to discredit his visions and his Divine inspiration, these disparagements are but a repetition of those made in his lifetime. The fact that his malady exposed St. Paul's apostleship to this reproach, gave a cruel and piercing sharpness to the 'thorn.' So much the more perfect was the triumph of Christ's grace in this deeply wounded man.

3. *St. Paul's Conversion.*—The interest of St. Paul's life centres in his conversion to the faith of Jesus Christ. The root of his doctrine is also here. This was the most pregnant event of apostolic history; it is more fully related in the NT than any other outside of the Gospels. It was one of those lightning strokes occurring at decisive moments in the advance of revelation, which precipitate the issue of a long course of previous spiritual development, and liberate new forces for operation in some new era of the kingdom of God. The call of Saul of Tarsus to His service by the risen Jesus, while it put a last seal, from the hand of one hitherto His bitter enemy, to the testimony concerning His resurrection and exaltation (1 Co 15^{5-11}), supplied the starting-point for a fresh departure in the dispensation of the gospel (Eph 2^{7}, 1 Ti 1^{16}). In the soul of the converted Saul a world-wide revolution lay germinally hidden. In his mind the Christian principle, the *λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ*, first displayed its full significance; in him Christ appropriated that 'chosen vessel' through which His gospel was to work out its largest intellectual and social results, the instrument whereby the society of Jesus was to be expanded from a Jewish Messianic sect into the Church of the nations, coextensive with the Roman Empire and set on its way to re-create the civilized world.

Saul's conversion took place in a fashion befitting its historical importance. The passionate young Pharisee had witnessed with approval the stoning of Stephen, whose radical and incisive preaching recalled the tones of Jesus and re-awakened the deadly fear and hatred of the Pharisees toward His doctrine. The struggle between the followers of Jesus and the existing Judaism, as Saul truly saw, was one of life and death. The mild policy of his master Gamaliel had allowed this monstrous imposture, this proclamation of a crucified Messiah and pretended Son of God, to make dangerous headway. The heresy must be trampled out at any cost. In this conviction Saul was 'breathing threatening and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord.' He acted 'ignorantly, in unbelief,' out of a sincere and uncompromising zeal for God, and doing violence therein to his kindlier feelings. The Jewish ecclesiastical leaders found in Saul, thus disposed, their fit agent in the attempt they made after the murder of Stephen, and at a moment when political circumstances gave them a free hand, to suppress the sect of the Nazarenes. Saul was travelling to Damascus, commissioned by the high priest, to bring as prisoners to Jerus. any that he should there find 'of that way'; he was nearing the city about noonday, bent on harrying its defenceless Christian flock, when he was arrested by a burst of light 'surpassing the brightness of the sun,' that encircled his troop. Out of the blaze there appeared a glorious human Form, who at his challenge declared Himself to be 'Jesus, whom thou persecutest!' The sequel of the story we need not repeat. It is told three times in the Acts: once by the historian on his own account (9^{1-16}), and twice as reported from Paul's speeches—to the people at Jerus. (22^{4-16}), and before king Herod Agrippa II. and Festus at Cæsarea (26^{9-18}). The variation of the three narratives is interesting as showing how much difference in descriptive detail was deemed consistent with identity of fact by a careful writer like St. Luke. The only real discrepancy lies in St. Paul's omission in Ac 26 of the part of Ananias, on which he naturally dwelt in addressing the Jews (22). In the later address, speaking more summarily, he ascribes to Jesus directly, and as though communicated at the outset, the revelations consequent upon 'the heavenly vision.' Vv.$^{10-21}$ of ch. 9 appear to embody Ananias' account, which Luke would be sure to obtain (comp. Lk 1^{3}) if within his reach. The train of events is most vividly reproduced in Paul's unfinished speech at Jerus. (ch. 22), the objectivity of the appearance of Jesus and the overpowering compulsion that it exercised upon Saul's mind being asserted with strong emphasis (esp. vv.$^{14. 15}$). Here alone the *two* questions addressed by Saul to Jesus are reported. In his speech at Cæsarea the apostle brings out the startling and complete reversal effected in his conduct; to this account we owe also the statement that Jesus spoke in 'the Hebrew language,' and the significant sentence, 'It is hard for thee to kick against the goad(s)' (words which do not belong to the true text of Ac 9^{5}).

The Epp. furnish many instructive references to Paul's conversion. In 1 Co 9^{1} his apostolic office (resembling that of the Twelve, v.^{5}) is grounded on the fact that he 'has seen Jesus our Lord.' Indeed, Paul claims to be a witness of Christ's resurrection in the same sense as were those who saw Him during the forty days, and the *last* of such witnesses, his birth into faith and apostleship, notwithstanding its abnormality and his unworthiness, being therefore as valid in itself as it was justified by its results (15^{5-9}). In the latter passage we see the humiliating aspect of St. Paul's conversion; in 2 Co 4^{4-6} and 5^{16-19}, its splendour. God's creative fiat bade 'the illumination of the knowledge of His glory' shine through Saul's blinded eyes into his dark and bitter heart, 'in the face of Christ' disclosed amid 'the glory of that light' (Ac 22^{11}). There arose 'a new creation' resembling that which attended the word, 'Let there be light.' Paul was at the same instant 'reconciled to God' and received a 'ministry of reconciliation' for the world (2 Co $5^{18. 19}$). Gal 1^{11-17} shows him intent on proving his independent apostleship: his knowledge of Jesus Christ and his commission to preach Him to the Gentiles were derived, he asserts, at first hand from the Lord Himself, and at a time when his relations with the Church at Jerusalem had been only those of the persecutor. To no human mediation or indoctrination did he owe his 'gospel' (comp. 1^{1}); 'Jesus Christ' personally 'revealed' it to him (v.^{12}). The sight of the risen Jesus, allowed to Saul by the mercy of God, 'revealed in' him 'the Son of God,' his own and the world's Lord and Redeemer (vv.$^{15. 16}$). This vision gave Saul the purport of his message to the Gentiles, impressing upon this message a special Divine stamp and authority that raised him above the need and the wish to 'confer' in respect to it 'with flesh and blood.' Hence upon his conversion he did not follow the natural course of repairing to Jerusalem in order to seek the recognition and instruction of the heads of the Church there, but 'went off into Arabia,' where he remained for some time in comparative solitude (vv.$^{17. 18}$). In this connexion Paul speaks of the Twelve as 'the apostles before me,' since the manner of his call put him on an equality with them as one commissioned by Jesus Christ in person; for he had 'seen Jesus our Lord' in His visible human form, and had 'heard'—no mere spiritual call such as every servant of Christ hears—but 'a word from His mouth' (Ac 22^{14}). In this sense he introduces himself to the Romans (1^{1-5}) as 'a bondman of Jesus Christ, a called apostle, one separated [marked off from others by his call] to proclaim God's good news about His Son.' It is noticeable that in the Address both of Romans and Galatians, where Paul reminds himself of the unique character of his apostleship, he speaks with emphasis of the *resurrection* of Christ, for it was the risen Saviour the sight of whom had changed everything for him. 'The glory of that light' reflects itself in many passages of St. Paul's letters,—2 Th 1^{9-11} 2^{8}, 1 Co 15^{44-49} ('the image of the Heavenly One'), Ro $8^{18. 29}$, 1 Ti $6^{15. 16}$, 2 Ti $1^{10. 11}$; and especially Ph $3^{20. 21}$ ('the body of His glory'). Often, and more feelingly as time goes on, he dilates on the astonishing *grace* of God that called him, a violent enemy of the gospel, to be its bearer to all nations,—Gal $1^{13. 14. 23. 24}$, 1 Co $15^{9. 10}$, Eph 3^{7-13}, 1 Ti 1^{11-17}, etc.

While miraculous in the means that effected it, Paul's conversion was no act of violence. There was an inward preparation for the revelation of Jesus, which brought to its issue a long struggle in the nature of Saul, and opened the door of escape from a moral situation that had become miserable beyond endurance to the proud and strict young Pharisee. The words of Jesus, 'Hard is it for thee to kick against the goad(s),' touched the secret of the hearer's heart. The 'goad' of Ac 26^{14} is the *pædagogus* and prison-keeper of Gal 3, 'the law' of Ro 3. 4. 7 that 'works out wrath,' 'the power of sin' of 1 Co 15^{56},—that, good in itself, supplied to sin the instrument by which it 'wrought out death' to Saul, setting his reason and flesh at internecine war. Fiercely as Saul attacked the name of the Nazarene, he carried a more devouring strife within his breast. That Judaic law which he strove to honour by extirpating its contemners, through its impracticable yet most just demands was meanwhile driving him, though he knew it not, into their ranks.* Such was the irony of the situation revealed by this illuminating word of Jesus. St. Paul's subsequent doctrine of the impotence of the moral law as a means of salvation is the transcript of this experience. As he rode to Damascus, Saul was labouring under the painfully suppressed conviction of his powerlessness, and the powerlessness of his people, to fulfil the legal righteousness and therefore to attain the Messianic salvation which depended, he believed, upon this one condition. This inward rage made him a more furious persecutor. He was 'kicking against' a 'goad' which wounded his soul; he was fighting down his secret misgivings respecting Judaism. Until this moment, however, Saul had no suspicion that the Nazarenes were in the right. The crucifixion had falsified the

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* The interpretation here given to the words *πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν*, reads more into the figure than is usual; but this fuller meaning appears to be forced upon us by the data of the Epp., the main doctrines of which are a product and reflex of the writer's vital experience. Paul's teaching on the Law and Faith rehearses the process that turned him from a Pharisee into a Christian. His soul had been pierced and lacerated by his sense of moral impotence in face of the Law. Like a [illegible] beast, Saul knew not *whither* this incessant goad was driving him, nor *whose* was the hand that plied it; he had struggled in wild and vain resistance, till the appearance and words of Jesus explained everything.

Messianic claims of Jesus; it proved Him a blasphemer in calling Himself 'the Son of God.' To the testimony for His resurrection Saul's mind was as completely closed, on *a priori* grounds, as that of many able and sincere men to-day. He had never met Jesus during His earthly life, or he would have thought of Him differently. (The words of 2 Co 5[16] signify, 'We have known a carnal Messiah'). Had Saul so heard or seen Him, this fact would have aggravated the guilt of his persecution; and he would surely have alluded to it in his later poignant confessions. In the words of 1 Ti 1[13], 'not knowing (Him),' he 'acted in unbelief.' A 'blasphemer, persecutor, injurer' of his Lord, Saul was an object of pity for this reason; pity, not anger, spoke in the voice of Jesus. He had not sinned against the light. He testifies before Agrippa, 'I verily thought with myself that it was my duty to do many things against the name of Jesus of Nazareth' (Ac 26[9]). The speech of Stephen and the confessions and bearing of the persecuted Christians, though raising many questions in Saul's mind, had not seriously shaken his conviction of the falsity and banefulness of their doctrine. Had Saul before his vision of Jesus, as Holsten and others suppose, been so wrought upon by contact with his Christian prisoners that he was half persuaded to join them; had the predisposition to faith in the Nazarene grown up within him beforehand and seized his heart so strongly, at the time of his journey to Damascus, that it was ready upon a nervous shock to project itself in the form of an apparition,—had such an incipient reverence for Jesus and a secret attraction to the persecuted cause arisen in him, the persecutor would have been disarmed. On the contrary, 'Saul was breathing threatening and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord' up to the moment of his arrest; he acted throughout with a single mind. The mental elements out of which a self-generated vision of the glorified Jesus might conceivably have been formed, the material for such a hallucination, were wanting in him at that period. Instead of being preoccupied by the reproachful image of Jesus, Saul was confounded at His appearance, and the current of his opinions and feelings toward Him was reversed. He knew himself to be a sinful man; but that the crucified Nazarene would be his Saviour was an idea altogether alien and repugnant to his thoughts. The knowledge Saul had gained of Christianity and Christians in the office of a persecutor explains the enthusiasm of his revulsion and the readiness with which he fell into rank when once he had changed sides, but it does not account for *the interior change itself*, which was unique in its conditions and antecedents, differing from all transformations of character brought about by human influences and subjective reflexion. The latter explanation the apostle formally repudiates (Gal 1[11. 12]). See McGiffert's *Hist. of Christianity in the Apost. Age*, p. 121 ff.

The conversion of Saul is a psychological and ethical problem, the solution of which is to be found only in the actual appearance of Jesus Christ to his senses on the way to Damascus, as he believed this to have taken place. Nothing but his certainty of that appearance could have convinced him that Jesus was raised from the dead, and was therefore the Messiah and the Son of God. Nothing but the fact itself can, under the circumstances, fairly account for his certainty. This first vision is put, by himself and by St. Luke, upon a footing quite distinct from the other 'visions and revelations of the Lord' about which he glories in 2 Co 12. There was no question in this case as to whether he was 'in the body or out of the body.' The revelation took place in broad daylight, on the highway, as Saul was journeying with limbs and senses in full exercise, and his mind intent on a purpose diametrically opposed to the obedience of faith in Jesus; and some of the phenomena attending it were sensible to others besides himself. The ablest attempt to explain the vision of Saul on naturalistic grounds still remains that made by Holsten in his Essay entitled 'Die Christusvision des Paulus' (*Zum Evangelium d. Paulus u. Petrus*, 1868); see also his *Das Evang. d. Paulus dargestellt* (1880).

For three days Saul remained at Damascus as a man stunned by a sudden, heavy blow. His world of thought was turned upside down by the discovery that 'this Jesus' was, after all, 'the Son of God.' A silent and profound revolution was going on in the persecutor's breast; God was 'revealing His Son within' him. At the end of this time the penitent was prepared to welcome Ananias, who gave him the assurance of forgiveness and the right hand of Christian fellowship. By the seal of baptism and the bestowment of the Holy Spirit he became a member of the Church; and Ananias' prophecy opened to him the prospect of his missionary calling. For 'some days' he stayed 'with the disciples in Damascus,' and made public his conversion by 'immediately proclaiming in the synagogues that this Jesus is the Son of God' (Ac 9[19. 20]). Saul felt the need, however, of retirement to collect his mind after so bewildering a shock, to think out his new position and the import of his strange experiences. It is thus we understand the retreat to Arabia, to which the apostle refers in Gal 1[16-18]. St. Luke may have omitted this episode, because it belonged to St. Paul's private life; it falls between vv.[21. 22] of Ac 9. V.[20] relates the simple declaration of faith in Jesus that followed 'immediately' on Paul's conversion, while v.[22] shows us the apostle in possession of a developed faith and working out, in the manner to which we become afterwards accustomed, a sustained and effective proof of the Messiahship of Jesus: 'Saul grew the more strong, and confounded the Jews that dwelt in Damascus, proving that this is the Christ.' From his Arabian meditations he had gathered this new force; and the powerful arguments he now brings to bear upon his old position were the fruit of a prolonged reflexion.

4. *St. Paul's Missionary Career.*—Ac 9[15. 16] and 26[16-18] distinctly state that Saul's vocation as Gentile apostle was revealed at the epoch of his conversion. Gal 1[15. 16] implies as much. Saul went into Arabia with the knowledge that his ultimate destination was to 'preach the Son of God amongst the Gentiles.' Failure amongst his fellow-countrymen quickened this conviction. His Gentile ministry had its root in his first experience of the grace of Christ. Yet he thought it his duty to 'begin from Jerusalem'; his witness, he imagined, would be especially convincing amongst his old comrades; so that on his escape from the plots of the Jews against his life in Damascus (2 Co 11[32. 33]) Saul returned to the Holy City, where 'he preached boldly in the name of the Lord; and he spake and disputed against the Hellenist Jews; but they went about to kill him' (Ac 9[29. 30]). It was then, rather than at any later time, that the trance befell him in the temple, when the Lord bade him 'Make haste, and get quickly out of Jerusalem,' since his testimony was rejected there and his mission was to lie 'far hence among the Gentiles' (Ac 22[17-21]). This vision confirmed Saul's primary call, and overcame his reluctance to accept defeat at Jerusalem. He stayed in the city, on this first visit after his conversion, only 'fifteen days'; and now 'made the acquaintance of Cephas'—of him only amongst the apostles—and of 'James the Lord's brother' (Gal 1[18. 19]). Ac 9[26-30] relates further that '**Barnabas** introduced him to the

apostles' (the plural is inexact; Peter and James represented the Twelve), standing sponsor for him. 'The disciples' were shy of their old tormentor; his disappearance from Damascus and the delay of his return had probably aggravated their suspicions. It did not take long for Saul's preaching to rouse the hatred of the murderers of Stephen, who looked on him as a traitor. The urgency of 'the brethren' seconded the command of the Lord in the temple vision, and Saul was 'brought down to Cæsarea, and sent forth (by ship) to Tarsus.' Saul had little opportunity during the fortnight to make acquaintance amongst the Christian community in and around Jerus.; 'and,' he says, 'I remained unknown by face to the Churches of Judæa that are in Christ. Only they heard from time to time that our former persecutor is now preaching the faith of which he once made havoc' (Gal 1^{22-24}).

(*a*) With his arrival at Tarsus, in the second or third year after his conversion ('after three years,' Gal 1^{18}, reckoning by years current), St. Paul's missionary activity properly begins,—when he 'came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia' (v.^{21}: Cilicia was a dependency of Syria; and Paul here includes his whole ministry up to the time of the Jerusalem Council, 2^{1}). This *first period*, of more retired and preparatory labour, extended from the year 37 A.D., or thereabouts, to 44,* when Barnabas summoned Saul to assist him at Antioch (Ac $11^{25.26}$). It was a seven years' apprenticeship for the Gentile apostle. The language of Gal 1, and the reference of Ac 15^{23} to 'the brethren from among the Gentiles *throughout Cilicia*,' as well as 'Antioch and Syria,' imply that numerous Churches were formed during this period in Saul's native province. St. Paul's work in his homeland, however, lay outside that main course of the Church's development which Luke made it his business to sketch; and we have no letters from him to Cilicia. But these apprentice years served important ends, in ripening St. Paul's convictions, maturing his plans, and giving him mastery of the weapons of spiritual warfare that he was to ply upon a larger field. Independently, under no human master, he learnt his business as a missionary to the heathen. Over his relations to his family at Tarsus a veil is drawn; but it seems unlikely that Paul would have stayed in this district so long had those relations been altogether hostile (cf. Ac 23^{16}).

(*b*) The *second stage* of St. Paul's ministry begins with his removal to Antioch under the auspices of Barnabas, who had been now for some years superintending the Church of the Syrian capital, to which he was despatched from Jerusalem under the circumstances related in Ac 11^{19-24}. Shortly before the summons to Antioch, Paul experienced the extraordinary vision referred to in 2 Co 12^{2-4}. By the side of Barnabas, Saul took a commanding position in this metropolitan Church, next in importance to that of Jerusalem, planted in the third city of the Empire, the place where 'the disciples were first called Christians.' Along with Barnabas he was sent, a year after his arrival, to convey the alms of the Antiochene Christians to their needy brethren in Judæa, who were threatened by famine (Ac 11^{27-30}). When this 'ministry was fulfilled,' which strengthened the ties binding the Gentile to their Jewish brethren, the Holy Spirit singled out 'Barnabas and Saul' from amongst the 'prophets and teachers' of Antioch to an adventurous 'work,' which was, in fact, the setting on foot of organized Gentile evangelism. With this step the Church commences the second stage of her history, that of her expansion through the Roman Empire; and at ch. 13^{1-3} begins the second half of the Acts of the Apostles, with St. Paul for its hero, as St. Peter was the hero of chs. 1–12. The pointed repetition of the definite expression 'the work' at the beginning and at the end (14^{26}) of the story of this mission, and again in 15^{38} relating to its middle and turning point,—when one considers St. Luke's careful choice of language, and the absence in $13^{13.14}$ of any explanation such as he is accustomed to give of critical changes in St. Paul's line of movement (see $9^{25.30}$ 16^{6-10} $17^{14.15}$ 20^{3}),—leads one to think that the plan of campaign, at least in its general outline (through Cyprus, across to Pamphylia, and round by South Galatia home again), was settled under the direction of the Spirit before leaving Antioch. Mark deserted, while his two leaders 'fulfilled, *the work*' to which they were 'delivered by the grace of God.'

On the FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY Barnabas and Saul, with John Mark, Barnabas' cousin (Col 4^{10}), for their assistant, set sail from Seleucia, landed at Salamis, and traversed the island of Cyprus from east to west, preaching wherever Jewish synagogues gave opportunity. At **Paphos** the missionaries were invited to speak before **Sergius Paulus** the proconsul, a Roman governor of unusual intelligence and interest in religious matters. The conversion of this Roman nobleman was a triumph for the new faith, and a happy augury for the enterprise of the missionaries. But it has importance in two further respects: as the first collision of Christianity upon such an arena (comp., however, the case of SIMON MAGUS [wh. see] at Samaria, Ac 8) with the great religious force of Magianism and Oriental theosophy represented by **Elymas** (or **Etoimas**),—the type of many such encounters; and secondly, as the occasion when, before all eyes and in the field of the Gentile mission, St. Paul's ascendency of character and inspiration asserted itself and a signal crisis called into exercise his hidden powers. The judgment upon Bar-Jesus was one of those emphatic 'signs of the apostle' by which God designated His chosen instrument. It is at this point, 'when Saul stands forth by himself and becomes the principal actor' (Lewin), that Luke makes the change in his name (v.^{9}); when the missionary band set sail from Paphos to Perga of Pamphylia, the voyagers are described as 'those about Paul' ('Paul and his company,' v.^{13})—a phrase suggesting that Paul took the initiative in the measures for departure from Cyprus. This fact, together with the hazard and uncertain duration of the tour now extended to the mainland, may explain the withdrawal of Barnabas' kinsman and his return to Jerusalem. When the matter was discussed at Perga, it appeared that in South Galatia lay 'the work' on which the apostles had been 'sent out by the Holy Spirit.' It was not Paul's 'infirmity of the flesh' (Gal 4^{13}) that forced him and Barnabas out of their way to visit South Galatia; they were prosecuting the main object of their journey; and Mark was deserting not a sick companion, but 'the work' he was pledged to pursue. See, further, for the reasons that may have prompted this desertion, the art. MARK (JOHN).

Hence the travellers made no stay at Perga, but pushed on rapidly to **Pisidian Antioch**—'the centre of military and civil administration in the southern parts of the vast province called by the Romans Galatia' (Ramsay). If it was St. Barnabas' predilection that drew the missionaries first to Cyprus ($4^{36.37}$ 15^{39}), in the occupation of Antioch we may trace St. Paul's strategic skill; it was his habit to strike at the centres of provincial life, wherever in such cities a Jewish synagogue offered a foothold. This city commanded the great highroad from Syria to Ephesus and the west, and was central for southern Asia Minor. On the journey of a hundred miles from Perga to Antioch, through the wild ranges of the Taurus, Paul may well have met some of those 'perils of rivers' and 'of robbers' which he associates in 2 Co 11^{26}. For the route see Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* ii. 2 and map. At Antioch, and onwards, Paul takes the lead in speech and action ($14^{9.\ 11}$). 'Barnabas and Saul' set out on the expedition; 'Paul and Barnabas' will return (Ac 13^1 15^2).

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* With these and other dates given in this article the reader may compare art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT, in which in some instances the figures adopted are slightly different.

St. Paul's address in the Antioch synagogue (Ac 13^{16-41}) holds a place in Ac 13–28 corresponding to that of St. Peter's Pentecost sermon in Ac 1–12; it is a typical specimen of his preaching to Jews of the Dispersion. As on subsequent occasions, he is listened to at first with attention, and 'many of the Jews and devout proselytes' are favourably affected, until 'on the next Sabbath' the synagogue is crowded with Gentile hearers, whose presence excites Jewish rancour. The courage of the apostles rises with the storm; denied a further hearing, they solemnly exclaim, 'Lo, we turn to the Gentiles!' So the inevitable rupture takes place. The Jewish leaders are enraged to hear their Messianic hopes and the privileges of the chosen race extended to heathen 'dogs,' and to see the Gentile frequenters of the synagogue flocking to the preachers of this scandalous 'gospel' and admitted by baptism into their schismatic 'congregation.' They cast about for means, usually not far to seek, of exciting the city magistrates, or the mob, against the missionaries, who appear in the light of disturbers of the public peace (Ac 17^6) and are, in one way or other, before long expelled, to pass on to the next city, repeating this experience and finding themselves not infrequently pursued thither by their previous assailants. 'Perils from' their 'countrymen, perils from the heathen,' followed immediately on those 'perils of rivers' and 'perils of robbers' through which the missionaries had arrived at S. Galatia. They were hunted in turn from Antioch to Iconium, and from Iconium to Lystra and Derbe; and this was a foretaste of what became with St. Paul the familiar order of things. Still he persisted in appealing to 'the Jew first,' and made the synagogue in each new city his starting-point. Though he might win only a handful of his compatriots, he always found prepared hearers in the proselytes and Gentile synagogue worshippers, amongst whom were many pious Greek women of the educated classes (Ac 17^4).

Driven from Antioch, the missionaries travelled (some 80 miles E. by S.) to **Iconium** (mod. *Konieh*), a flourishing commercial city, with a synagogue, where, despite persecution, they preached for 'a considerable time' ('the whole winter,' thinks Ramsay) and with much success, till Jewish intrigues compelled their flight 'to the cities of Lycaonia, Lystra and Derbe' (14^{1-7}). The four towns enumerated lay within the province of Galatia, and were all places of importance in the Roman administration,—Antioch and Iconium within Phrygian, and Lystra and Derbe in Lycaonian Galatia. **Lystra** (20 miles S. of Iconium) was, like Antioch, a *colonia*, a link in the chain of fortresses planted by Augustus to secure the Pisidian and Isaurian frontier. **Derbe** (50 miles S.E. of Iconium) was the border town of Galatia in this direction. Here the Jewish persecution, organized from Antioch, appears to have ceased. At Lystra 'the multitudes,' who deified Barnabas and Paul on the healing of the lame man, shouted 'in the Lycaonian tongue'; but they gave the visitors the names of *Greek* gods, and understood Paul's *Greek* speech (14^{15-17}), in which we have an example of his preaching to the simpler sort of heathen audiences. Throughout the missionaries kept to the track of Græco-Roman civilization and rule, and Jewish settlement. It was the local magistrates, not the Roman officials, with whom they came into conflict; hence it was possible to escape by moving on,—possible also after a lapse of time, probably in the new year under new magistrates (see Ramsay, *Ch. in Rom. Emp.*^{5} pp. 70–72), to return to the cities previously visited. The two travellers retraced their steps from Derbe to Antioch, 'confirming the souls of the disciples' and 'appointing elders in every Church' (vv.$^{22.\ 23}$). At Lystra Paul underwent the single *stoning* of his experience (2 Co 11^{25}), which left on him probably some of the '*stigmata* of Jesus' referred to in Gal 6^{17}. Although no synagogue is mentioned in Lystra or Derbe, Jews certainly resided in the former place, or the 'Jews from Antioch and Iconium' could not have stirred up the murderous assault they did. The half-Jewish Timothy sprang from Lystra (Ac $16^{1.\ 2}$). Returning homewards, Paul and Barnabas 'spake the word in Perga,' and then sailed from the neighbouring port of Attalia (14^{24-26}) to Syrian Antioch. They had been absent, as Ramsay calculates, above two years, leaving Antioch in spring and returning in the third summer or autumn following. Navigation, and travelling in the interior of Asia Minor, were possible only from March to October. On the topography, and the political and social conditions of the regions traversed, Ramsay has superseded all other authorities (*Ch. in Rom. Emp.* ch. ii., and *St. Paul the Trav.* chs. iv. v.).

Two things were made clear by this experimental mission from Antioch. First, that the heathen in the Græco-Roman cities were prepared in large numbers to receive the gospel—'God had opened to the Gentiles a door of faith' (v.^{27}). Secondly (and though Luke does not *say* this, he indicates it strongly), Paul was marked out as chief of the Gentile mission. With the hour had arrived the *man*. At Paphos, Antioch, Lystra—in speech, action, suffering—Paul had come to the front by the force of events. God has now put a broad public seal, known and read of all men, upon the vocation of which His servant had been conscious long before. 'The signs of the apostle' subsequently wrought among the Corinthians (2 Co $12^{11.\ 12}$), were plainly visible in St. Paul through this journey. As they returned to Antioch, Barnabas surely thought concerning his companion, 'He must increase: I must decrease.' Accordingly, when after the lapse of 'no small time' (a year or so) the Antiochene Church was disturbed by circumcisionists from Jerus., it is 'Paul and Barnabas' (not 'Barnabas and Paul') who debate with them; and 'Paul and Barnabas' are sent to lay the matter before the mother Church at Jerusalem ($15^{1.\ 2}$). This latter Church, however, gives Barnabas courteous precedence (Ac 15^{12-25}); he was the senior man, and its own delegate.

The most striking evidence of St. Paul's ascendency is afforded by his own account of **the Conference at Jerus.** in Gal 2^{1-10}. (We assume, with most scholars, that Gal 2^{1-10} corresponds to Ac 15^{1-33}: see art. ACTS OF APOSTLES; also Lightfoot, *Galatians*, pp. 122–127; Lipsius in 'Handcomm. z. NT,' *Galat.*, *ad loc.*; Harnack, *Die Chronol. d. altchristl. Litteratur*, Bd. i. p. 237).* To Paul comes the 'revelation' directing the deputation from Antioch. He adopts the bold step of taking with the party Titus, representing the Gentile Christians whose status was disputed. He 'communicated to those of repute the gospel' that, he says, 'I preach amongst the Gentiles,' putting it to them as the substantial question for decision, whether he had 'run in vain.' If the Gentiles must be circumcised in order to be Christians, St. Paul's mission is stultified. The 'Pillars' now 'see' that to *Paul* is 'entrusted the gospel of the uncircumcision, as that of the circumcision to Peter'; they approve his work as being of God. Barnabas is duly honoured, and was heartily with Paul in his contention; but Paul unmistakably plays the leading part in the negotiations, and the controversy gathers round his person. He acted throughout as the responsible head of the Gentile mission, and was so acknowledged by the elder chiefs of the Church. All this we can understand, as taking place *after the first missionary tour* and the events of Ac 13. 14, which brought Paul to the forefront and displayed in him powers fully comparable to those manifested in Peter's ministry. In A.D. 44–46, when Antioch sent relief to the famine of Jerus., there was no such evidence of Paul's supereminent gifts before the Church; nor is it likely that either Barnabas, or Peter and James, then regarded him in the light in which he appears in Gal 2$^{1-10}$. The historical situation, the occasion of dispute (viz. the attempt to impose circumcision on Gentile Christians), and the chief persons concerned in the discussions of Ac 15$^{1-35}$ and Gal 2$^{1-10}$, are the same. The contrast between the narratives is fairly explained by the fact that St. Luke gives the public and exterior view of the proceedings as they concerned the Church at large; St. Paul, their personal aspect and bearing.

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* Add to these authorities McGiffert's *Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, p. 208 ff.; and art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT.

The Council of Ac 15 naturally had its inner history; private conferences paved the way for the public settlement. In complicated and delicate affairs of this sort very different representations may be equally true. 'The two accounts admirably complete each other. . . . The discrepancies can, for the most part, be explained simply from the difference of the standpoint of the relaters' (Pfleiderer, *Hibb. Lect.* 1885, on 'The Influence of the Apostle Paul,' p. 103): see, however, chs. iii. and vii. of Ramsay's *St. Paul the Trav.*, where the coincidence of the second visit of Paul in Gal with the second in Ac (11. 12) is vigorously but not convincingly maintained. Luke gives no hint at the earlier juncture of the momentous controversy of Gal 2, for which, indeed, the occasion arose only after the joint mission of Barnabas and Paul to S. Galatia, when mere Gentiles were received in large bodies into the Church (see Hort's *Jud. Christianity*, pp. 64–67): the Jerus. Church was occupied in A.D. 44–46 with the famine and the Herodian persecution; for Paul to have raised the question of his apostolic status then would have been premature and officious. Paul ignores in Galatians the second visit to Jerus., because it was devoted to the specific business stated by Luke, and nothing arose out of it affecting his relations with the first apostles or his own apostleship (see Lightf. *Gal.*, note appended to ch. ii.). Returning from Jerus. at that time, Saul resumed his place among the 'prophets and teachers' of the Church of Antioch (Ac 13^1).

The second stage of Paul's ministry culminates with the Council at Jerus., which gave validity to Gentile Christianity and St. Paul's plenary apostleship, now attested by God in the successes of the first missionary journey.

(*c*) The third period of Paul's ministry is signalized by the extension of his mission to Europe, and by the writing of his earliest apostolic letters (1 and 2 Th). The history of the SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY is contained in Ac 15^{36}–18^{22}. It begins with the rupture between Paul and Barnabas, occasioned by Paul's refusal of the companionship of Mark (to whom in the end he was reconciled: Philem^{24}, Col 4^{10}, 2 Ti 4^{11}), but of which a deeper cause lay in the changed relations of the two leaders. Paul must now go his own way. He proceeds to the mission field in Asia Minor, taking for his associate **Silas** (or *Silvanus*), one of the two delegates sent from Jerus. to accompany Barnabas and Paul on their return to Antioch (Ac 15$^{22.27.32}$). Silas, like Paul, was a Hebrew of Latin name and Roman citizenship (16^{37}),—a 'prophet,' moreover, and a 'leading man' in the Jerus. Church. He accompanied Paul only for this journey. Much later, we find him acting as St. Peter's secretary (1 P 5^{12}). Silas and Mark were important links between the Apostles Paul and Peter, and between the Judæan Church and the Gentile mission. Paul and Silas journeyed by road, through the Cilician Gates, to S. Galatia, arriving first at Derbe, then at Lystra. At Lystra Paul enlisted young **Timotheus**, possibly to fill the place of Mark as assistant to himself and Silas. He first, however, 'circumcised him,' since he was the son of a Jewess, to avoid scandalizing the Jews (Ac 16$^{1-4}$). At each place Paul and Silas delivered the resolutions of the Council of Jerus. (15$^{23-29}$), which were received everywhere (15$^{30-33}$ 16$^{4.5}$) with lively satisfaction. They effected their immediate purpose of composing the Judæo-Gentile Churches and putting a stop to the legalistic agitation. The circumcision of Timothy was another conciliatory step on St. Paul's part (see Hort's *Jud. Christianity*, pp. 84–87). The line of Churches between the two Antiochs were now becoming 'solidly established in the faith, and they were increasing in number daily.'

Ac 16^6 brings us to the turning point of the second missionary journey, and to a critical moment in Paul's career. St. Luke is pressing forward to the Macedonian mission, and sketches intervening movements less distinctly than his wont, in the long and somewhat awkward sentence of vv.$^{6-8}$. We gather that St. Paul's plan had been, after the visitation of the S. Galatian Churches now completed, to push on westwards along the great highway to Ephesus, the chief city of Asia Minor and the stepping-stone to Greece and Rome. But the travellers were 'forbidden by the Holy Spirit to speak the word in Asia' (the Roman province of that name, with Ephesus for its capital). When afterwards, 'having come over against Mysia,' much farther north, 'they were trying to enter Bithynia,' 'the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not.' They were thus compelled finally to make for Troas, where the vision appeared which summoned Paul to the help of the Macedonians. This was a great and pregnant movement in apostolic history—the step which carried Paul and Silas across the Ægean; other events of the time were of importance, in Luke's view, only as leading up to this. Three distinct Divine interpositions occurred, forcing Paul and his companions upon a venture quite unanticipated by themselves.

But how are we to construe the first clause of v.^{6}—according to the critical text its principal and governing sentence, 'But they passed through **the Phrygian and Galatian country,** having been (*i.e.* since they were) forbidden* by the Holy Spirit to speak the word in Asia'? (*διῆλθον δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, κωλυθέντες κ.τ.λ.*). Ramsay (who has reinforced with powerful arguments the theory held by Mynster, Perrot, Renan, Hausrath, Weizsäcker, that Paul never entered N. Galatia, and that the Galatians of his Ep. are the people of the Phrygian and Lycaonian Churches founded on the first tour) argues that 'the Phrygian and Galatian region' of this passage is simply the Phrygo-Galatian district extending from Iconium to Antioch traversed before, and that Paul and Silas journeyed in a direct line, and with no considerable delay, from this region to Troas. It seems to be clear, on the other hand, that v.^{5} concludes the account of St. Paul's visitation of S. Galatia, and that v.^{6} relates his setting out on a new campaign. Forbidden to preach in Asia, the missionaries moved in another direction; and 'the Phrygian and Galatian region' is Luke's definition of the fresh field upon which they now enter. Here St. Luke first employs the word *Galatian*, although the travellers have been within the Roman province of that name since arriving at Derbe, for the cities of Asia Minor evangelized on the first tour all lay (as Ramsay has decisively proved) within its bounds. We naturally look for this new 'Galatian region' in Galatia proper or N. Galatia, the western part of which, with Pessinus for its centre, marched with Phrygia not far to the east of the direct way from Antioch to Troas. The presumption from Greek usage is that *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν* signifies two adjoining districts coupled together, rather than one district known by two different names (comp. Ac 27^{5}, Lk 3^{1}, 1 Th 1^{8}), and that the co-ordinate 'Phrygian' and 'Galatian' are used in the same sense (the former *ethnic*, and so therefore the latter). Emerging from N.W. Galatia, the travellers would find themselves (v.^{7}) close to Bithynia on the north, and with Mysia presenting itself on the west. V.^{6} thus fills in the geographical space between vv.^{5} and ^{7}, and defines the tract, first Phrygian in population then Galatian, which separated Bithynia from St. Paul's old mission field.* (On the question of N. *v.* S. Galatia see, in addition to writers mentioned before, Lightf. *Galatians*, Introd.; Ramsay's *Ch. in Rom. Emp.* chs. iii.–vi., *St. Paul the Trav.* chs. v., vi., viii., ix., *Studia Biblica*, IV. ii., and art. GALATIA in this Dictionary; Chase in the *Expositor*, IV. viii. 401, ix. 314, 331, with Ramsay's replies; Gifford, *ib.* IV. x. 1; Zöckler, *SK*, 1894, pp. 51–102; Schürer, *Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.*, 1892, p. 471; *Crit. Review*, III. [1893] 356; Lipsius, 'Handcom.,' *Galat.*, Einleitung). The verb *διῆλθον* (16^{6}) connotes a 'missionary progress' (*St. Paul the Trav.* p. 384); and when Paul revisits this district on his third journey (18^{23}), he 'travels through the Galatian region and Phrygia in order, strengthening *all the disciples*,'—the last clause implying that on the ground so lightly passed over in 16^{6} considerable time had been spent and many souls won for Christ. To this second journey the origin of the Galatian Churches, addressed in Paul's great Ep. of that name, has been generally referred, its interpreters seeing in the recipients Galatians by race,* inhabitants of the north (preferably the N.W.) of the great Roman province of Galatia. Paul made acquaintance with his 'Galatians' unexpectedly, when compelled by illness to seek their hospitality and so to give them the gospel (Gal 4$^{12-20}$). Twice during this journey he was turned aside from his purpose by the voice of the Holy Spirit; it appears that the hand of God was further laid on him, in the shape of disabling sickness, obliging him to halt in this out-of-the-way district, which he had meant to traverse without lingering. God was giving to His strong-willed servant a hard schooling in submission. It may have been Bithynia that Paul and Silas were making for when thus checked; or it may have been (according to Paul's wont) Ancyra, the capital of the Galatian province, already evangelized in its southern part. In any case, the Galatians, with whom he now tarried, received the infirm apostle with enthusiasm, and he made numerous and attached converts amongst them, the objects of his warm affection but anxious solicitude.

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* Ramsay prefers the reading of the TR, *διελθόντες κ.τ.λ.*, which he interprets as resumptive of vv.$^{4.5}$, thus detaching *κωλυθέντες* from the foregoing clause. Even with the reading *διῆλθον δέ*, it is maintained that *κωλυθέντες . . . Ἀσίᾳ* conveys a distinct predication, not explaining the *διελθεῖν*, but supplementing it and stating the next occurrence (see, besides Ramsay as below, Askwith's *Destination and Date of the Ep. to the Gal.*, ch. iii.). With the given arrangement of words, this construction at the best is artificial.

If other reasons besides the writer's eagerness to bring us to Macedonia are required to account for the silence of Acts about the Galatians of the Ep., the fact that the N. Galatian mission was a parenthesis in Paul's work and lay off the main line of missionary progress may account for the slightness of St. Luke's references thereto; and the defection feared may have made the apostle's work there, to a large extent, a labour lost.

It was at **Troas** that St. Luke met St. Paul and joined his company (Ramsay conjectures Luke himself to have been the 'Macedonian man' of Ac 16^{9}: *St. Paul the Trav.* ix. 3); and at Philippi Luke stayed, being found there when Paul revisited that town. (The 'we' of the Acts continues from 16^{10} to 16^{17}, to be resumed at 20$^{5.6}$). The 'vision' may have prepared St. Paul for St. Luke's invitation to Macedonia (Ramsay, as above), as St. Peter was prepared at Joppa for the summons of Cornelius. **Philippi** was an important Roman colony, with a small Jewish settlement worshipping at an open-air *proseuché* by the river-side. Among 'the women who assembled' there Paul and Silas found their first hearers, and in the proselyte Lydia their first European convert and their hostess (vv.$^{13-15}$). Women played a leading part in this Church from the outset (Ph 4$^{1-3}$). The missionaries had preached at the *proseuché* for some time, when their work was stopped by the accusation brought against them by the masters of a fortune-telling, ventriloquist slave-girl from whom 'in the name of Jesus Christ' they had exorcized the evil spirit (vv.$^{16-18}$). This attack was one of Paul's many 'perils from the heathen.' The gospel damaged the vested interests of idolatry; and those who saw 'the hope of their gain' endangered attacked its preachers through the passions of the populace—at Ephesus subsequently as despisers of 'the great goddess,' at Philippi as 'Jews' who brought in 'customs illegal for Romans' and affronting their pride (vv.$^{20.21}$). In this *colonia* Paul suffered one of the three *beatings with* (Roman) *rods* that he recounts in 2 Co 11^{25}. The scenes attending his imprisonment here along with Silas, form one of the most stirring and most graphic episodes in the Acts.

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* The writer is now (1900) inclined to Ramsay's construction of *τὴν Φρυγ. κ. Γαλατ. χώραν* as denoting the Phrygo-Galatian [he would prefer to say, Galatic-Phrygian] region; but unless this phrase had an accepted political limitation, of which there is no evidence, it covered presumably *the west of the province of Galatia* generally, the whole of which was (in the substratum of its population) Phrygian ethnically and Galatian politically. Even in the N.W., as Ramsay intimates, the Galatæ were never more than a ruling clan. On this modified view, it would appear that Paul and Silas, when forbidden to preach 'in Asia,' moved northwards from the field of the earlier mission, confining themselves still to Phrygia Galatica where they were allowed to 'speak the word,' and avoiding Phrygia Asiana which they had been previously on the point of entering (*τῇ Ἀσίᾳ* is thus seen to be antithetical to *τὴν . . . Γαλατικὴν χώραν*). Taking this course and marching within the eastern side of the border-line separating the two provinces, which parted Phrygia between them, the apostles arrived at the N.W. corner of Galatia, with Bithynia fronting them, and Mysia flanking them at some distance to the west. Here, once more, their course was supernaturally diverted—from north to west, as previously from west to north—and 'passing over Mysia' (a part of *Asia*, where they had been 'forbidden to speak the word') they reached the sea at Troas. Paul and Silas thus traversed, in west central Galatia, a wild and desolate country; but this route was forced upon them, and Paul 'would not be deterred by rough or unfrequented paths' (Ltft.). There must have been at this time regular communication between the S.W. and N. of the great Galatian province. The view followed in this note gives a good sense to Ac 18^{23}, *διερχόμενος . . . τ. Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν*, which means, in this light, 'traversing the (above-mentioned) Galatian region *and Phrygia*' at large—not the Galatian part of it alone, to which Paul's travels had been specifically limited on the Second Journey.

* This assumption as to the *race* of Paul's 'Galatians' is modified by the later note above. It is still maintained that in locality and origin the Churches in question are distinct from those of S. Galatia, which were founded upon the First Journey and owed allegiance not to Paul alone, but to Paul and Barnabas jointly.

St. Paul's campaign in Macedonia was one of severe conflict, but signal success. The missionaries entered **Thessalonica** (now *Saloniki*), the capital of Macedonia, full of vigour and hope (1 Th 1^{5} $2^{1.2}$). Next to Syrian Antioch, this city was the most important which Paul had so far reached, being the chief emporium of the Thracian peninsula and the seat of Roman administration, containing also a large and influential synagogue. Once planted at Thessalonica, 'the word of the Lord sounded out' far and wide; the gospel was advertised through the whole of Macedonia and Achaia (1 Th 1^{6-10}). St. Paul's experience here resembled that at Pisidian Antioch (Ac 17^{1-10}). At this loyal imperial capital, however, the attack on Christianity takes a new form, reminding us of the charge against Jesus before Pilate. The preachers are accused of sedition, of 'setting up another king, Jesus.' The emphasis which Paul laid at this time upon the doctrines of 'the kingdom of God' and the *parousia* lent colour to this dangerous impeachment. Paul left Thessalonica for **Berœa** with his work unfinished, and firmly resolved to return soon (1 Th $2^{17.18}$ 3^{10}); he had a peculiar affection for his converts here (as at Philippi), and a strong sense of the importance of the position won in this city. But he had to be content with sending Timothy from Athens in his place; and it was only on Timothy's return (who found the apostle removed to Corinth, Ac 18^{5}) that his anxiety was relieved. St. Luke's account throws at this point a further light on St. Paul's method of argument with Jews: 'He discoursed to them from the Scriptures, expounding and explaining [1] that the Christ should suffer, and [2] should rise from the dead, and [3] that *this* is the Christ, this Jesus whom I proclaim to you.' Up to the last point (reached on the *third* Sabbath?) the Jews listened with tolerance—to the general doctrine of a suffering and rising Messiah; the critical moment came when this Christ was identified with the crucified Nazarene.

The synagogue of Berœa received the gospel with rare candour; a Church was quickly formed, including 'many' Jews; everything went well, until Jews from Thessalonica arrived to stir up the heathen multitude against the apostles. The danger to St. Paul's life must have been great, for he was sent by sea right out of the country and escorted all the way to Athens (17^{10-15}). This deadly persecution by the Thessalonian Jews justifies the anger he expresses in 1 Th 2^{14-16}.

At **Athens**, the city of philosophers but 'full of idols,' things take a different course. Paul is hailed as a wandering lecturer upon some curious form of religious speculation, and is brought by 'certain of the Stoics and Epicureans' before the court (not up on the *hill*) of the Areopagus, which was charged with the oversight of public teaching in the city. The profound and earnest discourse reported in Ac 17^{22-31}—which leads up from the general truth, then widely accepted, of God's spiritual nature and fatherly relation to men, to the proclamation of Christ's coming in judgment and the resurrection of the dead—made no decided impression on this audience. A single Areopagite accepted the faith, with a few other persons (17^{34}), but no considerable Church could be gathered; and Paul went on to Corinth (on 'Paul at Athens,' see especially Ramsay's *St. Paul the Trav.* xi. 1–3). Silas' movements at this time cannot be traced with certainty: probably he followed Paul to Athens, along with Timothy (Ac 17^{15}), and was separately, and a little later (1 Th $3^{1.2}$, '*we* sent Timothy'), despatched from that place—*sc.* to Philippi or Berœa, journeying with Timothy back from Macedonia to rejoin the apostle (Ac 18^{5}).

Paul reached **Corinth** alone, 'in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling' (1 Co 2^{3})—a condition due partly to sickness, but partly, one thinks, to his small success at Athens and his distress about the Thessalonians. The elation of his Macedonian mission was followed by a period of dejection. He gained, however, at the outset a couple of fast friends in **Aquila and Priscilla,** recently driven from Rome through the emperor Claudius' decree of expulsion against the Jews. Their acquaintance turned his thoughts more definitely to that city, which at Corinth came into Paul's nearer view. St. Paul's opening addresses in this synagogue were received with favour both by 'Jews and Greeks' (Ac 18^{1-4}), until after some weeks, on the arrival of Silas and Timothy with cheering news from Macedonia, he proclaimed in its full scope, and with renewed energy, the Messiahship of Jesus and 'the word of the cross' (Ac 18^{5-8}, 1 Co 1^{18-25} 2^{2}). At this the Jews were scandalized, and an angry separation ensued. Paul occupied the house of a converted proselyte, Titius Justus—judging from his name, a Roman citizen of the *colonia*—close to the synagogue; the ruler of the synagogue followed him. When he tells the Corinthian brethren that there were '*not many* wise, mighty, highborn' amongst them, it is evident that some persons of distinction and culture attached themselves to this Church (cf. Ro 16^{23}).

The Corinthian Church shone by its intellectual gifts and variety of talent. Its constituency was drawn from the lowest as well as the higher walks of life. On this rank soil, in the metropolis of Greek vice, a Christianity sprang up of abounding vitality, but rife with seeds of strife and corruption (1 Co 1^{5} 6^{9-11}, 2 Co $12^{20.21}$, etc.). In Corinth the Jews had no popular influence, and Paul was able to stay for eighteen months. He was encouraged by a vision assuring him of personal safety and of a rich harvest of souls (Ac 18^{9-11}). Paul experienced at Corinth the full benefit of the protection of Roman law. The proconsul Gallio, known through his brother Seneca as an amiable and large-minded man, dismissed contemptuously the charge of illegal action brought by the Jews against Paul, and winked at the beating thereupon given to the accuser by the Greek bystanders (vv.$^{12-17}$). In no other great city, with the exception of Syrian Antioch, did the apostolic Church experience so little persecution.

The date of the *FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESS.* is determined by comparison of 1 Th 3^{6} and Ac 18^{5} as falling within the first period of St. Paul's sojourn at Corinth, within six months probably of his leaving Thessalonica. The *SECOND EPISTLE* followed speedily after the First; for it deals with the same situation, aggravated in some particulars, and corrects a misapprehension due in part to misunderstanding or perversion of the First (2 Th $2^{1.2}$). These two Epp., with the Address at Athens and the allusions of 1 Co, show the prominence of the doctrine of the Last Things in St. Paul's teaching at this epoch. Though his specific doctrine of the Cross is only once alluded to in the Thess. letters (1 Th $5^{9.10}$), the Epp. to Corinth and Galatia prove, by their references to his preaching on the second journey (1 Co $2^{1.2}$, Gal 3^{1}, etc.), that this was his central theme throughout.

The course of the Second Journey, possibly, throws some light upon the obscure figure of 'the man of lawlessness' in 2 Th 2. Many indications point to the apostle's interested study of the Roman Empire and its relations to the kingdom of Christ. The majesty and equity of Roman law, the ability of Roman administration, the unity and peace which Roman rule gave to the civilized world, Paul appreciated; they had created the field for his great work. He saw in the Roman magistrate 'the restrainer' of evil forces that might have crushed the Church in its infancy. But there was one feature in the Roman system that must have stirred his extreme abhorrence—the *Cæsar-worship* then rapidly spreading in the provinces, which was becoming, in fact, the religion of the Empire. This development of imperial autocracy was, in principle, quite distinct from the authority of the State, and could be regarded by Paul only as the climax of lawlessness. The attempt of Caligula, in the year 39, to place his statue in the temple at Jerusalem had horrified the Jewish world; the blasphemous freaks of this Cæsar were probably in the apostle's mind when he wrote 2 Th 2^{4}. In their progress through Asia Minor the missionaries were confronted with multiplied signs of the imperial religion; not improbably they passed, *e.g.*, through Pergamum (marked out in Rev 2^{13} as the place 'where Satan dwelleth'), where stood the *Augusteium*, in which the godhead of the Divus Augustus was honoured by a splendid cultus renowned through the peninsula. Such observations gave a sharper edge to St. Paul's conception of 'the kingdom'; and his reflexions upon this antithesis may well have affected his language in such a way as to lend colour to the charge made against him at Thessalonica (Ac $17^{7.8}$). On this subject he had *spoken* more freely than he ventures to write (2 Th 2^{5}). The OT forecasts of **Antichrist,** combined with the contemporary deification of the Cæsars, supply the material for the image of the *ἀντικείμενος* of 2 Th. This same Cæsar-worship inspired the hatred of Rome which burns through the Apocalypse. St. Paul and St. John, with profound insight, discerned in this cult the true rival of Christianity among the forces of the time; the *numen* of Cæsar, as the great martyrdoms proved, was the crucial alternative to that of Jesus. Antichrist was latent in the world-god of the Palatine.

In his progress westwards Paul was increasingly attracted, yet repelled, at each step by the grandeur of Rome. The second missionary tour was the time of the apostle's boldest enterprises, his largest conquests. In a single march the gospel was carried over more than half the breadth of the eastern Roman Empire, and Corinth was brought into fellowship with Jerusalem. But these rapid successes in Galatia and Corinth prepared for the apostle his greatest sorrows.

The second tour, occupying scarcely less than three years, closed with Paul's voyage to Cæsarea for Jerusalem. On the way he called at Ephesus, where he left Priscilla and Aquila, promising to return. This fourth visit to Jerusalem was of the briefest. At Antioch he spent 'some time'—an expression probably covering the ensuing winter.

(*d*) THE THIRD MISSIONARY JOURNEY commenced with the spring, when St. Paul set out for 'the Galatian region and Phrygia,' accompanied by Timothy (Ac 18^{18-23}). During the interval between the second and third journeys we place (with Neander, Wieseler, A. Sabatier) **St. Peter's visit to Antioch and collision with St. Paul,** related in Gal 2^{11-21}. The defeat of Ac 15 must have arrested the Judaistic movement for the time; nor is St. Peter, to say nothing of St. Barnabas, likely at once to have stultified his action at the Council. The Epp. to the Thess. give no indication that St. Paul's mind was disturbed during his first mission in Europe by controversy with the legalists, as it could hardly fail to have been if the settlement made at Jerus. had been already jeoparded by 'the dissimulation' of Peter and Barnabas and the renewed activity of the *ψευδάδελφοι παρείσακτοι*. The proceedings of the 'certain from James' at the time of St. Peter's visit to Antioch amounted to 'a regular declaration of war,' a renewal of the struggle between the principle of Jewish privilege and Christian universalism. This conflict, breaking out in Antioch, spread rapidly over the field of St. Paul's mission and raged bitterly in the Galatian and Corinthian Churches, where emissaries from Jerus. appeared on the same errand as those who had 'carried away' the Jewish Christians of Antioch. 'Evidently, the apostle had quitted Jerus. (after the Council of Ac 15 and the understanding with the "Pillars") and proceeded to his second Missionary Journey full of satisfaction at the victory he had gained and free from anxiety for the future. The decisive moment of the crisis necessarily falls between the Thess. and Gal. Epp. What had happened meanwhile? The violent discussion with St. Peter at Antioch, and all that the recital of this incident reveals to us,—the arrival of the emissaries from St. James in the Gentile Christian circle, and the countermission organized to rectify the work of St. Paul. A new situation suddenly presents itself to the apostle on his return from the second Missionary Journey' (Sabatier, *The Apostle Paul*, pp. 10, 11, also 124–136). The Judaizers had recovered from the shock of their former overthrow; and the enormous accessions to the Church from heathenism were threatening to overwhelm them. They determined on a new and more artful attempt to capture the Gentile Churches. They did not now, as before, bluntly insist that circumcision was necessary to salvation (Ac 15^{1}). But they maintained that the law of God created an indelible distinction between the circumcised Israelite and all others, and that this separation was guarded by the Levitical ordinances respecting meats. While the Messiah was the Saviour of all men, there belonged to His own people, with the apostles whom He chose from amongst them, an inalienable primacy. Only through circumcision and conformity to the sacred ordinances could Gentile believers become the legitimate heirs of faithful Abraham, and enter into all the blessedness of the kingdom of God. Such was the theory of the new Judaizers, as we gather it from St. Paul's polemic against them. They no longer denied the Christian status of uncircumcised believers in Christ, but they vindicated a higher status for the circumcised. Thus Peter and Barnabas, in withdrawing from the common Church table at Antioch under the pressure of these men, virtually 'compelled the Gentiles to Judaize'; for only, it seemed, on this condition would the latter be in communion with Jewish believers and be recognized as Christians in the fullest sense. 'The decrees' of the Jerus. Council, though certainly not designed for this purpose, and not corresponding (as it has often been alleged) to the 'Seven Commandments of the Sons of Noah' imposed on the *gēr tôshābh* or *sebomenos* (Hort, *Jud. Christianity*, pp. 68–76), might with a little ingenuity be construed in favour of the distinction now alleged, as though they placed Gentile Christians on a footing resembling that of proselytes to Judaism.* The law was brought in again to complete the work of the gospel; and those who had 'begun in the spirit' were to be 'perfected by the flesh' (Gal 3^{3}).

While the legalists sought in this way to foist Judaism upon the Pauline Churches, they equally strove to destroy the influence of the Apostle Paul. They came forward as the authorized representatives of the chiefs at Jerus., and showed 'letters of commendation' to this effect (Gal 2^{12}, 2 Co 3^{1}); in their name they assumed to correct the imperfect doctrine of Paul, and to claim the allegiance of all believers for the mother Church. Paul, they asserted, had no knowledge of Jesus Christ and no authority to preach Him, beyond what he had received from Peter and the Twelve. Amongst other proofs of this, they even argued at Corinth that his declining to receive a stipend betrayed the consciousness of inferior right. With these unscrupulous opponents Paul was in conflict throughout the third tour. At the outset he had warned his Galatian converts against the seducers who were following on his track (Gal 1^{9} 5^{3}; cf. Ac 18^{23}). His opponents anticipated his arrival at Corinth; from Corinth he writes to Rome, expecting that they will carry the agitation there and may prepossess the Roman Church against him. If these men were really supported, as they alleged, by the responsible heads of the Jewish Church, St. Paul's position was almost untenable; but the studious respect shown in the Epp. of this period for the 'Pillars' indicates his confidence in their loyalty to the fellowship established between himself and them (Gal 2$^{9.10}$). The failure of the attack on St. Paul's apostleship goes far to prove that there was no schism between him and the Twelve.

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* Such abuse of the *δόγματα* by the Judaizers best explains St. Paul's silence respecting them, and their disappearance after Ac 16^{4} (see, however, 21^{25}).

This *fourth period*, therefore, of St. Paul's ministry is distinguished as the period of his struggle with the Judaistic reaction in the Church, and of the four great evangelical Epistles which were its outcome. The evangelist becomes the controversialist; the church-founder must defend the churches of his foundation. The apologetic and doctrinal interests now predominate in St. Paul's work; he is employed in consolidating the conquests already won.

Even his missionary activity bears at this time somewhat of a supplementary character. After 'confirming' on his way 'all the disciples' gained on his last tour (Ac 18^{23}, cf. 16^{6}: for the expression *τ. Γαλατικὴν χώραν κ. Φρυγίαν* see note * on p. 707^{n}), 'when he had made a missionary progress through the higher-lying quarters' (this implies a fairly complete evangelizing of central Asia Minor), Paul 'came to Ephesus' (19^{1}). **Ephesus,** with its rich and populous province of Asia, lay in the centre of the fields already occupied. It was the objective point of St. Paul's second journey; God's hand had then diverted his course (16^{6}), but only for a while. Here, as at Corinth, Paul's work was under the shield of the Roman administration (19$^{38-40}$); and he won the friendship even of 'some of the Asiarchs' (v.^{31}), who were the 'high priests of Asia, the heads of the imperial politico-religious organization of the province' (*St. Paul the Trav.* p. 281). 'Many,' therefore, as his 'adversaries' were, and though he had to 'fight with wild beasts in Ephesus' (1 Co 15^{32} 16^{9}), Paul held his ground in this city for three years, until 'all those that dwelt in Asia had heard the word of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks' (Ac 19$^{10.\ 17-20.\ 26}$ 20^{31}). This success led to a great destruction of the Ephesian books of magic; it so much diminished the sale of the images of Artemis that the craftsmen took alarm and stirred up a riot of the city multitude, who were enraged at the disparagement of their world-famed goddess. The tumult hastened Paul's departure; but he had done an immense work at Ephesus. This city, afterwards the home of the Apostle John, was the most powerful centre of Christianity in the later apostolic age. The Ep. to Philemon and that to the Colossians, written to an outlying town of the province which Paul had not himself visited, and the general (provincial) destination of the so-called Ep. to the EPHESIANS (see art.), indicate how widely Paul's mission permeated the province of Asia. With the establishment of the gospel at Troas, evangelized by Paul on leaving Ephesus (2 Co 2$^{12.\ 13}$; cf. Ac 20$^{6-12}$), and the excursion into Illyria (Ro 15$^{19-21}$) made apparently during his sojourn in Macedonia in the following summer, two more links were added to the chain of Churches, which by the end of the third tour stretched 'from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum.' The apostle felt that things were ripening for his advance to Rome (Ac 19^{21}).

Besides the daily pressure of his mission, never perhaps so great as at Ephesus, there lay on St. Paul heavily at this time 'the care of all the Churches' (2 Co 11^{28}). Of this care the Corinthian and Galatian Epistles are evidence. *GALATIANS* is commonly referred to the Ephesian sojourn; 'Lightfoot has given good reasons, though not all equally good' (Hort's *Jud. Chr.* p. 99), for placing it later, between 2 Co and Ro, as written from Macedonia or Corinth (*Comm. on Gal.*, Introd. iii.). Ramsay, in accordance with his S. Galatian theory, carries the Epistle back to St. Paul's stay at Antioch before the third journey; while Clemen (*Chronologie d. Paulin. Briefe*, ii. A. 1) makes it follow Romans because of its extreme controversial position.

In *1 AND 2 CORINTHIANS* we see Paul closely watching affairs at Corinth, during his residence in Ephesus. But the exact course of his proceedings is difficult to determine. Krenkel (in his *Beiträge*) and Schmiedel (in the 'Handcommentar z. NT,' *Einleit. an Kor.*) have lately examined the data minutely, arriving at involved and contradictory theories as to Paul's communications with Corinth during this period. From 2 Co 13$^{1.\ 2}$ it is almost certain that Paul *had been at Corinth a second time*, 'in sorrow' (2^{1}) and humiliation (12$^{20.\ 21}$). He found a number of his converts relapsing into heathen vice; and he rebuked and warned, but forbore to strike. This forbearance had compromised his authority and given an impression of weakness on his part, of which his opponents subsequently took an injurious advantage, contrasting his imperious letters with his feeble presence and challenging a 'proof' of his apostolic powers (2 Co 10$^{1-11}$ 13$^{1-10}$). This intervening visit (an excursion by sea from Ephesus, unnoticed by Luke) was made *not long before 1 Co* (so Schmiedel),—and, since this letter was written in the spring (1 Co 5^{8} 16^{8}), probably in the previous autumn. In 1 Co 4$^{18-21}$ Paul meets the insinuation, based on the result of this encounter, that he is afraid to come to Corinth; his seeming vacillation between the 1st and 2nd Ep. gave additional colour to the imputation, afterwards repeated (2 Co 1$^{15-24}$). This episode, not directly mentioned in 1 Co and which both parties might wish to forget, Paul is compelled to recall in 2 Co by the taunts of his opponents. On his return to Ephesus under the painful impression of what he had just witnessed at Corinth, the apostle wrote a sharp disciplinary Epistle, to which 1 Co 5$^{9-13}$ refers in explanation and reinforcement. In spite of this appeal, the Church of Corinth had permitted 'the old leaven' to remain, until the monstrous case of incest compelled the apostle to give the solemn and peremptory directions of 1 Co 5$^{1-8}$.

Concurrently with the news of this outrage, Paul hears of the factions dividing the Church, in which the names of Cephas and of Apollos (much against his will) figure in rivalry with his own,—even the name of Christ being dragged into the competition. The Apollos party, affecters of philosophical breadth and culture, were conspicuous at the moment; and Paul deals with them in chs. 1–4 of 1 Co, referring to Apollos with brotherly frankness (3$^{4.\ 22}$ 4^{6}). The Church had also addressed to the apostle at Ephesus a public letter, avoiding the grave matters taken up in St. Paul's first six chapters, and writing with a self-complacency sadly unbefitting (4^{8} 5$^{2.\ 6}$ 11^{2}), but asking his guidance on a number of important practical questions, with which he deals in chs. 7–14: see the headings

$7^{1.25}$ 8^{1} 12^{1} 16^{1}. Three leading Corinthian Christians brought this letter to Ephesus (16^{15-18}); and Paul, in sending them back with his reply, warmly commends them. In this Epistle we first hear of 'the collection for the saints' at Jerusalem, gathered by Paul on his third missionary tour, to which he attached great importance (16^{1-4}, 2 Co 8. 9, Gal 2^{10}). He had already given instructions to the Churches of Galatia on the business, probably on his way through Asia Minor (Ac 18^{23}); and Gal 6^{6-10}, as well as 2^{10}, tacitly refers to it. The phrase introducing the topic in 1 Co 16^{1} (cf. 7^{1} etc.) suggests that the Corinthians were already interested in this charity (see also 2 Co 8^{10} 9^{2-5}). This ministration to the poverty of the persecuted Church in Jerus. (1 Th 2^{14}), in which Paul had been engaged from an early time (Ac 11^{30}), helped to unite Jewish and Gentile Christians; it was a counteraction to the Judaistic propaganda, since it exhibited to the mother Church the true grace of God in the daughter Churches among the heathen.

When Paul despatched our 1st Ep. to Corinth, he was expecting to travel thither soon, but not immediately, and to make a considerable stay; meanwhile he has sent **Timothy,** now in Macedonia upon his way, who 'will remind' the Corinthians of Paul's 'ways in Christ,' which they were in danger of forgetting. He had some apprehension that Timothy might not be well received (1 Co 4^{17-19} 16^{10}; cf. Ac $19^{21.22}$). Although Timothy shares in the greeting of 2 Co, and 2 Co 1–7 (quite otherwise than 1 Co) is written mainly in the first person plural, not a word is said about Timothy's visit to Corinth. This silence is significant, as was St. Paul's silence in 1 Co respecting his own, then recent, visit. Had Timothy never arrived at Corinth, some explanation would surely have been given; clearly, he is not forgotten (1^{1}). Now, in the same letter there is notable reference to some one, unnamed, who had been grievously 'wronged,' and wronged in such a way that Paul felt the injury as his own. About this wrong he has written shortly before, 'out of much affliction and anguish of heart, with many tears' ($2^{3.4}$ 7^{8-12}). In this painful letter, which had made the Corinthians 'sorry after a godly sort' and 'to repentance,' Paul must have demanded the exemplary punishment of 'him that did the wrong'; and a 'censure' had been accordingly inflicted upon him 'by the majority' of the Church, under which the offender was so humbled that Paul forgives him and desires his restoration (2 Co 2^{5-11}).

Chs. 1–7 of the 2nd Ep. turn upon this incident. Who were the sufferer and inflicter of wrong? (1) *The father and son of 1 Co* 5^{1}; so it is often replied (see *e.g.* Edwards and Beet on 1 Co, and Klöpper on 2 Co, *ad locc.*). But the language and feeling of 2 Co 2^{5-11} 7^{6-16} are as unsuitable as those of 1 Co 5 are suitable to this infamous offence, and one hardly thinks that even the Church of Corinth could hesitate or be divided about so flagrant a crime when solemnly brought up for judgment; nor does 1 Co correspond to the description of 2 Co 2^{4}. (2) *St. Paul himself and some insolent Corinthian Christian*, who had defied the apostle either when present on the second visit (thus interjected between 1 and 2 Co), or in his absence; so Sabatier (*The Ap. Paul*, pp. 171–175), Schmiedel, and others. This explanation sets us at the right point of view for understanding 2 Co 2 and 7; but St. Paul's second visit to Corinth probably came about earlier (see p. 710^{b}); and St. Paul is not the man to have retreated before a personal attack, shooting Parthian arrows by letters from a distance; such a defeat would have been irreparable. (3) Beyschlag and Pfleiderer, with greater probability, suggest *Timothy* as the ἀδικηθείς. Appearing at Corinth on Paul's behalf about the time of the arrival of the 1st Ep. (4^{17-21} $16^{10.11}$), and perhaps taking the initiative in the trial of the incestuous man, Timothy received a gross insult from 'some one' of note in the Church, the injury thus inflicted striking the apostle through his representative, and, not improbably, involving an angry reflexion upon him for sending a stripling in his place. This attack on Timothy accounts for the emphatic and continuous identification by the apostle in 2 Co 1–7 of his young helper with himself, and for the subtle interchanges between the first person plural and singular in the passages relative to the ἀδικήσας and ἀδικηθείς.

On Timothy's return, soon after 1 Co, with this grievous news, Paul wrote 'out of anguish of heart' the lost epistle between 1 and 2 Co (not to be identified with 2 Co 10–13^{10}, as by Hausrath and Pfleiderer; these chapters have nothing to do with the affair of the ἀδικηθείς), conveyed by **Titus** (before this time employed at Corinth on the business of the collection, 2 Co 8^{6} $9^{2.5}$ 12^{16-18}), in which Paul called on the Church to condemn the ἀδικήσας and thus 'show itself clear in the matter.' This the Corinthians did—at least 'the majority' of them (2^{6})—with earnest apologies to Paul and Timothy ($7^{11.12}$). Paul had sent Titus in confidence that such satisfaction would be given; but Titus' delay in returning awakened the most distressing apprehensions ($2^{12.13}$ $7^{5.6}$). He was compelled to leave Ephesus, and, after awaiting his messenger for some time at Troas, passed on to Macedonia still in painful suspense. At the moment when he sent Titus from Ephesus, Paul was disposed to come round by way of Corinth to Macedonia,—supposing, of course, that the Corinthians submitted (cf. 1^{15} and 7^{14}),—and Titus had intimated that the apostle, contrary to the intention of 1 Co 16^{5-7}, might thus give them 'a second joy.' But this was now impossible (Paul would not come without better news from Corinth, $2^{2.3}$), and the apostle reverted to the earlier plan of travel. He must have apprised Titus of this change, with directions to meet him in Troas or Macedonia; and in this way the news of St. Paul's illness reached Corinth before Titus left (1^{11} 7^{7}). The Corinthians were full of sympathy; at the same time, reflexions were made on the apostle's seeming fickleness, which touched him keenly (1^{15-22}).

The illness from which Paul suffered between 1 and 2 Co was severe and all but fatal (2 Co 1^{9} 6^{9}). This affliction left a deep mark in his experience; it overshadows 2 Co. Chs. 4^{16}–5^{10} record his thoughts as he then lay confronting the last enemy. For the first time he realizes the likelihood that he will die before the Lord's return; we do not find him subsequently speaking of the παρουσία in the first person plural of 1 Th and 1 Co. The terrible closing scenes at Ephesus, the revolt of Galatia and Corinth, and this prostrating attack of sickness, by their concurrent effect brought him into the lowest depths of affliction (1^{8-11} 4^{7-12} $7^{5.6}$); and God is now to him, above all, 'the Father of compassions.' It was the darkest hour that the apostle had known. His life and his mission seemed both to be ending in defeat.

The acute personal question raised by the ἀδικήσας at Corinth is terminated; but the larger controversy remains, and has been exasperated through the arrival of Judæan emissaries (3^{1} $11^{22.23}$ 12^{11}). Of these men and their proceedings Titus, on his return from Corinth, gave a full report. The Church, while sincerely loyal to Paul, had received the 'false apostles' and 'deceitful workers'; it was being imposed on and was too likely to be seduced by them ($11^{2-4.19.20}$). Their self-commendations and disparagements of Paul, at whose expense they exalted the Twelve, were listened to with unworthy tolerance. He is compelled in

2 Co 3–6, and more polemically in the concluding chapters, to vindicate at length both his character and apostleship. The contrast, in temper and purport, between 2 Co 1–7 and 10–13, which leads some able scholars (*e.g.* Hausrath, Schmiedel) to regard these sections as distinct epistles, is due to the peculiar situation at Corinth, to the fact that, while the majority of the Church had rallied to Paul (2[6]), there remained a minority all the more embittered, in which the newly-arrived agitators found the means for operating upon the entire community. The four parties of 1 Co have resolved themselves in a few months into two; and 2 Co is at once a message of peace to the well-disposed, and a thunderbolt launched by the apostle against the Judaizing promoters of 'another gospel' and his own malignant detractors.

This powerful Epistle appears to have subdued the mutiny at Corinth, for Paul carried out his purpose of spending the winter there before his journey to Jerusalem (Ac 20[2.3]: cf. 2 Co 2[1]), and there he wrote the calm and deliberate *Ep. to the Romans*, the tone of which reflects his softened mood. This conciliatory temper befitted the apostle addressing a strange Church, where Jewish believers are numerous but, as he supposes, not unfriendly to his gospel. Meanwhile Titus, attended for this purpose by two companions (2 Co 8[16-23]), is commissioned in conveying 2 Co to conclude the business of 'the collection,' which had doubtless been hindered by strife; chs. 8 and 9 of 2 Co are devoted to this matter. In 1 Co 16[3] Paul had suggested the election of deputies to convey the charity to Jerus.; such election the Macedonians had now made (2 Co 8[19]): Ac 20[4] furnishes a list of these deputies, as they gathered to accompany St. Paul to Palestine. Prevented by a plot of the Jews against his life from taking ship at Corinth for Syria, Paul went round by way of Philippi (where he spent Passover) and Troas (Ac 20[3-6]). His voyage thence and arrival at Jerusalem are fully described by St. Luke (Ac 20. 21), now St. Paul's companion once more. (On this journey see Ramsay's *St. Paul the Trav.* xiii.). St. Paul's reception by St. James and the Church of Jerusalem signalizes his victory over the legalists.

THE EP. TO THE ROMANS sums up the development of St. Paul's work and thought at this central epoch. The struggle with the Judaistic reaction which he has just passed through, was in effect a rehearsal of the internal conflict that issued in the conversion of Saul the Pharisee and his call to the apostleship of the Gentiles. He saw his converts in Galatia and Corinth, and those who 'had been delivered' to the same 'form of teaching' in Rome (6[17] 16[17.18]), in danger of being reduced to the very bondage from which he had himself been rescued by the signal intervention of Jesus Christ (Ro 7[24]–8[4], Gal 2[4.5] 4[31]–5[4]). The Ep. to the Galatians is a vehement apologetic reassertion, and the Ep. to the Romans a luminous and methodical exposition, of 'the truth of the gospel' in which Paul's experience of twenty years, as a converted Christian man and an evangelist to Jews and Gentiles, was comprised. It is here unfolded in its mature expression, the form into which it was wrought by dint of use and conflict and through profound and intense reflexion, embracing in its compass the whole course of sin and redemption, and the relations of Israel and of mankind to God viewed in their largest aspects. Such a treatise and manifesto it was fitting for the apostle to send to *Rome*—addressing himself 'urbi et orbi,' and with an eye probably to other readers besides those of the lowly Christian Church he expected to visit there. Fronting the imperial city, Paul rises to a higher stature and assumes a loftier accent. The added stateliness of diction and amplitude of treatment betray an imagination, and a statesmanlike sense, touched by the majesty of Rome. Standing at Corinth, with the east behind him and a line of churches, now securely established, studding the road to Jerusalem, and with new fields before his sight stretching westwards to Spain (Ro 15[17-29]), the apostle pauses to review his progress and to give account of his mission and his doctrine that have been subject to so fierce a challenge. At the same time there is present to his mind the contingency that his voyage to Jerus. may have a fatal end, and that the Ep. he is now writing may prove to be his legacy rather than his introduction to the Roman Church (15[30-33]; see Hort, *Prolegomena to Romans and Ephesians*, pp. 42–50). The situation, while it explains the critical importance and representative character of the Ep. to the Romans, accounts also for its limitations. This writing is *retrospective*; it is the consummation of the legalistic controversy, and of Paul's missionary course 'from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum': it is no more than this. The apostle's life was to open into a new period fraught with other conflicts; changed surroundings and demands will turn his thoughts in directions as yet unforeseen; and the later groups of Epp. contain developments and applications of doctrine that are implicit, rather than realized, in the series of writings which concludes with the grand Ep. to the Romans.

The apostle to the Gentiles now stands at the summit of his career. During the third missionary tour he has founded the prosperous Asian Churches; he has written his four great Epp. and repelled the Judaistic invasion of Gentile Christianity, while he has preserved peace with the mother Church in Judæa. But these hardly-won successes engendered for the soldier of Christ new perils and conflicts.

(*e*) *Fifth Period.*—Under many omens and forebodings of danger St. Paul travelled to Jerusalem. Though he was 'gladly received' by 'the brethren' there, the language of Ac 21[20ff.] shows that the mass of Jewish believers were alienated from him. At St. James' suggestion he took the occasion of publicly conforming to Mosaic practice, becoming 'to the Jews as a Jew' in the same conciliatory spirit in which he wrote the Ep. to the Romans. But this did not propitiate Jewish hostility. The Asian Jews at the feast, who would have murdered Paul in the temple but for the Roman guard, denounced him as the universal enemy of Judaism (Ac 21[27-36]). Through all the regions where he had laboured he was now a marked man in the eyes of his compatriots, the apostate, the waster of Israel, the profaner of its holy things.

To this furious hatred Paul owed his four years' imprisonment and the long suspension of his missionary work. His addresses of defence—(1) before the people from the temple steps, Ac 22; (2) before the Sanhedrin, 23; (3) before the procurator Felix, 24; (4) his appeal to Cæsar before the procurator Festus, 25; (5) his apology before Herod Agrippa II. at the court of Festus, 26—enable us to follow the course of the proceedings against him. The Roman judges saw that Paul was innocent of civil crime, but that the Jews, whose fanatical violence they feared to provoke, were bent on his destruction. As a Roman citizen, he must not be sacrificed to the Jews; his detention seemed the safest course; and Felix in the first instance had hoped that a bribe would be offered for his release (24[26]). A vision, on the first night of his imprisonment (23[11]), encouraged Paul's long-cherished hope of 'seeing Rome' (19[21]); and when the change of governors at Cæsarea led to a renewal of the abortive local trials, Paul determined to accomplish that purpose by the words *Appello*

Cæsarem. This course involved the appellant in heavy expense; it is unlikely that Paul taxed the Churches for personal ends; and Ramsay finds here, and in other circumstances of his imprisonment, reason to think that the apostle at this time was in command of considerable private means, and had entered into his patrimony (*St. Paul the Trav.* xiii. 8).

The voyage to Rome, with its shipwreck and winter detention in Melita (Malta), related in Ac 27 and 28 with vividness and accuracy, exhibits Paul's practical and manly qualities to great advantage, his singular personal ascendency and strong good sense. He was received cordially by the Church at Rome. The Jewish leaders profess to know nothing of his case: his appeal must have taken the rulers at Jerus. by surprise, and they had failed during the winter to advertise their brethren at Rome of the matter. Paul preaches to them with the same result as at Pisidian Antioch, Thessalonica, and Corinth (28^{17-28}). The narrative of Acts leaves him at Rome, 'remaining in his own hired lodging,' in *libera custodia*, allowed to 'receive all that came to visit him, preaching the kingdom of God and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ with all freedom, unhindered.' The government at Rome took the same view of Paul as Gallio and Festus: he was a man politically harmless, but the cause of troublesome ferments amongst the Jews, and therefore well out of the way. His trial was allowed to linger. King Agrippa may have joined with Festus in making favourable representations of the prisoner's character; and the report of the centurion Julius probably helped him with the military officer (the Princeps Peregrinorum, *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 348) in whose charge he was placed.

The fact that the account of St. Luke, written a considerable time after the events, concludes with the words above quoted, raises a decided presumption against this trial having issued in the apostle's condemnation and death. The indications of Ac 21–28 (going to show that no capital charge was forthcoming against Paul), and the expectations of the Epp. of the captivity (Philem ^{22}, Ph 1^{24-26} 2^{24}), point the other way. If Paul had remained in Rome till the summer of 64, he would doubtless have fallen a victim to the Neronian persecution; and this many critics have supposed. Chronological inquiry, however, makes it more and more certain that the 'two years' of Ac 28^{30} terminated before this epoch—in 63 A.D. at the latest.

The two years (Ac 24^{23-27}) of Paul's residence in Cæsarea, but for the speeches of defence, are almost a blank for us. He was granted such alleviations as a strict confinement allowed, and private friends had access to him; but public work was impossible. The apostle, doubtless, communicated by messenger and letter with his Churches; and the extant Epp. to Philemon, the Colossians, and Ephesians are dated by some leading critics—even Philippians (very improbably), by one or two—from the Cæsarean captivity. The weight of opinion inclines to the Roman origin of all four (see artt. on these Epp.). At Rome Paul enjoyed greater freedom, and exercised a notable public influence. His misfortunes 'have resulted in the progress rather [than hindrance] of the gospel' (Ph 1^{12}). His trial has given him the opportunity of representing Christ before 'the prætorium' (the emperor's court of justice, v.^{13}: cf. 2 Ti $4^{16.17}$; and see *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 357), and Christianity has penetrated the palace (4^{22}). St. Paul's courage under his trials has stimulated the Roman Church generally to greater boldness; even the ill-disposed (legalist) minority, which existed at Rome (cf. $3^{2.3}$), has been provoked by jealousy to exertions which, since they served to spread the name of Christ, caused to Paul added joy (1^{15-18}). From Col $4^{10.11}$ it appears that Paul could name only three Jewish Christians at Rome who were heartily on his side; and two of these were helpers from a distance (cf. Ph $2^{20.21}$). Notwithstanding certain notes of depression and the sense of weariness and age (Ph 1^{23}, Philem ^{9}—but see Lightfoot, *ad loc.*), these Epp. breathe a tranquil and elevated joy. Compared with the letters of the third journey, those of the Roman captivity are more inward and chastened in spirit. Solitude, restraint, and advancing years have told on the heroic missionary. There is less passion, less vivacity, less exuberant strength of thought; but more uniform tenderness, a richer fragrance of devotion, and a quiet insight that reaches to the depths of the things of life and of God. The letter to Philemon, moreover, shows a genial and playful humour refreshing in a man of St. Paul's stern intensity. These are well styled the *afternoon* Epp., as the writings of the Judaic controversy are the noonday Epistles of Paul.

COLOSSIANS signalizes the rise of a new antagonism in the Church, of which Paul was to see but the beginnings. His address to the Ephesian elders at Miletus (Ac 20^{17-35}) reveals his presentiment of the rise of heresy in the province of Asia, and strikes the keynote of his later ministry. The missionary and the controversialist now becomes above all the *pastor*, devoting himself to 'feed the Church of God, which he purchased through the blood [of] his own [Son]' (Ac 20^{28}; see critical note of WH). The greatness of the Church and the Divine glory of Christ fill Paul's prison meditations. Epaphras reports to him the attempt of some speculative teacher visiting Colossæ to amalgamate the gospel with Alexandrian theosophy, by ranging Christ amongst angelic mediators, and by prescribing Jewish ritual and ascetic regimen as means of salvation. This report elicits the great Christological deliverance of Col 1^{14-23}. The larger representation of the sovereignty of Christ here made gives completeness to St. Paul's system of thought, bringing the entire sum of things within its compass. The Lordship of the crucified and risen Saviour is based upon the universal Lordship of the Son of God; our redemption springs out of the ground of creation itself, and the new creation is evolved from the hidden root and rationale of the old. The Head of the Church is the centre of the universe, the depositary of 'all the fulness of the Godhead,' who 'fills all things,' above and beneath, with His plenitude and 'gathers all things into one' (Eph $1^{10.18-23}$ 4^{7-10}, Col $2^{9.10}$). In Galatians and Romans the thought of salvation by Christ broke through Jewish limits and covered the field of humanity; in Colossians and Ephesians the idea of life in Christ overleaps time and human existence, and subjects the entire cosmos to its sway. Ph 2^{6-11} puts the top-stone on the apostle's doctrine of the person of Christ, and therefore upon all his doctrine.

The movement of thought which completed Paul's Christological teaching gave a parallel expansion to his idea of *the Church*, which attains at this epoch its full dimensions. The philosophical Judaism of Colossæ, like the legal Judaism of Galatia, bred caste-feeling and schism,—evils to be corrected only by a right sense of the greatness of the Christian society and the sacredness of its fellowship, such as the apostle conveys in the Epistles of this period.

Rome was the very spot to stimulate thoughts of this nature, and to bring to its final shape St. Paul's conception of Christ's imperial dominion. The ampler prospect, both in time and space, which now opens out for the Church under his eyes, accounts also for the attention given in the prison Epistles to family and social relations, and for their fuller and more balanced ethical teaching.

These years of martyrdom drew to the apostle the reverence of the whole Church. He no longer spends a word on his own defence. We mark in the prison Epistles a calm sense of authority, a strong assurance, blended with the deepest humility, of the perpetuity of his work and its universal import, such as are but partially to be observed in the Ep. to the Romans. As Nero's prisoner at Rome and Christ's bondman for the Gentiles, St. Paul rose to the full unassailable height of his doctrine and his vocation.

(*f*) From the conclusion of the Acts we infer that Paul was released, and his ministry extended to *a sixth period*. The Pastoral Epp. require this by their altered style and the changed doctrinal and ecclesiastical situation they present, by their references to person and place, and by the impossibility of inserting them within the scheme furnished by the Acts. If genuine (see the Articles on 1 and 2 TIMOTHY and TITUS), they are later than Ac 28^{31}; and even if not from Paul's hand, they indicate the existence of a strong and detailed post-apostolic tradition relating to a missionary activity of Paul outside the scope of the Acts, and recording an imprisonment in Rome quite distinct from that disclosed in the third group of the Epistles. Most scholars who reject the Pastorals admit a Pauline nucleus in them, including the personal and local references of 2 Ti and Tit; and these enable us to trace, though imperfectly, Paul's movements in the last years of his ministry. To these slight but valuable data we may add what may be conjectured from the apostle's intentions signified in earlier letters.

Approaching the end of the first Roman imprisonment, Paul expected speedily to see his friends in Colossæ and Philippi (Philem ^{22} and Ph 1^{26} 2^{24}). His first business would be, especially after so long separation, to revisit his Churches extending from Greece to Syria—a duty demanding considerable time. Paul had set his heart years ago on evangelizing **Spain** (Ro 15^{28}); in the words of Clement, written a generation later, we have good evidence that this wish was realized: 'Paul having been a herald both in the east *and in the west*, received the high glory of his faith. When he had taught righteousness to the whole world, and had come *to the limit of the west*, and borne witness before the rulers, he so departed from the world and went to the holy place' (1 Ep. 5). 'The limit of the west,' in a Roman writer, can hardly mean *Rome*. The *Muratorian Fragment*, representing the oldest Roman traditions, is explicit to the same effect, and is supported by the oldest *Acta Apocrypha*; and the Ὑπόμνημα of Symeon Metaphrastes, traced by Lipsius and others to a 2nd cent. source, gives details of the Spanish mission. [On the whole subject see the discussion of Spitta, *Urchristenthum*, Bd. i., *Die zweimal. röm. Gefangenschaft d. Paulus*]. The judgment of Credner is borne out by subsequent inquiry, that 'there cannot be found during the first four centuries a trace of the assumption that Paul did not travel westwards beyond Rome, or that his life ended at the point where the Acts of the Apostles concludes.' But this controversy is not likely to be closed, unless further and decisive evidence should present itself.

The references of the *PASTORAL EPISTLES* belong to Paul's last journeyings in the East, antecedent to his renewed imprisonment and subsequent to the (assumed) Spanish voyage. The three letters touch at various points and are closely consecutive. He writes his last Ep. (2 Ti) from prison with winter in prospect, when the first stage of his trial is past and he has already pleaded once at the bar of the emperor. It will be some time before the trial ends, and he needs the cloak left at Troas when he last passed through that port, along with some valued books; but he craves above all the company of Timothy. His helpers have been sent off, probably at the time of his arrest, on various missions; Luke is his single companion; at his public trial he was absolutely alone (4^{9-21}). Quite otherwise than on his former trial, he counts upon his condemnation and death (vv.$^{6-8, 18}$). He had been, as it seems, at Troas earlier in the year, and probably at Miletus and Corinth (4^{20}) upon the same round of visitation (following upon his return from Spain?). Now 1 Ti dates, apparently, from Macedonia (1^{3}), whither Paul has journeyed after meeting with Timothy, to whom in this Ep. he gives further instructions for his charge at Ephesus. Miletus and Troas lie along the line of travel terminating at Corinth. Ac 20^{25} records a prediction of Paul that he would not see the Ephesian Church again; and the language of 1 Ti 1^{3} (see von Hofmann *ad loc.*), in view, moreover, of the detailed directions of this Ep. respecting Church affairs, indicates that Paul had not himself been present in Ephesus, but had held an interview with Timothy (say at Miletus; cf. Ac 20^{17}) in passing on his way north (see Appendix to Eng. ed. of Sabatier's *Ap. Paul*, pp. 366–368). Paul appears to have travelled on from Macedonia to Corinth, and to have written to Titus (in Crete) about the time of his arrival there, when he was expecting to spend the next winter in the port of Nicopolis opposite to Italy (Tit 3^{12}); shortly after this he was arrested and carried as a prisoner to Rome. On this construction, the details of time and place given in the Pastorals fit together and belong to a consistent whole. Previously to the journey from Miletus to Corinth just traced, Paul and Titus had made a tour in **Crete**, the latter remaining behind to organize the Cretan Churches (Tit 1^{5}). Paul had wished Titus to join him at Nicopolis, purposing to send a substitute (3^{12}). Possibly Paul had landed at Crete in returning from Spain; certainly the voyage of Ac 27 gave no opportunity for evangelizing the island.

The letters to Timothy and Titus are writings of Paul's old age. They bear a conservative stamp. 'Guard the deposit; hold fast the form of sound words': this is their predominant note. Sound doctrine and practical piety are the interests in which they centre. St. Paul's great creative days are over. His battles are fought, his course is run. The completing touches remain to be added, and his final seal set to the work and teaching of his life: such is the purpose these letters serve. The instructions respecting church order given in 1 Ti are much fuller than anything of the kind in previous letters; but this was a time of rapid development, and the Ephesian Church was now of twelve years' standing. His directions to Titus at Crete are notably simpler. These are the only pieces of this nature that we have from Paul—letters of instruction to his assistants on church management; they show the administrative wisdom, the love of order, and the eye for practical detail, of the great church-founder and pastor. Colossians and Ephesians have prepared us for the emphasis which Paul now throws on all that belongs to the life of the Christian community. We pass from the thought of the 'great house' to that of its 'vessels' of service, their qualities and uses (2 Ti 2^{20}). The Pastorals carry on the combat commenced in those earlier Epp. against incipient Gnosticism, with its false intellectualism and uncertain morality, its jumble of philosophy and Jewish fables, its destructive influence upon church life. St. Paul's last cares are directed to guard the gospel he had so amply set forth, and to fence the fold into which he had led such a multitude of souls. If these documents do not come, in their integrity, from Paul's own hand, they are written by a disciple who has interpreted his mind and caught his spirit and manner and applied his ideas to a new situation (see v. Soden's *Einleitung zu Pastt.* vii., in 'Handcommentar z. NT,' III.), with astonishing verisimilitude; and the nearer to Paul it is found necessary to place the Past. Epp. in personal connexion and derivation of thought, the more improbable—and the more superfluous—does the theory of personation become.

The words of 2 Ti 4^{6-8} are exquisitely fitting as St. Paul's dying testimony. They are the final pronouncement of Christ's faithful servant on his own career, crowned already in the witness of his conscience with the earnest of the crown awaiting him from the hand of his Lord. Paul died by beheading—so the credible Roman tradition relates—at a spot 3 miles from Rome along the Ostian Way, anciently called Aquæ Salviæ and now Tre Fontane. Near to the place of execution stands the splendid *Basilica Pauli*, first founded by the emperor Constantine in his honour. But the universal Church is his monument.

5. *Chronology of St. Paul's Life.*—Luke supplies no such *point d'appui* for the chronology of his Second Book as that furnished in ch. $3^{1.\,2}$ of his Gospel. Only one of the many points of contact with secular history in the Acts gives an indisputable datum, viz. *the death of Herod Agrippa I.* at Cæsarea (see Ac $12^{1-4.\,19-23}$, and Jos. *Ant.* XIX. viii.), which happened not long after Easter 44 A.D., and followed upon his persecution of the Church at Jerusalem. The famine that occasioned the visit of relief made by Barnabas and Paul from Antioch, synchronized with Herod's death (Ac 11^{27}–$12^{1.\,20.\,25}$); but it appears to have lasted several years. If (with Ramsay) we could identify with this mission of charity the visit of Paul to Jerus. related in Gal 2^1 (see on this point p. 705^b, above), we should then easily fix the chronology of his earlier Christian course. Taking 45 or 46 (so Ramsay, *St. Paul the Trav.* ch. iii.) for the date of the Judæan famine, the '14 years' of Gal 2^1, upon this calculation, bring us back to 33 (or 32) A.D. as the year of Paul's conversion, 33–35 being the '3 years' subsequent (included in the above-mentioned 14) alluded to in Gal 1^{18}, 44 (or 45) the year of his summons to help Barnabas at Antioch, 10 years being thus assigned to Paul's unrecorded labours in Cilicia.

The above scheme is open to the following amongst other objections:—(1) It throws back the stoning of Stephen and the judicial proceedings of the high priest against the Christians (Ac 8^{1-4} $9^{1.\,2}$ 11^{19})—events antecedent to St. Paul's conversion—to the year 33 at the latest, when Pilate was still in the vigour of his rule. We may infer from St. Luke's silence, since he carefully informs us on such points in other places, that the Judæan persecution was unhindered by the Roman Government; this we can understand as happening in the interval after Pilate's deposition, which took place in the autumn of A.D. 36 (when he was suspended by L. Vitellius the prefect of Syria and sent for trial to Rome), or in the period immediately preceding, when, under fear of accusation, Pilate's control of the Jewish authorities was probably relaxed. (2) If St. Paul's conversion took place in 32 or 33, then Aretas must have been in peaceful possession of Damascus so early as the year 35 (2 Co $11^{32.\,33}$, Gal 1^{18}, Ac 9^{23-26}). This is unlikely. Aretas was at war with Herod Antipas (who had divorced his daughter in favour of Herodias) for some years before the deposition of the latter in A.D. 37, and inflicted on him a severe defeat (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 1, 2); but this success could not give him possession of *Damascus*, in Roman Syria. The emperor Tiberius took the side of Antipas in the quarrel, and under his command Vitellius was at Jerus. at the Pentecost of A.D. 37 on his way to attack Aretas in Petra, when the campaign was arrested by tidings of Tiberius' death. The new emperor Caius reversed much of the policy of Tiberius in the East. Antipas fell into disgrace and was deposed, his rival Agrippa being released from prison and made king; and Aretas is found in possession of the coveted city of Damascus *after this time*. In all probability, it was ceded by Caius Caligula (see Lewin in *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*^{5}, i. 67, 68; also Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 354, 357). The years 36–38 supply the political situation at Jerus. and Damascus, under which this train of events—including the execution of Stephen, the overt and systematic attempt of the Jewish rulers to crush the sect of the Nazarenes, and the circumstances attending the flight of Saul from Damascus—is historically intelligible.

For the later period of St. Paul's life Ramsay finds a datum in the marks of time given in Ac $20^{6.\,7}$: from these it is clear that Paul left Troas on his last voyage to Jerus. on a Monday morning, while he had left Philippi for Troas immediately the Passover feast was ended; and the number of intervening days is continuously stated. Given these conditions, the problem is to find *the year* in which the Jewish Passover so fell as to make them possible. Lewin (*Fasti Sacri*, Nos. 1856, 1857) and Ramsay (*St. Paul the Trav.* xiii. 3, *Expositor*, V. iii. 336, v. 201) have separately worked out this problem, Lewin giving 58 and Ramsay 57 A.D. as the solution. Ramsay's calculation appears to be sound, granting that St. Luke's data are precise.

Assuming 57 to be the year of St. Paul's last voyage to Jerus. and his consequent arrest and imprisonment in Cæsarea, we get the date 59 for Felix' removal and the succession of Festus to the procuratorship, for Paul's appeal to Cæsar and his autumn voyage to Melita, with 60–62 for the term of his first imprisonment in Rome. *Five years* then remain—a period none too long—for the last stage of his life, including the revisitation of his eastern Churches, the long-deferred mission to Spain, the mission in Crete, and the subsequent extended tour in Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Achaia witnessed to by the Pastoral Epp., and for the months of his second imprisonment and trial. 67 A.D., falling just within the reign of Nero, is the date for St. Paul's martyrdom which best accords with Roman tradition and the *Chronikon* of Eusebius: here tradition should be at its strongest.

Counting backwards from A.D. 57, we get 53 as the date of St. Paul's arrival at Ephesus in the early part of the third missionary tour, and 49–52 as the probable term of the tour of Paul and Silas; the first journey (*sc.* of Barnabas and Paul) lay between 46 and 49 A.D. The Council at Jerus. (Ac 15 and Gal 2) then falls in the year 49, *i.e.* 13 years—in Luke's inclusive reckoning (by years current), 14 years—after Paul's conversion (Gal 2^1), assuming, as we have done provisionally, 36 as the date of his conversion. If the three years of Gal 1^{18} be not included in the 14 of 2^1, we must carry back Paul's conversion to 33 or 34 A.D.; but the difficulties previously noted seem to forbid this supposition. Supposing him to have been 30 at the time of Stephen's stoning,—'a young man,' but competent, according to Jewish practice, for public office,—then he was born *c.* 6 A.D., and was not much beyond 60 at the time of his death. He may have been older, but scarcely younger than this. He calls himself 'such an one as Paul the aged,' when writing to Philemon (v.^{9}: according to the more probable interpretation of *πρεσβύτης*) about the year 61.

A. Harnack in his great work, *Chronologie d. altchristl. Litteratur bis Eusebius* (Band 1, 'Chronologie d. Paulus,' pp. 234–239), disposes Paul's Christian career between 30 and 64 A.D. He thus finds all the Epp. written (except the rejected Pastorals) by the year 59, when Paul was acquitted at Rome. In this way Harnack makes room for St. Paul's release from the first Roman captivity, and for the mission to Spain, before the Neronian persecution. He refers the Council of Ac 15 and Gal 2 (in his view identical) to the year 47, so reckoned as 14 + 3 years (Gal 2^1 and 1^{18}) after the conversion. The 'few months' which Harnack allows at the beginning for the progress of events sketched in Ac 1–9 will not easily be accepted as sufficient; at the other end, Harnack rejects the authority of Eusebius' *Chronikon* for the date of St. Paul's death, though he builds upon it confidently for the time of *Festus' accession* to the procuratorship (55–56), which supplies the pivot of his scheme. Schürer, however, following Anger, Wieseler, and Wurm amongst earlier investigators, shows strong reasons (not shaken by Harnack) for abiding by the conclusion generally accepted hitherto, that Eusebius was mistaken in this particular, and that Felix remained governor for some years after the disgrace of his brother Pallas at Rome in 55. Schürer prefers 60 A.D. for the date of Felix' recall, but admits (after Wurm) that the conditions of the case allow of any year from 58 to 61 (see his *HJP* I. ii. 174–187; also Ramsay *v.* Harnack in *Expositor*, V. v. 201). On the calculation here adopted, Festus succeeded Felix in the year 59, and St. Paul appeared before the latter in A.D. 57. This allows 7 years for Felix' procuratorship, and 3 for Festus'—periods adequate to the events assigned to each by Josephus. The 'many years' of rule credited to Felix in Ac 24^{10} must surely have meant more than the two (before Paul's trial) allowed in Harnack's chronology. Felix became procurator in A.D. 52 (Schürer, as above, p. 174).

On the whole subject see art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT, with which the conclusions here reached largely agree.

ii. THE DOCTRINE.—The Apostle Paul's writings (the Ep. to the Romans like the rest) are occasional letters, *pièces de circonstance.* He was a missionary preacher, who brought everything to bear on his work in the salvation of souls and the edification of the Church. But from the make of his mind St. Paul's thinkings and teachings took a logical mould; they grew spontaneously into a great fabric of spiritual truth. There is unity, method, rational coherence in the theology of the apostle, notwithstanding its incidental and homiletic form, the unity that belongs, not to a compendium drawn up for abstract study, but to the conceptions of an orderly mind possessed by a single master-principle of truth and striving incessantly to apprehend and realize in life and action 'that for which' it 'was apprehended by Christ Jesus.' We must ascertain the point of departure of Paul's Christian logic, and take account of the growth and advancement evident in his system of thought as in every living structure. We must allow for his rare versatility and lively susceptibility of temperament, for the love of paradox natural to his bold intellect, as well as for the variety of topics in his letters, for the discordant and variously blended elements with which they deal and which coloured their composition. Recognizing the 'changes of voice' thus occasioned, we discover harmony and correlation throughout the 13 writings that bear Paul's name. The same accent is heard; the stamp of the same powerful idiosyncrasy is set on them all, though not with equal emphasis of distinction. Embedded in these discursive missionary letters, with their abrupt transitions, their glancing allusions, their shifting play of emotion and argument, there is a body of solid principle, a theological *system*, as large and original in conception as it has proved enduring and fruitful in application.

The fertility of the apostle's genius, and the numerous and tempting points of view which the documents afford, render the analysis of his teaching difficult. Theologians differ widely, even within the same school, as to the order and interdependence of the Pauline ideas. The old mode of analysis, which applied the ready-made categories of scholastic theology to the various books of Scripture and catalogued their texts under these headings, is discredited. The dogmatic point of view is exchanged for the historical and psychological. We have been taught to interpret St. Paul's teaching in the light of his times and under the conditions of his life. The various types of NT doctrine are distinguished, and the lines of connexion, sympathetic or antipathetic, are traced out by which Pauline theology is related to earlier or contemporary thought. But here a new danger arises. The prepossessions of historical theory may be equally warping with those of dogmatic system; the focus of the picture may be displaced and its colours falsified by philosophical no less than by ecclesiastical spectacles.

Modern Analyses.—With F. C. Baur of Tübingen, 'Paul' stood for the antithesis to the Judaic legalism in which it was supposed that the first disciples of Jesus were held fast. The Paulinism so conceived Baur found in the four major Epp., rejecting, as the work of imitators touched by other influences, everything that was not covered by this formula. Baur set out from the true Lutheran standpoint. St. Paul's doctrine he conceived as a system of experimental religion, deducing it from the apostle's conversion, of which, however, he took too narrow and cold a view. Saul of Tarsus underwent a complete reaction from the Pharisaism of his youth, and his subsequent career Baur explained by that revulsion. Developing this antithesis with subtlety and clearness, and with unrivalled historical learning, Baur gave a powerful restatement in modern terms of the Pauline principle of justification by faith and drew out its doctrinal consequences. This master of historical criticism has left us in his great book on *Paul, his Life and Work*, an invaluable testimony to the historical truth and cardinal significance of St. Paul's 'gospel of the grace of God.'

Later writers of Baur's school, such as H. J. Holtzmann and O. Pfleiderer, acknowledge the genuineness of other Epp. besides the major four—of 1 Thess., Phil., and Philemon at least. They feel the inadequacy of Baur's negative explanation of St. Paul's line of thought. The Gentile mission and its astonishing success involve other factors than those of which their master took account. Paul was something more than an inverted Jewish Rabbi; the uncontested Epp. contain ideas looking beyond the anti-Judæan polemic. 'To the Greeks' he became 'as a Greek.' *Hellenism* had its part in moulding Saul of Tarsus along with Hebraism (see Hicks, 'St. Paul and Hellenism,' *Stud. Bibl.* IV. i.); and certain prevalent Greek ideas, it is suggested, had entered his mind and set up a hidden ferment, so that the Jewish zealot carried under his Rabbinical cloak and orthodox straitness the germs of the revolution he was destined to accomplish. Pfleiderer writes accordingly of 'a double root' of Paulinism in 'Pharisaic theology and Hellenistic theosophy,' of two sides presented by the apostle's teaching—'a Christianized Pharisaism' embodied in the doctrine of justification by faith, and 'a Christianized Hellenism' in the doctrine of salvation by the risen, celestial Christ and the operation of the Holy Spirit (*Urchristenthum*, Vorwort, and pp. 174–178: in this work, and in his *Paulinismus*^{2}, 1890, Pfleiderer has recast the exposition presented in the original *Paulinism*, Eng. tr. 1878, and the *Hibb. Lect.* of 1885). The theories ascribing to Greek thought a radical influence on Pauline theology do not, however, commend themselves. 'Notwithstanding Paul's Greek culture, his conception of Christianity is, in its deepest ground, independent of Hellenism'—as Harnack rightly says, and again: 'The Pauline theology, this theology of a converted Pharisee, is the strongest proof of the self-complete and universal power of the influence of the person of Jesus.'

The inconsistency disclosing itself in Baur's position has led to the division of his following into two wings—right and left. The former, of which Holtzmann (in the successive editions of his *Einleitung*), Harnack, Lipsius, von Soden (in the 'Handcommentar z. NT'), and Jülicher (*Einleit. in d. NT*), are representatives, have approximated towards the conservative position in regard to the Pauline documents. The ultra-Baurians,—consisting of the Dutch school of radical critics, headed by Loman, Pierson, Naber, and van Manen, with the Germans Steck and Völter,—applying Baur's method with uncompromising rigour, find that large parts of the 'undisputed' Epp. are post-Pauline, and that mere morsels survive of the genuine apostle. See a series of articles entitled 'A Wave of Hyper-criticism,' in which van Manen states and defends his position, in the *Expos. Times*, 1898, pp. 205 ff., 257 ff., 314 ff.

The French theologians E. Reuss and A. Sabatier have better apprehended the personal stamp of St. Paul's theology, its vital relations to experience and society. 'The doctrine of Paul,' says Reuss, 'is the natural corollary of his history. The life of Paul is the key to his theology; the life of the Christian will be its demonstration' (*Hist. de la Théol. au Siècle Apostol.*^{3} tome ii. p. 15, Eng. tr. 1873: a work far from superseded). Paul's Christianity was no combination of Jewish and Greek elements imposed from without; it was born out of the inward travail by which Christ was formed in him. Not that the Pauline gospel leaped full-grown and armed from the author's mind at Christ's lightning stroke. But it was *born* at his conversion, in its essential elements and features and with all its latent potencies. St. Paul's OT knowledge and training, his striving after legal righteousness and his poignant convictions of sin, his Rabbinical culture, his large acquaintance with the Gentile world, constituted the material to which the revelation of the living Jesus supplied the magnetic centre around which that troubled world of thought and feeling crystallized as in a moment. 'From the moment that Paul was arrested by the risen Lord on the way to Damascus and surrendered himself to Him, his whole soul was thrown wide open to His influence, to receive impressions that resulted in the communication to him of what was most distinctive in the personal life of his Master, and in the forming within him of an experience with features of its own, that in its turn shed light on the nature of the Heavenly Being with whom he had been brought into so intimate a fellowship' (Somerville, *St. Paul's Conception of Christ*, p. 33).

The revelation that generated the Pauline gospel may be conceived, objectively, as a manifesting of *Christ* to the soul of Paul; or, subjectively, as the imparting of *salvation through Christ*. Reuss adopts the latter point of view, and finds the focus of St. Paul's doctrine, therefore, in Ro 3$^{21-24}$ and the principle of righteousness through faith. The topics of his digest of Paulinism run thus: *Righteousness, Sin, the Law, the Gospel, God the Author of Salvation, Christ—His Person and His Work*, and so forth. Sabatier puts himself at the former standpoint: 'The Person of Christ is the principle of the Christian consciousness' (*The Ap. Paul*, pp. 280–285); and in the text, 'It pleased God to reveal his Son in me' (Gal 1$^{15.16}$), he sees 'the germ of Paulinism' (p. 71). Baur practically took the former position, making the fundamental question to be, not *what Jesus Christ is*, but *what He does for men*. Sabatier's analysis, however, is scarcely true to its 'generating principle,' since it relegates the Person of Christ to its third, metaphysical, division. His synopsis does not observe the original lines of cleavage and connexion as marked in his historical analysis, nor lay bare the real articulation of the system, but is rather a modern philosophical digest of Paulinism. He traces the unfolding of 'the Principle of the Christian Consciousness' (1) in the sphere of *Psychology*—the doctrine of Man, embracing Sin, the Flesh, the Law, Death on the one hand, and Righteousness, the Word of the Cross, Faith, Life on the other; (2) the Christian Principle in the sphere of *Society and History*—the doctrine of the Church, with the Two Covenants, the First and Second Adam, the End of all Things, Faith, Hope, and Love; (3) the Christian Principle in the sphere of *Metaphysics*, or Theology proper—the doctrine of Grace, the Divine Purpose, the Nature of Christ, the Trinity, the Conception of God (pp. 280, 281).

W. Beyschlag (*NT Theology*, Bk. iv.) pursues more consistently the path adopted by Sabatier. The chapters of his analysis of 'The Pauline System' are thus headed: *Flesh and Spirit; Adam and Christ; God and the World; the Establishment of Salvation; Life in the Spirit; the Church; the Consummation of the Kingdom*. Paulinism thus becomes a psychological evolution, with its generating point in the antithesis of Flesh and Spirit, and with Adam and Christ for its representative exponents. In such texts as Ro 8$^{1-4}$ and 5$^{12-21}$ Beyschlag finds the essence of Paulinism; he brings into prominence factors of importance too much neglected by other interpreters. With his anthropological starting-point, Beyschlag arrives in the end, however, at 'an *anthropocentric* Christology' (vol. ii. p. 76, Eng. tr.). He sees in St. Paul's Christ the archetypal man, the representative of the spiritual, as Adam of the natural, in humanity. Pfleiderer's analysis proceeds in a similar order: he holds a somewhat higher Christology than Beyschlag, regarding Paul's pre-incarnate Christ as a real heavenly man with a *σῶμα πνευματικόν*, existing in a Dei-form mode of being (*ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων*, Ph 2^{6}), and the administrative Lord of creation (*Paulinismus*^{2}, pp. 115–145); similarly Weizsäcker (*Apost. Zeitalter*^{2}, pp. 117–122).

A. B. Bruce in his masterly work, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, gathers the apostle's 'entire conception of Christianity' from 'the four great Epistles of the Judaic controversy,' and contests any further advancement in his doctrinal views. (B. Weiss, on the other hand, *Bib. Theol. of NT*, Part iii. § 3, finds in the Epp. of the imprisonment Paul's 'more developed doctrines'; similarly Hort in *Proleg. to Rom. and Ephes.* p. 123 ff., and *The Christian Ecclesia*, pp. 138–152). The Ep. to the Romans supplies Bruce with the scheme of Paulinism: 'in Gal 2$^{14-21}$ we have the Pauline gospel *in nuce*' (p. 12). Hence his analysis begins with *Sin, the Righteousness of God, the Death of Christ*, and ends with chapters upon *the Person of Christ, the Christian Life, the Church, the Last Things*. He regards the apostle throughout as a practical, in distinction from a metaphysical, theologian: 'Jesus was for Paul the

Lord, because He was the Saviour' (p. 328)—a statement to be reversed with equal or greater truth. Vital as the doctrines of salvation are to St. Paul, his belief in the Lordship of Jesus was anterior to them. What Christ did for men is accounted for by what He is to God. The Ep. to the Romans, the grand exposition of Paul's Soteriology, is the writing of one who was 'separated unto the gospel *of God concerning his Son.*' D. Somerville (*St. Paul's Conception of Christ, or the Doctrine of the Second Adam*) pursues, on the other hand, with much skill and persuasiveness, the line of Sabatier and Beyschlag, finding St. Paul's fundamental idea in Christ considered as 'the Archetype of Humanity,' but conserving His Divine pre-existence and 'Eternal Nature' as necessary deductions from, because presuppositions of, His sovereign and creative relations to mankind. With him, too, the Pauline system is anthropocentric; and the fact that it was the product of personal (human) experience, appears to him to make this inevitable. In Paul's 'Son of God' he sees a title that slopes upward from the human to the Divine.

OT Antecedents and Starting-Point. — The apostle's doctrine is *theocentric*, not in reality anthropocentric. What is styled his 'metaphysics' holds for Paul the immediate and sovereign fact of the universe; God, as he conceives Him, is all and in all to his reason and heart alike. So far the dogmatic analysis was right, in starting with the doctrine of *God*, and disposing under that the notions of law, righteousness, sin, which form the basis of St. Paul's Soteriology. This path of exposition is resumed in the very competent and judicious work of G. B. Stevens of Yale, *The Pauline Theology*. The vision of the glorified Jesus revealed to Saul the Son of God as his Saviour; but the God whose Son the crucified Jesus is seen to be, was now to be known in a far nearer and happier relation than before. No passage strikes more deeply into St. Paul's experience than 2 Co 4^{4-6}: 'There beamed forth the illumination of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God . . . it is God who said, Out of darkness light shall shine, that shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of his glory in the face of Christ.' It was the God of Israel whose moral splendour dawned upon Saul's mind through the dazzling form of the Lord Jesus; 'God' was there 'in Christ, reconciling' Saul 'unto himself,' and the old things became new to him from that hour—'all things are of God' (2 Co 5^{17-19}). A new conception of God was imparted to Saul, a new relationship to God established for him. Henceforth his life is 'hid with Christ in God.' St. Paul's *Soteriology* and *Christology* are rooted in his *Theology*.

A profound unity underlies the Judaic and Christian stages of St. Paul's life. The convert carried with him the Scriptures of his youth, which he read now with the veil lifted from his heart (2 Co 3^{14-16}), finding in them everywhere testimonies, preparations, adumbrations of the things of the new covenant, the σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων, the παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν (Ro 3^{31} 15^{4}, Gal 3^{24}, Col $2^{16.17}$, etc.). The Christian apostle blossomed out of the Israelitish believer and scholar. At times he speaks as though there had been no break in his career (2 Ti 1^{3}). Instead of ceasing to be a Jew by becoming a Christian, Paul regarded himself as now properly belonging to the Israel of God (Ph 3^{3}). Instead of severing himself from the stock of Abraham, he would graft the Gentiles into that 'good olive tree,' in whose 'root and fatness' is nourishment for all races; by their admission to the covenant, Abraham becomes, according to the promise, 'father of many nations' (Ro $4^{16.17}$ 11). It was for this reason that Paul laid stress on the Davidic birth of Jesus (Ro 1^{3} 9^{5}, 2 Ti 2^{8}),—not as a mere title to the Messianic throne, but as a link between the past and present of revelation and a symbol of the right of those who are 'in Christ' to serve themselves heirs of the spiritual wealth of Israel.

1. *St. Paul's Doctrine of God.*—In systematizing the Pauline teaching, we therefore ask first, What was St. Paul's earlier belief in *God*? and how was that belief enlarged and recast by his conversion? When he speaks of 'the righteousness of God,' of 'holiness' and 'sin,' when he repeats the watchword 'God is one,' when he exclaims 'O the depth of the riches and the wisdom and knowledge of God!' we are sensible how large and powerfully developed a doctrine of the Godhead the apostle brought with him from the Synagogue. Such terms as 'the grace of God,' 'the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord,' as 'the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,' indicate the immense change that supervened.

(*a*) *The Fatherhood of God.*—St. Paul's theology, like that of Jesus, is a doctrine of the Fatherhood of God; this principle is its tacit presupposition and basis throughout. A true disciple, Paul has assimilated in this fundamental article the essential teaching of our Lord. Ἀββὰ ὁ Πατήρ is the distinctive cry of the new life, taken from the lips of Jesus (Ro 8^{15}, Gal $4^{6.7}$, Mk 14^{36}), which marks the transition from Judaism to Christianity. St. Paul's careful discrimination between 'the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ' and 'God our Father,' with the expression 'firstborn amongst many brethren' (Ro 8^{29}) that links the two, reflects the personal attitude of Jesus towards God and men respectively. To the character of Father belong the attributes of *love*, *mercy*, *compassion*, *grace*, the gifts of *peace*, *consolation*, *hope*, and *joy*, of which Saul the Judaist had known so little. The forensic term *adoption* must not be so understood as though Paul by its use implicitly denied man's original sonship towards God: see to the contrary Ac $17^{28.29}$; also ἵνα τὴν υἱοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν, Gal 4^{5} (Lightf. *ad loc.*; 'nec dixit *accipiamus* sed *recipiamus*,' Aug.), and the ἀπο of ἀποκαταλλάσσω (Col $1^{21.22}$, Eph 2^{16}). 'The love of God,' which precedes and determines our redemption (Ro $5^{7.8}$, Eph $2^{3ff.}$), is love toward those kindred to Himself and destined from their creation to be His sons (Eph $1^{4.5}$).

Grace is the regnant word of Paul's theology. In this aspect he habitually sees God's face. The entire contents of the new revelation are included in the phrase τὰ ὑπὸ τ. θεοῦ χαρισθέντα ἡμῖν (1 Co 2^{12}). 'Grace' signifies God's favour to undeserving men shown in Christ, His love at work for their salvation. 'The grace of God' had made His Son's persecutor His apostle (Ro 1^{5}, 1 Co $15^{9.10}$); its light illuminated his whole course of action and of thought; his life and his theology were devoted to 'the praise of the glory of God's grace.' The all-controlling Divine power and providence, exercised over men and nations, the apostle saw to be directed to ends determined by God's fatherly love, even in dispensations the most severe (Ac 17^{24-28}, Ro 4^{16} $11^{15.32}$, Gal 3^{23}–4^{7}, Eph 1^{4-11} $2^{4-7.13-18}$ 3^{7-12}),—in a word, 'to the end that grace may reign through righteousness unto life eternal' (Ro 5^{21}). See, further, under art. GRACE.

(*b*) *The Righteousness of God* is the special theme of the Ep. to the Romans. St. Paul's doctrine of God's righteousness shows the new faith rooting itself in and transforming the old. The δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ of Ro 1^{16-18} should not be resolved into a 'righteousness *from* God' (Paul can write ἡ ἐκ θεου δικαιοσύνη when he chooses, Ph 3^{9}). Righteousness is God's property (see art. GOD, vol. ii. pp. 209–212), the principle of His moral sovereignty, the ethical ground and norm of His dealings with men, and therefore of the gospel in which those dealings culminate. The Divine righteousness is now 'revealed' on a side hitherto veiled, as redeeming, communicative (2 Co 5^{21}),—a righteousness that elicits and appeals to human trust instead of fear; in this disclosure there resides 'God's power (an instrument of sovereign moral efficacy) unto salvation for every believer.' The gospel righteousness is that of 'God *our Father*,' the 'one God of Jews and Gentiles' (Ro $1^{4.7}$ 3^{21-30} 4^{25} and 6^{4} 5^{8-11}, 2 Co 5^{18}–6^{1}, etc.); not the abstract impersonal justice of a Supreme Ruler, but that of the essential Father, into whose relations with men there enter fundamentally the considerations attaching to fatherhood,—who is accordingly 'just himself' (cf. 1 Jn 1^{9}) when He 'justifies him that is of faith in Jesus'—a 'just God and a saviour' (Is 45^{21}), just because He is a saviour and a saviour because He is just. The gospel is equally 'the overflow of grace, and of righteousness' (Ro 5^{17}: omit 'the gift'). Love and law, however distinct, are not contradictory in God, any more than in man (Ro $13^{9.10}$). Righteousness takes grace into alliance; it wins from the heart 'the obedience of faith,' where before it wrought by mere command and in the ways of constraint. It is seen at length in its fulness and majesty, a 'stern lawgiver,' yet wearing 'the Godhead's most benignant grace.' 'The law' that breeds transgression and 'worketh wrath,' made righteousness the accuser of a world of hapless criminals; under the gospel righteousness becomes the arbiter and reconciler of the moral universe, giving its due to the sin of men but also to the love of God.

The Second Isaiah and the later Psalmists had arrived at the thought that the rectitude of God's character guarantees Israel's salvation, and must, in some way, impress and bestow itself upon Israel: thus 'righteousness' and 'salvation' become synonymous terms (Is $46^{12.13}$ 51^{4-8} 56^{1} 59^{16-21} $61^{10.11}$, Ps 22^{31} 89^{16} 98^{2} 143^{11}). Paul seizes and builds upon this identification, which was amply verified by the revelation of God made in Christ and the cross. This eternal righteousness—God Himself in moral action—swift to condemn its opposite, eager to impart itself to those capable of it but without it, 'made him who knew no sin to be sin for us, that we might become a righteousness of God in him' (2 Co 5^{21}); in this righteousness the Father 'spared not his own Son, but for us all gave him up,'—purposing 'that we should be conformed to the image of his Son'—His own image humanly expressed—'to the end that he should be firstborn among many brethren.' Manifestly, any righteousness gained by this means is 'God's' and not 'one's own' (Ro 10^{3}, Ph 3^{9}); it comes only and wholly through 'believing on him that justifies the ungodly' (Ro 4^{5}). Cf. Sanday and Headlam on 'The Righteousness of God,' in *Intern. Comm.*, Ro $1^{16.17}$. See, further, the two articles on RIGHTEOUSNESS.

(*c*) *The anger of God* is called forth wherever righteousness comes into contact with sin, blazing out against those who 'hold down the truth in unrighteousness' (Ro 1^{18}, 2 Th 2^{10-12}). Its effects are seen in widespread moral degradation (Ro 1^{18-32}), and in the ruin of particular men and nations (Ro $9^{17.22}$, 1 Th 2^{16}). Its final issue is 'destruction' for those who will not 'know God,' who persist in that 'carnal mind' which is 'enmity' to Him (Ro 1^{28} 2^{5-9} $8^{6.7}$, 1 Th $5^{3.9}$, 2 Th 1^{5-10}). God loves the ungodly as men (Ro 5^{8}, Eph $2^{4.5}$); as sinners they are His 'enemies,' and lie helplessly under 'the law' that 'works out wrath' (Ro 7^{23}–8^{2}). The knowledge of God's grace in Christ deepened the apostle's sense of the imminence and terribleness of His judicial anger (Ro 1^{16-18} 2^{16} 11^{22}, Ac $17^{30.31}$, 2 Co 2^{14-16}). See, further, art. ANGER.

(*d*) *The Law of God.*—Along with his conception of righteousness, St. Paul's conception of the law of God was greatly widened, and altered in several respects, by his knowledge of Christ. Here the Jewish and Christian stages of thought are distinctly marked; but the larger, evangelical view of Law is indicated rather than developed. Familiar usage, emphasized by the legalistic controversy, dictates the frequent and characteristic expressions in which law and faith, law and grace, law and promise, 'righteousness that is of law' and 'righteousness that is of God through faith,' stand opposed; and we actually have the paradox that '*apart from law* a *righteousness* of God is manifested!' (Ro 3^{21-31}). This last sentence, with its context, gives clear evidence that Paul looked beyond the polemical antithesis; a righteousness 'distinct from law' must be a righteousness positing some higher, larger law than legalism had conceived of.

The *range* of Divine law is extended, as in Ro $2^{14.15.26.27}$; the moral code is found written on the conscience of mankind. When Paul writes, in Ro 5^{13} 'Sin is not imputed where there is no law,' he asserts law to be universal as sin and death, whose very connexion is a first article thereof (8^{2}). At the bottom, 'there is no distinction—all the world has become guilty (ὑπόδικος) in relation to God' (Ro 3^{19-23}); the Jew, if first in privilege, is first in condemnation (Ro 2^{1}–3^{2}). Jew and Gentile are equally lost if God's law knows nothing more than 'the command' of Mosaism, if His normal relation to men is that expressed in the covenant of Sinai with its maxim, 'He that doeth these things shall live in them.' In itself 'holy and righteous and good,' the law in effect 'was found to issue in death for me,' by its very prohibitions awakening and sharpening lawless desire (Ro 7^{7-24}); thus it proved to be 'the power of sin' (1 Co 15^{56}), whereas 'the gospel' is the 'power of God unto salvation.' Every man that is 'under the law' is 'under a curse'—the curse that was consummated on Calvary and is terminated for those who are in Christ (Gal 3^{10-14}).

St. Paul's experience and logic combined to work out to this deadly and comprehensive issue the juridical conception of law—true, of course, but fatally incomplete and bearing fruit in moral impotence and death; to it he had died in Christ (Ro 7^{1-6} 10^{4}, Gal 2^{19}). Paul had done with 'law' in the old sense, but in a new sense he is more true to law than ever: 'The law of the Spirit of life has in Christ Jesus freed' him 'from the law of sin and death'; he is neither *ὑπὸ νόμον* nor *ἄνομος*, but *ἔννομος Χριστοῦ* (Ro 6^{14} 8^{2}, 1 Co 9^{21}). Formerly the expression of the normal relation of Israel to God defined by the Mosaic covenant, law is now to be conceived as the normal relation of man to God determined by the new covenant in Christ, whose basis lay deeper than the old, for it was contained in the Abrahamic promise (Gal 3^{14-22}). 'The law of Christ,' embracing all the essentials of ethics, operates from the heart, as an inward principle not an external and alien 'command'; love is its fulfilment (Gal 5^{14} 6^{2}). It embraces faith and the action of the Holy Spirit as legitimate and decisive factors in God's dealings with His children; and the apostle speaks consistently of a 'law of faith' and 'the law of the Spirit of life.' These are no strained or casual expressions; the identification is profoundly characteristic. Nothing was more foreign to St. Paul's nature than Antinomianism. A love at variance with righteousness, a faith resting upon no settled principle of the Divine government, neither his reason nor reverence could have tolerated. 'Do we make void law through our faith (in Christ)? Anything but that; nay, we establish law!' (Ro $3^{30.31}$). Paul combats Jewish legalism in the interests of a larger legality, a juster righteousness, which lies deep in the heart of Scripture and in the nature of God. The same in its contents, the law takes quite another hold upon the conscience now that the Lawgiver is beheld as the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. 'Love' becomes its 'fulfilling'—'faith operative through love' (Ro 13^{10}, Gal 5^{6}): thus 'the righteous demand of *the law* is fulfilled in those that walk according to the Spirit,'—those 'in' whose 'hearts' 'God's love has been poured out through the Holy Spirit' (Ro 5^{5} 8^{4}). See, further, art. LAW (IN NT).

The manifestation of God in Christ makes **repentance** imperative, and determines its nature and direction. Of repentance (*μετάνοια*) Paul had much to say in his missionary preaching (Ac 13^{24} 17^{30} 20^{21} 26^{20}; comp. Ro 2^{4}); in the Epp. it is implied in such terms as 'turning to God from idols,' 'coming to know God'; on the other hand, in 'dying to sin,' 'crucifying the flesh,' 'putting off the old man' (1 Th 1^{9}, Gal 4^{9} 5^{24}, Ro $6^{2.\,19-21}$, Eph 4^{22} 5^{8-14}, etc.). It is tacitly assumed as a condition precedent to justification and sanctification, which are inconceivable without the confession and renunciation of sin; it is indeed a constituent of saving faith.

Christian **prayer** corresponds to the character of the Christian God (Eph $3^{14.\,15}$), in its confidence (*παρρησία*), intelligence, constancy, universal range, its accompaniment of thanksgiving (Eph 3^{12}, 1 Co 14^{15}, Col 4^{2}, 1 Th $5^{17.\,18}$, etc.), in its dependence on the mediation of Christ and on the sympathetic aid of the Holy Spirit (Eph 3^{12}, Ro $8^{26.\,27}$); it is the prayer of sons to a Father.

2. *Doctrine of Man.*—Over against the apostle's conception of God lies his conception of *Man*—the individual and the race.

(*a*) *The Constitution of Mankind.*—The OT belief is Paul's, that man—the *ἀνήρ* more immediately—is the 'image and glory of God' (1 Co 11^{7}). The Gentile consciousness is witness to the fact that 'we are his offspring' (Ac $17^{28.\,29}$). 'The Son of his love' is God's perfect image (Col 1^{15}); Christian men are such in so far as they are renewed 'after the Creator's image' and become His children (Col 3^{10}, Eph 4^{24} 5^{1}). In all men the reason (*νοῦς*), unless 'reprobate,' discerns God in creation and is 'bondman to God's law' (Ro $1^{19.\,20.\,28}$ 7^{25}), so that they are 'without excuse' for sin. With the OT, Paul affirms the race-unity and moral solidarity of mankind—in Adam on the one hand, in Christ on the other (Ro 5^{12-21}); as against Judaism, he repudiates any real difference between Jew and Gentile, either in sin or salvability (Ro 3).

'The woman is the glory of the man,' who is her 'head.' She is relatively subordinate, and Paul does not 'allow' her 'to teach nor to have dominion' in church or house,—though intrinsically the man's equal, since 'in Christ Jesus there can be no male and female' any more than 'Jew and Greek' (1 Co 11^{3-15}, 1 Ti 2^{12-15}, Gal 3^{28}). The prohibition of 1 Co $14^{34.\,35}$ to exercise any spiritual gift in public appears to have been due to circumstances; otherwise it would be in conflict with 11^{5}. The two sexes are necessary to each other 'in the Lord' (1 Co $11^{11.\,12}$); both shared in the guilt of the Fall—the woman, as Paul seems to put it, 'being deceived' (2 Co 11^{3}, 1 Ti 2^{14}) and sinning through weakness, whereas Adam's sin was a deliberate and responsible 'transgression' and 'disobedience' (Ro 5), culpable and decisive in the highest degree.

(*b*) *Spirit and Flesh.*—Paul's doctrine of human nature is that of the OT. Man is constituted of flesh and spirit—allied by the former to the perishable material creation, by the latter to God and the world unseen. 'The body' is flesh in the concrete, the man's individual form; 'the soul' with Paul, as throughout Scripture, is not a *tertium quid* between spirit and flesh, but rather their unity, the living self behind the bodily form of each man. (See, however, in favour of Trichotomy, Ellicott, *Destiny of the Creature*, and on 1 Th 5^{23}; Heard, *Tripartite Nature of Man*; Delitzsch, *Bibl. Psychology*). '**Soul**' is a word relatively infrequent in Paul; the '**heart**' takes its place as the seat of the manifold thoughts and feelings,—which *ψυχὴ* concentrates into the self, the conscious Ego. '*Πνεῦμα* is the *principle*, *Ψυχὴ* the *subject*, and *Καρδία* the *organ* of life' (Cremer). The *νοῦς* of Ro 1^{20} 7^{23-25}, etc., is the *πνεῦμα* operative as a faculty of knowledge directed toward Divine things, while the *συνείδησις* of Ro 2^{15}, etc., is the same power introverted, the ethical self-consciousness.

'**Flesh**' and '**spirit**' hold in Paulinism a more specific religious sense based upon, but distinguishable from, their psychological meaning: the former term regularly denotes *the sinful nature of man*, the latter its opponent in *the influence of God* operating in and through His Spirit (see *e.g.* Ro 8^{1-17}, Gal 5^{16-25}). This raises the question whether Paul referred sin to man's constitution, grounding it in his physical system and in the (supposed) evil intrinsic to matter, as Baur, Holsten, and others argue, who make sin to be, in its essence, *sensuousness* or *sensuality*. Pfleiderer sees in Paul's doctrine of *σὰρξ* proof of his Hellenism; Sabatier finds two discrepant Pauline theories of Sin—the Rabbinical view of Ro 5, deriving it from the fall of Adam; and the psychological view of Ro 7, where it arises from the inevitable collision between physical desire and ethical law ('L'origine du Péché' in Append. to *L'Apôtre Paul*^{3}). But the *αὐτὸς ἐγώ* of Ro 7 is a child of his race, one 'sold under sin' and compromised beforehand, in whom sin 'revives' at the impact of the law, having been therefore already latent. On the other hand, Paul's prominent doctrines of the sinlessness of Christ, of the resurrection of the body and its sanctity as the temple of the Holy Spirit, forbid the notion, which in fact he combats in Col and the Past. Epp., of an inherent sinfulness attaching to physical nature. In 2 Co 7^{1} he speaks of 'defilement of flesh and *of spirit*' (and a possible cleansing of *both*); Gal 5^{19-21} enumerates non-physical sins among 'works of the flesh.' The *ne plus ultra* of human sin, described in 2 Th 2^{4}, is a self-deifying pride—atheism, or anti-theism, full-blown. The use of 'flesh' for 'sin' and 'carnal' for 'sinful' is a *synecdoché*; the more conspicuous and prevalent kind of sin stands for the whole.

But more than this:—(1) sin has occupied the body and become a sort of 'law in the members' (Ro 7^{14-25}), so that human flesh is ordinarily, though not essentially, 'flesh of sin' (Ro 8^{3}, cf. 7^{14} *ἐγὼ σάρκινος*). The same disparagement is extended to the body: *qua* 'body of sin' it must be 'nullified,' that we may no longer be 'bondmen to sin,'—a deliverance effected by the crucifixion of 'the old man' with Christ (Ro 6^{6} $7^{23.\,24}$ 8^{13}, Col 3^{5}). In man's proper Christian state his spirit, aided by the Spirit of God, rules his body and makes its 'members instruments of righteousness unto God' (Ro 6^{12-19}, 1 Co 9^{25-27}); in his natural unrenewed state the flesh preponderates. (2) The *heredity* of sin is involved in Ro 5^{12} (comp. Jn 3^{6}); its taint is associated with fleshly descent, while the children of God are 'begotten *κατὰ πνεῦμα*' (Gal 4^{29}). As the term 'spirit' rose in the NT vocabulary and came to be appropriated for the Holy Spirit of God, so 'flesh' sank to its lowest significance as denoting the antagonistic evil nature in man (Gal $5^{16.\,17}$, *ταῦτα ἀλλήλοις ἀντίκειται*). When Paul describes 'the first man, Adam' as 'earthy' (*χοϊκός*), as a 'living soul' wearing a 'natural body' (*σῶμα ψυχικόν*), in contrast with 'the second man,' the risen Christ who is the 'life-giving Spirit' already clothed with the 'spiritual body' (σῶμα πνευματικόν), these former terms do not signify a fallen condition but a gross and undeveloped condition—the 'natural' (sensuous) as it precedes the 'spiritual,' not the 'carnal' as the negation of it.

(*c*) *Sin and Death* dominate man's existence (Ro 5^{12-21}). They set at war his flesh and spirit, and destroy both in turn. 'Sin reigned in death,' is St. Paul's epitome of human history: 'Sin came to life, and I died. . . . Wretched man that I am, who will rescue me out of this body of death?'—his summary of personal experience out of Christ. Sin (ἡ ἁμαρτία) is thus personified, in contrast with God's *grace* or *righteousness*, as the master principle of unredeemed humanity. Its seat is the *flesh*. 'Ungodliness' (ἀσέβεια) and 'unrighteousness' (ἀδικία, Ro 1^{18}) are its chief forms, as it is related to God Himself or to His law for men: sin is irreligion, or immorality, or both at once,—'enmity against God' and insubordination to His law (Ro 8^{7}). Moral corruptions have, in the apostle's view, a religious root; heathen vice is the product of idolatry; ἀδικία is the nemesis of ἀσέβεια (Ro 1^{18-32}, Eph 4^{17-19}), and wilful ignorance of God the prime cause of moral disorder. Sin is at the bottom a 'disobedience,' to be rectified only in the way of 'reconciliation,' of 'justification' through an adequate 'obedience' (Ro $5^{19.\ 6-11}$). The act of sin is *transgression* or *trespass* (παράβασις, παράπτωμα, *e.g.* Ro 2^{23}, Gal 6^{1}), when it is a conscious breach of law or lapse from rectitude. Ἁμαρτία includes whatever is ethically amiss in nature or conduct, tendency or action. Sin is not defect or weakness; it is a positive and culpable depravation. It has 'passed along' from the progenitor of the race 'unto all men.' Negatively, it has robbed 'all men' of 'the glory of God,'—that splendid image in which man was formed; positively, it makes 'all the world guilty before God,'—a consequence dreadfully realized in the universality of death (Ro $3^{19.\ 23}$ $5^{12.\ 21}$, 1 Co $15^{22.\ 56}$). In 'the fulness of time' sin has reached its climax. 'The wisdom of the world' that 'knew not God' is thus proved by its fruits to be utter folly (1 Co 1^{18-25}; comp. Ro 1^{21-25}). And 'the [Mosaic] law' prohibiting sin, has aggravated it to the utmost. This was, in truth, its hidden purpose: it 'came in by the way, in order that the trespass might multiply,' that 'sin might become exceeding sinful' (Ro $5^{20.\ 21}$ 7^{13}, Gal 3^{19-25}),—that, in short, sin 'might be shown to be sin,' the ineffectual restraint stimulating sin's violence while it deepened the consciousness of guilt, thus ripening the disease for the application of the remedy.

Sin and *death* go hand in hand. 'Death entered' at the door of Adam's transgression: 'Sin came to reign in death.' Bodily death is the fruit and penalty of sin in man, and evidences its universal sway. Not that Paul supposes the termination of our present bodily existence to be due to sin: 'flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God'; the 'earthy man' must in any case have been changed to 'the image of the heavenly,' and 'the natural' was bound to give place to the 'spiritual body' (1 Co 15^{44-49}). But death, as known in this 'body of humiliation' and 'of death,' gets its 'sting' from sin. Under this doom 'the body is' virtually 'dead because of sin,' even when 'the spirit is life because of righteousness' (Ro 8^{10}). Sin brings death upon the entire man: when 'sin came to life, *I* died' (Ro 7^{9}); till the life of the risen Christ was theirs, Gentiles and Jews alike were 'dead by reason of their trespasses and sins,' since they lay under God's 'anger' and were 'alienated from his life' (Eph 2^{1-5} 4^{18}). This is no figurative death,—a state of apathy and impotence,—but a real death of the spirit, attended by moral dissolution, since 'life indeed' is found only in fellowship with God (Ro 6^{10} $8^{6.\ 10}$, Col 3^{1}, 1 Ti 6^{19}). As it is through and with the dying Christ that we enter into this 'newness of life,' the change itself is called, relatively, a death; 'our old man was crucified with Christ' (Ro 6^{6}, Gal 2^{20}).

(*d*) *The history of the race* is but the story of the 'wretched man' of Ro 7 writ large; it is a history of sin and redemption. There are with Paul, as in Jewish theology, two ages—ὁ αἰὼν ὁ ἐνεστὼς and ὁ αἰὼν ὁ μέλλων (1 Co 2^{6} 7^{31}, 2 Co 4^{4}, Ro 12^{2}, Gal 1^{4}), two worlds corresponding to the 'new' and 'old man'—one corrupt and perishing, the other newborn in Jesus Christ. His cross marks the boundary between them (Gal 6^{14}). From the ascension of Jesus dates the Messianic age, the reign of grace, the dispensation of the Spirit, the new humanity, the establishment of 'the kingdom of the Son of God's love' on the territory of 'the dominion of darkness.'

But the earlier times were never God-forsaken. A fatherly and forbearing Providence directed the nations; in the bounties of nature God 'left himself without witness' to none; through His works of creation His 'eternal power and divinity' appealed to man's intelligence (Ac 14^{15-17} 17^{22-31}, Ro 1^{18-20}). The lives of the heathen, with no express 'law,' disclose not infrequently the marks of His working in the human conscience (Ro $2^{14.\ 15.\ 26.\ 27}$). The Gentile world, as a whole, had notwithstanding sunk into desperate guilt. The more wanton or monstrous a cult might be, so much the more it was pursued; and the popular idolatry might be roughly described as half lies, half devilry—'the Gentiles sacrifice to demons and not to God' (Ro 1^{18-32}, 1 Co 8^{4} 10^{19-21} 12^{2}, Gal 4^{8}). Under the sway of such religions, moral debasement went on apace; the most horrible vices throve rankly in the great cities where the apostle taught. Satan was *de facto* 'the god of this world.' 'The law of sin and death,' operating incessantly from Adam downwards, was working out for society its last results. Here was at least a negative preparation for Christ. The world was lost, and Paul proclaims to Rome a gospel that is the 'power of God unto salvation'; to its 'obedience of faith' he proposes to reduce 'all the nations.'

In Israel a different, but concurrent, preparation had taken place. The Mosaic law, fastening its yoke on the Jewish conscience, compelled it to the hopeless path of salvation by works. The Jew was God's 'bondman' (Ro 8^{15}, Gal $4^{1-7.\ 21}$–5^{1}), striving to win 'a righteousness of his own' and to secure by merit the Messiah's coming. The attempt was an acknowledged failure. The law was not kept; it provoked rather than repressed transgression, and produced more hypocrites than saints (Ro 2). The Jew was no better than the Gentile whom he condemned,—nay, worse because of his boasted knowledge. The Divine anger burnt hotly against his nation; their spiritual privileges had bred in them a stubborn and inhuman pride (Ro 2^{5-9}, 1 Th $2^{15.\ 16}$, Ac $13^{40.\ 41}$). The Messianic salvation, as they conceived it, was farther off than ever. Gentile and Jew alike—'all the world'—were 'guilty before God,' with no defence and no resource 'shut up unto the faith that was to be revealed' (Ro 3^{9-24}, Gal $3^{22.\ 23}$). The former age extending, with the Mosaic interlude, from Adam to Christ, had culminated in a general moral bankruptcy.

At the same time, the apostle viewed the expiring age in another and more favourable light. Both in heathenism and Judaism an education of intellect and conscience had all the while been going on; the elementary truths of religion (τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, *i.e.* not 'the' physical 'elements,'—starry powers or the like, identified with angels, as many interpreters suppose,—but 'the rudiments' belonging to a childish, pupillary state: see Lgtft. on Gal. 4^{3} and Col 2^{8}; also Weiss, *NT Theol.* § 70) had been inculcated and widely understood, however ill practised, and had disciplined the *κληρονόμος νήπιος* for his emancipation in Christ. In and around the Synagogue there was a people prepared for the Lord —'a remnant according to the election of grace'; and 'the salvation of God,' sent from unbelieving Judaism to the Gentiles, found these in multitudes ready to hear; so that the present 'casting away' of Israel is proving a 'reconciliation of the world,' which in turn was destined to end in Israel's full 'reception' (Ro 11, Ac 28^{28}). On all accounts it was clear that 'the fulness of the times,' the turning-point of human destiny, had come,—at once the consummation of the shameful past and the foundation of a glorious future. At the crisis where the apostle stands, 'God has shut up all together unto disobedience, that he might have mercy upon all' (Ro 11^{32}, Gal 3^{22}).

3. *Doctrine of Christ and of Salvation.*—On the basis of St. Paul's doctrines of God and of righteousness, of man and of sin, stands his doctrine respecting *Christ and salvation,* — the birth of 'the fulness of time' (Gal 4^{4}).

(*a*) *The Person of Christ.*—The Pharisee Saul persecuted Jesus of Nazareth after His death for the reason for which He had been put to death,—His claim to be the Son of God. In a moment he discovered his utter mistake, and reversed his judgment of the Nazarene. Jesus was, after all, the Messiah;—and not a mere human 'Son of David,' a *Χριστὸς κατὰ σάρκα*, but as He was understood to assert before the Sanhedrin and as His apostles continually preached, the Lord of glory, the Son of the Highest. These convictions entered, with a lightning flash, the mind of the stricken persecutor. 'Who art thou, Lord?' was his question to the Celestial One who appeared to him in the way. The terms of Saul's faith in the Person of Christ were already present to his thought; he needed but to substitute 'Jesus Lord' for 'Jesus anathema' (1 Co 12^{3}), and to adore whom he had blasphemed. 'Immediately in the synagogues [of Damascus] he preached that this Jesus is the Son of God' (Ac $9^{19.20}$); what 'the Son of God' meant to Jewish ears, the trial before the Sanhedrin and the record of St. John's Gospel show. The relationship of Christ to God gave supreme worth in St. Paul's eyes to His sacrifice, and turned the shameful cross into the glorious revelation of God's love to mankind: 'God sent forth *his own Son* (*ἑαυτοῦ*) to redeem those under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons'—'He spared not *his own Son* (*τοῦ ἰδίου*; comp. Jn 5^{18}), but delivered him up for us all'; it is thus that God is known to be 'for us,' thus He 'commends his own (*ἑαυτοῦ*) love toward us' (Gal $4^{4.5}$, Ro 5^{8-10} $8^{31.32}$).

Son of God is a name shared by the 'firstborn' with 'many brethren.' Yet however much they partake with Him, God's 'own Son' stands immeasurably above both men and angels (Eph 1^{20-23}, etc.). We receive the same impression from the apostle's phrases that the Jews received from what Jesus said of Himself (Jn 5^{20}); not least from the solemn distinction and frequency with which God is named 'the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.' Paul styles Him habitually 'the Lord,' 'the Lord Jesus,' 'the Lord Christ,' 'the Lord Jesus Christ.' To minds familiar with the Greek OT, these names, in the formal manner in which they are employed, carried irresistibly the connotation of Godhead. Words of Scripture relating to 'the LORD' (*Jehovah*, but read as *Adonai*) are freely, as a matter of course, appropriated for Christ. The title 'Lord' denotes Christ's sovereignty in the Church (*e.g.* 2 Co 4^{5}), and through the universe (Ph 2^{9-11}); He is designated 'Head' in Col and Eph in the same twofold way. This Lordship is so lofty and wide as to be inconceivable in one less than God (see esp. Col $2^{9.10}$, in connexion with 1^{14-20}). 'The kingdom of the Son of God's love' embraces 'all creation,' of which He is the ground, means, and relative end (Col 1^{15-17}), while 'God the Father' is the fountain and absolute end of 'all things' (1 Co 8^{6}). 'They derived their being from His agency, the Divine power that called them into existence travelling to its goal through Him. . . . To believe in Him, to accept Him as our ideal and find our life's end in doing His will, is to be true to a relation that lies in creation itself, and that expresses the eternal law of our being' (Somerville, *St. Paul's Conception of Christ*, pp. 192, 193). Though Lord in this unlimited sense, Christ is always obedient as a Son, and 'delivers up the kingdom to the Father' who sent Him, when His task of redemption is complete (1 Co 15^{28}, cf. Ph 2^{11}). Such free subordination of love implies no inequality of nature (cf. 1 Co 11^{3}); it is essential to the Divine unity. Despite his horror of creature-worship, St. Paul addresses prayers to the Lord Jesus side by side with the Father, and this frequently in the two earliest letters; he defines Christians as those 'who call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ' (1 Co 1^{2}, Ro 10^{13}, 2 Ti 2^{22}). To St. Paul's imagination as to that of St. John, the heavenly throne is that 'of God and of the Lamb.' There is nothing really surprising if, as seems most probable in both instances, Paul has actually in Ro 9^{5} and Tit 2^{13} given to Christ the predicate 'God' (cf. Jn 1^{18}, *μονογενὴς θεός*).

Christ's Headship over the redeemed Church rests upon His premundane Lordship (Col 1^{15-18}). If His present rule is Divine, His prior state must have been Divine; He was not constituted Son of God by His resurrection, but so 'marked out' (or 'instated,' *ὁρισθεὶς*, Ro 1^{4}). He who at the end of the ages will be confessed as 'Lord' by every tongue, subsisted originally 'in the form of God'—*ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων* (the *μορφὴ* signifies that which constitutes Godhead, Ph 2^{4-11}). Not of this 'form' did Christ 'empty himself' in His humiliation, but of the external conditions described by the words *τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ*; the Divine *state* was surrendered, the Divine *essence* could not be (Ph 2^{6}: see Gifford, *Incarnation*; also Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ*, and Lightfoot, *Philippians, ad loc.*). Since He was originally God, Christ's renunciation of the Divine condition in His incarnation and crucifixion showed an infinite regard for 'others,' that must win unbounded adoration. The height of His previous 'riches' measures the depth of the 'poverty' to which He descended (2 Co 8^{9}).

'The apostle nowhere establishes or teaches the pre-existence of Christ, but presupposes it as familiar to his readers and disputed by no one' (Beyschlag, *NT Theology*, ii. 78). Baur, Pfleiderer, Beyschlag, Schmiedel, with other able scholars, see in Paul's pre-incarnate Christ the ideal, celestial *man*, the archetype and divinely constituted Head of humanity, who in this capacity was primevally (whether *in esse* or *in posse*) Lord of the human creation. This explanation starts from 1 Co 15^{45-47}, interpreted according to the Philonian and later Rabbinical distinction between *the two Adams* of Gn 1^{27} and 2^{7}—the first, the ideal man after God's image, remaining with God as a heavenly pattern (sometimes identified with the Messiah); the second, the earthy, phenomenal man. But St. Paul reverses this order, and writes in v.^{46} as though he would contradict Philo (see Edwards, *ad loc.*); the *δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος* of 1 Co 15 is *ὁ μέλλων* of Ro 5^{14}. When he distinguishes the two as 'from earth,' 'from heaven,' he points to their respective source of being, implying nothing as to previous state of being. 'The second man' is, in this context, the *risen* (not the pre-incarnate) Christ, clothed already, to our knowledge, with His 'spiritual body,' the 'house from heaven' of 2 Co 5^{2} and Ph 3^{21} (see Meyer and Heinrici on 1 Co 15^{47}).

The coexistence of the Divine and human in the Lord Jesus is St. Paul's constant wonder. He puts the two natures in signal contrast (Ro $1^{3.\,4}$ 9^{5}, Gal 4^{4}), but nowhere attempts to define their relations in the one person. 'Jesus Christ is Lord' in His redeemed kingdom not as mere Son of God, but under the name of *Jesus*, who was 'found in fashion as a man' and held concealed beneath the *μορφὴ δούλου* His original *μορφὴ θεοῦ* (Ph 2^{5-11}). Now the enthroned 'mediator of God and men,' He remains evermore 'man' (1 Ti 2^{5}). His connexion with the race is pre-incarnate; Christ was the source of spiritual blessing to the Jewish fathers (1 Co 10^{4}). He is, in truth, the fountain of life to mankind in the spiritual, as Adam in the natural order,—a fact implied in the unfinished parallel of Ro 5^{12}. 'The head of every man is Christ,' as 'the man is head of woman' (1 Co 11^{3}); thus family life and social order rest on His prior authority. Marital love has its model in that of Christ to the Church (Eph 5^{22-31}, *ἀντὶ τούτου*). If God has 'sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts' and we are to be 'essentially conformed (*συμμόρφους*) to the image of his Son' (Gal 4^{4}, Ro 8^{29}), this implies an aboriginal kinship. The Son of God is the mould in which our nature was cast, the representative and root of our race in the Godhead: so much truth there is in the Baurian doctrine of the *Urmensch* (see Edwards' *The God-man*). '*We*' especially are 'through him' and 'unto him'—'through whom are all things' and 'in whom all things consist' (1 Co 8^{6}, Col 1^{16-18}). St. Paul looks into the ground-plan of creation when he says that God 'chose us in him before the foundation of the world,' and that we 'were created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God prepared beforehand' (Eph 1^{4} 2^{10}). The Incarnation and Atonement spring, therefore, out of the fundamental relations of God and man in Christ.

In virtue of the primitive relationship of mankind to Him, the Son of God is concerned in the curse that came upon us through transgression, and becomes answerable on this account (see Dale, *Atonement*, Lect. x.). God 'made him sin on our behalf.' Yet His freedom was never compromised, His purity remained unspotted; 'in the *likeness* of sinful flesh' He was 'sent forth,' not in its actual carnality; in fact, He 'knew no sin' (Ro 8^{3}, 2 Co 5^{21}: contrast Ro $7^{7.\,8}$). This statement implies a large acquaintance on St. Paul's part with the personal life of Jesus, to which his references are few but significant (Ro 15^{3}, 2 Co 10^{1}, Eph 4^{20-24}, 1 Ti 6^{13}, Ac 20^{35}, 1 Co 11^{23}). The miraculous conception, which in a manner explains the unique character of Jesus, the apostle never alludes to. His powerful manifestation as 'Son of God,' from the time of the resurrection, was 'in accordance with the spirit of holiness' that marked His earthly course (Ro 1^{4}).

The Messiahship of Jesus, expressed in His name **Christ**—the main topic of missionary preaching to Jews (Ac 9^{22} $13^{22\text{ff.}}$ etc.)—is taken for granted in the Epp., like the Fatherhood of God, as accepted to begin with by all Christians. Two points Paul had to make out in proving Jesus to be 'Christ': (1) to show from Scripture that the Christ was *παθητός*, was destined *to suffer* in order to reign—this general doctrine of a suffering Messiah being an open question in the Jewish schools; (2) to identify *Jesus* with the Christ so defined (Ac $17^{2.\,3}$ $18^{4.\,5}$). On the abstract point of doctrine he might carry his Jewish hearers with him, but fail when he applied it to the crucified Nazarene. That Christ was 'of David's seed according to flesh,' that His Jewish birth was the crown of Israelite privilege and glory, that 'Christ had become minister of the circumcision,' and that God had 'thus fulfilled the promise made to the fathers': these were essential conditions of the case, and sacred matters to the Gentile apostle (Ro 1^{3} $9^{4.\,5}$ 15^{8-12}, Ac $13^{32.\,33}$). But the Messianic kingship of the OT has expanded into the larger royalty of 'the Lord Jesus Christ'; and he who had fervently expected a *Χριστὸν κατὰ σάρκα*, 'now no longer knows him' (2 Co 5^{16}). See, further, art. MESSIAH.

(*b*) *The Death of the Cross.*—The Christ so constituted, David's seed and God's own Son, sin-curst yet sinless, died *the death of the cross*—a victim for human transgression. THE CROSS is the main shaft of the superstructure resting on the basis already described; it is the trunk into which run up all the roots of Paul's Christian thought, and that supports its branches and fruitage. 'Far be it from me to glory,' he exclaims, 'save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ!' Everything that Paul knows, exults in, builds upon, is poised there.

The apostle uses many terms to express the meaning of the death of Christ, for it is a fact of boundless significance. It is a vicarious, representative death, as He who thus suffered is the Leader of the race, the 'One' who 'died for all,' who alone had the right and power to do so (2 Co $5^{14.\,15}$). It is a legal expiation in the very largest sense, coming under that awful law which links death to sin as its universal human penalty (Ro 5^{12} 8^{2}, 1 Co 15^{22}, Gal $4^{4.\,5}$); the pardon based upon it is accordingly a 'justification,' an acquittal and release in the court of the Divine justice, since 'he that died hath been justified from sin,' and 'all died in him' (Ro 4^{25} 6^{7}, 2 Co 5^{14}, Col $2^{13.\,14}$). Christ's death was an intrinsically 'justifying act' (*δικαίωμα*), right in itself and rectifying in its scope, that turned to 'justification of life' the 'condemnation' lying on 'all men' in consequence of Adam's trespass; it is 'the obedience of the One,' through which 'the disobedience of the one man' is countervailed (Ro $5^{18.\,19}$). It was a 'propitiation,' since He who thus shed 'his blood' in doing so realized with sympathy and entire submission the holy resentment that burns against sin through all the miseries which it entails, and the endurance of this undeserving voluntary Sufferer for His guilty brethren was 'an odour of sweet smell' (Ro 3^{25}, Eph 5^{2}). In every fitting sense the death of Jesus was a 'sacrifice,' offered upon man's part, which God in His righteousness accepts. In His grace God first provided it; for 'Christ is God's' rather than ours. The Father of Christ and of men '*sent* his own Son, in likeness of sinful flesh and for sin'; He 'delivered him up for us all'; He 'set him forth a propitiation,' and so 'commends his own love toward us . . . sinners' (Ro 5^{8} $8^{3.\,32}$). Thus the sacrifice effects a 'reconciliation' (*καταλλαγή*), proposed by God who through Christ admits into favour those who could otherwise be treated only as enemies, and accepted by men who endorse the satisfaction which Christ renders on their behalf (Ro 5^{1-11}, 2 Co 5^{18-21}). On this ground God and man meet in friendship. The Divine family is gathered again round the Elder Brother, who restores to each other those whom He reconciles to God, slaying all enmity by the blood of His cross (Eph 2^{13-18}). On the basis of this atonement the entire sum of blessings making up our salvation is bestowed—blessings collectively named 'redemption' (*ἀπολύτρωσις*), as they are won for us at the cost of the blood of Christ (1 Co 1^{30} 6^{20}, Eph 1^{14}, Ac 20^{28}).

But there is another side to the Pauline doctrine of the cross. When it is said in Ro 8^{1-4} that 'God by sending his own Son in likeness of sinful flesh, and (as a sacrifice) for sin, condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us,' the subjective moral effect of Christ's death comes into view. The mission of

Christ has so brought home the guilt of human sin as to bring about a full reaction. While enduring the penalty, Christ has broken the power of sin, and dethroned it (cf. 5^{21}), even in that 'flesh' which was its seat; so *sanctification* (Ro 6), equally with justification (Ro 3–5), springs from the death of the cross, the saving power of which is certified and made efficacious by the resurrection of the Sinbearer (Ro 4$^{24.\ 25}$ 8^{34} 10$^{8-10}$, Ph 3^{10}). As 'condemnation' ceases for 'those who are in Christ Jesus,' there begins to operate upon them that 'law of the Spirit of life in him' which 'frees from the law of sin and death,' substituting 'the mind of the Spirit' for 'the mind of the flesh' and giving them victory over bodily death, whose 'sting' is gone for those who in Christ have 'died to sin' (Ro 6^{2} 8$^{1-11}$, 1 Co 15$^{56.\ 57}$). The change of status and the change of character effected in believers are, to Paul's mind, inseparable; he blends them in Ro 6, where those who 'died to sin' are such as have in Christ at once expiated its curse and renounced its dominion, to 'walk' with their risen Lord 'in newness of life'—living in Him, and as He does, 'to God.' In the pregnant words of v.^{7}, they are 'justified (so as to be free) from sin.' The so-called 'juristic' and 'ethical' theories of the Atonement are complementary to each other; Paul passes from one to the other with no sense of discrepancy (see Stevens' *Pauline Theol.*, on 'Justification'; Pfleiderer's *Paulinismus*^{2}, 'Der Tod Christi'; Sabatier's *Apostle Paul*, p. 297 ff.). See, further, arts. ATONEMENT, PROPITIATION.

(*c*) *The new Life of Faith.*—From the moment that he dies with Christ, there begins for the believer *the new life of faith* (Gal 2$^{19.\ 20}$). The word **Faith** on the human side is as characteristic of Paulinism as Grace on the Divine. Faith is the hand reached out to receive the gifts of grace; it is the root by which the soul is planted into Christ and draws its life from Him. It is 'prora et puppis' to Christian experience (Ro 1$^{16.\ 17}$), and conditions all security and progress (Eph 6^{16} 14^{13}).

Faith is the characteristic function of the 'heart' (Ro 10^{10}, Eph 3^{17})—of the entire inward man there centred. It includes the response of the affections to the love of God and of Christ (Ro 5^{8}, Gal 2^{20}), self-surrendering submission to the will and call of God (the 'obedience of faith,' Ro 1^{5} 6$^{16.\ 17}$ 10$^{3.\ 16}$, 1 Th 2$^{12.\ 13}$), and the grasp of the understanding which apprehends 'the truth of the gospel' (2 Th 2$^{10-13}$). Especially in the later Epistles, addressed to instructed Churches now endangered by intellectual forms of error, stress is laid on the mental element in faith; and 'knowledge (of God, of truth,' etc.; ἐπίγνωσις, *advanced, exact knowledge*) is represented as the means of growth and the condition of safety (Col 1$^{5-11}$ 2^{2} 3^{10} 4^{6}, Eph 1$^{17-19}$ 4$^{20-24}$, Ph 1$^{9-11}$, 1 Ti 2^{4}, Tit 1^{1}). St. Paul's ἐπίγνωσις is simply an educated faith. This is one of the aspects of Christian perfection. The revelation of the gospel assumes faith and depends at every point on this condition (Ro 3$^{22.\ 25}$ 4^{24} 5$^{1.\ 2}$, 1 Co 1^{21}, 2 Co 1^{24}, Gal 3^{22}, Eph 1$^{13.\ 19}$, 1 Th 2^{13}, Tit 3^{8}, etc.), just as the legal covenant assumed for its efficacy the performance of 'works.' Christian men are briefly described as 'believers' (οἱ πιστεύοντες, οἱ πιστεύσαντες, οἱ ἐκ πίστεως). Faith is the one subjective condition of justification,—that Divine acquittal with which our salvation begins and in which its whole process is virtually contained. The 'righteousness of faith,' the 'gift of righteousness,' supersedes that 'righteousness of one's own' which the legalist vainly sought by self-directed efforts; failing to be 'justified of works,' men are freely 'justified of faith' (Ro 3$^{22-26}$ 5$^{15-17}$ 9^{30}–10^{3}). The power of faith lies in the fact that it is man's reliance on God's power and grace; it recognizes and 'submits to God's righteousness'; faith accepts His promise—in a word, it 'gives glory to God' without any thought of merit or claim upon man's part (Ro 4$^{1-5.\ 20-24}$ 10^{3}). On this account Abraham's faith,—the *instantia probans* for Israelites,—notwithstanding the difference of its content, is a pattern to Christians (Ro 4, Gal 3). Such 'faith is reckoned for (to amount to) righteousness'; this is, in fact, the normal attitude of the soul toward God, the disposition which alone makes a right understanding and right relations possible between man and God. While faith appears to supersede law, it is a principle profoundly just, and supplies the true guarantee for the establishment of Divine law in human life (Ro 3$^{30.\ 31}$: cf. ii. 1 (*d*), above). Christian faith has for its specific object the revelation of God's grace and righteousness in Christ, and for its primary result the remission of sins grounded on His expiatory death.

While such faith sets the believer right with God, it unites him personally to the risen Christ. 'Faith in Christ' (sometimes 'in Jesus,' 'in Jesus Christ') attaches itself to the resurrection along with the death of the Redeemer (Ro 4$^{24.\ 25}$ 8$^{32-34}$)—to His resurrection, in the first place, as making valid the justification wrought in His death, but further as the ground of an abiding spiritual union (*unio mystica*) with the living Lord. Christ's ascension completes His resurrection (Eph 1$^{19-23}$); 'having died in regard to sin once for all,' He 'lives to God,'—and we in Him (Ro 6$^{10.\ 11}$); God 'raised us up and seated us in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus' (Ro 6$^{10.\ 11}$, Eph 2$^{4-6}$). By virtue of this union one comes to be *in Christ*—St. Paul's normal designation for the Christian state. Under the 'law of faith,' we thus appropriate and assimilate Christ's redemption; what He has done for us is reproduced in us. We 'coalesce with him (σύμφυτοι γεγόναμεν) by the likeness of his death' and rising, which are rehearsed symbolically in baptism, actually in the process of a sympathetic, self-committing faith (Ro 6$^{5.\ 6}$). 'Thus the idea of substitution receives its complement in the mysticism of faith . . . and the idea of "one for all" receives the stricter meaning of "all in and with one"' (Pfleiderer). St. Paul's doctrine of life to God in the celestial Christ is the correlative to that of death to sin through the crucified Christ. 'The change from death to resurrection brought to Him an accession of personal endowment that qualified Him to exert His influence as a principle of new life in man, and it meant also His investiture with supreme power as the Lord of human life and destiny' (Somerville),—πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἵνα γένηται ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸς πρωτεύων (Col 1^{18}). While through faith in Christ's death the working of sin is at each point undone, in the place of what is thus destroyed there is built up, through fellowship with His life, the new man and the new world (Ro 5^{10} 6$^{8-23}$, 1 Co 15$^{20-28}$). 'To the Christ within Paul attributed all that he did and experienced as a Christian man. . . . It was as if the very personality of Christ had entered into the apostle, and used him as the organ of its expression' (Somerville); such is the δύναμις τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ, making Him a πνεῦμα ζωοποίουν to His race. St. Paul's theory of morals comes under this head; it is the ethics of the 'life hid with Christ in God' (Col 3). If the cross is the main pillar of Paul's theology, the objective fact on and around which its fabric is built, the consciousness of union with the living Christ is its subjective centre and the heart from which its movements proceed. See, further, art. FAITH.

St. Paul's doctrine of **adoption** (υἱοθεσία) supplies the meeting-point of two cardinal principles—the Fatherhood of God, and spiritual union with Christ. The sonship of believers is matter of God's eternal counsel, and was provided for 'in Christ before the world's foundation' (Eph 1$^{3.\ 4}$). It is a status derived wholly through Christ, in which we partake with the Son of God, and are conformed 'in the spirit of our mind' to Him who is God's complete image (Ro $8^{29.30}$, Eph $4^{20-24.32}$ 5^{2}, Col 3^{8-13} 1^{15}, Ph 2^{5}, Gal 4^{19}, etc.). This resemblance of the many brethren to the Firstborn is at present spiritual, and therefore 'hidden'; but we await, along with 'the creation' which has shared our 'bondage of corruption,' 'the unveiling of the sons of God,' 'the redemption of our body,' which will be recovered from the grave and in its turn 'conformed to his body of glory' (Ro 8^{18-25}, 1 Co 15^{43-57}, Ph $3^{20.21}$, Eph 1^{14}, Col $3^{3.4}$). Endowed with this hope, which is vital to their salvation (Ro 8^{24}, 1 Co 15^{19}), Christians are consciously 'heirs of God and Christ's fellow-heirs—*if children, also heirs*' (Ro $8^{16.17}$, Gal $4^{6.7}$). See, further, art. ADOPTION.

4. *Doctrine of the Holy Spirit.*—In the development of St. Paul's Christology, or Christianity proper, a further movement of thought is involved, —that embracing the doctrine of **the Holy Spirit.**

(*a*) *God Immanent.*—The thought of the Holy Spirit as *the organ of the Divine in man* is inwoven into the whole tissue of Paulinism. While the Son of God is the root and ground of human relations to God, the Spirit is the living energy forming and sustaining those relations, the moral dynamic (*ἐξ ὕψους δύναμις*, Lk 24^{49}; cf. 1 Th 1^{5}, 1 Co 2^{4}, Eph 3^{16}). Christ is God manifest to us; the Holy Spirit is God working in us (*e.g.* Ro $15^{13.16}$, 1 Co 12^{11}, Gal 5^{25}). He is the 'gift' imparted in God's grace to each believer by way of witness to his adoption (Ro $8^{15.16}$, Gal 4^{6}), and supplying the inward substantial counterpart of this endowment—a new *power* corresponding to the new status (Ro 5^{5} 8^{2}, Gal $3^{2.3}$, Tit 3^{4-7}, etc.). The positive gift of the Spirit, equally with the negative gift of remission of sins, is procured through the death of Christ.

Paul's conception of 'the Spirit,' like that of 'the Father' and 'the Son,' was drawn from the teaching of Jesus. The OT 'Spirit (breath) of God' is the Divine influence touching man's invisible spirit, which is kindred to and was created by it. In the doctrine of Jesus the Holy Spirit assumes the distinctness of a personal being, and the permanence of a fixed indwelling in man. The Spirit is associated with the person of Christ in such a way that He 'rests upon' Him, is concentrated in Him, given forth by Him, and becomes the element of life-communion with Him. These ideas supply the staple of St. Paul's doctrine upon this subject. They are found mainly in the Fourth Gospel, whose tradition St. John did not confine within his breast until that work was published (see Knowling's *Witness of the Epp.*, pp. 329–347, which summarizes the full examination of this question made by P. Ewald in his *Hauptproblem der Evangelien*; also Matheson's 'Historical Christ of St. Paul,' in *Expositor*, II. i. 193–199, ii. 137–143).

On the one side, the Spirit is the organ of communication from God through the exalted Christ, whether in the way of knowledge or power (Ro 5^{5} 8^{16} 15^{19}, 1 Co 2^{10-16}, Gal 4^{6}, Ph 1^{19}, 1 Th 1^{5}, 1 Ti 4^{1}, 2 Ti 1^{7}); on the other side, He prompts the heart's movements towards God and its activities for God (Ro $8^{4-10.26.27}$ 12^{11}, 1 Co 12^{7-11}, Eph $2^{18.22}$, 1 Th 5^{19}, Tit 3^{5}). Above all, He gives the witness of sonship, with its privilege of access to the Father (Ro 8^{14-16}, Eph 2^{18}); and He is the element which identifies us with Christ and constitutes us 'members of his body' (Ro 8^{9-17}, Gal $4^{6.7}$, 1 Co 6^{15-20}, Eph 3^{16-19}). He is thus the 'Spirit of Christ,' as 'of God.' The body and spirit of man are His temple —the spirit already redeemed from death by His power, the body ultimately to be so (Ro 8^{11}). All the experiences and virtues of the new life are accordingly His 'fruit' (Gal 5^{22-25}). The glorified Christ acts on men so entirely through the Spirit, and the Holy Spirit so perfectly imparts Christ's influence and makes Him present, that the two are practically identified: 'The Lord is the Spirit' (2 Co $3^{17.18}$); Christ is, at the same time, 'Lord of the Spirit' (this seems the fitter rendering of *κυρίου πνεύματος*), since He rules in that realm which the Spirit fills. (See Somerville, as above, pp. 116–118, who, however, presses the identification too far). Amongst the offices of the Spirit, the following are conspicuous in Pauline teaching:—

(*b*) *The Spiritual Man.*—The Holy Spirit is the *sanctifier*—being holy, He *makes holy*. Sanctification accompanies justification (1 Co 6^{11} 7^{14}: cf. ii. 3 (*b*), last par.). St. Paul counts all his readers 'saints,' however faulty saints (*e.g.* 1 Co 1^{2}). The children of God, those who possess Christ's Spirit, are *pro tanto* holy persons, being claimed by God (*κλητοὶ ἅγιοι*) and personally devoted to God. But sanctification, unlike justification, is progressive and variable. While complete in principle and tendency (and possible realization) from the first, in practice it admits of degrees, and is advancing in the most obedient (*εἰς ἁγιασμόν*, Ro 6^{16}). For saints the apostle prays, 'Sanctify them unto full perfection' (1 Th 5^{23}). Growth in holiness is the fruit of the Spirit's inner working; to live a holy life is to be *κατὰ πνεῦμα* and to 'walk *πνεύματι*' (Ro 8^{4-19}, Gal 5^{16-25}). The residence of the Holy Spirit in man is a powerful motive to holiness, while it is the means to its attainment (1 Th 4^{3-8}, 1 Co $6^{19.20}$). Sanctification is not ethical purity, but connotes and requires this; and the Spirit of God is the *purifier* of heart and conduct (1 Co 6^{11}, Ro 8^{13}, Gal 5^{22}, etc.). This office of the Spirit comes under St. Paul's favourite antithesis of 'flesh and spirit.' The Christian ethical life is at once the ascendency of spirit over flesh in the man, and the possession and assimilation of the man by the Spirit. In many Pauline expressions the individual and universal spirit are blended; 'the spiritual man' (*ὁ πνευματικός, ὁ κατὰ πνεῦμα*) is he in whom, through the operation of the Spirit of God upon his nature, spirit (not flesh, nor even mere 'soul' —the individual selfhood) holds sway and determines character and bent (Ro 8^{5-9}, 1 Co $2^{14.15}$). While the Holy Spirit brings the soul into harmony with God, He establishes order and health, true life, in the constitution of the man (Ro 8^{6}).

(*c*) *The Communion of the Spirit.*—Peace is the Spirit's fruit; the life of love in the Church is His creation. The Holy Spirit is the *unifier*. As the element which binds believers to Christ, He binds them to each other in Christ. 'There is one body' because, and so far as, 'there is one Spirit'; all 'were baptized in one Spirit into one body, all were made to drink of one Spirit' (1 Co $12^{12.13}$, Eph 4^{4}). 'Communion' is His note in the Trinitarian benediction of 2 Co 13^{13}; the grace of Christ, and the love of the Father, are translated into *fellowship* when subjectively realized by the indwelling of the Spirit,—who is God immanent in the individual man, and in the community.

(*d*) *The Earnest of the Inheritance.*—The indwelling Holy Spirit is *the guarantor* of final salvation. 'God gave the earnest (*ἀρραβών*) of the Spirit in our hearts' (2 Co 1^{22} 5^{5}, Eph 1^{14})— 'the firstfruit' (*ἀπαρχή*, Ro 8^{23}), since the life eternal will be of the same nature as the hidden life of the Spirit already experienced by the child of God. His presence is the pledge of God's purpose wholly to sanctify the abode where He thus dwells, and of His ulterior purpose to recreate our physical and mortal frame as 'a spiritual body' conformed to that of Christ, and so to perfect the redeemed in the integrity of their nature as the image and habitation of God (Ro 8^{10-25}, Eph

$1^{13.14}$ 2^{22}). Till then salvation is incomplete: our redemption is exposed to hazard; our sonship remains half realized (Ro 8^{23}). The Holy Spirit is the 'seal' of the future, as He is the witness of the past and the energy of our present life in God—a seal broken by relapse into sin (Eph 4^{30}, 2 Co 1^{22}). See, further, art. HOLY SPIRIT.

5. *Doctrine of the Church.*—**The Church** is the witness and counterpart of the Spirit of God on earth (1 Co $3^{16.17}$ 12^{11}, Eph 2^{22}); it is the specific organ for the continued manifestation of God through Christ to the world (1 Th 1^{8}, 1 Co $12^{24.25}$, 2 Co 3^{3}, Eph 3^{21}, Ph 2^{12-18}, 1 Ti 3^{15}).

(*a*) *The Body of Christ.*—As the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Christ amongst men, the Church is, correspondingly, *His body.* It is constituted by the common presence of the Spirit in many souls, and is animated by His power (Eph 2^{18} $4^{4.12}$, 1 Co 12^{13}). It is 'the church' (OT 'congregation')—or 'churches' in 1 Th 2^{14} and 2 Th 1^{4}—'of God,' and, as consisting of His children, the 'house,' also the 'habitation, of God,' tenanted by His Spirit,—'a holy temple in the Lord' (Ac 20^{28}, Eph 2^{19-22}, 1 Ti $3^{5.15}$, 1 Co $3^{16.17}$). Paul's idea of the *ecclesia* grew with the growth of his work (see Hort, *Eccl.* 107 ff.). In 1 and 2 Th the word denotes the local 'assembly,' or 'assemblies,' of believers—'the Church of Thessalonians in God,' etc.; the readers of 1 and 2 Co are 'the Church of God that is in Corinth'—the one Christian society existing in many places. In the letters of the third group the conception of the Church Universal, as the spiritual union of all who 'hold the Head,' is completely formed. In Col and Eph the fuller doctrine of the Church and of the Person of Christ are unfolded *pari passu.* The Church is the body of which He is *Head* (Eph 1^{22} 5^{23}, Col 1^{18} 2^{19}), new significance thus accruing to the figure previously employed in 1 Co 12. The body is the organic complement of the Head, supplying Him with limbs and instruments, while the Head gives to it unity, impulse, and direction. The reciprocal duties of the two, and the fundamental nature of their union, are shown in the analogy of Eph 5^{22-33}. The Church is the *bride* of Christ, who 'loved her and gave himself up for her,' who labours to 'present her to himself' at last in perfect spiritual beauty. The Church is not a temporal institution subserving mere present necessities. The collective fellowship of believers with their Head will subsist eternally; and in Eph 3^{21} 'the Church and Christ Jesus'—Bride and Bridegroom—are seen together rendering praise to God, 'unto all generations of the age of the ages' (cf. Mt 16^{18}, Rev 21. 22).

(*b*) *The Brotherhood.*—The first note of the Church is brother-love (φιλαδελφία, 1 Th 4^{9-12}, Ro $12^{9.10}$, etc.). *Brethren* is the name by which Paul oftenest speaks to and of his fellow-believers,—or *beloved.* The compellation 'brothers,' of Jewish kinship, is appropriated by the larger household of faith. In the family of God, **Love** is to have its home and hearth, from which its influence radiates to those without (1 Th 5^{15}, Gal 5^{14} 6^{10}, Ro 12^{12-21}). Since it is God's love and grace in Christ that call forth our faith, faith in turn 'works through love'; all its activities pass along this channel and take this colour (Gal 5^{6}). The Church 'builds up itself in love' (Eph 4^{16}). No faith, no gift or power or qualification of any kind, avails without love,—which finds in the brethren its chief object, in Christ its pattern, and in the Holy Spirit its sustaining power. Love is greater than faith or hope, as the Divine surpasses the human and auxiliary, as the fruit the seed (1 Co 13). In all this Paul shows himself the pupil of Jesus.

The 'good works' of the Pastoral Epp. are definite forms of 'the work of faith and toil of love' commended in 1 Th,—*e.g.* the care of the widows and the poor, and hospitality to strangers; the Church charities regulated in the latest Epp. flow from the brotherly love conspicuous in the earliest.

(*c*) *The Charismata.*—The Pauline Churches—eminently that of Corinth—were endowed by the Spirit with a rich variety of *gifts for edification* (χαρίσματα). All social talents, natural or supernatural, from apostleship down to the washing of feet, the apostle regards from this practical standpoint. Everything must subserve the building up of the Church after the measure of Christ (Eph 4^{7-13}, 1 Co 12^{7-11} 14, 2 Co 13^{7-10}). Hence 'prophecy' is rated amongst 'the greater charisms,' while the gift of 'tongues,' though more admired, is really inferior. 'The word of wisdom' and of 'knowledge' mark the ordinary 'teachers' (in Eph 4^{11} associated with the 'pastors'), in distinction from the prophets and speakers with tongues, whose utterances come by an incalculable inspiration, and may need restraint where such gifts are widely distributed (1 Co 14^{27-33}). The earliest Church meetings, as described in 1 Co, were little bound by any stated order, those present praying, prophesying, singing, teaching in turn as the Spirit prompted utterance. But this unchartered freedom bred disorder; it was only possible in the first simplicity of Christian fervour: Paul writes expressly to chasten it, intending to take measures to this effect (11^{34}); he declares that, along with the other charisms, 'God appointed in the Church *governments*' (12^{28}). In the interests of edification Church proceedings were gradually reduced to rule and precedent; by the time of the Pastoral Epp. signs appear of a fixed gradation of office and an established usage in Divine service. It is assumed, by way of fundamental principle, in Ro 12^{4-8} and Eph 4^{1-16}, that the Church is, under Christ, self-governing and self-edifying, that the manifold functions of administration and instruction exercised in it belong to and exist for the body as a whole, however lodged in this member or that; the body, as such, must press the powers of every limb into its service.

(*d*) *Baptism and the Lord's Supper.*—The apostle refers to *the two sacraments* incidentally, and without bringing them into connexion with each other, unless it be by allusion in 1 Co 10^{1-4}. Their established observance is assumed, in accordance with the story of their institution,—expressly related for the Lord's Supper in 1 Co 11^{23}, where there is no need to suppose that 'received from (ἀπό) the Lord' signifies more than tradition from the fountain-head. These rites mark respectively the believer's entrance upon, and continuance in, the Christian life. They signalize, each of them, his relation to the Church as well as to Christ Himself, to the body with the Head (1 Co 12^{13} 10^{17}). The 'one baptism' is a visible token of the 'one Lord' and the 'one faith' (Eph 4^{5}); the 'one loaf' of which 'we all partake,' pictures the 'one body' to which 'the many' belong. The 'blessing' and 'thanksgiving' pronounced over the elements at the Lord's Table (1 Co 10^{16} 11^{24}) impress their character on the whole rite, which is analogous to the post-sacrificial feasts of ancient religion ($10^{17ff.}$), being a symbolic act of grateful and joyful communion with men in the supreme gifts of God.

These ordinances are no arbitrary signs of Christian faith and fellowship, having a value conferred by the bare fact of their appointment; they are parables of the spiritual acts which they accompany. **Baptism,** in its most complete and picturesque form of immersion, is strikingly applied in Ro 6^{1-4} to set forth a Christian conversion: as the baptized sinks into the water, remains there for a moment, and emerges a new man, he rehearses the death, burial, and resurrection of Jesus —he dies to sin, is severed from the past, and rises to live with Christ unto God. St. Paul's argument presumes that baptism is the expression on the candidate's part, and the recognition on the Church's part, of the faith that alone joins the soul to Christ; its efficacy lies in the uttered 'word' of faith attending the ceremonial act (Eph 5^{26}, *ἐν ῥήματι*; cf. Ro 10^{8-10}). A like interpretation of **the Lord's Supper** is indicated in 1 Co 10 and 11. The bread and the cup represent 'the body and the blood of the Lord' (11^{27}), so that he who desecrates the former outrages the latter; while the sharing of each in the same cup and loaf exhibits the 'fellowship' of Christians in the incarnate and crucified Redeemer ($10^{16.\ 17}$), whose 'death' is thus evermore 'proclaimed' and kept in remembrance (11^{24-26}). Such public representations are, in the nature of the case, binding professions of faith, covenant transactions (see 1 Co 10^{18-22}, and the parallels there adduced). The expression '*seal* of faith,' which Paul applies to Abraham's sacrament in Ro 4^{11}, is equally appropriate to the new ordinances. The *person* by whom the rite is administered (1 Co 1^{13-17}), matters but little; everything depends upon (*a*) the institution of Christ, and (*b*) the intention and spirit of those engaged, the faith and fellowship by which they are actuated. Not as matters of official prerogative, but of stated communion between Christ and His people, did Paul exalt the sacraments. See, further, arts. BAPTISM, LORD'S SUPPER, SACRAMENT.

(*e*) *Church Organization.*—In respect to Church order and organization there is a contrast between the first and last Epp., so extreme that it raises grave difficulties in regard to the authenticity of the latter. 1 Ti and Tit are devoted to matters which occupy only a line in 1 Th. In the fifteen years' interval a great development had taken place. On the first missionary tour in S. Galatia, Paul and Barnabas 'appointed elders in every church' (Ac 14^{23}), resembling in their functions, *mutatis mutandis*, the elders of Jewish communities. A like office probably belonged to 'those who preside' in the Thessalonian Church (1 Th 5^{12}; cf. 1 Ti 5^{17}). In the letters to Corinth we have no traces of local Church office; from the silence of 1 Co 5 on this point, and from the scenes indicated in ch. 14, we may infer that official elders did not as yet preside here: 'helps, governments' —corresponding to deacons and bishops—are referred to in the abstract (12^{28}; otherwise in Ro $12^{7.\ 8}$); ch 11^{34} intimates better regulation to come. In the salutation of Philippians, four years later, the 'bishops and deacons' are distinctly addressed, and these two orders figure conspicuously in the Pastorals—the former as directing, the latter as assistant officers. The apostle is anxious about the character and true piety of these ministers, wishing to fence out from office unworthy candidates. The term '**bishop**' in Tit 1 is synonymous with '**elder**' (Lgtft. *Christian Ministry*; but cf. Hort, *Eccl.* 212), and is now preferred by Paul as it denotes the *work* of the office (1 Ti 3^{1}), while 'elder' suggests status and dignity. 'Bishop' (*ἐπίσκοπος*, *overseer*, *superintendent*) appears first in Ac $20^{28.\ 29}$, where Paul tells the Ephesian 'elders' that 'the Holy Spirit made' them 'bishops, to shepherd the Church' (cf. Eph 4^{11}, 'shepherds and teachers'; also 1 P 2^{25} 5^{1-5}). It is not unlikely that Paul then introduced the term and gave it vogue. Hatch (*Organization of the Early Christian Churches*) traced the episcopate to a Greek, as the presbyterate to a Jewish origin; he supposed that these were distinct institutions amalgamated in post-apostolic times—a theory, in its extreme form, contrary to Ac and 1 P as well as to the Pastoral Epistles. The charities of the Church and the maintenance of its ministry (1 Co 9^{7-14}, Gal 6^{6}) required business management (bishops and deacons are alike to be *μὴ αἰσχροκερδεῖς*, 1 Ti $3^{2.\ 8}$); Hatch derived the title *ἐπίσκοπος* from this *financial* charge (but see Cremer's *Bib.-Theol. Lexicon*, *s.v.*, and Kühl's *Gemeindeordnung*, p. 87 ff.), whereas Ac 20 and 1 P make the bishop emphatically a *pastor*. The elders are encouraged to take a leading part 'in word and teaching' (1 Ti 5^{17}); some of them, it appears, did not teach, and any competent member of the Church might speak his word of exhortation. By the date of 1 Ti 5^{9}, the older 'widows' were 'enrolled' for Church maintenance and service, being included probably amongst the deaconesses, of whose existence at this early time Ro $16^{1.\ 2}$ affords the only, but sufficient, evidence. See, further, artt. on BISHOP, ELDER, and DEACON; also, generally, on CHURCH and CHURCH GOVERNMENT. The data furnished by the Ac and Epp. for the reconstruction of the forms of apostolic Church life and worship are comparatively slight, and open to conflicting interpretations. It is possible that the organization of the first Christian communities was more definite, and borrowed more freely from contemporary social institutions and usages than is shown by the incidental references of our documents.

Two important distinctions in Church service are to be observed: (1) between the clerical and the charismatic ministry—the ministry of *official status* and of *personal gift*, the former in some degree presuming the latter, but the latter not of necessity carrying with it the former; (2) between the *local*, *congregational* ministry and the *itinerant*, *missionary* ministry—the bishops and deacons, elected in the single community for its service, belonging to the former; to the latter, the apostles and evangelists (Eph 4^{11}, 2 Ti 4^{5}, Ac 21^{8}). Prophets and teachers, such as Agabus and Apollos, might labour in a single community or travel from Church to Church, their gift not of itself carrying with it local rule. Timothy is 'an evangelist'; to this work he was ordained by the hands of Paul and the local eldership at his setting out (1 Ti 4^{14}, 2 Ti 1^{6}). St. Paul's other companions, presumably, held the like travelling commission; other powers were conferred on them *ad hoc*, as in the case of Titus when Paul's delegate in Corinth or Crete.

As 'a called apostle of Christ Jesus,' an equal of the original Twelve, Paul claims the highest prerogatives under the Lord Himself: he is 'father' of his Churches, 'master-builder' in the fabric of Divine revelation, 'teacher of nations in faith and truth' (1 Co 3^{10} $4^{14.\ 15}$, 1 Ti 2^{7}, Ro $1^{5.\ 6}$ 15^{16-20}, Eph 3^{7-11}). The gospel of God he may therefore call 'my gospel,' since its dispensation was committed to him directly from the Lord. He does not expect this claim to be admitted without proof, but points to 'the signs of the apostle' visible in him, to the multitude of believers who were his living 'letters of commendation,' to the commanding inspiration of his word, to 'the grace given' to him and acknowledged by the Church leaders at Jerusalem (2 Co 12^{12} 13^{3} 3^{1-6}, 1 Co 14^{37}, Eph 3^{4}, Gal 2^{7-9}). Yet he writes in the *plural* of the 'ministers of Christ and stewards of God's mysteries,' including his fellow evangelists (1 Co 4^{1}, 2 Co $1^{18.\ 19}$) with himself. And 'the fair deposit' of his inspired word he commits, through those who received it at his mouth, to the 'faithful men' whom they should choose, to the Church which is the 'pillar and stay of the truth,' above all to the Lord who first gave the trust (1 Ti 1^{18} 3^{15} 6^{20}, 2 Ti 1^{12-14} 2^{2}). In questions of doctrine, Paul claims complete and incontestable authority; in matters of discipline, even the gravest, he requires the free concurrence of the Church concerned (1 Co 5, 2 Co 2^{6}, 2 Th 3^{6-15}).

Cf. further, for all the subjects discussed in this (5) section, the art. CHURCH.

6. *Doctrine of the Kingdom of God.*—The Jewish idea of **the kingdom of God** (the perfect Divine rule on earth to be established by the Messiah), which was adopted and spiritualized by Jesus, lies at the basis of the Pauline system. St. Paul's 'kingdom of God and of Christ' (known as *Christ's* from His exaltation onwards: Eph 1^{20-22}, Ph 2^{9}) transcends all national, and even earthly bounds; its glory fills the horizon of faith, which stretches indefinitely beyond death and the limits of sense.

The apostle's doctrine of *the Last Things* comes under this conception, which is both his alpha and omega. As missionary of Christ, Paul 'went along heralding the kingdom' (Ac 20^{25} 19^{8} 28^{31}); his hope in dying is that 'the Lord will bring me safe into his heavenly kingdom' (2 Ti 4^{18}). When a Pharisee, he had sought legal righteousness not to ensure his personal salvation so much as to bring about for Israel's sake, and for God's glory, the Messiah's promised kingdom (Ac 26^{7} etc.). This goal the Christian apostle still pursues, seeing it in larger proportions and with a brighter certainty. The Church never displaced the Kingdom in Paulinism (see *e.g.* 1 Th 2^{12}). These are correlated, and not equivalent or rival terms. One with its Head, the Church is the centre and mistress of the Kingdom; she furnishes it with citizens and dignitaries (1 Co 6^{2}). But the Kingdom embraces all orders of being (angels *e.g.*, the mightiest of them, no less than men, Col 2^{10}),—the entire system of things as subject to our Redeemer's sway (Eph 1^{20-23}, Col 1^{16-20}, 1 Co 15^{24-28}, Ph 2^{9-11}).

As to the seat of its power, the kingdom of the Lord Christ is inward and spiritual. It is concerned essentially with 'righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit' (Ro $14^{17.\,18}$, Col $2^{16.\,20}$–$3^{4.\,15}$, Ph 4^{7}). Its ways of rule are wholly opposite to those associated with the *Χριστὸς κατὰ σάρκα* of Judaism, to the external methods and perishing glory of the Mosaic covenant. From this interior world of the spirit, through the sanctified body, all outward activity is to be dominated, and thus conformed to 'the good and well-pleasing and perfect will of God' (Ro 12). See art. on KINGDOM OF GOD.

(*a*) *The Divine Sovereignty.*—The doctrine of the Kingdom rests on the presupposition of the absolute *sovereignty of God* (see ii. 1, above)—'the Creator,' 'the blessed and only Potentate, King of those that reign and Lord of those that have lordship,' 'the only God' (1 Ti 1^{17} $6^{15.\,16}$, Ro 1^{25}). There is no appeal against His judgments (*e.g.* in the reprobation of Israel), no arresting of His decrees: 'whom he will he compassionates, whom he will he hardens' (Ro 9^{14-21}). Faith adores this Potentate as 'God our Father'; despite appearances, 'there is no unrighteousness with God.' St. Paul chiefly contemplates the Divine sovereignty in the aspect of *wisdom* (Ro 11^{33-36} 16^{27}). God's foreknowledge, joined with His love, laid down the *πρόθεσις τῶν αἰώνων*, the plan unfolded in the successive periods of human history (Eph 3^{11}, Ro 8^{28}, 2 Ti 1^{9}). This purpose of the ages, centring in the mission of Christ, is executed by Him 'who worketh all things after the counsel of his will' (Eph 1^{11}, 1 Co 12^{6}). As a counsel of grace, the purpose is called 'the good pleasure (*εὐδοκία*) of his will'; hidden until Christ's coming, it was 'the mystery of his will' (Eph $1^{5.\,9}$ $3^{3.\,9}$, Ro 16^{25-27}). As an orderly disposing of men and things directed towards an all-wise end, the counsel of grace becomes the 'dispensation (*οἰκονομία*) of God' (Eph 1^{10} 3^{9}, 1 Ti 1^{4}); in pursuance of this counsel, a special 'dispensation (or stewardship) of the grace of God' is committed to each of His ministers (1 Co 9^{17}, Eph 3^{2}, Col 1^{25})—notably to St. Paul himself—its conditions, with those of every bestowment of grace, being determined by God's sovereign good pleasure in the interests of His kingdom (Ro 1^{5}, Eph 2^{4-7} 3^{2-11}). Creation and redemption are parts of one scheme, whose aim grows clearer as the ages pass; Christ is the point of unity to the mighty movement (Col 1^{15-23}, Eph 1^{10} $3^{10.\,11}$). 'In the Christ all things' must be 'summed up.'

The 'call' of God, both gracious and authoritative—conveyed generally in the message of the gospel, or particularly in some specific appointment—*summons* men to His service: the '*called* saint' or '*called* apostle' (Ro $1^{1.\,6}$, 1 Co 1^{2}) is alike the subject of a Divine vocation. Such calling springs from an antecedent 'choice' (*election* or *selection*, *ἐκλογή*), in which God's wise foreknowledge and gracious sovereignty are manifest (Ro $8^{28.\,29.\,33}$ 9^{11} 11^{5}, 1 Th 1^{4}, 2 Th $2^{13.\,14}$). The election of believers Paul refers (Ro $8^{28.\,29}$, Eph 1^{4}) to God's eternal counsel in Christ, since the future is known to Him as the present, and His will attends His knowledge: 'whom he foreknew, he did also foreordain.' 'Called' and 'elect' are synonymous expressions (1 Co $1^{26.\,27}$)—not distinguished as in Mt 20^{16}. St. Paul's doctrine of election is not so conceived as to negative freedom and the prerogative of faith. By these God has sovereignly, and eternally, conditioned His dealings with men. See arts. on ELECTION and PREDESTINATION.

(*b*) *The Enemies of God.*—In St. Paul's view of the kingdom of God its *enemies* are conspicuous. Chief amongst them is **Satan** (the Adversary), named in Eph and the Pastoral Epp. 'the devil' (calumniator); in 2 Co 6^{14-16} 'Beliar,' as the patron of heathen impurity and the antagonist of Christ; also 'the god of this age' (2 Co 4^{4}), 'the ruler of the dominion of the air' (Eph 2^{2}), 'the tempter' (1 Th 3^{5}), 'the evil one' (2 Th 3^{3}, Eph 6^{16}). Satanic powers, the Christian's most formidable enemies, are described in the plural in Eph 6^{12} as 'the principalities, the dominions, the world-rulers of this darkness, the spiritual (forces) of wickedness.' In heathenism these malignant forces have full sway; 'demons' are practically worshipped under the forms of the idols (1 Co 10^{19-21}). The lawlessness, uncleanness, and moral darkness there prevailing constitute Satan's empire, which assumes the character of an organized dominion—a 'kingdom of darkness' opposed to 'the kingdom of the Son of God's love' (Col 1^{13}; comp. Jn 14^{30} etc.)—with a hierarchy of powers under the direction of its chief, bearing titles parallel to those assigned to the ranks of God's angels (Eph 1^{21}, Col 1^{16}). (It seems likely that Paul borrowed these distinctions in angelic rank from popular speech, and employed them by way of *argumentum ad hominem*). Paul's conviction of the existence of evil spirits is unmistakable, as was that of Jesus. Satan first beguiled our race (2 Co 11^{3}—'the serpent'; 1 Ti $2^{13.\,14}$), and is habitually 'the tempter' (1 Th 3^{5}, 2 Ti 2^{26}). Paul's 'thorn in the flesh' was 'a messenger of Satan,' since it hindered his work and provoked him to discontent (2 Co 12^{7}, Gal 4^{14}, 1 Th 2^{18}). Physical maladies and death are, in some sense, under Satan's jurisdiction; he is used as executor in Divine judgments of this nature, which may turn notwithstanding to the salvation of the sufferer (1 Co 5, 1 Ti 1^{20}: comp. He 2^{14}, 1 P 4^{1}). The reign of death (Ro $5^{14.\,21}$) is coextensive with the rule of 'the god of this world'; only when 'death, the last enemy, is abolished,' shall God's kingdom be consummated (1 Co $15^{20-28.\,54}$). St. Paul anticipates a last deadly struggle in human history between these opposing realms. 'The mystery of lawlessness,' working previously under restraint, will be allowed one day a full manifestation (cf. Ro 7^{13}); and 'the lawless one,' Satan's perfect embodiment (apparently, a self-deifying autocrat of universal power), 'shall be revealed, whom the Lord shall destroy' by His coming (2 Th 2^{3-12}). Nowhere more decidedly than in this field of thought does Paul show himself the child of Judaism. See, further, art. MAN OF SIN.

(*c*) *The Consummation.*—The Divine kingdom embraces in its scope present mundane affairs; the 'powers that be are ordained of God,' *e.g.* those of Rome though heathen and corrupt; the magistrate is 'God's servant to thee for good,' enforcing His laws in the civil state (Ro 13^{1-7}). Throughout the perishing 'fashion of this world' Paul recognizes the will of Him 'of whom and for whom are all things,'—the demands of duty, the exercise of conscience; a realm where, despite 'the god of this world,' the true God leaves Himself at no point without witness or without authority.

But the Kingdom belongs in its proper manifestation and glory to the future. In 'this present evil world' it is hidden and thwarted, realized at best only 'in part' and with 'groanings'; its bestowments are no more than an earnest and firstfruit, the experience of a babe, in comparison of 'the glory that shall be revealed to us-ward' (Ro 8^{18-25}, 1 Co 13^{8-12}, 2 Co 4^{16}–5^{5}). It is 'through much tribulation' that we shall reach the goal and 'enter into the kingdom of God.' **Hope,** therefore, plays a leading part in St. Paul's teaching, by the side of faith and love. The certainty of *the consummation of the kingdom of God* crowns his theology, and determines it throughout as the end determines the way. The aims of Paul's life, as of the whole NT teaching, converge upon 'the kingdom and glory' yet to come. The following chief points may be noted in the apostle's doctrine of the Last Things:—

(*a*) The *moral perfection* of each believer, and the collective *perfection of the Church*, are the ends of the apostle's ministry as of Christ's own sacrifice (Col $1^{20-22. 27. 28}$, Eph 5^{25-27}, Tit 3^{4-7}, 1 Th $2^{19. 20}$ $3^{12. 13}$ 5^{23}, Ph 2^{15-18}). This inner glory and true wealth of God's kingdom, now being acquired (2 Co 3^{18}, Ro 8^{30}, 9^{23}), shall shine forth at 'the unveiling of the sons of God,' when state shall correspond to character and the 'spiritual body' to the worth and needs of the informing spirit. On the other hand, it is well known that 'the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God' (1 Co 6^{9} etc.). Their 'end shall be according to their works' (Ro 2^{6-9}, 2 Co 11^{15}, 2 Ti 4^{14}).

(*β*) The *resurrection of the body* is necessary to the realization of the life of the spirit. St. Paul knows nothing of Hellenic or Oriental dualism. The body is not the detachable envelope, but the proper organ of the spirit. Its existing form of flesh and blood perishes, but only to be reconstituted in fitter fashion. It is true that in 1 Co 15^{12} etc. Paul thinks only of *οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*; but if the wicked exist in the world to come, they too must have an appropriate bodily form; there is nothing in the Epp. inconsistent with the statement of Ac 24^{15}, 'that there shall be a resurrection both of just and unjust' (cf. Jn 5^{29}). In the risen Christ Paul sees 'the firstfruit of them that have fallen asleep'; the *certainty* and the *kind* of the harvest are evidenced by this first ripened sheaf (1 Co 15^{20}). The fact that 'Jesus died and rose again' assures our faith that the Christian dead shall return, with Him (1 Th $4^{13. 14}$). The saints found alive at the *παρουσία* shall be transformed, the natural body giving place to the spiritual, and 'the mortal' in them being 'swallowed up of life' (1 Co 15^{49-53}, 2 Co 5^{1-4}).

(*γ*) On the *intermediate state* Paul has no revelation. 'Sleep,' Jesus' name for death, implies comparative quiescence (cf. Rev 14^{13}), yet without unconsciousness or torpor. The apostle expects 'to depart and be with Christ, which is very far better,'—in some communion nearer than the earthly; hence 'to die is gain' (Ph 1^{21-23}, 2 Co 5^{6-8}; cf. Lk 23^{43}). In his earliest Epp., up to 1 Co, the interval before the Parousia appears inconsiderable ('the time is short,' 1 Co 7^{29}); Paul includes himself with those alive at the Lord's return (1 Th 4^{7}). Afterwards the Advent receded in his view; when writing 2 Co, he anticipated a martyr's death and was 'bearing about the dying of the Lord Jesus' (4^{7-18}). This experience effected 'a marked change in the Pauline eschatology' (Sabatier, *Ap. Paul*, on 2 Co 4. 5); St. Paul's earlier, half-Judaistic idea of a visible advent, a universal resurrection of the sleeping dead and a great judgment-scene, gave place, it is said, to the more spiritual theory of the soul's entrance through death into its perfected heavenly state and full communion with Christ. Similarly, Beyschlag (*NT Theology*, ii. pp. 268–272); and, with limitations, Kabisch (*Eschatologie d. Paulus*, 296–305); Pfleiderer thinks that the apostle held in his mind the two conceptions, Judaic and Hellenistic, unassimilated (*Paulinismus* ^{2}, pp. 274–289). This interpretation is incorrectly deduced from 2 Co 5^{1-9} (see Meyer and Klöpper, *ad loc.*; Weiss, *NT Theol.* § 96*d*). The apostle says (5^{1}) that 'if the earthly tabernacle should be dissolved, we *have* an eternal house in the heavens,'—not that we enter it at once, but it belongs to us (as *συνκληρονόμοι Χριστοῦ*) and awaits us. He sighs for this heavenly house; without stripping off the present body, he longs to 'put on over it' (*ἐπενδύσασθαι*) the other,—were it only possible for him to be found 'not naked' (bodiless), but still in the flesh at the Lord's coming (vv.$^{2-4}$). Though weary of the earthly tabernacle, Paul's Jewish imagination shuddered at the naked, houseless state of the dead. But he has gathered a great comfort which dispels the dread of dissolution; he is now 'well-pleased to leave home in departing from the body,' for he will be 'at home *with the Lord*' (vv.$^{5-9}$). 'The dead in Christ' are His guests in Paradise (1 Th $4^{14. 16}$; cf. Lk 23^{43}, 2 Co 12^{4}). Thus the sense of indissoluble union with Christ delivered the apostle from the pangs of Sheol, which came upon him in the interval between 1 and 2 Co (2 Co 1^{9} 5^{8}, 1 Th 5^{10}, Col 1^{28} 3^{1-4}; see p. 711^{b}). The Advent and Judgment were as necessary to the consummation of the kingdom of God, in St. Paul's belief, after he wrote 2 Co as before (see $5^{10. 11}$, also Col 3^{4}).

The chiliastic doctrine of a twofold resurrection has no support from Paul; when he writes (1 Th 4^{16}) 'the dead in Christ shall rise *first*,' that means not, before the other dead rise, but before 'the living' are 'caught up' to join them. In 2 Co 5^{10} bad and good appear side by side at Christ's tribunal, as in Ac $17^{30. 31}$ and in the scene of Mt 25^{31-46}. There is no reason to think that the apostle departed from the doctrine of his Master concerning the general resurrection and universal judgment.

(*δ*) *The second coming of the Lord Jesus* closes the horizon of St. Paul's Christian thought, and ushers in *the end of all things.* The Advent shines vividly in the first three and last three of his Epistles. The *παρουσία* of 1 and 2 Th and 1 Co becomes the *ἐπιφάνεια* of the Pastorals (also 2 Th 2^{8})—a glorious Divine manifestation, such as, indeed, the first coming was in its kind (Tit 2^{11}, 2 Ti 1^{10}). This expectation rested on the explicit promise of Jesus, and on the prophecies of the Messianic salvation and 'the day of the Lord' as yet unfulfilled (Ac 17^{31}, Ro 2^{5-16}, 1 Th 5^{1-4}, 2 Th 2^{8}, 1 Co 15^{54}), but especially upon the sense of the glory due to Christ Himself (Ph 2^{5-11}). The **Parousia** is 'the manifestation of the glory of the great God and our Saviour Christ Jesus'; therefore it is 'the blessed hope' (Tit 2^{13}, 2 Th 2^{14}). The great day of the Lord, the goal of prophecy, becomes 'the day of

Christ.' His resurrection began, the triumphal advent of the Lord Jesus shall complete, His vindication. He will descend from heaven in a visible 'body of glory' (1 Th 1^{10}, Ph $3^{20.\,21}$), surrounded by angels, and 'in fire of flame' terrible and fatal to His enemies (2 Th 1^{7-9} 2^{8}, 1 Th 4^{16}, 1 Co 15^{52}). At His word, uttered by the archangel's trumpet, the dead rise, the living saints are transformed and lifted from the earth; all assemble before Him for judgment, and with body and spirit reunited 'each shall receive the things done in the body, whether good or bad,' 'reaping corruption' or 'life eternal' according as he sowed to flesh or spirit (2 Co 5^{10}, Gal 6^{7-10}). So 'we shall all be manifested'—'the day shall disclose each man's work, the fire shall test' its worth (1 Co 3^{12-15}, Ro 2^{6-11}).

It might seem—indeed it has been asserted—that Paul thus reverts at the end to the principle of salvation by works which he overthrew at the beginning. But, as we have seen (ii. 3 (*c*)), the faith that justifies, operating through love, is the spring of all worthy living, while 'works of law,' wrought under constraint and fear, are no 'good works.' Faith justifies the believer now; the 'work of faith' shall commend him then. God, who sees the fruit in the germ and 'calls the things that are not as things that are' (Ro 4^{17}), judges according to truth both first and last.

The judgment-seat of Christ is the proximate goal of revelation. There the final settlement of human affairs takes place, the *dénoûment* of the drama of history,—of the successive dispensations of God's righteousness and grace to mankind. When death has been abolished and all Christ's enemies, human or superhuman, have received sentence from His mouth, 'then cometh the end'; He 'yields up the kingdom to God, even to the Father'; and 'the Son himself shall be subjected to him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all' (1 Co 15^{24-28}). For the mission on which the Father sent forth His Son is then fulfilled: the Lordship of Jesus is acknowledged throughout creation (Ph $2^{10.\,11}$); Christ lays at the Father's feet the homage of a reconciled universe rendered to Himself, the love of a multitude of obedient sons made perfect in Himself, the praise and service of the Church of the redeemed united with Himself for ever. His own subjection as a Son to the Father displays the absolute oneness of the Godhead, whose glory streams through all realms of being in unchecked and unbounded plenitude. Thus God *the Father* is eternally supreme, and '*grace* reigns through righteousness unto eternal life.' See, further, under ESCHATOLOGY OF NT.

LITERATURE.—*A*. THE TIMES, etc.—C. Schöttgen, *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ in NT* (1733); E. Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*^{3} (tr. from 2nd ed.: *Jewish People in Time of Jesus Christ*, 5 vols.), the most complete introd. to the Times; A. Hausrath, *NT Zeitgeschichte*^{2} (*Time of the Apostles*, tr. from 2nd ed. of the above), brilliantly written; W. M. Ramsay, *The Ch. in the Rom. Empire*^{5}, indispensable for local and social conditions of Paul's work; K. J. Neumann, *Der röm. Staat u. d. allgem. Kirche*, Band i.; Th. Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Rom. Emp.* (tr.); H. Ewald, *Hist. of the People of Israel* (tr.), vol. vi.; F. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund d. Talmud*, etc.; L. Friedländer, *Darstellung aus d. Sittengesch. Roms*; G. Anrich, *Das Mysterienwesen d. antiken Welt*; G. W. Lechler, *Das apost. u. nachapost. Zeitalter*^{3} (tr.); Neander, *Planting and Training of the Chr. Church* (tr.); J. J. I. von Döllinger, *Heidenthum u. Judenthum* (tr., *Gentile and Jew*, etc.), *Christenthum u. Kirche in d. Zeiten d. Grundlegung* (tr., *First Age of Christianity and the Church*); W. L. Steinmeyer, *Der Ap. Paulus u. d. Judenthum*; A. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte: Prolegomena und Voraussetzungen* (tr.), in Band i.

B. INTRODUCTION.—Of general NT Introductions, G. Salmon's^{7} (conservative), S. Davidson's^{3} (largely negative, and in some points superseded, but full of matter ably handled), and B. Weiss' *Manual of Intr. to NT* (tr.), are most serviceable for Paul. H. J. Holtzmann's^{3}, Th. Zahn's (rich in learning, powerfully defensive), and A. Jülicher's *Einleitungen* (the last brief and readable) present the latest findings of German criticism. F. Bleek's *Einleitung* is re-edited by W. Mangold^{4} (1886: the Eng. tr. from the orig. work). E. Reuss' *Hist. of the Sacred Scr. of the NT*^{5} (tr. 1884) is valuable in the relevant sections; also C. A. Briggs' *Study of Holy Scr.*^{2} Add to these the artt. on 'Paul' in *Encycl. Brit.* (E. Hatch), Herzog's *Real-Encykl.* (W. Schmidt), *Encycl. d. Sciences Relig.* (A. Sabatier), Riehm's *HWB* (W. Beyschlag). F. Godet gives an *Introd. particulière* (*Les Epp. de St. P.*), tome i. of his *Introd. au NT* (tr.); also P. J. Gloag, *Introd. to the Paul. Epp.*; G. G. Findlay, *Epp. of the Ap. Paul: a Sketch of their Origin and Contents*^{3}.

C. CHRONOLOGY.—Eusebius' *Chronicle*; Bengel, *Ordo temporum*; E. Burton, *Chronology of St. Paul's Epp.*; Anger, *de temporum in Actibus ratione*; Wurm, in *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1833, i.; C. Wieseler, *Chronol. d. ap. Zeitalters* (tr.); T. Lewin, *Fasti Sacri*; Laurent, *NT Studien*; W. M. Ramsay in *St. Paul the Traveller*, etc.; C. Clemen, *Die Chronol. d. paul. Briefe*; A. Harnack, *Chronol. d. altchr. Litteratur*, 1ter Band, p. 233 ff. (*Chronol. d. Paulus*).

D. THE TEXT.—Besides the crit. edd. of the Gr. Test.—by Tischendorf, Tregelles, Baljon, Nestle, and esp. Westcott and Hort (*ed. major*)—B. Weiss' *Textkritik d. paul. Briefe* (1896) is noteworthy.

E. TRANSLATIONS of special value.—Besides the standard versions, the *Interpretatio* of Th. Beza, and (recently) B. Weiss' *Die paul. Briefe im berichtigten Text*, and the Epp. in C. Weizsäcker's *Das neue Test. übersetzt*; also those of C. J. Ellicott, J. A. Beet, and H. C. G. Moule, in their *Commentaries*, and of the *Handcommentar z. NT*.

F. PAUL HIMSELF.—*Works of general scope*.—John Chrysostom, *Homiliæ in laudem S. Pauli*, *Opera*, vol. ii. ed. Montfaucon; Hieronymus, *de Viris illustribus*, v. Of modern times, K. Schrader, *Der Ap. Paulus*; F. C. Baur, *Paulus der Ap. J. C.* (ed.^{1} 1845; ed.^{2} 1866, tr. *Paul, his Life and Works*); A. Tholuck, *Life and Writings of St. Paul* (tr.); A. Hausrath, *Der Ap. Paulus*; E. Renan, *Saint Paul* and *Les Apôtres* (tr.); M. Krenkel, *Paulus d. Ap. d. Heiden*; C. E. Luthardt, *Der Ap. Paulus, ein Lebensbild*; W. J. Conybeare and J. S. Howson, *Life and Epp. of St. Paul* (many edd.)—the foundation of historical and psychological study of Paul's work in England; T. Lewin, *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*^{5}—unique in wealth of archæological material; F. W. Farrar, *Life and Work of St. Paul*—brilliant and impressive, finely blends the life and teaching; J. Stalker, *Life of St. Paul*—brief and popular, but with a powerful grasp; J. Iverach, *St. Paul, his Life and Times*; Straatmann, *Paulus de Ap. van Jezus Christus*; W. C. van Manen, *Paulus*; S. Baring-Gould, *A Study of St. Paul, his Character and Opinions*; O. Cone, *Paul: the Man, the Missionary, and the Teacher*; G. H. Gilbert, *Student's Life of Paul*; see also A. C. McGiffert's *Hist. of Christianity in the Apost. Age*.

G. SPECIAL TOPICS CONNECTED WITH THE LIFE OR CHARACTER.—Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*; Lyttelton, *Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul*; G. Menken, *Blicke in d. Leben d. Ap. P.*; J. Smith, *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*^{4}; Howson, *Character of St. P.*, *Companions of St. P.*, *Metaphors of St. P.*; J. Weiss, *Beiträge z. paul. Rhetorik*; C. Holsten, 'Die Christusvision d. Paulus u. d. Genesis d. paul. Evang.' (in *Zum Ev. d. Paulus u. d. Petrus*); J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul and Seneca* (Philippians), and other essays in *Commentaries* and *Biblical Essays*; G. Volkmar, *Paulus von Damascus bis z. Galaterbr.*; J. R. Oertel, *Paulus in d. Apostelgesch.*; M. Krenkel, *Beiträge z. Aufhellung d. Gesch. u. d. Briefe d. Ap. Paulus*^{2}; G. Matheson, *Spiritual Development of St. Paul*; W. M. Ramsay, *Ch. in the Rom. Emp.* and *St. Paul the Traveller*; E. Curtius, *Paulus in Athen*; F. Spitta, 'Die zweimal. röm. Gefangensch. d. P.,' in *Urchristenthum*. Bd. i.; R. Steinmetz, *Die 2te röm. Gefangensch. des Ap. P.*; C. Fouard, *St. Paul and his Mission* (tr.), *S. Paul, . . . ses dern. Années*; P. Seeböck, *S. Paulus d. Heidenmissionär*; W. Lock, *Paul, the Master-builder*; H. St. J. Thackeray, *Relation of St. Paul to Jewish contemporary thought*.

H. THE DOCTRINE (considered in general).—To the chief works enumerated under (*F*) add the following: L. Usteri, *Entwickelung d. paulin. Lehrbegriffs*^{6}; A. F. Dähne, under same title; A. Ritschl, *Entstehung d. altkath. Kirche*^{2}; E. Reuss, *Hist. d. la Théol. Chrét. au siècle apost.*, tome ii. (tr.); W. J. Irons, *Christianity as taught by St. Paul*; A. Sabatier, *L'apôtre Paul, une esquisse de l'hist. de sa Pensée*^{3} (tr. from 2nd ed.); O. Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*^{2} (tr. from 1st ed., which has independent value: the work is rewritten, not always for the better), Hibbert Lect. (1885), *The Infl. of the Ap. Paul on the developm. of Christianity*; H. Opitz, *Das System d. Paulus*; M. Arnold, *St. Paul and Protestantism*; J. F. Clarke, *The Ideas of the Ap. Paul translated into modern equivalents*; C. Holsten, *Das Evangelium d. Paulus* (Theil ii. posthumously added); A. B. Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*; G. B. Stevens, *The Pauline Theology*; C. Everett, *The Gospel of Paul*; D. Somerville, *St. Paul's Conception of Christ*; J. Müller, *Das persönl. Christenthum d. paul. Gemeinden*. Also the standard works of NT Biblical Theology: by C. F. Schmid (tr.), J. J. van Oosterzee (tr.: slight), B. Weiss (tr.), W. Beyschlag (tr.), G. B. Stevens, and the account in C. Weizsäcker's *Apost. Zeitalter*^{2} (tr.); T. D. Bernard's *Progress of Doctr. in NT*^{3} gives an excellent sketch; A. Immer, *Theol. des NT*; J. Bovon, *Théologie du NT* ('L'Enseignement d. Apôtres'); H. J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch d. NT Theologie*; W. F. Adeney, *Theol. of the NT*—a good outline; A. S. Peake in *Guide to Biblical Study*.

R. J. Knowling, in his *Witness of the Epp.*, examines their relation to the teaching of Jesus Christ (defending incidentally the authenticity of the *Hauptbriefe*). This subject has been investigated earlier by O. Thenius, *Das Evangelium ohne Evangelien*; H. Paret, *Paulus u. Jesus*; J. H. Huraut, *Paul, a-t-il connu le Christ historique?* F. Roos, *Die Briefe d. Ap.*

Paulus u. d. Reden d. Herrn Jesu; it is touched on by P. Ewald in his *Hauptproblem d. Evangelien.*

I. Special Doctrinal Topics.—C. Holsten, 'Die Bedeutung d. Wortes *σάρξ* bei P.' (in *Zum Evang. d. Paul. u. d. Petr.*); H. H. Wendt, *Die Begriffe Fleisch u. Geist*; W. P. Dickson, *St. Paul's use of the terms Flesh and Spirit*; H. Lüdemann, *Die Anthropologie d. Ap. Paulus*; Th. Simon, *Die Psychologie d. Ap. Paulus*; H. F. T. L. Ernesti, *Vom Ursprunge d. Sünde nach P.*, and *Ethik d. Ap. Paulus*; E. Ménégoz, *Le Péché et la Redemption d'après St. Paul*; A. Sabatier, *L'Origine du Péché* (Appendice to *L'apôtre* $P.^3$); P. Wernle, *Der Christ u. d. Sünde bei Paulus*; A. Zahn, *Das Gesetz Gottes nach d. Lehre u. d. Erfahrung d. Ap.* $P.^2$; R. A. Lipsius, *Die paul. Rechtfertigungslehre*; Th. Häring, *δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ bei Paulus*; W. Karl, *Beiträge z. Verstandniss d. soteriol. Erfahrungen u. Spekulationen d. Ap. P.*; C. Schäder, *Die Bedeutung d. lebendigen Christus f. die Rechfertig. nach P.*; J. F. Räbiger, *de Christologia Paulina*; R. Schmidt, *Die paul. Christologie*; J. Gloël, *Der heil. Geist in d. Heilsverkundigung d. Paulus*; H. Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen d. heil. Geistes*; W. Beyschlag, *Die paul. Theodicée*; E. Kühl, *Zur paul. Theodicée*; K. Müller, *Die göttl. Zuvorersehung u. Erwählung nach d. Ev. Paulus*; J. Dalmer, *Die Erwählung Israels nach Paulus*; R. Kabisch, *Die Eschatologie d. Paulus*; E. Teichmann, *Die paul. Vorstellungen von Auferstehung u. Gericht*; O. Everling, *Die paul. Angelologie u. Dämonologie*; H. Vollmer, *Die alttest. Citate bei Paulus*; F. Zimmer, *Das Gebet nach d. paul. Schriften.*

K. Commentaries.—For works of exegesis on particular Epp. see special articles. For the Epp. as a whole, or in considerable sections: of Gr. Fathers, Origen (*Fragg. in Epp. P.*), Chrysostom (followed by the rest), Theod. Mops., Theodoret, John of Damascus, Theophylact, Œcumenius; of the Latins, Ambrosiaster, Pelagius. In the Middle Ages, Thom. Aquinas, *Expositio in omnes epp. S. Pauli.* At the Revival of Learning, Laurentius Valla, *Collatio* (bearing on text); Nicholas à Lyra. J. Colet, with his *Lectures on St. Paul's Epp.*, and Erasmus (*In NT Annotationes*) led the way in the Reformation period; J. Calvin towers above all others (*In NT Commentarii*), followed by Th. Beza (*Interpretatio* and *Annotationes in NT*), with the Rom. Cath. G. Estius (*Commentt. in Epp.*) for a worthy rival; Cornelius à Lapide and Bernardinus à Piconio (*Epp. P. tripartita expositio*: richly spiritual) are R.C. interpreters of the 17th cent., Hugo Grotius (*Annott. in NT*—humanistic and Arminian) the chief Prot. exegete; John Locke wrote a characteristic *Paraphrase and Notes* on *Gal., 1 and 2 Cor., Ro., Eph.*; J. Pierce, 'after the manner of Mr. Locke,' on *Col., Phil., Heb.* (of distinct value); J. J. Wetstein, *NT Græcum*, rich in classical and Jewish illustration. J. A. Bengel opens the modern period, with his inimitable *Gnomon NT*; J. F. Flatt, early in this cent., *Commentar über Römer . . . Titus*, in 5 vols.; then followed the standard critical works of W. M. L. de Wette, H. A. W. Meyer (tr.; re-edited since his death in Germany by various leading scholars). J. C. K. von Hofmann's exposition, *Die hl. Schrift NT untersucht*, and H. Ewald's *Die Sendschreiben d. Ap. Paulus*, are of special value for Paul. The recent *Kurzgefasster Kommentar* (ed. Zöckler) and *Handcommentar z. NT* (Schmiedel, Lipsius, v. Soden) continue the task of scientific exegesis in Germany—the former in a conservative, the latter in a critical sense. In England, St. Paul has attracted our best exegetical scholarship: H. Alford and C. Wordsworth have interpreted the whole *Gr. Test.*; J. B. Lightfoot, *Gal., Phil., Col. and Philem.*, with posthumous *Notes on Epp. of Paul*, covering 1 and 2 Th, 1 Co 1–7, Ro 1–7, Eph $1^{1\text{-}14}$; C. J. Ellicott, *all the Epp. except Ro and 2 Co* (in 6 vols.); B. Jowett, *1 and 2 Thess., Ro., Gal.* (a continuous work); J. Eadie, *Gal.-2 Thess.* (5 vols.); J. A. Beet, *Ro.–Col.* (4 vols.); M. F. Sadler, *all the Epp.*; J. R. Boise, *Notes, Critical and Explan., on the Gr. Text of Paul's Epp.* (New York); various writers, in the *Internat. Crit. Comm., Speaker's Comm., Popular Comm., NT Comm. for Eng. Readers, Pulpit Comm., Expositor's Bible* and *Gr. Test., Camb. Gr. Test.* and *Bible for Schools*, etc. R. Whately's *Essays on some Difficulties in the Writings of St. Paul* is worth consulting. In French, H. Oltramare has written very ably on *Ro., Eph. and Col. with Philem.* (5 vols.); F. Godet, on *Ro.* and *1 Co.* (tr.; 4 vols.); L. Bonnet, *Épitres de Paul*^{3}.

C. Clemen, *Einheitlichkeit d. paulin. Briefe* (1894), digests recent hypotheses of interpolation and compilation in the Epp., attempting a reconstruction on his own part.

G. G. Findlay.

PAULUS, SERGIUS (*Σέργιος Παῦλος, Sergius Paulus*).—During what is generally called St. Paul's First Missionary Journey he visited Paphos in the island of Cyprus. There he and Barnabas were summoned to appear before Sergius Paulus, the proconsul (AV deputy), a man of understanding (*συνετός*), in whose train was one Elymas or Bar-jesus, a *Magus*. The proconsul, who 'sought to hear the word of God,' appears to have been at least impressed; and Elymas is said to have attempted to turn him aside from the faith. At St. Paul's rebuke, Elymas becomes blind for a season; and the proconsul, we are told, 'when he saw what was done, believed, being astonished at the teaching of the Lord' (Ac $13^{6\text{-}12}$). It may be added that for the first time we are told (v.^{9}) that the second name of Saul was Paul. That name is used henceforth in the narrative, and from this time Paul and not Barnabas seems to take the leading place.

The *Sergii* were a Roman patrician *gens* (cf. Verg. *Aen.* v. 121: '*Sergestusque domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen*'); and Paulus was a cognomen in use in this and other *gentes*. There was a L. Sergius Paulus consul in A.D. 168, and another consul *suffectus* at some date unknown. In the Index of Authors to Pliny's *Natural History* (bk. i.), a Sergius Paulus is twice mentioned as an authority for Books ii. and xviii.; and in both, as Lightfoot shows, Pliny seems to give special information about Cyprus. The suggestion of identity is interesting, but of course very uncertain; it accords with the fact that the proconsul has a *magus*, a man of science, in his train. That Sergius Paulus is rightly described as proconsul is undoubted. At the original distribution of the provinces Cyprus was under the emperor (B.C. 27), but in B.C. 22 it was transferred with Gallia Narbonensis to the senate, the emperor receiving Dalmatia in exchange (Dio Cassius, liii. 12, liv. 4). At a later date under Hadrian it was again governed by a proprætor and was imperial, probably owing to the Jewish insurrection. Inscriptions, two dating from the years 51, 52 (*CIS* 2631, 2632), and coins of the 1st cent., clearly mention the island as governed by proconsuls. Of these the most interesting is one discovered by Cesnola (*Cyprus*, p. 425), and accurately published by Hogarth (*Devia Cypria*, pp. 113, 115). It runs as follows: 'Apollonius to his father . . . son of . . . and his mother Artemidora, daughter of . . . consecrated the enclosure and this monument according to your own (his parents) command, . . . having filled the offices of clerk of the markets, prefect, town clerk, high priest, and having been in charge of the record office. Erected on the 25th of the month Demarchexusius in the year 13. He also revised the senate by means of assessors in the time of the proconsul Paulus.' The date of the inscription is probably A.D. 55, and the revision of the senate presumably took place nine years previously. As Hogarth says (*op. cit.* p. 115), 'there can be no good reason for doubting our identification, which would unquestionably have been proposed and hardly disputed had Sergius Paulus been known from any other source than the New Testament.'

The question has been raised: Is there any connexion between the Gentile name of the apostle, *Paulus*, and the name of the proconsul? The answer must be in the negative. Paul, as a Roman citizen by birth, would have his Roman *nomen*, *prænomen*, and *cognomen*, and the resemblance of names, therefore, is only a coincidence. The Gentile name is here used in the Acts for the first time, because for the first time the apostle is in contact with Gentiles. See, further, art. Paul, p. 697 f.

Literature.—Lightfoot, *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, pp. 292–297; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 73–88.

A. C. Headlam.

PAVEMENT (מַרְצֶפֶת, רִצְפָּה; *βάσις, λιθόστρωτον, περίστυλον*).—In early days the floors of houses no doubt were simply of beaten earth, but gradually people learned to make some kind of cement, with which to harden the floor, from the admixture of lime, bitumen, or oil. At the present day a hard cement is used in cisterns and floors in Palestine, made by mixing red earth with olive oil; and during the *PEF* excavations (1867–71) ancient tanks were discovered in which this cement had been used, which was of a very tenacious description, breaking with a conchoidal fracture. The floors of houses of the wealthy were seldom boarded, but were paved with cement, stone, marble and mosaics, bricks, tiles, etc. Many of the floors of the palaces in Chaldæa and Assyria were merely beaten earth. In the recent *PEF* excavations (*Quarterly Statement*, July 1899, 181) at Tell Zakarîya the floors of the houses are found to be of mud and ashes, grouted with small pebbles, about 3 inches thick, with an uneven surface. During the *PEF* excavations at Jerusalem (1867–71) a large number of floors of houses of the poorer (?) classes were examined, and found to consist of rough cubes of marble laid in some kind of white cement. In better houses those cubes were set in patterns. In some of the houses large flags or paving stones were used, and these were sometimes of polished marble. The great street outside the temple enclosure was found during the excavation to be paved with white marble, as described by Josephus (*Ant.* XX. ix. 7): 'Herod Agrippa did not obstruct the people when they desired that Jerusalem might be paved with white stone.' 'Solomon laid a causeway of black stones along the roads that led to Jerusalem, both to render them easy for travellers and to manifest his riches and grandeur' (*ib.* VIII. vii. 4). This no doubt was basalt. In the ruins of Babylon the pavements of roofs, courts, and chambers are composed of two layers of burnt brick with a thick layer of asphalt underneath (Perrot and Chipiez, i. 156). Rassam tells us that he found at Abou Abba (Sippara) in Chaldæa a chamber paved with asphalt, much in the same fashion as a road or street in London or Paris (*ib.* ii. 401).

There were three kinds of pavements or flooring in the Assyrian palaces—beaten earth, brick pavements, and limestone slabs (Place, *Ninive*, i. 295). In the palace of Sargon nearly every chamber except those of the harem had a floor of beaten earth, like those in a modern fellah's house. Even in the most sumptuous hall there was no exception to this rule. These floors were probably covered with mats or cloth carpets. In the harem chambers at Khorsabad, as well as in the open courts and terraces, a very carefully laid pavement is found, composed of two layers of large bricks with a thick bed of sand between them, the lower course of bricks being set in a bed of bitumen which separates it from the earth and prevents any dampness passing either up or down. In some of the harem rooms, courts, and vestibules, before the gates of the city, and in paths across wide open spaces, a limestone pavement has been found. Thus stones are often seen there 3 feet square and 2 feet 6 inches thick; but they are not cubical, but rather of the shape of a reversed pyramid, roughly hewn on all sides except the base, which is uppermost. They are laid without mortar or cement, and are singularly durable (Perrot and Chipiez, i. 239).

As bitumen was obtainable at Jerusalem, it is possible that it may have been used in the construction of floors of palaces and large houses. Josephus (*BJ* IV. viii. 4) tells us that the Dead Sea casts up black clods of bitumen which float on the water and are drawn into the ships, and then used for caulking ships and for medicine. At the present day bitumen is now and then cast up and brought to Jerusalem.

In Egypt, where stone was plentiful, the temple courts were usually paved with flagging. Strabo, in describing the plans of temples of Egypt generally (XVII. i. 25), says that at the entrance into the temenos is a paved floor, in breadth about a plethrum or even less, its length three or four times as great. In front of the Great Pyramid of Gizeh is still a great pavement, which is thus described by Petrie (*Great Pyramid*, 14): 'This basalt pavement is a magnificent work, which covered more than a third of an acre. The blocks of basalt are all sawn and fitted together! Round the pyramid itself, and extending some distance, about 500 feet on each side, was a limestone pavement about 21 inches thick.

Wilkinson (*Anc. Egypt.* ii. 115) says that the floors of houses in Egypt were sometimes made of stone, or a composition of lime and other materials.

The references to pavements and floors in the Bible are not numerous, and refer generally to the temple. The floor of the temple of Solomon was made of 'boards of fir' or cypress (1 K $6^{15. 16. 30}$) overlaid with gold. King Ahaz took down the sea from off the brazen oxen, and put it on a pavement (מַרְצֶפֶת) of stone, 2 K 16^{17}. At the dedication of the temple at Jerusalem by king Solomon, 'they bowed themselves with their faces to the ground upon the pavement (רִצְפָה), and worshipped,' 2 Ch 7^3. The pavement (רִצְפָה) in the bedroom of the palace of the king of Persia was of red, white, yellow, and black marble, Est 1^6. There was a pavement (רִצְפָה) in the temple of Ezekiel (Ezk $40^{17. 18}$ 42^3, and see Davidson on 41^8).

The dust of the floor of the tabernacle is spoken of as though the floor was of beaten earth (Nu 5^{17}). The very beautiful pavements found all over Palestine in recent years are nearly all of a comparatively late period, *i.e.* since the Roman occupation. See also GATE, HOUSE, ROOF, WALLS.

For the 'pavement' (*λιθόστρωτον*) of Jn 19^{13} see GABBATHA. C. WARREN.

PAVILION is formed (through Fr. *pavillon*) from Lat. *papilio*, which meant a 'butterfly,' and also (from the resemblance to a butterfly's outspread wings) a tent. Tindale, in his 'Prologe to Exodus,' explains TABERNACLE as 'an house made tentwise, or as a pavelion.' Pavilion is the tr. in AV of סֹךְ *ṣôk* in Ps 27^5, and of סֻכָּה *sukkah* in 2 S 22^{12}, 1 K $20^{12. 16}$, Ps 18^{11} 31^{20} (to which RV adds Job 36^{29} and Is 4^6 for AV 'tabernacle'). Elsewhere *ṣôk* occurs in Ps 10^9 (בְּסֻכֹּה, AV and RV 'in his den'), 76^2 (AV and RV 'tabernacle,' RVm 'covert'), and Jer 25^{38} (AV and RV 'covert'). *Ṣukkah* is of frequent occurrence, and is rendered 'booth' or 'tabernacle,' once 'tent' (2 S 11^{11}). Besides these, שַׁפְרוּר *shaphrûr* (Ḳerê שַׁפְרִיר) in its single occurrence, Jer 43^{10}, is tr. 'royal pavilion' (RVm 'glittering pavilion'). RV has also given 'pavilion' in Nu 25^8, with m. 'alcove' for AV 'tent' (Heb. קֻבָּה). See BOOTH, TABERNACLE, TENT. J. HASTINGS.

PE (פ).—The seventeenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 17th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. It is transliterated in this Dictionary by *p* or *ph*.

PEACE, the trn in OT of the Heb. שָׁלוֹם *shâlôm* (from the root שָׁלֵם 'to be whole') = 'wholeness,' 'soundness,' hence health, wellbeing, prosperity; more particularly, peace as opposed to war, concord as opposed to strife; in NT it is trn of the Gr. *εἰρήνη* (which in LXX ordinarily translates שָׁלוֹם), 'peace,' 'quiet,' as opposed to war or strife, hence security, safety, prosperity.

The fundamental meaning of שָׁלוֹם is prosperity, wellbeing, good of any kind (Ges.), a meaning which reappears in the Gr. *εἰρήνη*. (So Ps 122^7, peace and prosperity; Is 52^7, Jer 29^7 peace as opposed to evil; 1 Th 5^3 peace and safety; Ac 24^2). In this sense it is used in the formulæ of greeting (*Is it well*—Heb. peace—*with thee?* 2 K 4^{26}, Gn 29^6, cf. Gn 37^{14}; *Peace be unto you*, Lk 24^{36}, Jn $20^{19. 21. 26}$) or of dismissal (*Go in peace*, 1 S 1^{17} 20^{42}, 2 S 15^9, Mk 5^{34}, Lk 8^{48}, Ac 15^{33}; cf. the blessing, Nu 6^{26}). In a secondary sense it is used of peace as opposed to war (Ec 3^8 'a time for war and a time for peace,' Jg 4^{17}, 1 S 7^{14}, Lk 14^{32}, Ac 12^{20}, Rev 6^{4}), of concord as opposed to strife (Ob ^{7}, Ps 28^{3}, Jer 9^{8}; cf. Mt 10^{34}, 1 Co 7^{15}, Eph 4^{3}). Hence the expression '*man of one's peace*' for an intimate friend (Ps 41^{9} 'mine own familiar friend'; Jer 20^{10}. 38^{22}). In this sense God Himself is said to be a God, not of confusion but of peace (1 Co 14^{33}). Hence He requires peace of men (Zec 8^{16}, Ps 34^{14} 35^{20}, Ro 14^{17}, 1 Co 7^{15}, Eph 4^{3}, He 12^{14}). Those who practise it He rewards (Ja 3^{18}, cf. Mt 5^{9}), but those who disregard it are punished (Is $59^{8.\,9}$, Ro 3^{17}).

In the primary sense of prosperity, peace is a blessing of which God alone is the author (Is 45^{7} 'I, J″, make peace and create evil'; cf. Job 25^{2}, Ps 147^{14}), and which He bestows upon the righteous (Gn 15^{15} Abraham; 2 K 22^{20} Josiah; Ps 37^{37} the perfect man; Ps 119^{165} those who love God's law; Pr 3^{2} those who follow the divine Wisdom; cf. Ps 4^{8}, Job 5^{24}, Is 32^{17} 'And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness, and confidence for ever.' Cf. also Ja 3^{18}). It is a gift which God desires to impart to all His people (Jer 29^{11}), but which He is often unable to grant because of their sins (Is 48^{18}, Jer 4^{10}; cf. v.^{14}). For there can be no peace to the wicked (Is 48^{22} 57^{21}). Those who hope for it, while continuing in their iniquity, are self-deceived (Jer 6^{14} 8^{11}, Ezk $13^{10.\,16}$).

Among the blessings to which Israel looks forward in the Messianic time none is more emphasized than peace. The covenant which God made with the fathers at the first (Nu 25^{12}, Lv 26^{6}, Mal $2^{5.\,6}$), and for the fulfilment of which the prophets confidently look, is a covenant of peace (Is 54^{10}, Ezk 34^{25} 37^{26}). The messenger who brings tidings of the coming salvation is one who publishes peace (Is 52^{7}, Nah 1^{15}). The Messiah Himself is the Prince of Peace (Is 9^{6}; cf. Mic 5^{5}, Zec 6^{13}). Of the increase of His government and peace there shall be no end (Is 9^{7}). In His days the righteous shall flourish, and abundance of peace till the moon be no more (Ps $72^{3.\,7}$). Psalmist and prophet alike are full of pictures of the time when J″ shall bless His people with peace (Ps 29^{11}); when the meek shall inherit the land and delight themselves in the abundance of peace (Ps 37^{11}); when peace shall be within the walls of Jerusalem (Ps 122^{7}); in the temple (Hag 2^{9}); when men shall go in with joy and be led forth with peace (Is 55^{12}; cf. 54^{13}); when the very officers shall be peace and the exactors righteousness (Is 60^{17}); when peace shall extend to Jerusalem like a river and the glory of the nations like an overflowing stream (Is 66^{12}); nay, when God shall speak peace to the very Gentiles (Zec 9^{10}). Even Jeremiah, bitter in his denunciations of those who cry peace when there is no peace, and prophesy before the time (4^{10} 6^{14} 8^{11} 14^{13} 23^{17} 28^{9}), is firm in his belief that a time is coming when God will reveal to His people abundance of peace and truth (33^{6}).

The NT shares with OT the view of peace as a characteristic of the Messianic time (Lk 1^{79} 2^{14} 19^{38}, Ac 10^{36}). In this sense is probably to be understood the greeting of the disciples on their missionary journey (Mt $10^{12.\,13}$, Lk $10^{5.\,6}$). The gospel of the Messiah is expressly called a gospel of peace (Eph 6^{15}, Ac 10^{36}). As such it is opposed to all strife and confusion. Jesus Himself is the great peace-maker, who, by preaching peace to those who are near and to those who are afar off, and reconciling both to God, has Himself become our peace (Eph $2^{14\mathrm{ff.}}$; cf. Mic 5^{5}, He 7^{2} Melchizedek, King of Peace, as a type of Christ). Hence, while God is frequently called in NT the God of peace (Ro 15^{33} 16^{20}, 2 Co 13^{11}, Ph 4^{9}, 1 Th 5^{23}, 2 Th 3^{16}, He 13^{20}), we have reference not merely to the peace of God (Ph 4^{7}), but to the peace of Christ (Col 3^{15}; cf. the apostolic salutations. 'Grace to you, and peace from God our Father and from the Lord Jesus Christ,' Ro 1^{7} and often). Thus in His farewell words to His disciples Jesus represents peace as a gift to them from Himself (Jn 14^{27} 16^{33}: 'My peace I give unto you. These things have I spoken to you, that in me ye may have peace').

Characteristic of NT is the view of peace as the present possession of the Christian. In a single case it is used by St. Paul of that future blessedness which is to be expected by the righteous at the Parousia (Ro 2^{10}), but in general it denotes a state of the Christian in this present life. It is so used by Jesus in His farewell promise (Jn 14^{27} 16^{33}), 'My peace I give unto you.' It is regularly so represented by St. Paul. Cf. Ro 8^{6} 'The mind of the Spirit is life and peace'; Ro 15^{13} 'Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing'; 2 Th 3^{16} 'The Lord of peace give you peace at all times in all ways'; Col 3^{15} 'Let the peace of Christ rule in your hearts'; Ro 5^{1} 'We have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ' (so Lipsius, *Hdcom.* ii. pt. 2, 108; Cremer, *Lex.* 364 *et al.*, who read ἔχομεν in place of the better attested ἔχωμεν). In this connexion peace acquires the technical meaning of 'the tranquil state of a soul assured of its salvation through Christ, and so fearing nothing from God, and content with its earthly lot, of whatever sort it be' (Thayer, *Lex.* 182). As such it is the direct result of the redemption of Christ (Eph $2^{16.\,17}$), and consists primarily in a state of conscious reconciliation with God (Ro 5^{1}), though often used in a broader sense to denote all the blessings which accompany and flow from that reconciliation (so 2 Th 3^{16}, and in the apostolic greetings, Ro 1^{7}, 1 Co 1^{3}, and often).

LITERATURE.—Cremer, *Bib. Theol. Lex. sub* εἰρήνη; Weiss, *Bib. Theol. of NT*, Index; Wordsworth, *The One Religion* (*BL*, 1881), 217–336. See also H. Allon, *Indwelling Christ*, 105; R. W. Church, *Cathedral and University Sermons*, 144; J. B. Lightfoot, *Sermons in St. Paul's*, 136; F. W. Robertson, *Sermons*, iii. 130, *Human Race*, 305; T. Binney, *Sermons in King's Weigh-house Chapel*, ii. 79, 94, 106, 121.

W. ADAMS BROWN.

PEACE-OFFERING.—See SACRIFICE.

PEACOCKS (תֻּכִּיִּים and תּוּכִּיִּים *tukkîyyîm*).—The word 'peacocks' occurs in two passages, 1 K 10^{22} (where LXX seems to have translated it by πελεκητοί = 'things [*sc.* λίθοι, stones] carved by an axe') and 2 Ch 9^{21} (where LXX omits the word). The Vulg. in both has *pavi*. A third place in which AV gives 'peacock' (Job 39^{13}) has another Heb. original (רְנָנִים *rĕnānīm*), which doubtless refers to the ostrich, as in RV. As we have no reason to doubt the correctness of the rendering 'peacocks' for *tukkîyyîm*, this stately bird, *Pavo cristatus*, L., was doubtless imported by Solomon either direct from India (? Ophir = Abhira) or from some port to which Hiram's sailors had brought it from India (see Cheyne in *Expos. Times*, July 1898, p. 472). Sir E. Tennant (*Ceylon*, ii. 102) has shown that the Tamil name of 'peacocks' is *tokei*, apparently a cognate of *tukkîyyîm*. It is very abundant in the forests of India, and in some of the native states it is illegal to shoot it. We have no mention of its introduction into Mediterranean regions earlier than the time of Solomon. It is, however, very frequently alluded to in the Gr. and Lat. classics.

G. E. POST.

PEARL.—There is no evidence in favour of the AV 'pearl' for גָּבִישׁ *gabhīsh* (Job 28^{18}). The LXX merely transliterates γαβείς. It means far more probably 'crystal' (so RV, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, Siegfried-Stade, Dillmann, A. B. Davidson, *et al.*). Although this is not, and never has been, regarded as a precious stone, yet fine pieces of rock crystal, especially if large enough to be made into vases, have always been highly valued. The word פְּנִינִים,

which occurs in the same passage, and in Pr 3^{15} (Ḳerê) 8^{11} 20^{15} 31^{10}, La 4^{7}, should perhaps be tr^{d} 'pearls' (see Dillm. on Job 28^{18}). Both AV and RV text have 'rubies,' RVm '*or* red coral *or* pearls' (in La 4^{7} '*or* corals'). Pearls (*μαργαρῖται*) are mentioned in the NT in several places. They were and are much prized gems (1 Ti 2^{9}, Rev 17^{4}). They were chosen by Christ as a type of that which was most precious, to be compared with the kingdom of heaven (Mt 13^{45}). The verb *nazam* in Arab., coupled with *lulu*='pearl,' signifies 'to string pearls.' Coupled with *shi'r*='poetry,' it means 'to arrange verses.' Thus poetry is compared with pearls. The Arab poets and authors ring innumerable changes on the names for pearls in characterizing their literary productions. Thus a poem is called 'the Lone Pearl,' or 'The Precious Pearl,' or 'The String of Pearls,' etc. Our Saviour warns us against giving that which is holy unto dogs, and casting our pearls before swine (Mt 7^{6}). The instinct of Christian consciousness has usually interpreted pearls here as referring to the precious words of Divine revelation. This would be in strict accord with the Oriental usage above illustrated. The gates of pearl (Rev 21^{21}) are probably to be understood as *mother of pearl.* Separate pearls are the same in composition and origin as the shell, being formed by the gradual deposition of layers of the secretion of the oyster, *Avicula margaritifera*, L. They are usually deposited in the most fleshy parts, particularly within and around the adductor muscle. When the secretion of the oyster is morbidly increased, not only are separate pearls formed, but nodules and excrescences of the same sort are produced on the inner surface of the shell. These are often detached and sold as pearls, but at a lower price.

G. E. POST.

PECULIAR.—The Heb. word *ṣĕgullah* (סְגֻלָּה) is used in Ex 19^{5} of the people of Israel as God's special possession and care, and it is translated in AV and RV 'a peculiar treasure.' It is applied to Israel in the same sense, but with *'am* (עַם), 'people,' prefixed in Dt 7^{6} 14^{2} 26^{18}. Ex 19^{5} is echoed in Ps 135^{4} 'For the Lord hath chosen Jacob unto himself, and Israel for his peculiar treasure'; and in Mal 3^{17}, where the reference is transferred to the Israel of the future.* The origin of the word is unknown, and no form of its root is elsewhere found in the Bible, but its meaning is made clear by 1 Ch 29^{3} and Ec 2^{8}. In the former passage David says that in addition to the public money to be used in the building of the temple, he has a *private store* which he is ready to hand over for the same purpose. 'We might say that it was the *fiscus* as distinguished from the *ærarium*, the privy purse as opposed to the public treasury' (Lightfoot, *Fresh Rev.*^{2} p. 264). In Ec 2^{8} the reference is also to the 'peculiar treasure of kings.' The *ṣĕgullah* is therefore that which is one's own, that to which no one else has a claim.

The LXX translators seem to have caught the meaning, but found it difficult to express in Greek. In 1 Ch 29^{3} they use the verb *περιποιεῖσθαι* (*ὃ περιπεποίημαι*, 'which I have saved up'); but that verb is unsuitable in the other places, and they appear to have coined an adj. *περιούσιος*,† which (along with *λαός*, 'people') they use in Ex 19^{5} 23^{22} (not in the Heb. or Eng.), Dt 7^{6} 14^{2} 26^{18}, and a subst. *περιουσιασμός*, which they use in Ps 135^{4}, Ec 2^{8}. In Mal 3^{17} they use the subst. *περιποίησις*. The adj. *περιούσιος* occurs twice in NT, (1) Tit 2^{14} *λαὸς περιούσιος*, a verbal quotation from Dt 14^{2}; (2) 1 P 2^{9}, in which, though a quotation from Ex 19^{5} (where the LXX is also *λαὸς περιούσιος*), the expression is *λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν* (the same as in LXX of Mal 3^{17}).

Jerome (*Op.* vi. 725 f.) was puzzled with the *περιούσιος* which he found in the LXX, and, discovering it nowhere else, he concluded, from an examination of the biblical passages and from the verb *περιεῖναι*, to excel, that it expressed separation in the sense of superiority. But finding that Symmachus, who usually gives *ἐξαίρετος* for *περιούσιος*, once used the Latin adj. *peculiaris*, he perceived that the true force of the Heb. and Gr. words is 'separation to one's self,' and chose the words *peculium* and *peculiaris* as the usual translation, thus replacing the inadequate *abundans* of the Old Lat. by a singularly felicitous word. For *peculium** (whence adj. *peculiaris*) is a word of special significance in Roman society, being a person's *private purse*, and especially the private property possessed by a son or daughter independently of their father, or by a slave independently of his master.

Jerome did not always use this word. In Ex 19^{5} he has *in peculium*, in Dt 7^{6} 14^{2} 26^{18} *populus peculiaris*, in 1 Ch 29^{3} *peculium meum*, and in Mal 3^{17} *in peculium*. But in Ps 135^{4} he uses the more general *in possessionem*, and in Ec 2^{8} simply *substantias*. In Tit 2^{14} he has *populus acceptabilis*, and in 1 P 2^{9} *populus acquisitionis*. These unsatisfactory renderings in the Vulg. NT are due, Lightfoot thinks, to the fact that the NT was translated first, and that only after its translation had Jerome recognized the value of the rendering suggested by Symmachus.

We have no subst. in Eng. to correspond with the Lat. *peculium*, and even the adj. 'peculiar' seems not to have been available for Wyclif's purpose, for he never uses it, though translating directly from the Vulgate. In Ex 19^{5} he has 'my propre tresour' (but in 1388 'a specialte'), while in Dt 7^{6} 14^{2} 26^{18} he has (and so Purvey, 1388) 'a special people.'† It was Tindale, in his NT of 1526, who introduced 'a peculiar people.' He was followed, in Tit 2^{14}, by all the Eng. versions except the Rhem. ('a people acceptable'), and in 1 P 2^{9} by all except Cran. ('a people whych are wonne') and Rhem. ('a people of purchase'). It is greatly to be regretted that the adj. 'peculiar' has lost its honourable meaning. Its earlier use may be illustrated from Udall's *Erasmus' Paraphrase*, i. fol. 32, 'Every tree hath his peculyer and proper fruyte, which by the taste doeth declare the stocke'; *Synode at Dort*, p. 6, 'The true cause of the free Election is the good pleasure of God . . . consisting herein, that out of the common multitude of sinners he culled out to himselfe, for his owne peculiar, some certaine persons, or men'; and Knox, *Works*, iii. 13, 'Seeke God, who is a peculiar Father to the faithfull, delivering them from all tribulations, not for their worthynesse, but for his own mercie.'

The Revisers have been divided on the propriety of retaining the word. In Tit 2^{14}, 1 P 2^{9} 'a peculiar people' is changed into 'a people for his (God's) own possession.' But in Dt 7^{6} 'a special people' is turned into 'a peculiar people,' and that phrase or 'a peculiar treasure' is retained in the OT wherever it occurs in AV. In 1 Ch 29^{3} 'mine own proper good' becomes 'a treasure of mine own'; and in Mal 3^{17} the familiar 'in that day when I make up my jewels' of AV is changed into 'in the day that I do make, even a peculiar treasure' (see JEWEL, vol. ii. p. 655^{b}, § 5).

The adj. 'peculiar' occurs also in Wis 19^{6} 'Serving [=observing] the peculiar commandments that were given unto them' (*ὑπηρετοῦσα ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐπιταγαῖς*, RV 'ministering to thy several commandments'); and RV introduces it into Wis 3^{14} 'There shall be given him for his faithfulness a peculiar favour' (*τῆς πίστεως χάρις ἐκλεκτή*, AV 'the special gift of faith'). This is the sense in which the word is used by Udall (quoted above); by Adams on 2 P 1^{5} 'Woe to them that engross faith, that enclose God's commons, that make that several and peculiar, which the Lord hath laid open and made common'; and by Herbert in the familiar lines from *The Temple* (§ 158, 'Judgment')—

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* See Neubauer on 'Expressions employed concerning Israel as a Chosen Nation,' in *Expos. Times*, vol. iii. (1891–92), p. 10.

† So also it is probable that *ἐπιούσιος*, which is not found earlier than in the Lord's Prayer (Mt 6^{11}, Lk 11^{3}), was coined by the Evangelists, as similar compounds (*ἑτερούσιος*, *ὁμούσιος*, *ὁμοιούσιος*, *συνούσιος*) were formed by eccles. Gr. writers.

* *Peculium* is from *pecus*, cattle, that being the chief part of property in early Roman days.

† Wyclif's and Purvey's renderings in the other places are: 1 Ch 29^{3} 'Myne owne tresor' (1388 'my proper catel'—which, when we think of the origin of *peculium*, and compare Eng. 'chattel,' the same word, brings us very near the true meaning); Ps 135^{4} 'into possessioun'; Ec 2^{8} 'substaunces' (Purvey, 'the castels'—a various spelling of 'catels' or a slip. Purvey uses 'castels' for 'tents' in Ex 14^{20}, but it seems to be found nowhere else in the sense of property); Mal 3^{17} 'into a special tresoure'; Tit 2^{14} 'a peple acceptable'; 1 P 2^{9} 'puple of purchasinge.'

'Almightie Judge, how shall poor wretches brook
Thy dreadful look,
Able a heart of iron to appall,
When Thou shalt call
For ev'ry man's peculiar book?'

J. HASTINGS.

PEDAHEL (פְּדַהאֵל, Φαδαήλ).—The prince of Naphtali, one of those who took part in dividing the land, Nu 34^{28} P. The name belongs to the late and artificial class which has so many representatives in P (cf. Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, 198, 200, 210, 310, and in *Expos.* Sept. 1897, p. 179 ff.).

PEDAHZUR (פְּדָהצוּר, Φαδασ(σ)ούρ).—The father of Gamaliel, the prince of the tribe of Manasseh, at the time of the Exodus, Nu 1^{10} 2^{20} 7$^{54.\,59}$ 10^{23}. The question of the early or late character of such compound names, and of the early use by the Hebrews of *Ẓur* (='rock') absolutely as a divine name will be found fully discussed by Hommel (*AHT* 300, 319 f.), who affirms such use, and G. Buchanan Gray (*Heb. Proper Names*, 196, and especially in his criticism of Hommel in *Expos.* Sept. 1897, pp. 179 ff.), who denies it. See also art. ROCK. J. A. SELBIE.

PEDAIAH (פְּדָיָה 'J" has redeemed,' פְּדָיָהוּ in 1 Ch 27^{20}; the Sept. MSS have a great variety of forms; Φαλαιά, Φαλαδαιά, etc., are probably corruptions of Φαδαιά in which Δ has been mistaken for Λ).—**1.** Father of Joel, who was ruler under David over western Manasseh (1 Ch 27^{20}, B Φαλαδαιά, A Φαλδίλ, Luc. Φαδαίας). So early an occurrence of a compound name in which one of the elements is פָּדָה can be paralleled from P only (Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, 198 f.). **2.** Father of Zebidah, one of the wives of king Josiah (2 K 23^{36}, B 'Εδειλ, A Ελεδδιλά). Through his daughter he became great-grandfather of king Jehoiachin, one of whose sons has the same name (No. **3**), accidentally it may be supposed (cf. Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, p. 6). It is stated that he was an inhabitant of Rumah. **3.** Third son of Jehoiachin (Jeconiah), the captive (1 Ch 3^{18} B Φαλδαίας, A Φαδαίας, Luc. Φαδαιά). Jehoiachin was probably still without children when he was taken to Babylon (2 K 24^{8}; cf. his age given in v.^{15}). Pedaiah's birth may therefore be dated after his father's release from prison in 561 (2 K 25$^{27-30}$). His name (see meaning above) is appropriate to such circumstances. In 1 Ch 3^{19} he is named Zerubbabel's father. Elsewhere Zerubbabel is his nephew, son of his brother Shealtiel (Hag, Ezr, Neh, Mt, Lk; also A and B in 1 Ch). It is more probable that there is an error in the text of 1 Ch than that Zerubbabel was merely Shealtiel's legal son (Dt 25^{6}), being actually Pedaiah's son by his brother's widow. It is questionable if the child of a levirate marriage could be called son of the levir. If he were entered as such in family registers, the whole purpose of the custom would be nullified. **4.** One of those who repaired the wall of Jerusalem at the instigation of Nehemiah (Neh 3^{25} BA Φαδαιά, Luc. Φαδαΐ). He belonged to the clan Parosh, which was an important part of the post-exilic community (Neh 7^{8}, Ezr 8^{3}). He is contemporary with two others of the same name (**5** and **6**), and all, presumably, were resident in Jerusalem. Perhaps he is identical with the next following. **5.** One of those who 'stood beside' Ezra when he read the Law to the people (Neh 8^{4} Φαδαίας, in 1 Es 9^{44} B Φαλαδαῖος, A Φαλδαῖος, **Phaldeus**). His position seems rather one of prominence in the community than of association with Ezra. **6.** One of a committee of four appointed by Nehemiah, on the occasion of his second visit, to receive and distribute the tithes and offerings of the people (Neh 13^{13} B Φαλαιά, Aℵ Luc. Φαδαιά). He was a Levite, and evidently chosen to represent the interests of his class. There is no proof that he is identical with **5.** Neither the priest nor the scribe who were his colleagues appear elsewhere. **7.** An ancestor of Sallu, who was one of the Benjamite inhabitants of Jerusalem after the Exile (Neh 11^{7}, B Φαλαιά, A Luc. Φαδαιά). He is put in the third generation before Sallu. In the version of the list contained in 1 Ch 9 Sallu's ancestry is given differently, and Pedaiah's name does not occur (v.^{7}). W. B. STEVENSON.

PEDIAS (B Πεδίας, A Παιδείας, AV Pelias), 1 Es 9^{34}, a corruption of BEDEIAH, Ezr 10^{35}.

PEEL, PILL.—The origin of these verbs is severally *pellis*, skin, and *pilus*, hair; but they cannot be traced directly back to these separate sources, because the Old Fr. words *peler* and *piller*, from which they come, were confused in spelling before the Eng. words were formed. The confusion was made greater when the (probably) separate Lat. *pilare*, to plunder, was adopted into French and English, and spelt indifferently 'pill' or 'peel.' Brachet says that *piller*, in the sense of 'rob,' 'plunder,' was introduced into the Fr. language in the 16th cent. along with many other military words. We find its derivative 'pillage,' however, in Fabyan, *Chron.* i. 114.

Peel is the AV spelling in Is 18$^{2.\,7}$ 'a nation scattered and peeled,' 'a people scattered and peeled' (מְמֻשָּׁךְ וּמוֹרָט, AVm 'outspread and polished,' RV 'tall and smooth,' RVm 'dragged away and peeled'). Here 'peel' is probably taken in the sense proper to 'pill,' *i.e.* pull off the hair, for that is the primary meaning of the Heb. word. But the reference is to the Ethiopians, and as the Heb. verb comes usually to mean to *polish* (by stripping off superfluous hair), RV and most modern exegetes take the expression in the sense of 'polished,' 'bronzed,' referring to the Ethiopians' tawny skin. In Ezk 29^{18} 'Every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled' (כָּל־כָּתֵף מְרוּטָה), the meaning is more primary, 'laid bare' by the chafing of a burden (Amer. RV 'worn').

Pill is the spelling in Gn 30$^{37.\,38}$ (of the rods in which Jacob 'pilled white strakes'), where the meaning is clearly to pull off the skin. RV spells 'peeled.' Pill occurs also in To 11^{13} 'When his eyes began to smart, he rubbed them; and the whiteness pilled away from the corners of his eyes' (*ἐλεπίσθη*, RV 'scaled'), and 1 Mac 1^{22} m. for AV text 'pulled off' (*ἐλέπισε*, RV 'scaled').

Shaks. uses 'peel' in the sense of stripping off the bark ('pill' of Gn 30$^{37.\,38}$), as *Mer. of Ven.* I. iii. 85, 'The skilful shepherd peel'd me certain wands'; and in the sense of plucking off the hair, 1 *Henry VI.* I. iii. 30, 'Peel'd priest.' He uses 'pill' only in the sense of rob: *Timon*, IV. i. 12—

'Large-handed robbers your grave masters are,
And pill by law.'

J. HASTINGS.

PEEP.—To peep in Is 8^{19} 10^{14} (מְצַפְצֵף, Pilp. ptcp. of צפף; LXX *κενολογεῖν, ἀντειπεῖν*) is not to chirp (as RV), but to cheep, *i.e.* it expresses not the cheerful contented note of little birds, but the feeble cry of nestlings. It is an imitative word, and is used also of a mouse's cry, as Purchas, *Pilgrimage*, 357, 'Hee procuring such peace in the East (saith Vopiscus) that a rebellious Mouse was not heard to peepe.' In Sir 21[23] 'peep' is used in its mod. sense, 'A fool will peep in at the door into the house' (*παρακύπτει*: cf. Jn 20[5], 1 P 1[12]). So Jer 6[1] Cov. 'A plage and a greate misery pepeth out from the North.' J. HASTINGS.

PEKAH (פֶּקַח, LXX *Φάκεε*, Assyr. *Paḳaḥu*) was the son of Remaliah. The name in full form was probably פְּקַחְיָהוּ, the same as that of his predecessor. Following the current OT significations of the verb פקח, the name would signify either (*a*) 'Jehovah hath beheld [*lit.* opened his eyes upon] (me)'; see 2 K 4[35] 19[16], Jer 32[19], Zec 12[4], Job 14[3], and cf. יהוה יראה and Assyr. proper name *Bilîmurani*, 'Bel hath beheld me'; or (*b*) far more probably 'Jehovah hath opened (my eyes)'; cf. Gn 21[19], 2 K 6[17. 20]. The omission of the Divine name as subject is illustrated in the case of Aḥaz (=Aḥaziah), Nathan (=Nethaniah, El-Nathan), which stands for נְתַן יהוה בֵּן; cf. *Marduk-apla-iddin*(*a*) and other Assyrian parallels which further exemplify the omission of the object in the abbreviated form of the proper name. See the illustrations which have been collected in Schrader, *COT* ii. p. 326, by the present writer.

Peḳaḥ, son of Remaliah, was of obscure parentage, to which Isaiah refers with a touch of satire (7[4]). The story of his brief but important reign is told in the short extract 2 K 15[27-31]. Twenty years are ascribed to him, but chronological considerations based on the data of the Assyrian annalistic inscriptions, and the Canon of Rulers, can assign him a reign of only about three years (736–733). Comp. Schrader, *COT* ii. p. 321 ff., and art. CHRONOLOGY OF THE OT in vol. i. p. 401 f.

Peḳaḥ was captain of Peḳaḥiah's Gileadite bodyguard, and held the important confidential post of *Shalish** near the king's person. This gave him unusual opportunities, when with fifty chosen men he compassed the destruction of king Peḳaḥiah. We are left in entire ignorance as to the circumstances which led to this violent act (2 K 15[25]), and the text is, moreover, far from certain.† All that we definitely know is that it took place at Samaria, probably in the stronghold of the royal palace.‡

It is possible, however, in the light of subsequent as well as preceding events, to frame an adequate theory for the motives of state policy which underlay Peḳaḥ's conspiracy.

The history of Israel and Judah from the days of the disruption downwards was largely determined by the lines of foreign policy. While Syria was the most formidable foe, and Egypt remained quiescent, the problems of this policy were not complex. Resistance or unwilling submission to Syria was the keynote of Israel's foreign policy in the reigns of Baasha, Omri, and Ahab. But in the reign of the last-mentioned monarch the formidable power of Aram (Syria) was dwarfed by the rising might of Assyria awakening from its slumber of centuries (see art. AHAB). In the reign of the Assyrian king Ramman-nirâri III. the power of Syria was broken, never more to recover its former vitality. From this time forth the chief menace to the security of all the Palestinian states was the advancing (though occasionally quiescent) power of Assyria. Now, just as Napoleon I. in his career of conquest (like the kings of France who preceded him) profited by a disunited Germany and a disunited Italy, so the successive monarchs who reigned in Nineveh reaped an abundant harvest from the divided and too often mutually hostile policies of the Palestinian states. Only for a brief period near the close of his career did Ahab pursue the only intelligent principle of self-preservation against the peril (which was then somewhat distant from Israel), viz. alliance with Syria against the Assyrian foe. This sound course of action was abandoned at the close of Ahab's life, as the result of a humiliating defeat at the hands of Assyria; and the fatal and short-sighted policy of selfish isolation, and even of compliance by means of tribute to the Assyrian power, was pursued in succession by Jehu, in all probability by Jeroboam II., and also, as we know definitely from both Assyrian and Hebrew records, by Menaḥem.

Peḳaḥ and his contemporary Reẓîn,* king of Syria, had the intelligence to perceive that it was only through a common policy pursued by the allied Palestinian states that the formidable power of Tiglath-pileser III. could be checked. Accordingly we may regard it as probable that the insurrection against the son of Menaḥem was sustained by the deep discontent aroused by his continuance of his father's policy of subservience and tributary vassalage to Assyria. Whether this insurrection was fomented by an Egyptian party, as Kittel † supposes, we consider very doubtful. For Egypt at that time (viz. the close of the 23rd and the brief 24th dynasty) was hardly in a position to give any practical support to the patriotic opponents of Assyria.‡ Six years later, during the strong rule of the Ethiopian Sabaco (Shabaka), Egypt rose into a position of much greater strength, and endeavoured to control the course of Western Asian politics. Two parties then arose in Ephraim as well as in Judah which favoured the claims respectively of Assyria and of Egypt. See HOSHEA.

Jotham was the monarch who reigned in Judah at the time when the alliance was concluded between Peḳaḥ king of Ephraim and Reẓîn of Damascus against Assyria. We read nothing of overtures made to Jotham to join this confederacy. It is not improbable, however, that they were made. Jotham, as we may certainly suppose, declined to join the alliance, deeming the policy of neutrality to be safest. Accordingly the armies of Damascus and Samaria were united against Judah in order to coerce the latter into compliance. In the midst of the campaign Jotham died, and was succeeded by the youthful Ahaz. By this time, if not before, Philistia had joined the coalition. Peḳaḥ, during the reign of Ahaz, assumed the offensive, and moved with his army against the capital of Judah itself. Meanwhile his ally, Reẓîn, was carrying on operations in the east and south-east of Judah, in the trans-Jordanic country. Elath, the port in the Red Sea, a valuable outlet for the commerce which passed into and from the Red Sea, was wrested from Ahaz by the successful arms of Reẓîn (2 K 16[6]). See art. ELATH.

Jerusalem was now closely invested by the beleaguering force of the Ephraimites. 2 Ch 28[6-15] containing a beautiful episode in which the prophet Oded plays a conspicuous part, but containing also characteristic exaggerations of numerical detail, must be placed in a secondary rank of historic record. The graphic scene described in Is 7 need not detain us, as it properly belongs to the reign of Ahaz (see AHAZ). It was proposed by the hostile coalition to place a son of Tâb-ēl on the throne of Judah. The parallelism with ben Remaliah would lead us to suppose (1) that Reẓîn (or perhaps his brother) is meant, and (2) that Tâb-ēl was an obscure personage. Winckler (*Alttest. Unters.* pp. 73–76) considers that Tâb-ēl (=Tâb-Rammân) reigned in Damascus *c.* 773–740. The Judæan king in his extremity paid no heed to Isaiah's inspiriting counsels 'not to fear nor let his heart be soft because of the two stumps of smoking firebrands, Reẓîn and the son of Remaliah,' but despatched envoys to Tiglath-pileser tendering abject submission, and conveying a rich tribute in money. The Assyrian monarch soon turned his conquering legions towards the Palestinian states (B.C. 734). His heavy hand was first felt by Damascus. Reẓîn was overpowered, and lost his life. For Israel the results were overwhelming and disastrous. The kingdom was shorn of its northern and trans-Jordanic(?) provinces. Isaiah, with that marvellous literary power of description,

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* See art. 'Chariot' in this Dict. and in *Encycl. Bibl.*, and also 'Army.'

† Cf. Stade, *Gesch.* i. p. 538, n. 1.

‡ We have no alternative but to follow the MT at this point; LXX *ἐναντίον οἴκου* is an obvious corruption of the text *εἰς ἄντρον οἴκου*. Cf. the closely parallel 1 K 16[18]. Klostermann in place of את ארגב וגו׳ would read אֵת אַרְבַּע מֵאֹת גִּבֹּרָיו, evidently based on the LXX *ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων* and מִבְּנֵי גִלְעָדִים of the Heb. text in the latter part of the verse.

* LXX *Ῥαασσών* and Assyr. *Raẓunnu* clearly indicate that רָצוֹן is the true and original form of the name (signifying 'good pleasure,' 'grace,' or 'favour').

† *Gesch. der Hebräer*. ii. 286 [Eng. tr. ii. 338].

‡ Comp. Meyer, *Gesch. alten Ægyptens*, p. 343; McCurdy, *HPM* i. 387.

> 'With hue like that when some great painter dips
> His pencil in the gloom of earthquake and eclipse,'

portrays for us in graphic and lurid touches the onward march of those marshalled hosts of Tiglath-pileser's army of invasion. 'Behold, hastily, swiftly he cometh. There is none that is weary or stumbleth. He stumbleth not nor sleepeth. The girdle of his loins is never loosed, nor the thong of his sandals rent—whose arrows are sharp, and all his bows bent; whose horses' hoofs are accounted as flint, and his wheels like the whirlwind. His roar is like that of the lioness; he roareth like the young lions, moaning and catching the prey and carrying it off safe, and there is none to rescue. And at that time there is moaning over it like the moaning of the sea; and if one looketh to the earth, behold, oppressive darkness!' (Is 5^{26-30}).[*]

In the annals of Tiglath-pileser we read the following brief details from a seriously mutilated inscription:[†]—'The town Gil[ead] . . . Abel [Maacha] which are above the land Beth Omri (Samaria) . . . the broad, I smote in its entire extent into the territory of Assyria, and placed my officers as viceroys over them.[‡] Hanno of Gaza, who had taken to flight in fear of my weapons, fled into the land of Egypt. Gaza I captured; its possessions, its gods I carried away captive . . . The land Beth Omri (Samaria), the whole of its inhabitants, together with their booty, I carried off to Assyria. Peḳaḥ their king, I slew. Hoshea (Ausi) I appointed as ruler over them.'

So perished 'like a chip on the water's surface' (Hos 10^7) another ill-fated king of Ephraim. The Deuteronomic redactor paints him in the dark and monotonous hues of the long line of Jeroboam ben Nebat's successors. This may be interpreted to mean that he was tolerant of the religious conditions which prevailed during the middle of the 8th cent. The numerous high places or *bāmôth*, where Jehovah was worshipped, fostered modes of cultus which closely approximated to those of the Canaanite baalim. The oracles of the prophet Hosea, which clearly belong to the Ephraimite kingdom, vividly depict the disorders that prevailed during the reign of Peḳaḥ. Chapters 4 and also 6 and 7 present a lurid picture of the social evils of the time. Gilead, we are told, 'is a city of them that work iniquity, it is tracked with blood-stains. As robber bands lie in wait for a man, so the company of priests murder on the way to Shechem' ($6^{9.\ 10}$). In ch. 4 the prophet rebukes the lying and stealing, the murder and bloodshed; while among all classes of society the grossest forms of sensuality and superstition prevailed (vv.$^{12.\ 13}$); see article HOSEA.

Winckler (*Gesch. Isr.* pp. 92–95) would place the latter part of the prophetic activity of Amos as late as the reign of Peḳaḥ on account of the references to the dismemberment of Israel in 3^{12}. Moreover, LXX read אשור in place of אשדוד in v^9. Perhaps, however, it is not necessary to bring his oracles down to a later date than B.C. 738.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

PEKAHIAH (פְּקַחְיָה 'J" has opened'; B Φακεσίας, A Φακείας, Luc. Φακειά).—King of Israel for two years, son and successor of Menaḥem (2 K 15^{22-26}). Two dates fixed by Assyrian records determine with unusual closeness the years of his reign. The inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III. show that Menaḥem was alive in 738, and that Peḳaḥiah's successor, Peḳaḥ, was dethroned in 734–733. It follows in all probability that the years 737 and 736 include the whole or the greater part of Peḳaḥiah's reign. The synchronism of 2 K 15^{23} is improbable. It is unlikely that Azariah of Judah was living in 737, since Ahaz was king in 734 and the reign of Jotham comes between.—The internal condition of Israel in this reign has all its features in common with Hosea's general picture of the period (see HOSEA). Nor can there be any doubt what the critical question of foreign policy was,—whether the attitude to Assyria should be one of submission, or one of resistance in co-operation with other Syrian states. The absence of Tiglath-pileser in the north allowed time for negotiation and debate. Peḳaḥiah's assassination by his military adjutant or attendant may have been planned in consequence of his opposition to war with Assyria. Possibly Reẓîn of Damascus was cognizant of the plan, and sanctioned it as a means of bringing Israel and Damascus into line. The text relating the event is now corrupt (2 K 15^{25}). The usurper seems to have employed a force of Gileadites, which was probably sufficient to secure Samaria and so accomplish the revolution. It is not clear whether 'Argob' and 'Arieh' were defenders or assailants of the king. The name Argob suggests that the words were originally some statement about the Gileadites (cf. Stade, *Geschichte*, i. 588).

The Lucianic recension of the LXX assigns 10 years to Peḳaḥiah's reign. It has been observed that 2 K 17^1 implies the same duration. From the 2nd year of Azariah to the 12th of Ahaz is 30 years according to the Hebrew chronology, and this demands 10 years of Peḳaḥiah's to be added to the 20 of Peḳaḥ. Klostermann (*Bücher Sam. u. Kön.*) accepts 10 years as the proper figure. But this cannot be harmonized with the data of the Assyrian inscriptions. It originated in a system which endeavoured to equalize the sum of the reigns of the Israelite kings with the sum of the reigns of the Judæan kings (Benzinger, *Könige*, p. xx f.). See preceding article.

W. B. STEVENSON.

PEKOD (פְּקוֹד; Ezk 23^{23} B Φακούκ, A καὶ Φούδ; Jer 50 [Gr. 27]^{21} B ἐκδίκησον, connecting with verb פקד).—The name of an important tribe and of the place it occupied in Lower Babylonia. The passage in Jer 50^{21} is called by Orelli (*Com. on Jer. ad loc.*) a symbolical name (cf. RVm 'visitation') of Chaldæan-Babylonia. But we find in the Assyr. inscriptions, notably those of Sargon, a thrifty people dwelling near the mouth of the Uknu river, called *Puḳúdu* (cf. Sargon's *Annals*, lines 233, 265, 269, etc.). Tiele (*Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.* 222, 236) regards them as an Aram. people. They were at times allies of the Elamites, and gave the Assyrian kings great trouble in ruling Lower Babylonia (cf. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 240; Schrader, *COT* ii. pp. 117, 120; Winckler, *Gesch. Bab. u. Assyr.* 223, 283; Maspero, *Passing of Empires*, 119, 191, 230, 256, 306, 416; and art. KOA). IRA M. PRICE.

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[*] This was probably written by the prophet as a reminiscence of what he had actually experienced by personal observation or learned from eye-witnesses of the events of B.C. 734. The date of the oracle is probably B.C. 726. See article HOSHEA, and footnote †, p. 426 in vol. ii.

[†] Schrader, *KIB* ii. p. 30.

[‡] The towns Iyyon, Abel-beth-Maacah, Kadesh, and Janoah (2 K 15^{29}, *cf.* 1 K 15^{20} 9^{11}) appear to have all belonged to Galilee and Naphtali. Janoah is evidently a different place from that of the same name in Jos 16^6. Kittel identifies it with Jenoam (*Jenu'amu* of the Egyptian records; see Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 394), an Israelite frontier town towards Tyre. Benzinger would delete Gilead from the text (perhaps dittography). III Rawl. 10. 2, lines 17 foll. . . . ti (maḥâzu) Ga-al . . . [A]-bi-il is all we have to guide us.

PELAIAH.—**1.** (פְּלָיָה; B Φαρά, A Φαλαιά) a son of Elioenai, a descendant of David, 1 Ch 3[24]. **2.** (פְּלָאיָה) a Levite who helped Ezra to expound the law to the people, Neh 8[7] (LXX om.). His name or that of his family occurs also in the list of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10[10] (B om., A Φελειά).

PELALIAH (פְּלַלְיָה; Aℵ$^{c.a}$ Φαλαλιά, Luc. Φαλλαλίας).—A priest in the time of Nehemiah, Neh 11[12]. The Syr. has ܦܠܝܐ *i.e. Pelaiah*; the other versions support the MT.

PELATIAH (פְּלַטְיָה and פְּלַטְיָהוּ).—**1.** (Φαλτίας) one of the princes of the people, mentioned by Ezekiel as seen by him in vision standing at the east gate of the LORD's house, Ezk 11[1]. He died, as the prophet delivered his message, v.[13]. It is difficult to decide whether Pelatiah's death is to be understood as actual or merely symbolical, and what relation, if actual, it bears to the form in which Ezekiel's vision is narrated (see Davidson or Bertholet, *ad loc.*). **2.** (B Φαλεττί, A Φαλλετιά) a grandson of Zerubbabel, 1 Ch 3[21]. **3.** (B Φαλαεττιά, A Φαλεττιά) one of the 500 Simeonites who smote the Amalekites of Mt. Seir, 1 Ch 4[42]. **4.** (Φαλτιά) one of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10[22].

PELEG (פֶּלֶג).—One of the two sons of Eber, the other being JOKTAN (wh. see), Gn 10[25] 11[16] (Φάλεκ) =1 Ch 1[19] (B om., A Φάλεκ) [25] (B Φάλεχ, A Φάλεκ), cf. Lk 3[35] (Φάλεκ, whence AV Phalec). In Gn 10[25] a characteristic etymology is given for the name by J, '*Peleg*, for in his days the earth *was divided* (*niphlĕgah*).' 'The earth' here should probably be taken to mean 'the population of the earth,' as in 11[1] (so Dillmann), and the 'dividing' to refer to the narrative in 11[1-9] of the confusion of tongues and the dispersion of men 'over the face of all the earth.' In all probability the remark is due, not to the original J, but to a redactor of the same school (R_J, so Budde and Kuenen). The name *Peleg* has been sought by some (*e.g.* Knobel) in *Phalga*, a place at the junction of the Chaboras with the Euphrates, by Lagarde (*Orientalia*, ii. 50) in *al-Falj* on the road between Basra and Yemâma, and by Sprenger (*Geog. Arab.* 233, 294) in *el-Falaj* in Yemâma. The common noun *peleg* in Heb. means 'a watercourse,' and Peleg might appropriately enough be the designation of a people dwelling in a land furrowed by watercourses, whether in Babylonia or N. Arabia. J. A. SELBIE.

PELET (פֶּלֶט).—**1.** A son of Jahdai, 1 Ch 2[47] (B Φάλεκ, *i.e.* Peleg, A Φάλετ). **2.** A Benjamite chief who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12[3] (B Ἰωφάλητ, A Φάλλητ).

PELETH (פֶּלֶת).—**1.** A Reubenite, the father of On, Nu 16[1], JE (Φαλέθ). The MT is certainly corrupt; we should probably read **Pallu** instead of *Peleth*. See art. KORAH, p. 12b. **2.** A Jerahmeelite, 1 Ch 2[33] (B Θάλεθ, A Φάλεθ).

PELETHITES.—See CHERETHITES.

PELICAN.—The word קָאַת *ḳā'ath* is usually derived from the root קוֹא *ḳō'*='to vomit,' corresponding with the Arab. *ḳâ'a*. The *ḳā'ath* is 'the vomiter.' It was interdicted as food (Lv 11[18], Dt 14[17]). It inhabited the wilderness (Ps 102[6] מִדְבָּר='uninhabited place'). It is one of the creatures that were to be found in the ruins of Edom (Is 34[11]) and Nineveh (Zeph 2[14]). Unfortunately the LXX gives us no help, but on the contrary confuses us by translating it at Lv 11[18] πελεκάν, Dt 14[17] καταράκτης (AV and RV in both 'pelican'), Is 34[11] ὄρνεα, Zeph 2[14] χαμαιλέων (AV both 'cormorant,' AVm and RV 'pelican'), Ps 102[6] πελεκάν (AV and RV 'pelican'). The weight of scholarship is in favour of 'pelican,' which suits the idea of an unclean bird, and is a bird of uninhabited places (*wilderness*). As to its being in ruins, it could well inhabit the marshes near the site of Nineveh. As regards Edom, where there is little water, this bird typifies *desolation*, and the *absence of man* (see BITTERN).

The pelican belongs to the order *Steganopodes*, family *Pelicanidæ*, to which the cormorant also belongs. Two species are found in Palestine and Syria — *Pelecanus onicrotalus*, L., the roseate or white pelican; and *P. crispus*, Brush, the Dalmatian pelican. Both have white plumage, the former with a roseate tinge. The legs of the former are greenish-black, the pouch yellow, and irides crimson; of the latter the legs and pouch are flesh colour, and irides greyish-white. They are 5–6 feet long from the tip of the bill to the end of the tail. The bill is from 16–18 inches long. Under the lower mandible is a pouch which will hold several gallons. In this pouch it stores food for itself and its young. Pelicans are abundant in the swamps of the Jordan Valley and the Orontes, and seen frequently in other regions of Palestine and Syria. Their breeding-places are in the remotest parts of the swamps. The attitude of the pelican when at rest is singularly listless and melancholy. It leans its head against its breast and stands motionless until hunger compels it to activity. It then flies 30–40 feet above the surface of the water, turns its head with one eye downwards, and, when it sees a fish sufficiently near the surface, swoops down upon it, and rarely fails to seize it. It immediately stores it away in its pouch, and proceeds to fish for more until its receptacle is full. It often fishes as far as twenty miles out at sea. It then not infrequently retires inland to a lonely spot, and sits in the melancholy attitude above described until it has digested its enormous meal. This is the Psalmist's sad 'pelican of the wilderness.' The pelican is called by the Arabs *'abu jerâb*='the father of a pouch,' and *ḥauṣal*='a pouch,' and in Egypt *bega'*.

G. E. POST.

PELISHTIM.—RVm of Gn 10[14]=PHILISTINES (which see).

PELONITE, THE (הַפְּלוֹנִי; in 1 Ch 11[27] B ὁ Φελωνεί, A ὁ Φαλλωνί; in v.[36] B ὁ Φεδωνεί, A ὁ Φελλωνί; in 1 Ch 27[10] B A ὁ ἐκ Φαλλούς).—Two of David's heroes are thus described (1 Ch 11[27. 36]), viz. Helez and Ahijah. In 2 S 23[26] the former is called 'the **Paltite**,' and, though the LXX A in that passage agrees with the reading of the Chronicler, it is probable that the MT has preserved the better text. This view is confirmed by the fact that, in the case of the second hero, the reading of 1 Ch 11[36] (אֲחִיָּה הַפְּלֹנִי) is clearly a mutilation of the fuller text preserved in 2 S 23[34] (אֱלִיעָם בֶּן אֲחִיתֹפֶל הַגִּלֹנִי 'Eliam the son of Ahithophel the Gilonite'). We must therefore read 'Helez the Paltite' in 1 Ch 11[27] 27[10]: the addition 'of the children of Ephraim' (מִן־בְּנֵי אֶפְרָיִם 27[10]) not improbably conceals the gentilic name.

J. F. STENNING.

PEN.—See WRITING.

PENCIL occurs only once in the Bible, Is 44[13] (RV). The first four clauses of this verse, which describes the making of an idol, read in MT חָרַשׁ עֵצִים נָטָה קָו יְתָאֲרֵהוּ בַשֶּׂרֶד יַעֲשֵׂהוּ בַּמַּקְצֻעוֹת וּבַמְּחוּגָה יְתָאֳרֵהוּ; the

LXX has *ἐκλεξάμενος τέκτων ξύλον ἔστησεν αὐτὸ ἐν μέτρῳ, καὶ ἐν κόλλῃ ἐρύθμισεν αὐτό*, which, as Cheyne points out, implies a reading ויבחר חרש עץ יתכנהו בְּגֶרֶת ובמקצעה יתארהו; RV 'The carpenter stretcheth out a line (AV 'his rule'), he marketh it out with a pencil (AV 'line'), he shapeth (AV 'fitteth') it with planes, and he marketh it out with the compasses' (AV 'compass'). In the first clause RV 'line,' *i.e.* measuring line, is decidedly to be preferred to AV 'rule' as the tr. of קָו (cf. 2 K 21^{13}, Is 28^{17} 34^{11}, Jer 31^{39}, Zec 1^{16}, and see art. LINE). The meaning of the word שֶׂרֶד in the second clause is quite uncertain. It is a *ἅπ. λεγ.*, and quite possibly a corrupt reading. Cheyne (*SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' p. 137) thinks the final ר is doubtful, and he suggests (comparing the Aram. root סרט=*lineavit*) that we should read שֶׂרֶט (with the meaning 'stylus'), although he notes that this word in Lv 19^{28} means a cutting in the flesh. Grätz boldly reads חֶרֶט. P. Haupt, in an editorial note in *SBOT*, *ad loc.*, thinks that במחוגה 'with the compass' (he prefers the sing.) should be read *after* בשרד, and taken as an explanatory gloss of the latter. If *sered*='compass,' he suggests a connexion with the Assyr. *sirdu*, 'yoke.' The Babylonian use of compasses is described by him in a note in 'Ezekiel' (*SBOT*), p. 100 f. Other explanations come nearer the RV 'pencil,' *e.g.* 'red chalk' (Kimchi, Vitr.; cf. RVm 'red ochre'), *Reissstift* (Siegfried-Stade, Dillmann-Kittel, and V. Ryssel [in Kautzsch's *AT*]), *Röthel* (Nowack, *Lehrb. der Heb. Arch.* i. 246).

J. A. SELBIE.

PENDANT occurs twice in the Bible, but both times RV only. The first instance is Jg 8^{26}, where the word (Heb. נְטִיפוֹת, LXX B *στραγγαλίδες*, AV 'collars') is used of one of the ornaments worn by the Midianites who were conquered and spoiled by Gideon; the other is Is 3^{19} (Heb. נְטִפוֹת, LXX *κάθεμα*, AV 'chains') in a list of articles of female attire. In both passages the reference appears to be to ear-drops (so Cheyne, 'Isaiah,' in *PB*), the Heb. *nĕṭîphôth* being, perhaps, equivalent to Arab. *naṭafat*, a small clear pearl resembling a drop of water, or a bead of gold or silver of a spherical or elongated form, fastened to the lobe of the ear. See Moore, *Judges*, *ad loc.* J. A. SELBIE.

PENIEL (פְּנִיאֵל only in Gn 32^{30}, LXX Εἶδος θεοῦ), elsewhere **PENUEL** (פְּנוּאֵל). — This name appears on three occasions only, in connexion respectively with Jacob, Gideon, and Jeroboam. The word means 'face of God,' and is traced in Gn 32^{30} to the fact that Jacob had there seen God 'face to face.' Perhaps a different derivation is alluded to in 33^{10} (Wellh. *JDTh*, xxi. 435). It has been suggested (see Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, p. 392) that the name may have been originally given to some projecting rock in whose contour a face was seen. We may compare Strabo's (xvi. 2. 15 f.) *Θεοῦ πρόσωπον*. The place was east of the Jordan, and somewhere on the line of the Jabbok. It was a city whose chief feature was a strong tower or castle (Jg 8^{8-17}), which at a much later period was rebuilt by Jeroboam (1 K 12^{25}). These facts show that Penuel had considerable strategic importance. It was a great tribe from the eastern desert that invaded Palestine and were driven back to their homes by Gideon (Jg 6 ff.). These invaders always entered the lowlands, that is, the plain of Esdraelon, and there was a main road from the Jordan Valley eastward by which they came and returned. On this road the castle of Penuel was designed to be a protection. Succoth, now *Tell Deir 'Alla*, was on this road, and Penuel was in the hills not far beyond it. Such desert people never go over mountains when there is a good valley route open to them.

In the valley of the Jabbok, 4 miles from Succoth, two sharp hills, called Tulul edh-Dhahab, and covered with ancient ruins, rise to a height of 250 ft. 'Whether approached from the west or the east, or looked down upon from the mountains above them, they form very striking objects. . . . On one side of the eastern hill a strong wall of massive stones runs from the summit to the foot. . . . The platform of the "tower" or castle was supported by a wall, the remains of which are 15 or 20 ft. high, which extends to a distance of over 100 ft. These substantial structures, considering the size of the stones employed, must have been built at great expense. The stones are unhewn blocks, and appear to date from a remote period' (Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, pp. 390–392). That these desert invaders did not climb over mountains, that they followed a valley route, that the easy and main route to the East was through the valley of the Jabbok, and that at a certain point on this road these ruin-crowned hills exist at no great distance from Succoth,—all this seems to indicate them as the most probable site for Penuel.

S. MERRILL.

PENINNAH (פְּנִנָּה 'pearl' or 'red coral'; *Φεννάνα*; *Phenenna*).—The second wife of Elkanah, the father of Samuel. Despite the fact that Peninnah had borne him children, while Hannah, her rival or fellow-wife, was childless, the latter was the more favoured by Elkanah; and this was doubtless the cause of the ill-will displayed by Peninnah towards her (1 S $1^{2f.}$). J. F. STENNING.

PENKNIFE (תַּעַר הַסֹּפֵר 'the knife of the scribe'; LXX *τὸ ξυρὸν τοῦ γραμματέως* [Symm. substitutes *σμίλη* for *ξυρόν*]).—Mentioned only in Jer 36^{23}, where king Jehoiakim cut up Baruch's roll of Jeremiah's prophecies. Orientals use a reed pen in writing (*calamus*, Arab. *ḳălăm*), and always carry a knife for the purpose of mending it. Penknives are made in Damascus and in many of the villages of Lebanon; they are without spring backs, and are like miniature razors. W. CARSLAW.

PENNY.—See MONEY, p. 428ᵃ.

PENSION.—Only 1 Es 4^{56} 'He commanded to give all that kept the city pensions and wages' (*κλήρους*, AVm 'portions of land,' RV 'lands'). This is one of the 'archaisms' which Scrivener (*Par. Bible*, p. lxv) blames the AV translators of the Apocr. for retaining. It is first found in the Geneva version, and is used in the orig. sense of 'payment' (Lat. *pensio*). This wider sense of the word is seen in Robinson's translation of *More's Utopia* (Lumby's ed. i. p. 50, Lupton's ed. p. 83), 'An other cummeth in wyth his v. egges, and advyseth . . . to bringe to theyr parte certeyne peers of hys courte for greate pensions' (Lat. *certa pensione*). J. HASTINGS.

PENTATEUCH.—See HEXATEUCH.

PENTECOST. — This term, adopted from the Gr., means 'fiftieth' (*ἡ πεντηκοστή*, *scil.* *ἡμέρα*), and was applied by Greek-speaking Jews, as חַג חֲמִשִּׁים יוֹם was by the Rabbins, to the second of the three chief Heb. festivals, because it fell (Lv 23^{9-21}) on the fiftieth day after the offering of the barley-sheaf during the feast of unleavened bread (To 2^{1}, 2 Mac 12^{32}; Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 6, XIII. viii. 4, XIV. xiii. 4, XVII. x. 2, *BJ* II. iii. 1, VI. v. 3; Philo, *de Septen.* § 21, see also *de Decal.* § 30; in NT Ac 2^{1} 20^{16}, 1 Co 16^{8}). In OT it is called '*the feast of harvest*, the first-fruits of thy labours' (Ex 23^{16} חַג הַקָּצִיר בִּכּוּרֵי מַעֲשֶׂיךָ, LXX *ἑορτὴν θερισμοῦ πρωτογενημάτων τῶν ἔργων σου*); '*the feast of weeks*, of the first-fruits of wheat harvest' (Ex 34^{22} חַג שָׁבֻעֹת בִּכּוּרֵי קְצִיר חִטִּים, LXX *ἑορτὴν ἑβδομάδων*; so also Dt 16^{10}, 2 Ch 8^{13}), and 'the day of the first-fruits' (Nu 28^{26} יוֹם הַבִּכּוּרִים, LXX *τῇ* ἡμέρᾳ τῶν νέων); while the later Jews also denominated it עֲצֶרֶת, Aram. עֲצַרְתָּא (Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 6 (Gr. ἀσαρθά); Mishna, *Arach.* ii. 3, *Chag.* ii. 4, *Rosh hash.* i. 2; Targ. on Nu 28^{26}), a term meaning 'solemn assembly' (2 K 10^{20}, Is 10^{20}, Jer 9^{2} etc.), but applied in OT to the closing day of the feasts of unleavened bread and tabernacles (Lv 23^{36}, Nu 29^{35}, Dt 16^{8}, 2 Ch 7^{9}, Neh 8^{18}; RVm 'closing festival,' not as AVm 'restraint'), and hence applied also to Pentecost as the closing festival of the harvest season. Jos. inaccurately says (*Ant.* III. x. 6) that עֲצֶרֶת *signifies* (σημαίνει) Pentecost.

In the Heb. legislation, the titles '**feast of harvest**' and 'day of *first-fruits*' indicate that this festival was fundamentally an agricultural one, expressing gratitude to God for the returns from the labours of the field. It celebrated specifically the wheat harvest (Ex 34^{22}), the last of the cereals to ripen in Palestine. It marked, therefore, the closing of the grain harvest, as the feast of tabernacles (or ingathering) celebrated especially the return from oliveyards and vineyards as well as the close of the husbandman's labours as a whole (Dt 16^{13}). This of itself implies that the feast fell in the late spring or early summer; and, since the Israelites became agricultural only after entering Canaan, it could not have been pre-Mosaic, but was established with a view to the settlement in the promised land (Ex 34^{12} [JE], Lv 23^{10} [H] etc.). On the other hand, the title '**feast of weeks**' already given it in Ex 34^{22} [JE], as well as the general description of the time of its observance in Dt 16^{9} ('Seven weeks shalt thou number unto thee: from the time thou beginnest to put the sickle to the standing corn shalt thou begin to number seven weeks,' RV), find their definite explanation in Lv $23^{9\text{-}21}$. From the latter we learn (1) that the beginning of the harvest season was celebrated during the feast of unleavened bread by the ceremony of waving before the Lord 'a sheaf (עֹמֶר) of the first-fruits (רֵאשִׁית) of harvest,'* together with the waving of a he-lamb and the rendering of appointed meal- and drink-offerings; and that none of the new crop could be eaten until this had been done. Since the barley ripened first, the sheaf was understood to be of that grain (Philo, *de Septen.* § 20; Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 5), though it is not specified in OT. The 'feast of weeks' came on the fiftieth day after the barley-sheaf was waved (vv.$^{15.\ 16}$, *i.e.* the day after the completion of seven weeks). Hence we read (Jer 5^{24}) of 'the appointed weeks of harvest'; and Philo (*de Septen.* § 21) says that the sheaf-waving προέορτός ἐστιν ἑτέρας ἑορτῆς μείζονος.

(2) We learn also from Lv 23 that the barley-sheaf was waved on 'the morrow after the Sabbath' (vv.$^{11.\ 15}$ מִמָּחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת). The meaning of this phrase, on which the computation of Pentecost depends, has been much disputed. The Jews of Christ's time understood it to designate Nisan 16th, without regard to the day of the week; 'the Sabbath' being interpreted as the first day of the feast of unleavened bread (Nisan 15th) on the basis of v.^{7} [see Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 5; LXX at Lv 23^{11} (τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης); Targums (מִבָּתַר יוֹמָא טָבָא); Mishna, *Chag.* ii. 4, *Menach.* x. 1–3]. There was dissent, however, from this interpretation even at that time. The 'Baithusians' (Sadducees) are said to have held that 'the morrow after the Sabbath' meant the day following the weekly Sabbath which occurred during the feast of unleavened bread (see Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Lk 6^{1}; Adler, 'Phar. u. Sad. u. ihre differirende Ausleg. d. ממחרת השבת,' in *Monatschr. f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. d. Judenth.* 1878, p. 522 ff., 568 ff., 1879, p. 29 ff.; Montet, *Essai sur les orig. des partis Sad. et Phar.* 1883), and the Karaites of the 8th cent. A.D. followed the same view (see Trigland, *Diatribe de secta Kar.* 1703, ch. 4). There are also traces in antiquity of the view that the phrase in question designated the last, not the first, day of the paschal festival (see Dillmann in Schenkel's *Bib.-Lex.* under 'Pfingsten'). Some modern scholars likewise contend that the traditional interpretation was wrong, chiefly because שַׁבָּת elsewhere means the weekly Sabbath, and because, it is said, שֶׁבַע שַׁבָּתוֹת (Lv 23^{15}) can only mean weeks which ended with Sabbaths. Hence George (*Die älter. Jüd. Feste*, 1835) understood the 'Sabbath' in question to be the weekly Sabbath which fell immediately before harvest, holding the harvest festivals to have had originally no connexion with the Passover. Hitzig (*Ostern u. Pfingsten*, 1837, *Ost. u. Pf. im zweit. Dekalog*, 1838) went so far as to maintain that in the Heb. Calendar Nisan 14 and 21 were always Sabbaths, so that the year must always have begun (Nisan 1) with a Sunday; and that 'the morrow after the Sabbath' was the day following the weekly Sabbath of the feast of unleavened bread, and therefore always fell on Sunday, Nisan 22. With him agreed Knobel (*Com. on Lev.*) and Kurtz (*Sacr. Worship of OT*, Eng. tr. p. 356), except that they identified the 'Sabbath' in question with Nisan 14, and the day of the sheaf-waving with Nisan 15. Against this unsupported conception of the calendar, however, is the well-known custom of beginning each month by the new moon, as well as the fact that in such a calendar there would be an incomplete week at the end of the year, which would conflict with the sanctity of the seventh day. Hitzig's theory, moreover, would place the sheaf-waving after the feast of unleavened bread had ended. Hence more writers have followed the Sadducean interpretation, although this also might, when Nis. 15 fell on Sunday, throw the ceremony of sheaf-waving outside the feast of unleavened bread (Saalschütz, *Das Mos. Recht*², 1853, p. 418; Fürst, *Heb. u. Chald. Wörterb.* 1863, under שׁבת; Wellhausen, *Jahrb. f. deutsch. Theol.* xxii.; *Proleg.* p. 86; von Orelli in Herzog's *RE*³, art. 'Pfingstfest'). The traditional interpretation, however, may be successfully defended. There is no sufficient proof that the connexion of the sheaf-waving with the feast of unleavened bread was not original, nor can Lv $23^{9\text{-}22}$ be separated from the surrounding legislation, since otherwise no directions concerning the feast of weeks would be given in it at all. If, however, the two were thus connected, the sheaf-waving may most naturally be supposed to have occurred during, not after, the feast. This is also made probable by Jos $5^{10.\ 11}$, where it is stated that, after having kept the Passover on the 14th day of the month in Gilgal, 'they did eat of the produce (RVm, not 'old corn' as AV and RV; עָבוּר means simply produce) of the land on *the morrow after the passover*, unleavened cakes and parched corn in the self-same day.' The latter clause shows that the feast of unleavened bread was not over, and 'the morrow after the passover,' while it may mean (as in Nu 33^{3}) Nis. 15, may also mean Nis. 16, since the paschal meal was celebrated on Nis 15, in the evening following the 14th when the lamb was slain; but at any rate the phraseology shows that the sheaf-waving, without which the new corn could not be eaten, was regulated by the date of the Passover itself, not by any weekly Sabbath. Finally, the application of שַׁבָּת to the first day of unleavened bread may be justified by the language used (v.^{32}) of the day of atonement ('In the ninth day of the month . . . shall ye keep your sabbath'), and by the application of the term to the sabbatical

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* In the second temple, barley was cut the previous evening to the amount of an ephah (10 omers), brought to the temple, thrashed, parched, and ground. Then one omer, mixed with oil and frankincense, was 'waved' and a handful burned on the altar (Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 5; Mishna, *Menach.* x. 4; Edersheim, *The Temple*, etc. p. 224). Kurtz (*Sacr. Worship of OT*, p. 374) thinks the sheaf itself should have been waved according to Lv.

year (Lv 25$^{2.4.6}$ 26$^{34.43}$); while the use of שַׁבָּתוֹת in the general sense of weeks may be justified by the analogy of the Aramaic and Syriac, the interpretation of the LXX (*τῶν ἑβδομάδων*), and the use of *σάββατον* and *σάββατα* in NT, *e.g.* Mt 28^{1}, Lk 18^{12} [see Bähr, *Symb.* ii. 619; Dillm. in Schenkel's *Bib.-Lex.* (in his *Com.* also Dillm. regards this view as exegetically defensible); Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 37; W. H. Green, *Heb. Feasts*, ch. vii.]. It is at any rate certain that the Jews celebrated the sheaf-waving on Nis. 16, and Pentecost on the fiftieth day after (usually Sivan 6), without regard in either case to the day of the week. Reland (*Antiq. Sacr. Vet. Heb.* part iv. ch. iv.) states, indeed, that they took care that Pentecost should not fall on the third, fifth, or seventh day of the week; but this was probably only a later Rabbinical rule (see Ideler, *Handb. d. Chronol.* i. p. 537 ff.).

The feast of weeks or Pentecost, therefore, as it appears in the Pent., was a joyful acknowledgment of the completion of the harvest in the land which God had given Israel. The whole harvest season was in a sense sacred time. Hence Pentecost lasted but one day. By its prelude, the sheaf-waving, it was dependent on Passover, commemorative of Israel's redemption; and by the interval of seven weeks between it and Nis. 16, it was brought into the sabbatical system in accordance with which the Heb. feasts were arranged.

Those modern writers who maintain the post-exilic origin of the Levitical code, consider Pentecost, like the other agricultural feasts, to have been originally a nature-festival, which in the development of the Heb. cultus was taken up into an artificial ecclesiastical system. Wellhausen (*Proleg.* Eng. tr. ch. iii.) points out that in the early prophetical narrative of JE (Ex 23^{16} 34^{22}) the dates of the harvest festivals are vaguely described; that first in Dt (*e.g.* 12$^{6-14}$ 14$^{23-26}$ 12$^{6.16}$) is Pentecost, as well as the other feasts, connected with a central sanctuary, and the freewill offerings tend to appear as liturgical obligations, though there is still no mention of a single communal offering; but that in the Levitical code (Lv 23, Nu 28, the former including, however, elements from older sources; see also Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 56; Dillmann, *Comment.*) the offerings have become mere dues, the communal offering through the priests outranks the freewill offerings of the people, and the festival has been brought into an arbitrary system of dates and relations quite different from its primitive freedom.

The ceremonies for the celebration of Pentecost are described in Lv 23$^{15-21}$. On it no servile work could be done. Two loaves of bread, made from two-tenths of an ephah (RV) of fine flour from the new wheat (Ex 34^{22}) harvest, were to be baked with leaven and presented by the priest before the Lord as a wave-offering. 'Ye shall bring (the loaves) out of your habitations' (מִמּוֹשְׁבֹתֵיכֶם, LXX *ἀπὸ τῆς κατοικίας ὑμῶν*) does not mean that each household was to present two loaves (as Vulg. and Luther read, 'out of *all* your dwellings'; so Calvin, Osiander, George, *et al.*), but that the loaves were to be taken from the ordinary bread made from wheat of the land for household purposes. Hence also they were to be leavened,* and therefore could not come upon the altar (Ex 23^{18}, Lv 2^{11}), but were merely waved before the Lord and consumed by the priests. With them two lambs were to be also waved as peace-offerings, significant of the fellowship between J″ and his people; while at the same time a burnt-offering was to be made, consisting of seven yearling lambs without blemish, one young bullock, and two rams, with the appropriate meal- and drink-offerings, and also a he-goat as a sin-offering—these latter expressing the need of redemption, which properly mingled with the people's thanksgiving.

In Nu 28$^{26-31}$ a slightly different set of offerings is directed for 'the day of first-fruits,' as Pentecost is there called, to be made in addition to the daily sacrifices. Many consider this list also to refer to the offering accompanying the loaves, and either pass over the differences as unimportant or explain them as due to corruption of the text or to diverse and unharmonized sources. The later Jews, however, regarded the two lists as supplementary,—that in Nu referring to the sacrifices for Pentecost considered as a special feast-day; that in Lv to the sacrifices directly connected with the loaves; so that on Pentecost three series of sacrifices were made: (1) the daily burnt-offerings; (2) the special offerings for a feast-day; (3) the waving of the loaves and lambs, and the sacrifices connected therewith. This usage appears from Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 6, where the offerings of both lists are added together (except that he specifies *two* rams, which is probably an error for *three*); also from the Mishna (see *Menach.* iv. 2, 5). Neither is there any reasonable objection to thus combining the lists, since Nu 28. 29 contain directions for sacrifices on special days without describing other ceremonies which fell on those days. Finally, besides these communal offerings, Pentecost was celebrated by the freewill offerings of individuals both to the sanctuary and to the poor (Dt 16$^{10.11}$, Lv 23^{22}).

These ceremonies emphasized the relation of Pentecost, as the close of harvest, to the sheaf-waving at its beginning. There a single sheaf of barley, here two prepared loaves of wheat-bread; there one lamb, here two, together with accompanying burnt- and sin-offerings. That, therefore, was the prelude of this. The two included the harvest period of seven weeks,* and expressed in climacteric form the increased gratitude of the people. No voluntary offerings of first-fruits could be made before Pentecost (see Ex 23^{19}). Of course the harvest was not always finished in all the land by Pentecost; but the seven weeks covered the normal period, and brought the festival into the sabbatical system.

In the second temple these ceremonies were fully observed. Multitudes attended the feast (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. x. 2, *BJ* II. iii. 1; Ac 2^{5}). In anticipation of it, a portion of the best wheat, previously selected, was cut, thrashed, brought to the temple, ground, and passed through twelve sieves to ensure its fineness. On the day before Pentecost [unless it were a Sabbath, in which case on the second day before] two omers of the flour were baked into loaves. The size of the latter is described in the Mishna as 4 handbreadths wide, 7 long, and 4 fingers high. Soon after midnight the temple gates were opened that offerings for the day might be examined by the priests. At sunrise occurred the regular daily sacrifice, and soon afterwards the festal offerings directed in Nu 28$^{26-31}$. Amid the singing of the 'Hallel,' the peculiar ceremonies of Pentecost began. 'The two lambs were first waved alive; then, after their sacrifice, the breast and shoulder were laid beside the loaves and "waved" (generally toward the East) forwards and backward, and up and down' (Edersheim, *The Temple*, p. 230). Then followed the other appointed sacrifices, and the freewill gifts; and the rest of the day was spent in festive gatherings, to which the poor and the stranger and the Levite were invited. The attendant festivities are said to have often continued several days.

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* Edersheim (*The Temple*, etc. p. 230) thinks the leaven represented the sense of sin which mingled with the thanksgiving. The common explanation is that the loaves were intended to represent the ordinary food of the people, and this explanation appears sufficient.

* The phrase, '*ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ*,' found in TR of Lk 6^{1} (supported by many MSS), has been explained as meaning the first Sab. after the second day of the feast of unleavened bread, *i.e.* the first Sab. of the harvest period. (So, first, Scaliger, *de Emend. Temp.* vi. 577, followed by many. See Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on the passage). The word must have originated in some known custom; and this explanation is not improbable, since the Sabbaths between Nis. 16 and Pentecost were carefully noted. The adj., however, is probably a Western and Syrian gloss intruded into Lk's text, and is rejected by WH after ℵBL and other weighty authorities.

The Jews of the post-biblical period held Pentecost to celebrate *the giving of the law at Sinai*, which was calculated to have taken place on the 50th day after the Exodus (Ex 19^{1}). No such view of the day, however, is found in OT, Josephus, or Philo. Philo, in fact, seems to regard the feast of trumpets as commemorative of Sinai (*de Septen.* § 22). It was probably after the fall of Jerus. that this view originated.* Thereafter it was generally adopted by the Rabbins, and the day is described in the later liturgy as 'the day of the giving of the law' (Saalschütz, *Das Mos. Recht*, p. 420). The same view appears among the Christian Fathers (see Jerome, *Ep. ad Fabiolam*; Augustine, *contra Faustum*, xxxii. 12). Maimonides (*More neb.* iii. 41) expressly says, 'festum septimanarum est dies ille, quo lex data fuit'; but Abarbanel, while admitting the fact, denies that Pentecost was a celebration of it (Bähr, *Symb.* ii. 645). Modern Jews accept the tradition, and spend the previous night in reading the law and other appropriate Scripture. The later Jews also observed Pentecost for two days; but this custom arose in the Dispersion from the difficulty of determining exactly the Palestinian month, which was fixed by observation of the moon. See NEW MOON.

In the Christian Church the importance of Pentecost was continued, and its significance emphasized, by the outpouring of the Spirit on that day (Ac 2).† The day of the week on that occasion is traditionally represented as Sunday. Its determination, however, depends on the date assigned to Christ's death. It is to be assumed that He died on a Friday (see *e.g.* Mk 15^{42}). If, then, as many suppose the Fourth Gospel to teach, He died on Nis. 14, Nis. 16 and Pentecost fell on a Sunday; but if, as the Synoptists seem to state, He ate the passover with His disciples at the regular time, He was crucified on Nis. 15, and Nis. 16 and Pentecost fell on Saturday [see CHRONOLOGY OF NT]. Wieseler (*Chron. d. Apost. Zeitalter*, p. 20) plausibly suggests that the festival was fixed on Sunday by the later Western Church to correspond with Easter.

But, whatever the day of the week may have been, the events of that Pentecost were of fundamental importance to the Church, and as appropriate to that festival as Christ's death had been to the Passover season. They indicated the Divine origin of Christianity on its subjective side, and the Church was then endowed for its future work. The suddenness of the manifestation indicated the supernaturalness of the endowment; the 'sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind' was the natural emblem of the almighty Spirit; the tongues 'parting asunder' or 'distributing themselves' on the disciples [not 'cloven' as AV] symbolized the universal gift of power to proclaim the gospel; the semblance of fire indicated the purified zeal, born of faith and love, which was to characterize the proclamation; while the polyglot (?) utterances of the believers were a sign of the world-wide destination of the truth which filled their lips with praise [see TONGUES, GIFT OF]. The occurrence of these events on Pentecost was also significant. The gift of the Spirit was the first-fruit of the spiritual harvest (cf. Ro 8^{23} 11^{16} Ja 1^{18}) procured through the work of Christ; and the dependence of Pentecost on Passover harmonized with the dependence of the Spirit's work on the objective sacrifice of the Redeemer. The eucharistic character of Pentecost harmonized also with the joy of the disciples over their spiritual blessings; while, providentially, the presence of multitudes at the feast made it a fit opportunity for the first public proclamation of the now completed gospel.

Among the early Jewish Christians observance of the Heb. feasts continued, doubtless with fresh significance derived from the new revelation. So it is noteworthy that St. Paul earnestly desired to present the gifts of the Gentile Churches to the saints in Judæa at Pentecost (Ac 20^{16}). There is no evidence, however, that the Gentile Churches of the apostolic age observed this feast; but at the close of the 2nd cent. it appears as one of the established festal periods of the Church. The name Pentecost was at first applied to the whole time between Easter and the festival of the Holy Ghost (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 44 *de Pent.*). This larger meaning of the word is abundantly shown by Tert. *de Idololatria*, 14, *de Baptismo*, 19; Orig. *c. Cels.* viii. 22; *Apost. Const.* v. 20, etc. The period was one of joyfulness. As on the Lord's day, no fasting or kneeling in prayer were allowed (Tert. *de. Cor.* 3). Afterwards the term was limited to the 50th day after Easter (*Apost. Const.* lib. viii. cap. 33; Counc. Eliberis, *Canon* 43); and, at a still later period, the following days, or in some places the week, were included in the festival. The Pentecost season was especially used for baptisms. From the white robes worn by the candidates, the English term 'Whitsunday' is supposed to have arisen (see Riddle, *Manual of Chr. Ant.* p. 681, and esp. Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*^{2}, for various explanations of the origin of the word).

LITERATURE.—Drusius, *Notæ Majores* in Lv 23$^{15\text{-}21}$ (in *Crit. Sacr.*); Lightfoot, *Works* (1825), iii. 186 ff., viii. 40 ff., 369 ff.; Buxtorf, *Syn. Jud.* c. xx.; Carpzov, *Appar. Crit.* lib. iii. c. 5; Reland, *Antiq. Sacr. Vet. Heb.* part iv. c. iv.; Iken, *de duobus panibus Pent.*; Spencer, *de leg. Heb.* I. ix. 2, III. viii. 2; Meyer, *de temp. et fest. Heb.*; Michaelis, *Com. on Laws of Moses* (Eng. tr.), article 197; Bähr, *Symbolik d. Mos. Cultus*, ii. 613 ff., 645 ff.; Otho, *Lex. Rab.* under 'Festa'; Ideler, *Handb. der Chronol.* i. 519 ff.; George, *Die älter. Jüd. Feste*, p. 258 ff.; Hitzig, *Ostern u. Pfingsten* (1837), *Ost. u. Pf. im zweiten Dekal.* (1838); Hupfeld, *de Fest. Heb.* ii.; Keil, *Bib. Arch.* (Eng. tr.) § 83; Wieseler, *Chron. Synops. d. vier Evv.* p. 347 ff., and *Chron. d. Apost. Zeitalt.* p. 16 ff.; Wellhausen, *Proleg.* (Eng. tr.) ch. iii.; Edersheim, *The Temple*, ch. xiii.; Green, *The Heb. Feasts*, Lect. vii.; articles in Herzog's *RE*, and Winer's *Bib. Realwörterb.* under 'Pfingstfest' and 'Pfingsten.' For the early Christian observance of Pentecost see Bingham, *Christ. Antiqq.* xx. vi. § vi.; Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus d. Christ. Archäol.* ii. 343 ff., and *Handb. d. Christ. Archäol.* i. p. 554 ff.; Guericke, *Lehrb. d. Christ.-Kirch. Arch.* p. 190 ff.; Riddle, *Manual of Christ. Antiqq.* p. 679 ff.; Cave, *Prim. Christianity*, ch. vii.

G. T. PURVES.

PENUEL.—See PENIEL.

PEOPLE is the AV rendering of a great variety of Heb. and Gr. terms, the most important of which are גּוֹי, לְאֹם or לְאֻמִּים, עַם, δῆμος, ἔθνος, λαός, ὄχλος. The distinctive meanings of these are discussed under GENTILES. While in many instances no doubt can exist as to the reference of the word *people*, there are cases where the Eng. reader cannot but feel uncertain whether he is to understand by it the *people of Israel* or people in the sense of *Gentile nations*. This ambiguity is avoided by RV, which, for the latter sense, freely employs the plur. **peoples**, which in AV occurs only in Rev 10^{11} 17^{15}. The effect of this change in clearing up the meaning is very evident in such passages as Ps 67^{4}, Is 55^{4} 60^{2} etc. See Preface to RV of OT.

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* Dt 16^{12} gives a reason for observing the feast as directed, not a statement of what the feast celebrated. See 5^{15}, 15^{15}. Vaihinger in Herzog's *RE*^{1}, art. 'Pfingstfest,' appeals for this view also to 2 Ch 15^{10}, and even to Jn 5^{39}; but his arguments are not convincing.

† The language of Ac 2^{1} ἐν τῷ συνπληροῦσθαι ἡμέραν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς has been understood by some (as Olshausen and Baumgarten, so also Blass) to mean that the Spirit came *before* the day of Pentecost; while Lightfoot in *Hor. Heb.* (*Exercit.* on Ac 2) interprets it of the day after Pentecost. The vast majority of critics interpret it of Pentecost itself. See Meyer's *Com.*

Special notice is required of the phrase '**people of the land**' (עַם־הָאָרֶץ), which occurs frequently in the OT, especially in Jeremiah (1^{18} 34^{19} 37^{2} 44^{21} 52$^{6.\ 25}$), Ezekiel (7^{27} 12^{19} 22^{29} 33^{2} 39^{13} 46$^{3.\ 9}$), and 2 Kings (11$^{14.\ 18.\ 19.\ 20}$ 15^{5} 16^{15} 21^{24} 23$^{30.\ 35}$ 24^{14} 25$^{3.\ 19}$), with the parallel passages in 2 Chronicles (23$^{13.\ 20.\ 21}$ 26^{21} 33^{25} 36^{1}). In most of these instances it means the general body of the people, as distinguished from the king and the aristocracy. The fuller phrase דַּלַּת עַם־הָאָרֶץ is used in 2 K 24^{14} for 'the poorest sort of the people of the land' (cf. 2 K 25^{12}, Jer 40^{7} 52$^{15.\ 16}$). In Gn 23$^{7.\ 12.\ 13}$ (P), Nu 14^{9} (JE), *'am-hā'āreẓ* is employed with reference to non-Israelites. The title *'ammê hā'āreẓ* (or *'ammê hā'ărāẓôth*) has a technical sense in the book of Ezra-Nehemiah, being used of that half-heathen half-Jewish population of Palestine with whom less scrupulous Jews intermarried and maintained friendly relations, but with whom the party represented by Ezra and Nehemiah refused all but the most unavoidable intercourse (Ezr 9$^{1.\ 2}$ 10$^{2.\ 11}$, Neh 10$^{29-32}$). The phrase *'am-hā'āreẓ* was used by the Rabbins not only collectively but in an individual sense (they spoke of an *'am-hā'āreẓ*) for the class distinct from the strict observers of the law (cf. Jn 7^{49} 'this multitude [ὁ ὄχλος οὗτος] which knoweth not the law are accursed'). See, further, art. PHARISEES, p. 804; Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 400 [*HJP* II. ii. 22 f.]; Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgesch*^{2} (Index, *s.* 'Am haárez').

J. A. SELBIE.

PEOR (הַפְּעוֹר; Φογώρ; *Phogor*, and [Jos 22^{17}] *Beelphegor*, etc.).—**1.** Nu 23^{28} only, a mountain in Moab, the last point to which Balak took Balaam, after he had sacrificed at Bamoth-baal and in the field of Zophim, at the top of Pisgah. Peor is described as looking down upon Jeshimon (RVm; RV text 'the desert'). The *Onomasticon* describes the mountain as opposite Jericho, and as having upon it a town, Danaba (DINHABAH, wh. see), 7 miles from Heshbon. Peor is not certainly identified. *PEFSt* (1882, p. 87) suggests the peak above *'Ain Minyeh* overlooking the Dead Sea. Buhl (*GAP* 116) places Beth-peor at the mouth of the *Wādy Ḥesbân*, and is inclined to identify Peor with *el-Muśaḳḳar*, between *Wādy 'Ajûn Mûsa* and *Wādy Ḥesbân*. For further details see BETH-PEOR.

2. A town in Judah, added by the LXX, Φαγώρ, after Jos 15^{59}; for site see BETH-PEOR.

3. A divine name, Nu 25^{18} 31^{16}, Jos 22^{17}; see BAAL-PEOR.

4. The LXX reading, Φόγωρ, for *Pau*, Gn 36^{39}, or *Pai*, 1 Ch 1^{50}; see PAI.

W. H. BENNETT.

PERÆA (ἡ Περαία, Περαῖος, Περαΐτης) is the name given by Josephus to the district which is spoken of in Rabbinical literature as 'the land beyond Jordan.' (In like manner the NT, which never mentions Peræa by name, uses the phrase πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, Mt 4^{15} 19^{1}, Mk 3^{8}, Jn 1^{28} 3^{26} 6$^{1.\ 17}$ 10^{40} 18^{1}). He says (*BJ* III. iii. 3) that it stretches from Machærus in the south to Pella in the north, while its breadth is from Philadelphia (*'Ammân*) to the Jordan. In another place (*BJ* IV. vii. 3, 6) he makes Gadara the capital of Peræa; and Schürer (*HJP* II. i. 113, note) infers that in the former case the name is used in a political sense, *i.e.* with exclusion of the towns of the Decapolis. In a geographical sense it must have reached farther north, at any rate to the bank of the *Yarmuk*, while its southern boundary was probably the *Arnon*. It thus covered the districts of *Jebel 'Ajlûn* and *el-Belḳa*. It may be roughly described as a high tableland, torn in many parts by deep watercourses, mighty and picturesque ravines, breaking down towards the *'Arabah*, or, as it is now called, *el-Ghôr*. Along the western edge the heights sink abruptly into the Jordan Valley; eastward they fall away more gently into the desert. The great gorge of the *Yarmuk* in the north and that of the *Arnon* in the south form natural boundaries.

Josephus observes that, while larger in extent than Galilee, it is inferior in fertility, and less adapted for the growth of the finer fruits. The Peræan soil, however, is rich, and has always yielded good returns to the husbandman. Much land now used for pasture is well capable of cultivation; and an excellent supply of water is provided by its streams and perennial springs. Great reaches of these healthy uplands are covered with a forest of oak. The olive flourishes in many of the valleys, while the vine trails over the fruitful slopes. Towards the eastern border the country is treeless, and parts are barren and stony (Guy le Strange in Schumacher's *Across the Jordan*, 292 ff.), but the *fellaḥîn* of the Arabs find space to grow tolerable crops. Yāḳūt (A.D. 1225) observes that the region is noted for its wheat crops (Guy le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, 35). The raisins most highly prized in the country come from the district capital *es-Salṭ*. Muḳaddasi (A.D. 985) says that next to Ba'albek it is the coldest place in Syria (*op. cit.* 15). See arts. GAD, GILEAD, REUBEN.

In the earlier days of the Maccabees, Peræa was inhabited chiefly by Gentiles, among whom was a 'dispersion' of Jews. Accordingly Judas, after he had discomfited the heathen, conveyed all the Israelites for safety into Judæa (1 Mac 5^{45}). The policy of Judaizing the province was not introduced before the time of Hyrcanus; probably by one of his successors (Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 192). It shared in the reduction of taxes ordered by Jonathan (*Ant.* XIII. ii. 3). Alexander Jannæus waged war with varying fortune throughout his reign, and before his death had the whole country, from Merom to the Dead Sea, under his sway (Schürer, *l.c.* pp. 297, 306). At Herod's request it was given as a tetrarchy to his brother Pheroras, who in the end fled hither, to die, it was thought, by poison (*Ant.* XV. x. 3, *BJ* I. xxiv. 5, xxx. 3, 4). It was the scene of some of Herod's building enterprise (*Ant.* XV. viii. 5). On Herod's death, Antipas was appointed tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa (*Ant.* XVII. viii. 1). When Augustus confirmed Herod Antipas in the tetrarchy, Gadara was cut off and added to Syria (*BJ* II. vi. 3). On the site of the ancient Beth-haram (Jos 13^{27}) the tetrarch built a city and called it Julias in honour of the emperor's wife (*Ant.* XVIII. ii. 1, *BJ* II. ix. 1), which Nero afterwards gave to Agrippa, with 14 villages about it (*Ant.* XX. viii. 4). It is now represented by *Tell er-Rameh* (*HGHL*^{1} 488, note). Peræa was the scene of Simon's rising, so swiftly suppressed by Gratus (*Ant.* XVII. x. 6, *BJ* II. iv. 2). Felix was appointed by Claudius procurator of Galilee, Samaria, and Peræa (*BJ* II. xii. 8). After the defeat of Cestius, Manasseh was set over Peræa (*BJ* II. xx. 4). The whole region was finally subdued to the Romans by Placidus, acting under Vespasian (*BJ* IV. vii. 3–6). When the Moslems conquered the country, the district, with its capital 'Ammân, was attached to the province of Damascus (Ya'ḳûbi, A.D. 874–890). Later it was included in the kingdom of Kerak [Dimashki (A.D. 1300); Guy le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, 34, 41].

In the beginning of our era the population was prevailingly Jewish. Peræa sent a multitude of Jews to Jerusalem in the rising against Sabinus (*BJ* II. iii. 1). When Gadara fell they were mostly Jews who perished (*BJ* IV. vii. 3, 6). They were strong enough to venture on armed strife with the inhabitants of Philadelphia (*'Ammân*) over the boundaries of a certain village (*Ant.* XX. i. 1), and were reduced to order only by the iron hand of Fadus. The Mishna constantly refers to Peræa—'the land beyond Jordan'—as a province of the land of Israel, along with Judæa and Galilee. Treating of the disposal of the seventh year's fruits it is said, 'The land of Israel is divided into three parts: Judæa, the land beyond Jordan, and Galilee' (*Shebiith* ix. 2). With regard to the marriage law, it is in the same case with the other two (*Kethubîm* xiii. 10); so also with regard to possessions (*Baba bathra* iii. 2). Peræa lay between two Gentile provinces on the east, as did Samaria between the two Jewish provinces on the west of the Jordan. The fords below *Beisân* and opposite Jericho afforded communication with Galilee and Judæa respectively. Peræa thus formed a link connecting the Jewish provinces, so that the pilgrim from any part might go to Jerusalem and return without setting foot on Gentile soil; and, what was at least of equal importance, he could avoid peril of hurt and indignity, which the Samaritans loved to inflict on those passing through Samaria (Lk 9^{52}; Jos. *Ant.* XX. vi. 1, *Vita* 52).

Jesus seems to have been baptized on the Peræan side of Jordan (Jn 10^{40}). Farrar thinks He passed that way after the Samaritans refused to receive Him (Lk $9^{52ff.}$). From the Feast of the Dedication He escaped to Peræa (Jn 10^{40}), whence He was summoned by the sisters at Bethany (Jn 11^{3}). The visit, with incidents and teaching, described in Mt 19, Mk 10^{1-31}, Lk 18^{15-30}, is commonly referred to the period succeeding His retirement to Ephraim (Jn 11^{54}); and from Peræa He made His last journey to Jerusalem.

Niger, 'a man of great valour in the war with the Romans,' who belonged to this district, is called 'the Peræan' (Περαίτης, *BJ* II. xx. 4, IV. vi. 1). One of the most awful incidents in the siege of Jerusalem perpetuates the name of Mary, a woman of Peræa, from the village of Bethezob (*BJ* VI. iii. 4). In the nation's crowning calamity, when the Romans destroyed Jerusalem, and the temple sank in flaming ruins, Josephus names Peræa for the last time, as if in sympathy 'echoing back' from afar the dolorous tumult and uproar (*BJ* VI. v. 1).

LITERATURE.—Besides the authorities cited above, see Merrill, *East of the Jordan*; Oliphant, *The Land of Gilead*; Baedeker, *Pal. and Syria*, 176–193; Thomson, *Land and Book*, iii. 547–677; Buhl, *GAP* 120; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 18.

W. EWING.

PERAZIM (הַר־פְּרָצִים, *ὄρος ἀσεβῶν*).—Mt. Perazim of Is 28^{21} ('the LORD shall rise up as in mount Perazim') is probably to be identified with BAAL-PERAZIM, the scene of one of David's victories over the Philistines, 2 S 5^{20}=1 Ch 14^{11}. It lay apparently N.E. of Adullam, on the ridge above *'Aîn Fâris* (see *PEFSt*, Oct. 1899, p. 347). C. R. CONDER.

PERDITION.—One of the renderings of ἀπώλεια in NT (AV and RV), but not found at all in OT, in either version. It occurs eight times both in AV and in RV, but the latter has substituted 'perdition' for 'destruction' at Ph 3^{19} ('whose end is perdition'), and 'destruction' for 'perdition' at 2 P 3^{7} ('destruction of ungodly men'), apparently because in the former passage the 'final perdition' (cf. τέλος) of the soul is the prominent sense, and in the latter the OT Messianic destruction of the present bodily mode of existence. It would seem as if the Revisers took this view of the eschatology of 2 P generally, for they have translated ἀπώλεια by 'destruction' in all the five passages containing it, even in $2^{1.3}$ and 3^{16}. It is difficult, however, to see why, if this distinction between *destruction* and *perdition* is to hold (cf. Gwynn's note in *Speaker's Commentary* on Ph 3^{19}), the Revisers did not carry it out more consistently. At Ro 9^{22} (*κατηρτισμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν*) 'destruction' has no doubt been allowed to remain as more suitable to the figure of the potter and the clay; but why is it left at Mt 7^{13} 'broad is the way that leadeth *εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν*'? The more technical and complete sense of ἀπώλειά as *perdition* (Ph 3^{19}, Mt 10^{28}) in comparison with the more general sense of ὄλεθρος as *destruction* (cf. 1 Co 5^{5}), comes out at 1 Ti 6^{9}, where ἀπώλεια serves as a definitive climax—'hurtful lusts, such as drown men in destruction and perdition.'

The question whether the word ἀπώλεια, with its correlates, (*a*) involves annihilation, (*b*) admits of unending existence and punishment, or (*c*) gives room for restoration, has already been dealt with in the article on ESCHATOLOGY (see vol. i. esp. pp. 738–740, 752 f., and 756). It is a question which (as it seems to us) can never be absolutely decided by the phraseology. An objection to the unconditional acceptance of (*a*) lies in the Jewish views of Sheol and Gehenna, and in such a moral use of ἀπόλλυμι and its correlates as in the phrase (Lk 19^{10}), 'The Son of Man came to seek and to save that which was lost (τὸ ἀπολωλός),'—a moral use which can be illustrated from the Greek prose of Polybius and Plutarch, and from the exegesis of Philo.* (*b*) is rendered uncertain, not only by *a priori* considerations as to the character of God, but by the proved relativity in the sense of αἰών and αἰώνιος. It is impossible to dogmatize in the direction of (*c*) in face of the manifest efforts of our Lord and the writers of the NT to depict a finality of destiny for those who reject the truth. But *when* these can be said finally to reject it we are not distinctly informed. Without doubt, it is to men in the present state of existence that the gospel makes its urgent appeal. But nowhere in the NT are unbelievers warned that after the cessation of the present mode of existence all chance is gone. Of two things only can we speak with any confidence: freewill will never be forced; repentance will never be spurned. J. MASSIE.

PERESH (פֶּרֶשׁ, B om., A Φάρες).—A 'son' of Machir, 1 Ch 7^{16}. See MANASSEH, p. 232^{a}.

PEREZ (פֶּרֶץ 'rupture,' or 'breach'; cf. Perez-uzzah, Baal-perazim, etc.).—In AV of OT this name is, except in 1 Ch 27^{3}, Neh $11^{4.6}$, spelt *Pharez*, a modification of the LXX Φάρες and Vulg. *Phares*. This last form is found in AV of Mt 1^{3}, Lk 3^{33}, and is retained by RV in 1 Es 5^{5}.

Perez was one of the twin sons of Judah by Tamar his daughter-in-law, and received his name from the manner of his birth, Gn 38^{29}. Nothing else is known of his personal history. In the genealogies he takes precedence of his twin brother Zerah, and to him the leading families of the tribe of Judah traced their descent. According to Gn 46^{12}, Nu $26^{20.21}$, there were four Judahite clans, two of which, Hezron and Hamul, represented Perez; the others were descended from Shelah and Zerah respectively.

Ewald (*HI* i. 365) has an ingenious theory, that as in Levi, so in Judah there were twelve families, and that the clan of Perez preponderated in the latter tribe, as that of Kohath did in the former, the Kohathite families being equal to the Gershonite and Merarite combined. In support of this he appeals to 1 Ch 2 and 4^{1-23}, which he thinks represent two different genealogies of

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* See an article by the present writer in the *Expositor*, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 64, 'A Contribution to the History of ἀπόλλυμι.'

Judah. In 1 Ch 2 six sons are assigned to Hezron, equalling in number Shelah and the five sons of Zerah. Ewald here, however, ignores Hamul, the addition of whom increases the preponderance of the Perez families. Indeed 1 Ch 2 deals almost exclusively with them. But the account in 1 Ch 4^{1-23} is quite different. Here there is explicit mention of six 'sons' of Judah: (1) Perez (=Hamul acc. to Ew.), (2) Hezron (elsewhere son of Perez), (3) Carmi (grandson of Zerah, Jos 7^{1}, and his representative here, acc. to Ew.), (4) Hur, (5) Shobal (=Shobab, ch. 2^{18}), (6) Shelah. Hur and Shobal are in ch. 2 sons of Chelubai or Caleb, son of Hezron. In order to make up the required number of 12 families, Ewald finds in this chapter six other 'sons' of Judah. His selection, however, seems quite arbitrary; ch. 4 is merely a disjointed list of names of persons and places, the mutual relationships of which are scarcely defined. Ewald is on surer ground when he says that in both 'genealogies' 'the proper family history of the tribe was combined with the history of the country as a whole, as well as of the possessions and residences of the more powerful families.' The blessing pronounced on Boaz by the elders of Bethlehem, Ru 4^{12} 'Let thy house be like the house of Perez,' indicates, indeed, that the descendants of Perez were numerous, but is a natural expression in the mouths of members of that family. In later times, the fact that David and the royal line of Judah were descended from Perez through Ram, son of Hezron, naturally accounts for the prominence assigned to the family; the precedence of Jashobeam among the captains, 1 Ch 27^{3}, was, however, due rather to his personal prowess than to his descent; and it is to be noted that on comparing the mutually complementary lists, 1 Ch 9^{4}, Neh $11^{4.6}$, we find that in the time of Nehemiah the descendants of Perez were not so numerous as those of Zerah. Perez occurs, of course, in the genealogy of Christ, Mt 1^{3}, Lk 3^{33}. N. J. D. WHITE.

PEREZITES (הַפַּרְצִי, *ὁ Φάρες*).—The patronymic of the name PEREZ, Nu 26^{20}. See preceding article.

PEREZ-UZZAH.—See NACON and UZZAH.

PERFECTION.—We exclude from present consideration the absolute perfection peculiar to God. Wherever the term is applied in Scripture to the Divine Being (Dt 32^{4}, 2 S 22^{31}, Ps 18^{30} 19^{7}, Mt 5^{48}), no limitation of its meaning is possible. It is certainly significant that the Divine holiness itself is proposed as a motive and pattern to man, Lv 11^{44}, 1 P $1^{15f.}$, 1 Jn 3^{3}. Hence there is a close connexion between man's conception of the Divine holiness and his conception of the holiness possible to and obligatory on himself. The latter, however, is our immediate subject.

The terms used in Scripture (שָׁלֵם, תָּמִים, *τέλειος*), being general and abstract, tell us little until defined by the context; and the context is the Divine law as understood in a particular age. Their connotation varies with man's knowledge of moral and religious truth. The same terms are used throughout the OT, and indeed throughout Scripture; but their meaning grows with the growth of revelation. Even within the limits of the OT the development is great. How much more does 'perfect' mean to the later prophets than to the patriarchs! On NT ground the development is, of course, greater still. The perfect man in a particular age is the man who realizes in himself the Divine law, or the ideal (*τέλος*) of man as known in that age. Thus, in order to give a complete view of the growth of the term in meaning, it would be necessary to trace step by step the growth of moral and religious ideas in Scripture. It will be enough here to indicate the chief stages in the development.

Speaking broadly, we may say that the OT idea of moral perfection is distinguished from the NT one in three respects. It is negative rather than positive, refers to outward act rather than to inner disposition and spirit, and may be summed up in righteousness rather than in love. It will be obvious at once that such a statement is to be taken with qualifications. There are beyond question positive elements in OT ethics, rightness of disposition as well as of act is required, love has a place beside righteousness. Still, we think, careful examination will show that the negative, the outward act, righteousness, are the prominent, emphatic elements in OT, as the other elements are in NT. The higher, spiritual aspects are just mentioned in OT, and then reserved for fuller exposition till the fulness of time.

At the earliest stage the 'perfect' man is simply the 'upright' man in contrast to the 'wicked' (Job $1^{1.8}$ 2^{3} 8^{20} 9^{22}, Ps 37^{37}, Pr 2^{21}); in Ps 37^{37} and elsewhere תָּם and יָשָׁר are used convertibly. The term is probably applied to Noah, Abraham, Jacob, and Job in the same sense Gn 6^{5} 17^{1} 25^{27}, Job 1^{1}, although in Gn 17^{1} 'Walk *before me*' suggests higher thoughts, as also in Dt 18^{13} 'Perfect *with the LORD thy God*' does the same. In Gn 17^{1} LXX has *ἄμεμπτος*. In Dt 6^{5} and Lv 19^{18} the two great commandments are definitely formulated, but they are nowhere expounded and worked out in detailed application (see Lk 10^{27}). In a similar way the forbidding of sins of desire Ex 20^{17}, the requirement of inner truthfulness Ps 15^{2} 51^{6}, 'circumcision of the heart' Dt 30^{6} (cf. with Ro 2^{29}), preference of moral to ceremonial purity Is 1^{16}, Mic 6^{8}, Jl 2^{13}, Jer 31^{33}, Ps 17^{15}, are germs of great developments; but they remain germs in OT days.

The growth in the meaning of perfection in the NT is immense. The goal of the old economy is the starting-point of the new. The positive side of the law is everywhere foremost, Mt $7^{12.21.24}$ 25^{45}, Jn 13^{17} $14^{15.23}$ 15^{14}, Ja $1^{22.25}$ and often. Insistence on inward righteousness is just as marked a feature of NT teaching. This is in great part the burden of the Sermon on the Mount, Mt $5^{22.28}$; the beatitudes are blessings on gracious disposition. Outward obedience is too little, nothing but an inner transformation is sufficient, the roots and springs of man's life must be made new, Mt 7^{17} 15^{18}, Jn $3^{3.6}$, Ro 8^{6} 12^{2}, 2 Co 5^{17}, Gal 5^{24}, He 9^{14} etc. Above all, love, which is righteousness raised to the highest power, appears everywhere as the central law of life, Mt 5^{44}, Lk $10^{27f.37}$, Jn 13^{34}, Ro 13^{10}, 1 Co 13, Ja 2^{8}, 1 Jn $3^{18.23}$ $4^{7.11.16.18}$ etc. This substitution of love of God and man for righteousness involves a complete transformation of the Divine law. The two great commandments of the law are applied in detail to the different relations and duties of human life, Mt 5^{44}, Ro 12^{10}, He 13^{1}, 2 P 1^{7}. Such summaries of duty as are found in Ro 12 and 13 are simply different applications of the two chief commandments. The distance we have travelled is seen in comparing the 'perfect' of the Lord's words in Mt 5^{48} with the 'perfect' of the OT. The qualifying clause 'As your Father,' the context with its command 'Love not merely your neighbour but your enemies,' and the entire strain of precept in the discourse, forbid the fixing of narrow limits. St. Paul's teaching in Ro 12^{19-21} is in the same spirit.

The proposal of Christ Himself as the example of Christian life is very significant. Not merely His teaching, He Himself is the law, the ideal of renewed man, Jn 13^{15}, Ph 2^{5}, Eph 4^{32} $5^{1f.}$ ('Be ye imitators of God'). This suggests the further fact that the new, the Christian type of character is the one in which the mild virtues and graces prevail, Mt 5^{2-9} 11^{29}, Jn 13^{14}, Gal $5^{22f.}$ 6^{2}, Ph 2^{3} 4^{5}, Col 3^{12}.

The apostolic prayers and wishes for Christian Churches are full of instruction on this subject. Passages like Eph 1^{16-19} 3^{14-19}, Col 1^{9-11}, 1 Th 5^{23}, 2 Co 13^{9}, are the final expositions of the law of love, and show to what a height the idea of moral perfection has risen. Nothing has been or can be added to the type of spiritual excellence there described. The two remarkable words used in 1 Th 5^{23} may be taken as an inspired interpretation of *τέλειος*, namely *ὁλόκληρος* and *ὁλοτελής*; the former occurs again in Ja 1^{4}, the latter is a *ἅπ. λεγόμενον*. The former, Ellicott says, 'serves to mark that which is entire in all its parts,' the latter indicates the 'thoroughness and pervasive nature of holiness' (see also Trench, *NT Synonyms*, p. 71, and Lightfoot, *ad loc.*). These passages explain very fully the meaning or contents of the moral perfection, which is to be the aspiration of every Christian for himself, as it was the aspiration of the apostles for the Christians of their day. The natural doubt respecting the possibility of attainment is anticipated by St. Paul's doxology, 'Unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think,' Eph 3^{20}, a passage which reminds us that the believer is kept absolutely dependent on the grace and Spirit of God for the beginning and perfecting of all that is good in him, Eph 2^{10}, Ph 1^{6} 2^{13}, Col 2^{28}, 1 P 1^{5}.

Another line of phraseology, taken from human growth, sheds much light on our subject. The perfect (*τέλειοι*) are the mature, full-grown in contrast to babes and children (*νήπιοι, παιδία*). 'Every one that partaketh of milk is a babe. Solid food is for perfect' (men), He $5^{13f.}$ 'Wherefore let us go on to perfection' (*τελειότης*), 6^{1}. 'Be not children in mind: in malice be babes, in mind be perfect' (*τέλειοι*), 1 Co 14^{20}, also 2^{6} 3^{1}. All this explains 'unto a perfect (full-grown) man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, that we may be no longer children,' Eph $4^{13f.}$. St. John has 'little children, fathers, young men,' 1 Jn 2^{13-15}. 'The *τέλειος* is one who has attained his moral end, that for which he was intended, namely to be a man in Christ' (Trench, *NT Syn.* p. 74). 'In this sense St. Paul claimed to be *τέλειος*, even while almost in the same breath he disclaimed the being *τετελειωμένος*, Ph $3^{12.15}$' (*ib.*). The apostle's disclaimer intimates that there is no state of perfectness which excludes the possibility of advance; the full-grown man is still in process of growth. St. James also has the idea of perfection, 1^{4} 3^{2}.

It is encouraging to remember that this high teaching of Scripture has always been kept before the mind of the Church. Here again St. Paul is our leader, 'Forgetting the things which are behind, I press on toward the goal,' Ph $3^{13f.}$. The question of the possibility of Christian perfection in the present life was raised by Augustine and answered in the affirmative. To doubt it, he said, would be to limit the power of Divine grace. But he doubts, or rather denies, that there have been perfect Christians, assigning as reasons the weakness of human nature, the danger of pride, the need of discipline (see quotations in Pope, *Compend. of Theol.* iii. p. 70). The mediæval and Roman Catholic Church holds not only the possibility but the fact in the case of 'saints,' canonization being the Church's seal on the perfect life. The use of the term 'saints' to denote a special class of Christians is extra-scriptural, as in Scripture the term is applied to all Christians, Ro 1^{7} and elsewhere. The motive of the monastic system in its long history and multitudinous forms has been to secure favourable conditions for living a perfect Christian life, supposed to be impossible in ordinary circumstances. 'If thou wilt be perfect, sell all that thou hast' (Mt 19^{21}), has been held to dictate the condition of such a life, as it was the voice ever sounding in the ears of Francis of Assisi. Whatever our judgment on the monastic system, the nobility of its original aims must be acknowledged. The great succession of mystics of the à Kempis type in every Church and age has done much to preserve the tradition of a deep spiritual life. The passages of Scripture which are their watchwords (Jn 15^{4}, Gal 2^{20}, Col 3^{1-4}) have been shown to describe true experiences. John Wesley's doctrine on the subject merely follows in the wake of many teachers and communities whose aim has been the promotion of the highest Christian life. It is a doctrine of relative perfection in a very strict sense. His own favourite definition of its nature is expressed in the terms of the two chief commandments, which he insists are an ideal intended to be realized in actual life. His doctrine differs only in name from the teaching of all who desire and seek the highest life of holiness. In any case the perfect conformity to the image of the Son, which is God's eternal purpose (Ro 8^{29}), must ever remain the cherished hope of every believer in Christ. J. S. BANKS.

PERFORM, PERFORMANCE. — These words have lost the idea of *finishing*, *completing*, which once belonged to them. Tindale translates Lk $14^{28.29}$ 'Which of you disposed to build a toure sytteth not doune before and counteth the cost, whether he have sufficient to performe it? lest after he hath layde the foundacion, and is not able to performe it, all that beholde it beginne to mocke him.' And Robinson in *More's Utopia*, ii. (Lupton's ed. p. 170), says, 'The lacke of the one is performed and fylled up with the aboundaunce of the other.' This is often the meaning of 'perform' in AV. Thus Is 10^{12} 'When the Lord hath performed his whole work upon Mount Zion' (כִּי־יְבַצַּע, lit. 'when he hath cut off,' the figure being taken from the cutting off of the finished web from the loom; LXX *ὅταν συντελέσῃ*; Vulg. *cum impleverit*; Wyc. 'shall fulfelle,' Purvey 'hath fillid'; Cov. 'As soone as I have perfurmed'). Lk 2^{39} 'When they had performed all things according to the law of the Lord' is not merely 'when they had done all things,' but 'when they had completed' or (RV) 'accomplished' (*ὡς ἐτέλεσαν*). To 'perform the doing' of a thing (as in 2 Co 8^{11}) is now tautology, whence RV 'complete the doing' (*τὸ ποιῆσαι ἐπιτελέσατε*). The change in the meaning of 'perform' is due to the supposition that it is made up of *per* and *form*, and to form is to do, to make. It has no connexion with *form*, being derived from Fr. *parfournir*, to furnish completely, accomplish. Its original and proper meaning is well expressed by Maundeville (*Travels*, p. 265), 'But whan he saughe thet he myghte not dou it, ne bringe it to an ende, he preyed to God of Nature that he wolde parforme that that he had begonne.' Cf. Ps 20^{5} 21^{11} 57^{2} (Pr. Bk.).

Performance is used in AV only in the sense of bringing to an end, completing, viz. Lk 1^{45} (*τελείωσις*, RV 'fulfilment'), 2 Co 8^{11} (*τὸ ἐπιτελέσαι*, RV 'the completion'). J. HASTINGS.

PERFUME, in the sense of a fragrant material, is trⁿ of קְטֹרֶת *ḳĕṭoreth*, in Ex 30^{35}, and of [רִקֻּחַ, only in plur.] *riḳḳûḥîm*, in Is 57^{9}. In the verbal form to sprinkle scents, in Pr 7^{17}, it is נוּף *nûph*. **Fragrance,** a word which does not occur in AV, has been introduced by RV in Ca $1^{3.12}$ 7^{13} in place of 'savour' or 'smell,' and is the rendering of רֵיחַ. The same word occurs in Gn 27^{27}, Hos 14^{6}, Ca 4^{10} 7^{8}.

The use of odorous or strongly-smelling materials has been alluded to under OINTMENT and INCENSE, as well as under the specific names of the various scents. Most of these Scripture perfumes are pungent rather than sweetly-smelling, and would not please the present taste; but, as Pliny has said, there have been fashions in odours as in clothes. The raw materials are gums, resins, roots, barks, or leaves, and these were variously combined, according to the skill and fancy of the perfumer. These רֹקְחִים are called 'apothecaries' in Ex 30$^{25-35}$ 37^{29}, 2 Ch 16^{14}, Neh 3^{8} (רַקָּחִים), Ec 10^{1}, Sir 38^{8} 49^{1} (LXX in both *μυρεψός*), and 'confectionaries' in 1 S 8^{13} (רַקָּחוֹת). RV substitutes 'perfumers' except in 2 Ch, Neh, and Sir; but these texts also refer to perfumers, not apothecaries in the modern sense of the word. These perfumers constituted a guild among the Jews; see APOTHECARY, i. 126; CONFECTION, i. 464; MEDICINE, above, p. 332.

These odorous compounds were either for personal or for ritual use. Those used for the former usually took the form of **ointments** (which see), and were (1) for the purpose of masking the odour of the body, which is apt to be strong and disagreeable in a hot country. This is especially the case with the feet, hence the Greeks and Romans regarded it as a great luxury to have their feet anointed with sweet-smelling ointment. Athenæus quotes a number of authorities in reference to this practice (xii. 78). It was in accordance with this mode of showing honour to guests that the woman anointed the feet of our Lord (Lk 7^{38}, cf. Jn 12^{3}). For other cases of the cosmetic use of ointments or perfumes see ANOINTING. The use of these was looked upon as an effeminate luxury by Pliny, who deprecates the lavish use of them in Rome (xiii. 1).

(2) Perfumes, such as frankincense, were sometimes chewed to give to the breath a sweet scent (Ca 7^{8}). For modern instances see Lane, *Mod. Egyp.* i. 238.

(3) Ladies among the Jews sometimes carried perfume boxes at their girdles (Is 3^{20}); these were called בָּתֵּי הַנֶּפֶשׁ, and this is translated 'tablets' (*i.e.* lockets) in AV. They were most probably metallic boxes containing ointment or frankincense. Such boxes have been found in Egypt.

(4) Perfumes were sprinkled on garments or placed in boxes with clothing to give them a pleasant odour (Ps 45^{8}, Ca 4^{11}). This is still done in the East as in the West (see Lane, *ib.* i. 256).

(5) Perfume was sprinkled on couches or beds as in Pr 7^{17}.

(6) In the Persian harem, perfumes were the chief means of purification in use: six months unction with oil of myrrh, and six months with spices and the 'ointment of the women,' LXX *σμήγμασι τῶν γυναικῶν* (Est 2^{12}). At the present day rosewater is used for such purificatory washing (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 68).

(7) Odours and spices were used at funerals, applied as antiseptics to the body. Asa was laid in a bed filled with sweet odours and divers kinds of spices prepared by the perfumers (2 Ch 16^{14}); and Nicodemus provided about 100 lbs. of myrrh and aloes for the burial of our Lord. They were also burned at funerals; probably the burnings of 2 Ch 16^{14} 21^{19} were made of them. At Poppæa's funeral Nero burned more perfumes than Arabia could produce within a year (Pliny, xii. 18).

Of the ritual or ceremonial uses of perfumes, usually in the form of incense, mention is made in many places in the OT. Sometimes it was burned before a king when making a state procession. To this there is an allusion in the pillar of smoke which preceded the king in Ca 3^{6}. Quintus Curtius speaks of a similar ceremonial in the case of Indian princes (viii. 38). See INCENSE in vol. ii. p. 468^{a}.

The period at which incense was introduced into the Jewish worship is unknown, but it was perhaps used in very early times (see, however, INCENSE, *ib.* p. 467^{a}). The Egyptians used it as far back as the 4th dynasty, and on almost every stele of the period which covers the whole of the Israelite sojourn in Egypt there is specific mention of *ntr sntr* or incense. Odorous fumigations are used in all ceremonial religions, and the sweet smell is supposed to propitiate the god. Oedipus says that Thebes 'reeks with incense and rings with prayers' (Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 4), and Herodotus records that Datis, the Median, burnt 30 talents of frankincense on the altar at Rhenæa (vi. 97). Similar references might be multiplied for other places, and for cults the most dissimilar. To this idea Amos alludes, when speaking for the offended Deity he says that 'He will not smell' in their solemn assemblies (5^{21}). RV renders it 'will take no delight,' which is a paraphrase, the AV being the literal rendering. In the NT there is no account of the use of perfumes in Christian worship, but the idea is spiritualized like the other typical observances of the old worship: thus St. Paul calls the self-sacrifice of Christ 'a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour' (Eph 5^{2}); and he also calls the gifts which the Philippians had sent to him by Epaphroditus 'an odour of a sweet smell' (Ph 4^{18}). In the apocalyptic vision the four living creatures and the 24 elders before the throne of God are said to offer incense, which is the type of the prayers of saints, Rev 5^{8}.

The perfumes mentioned in the Bible will be found under their specific names. They are **Aloes, Apples** (said to yield a fragrance, but scarcely a perfume in the strict sense), **Balm, Bdellium** (probably derived from a species of *Amyris* and allied to myrrh, see Jos. *Ant.* III. i. 6), **Calamus** (probably one of the lemon-grasses, such as *Andropogon pachnodes*, or *schœnanthus*. The former yields the sweet-scented Turkish grass-oil of commerce. It might, however, be the *Acorus calamus* or sweet-cane, but this is unlikely), **Camphire** (henna), **Cassia, Cinnamon, Costus** (see OINTMENT), **Frankincense, Galbanum, Ladanum** (the לֹט of Gn 37^{25} 43^{11} translated 'myrrh,' but much more probably the odorous gum exuded by a *Cistus*, either *C. Ledon* or *C. laurifolius*, perhaps *Creticus*), **Mandrakes** (mentioned as fragrant, but not a perfumer's material, Ca 7^{13}), **Mastic** (*σχῖνος*, the *Pistacia lentiscus*, mentioned only in the Apocr. Sus ^{54}), **Myrrh** (yielded by *Balsamodendron myrrha*), **Onycha** (the שְׁחֵלֶת of Ex 30^{34}, either ladanum, as in the Arabic Version, or the sweet-smelling operculum of a *Strombus*. Its smell is alluded to in Sir 24^{15}), **Saffron, Spikenard, Stacte** (probably storax, the resin of *Styrax officinale*), **Tragacanth** (נְכאֹת of Gn 37^{25} 43^{11}, the gum exuded by *Astragalus tragacantha*).

The proper names Keturah, Basemath, and Euodia seem to be derived from the words for 'incense' or 'fragrance.' A. MACALISTER.

PERGA (Πέργη; the form Πέργα, which might have been expected, seems not to occur:* in Latin commonly *Perga*, but Pliny has *Perge*) was one of the two greatest cities of Pamphylia in ancient times (Side being the other). Strabo describes it as being on the Cestrus, 60 stadia, 7 to 8 miles, from its mouth; and he speaks of the river as navigable. There is some inaccuracy in this statement, as Perga is fully 5 miles west from the Cestrus; but it is true that the nearest point on the river is about 60 stadia above the mouth. Mela more correctly says that Perga was situated between the rivers Cestrus and Cataractes, but nearer the former (which he too describes as navigable). The earliest known memorials of Perga

* A coin in the British Museum Catalogue, No. 27, reads ΠΕΡΓΑ; but this may be an abbreviation of the adjective. On No. 48 the city name is indubitably ΠΕΡ[Γ]Η.

are its coins, which begin early in the 2nd cent. B.C. But its walls are of Seleucid, not Pergamenian style, and, therefore, probably were built in the 3rd cent.; and Perga began to strike coins when set free from the rule of the Seleucid kings of Syria in B.C. 189. Its coins last in a fairly rich series till about A.D. 276; and it was the only 'Greek city' except Alexandria that struck coins of the emperor Tacitus. Side and Perga both ranked as metropolitan cities of Pamphylia: on coins Perga is styled metropolis under the emperor Tacitus, but certainly had that rank earlier (as Side also must have ranked as metropolis, though its coins do not mention the title).

Perga was evidently the stronghold of native Pamphylian feeling in opposition to the Greek colony ATTALIA, which was founded during the 2nd cent. B.C. Its coinage is invariably associated with the native goddess, who was identified with the Greek Artemis, but evidently was more like the Ephesian than the true Hellenic deity. Sometimes she is called on coins the Queen of Perga (*Ϝάνασσα* written in Pamphylian alphabet), but commonly Artemis of Perga. She is represented either as the Greek short-clad huntress Artemis, sometimes with a sphinx beside her, sometimes with a stag, or as the Greek goddess, wearing a long tunic, but still carrying the bow; but far more characteristic is the type common in imperial times, in which she is symbolized by a quaint simulacrum, probably representing a large stone with a rounded top: the top is sometimes modified to resemble a female head with long veil and kalathos, while the stone in its lower part then seems like a rude and massive human body. On the stone sometimes there appear to be zones of dancing figures. The sphinx or the eagle are frequent accompaniments of the simulacrum. This goddess may safely be described as similar to the Ephesian (see DIANA). The name Leto seems probably to belong to her, whether it be a modification of the Lycian word *lada* (the lady), or of the old Semitic Al-lat or Alilat.[*]

The site of Perga is now called Murtana, and is about 12 miles north-east of Attalia. The temple is described by Strabo as standing on a higher ground beside the city. This higher ground was the site of the older city, and constituted the acropolis. It is not an isolated hill, but part of that steep-edged plateau which occupies much of the country between Cestrus and Cataractes. In the time of Strabo the city seems to have been on the low ground south of the acropolis. All the ruins—walls, gates, theatre, stadium, churches, etc.—are in that part, while few remains are now visible on the acropolis; but the platform with the lower part of six granite columns near the south-east of the acropolis (which G. Hirschfeld and other travellers took for the temple of Artemis) is considered by Petersen too rude for that doubtless splendid building.[†] The greatness of the city was bound up with that of the goddess: compare the speech of Demetrius about the Ephesian Artemis in Ac 19. The right of asylum, doubtless, belonged to her temple and precinct (see *Arch. Epigraph. Mittheil. aus Oesterreich*, 1897, p. 65).

Paul and Barnabas, with John Mark, on their first missionary journey, sailed from Paphos and came to Perga in Pamphylia (Ac 9^{13}); and the expression reminds us of Strabo's opinion that Perga was on the navigable river. It would appear from all the passages taken together that there was a port-town on the river, ranking not as a separate city, but as part of Perga. The apostles seem not to have stayed long in Perga, and they are not said to have preached there. The failure of any allusion to preaching may safely be taken as a proof that they did not preach, but for some reason changed their plan, and thus lost the company of John (see PAMPHYLIA). The form of expression, 'Perga of Pamphylia,' Ac 13^{13}, does not imply distinction from any other Perga (for there was no other city of that name): it means only 'to the province Pamphylia, and specially the capital Perga.' But on their return, perhaps two years later, Paul and Barnabas preached in Perga, though apparently with no marked success. Thereafter they went to Attalia, on the coast, to get a ship for the Syrian coast: many ships would pass to and fro between Syria and the west, touching at Attalia, but not going up to Perga.

The early history of Christianity in Perga is very obscure, and probably its progress was slow (see PAMPHYLIA). Some martyrs—Theodorus, Philippa, Socrates, and Dionysius—at Perga (*Acta Sanct.*, 20 Sept., p. 137) are mentioned under one of the many emperors called Antoninus, perhaps Elagabalus. But Perga is never mentioned in the oldest Martyrologies, the Syriac and the Hieronymian; nor is Side.

Under the Christian empire, Perga and Side, as being metropolitan bishoprics, each exercised authority over a part of the whole province; Perga being head of Secunda Pamphylia, the western division. It is by no means certain that this division affected the civil administration; it may have been only ecclesiastical; but the point is not determined as yet. Hierocles, about A.D. 530, gives only one province Pamphylia, yet he gives first all the Pergaian cities, and thereafter all the Sidetan, apparently implying both a knowledge of the distinction and a refusal to recognize it as a real fact of government.

Perga fell into decay in later Byzantine time. It had not sufficient military strength for that disturbed period. Between A.D. 787 and 812 it was amalgamated in the ecclesiastical system with the neighbouring city of Sillyon as a joint metropolitan bishopric; Sillyon had been an independent *autokephalos* bishopric for about a century previously. Evidently, these two inland cities were both decaying in the 8th century. The ruin of Perga proceeded steadily. In A.D. 1084 Attaleia[*] was made a metropolis. The official lists, *Notitiæ Episcopatuum*, represent this as if Attaleia were made then an independent archbishopric, and Perga remained metropolis of Pamphylia Secunda. But in reality Perga was now a mere ecclesiastical title, and Attaleia was the residence of the real head of all the Pamphylian Church that remained: in truth, most of Pamphylia *provincia* was now *in partibus infidelium*, having been conceded to the Turks by the feeble competitors who were struggling with one another for the throne of the Byzantine empire after the ruin of the imperial power at the battle of Manzikert in 1071.

The true state of matters is quite frankly recognized in the (late) Fourth Notitia, where the entry reads: *ὁ Συλαίου ὃς καὶ Πέργης λέγεται, ἀνθ' οὗ ἔνι νῦν ὁ Ἀτταλίας.* So, too, a MS (Tischendorf, *Nov. Test.* iii. Proleg. p. 629, No. 99), dated A.D. 1345 or 1445, was written by the hand of Theognostus, *μητροπολίτου Πέργης καὶ Ἀτταλείας, ἐξάρχου τῆς κενῆς* (*i.e. καινῆς*) *δευτέρας Παμφυλίας.* To complete this account of the decay of Christian organization in Pamphylia, it may be added that Side was degraded (1283–1321) from tenth to thirteenth in the order of rank of the metropoleis (its place being given to Philadelphia, which was then so important a city to the narrowed Christian empire); and in 1328–1341 Side disappeared entirely from the list of metropoleis, Monemvasia as head of the whole

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[*] See *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Ramsay), pt. i. p. 90 f.

[†] In Lanckoronski, *Stadte Pamphyliens*, i. p. 36.

[*] Note on Tenth Notitia (Parthey, p. 214, No. 522).

Peloponnesus taking its place.* Thus we reach the modern state of things, in which there is in Pamphylia only the single Christian dignitary at Attalia. It would appear perhaps, that, when Perga was at last definitely recognized as being *in partibus infidelium*, the new bishopric of Pyrgion, in the Cayster valley, was identified with it, so that the titular bishop of Perga officiated at Pyrgion with his old order of precedence according to the official lists (which never formally accepted the real historical facts): this seems implied in the entry in a late document printed in Parthey's *Notitiæ Episcop.* p. 314, No. 60, Πέργη τὸ νῦν Πυργὶν (*i.e.* Πυργίον). The elevation of Pyrgion took place between 1193 and 1199. Similarly, Proconnesos was put in the place of Mokisos-Justinianopolis † (head of Cappadocia Tertia), and Monemvasia in that of Side. But in almost all such cases the official lists continued to preserve the old situation, and rarely recognized the facts of the time when they were written.

LITERATURE.—Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens*; Hill, *Cat. of Coins, Brit. Mus., Pamphylia*, etc. On the ecclesiastical facts several articles by Gelzer in *Jahrbüch. für protestant. Theologie*, xii.; and Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor* (see *Index*, *s.vv.*).

W. M. RAMSAY.

PERGAMUS or **PERGAMUM** (ἡ Πέργαμος or τὸ Πέργαμον; the word occurs in NT only in dat. and accus., leaving the nom. uncertain; in other authorities both forms occur; Ptolemy, Dion Cassius (lix. 28. 1), and Stephanus Byz. have Πέργαμος,‡ while almost all other writers and inscriptions have Πέργαμον) was a great and famous city of Mysia, adjoining the district called Teuthrania, about 15 miles up the Caicus valley from the sea, and about 3 miles north of the river, which was navigable for the small ancient ships. Two small streams joined the Caicus near Pergamum, the Selinus actually flowing through the city and the Keteios washing its walls on the east. Between these two streams was a well-marked hill, which was the site of the earliest city and of the Acropolis of the later city (with many of its most magnificent buildings, agora, gymnasium, Greek theatre, temples of Dionysos, Athena, Faustina, Trajan, etc., and the great altar of Zeus). The enlarged later city extended across the Selinus to the south-west; and here were amphitheatre, circus, Roman theatre, probably the temple of Augustus, and farther west the sacred precinct and temple of Asklepios.

Pergamum was an ancient city, which struck coins as early as 420–400. But its greatness began early in the 3rd cent., when Philetærus managed to appropriate a great treasure deposited there under his charge by king Lysimachus; and by the support of Seleucus, the Syrian king, he gradually made himself independent and powerful (B.C. 284–263). He was succeeded by his nephew, Eumenes (263–241); thereafter succeeded Attalus I., who took the title of king (241–197); Eumenes II. (197–159); Attalus II. (159–138); and Attalus III. (138–133), who bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans.

The military glory of the Attalid kings and of Pergamum lay in the wars with the Gauls or Galatians (which see), who invaded Asia Minor in B.C. 278. Eumenes I. paid tribute to the Gauls; but Attalus I. refused to continue this humiliating custom; and when war followed he won a great victory at the sources of the Caicus, about B.C. 241–240. It was in the flush of this victory that Attalus assumed the title of king. The success was celebrated in art and literature as a triumph of Hellenic civilization over barbarism. This and other victories gave Attalus supremacy over great part of western Asia Minor (*Asia cis Taurum*); but about 222 the Seleucid dominion over this country was restored, and Pergamenian power shrank once more to its previous narrow bounds, what was called the πατρῴα ἀρχή immediately round Pergamum. Attalus slowly reconquered his lost empire, and, taking advantage of the Roman enmity against the Seleucid kings, he threw all his strength on the side of the great republic. About 205 he actively aided the Romans to get from Pessinus the sacred image of the Phrygian mother of the gods, which the Sibylline books directed them to bring to Rome as a condition of success in the war against Hannibal. Eumenes II. continued the policy of alliance with Rome. He actively co-operated in the war of 190, and at the peace of 189 the whole Seleucid dominions on this side of Taurus were given to him. Thus once more Pergamum became the capital of western Asia Minor, and in the following 18 years Eumenes carried on vigorous operations in central Asia Minor, and won several successes over the Gauls (who had been settled in the part of ancient Phrygia and Cappadocia which was henceforth called GALATIA). But the Romans were not inclined to allow Eumenes to become too strong, and their steady though carefully veiled support maintained the Galatians in independence, when they seemed on the point of falling into subjection to Pergamum.

In the spring of the year 133 Attalus III. died, leaving a will in which, while he ordered that Pergamum and the other towns should be administered as constitutional, self-governing cities, he bequeathed his entire kingdom to the Romans.* At this point the coinage of Pergamum again begins to illuminate the city, whereas from 284 to 133 the coins were exclusively royal. The most famous class of Pergamene coins, the *cistophori*, struck first by the kings, were continued after the royal rule ended. *Cistophori* were struck, not only at Pergamum but also at many other of the great cities of Asia (including Mysia, Lydia, Phrygia, and Caria), and they were the commonest current silver coin in the Ægean lands. The type was composite, uniting the *cista mystica* and other accompaniments of Dionysiac worship. The coinage of Pergamum continues in an unbroken and very rich series down to the reign of Gallienus, in the latter part of the 3rd cent. after Christ.

In 133 the Pergamenian realm, bequeathed to the Romans, was formed into a Roman province; but the province was much smaller than the kingdom, for Phrygia Magna was given away to Mithridates, king of Pontus. Phrygia was reclaimed by the Senate after B.C. 120, when Mithridates died; but, though loosely attached to the province, it was not properly organized and definitely incorporated in Asia (as the new province was called) until the year B.C. 85–84 under the government of Sulla. From that time onwards the province had much the same extent as the old Pergamenian realm. The name Asia as applied to the province was apparently a Roman invention, but it was taken up by the Greek population, and is used freely in the inscriptions of the great cities to indicate the Roman provincial unity with all the countries embraced in it (see LYDIA, ASIA).

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* Notitia, iv. 60, xii. 14, 35 (Parthey, pp. 136, 237, 238): the stubborn unwillingness of the official Notitiæ to recognize the real facts appears in the Fourth Notitia, which still continues to mention Side (iv. 11) in its old place as head of Pamphylia, besides recording its new situation. But xii. mentions the new situation twice, under each name.

† Known only from Georgius Pachymeres, i. p. 286 (*Hist. Geogr. As. Min.* p. 300).

‡ Steph. *Thes.*, quotes Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1. 6, Paus. vii. 16. 1, x. 25. 10, etc. (where the fem. gender proves the nom., unless πολις is to be understood), but does not mention the above instances. The true text in Polyb., Strab., Appian, Philostr. etc., is τὸ Πέργαμον.

* See Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, i. No. 249, an inscription which confirms the real existence of this will against the scepticism of several modern historians. See also Mommsen in *Athen. Mittheil. des Inst.* 1899, p. 193.

The four chief gods of Pergamum are mentioned in an oracle of about A.D. 167, which ordered the Pergamenians to seek relief from the great pestilence by appealing to Zeus, Dionysos, Athena, and Asklepios.* All appear frequently as types on the coins of the city. Zeus Soter and Athena Nikephoros were especially honoured as having given victory over the Gauls in the olden time. The whole strength and skill of Pergamenian art was directed to glorify them as the patrons of Greek genius triumphing over barbarism. Asklepios was introduced from Epidauros, probably in a comparatively recent historical period (perhaps in the 5th cent. B.C.). Dionysos was apparently a native Anatolian deity, worshipped with mysteries and rites of a peculiar society called Boukoloi or Ox-herds, who were the attendants of the *ἄξιος ταῦρος*, a mystic name of Dionysos. All these gods had splendid places of worship. Zeus and Athena were more of Hellenic and artistic conceptions, Dionysos Kathegemon more purely religious. Under the Roman empire, Asklepios the Saviour (Soter) became the most fashionable deity of Pergamum; but he appears on coins as early as 159–138 and often in the 1st cent. B.C. As the god of the healing art, he had a temple and a sacred precinct to which flocked many invalids for medical treatment, which they received partly directly from the god (who revealed the method of cure in dreams when the sufferers slept in his sacred place), partly from the priests and physicians in attendance on the temple. As this worship and medical treatment brought many wealthy visitors to Pergamum, the god was naturally highly popular in the city. Hence, in the 2nd and 3rd cents. after Christ, Asklepios was the representative deity of Pergamum, standing for it as type on most of the symbolical alliance coins.

The view has been often maintained that the richness of the accessories with which the worship of these and other deities was conducted in Pergamum suggested the words in Rev 2[13], describing the city as the place 'where the throne of Satan is,' and as the place 'where Satan dwelleth.' According to that view, Pergamum is pictured as a religious centre, and contrasted with purely commercial cities like Smyrna and Ephesus and Corinth. But this picture is hardly true to the facts as they existed when the Apocalypse was written. It was not the case that commercial cities were less given to religion in ancient times than those which, like Pergamum, lay apart from the great lines of commerce and intercourse. Writers who take that view are misled by modern ideas, natural in modern time when religion has become a moral force, resisting and seeking to withdraw men from many of the practices conducive to commercial success. But in ancient times religion was rather the glorification of success, commercial and otherwise: the gods were the patrons of every side of common life; and the great commercial city was most likely to be the great religious city. If the greatest centre of pagan ritual in the province Asia is the place where the throne of Satan is, then Ephesus is the city that beyond all others merits that description.

The words of Rev 2[13] must refer to some other attribute which can be truly attached to Pergamum. Pliny sets us in the right path by his remark, *Nat. Hist.* v. 30, that Pergamum was far the most distinguished city of Asia (*longe clarissimum Asiæ*, i.e. *provinciæ*). These words show clearly that Pliny regarded Pergamum as the capital of the province. The province Asia had come into existence as an enfranchised† kingdom, with a universally recognized capital: Pergamum was the germ out of which the kingdom had slowly grown to maturity and strength. Occupying this historical pre-eminence, Pergamum was naturally recognized as the capital of the new province Asia; and it retained this position for over two centuries. By the middle of the second century after Christ, on the contrary, there can be no doubt that Ephesus was recognized generally as the capital of the province. It is uncertain at what time the change was made. It is even uncertain whether the change was formally made at some definite time by imperial order, or gradually came about in practice without any authoritative imperial recognition. It is, however, certain that, under Augustus, Pergamum was still the capital, for the provincial council (called the *Κοινὸν Ἀσίας*)* built there the temple dedicated to Rome and Augustus to serve as its meeting-place, while Ephesus then was not officially regarded as leading city. The provincial council built a temple at Smyrna to Tiberius, and it was perhaps not until A.D. 41–54 that it built at Ephesus a temple and dedicated it to Claudius.† Down to this time it seems reasonably certain that Ephesus had not been recognized, either by general consent or by imperial act, as capital of the province. The provincial council necessarily made its temple and meeting-place first in the provincial capital; and by degrees the modification was introduced that temples and meetings were arranged also in other great cities of the province. Asia was peculiar in having so many meeting-places of the provincial council; in many provinces there was one single unvarying place of meeting for the council. Ephesus had built a temple of Augustus before B.C. 5;‡ but this seems to have been only a dedication by the city, and not arranged and sanctioned by the provincial council;§ and it stood in the sacred precinct of Artemis, not in a separate precinct of its own.

Even in the beginning of the 2nd cent. Pergamum probably still ranked officially as the capital, for it had got a second temple of the Emperors, and the title 'twice Neokoros,' before A.D. 123 (and probably already in the time of Trajan), whereas Ephesus acquired these honours only late in the reign of Hadrian, between the proconsulate of Peducæus Priscinus, A.D. 127, and that of Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus about A.D. 130 or 135.‖

Should we not, then, explain by this primacy in the worship of the Emperors the statement in Rev 2[13], that 'the throne of Satan' is at Pergamum? The city was still officially the capital of the province, and, especially, it was recognized as the chief centre of the imperial worship, in which the unity and loyalty of the province was expressed. In this latter point lay the peculiar aggravation and abomination. It was the worship of the Emperors that was recognized, when the Apoc. was written, as the special foe of Christianity, as Antichrist, as Satan. It was the refusal of the Christians to pay the proper respect to the emperor by performing the prescribed acts of ritual and worship in the imperial religion that formed the test by which they could be detected, and the reason why they were outlawed: their refusal was interpreted as a proof of disloyalty and treason, for it was a refusal to acquiesce in, and to be members of, the imperial unity.[*] Pergamum, as the chief centre of that imperial worship for the province, was the seat and 'the throne of Satan.'

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* Fränkel, *l.c.* ii. p. 239.

† When kings ceased to govern it the change was a declaration of freedom.

* See ASIARCH.

† This, though regarded as practically certain by Buchner, *de Neocoria*, p. 38, is far from being so well established as he represents. It is not at all certain that there was a temple of Claudius at Ephesus. The temple built by the council at Ephesus is called 'temple of the Emperors' in *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* No. 481, and *Smyrn. Mous.* iii. p. 180.

‡ See Hicks, *Inscrip. of Brit. Mus.* No. 522 (where date B.C. 6 should be corrected to 5).

§ Buchner (*loc. cit.*) seems to have failed to observe the existence of this temple at Ephesus: he never refers to it.

‖ Buchner, *de Neocoria*, p. 59; *CIG* 2965, 2966, 2987*b*.

We are too ignorant of the details regarding the imperial worship in Asia to be able to say exactly what was implied in that primacy. The Council of Asia met also at other places, as Ephesus (hence the presence of the Asiarchs there, Ac 19), Smyrna, Sardis; but some sort of pre-eminence belonged to Pergamum at least as late as A.D. 127 (as has been stated above). Now Hadrian visited Pergamum probably in A.D. 123.[†] He was again in Asia in 129, when he visited Laodicea in the Lycus valley, and presumably Ephesus and Tralleis. His interest in and knowledge of the province, the freedom with which he changed old institutions to suit the circumstances of the day, and the fact that he not merely permitted Ephesus to attain a second Neokorate (like Pergamum), but also struck imperial silver coins bearing the type and name of DIANA EPHESIA (thereby recognizing her as a Roman deity),[‡] all combine to prove that it was he who recognized the overwhelming practical importance of Ephesus, and transferred the primacy of the province from Pergamum to Ephesus about A.D. 129. If this be so (and it seems practically certain), then we have an important piece of evidence about Rev 2^{13}: that passage was written before A.D. 129.

But the order of enumeration of the Seven Churches of Asia, beginning with Ephesus, seems to start from the capital, and then to go round the important cities in geographical order—Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea. The explanation probably is that a conflict existed between the official view and the popular view: the former still regarded Pergamum as the capital, while the latter had regard to the practical fact that Ephesus was the greatest and most important city of Asia, on the main route of communication, whereas Pergamum lay on a bypath, and had only a historical title to the primacy in Asia. In this case the ecclesiastical organization accepted the facts of the situation from the time of Paul onwards; so also did the emperor Caligula in a decree quoted by Dion Cassius, lix. 28. 1 (unless he was following chronological order).

Even after it lost the pre-eminence in the province, Pergamum continued to be a great and specially honourable city. It was granted a third Neokorate by Caracalla; and no Asian city ever attained more. This title has often been misapprehended by the older writers: when a city styles itself Neokoros on coins and in inscriptions, this always implies 'warden of a temple dedicated to the imperial worship.' When a city has the title 'thrice Neokoros,' this implies three separate temples of Emperors, each with its separate priesthood and services and staff of attendant ministers. Ephesus, by a solitary exception to the rule, sometimes boasts itself 'four times Neokoros,' where the fourth Neokorate refers to the worship of Diana the Ephesian, recognized as a Roman deity by Hadrian (see above). Pergamum on its coins boasts itself as the first city honoured with triple Neokorate; but no stress can be laid on this boast, for the three cities, Pergamum, Ephesus, Smyrna, vied with one another in titles, inventing or appropriating them, and all three claimed the primacy of Asia on different grounds.[§]

The allusion to the martyr Antipas at Pergamum (Rev 2^{13}) is remarkable. No martyr from any other of the Seven Churches is alluded to. Yet it is not to be doubted, in view of the rest of the book, that there had been martyrs in them all, and that their sufferings, which are mentioned, imply fully developed persecution by the Roman state. The prominent mention of Antipas is probably to be explained by his being the earliest martyr put to death by the Roman state policy; and, according to a common principle, the name of the first is given as in a sense representative of the whole list. While Pergamum was the capital of the province, the governor, before whom the trials would be held, was there more frequently than in any other city (though of course he made occasional progresses through his province); and many Christians from other cities would be condemned and would suffer there, so that Pergamum would be peculiarly associated with the death of the martyrs from Antipas onwards. There is therefore no proof that Antipas belonged to Pergamum, though he is mentioned as having suffered there.[*]

This position of Pergamum as the place of martyrs did not continue after it ceased to be 'the place where the throne of Satan is.' After the time of Hadrian, doubtless, the proconsul of Asia spent much more of his time at Ephesus than at Pergamum; and we observe in the earliest Martyrologies, the old Syrian and the Hieronymian, that more martyrs are associated with Ephesus, Smyrna, Laodicea, and Synnada than with Pergamum; for very few names of the 1st cent. martyrs at Pergamum were preserved.[†] The allusion to the new name given to each Christian, secret, written on a white stone (Rev 2^{17}), is perhaps an allusion to the custom of taking secret and new baptismal names: this custom perhaps arose in the stress of persecution, and was intended to ensure greater secrecy during the ages when it was dangerous to be known as a Christian. The secret name is mentioned only in the letter to Pergamum, the place of martyrs, and does not occur in the letters to the other churches. The question also occurs whether the allusion to writing on a white stone is made with reference to the writing material manufactured at Pergamum and deriving its name from the city, *charta Pergamena* or parchment. In the letter to Philadelphia occurs an allusion to writing: 'I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God': the difference between this expression and the secret name written on the white stone at Pergamum suggests that the language is chosen with reference to the special circumstance of the city: 'the name is written, not on your lasting white parchment, but on an imperishable white *tessera*'; cf. LAODICEA. The 'white stone' is not an allusion to the white stone (λευκὸς λίθος), *i.e.* marble, so abundant in the buildings of Pergamum and other great cities: it is called a 'white ψῆφος,' a sort of *tessera*, a small cube or tablet, on which brief titles or watchwords or signs were engraved, and which was often employed for similar purposes to a ticket in modern times.

That there were Jews in Pergamum may be regarded as certain. In B.C. 139 the Romans wrote to Attalus II. in favour of the Jews, which proves that there were Jews in his dominions (as is of course well known from other sources),[‡] and there is a reasonable certainty that some would settle in the capital of the kingdom as the centre for financial operations. About B.C. 130 the Pergamenians, now an autonomous state (as we have seen above), passed a decree (in accordance with the resolution of the Roman Senate) in favour of the Jews and the high priest Hyrcanus.[*] While this decree does not actually mention Jewish residents in the city, there would be little reason for it unless Pergamum were in close relations with the Jews. Under the Romans, Pergamum was no longer the commercial centre of the province, for it lay far from any of the great trade routes between the East and Rome; and it may be regarded as probable that the Jewish settlers in Pergamum would not increase but rather diminish in numbers. Hence in B.C. 62, when Flaccus, governor of Asia, confiscated the money which the Jews of the provinces were on the point of sending to Jerusalem as their annual contribution, he seized at Apameia of Phrygia nearly 100 lbs. weight of gold,[†] at Laodicea of Phrygia over 20 lbs. weight, at Adramyttium an amount which has been obliterated in the manuscripts, and at Pergamum a small amount. Adramyttium, as a seaport, was apparently at that time a more important Jewish centre than Pergamum. The inscriptions hitherto discovered in the city never allude to Jews; but, inasmuch as the Jews used pure Greek names (even the envoys mentioned in the Pergamenian decree about 130 have Greek names, and would be unrecognizable as Jews), some of the persons alluded to in the inscriptions may possibly be Jews. On the whole, the failure of the term 'Jew' in the numerous inscriptions points to the very thorough assimilation of Greek manners by the Pergamenian Jews, who had thus become almost undistinguishable from the general population of the city. It is probable that this adoption of Greek manners by the Jews in Pergamum is the cause of the allusion to Balaam and the Nicolaitans in Rev $2^{14.15}$. Some of them had become Christians; and their freedom in following Greek ways of life, and in complying with idolatrous usages in society, had begun to have some effect on the Christian community in the city.

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[*] See *The Church in the Rom. Emp. before 170*, p. 275.

[†] Fränkel, *Inschriften Pergam.* ii. p. 258; Durr, *Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, p. 49 f.

[‡] See vol. i. p. 724.

[§] Ephesus acquired triple Neokorate in the latter part of Severus' reign, as Head says in *Catalogue Brit. Mus. Ionia*, p. 76; see the inscription in Le Bas-Waddington, No. 147*b*; Buchner, *de Neocoria*, p. 107 f.

[*] No independent tradition about Antipas has come down to us: the references to him seem all to depend on Rev 2^{13}. The details of almost all events in the earliest persecutions perished from the memory of history.

[†] See the preceding note.

[‡] Cf. *Στράτων Τυράννου Ἰουδαῖος* at Magnesia Sip., *Ath. Mitth. Inst.* 1899, p. 239.

Little is known as to the later history of Christianity in Pergamum, or as to the fortunes of the city. It was a bishopric throughout the Byzantine period, being part of the later and smaller Byzantine Asia, under Ephesus; and it has continued to be a place of some consequence, preserving the ancient name Bergama, down to the present day. Much more light will be thrown on the city when the splendid and costly excavations conducted for years at Pergamum by the German Government are completed and their results fully published. Up to the present time the volumes (i.) on the inscriptions (with supplement in *Athen. Mittheil. Inst.* 1899), (ii.) on the sanctuary of Athena Polias Nikephoros, (iv.) on the theatre-terrace, and (v.) on the temple of Trajan, are the only ones published.

W. M. RAMSAY.

PERIDA (פְּרִידָא, *Φαδουρά*). — The eponym of a family of 'Solomon's servants,' Neh 7^{57}. In the parallel passage, Ezr 2^{55}, the name appears in the form **Peruda** (פְּרוּדָא; B *Φερειδά*, A *Φαρειδά*), and in 1 Es 5^{33} as **Pharida** (B *Φαρειδά*, A *Φαριδά*, Luc. *Φαδουρά*).

PERIZZITE (הַפְּרִזִּי).—The name of one of the 'peoples' which were settled in Palestine before and at the period of the Isr. immigration. When the writers of the OT would characterize the country as it was at that period in respect to population, they frequently enumerate a list of six 'peoples,'—the Amorite, the Hittite, the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite (Ex $3^{8*\,17*}$ 23^{23*} 33^{2*} 34^{11*}, Dt 20^{17*}, Jos 9^{1*} 11^{3} 12^{8}, Jg 3^{5}), to which is sometimes added the Girgashite [Dt 7^{1}, Jos 3^{10} 24^{11}, Neh 9^{8} (where the Hivite is omitted)]. At a later date it is stated that Solomon reduced to slavery all the people in his kingdom who remained of the Amorite, the Hittite, the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite (1 K 9^{20}=2 Ch 8^{7}). A yet longer list is given (Gn 15^{20}) in which, while the Hivite is omitted, the Kenite, the Kenizzite, the Kadmonite, and the Rephaim are added. A very late tradition, on the other hand, speaks of the land as originally inhabited only by the Canaanite, the Perizzite, and the Philistines (2 Es 1^{21}). The Book of Ezra (9^{1}) represents the Perizzite as still remaining in the country, a snare and danger to the returned exiles. With all these writers, however, the Perizzite is nothing but a shadowy name, accepted by tradition as one of the tribes in pre-Israelite Palestine.

In contrast with this, three passages (Gn 13^{7} 34^{30}, Jg $1^{4f.}$), all of which come from the South Kingdom historian (J), connect the Perizzites closely with the Canaanites, and represent them as settled more particularly in the district about Bethel and Shechem. When Abraham is parting from Lot at Bethel, it is added that the Canaanite and the Perizzite were then in the land; after the scandal at Shechem, Jacob complains that his sons have made him obnoxious to the same two tribes; and, when Judah marches with Simeon to enter upon its conquest, those clans have to do battle in the neighbourhood of Jerus. with these tribes.[†]

Some have argued from this collocation that the tribe was one of the aboriginal tribes of Central and South Palestine, which had been dispossessed of its strongholds by the invading Canaanites before Israel appeared upon the scene, and had been reduced to a peasant condition resembling that of the Egyp. fellaḥîn, dependent on the dominant warlike people (cf. Dillmann on Gn 10^{15}; Riehm, *HWB*¹ p. 1193). The fact that the name does not occur in Gn 10, where the list of the descendants of Canaan is given, is taken to support the suggestion; while the other fact, that in Gn 15^{20} and Jos 17^{15} the clan is coupled with the prehistoric Rephaim, may show what, at the period when those passages were written, was the opinion among the Jews. On the other hand, Moore (*Comm. on Judges*, at 1^{5}) questions whether they were a distinct people at all, and were not rather, as the derivation of the word suggests, a class among the Canaanites, *i.e.* the inhabitants of unwalled villages, devoted to agriculture. It is noteworthy that פְּרָזִי=*pĕrāzî* is used in Dt 3^{5} 1 S 6^{18} for such dwellers in open villages, while פְּרָזוֹת occurs Ezk 38^{11} Zec 2^{4} for an undefended place. And it is further noteworthy that in the two former quotations the LXX translates פרזי by *Φερεζαῖοι* (which is its customary translation of Perizzite), while the later Gr. translators render it *ἀτείχιστοι*—a fact which makes it possible that, at the time when the early tr. was made, no difference of pronunciation yet existed between the two Hebrew words. It is an old suggestion of Redslob (*Alttest. Namen des Isr. Staats*, p. 103), that *ḥavvôth* (whence *Hivites*) designated the villages of those who kept cattle, while *pĕrāzôth* was employed for villages inhabited by an agricultural class. The question cannot at present be regarded as settled.

A. C. WELCH.

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[*] Josephus, *Ant.* XIV. x. 22.

[†] Reckoned by Th. Reinach, *Textes Relatifs au Judaisme*, p. 240, as 75,000 drachmæ (equivalent in weight to £3000 sterling): each individual paid two drachmæ per annum.

[*] In the quotations which are marked with an * the LXX (at Dt 20^{17} only some MSS) adds the Girgashite to the list of six in the Heb. text.

[†] It is true that the Perizzite is coupled (Jos 17^{15}) with the Rephaim, and placed somewhere in the district of Mt. Ephraim; but this clause (which the LXX omits) must be regarded as either a gloss or a late interpolation.

PERJURY.—See OATH.

PERSECUTE, PERSECUTOR.—Persecute (from Low Lat. *persecutare*, Lat. *persequi*) and pursue (fr. Lat. *prosequi*, through Old Fr. *porsuir*=*poursuivre*) are now kept distinct, but were formerly used almost interchangeably. Thus 'pursue' has the mod. meaning of 'persecute' in the *Homilies*, 'to pray for them that pursue him'; and in AV 'persecute' is often equivalent to mod. 'pursue,' as Jer 29^{18} 'And I will persecute them with the sword' (וְרָדַפְתִּי אַחֲרֵיהֶם, RV 'And I will pursue after them'); Wis 11^{20} 'Being persecuted of vengeance' (*ὑπὸ τῆς δίκης διωχθέντες*, RV 'Being pursued by Justice'). Cf. Jos 8^{17} Cov. 'There remayned not one man in Hai and Bethel, which wente not out to folowe upon Israel, and they lefte the cite stondinge open, that they mighte persecute Israel.'

So **Persecutor** means pursuer in Neh 9^{11} 'And thou didst divide the sea before them . . . and their persecutors thou threwest into the deeps' (RV 'their pursuers'); La 4^{19} 'Our persecutors are swifter than the eagles of the heaven; they pursued us upon the mountains' (RV 'Our pursuers . . . they chased us'). As with the verbs, so with 'persecutor' and 'pursuer,' they are used in AV with none of the present sharp distinction between them. J. HASTINGS.

PERSECUTION (verbs *διώκω*, *ἐκδιώκω*, subst. *διωγμός*, *θλίψις*).—Our Lord spoke of persecutions (*e.g.* Mt 5$^{10-12}$ 10^{21}) to come from both Jews (Mt 23^{34}, Mk 13^{9}, Lk 21^{12}, Jn 15^{20}) and Gentiles (Mt 10^{18}, Mk 13^{9}, Lk 21^{12} [*ἐπὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἡγεμόνας*]). The first attacks came from the Sadducees (Ac 4$^{1.6}$ 5^{17}), while the people were favourable (Ac 2^{46} 5^{14}), and the Pharisees moderate (Gamaliel) and sometimes willing (Ac 23$^{6ff.}$) to defend Christians on the doctrine of a resurrection.

Serious persecution began when St. Stephen alienated the Pharisees and the people by preaching (Ac 6^{14}) the transitoriness of the law. His lawless execution was followed (Ac 8^{1}) by a great persecution in Jerusalem (Saul strove to extend it to Damascus), which involved bonds and probably further executions (Ac 22^{4} 26^{11}). At all events in A.D. 44 we find James the brother of John slain with the sword by Herod Agrippa, and Peter delivered only by an angel. Henceforth the Jews were St. Paul's most active enemies, as at Antioch in Pisidia (Ac 13$^{45.50}$), Iconium and Lystra (14$^{2.19}$), Thessalonica (17$^{5.13}$), Corinth (18^{12}). The growth of national antagonism is marked by the change in the description of our Lord's enemies from the 'scribes,' 'Pharisees,' and 'lawyers' of the Synoptists to the 'Jews' of St. John's Gospel (not Apoc.) and Mt 28^{15}.

The Church was not much troubled by purely Gentile persecution within the period of the Acts. The only cases not stirred up by the Jews were due to trade jealousy at Philippi and Ephesus (Ac 16. 19). The Roman government protected Christianity as a Jewish sect, though Hebrew Christians may have had much violence to suffer (He 10^{34} 12^{4}). The Jews might punish offenders according to their own law, though not with death (Jn 18^{31}, 2 Co 11^{24}; so in Jos. *Ant.* XX. ix. 1 the younger Ananus is removed from the priesthood for the murder of James the Lord's brother in A.D. 62). Pilate (*supra*) and Gallio (Ac 18^{14}) refuse to hear charges of heterodoxy. The only effectual plan was to lay a charge of treason or unlawful worship, and back it up with mob violence. Thus Pilate crucified our Lord for treason in spite of his own decision (Ac 3^{14}), and the prætors at Philippi scourged Paul and Silas unheard for unlawful worship (Ac 16$^{22.37}$); but the politarchs of Thessalonica were content to take security from Jason and others (Ac 17^{9}) on a charge of treason, and the recorder at Ephesus warns the crowd (Ac 19$^{35-40}$) that a riot against Christians may be punished. The charge against St. Paul as shaped by Tertullus (Ac 24$^{5.6}$) was a mixed one: 'We found him a man of Belial—this is only preface—(*a*) a mover of insurrections among all the Jews throughout the world, (*b*) a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes, (*c*) who also essayed to profane the temple.' Festus was puzzled (Ac 25$^{9.20}$); but Agrippa's decision (Ac 26^{32}) must imply that (*a*) and (*c*), which were punishable, were not proved, while (*b*), which was avowed, was not punishable. And this would seem to have been the final sentence at Rome. In any case, the Pastoral Epp. (except 2 Ti) seem to imply (1 Ti 6^{1}, Tit 2^{5}) that Christians were in no danger yet of anything worse than slander. Indeed they were unpopular enough, and needed to walk warily. Ac 28^{22} may be diplomatic; but the expression of Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44, *per flagitia invisos* (before the fire) is confirmed, *e.g.*, by 1 P 2^{12} *ὡς κακοποιῶν*, and 4$^{14-17}$, which seem clearly aimed at the scandalous charges against them; and apparently by 2 Ti 2^{9} *ὡς κακοῦργος*, and repeated exhortations not to be ashamed.

Roman toleration was thrown away by the decision of the apostolic conference; for if Christians needed not to become Jews by circumcision, they were not a Jewish sect. Persecution was certain, as soon as the authorities found this out. Mob hatred (Tac. *supra*) and perhaps false brethren (*ζῆλος* five times in Clem. v. 6) made the Christians the scapegoats Nero needed after the fire at Rome in July 64. Three books of NT bear the marks of the Neronian persecution. In 2 Ti 4^{6} St. Paul is already being offered, and in 3^{12} he expects persecution for all that will live a godly Christian life; the terror of the persecution pervades his letter as in 4^{16}. 1 P—may be some years later—comforts the Christians from Asia to Pontus in their fiery trial (4^{12}, and constant exhortations to patience). In the Apocalypse St. John is in Patmos (*relegated*) and persecution is rampant in Asia, with (2^{2}) patience at Ephesus (2^{10}), tribulation at Smyrna (2^{13}), and Antipas a martyr at Pergamum. The saints are slain (6^{9}), and that with the axe (20^{4}), and Rome is drunk with their blood (16^{6} 17^{6} 18^{24} 19^{2}); and the abiding impression of the scene is shown by St. John's defiance of the world in his First Epistle, as 2^{17} 5^{19}. St. Paul's martyrdom is implied in 2 Ti throughout, St. Peter's by Jn 21^{19} and by 2 P 1^{14} (good evidence, whether genuine or not), but the only other martyr named is Antipas (*supra*).

See, further, art. NERO; and, for the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes, art. MACCABEES. H. M. GWATKIN.

PERSEPOLIS (*Περσέπολις*).—The capital of Persia proper, the temples of which Antiochus Epiphanes attempted to destroy (2 Mac 9^{2}). The city itself and the royal palace had already been burned to the ground by Alexander the Great. The ruins of its two palaces, the one built by Darius Hystaspis, the other by Xerxes, still exist at Chehl Minar, 'the Forty Columns,' near Istakhr. The city seems to have lain at the foot of the rock on which they stand. [Ker Porter, *Travels*, i. p. 576; Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, 1892.] A. H. SAYCE.

PERSEUS (*Περσεύς*).—Among the achievements of the Romans narrated to Judas Maccabæus was the conquest of Perseus, king of Chittim (1 Mac 8^{5}). Chittim, properly denoting Cyprus, was applied more widely to the islands and coasts of Greece, and here (as in 1 Mac 1^{1}) is used of Macedonia. The person here referred to is the son of Philip V., and the last king of Macedonia. Perseus came to

[illegible]

PERSEVERANCE.—[illegible]

[illegible]

PERSIA [illegible]

[illegible]

PERSIAN RELIGION.—[illegible]

PERSIANS [illegible]

Pársa).—The Persians were Aryans, speaking a language closely allied to Sanskrit, and were thus kinsmen of the Medes. They boasted of their admiration of the truth, but the 'lie,' which is reprobated by Darius Hystaspis in his inscriptions, seems chiefly to mean revolt against himself. They wore a tunic and trousers, cap, shoes, and upper robe, practised polygamy, and were exceedingly intemperate in drinking. They were followers of Zoroaster (see ZOROASTRIANISM), and believed in a supreme god of good called Ahura-mazda (Ormazd), against whom there was ranged a spirit or principle of evil. By the side of Ahura-mazda were a number of inferior deities, chief among whom was the sun-god Mithra. According to Herodotus (i. 125) they were divided into 10 tribes, of which 3 were noble, 3 agricultural, and 4 nomadic. One of the nomadic was the tribe of the Dahi, supposed to be the Dehavites of Ezr 4^{9}. The royal clan of the Achæmenides belonged to the noble tribe of Pasargada.

In the time of Sennacherib the Persians were already settled in Parsuas or Persia, and sent help to the king of Elam against the Assyrians. This Parsuas must be distinguished from another northern Parsuas or Barsuas, on the shores of Lake Urumiyeh, with which the Parthians have been connected by some scholars. The first Persian leader known to us was Hakhámanish or Achæmenes. His son Chaishpish or Teispes (*Teuspa* in Assyrian) conquered Anzan in Elam in the closing days of the Assyr. empire. His daughter Atossa is said to have married Pharnakes, king of Cappadocia (Diod. *ap.* Phot. *Bibliot.* p. 1158). After the death of Teispes his kingdom seems to have been divided—Ariárámna (Ariaramnes), Arsháma (Arsammes), and Vishtáspa (Hystaspes) ruling in Persia, while Cyrus I. (Kuras), Cambyses I. (Kambuziya), and Cyrus II. ruled in Anzan. Cyrus II. conquered Astyages of Ecbatana, his suzerain, in B.C. 549 and the Bab. empire in 538. The rest of W. Asia fell before his arms, and when he died his empire extended from Lydia in the west to the borders of India in the east. His son Cambyses II. (B.C. 529–521) added Egypt to his dominions. Then came the usurpation of the pseudo-Smerdis, Gaumáta (Gomates), for 7 months, followed by his murder and the accession of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, who slowly won back the provinces of the empire which had revolted under various pretenders, and who may be regarded as the real founder of the Persian empire. In B.C. 486 Darius was succeeded by his son Xerxes, the Ahasuerus of the OT, who vainly tried to conquer Greece; then came Artaxerxes Longimanus (B.C. 466–425), Xerxes II. for 2 months, Sogdianos his half-brother for 7 months, and Darius II. Nothos (B.C. 424–405). The last four kings were Artaxerxes Mnemon, who succeeded his father Darius II., B.C. 405, and against whom his brother Cyrus the younger revolted in B.C. 401; Artaxerxes Ochus, called Uvasu in the cuneiform texts, B.C. 362; his son Arses, B.C. 339; and Darius III. Codomannus, B.C. 336 (see Neh 12^{22}), who was conquered by Alexander the Great, B.C. 333. A. H. SAYCE.

PERSIC VERSIONS.—See VERSIONS.

PERSIS (Περσίς).—The name of a Christian saluted by St. Paul in Ro 16^{12}, and described as 'the beloved Persis, which laboured much in the Lord.' The name appears as that of a freedwoman (*CIL* vi. 23,959), but does not occur apparently among the inscriptions of the imperial household. A. C. HEADLAM.

PERSON OF CHRIST.—See CHRISTOLOGY, INCARNATION, and JESUS CHRIST.

PERSUADE.—To persuade in AV is not always to 'convince,' sometimes only to 'argue with,' 'try to persuade,' as may be seen from 1 K 22^{22} 'Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also' (RV 'Thou shalt entice him'), and Gal 1^{10} 'Do I now persuade men, or God?' See also Ac 19^{8} 'Disputing and persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God,' and 28^{23} 'persuading them concerning Jesus.' Neither the Heb. nor the Gr. words so tr. have the full force of 'persuade' in mod. English. That force is, however, contained in the verb πληροφορεῖν, which is twice (Ro 4^{21} 14^{5}) rendered 'fully persuade.' For the Eng. word cf. Knox, *Hist.* 149, 'The Earle of Argyle and Lord James did earnestly perswade the agreement, to the which all men were willing: but some did smell the craft of the adversary'; and Fuller, *Pisgah Sight*, v. iv. 2, 'Should these quotations be severally examined, many would be found rather to perswade than prove, rather to intimate than perswade the matter in hand.'

The old adj. **persuasible** is found in 1 Co $2^{4\,\text{m.}}$ for text 'enticing,' Gr. πειθὸς (WH πιθὸς), RV 'persuasive.' The term. *-ible* is properly passive, but was often treated as active: so *-ive*, which is properly active, is often passive, as Shaks. *As You Like It*, III. ii. 10, 'The fair, the chaste and unexpressive she.' 'Persuasible' here is the Rhemish word.

Persuasions, meaning 'efforts to persuade,' occurs in 1 Es 5^{73} (συστάσεις). Cf. Tindale, *Expositions*, p. 73, 'When they could not drive the people from him with these persuasions, they accused him to Pilate.' In Gal 5^{8} (πεισμονή) 'persuasion' is usually taken to be passive, that which the false teachers have persuaded.

J. HASTINGS.

PERUDA.—See PERIDA.

PESHITTA.—See SYRIAC VERSIONS.

PESTILENCE (דֶּבֶר *deber*).—A general term used for fatal sickness sent as a Divine judgment, but apparently not employed as the name of a specific disease. It occurs 28 times in Jeremiah and Ezekiel; in all but one instance (Jer 21^{6}) coupled with other calamities, usually famine and sword, or evil beasts. It is employed in Ex 5^{3} 9^{15}, Lv 26^{25}, Nu 14^{12}, Dt 28^{21} in the same sense, as also in Solomon's dedication prayer (1 K 8^{37}, 2 Ch 6^{28}), in response to which God promised to hear and answer prayers for the removal of His judgments if offered with repentance in the place in which His name was worshipped (see 2 Ch 7^{13} 20^{9}). It is used for the epidemic which followed David's numbering the people, 2 S 24^{13-15} (‖ 1 Ch 21^{12-44}), here being a synonym of 'plague.' Habakkuk speaks of pestilence as preceding the march of God when He visits the earth in judgment (3^{5}), and in Am 4^{10} it is used for the plagues, or diseases, of Egypt. The pestilences from which God's people are protected are called 'noisome' and 'walking in darkness' (Ps $91^{3.\,6}$).

Deber is the word which is translated 'murrain' in the Egyptian plague (Ex 9^{3}); and probably it is in this sense that the word is used in Ps 78^{50}, where the context favours the marginal reading 'gave their beasts to the murrain,' rather than that of the text 'gave their life to the pestilence.'

In NT 'pestilences' occurs twice in AV as the tr. of λοιμοί in the parallel passages Mt 24^{7}, Lk 21^{11}, in both of which it is coupled with 'famine.' This paromoiosis of λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοί is used by classical authors as in Hesiod, *Op. et Di.* i. 241 (a line which may be an ancient interpolation, as Æschines omits it in *Ctesiph.* 137); also in Herodotus, vii. 171, viii. 115; Plutarch, *Coriol.* xiii.; Clement of Alexandria quotes this phrase as it occurs in the Sibylline verses. See Wakefield, *Silva Critica*, v. 39; Field, *ad loc.* The fulfilment of the prophecy is recorded in Jos. *BJ* VI. ix. 3. RV (following Lach., Treg., WH) omits 'pestilence' in Mt. See, further, MEDICINE, p. 324. A. MACALISTER.

PETER (SIMON).—

I. HISTORY OF ST. PETER TILL THE ASCENSION.
  1. Names of St. Peter.
  2. Family, home, education.
  3. The call of Christ to (i.) friendship; (ii.) discipleship; (iii.) apostleship.
  4. St. Peter as the Lord's companion (the Confession and the Promise).
  5. The week before the Passion.
  6. The Resurrection.

II. HISTORY OF ST. PETER AFTER THE ASCENSION, IN THE NT.
  1. The Church at Jerusalem (Ac 1^{1}–8^{1}).
  2. The Church of Palestine (Ac 8^{1}–9^{31}).
  3. The Church of the world (Ac 9^{32} and onwards, with other notices in NT).
  4. Theology of St. Peter's speeches in the Acts.

III. ST. PETER IN CHRISTIAN TRADITION.
  1. St. Peter's early life.
  2. St. Peter in connexion with the Syrian Antioch.
  3. St. Peter in connexion with Asia Minor (Pontus, etc.).
  4. St. Peter in connexion with Babylon.
  5. St. Peter in connexion with Rome.
  6. Chronological notices in (i.) the *Chronicon* of Eusebius; (ii.) the *Liber Pontificalis.*
  7. The burial-places of St. Peter, and memorial days.
  8. The 'Acts of Peter' (Gnostic, Catholic). The *Quo vadis* legend.
  9. The Clementine literature.
  10. Non-canonical writings bearing St. Peter's name: (i.) the Gospel; (ii.) the Preaching; (iii.) the Apocalypse; (iv.) the Judgment; (v.) the Letter to James.

IV. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LATER HISTORY OF ST. PETER.
  1. St. Peter's visit to Rome, and martyrdom there.
  2. The Simonian legend.
  3. The period between the 'Council' at Jerusalem and St. Peter's arrival at Rome.

I. HISTORY OF ST. PETER TILL THE ASCENSION.—**1.** *Names.*—The apostle bears the names *Συμεών* or *Σίμων*, *Κηφᾶs* or *Πέτροs*; sometimes the names are combined—*Σίμων Πέτροs*. (*a*) *Συμεών*, *Σίμων*. When the Jews were brought into connexion with Greek life, for the old Hebrew name of the patriarch (Gn 29^{33})—שִׁמְעוֹן, *Συμεών* (LXX)—the true Greek name *Σίμων* was frequently substituted (Sir 50^{1}). In 1 Mac the ancestor of the Maccabees is *Συμεών* (2^{1}, cf. Jos. *Ant.* XII. vi. 1); Simon Macc. himself is *once* called *Συμεών* (2^{65}). *Συμεών* is found in Jos. *BJ* IV. iii. 9, and in the NT (of persons other than the apostle) Lk 2$^{25ff.}$, Ac 13^{1}. *Σίμων* is often transliterated into Aramaic as סִימוֹן (see Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* p. 41, *Gram. Aram.* p. 143; cf. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien* p. 184; it should, however, be noticed, that in the Syriac versions of the NT the old form ܫܡܥܘܢ alone is used). The apostle then bore the Hebrew name Symeon, but was much more often (see below) called by the Greek name Simon, which had become its common equivalent. (*b*) *Κηφᾶs*, *Πέτροs*. The plural of the Hebrew substantive (כֵּפִּים='rocks') is found in Job 30^{6}, Jer 4^{29} (LXX *πέτραι* in both passages). 'In the Targums (Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum* 1032) [the word] occurs as כֵּיף, כֵּיפָא, for a rock or a stone (*e.g.* gems, hailstones, thunderbolts), or a shore. The same senses recur in the Talmud and Midrashim (Levy-Fleischer, *Neuheb. u. Chald. Wörterb.* ii. 321 f.), where the word has also the meaning "ring"; apparently the sense "rock" is rare' (Hort, *First Ep. of St. Peter* p. 152). There seems to be no evidence that the word was in any other case used as a name; it has no connexion with the name Caiaphas (Nestle in *Expos. Times* x. p. 185). Similarly, with regard to the Greek equivalent *Πέτροs*, there is little or no evidence of its occurrence as a proper name. Keim (*History of Jesus of Nazara* iv. p. 265, Eng. tr.) refers to Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 3, where a freedman of Berenice, mother of Agrippa I., is in some texts named *Πέτροs*; but according to a better supported reading the name is *Πρῶτοs* (see Niese). From Rabbinic literature a very few instances of the occurrence of the name *Peter* are adduced (see Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* i. p. 475 n.; Dalman, *Gram. Aram.* p. 147).

The usage of NT.—(*a*) Συμεών. In 2 P 1^{1} the reading Συμεὼν Πέτρος (ℵAKLP and the mass of MSS) is perhaps better supported than its rival Σίμων Π. (B curs. $^{\text{circ. }20}$, verss. pler.), and certainly, as a combination which occurs nowhere else in the NT, it is not likely to be due to copyists. In one passage of the NT the name stands above suspicion. St. James begins his speech in Ac 15^{14} with the words Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἀκούσατέ μου. Συμεὼν ἐξηγήσατο κ.τ.λ. Here the Hebrew name Συμεών completely harmonizes with the intentional antiqueness of the opening appeal (cf. *e.g.* 2 Ch 20^{20} 28^{11}). (*b*) The Greek Σίμων (apart from the combination Σ. Πέτρος) is not found in the *narrative* of the Gospels after the apostle's call except in connexion with the lists of the apostles (Mt 4^{18} 10^{2}, Mk 1$^{16. 29f. 36}$ 3^{16}, Lk 4^{38} 5$^{3ff. 10}$ 6^{14}, Jn 1^{41}). On the other hand, Simon is the name by which our Lord addresses him (Mt 17^{25}, Mk 14^{37}, Lk 22^{31}, and, with his father's name added, Mt 16^{17}, Jn 1^{42} 21$^{15ff.}$), the exceptions (see below) being Mt 16^{18}, Lk 22^{34}; and by which the apostles are introduced as speaking of him (Lk 24^{34}; but see Mk 16^{7}). Thus it would seem that during the months of discipleship the apostle was still commonly known by his name Simon; and this was the case even in much later days among those who, being outside the Church, could not understand the strange Πέτρος as in itself a sufficient designation (Ac 10$^{5. 18. 32}$ 11^{13}). (*c*) After St. Peter had taken his place as leader in the earliest stages of the Church's history, that name—Κηφᾶς, Πέτρος—which his Master had given him as prophetic of his special functions, superseded, at least in Christian circles, his original name Simon. So late as the time when St. Paul wrote to the Galatians and to the Corinthians, the great Apostle of the Circumcision was recognized among distant Gentile Churches under his Aramaic name Cephas (Gal 1^{18} 2$^{9. 11. 14}$,[*] 1 Co 1^{12} 3^{22} 9^{5} 15^{5})—a fact which suggests that at Jerusalem, where St. Paul first knew him, and whence emissaries came to Corinth and to the Churches of Galatia, the name Cephas at least most frequently was used. At the same time, at any rate in Galatia, the Greek equivalent Πέτρος was not unknown (Gal 2$^{7f.}$). At all events, before the time when 1 Peter, the Synoptic Gospels, and the Acts were written, the Greek name Πέτρος was that one by which the apostle was known throughout the Christian Church. As to details, the name Πέτρος predominates in the Synoptic Gospels (*narrative*)—Mt 19 times, Mk 18 times, Lk 16 times; it is common in Jn (15 times); it is exclusively used in the narrative of the Acts, 51 times. As to the use of Πέτρος in *speeches* in place of the usual Σίμων (see above)—in Mk 16^{7} the evangelist extends his own usage into his report of the angel's message; in Lk 22^{34} Πέτρε seems designedly used to bring out the tragic contrast between the typical position of the apostle and his destined failure; in Ac 10^{13} 11^{7} (the voice from heaven), though it may at first sight seem simplest to suppose that the name was used by which he was then commonly known, yet it must be remembered that this first opening of the door of faith to the Gentiles was one of the occasions in view of which our Lord gave him the name Peter. (*d*) The combination Σίμων Πέτρος never occurs in Mk. It is found once in Mt (16^{16}), once in Lk (5^{8})—both passages recording a turning-point of the apostle's life; in St. John it is used no fewer than 17 times; it is at least a well-supported variant in 2 P 1^{1}. The combination then appears to be one which naturally suggested itself to two evangelists in connexion with two events closely bearing on St. Peter's life-work, and which, partly perhaps as uniting current Christian usage with a distant past, was a favourite with St. John. In one part of the Church, as might have been expected, the name Cephas survived. In the Syriac versions of the Gospels and of the Acts the common name for the apostle is Simon Cephas.

2. *Family, home, education.*—(*a*) The name of the apostle's father appears as *Ἰωνᾶs* in Mt 16^{17}, as *Ἰωάνηs* in Jn 1^{42} 21$^{15. 16. 17}$. It is generally supposed that *Ἰωνᾶs* is a contraction of *Ἰωάνηs*. It is, however, possible that we have here an instance of a double name, *Jona-Jochanan* or *Jonas-Johannes*, see art. JOHN (FATHER OF SIMON PETER). (*b*) The brother of Simon Peter, like his fellow-townsman Philip, bears a true Greek name—*Ἀνδρέαs*. It is, perhaps, to be noticed that Andrew, with Philip, appears in connexion with certain *Ἕλληνεs* (the word may mean Gentiles, or, in the stricter sense, Greeks) in Jn 12$^{20ff.}$. It is certainly significant that both brothers were known by Greek names. (*c*) That the apostle was married in the earliest days of the gospel history appears from Mt 8^{14}, Mk 1^{30}, Lk 4^{38}. His wife in later years was the companion of his missionary journeys (1 Co 9^{5}).

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[*] In each of the four passages in Gal the name Peter is substituted by some inferior authorities.

(*d*) The Synoptists clearly place 'the house of Simon' (in which it appears that his wife, his brother, and his mother-in-law lived) at Capernaum (Mt $8^{5.\ 14}$, Mk $1^{21.\ 29}$, Lk $4^{31.\ 38}$). With this statement that of St John (1^{44} *ἦν δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος ἀπὸ Βηθσαιδά, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀνδρέου καὶ Πέτρου*) is often thought to be at variance. We may, however, suppose that the brothers originally came from Bethsaida, but were now living at Capernaum (so Swete on Mk 1^{16}).

It may be questioned, however, whether St. John does not intend to distinguish Bethsaida from 'the city of Andrew and Peter,' the former being the present home (*ἀπό*; so 12^{21}), the latter the birthplace (*ἐκ*), of Philip. A similar question arises as to Jn 11^{1} *Λάζαρος ἀπὸ Βηθανίας ἐκ τῆς κώμης Μαρίας κ. Μάρθας*. Here it is to be noticed that (1) if the *κώμη* was Bethany, there seems to be little reason why it should be mentioned at all; (2) Lk 10^{38} says that the *κώμη* where Mary and Martha lived was visited by our Lord 'as they were journeying' (*ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτούς*), a notice which appears to distinguish it from Bethany. According to this view Lazarus lived at Bethany (cf. Jn 12^{1}), but was a native of the village where his sisters lived, at some distance from Jerusalem. St. John, it may be added, is fond of using *ἐκ* and *ἀπό* side by side; but a study of the passages where they so stand shows that each preposition retains its proper meaning—see Jn $1^{45f.}$ $6^{33.\ 38.\ 41}$ $7^{17.\ 41f.}$ $16^{28.\ 30}$ (cf. Rev 21^{2}).

(*e*) St. Peter is described as 'a fisherman' in Mt 4^{18} ‖ Mk 1^{16} (cf. Lk 5^{2}), and the same thing is implied in Jn 21^{3}. He owned 'a boat' (Lk 5^{3}), which he worked with his brother. The sons of Zebedee were his partners (Lk 5^{10}); and thus the four apostles were friends before—probably long before—they followed Jesus. It is not necessary to draw out at length the traits—vigour, courage, resourcefulness—which the life of a fisherman on the lake would necessarily develop in a naturally healthy character. It is more important to ask what was the apostle's relation to the culture of his time and country. Probably the traditional view of him as a rough, uneducated peasant is a considerable exaggeration of one side of the truth. He was, of course, without such a formal training as fell to the lot of St. Paul. But, on the other hand, the influence of a religious home and of the synagogue must have had a foremost place in forming the apostle. A significant phrase of St. Andrew's (Jn 1^{41}) suggests that both brothers had felt the spell of the Messianic hope. In these early days St. Peter must have gained his close knowledge of the OT, and it is very far from improbable that he was acquainted with the LXX (see art. on 1 PETER). It has been already pointed out as a significant fact that the apostle, like his brother, was commonly known by a Greek name. His home was on the thickly populated shore of the lake, where trade brought together representatives of many nationalities, and where (to say the least) Greek must have been to some extent a medium of communication (see *e.g.* T. K. Abbott, *Essays* p. 129 ff.; Zahn, *Einl.* i. p. 28 f.). But whatever Greek St. Peter learned in Galilee must have been rather of a conversational than of a literary kind; it was nevertheless an important foundation. Two, and (as it would seem) only two, notices are preserved in the Gospels and Acts bearing on this subject: (1) St. Peter was recognized in Jerusalem as a Galilæan by the accent and perhaps the idiom of his Aramaic (see Swete's note on Mk 14^{70} with references). (2) The members of the Sanhedrin regarded St. Peter and his companion St. John as, from their point of view, illiterate men (Ac 4^{13}).

The words are *καταλαβόμενοι ὅτι ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοί εἰσιν καὶ ἰδιῶται*. The term *ἀγράμματος* looks back to the facts of a man's past early life. To a Greek it meant one who was an *ἄμουσος* (*e.g.* Plato, *Tim.* 23 B), one who has had no part in either side of Greek education; to a Jew it meant one who had had no training in the Rabbinic study of Scripture (cf. Jn 7^{15}). The term *ἰδιώτης* rather regarded a man's present position. With a Greek it was the antithesis to *πολιτικός*; in the mouth of a Jew (who transliterated it הֶדְיוֹט) it expressed the contrast between the man who could understand and take part in religion as conceived of by the scribes and one of the *ὄχλος* (Jn 7^{49}), an *'am hā-'ārez* (see especially Weber, *Die Lehren des Talmud*, § 11, 'Der esoterische Character der jüd. Religiosität'). Compare the saying of the Fathers: 'No boor is a sin-fearer, nor is the vulgar (*'am hā-'ārez*) pious' (*Pirqe Aboth*, ed. Taylor, p. 30). Thus the words are strictly relative to the point of view of the high priests. They were probably (see below) specially called forth by the apostle's boldness in expounding a passage of Scripture in the presence of, and in application to, the rulers.

3. *The calls of St. Peter.*—(i.) *The apostle's first meeting with the Lord, and the call to friendship.*—The history is recorded only in St. John ($1^{35\text{-}42}$). Andrew and John (for he clearly is the unnamed actor in the scene)—one of each of the two pairs of brothers who together were in partnership—are expressly spoken of as belonging to the number (*ἐκ*) of the Baptist's disciples (vv.$^{35.\ 37}$). Since St. Peter and, as the language (*πρῶτον, τὸν ἴδιον*, v.^{41}) seems to imply, St. James were close at hand, it is a natural inference that St. Peter had become a disciple of the Baptist, and through the gate of this discipleship passed into friendship with Jesus of Nazareth. It is more than probable, then, that St. Peter had been a witness of the Lord's baptism (Ac 1^{22} $10^{37f.}$). On this day—which Edersheim (i. p. 344 f.) gives some reason for supposing to have been a Sabbath—after Andrew had heard the Baptist's witness (v.$^{36f.}$) and had followed Jesus, he went in quest of Simon, and, telling him that he had found the Messiah, brought him to Jesus. Jesus fixes upon him that piercing, scrutinizing gaze (*ἐμβλέψας*) which was to rest upon him at a later crisis of his life (Lk 22^{61}), and greets him—it does not appear from the narrative whether Jesus had known Simon before or not (cf. v.^{48})—*Σὺ εἶ Σίμων ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωάνου, σὺ κληθήσῃ Κηφᾶς* (for the use of the patronymic on solemn occasions cf. Mt 16^{17}, Jn $21^{15ff.}$). Thus the Lord receives him as being just what he was in himself, as the product and heir of a past over which he had had no control, as destined to a peculiar office. In the last clause the Lord does not bestow a new name (see Mt 16^{18}); He rather reveals a character which He already claims for future service. As yet no permanent bond united Jesus and the men whom He had gathered round Him. For, after being His companions in His journey to Galilee and again in His visit to Jerusalem at the Passover, St. Peter and the rest resumed, as they did on a much later occasion (Jn 21), their work as fishermen.

(ii.) *The call to discipleship.*—This call must be placed some time *after*, as the earlier call some time *before*, the first Passover of the ministry. It is not possible to decide what is the precise relation of the history of the call as related in Mt $4^{18\text{-}22}$ Mk $1^{16\text{-}20}$ (clearly based on a common source) to that given in Lk $5^{1\text{-}11}$. The essential points common to the two accounts are that Jesus calls St. Peter while he is at work (see Plummer on Lk $5^{1\text{-}11}$), that he makes the apostle's present work a parable of his future work, and that the apostle's obedience is immediate. As to points of difference, Mt and Mk record the Lord's summons *δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου*; Lk puts the call in another setting—a miracle of blessing leads up to the act of obedience.

It is possible that Mt and Mk on the one hand, and on the other Lk, give the history of *two* occasions—one when the apostle followed the Lord then and there, but did not finally leave his occupation; the other when the decisive step of renunciation was taken. In support of this view it may be urged (1) that the two narratives seriously differ; (2) that the Lord certainly did repeat on a later occasion the call *ἀκολούθει μοι*, when added experiences would interpret its deeper meaning (Jn $21^{19.\ 22}$). But it is much more probable that Mt and Mk follow a document or a tradition which brought together in a summarized narrative the calling of the four chief apostles, and that thus the story of St. Peter's call is the same as that which Lk, on the strength of fuller information (cf. $4^{16ff.}$), narrates in detail. In either case, it is important to notice the vividness of Lk's narrative as itself a witness to its truthfulness—especially the two sayings of St. Peter: (*a*) v.^{5} (cf. Jn 2^{5}); (*b*) v.^{8} *ἔξελθε κ.τ.λ.* (an undesigned contrast to Jn 6^{68}, and an impulsive cry which has parallels in St. Peter's later history).

In close connexion with this call (assuming that there was but one) to discipleship, on a Sabbath either just before it (Lk 4^{38}) or just after it (Mk $1^{21.29}$),[*] we must place the miracle which the Lord wrought in His disciple's home—the healing of Peter's mother-in-law. From the phrase διηκόνει αὐτῷ (αὐτοῖς) in each of the three accounts we may infer that our Lord ate there that day; and it is likely enough that the disciple's home was 'the house' where He regularly stayed when at Capernaum (Mt $17^{24ff.}$, Mk 9^{33}).

(iii.) *The call to apostleship.*—If the call to *discipleship* must have been somewhat later than the *first* Passover of the ministry (Jn 2^{13}), the call to *apostleship* must be placed somewhat earlier than the (presumably) *second* Passover (see Mk $6^{30.35ff.}$, Jn 6^{4}). The interval therefore separating the two calls cannot have been much more than six months. The history is given in Mt $10^{1ff.}$, Mk $3^{13ff.}$, Lk $6^{12ff.}$. The details must be passed over here. It must suffice to note that the Twelve were chosen from the whole body, and that the Lord's choice constituted them (1) in an especial sense His companions—ἵνα ὦσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ (Mk 3^{14}; cf. Lk 22^{28}, Jn 15^{27}); (2) His envoys, when the occasion came, to Israel, with authority to preach and heal. The primary place in our Lord's purpose was their education for future work. The lists of the Twelve given by the Synoptists vary in many ways, but in each of them St. Peter holds the first place (Mt πρῶτος Σίμων ὁ λεγόμενος Π.; cf. Jn 21^{2}, Ac 1^{13}). Some time after this selection had been made, the Lord sent out the Twelve to execute their double office as heralds of the kingdom and healers of the sick, two by two, marking as the scope of their mission 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel' (Mt $10^{1.5-42}$, Mk 6^{7-13}, Lk 9^{1-6}; it is clear that Matthew places the mission immediately after the appointment of the Twelve from a characteristic desire to bring together the notices of the selection, the instruction, and the dismissal of the Twelve). As to the use of the name ἀπόστολος in reference to the Twelve in the Gospels (except Lk 17^{5} 22^{14} 24^{10}) only in connexion with this mission, see Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 22 ff.

We cannot but ask, Who was St. Peter's companion? The answer is almost certainly St. John. For (1) the Lord sent them together on a peculiarly solemn commission at a later time, Lk 22^{8}; (2) they appear as companions in the gospel history, Jn $18^{15ff.}$ $20^{3ff.}$, and in the apostolic history, Ac 3^{1}–4^{19} 8^{14} (mission to Samaria), Gal 2^{9}; (3) they were closely associated in the upper room (Jn $13^{23f.}$), and on the occasion of the Lord's appearance by the Lake (Jn $21^{20ff.}$), and together formed part of an inner circle of the apostles in Jairus' house (Mk 5^{37}), on the Mt. of Transfiguration (Mk 9^{2}), on the Mt. of Olives (Mk 13^{3}), in Gethsemane (Mk 14^{33}); and in this connexion the order in Lk 8^{51} 9^{28} (Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἰάκωβον) and Ac 1^{13} is to be specially noticed.

It is impossible at this point to refrain from remarking that a mere notice of the occasions when St. Peter's name is mentioned in the Gospels is apt to make us forget the all-important fact that it was in daily fellowship with the Lord, in the daily contemplation of His acts and words, public and private, that the real significance and power of this period lay. Without some intimation of this obvious truth, a brief review of the specific evidence of the Gospels as to St. Peter's life during this time may become positively misleading.

It has been convenient to consider the mission of the Twelve in close connexion with their selection. But between the two occasions we must, as it appears, place a miracle with which St. Peter was brought into close relation—the raising of Jairus' daughter (Mt 9^{18-26}, Mk 5^{22-43}, Lk 8^{41-56}). It is the first of three occasions when 'Peter and James and John' were chosen from among the Twelve as witnesses of a μυστήριον—here of a revelation of Christ the Life. It may have been designed as a special preparation for some crisis in their mission soon to follow (Mt 10^{8} νεκροὺς ἐγείρετε). It is difficult not to trace the vividness of the narrative in Mk to the influence of St. Peter.

4. *St. Peter as the Lord's companion during the* (*apparently*) *last year of the ministry.*—The Twelve returned to Christ about the time when He received news of the Baptist's murder. The retirement across the Lake and the Feeding of the Five Thousand immediately followed. This whole series of events prepared the way for a period the general character of which is expressed by the words 'the proving of faith' (1 P 1^{7}).

(i.) *The storm on the Lake* (Mt $14^{22ff.}$, Mk $6^{45ff.}$, Jn $6^{16ff.}$).—It is remarkable that Matthew alone preserves the record of St. Peter's boastful challenge (behind which there lay a deep love for His Master, and impatience of separation from Him), his sudden fear and piteous appeal for help. Christ Himself sums up the meaning of the apostle's failure in the word ὀλιγόπιστε. It would be quite in accordance with the character of St. Peter if, when the boat came to land, he was the spokesman of 'those who were in the ship' in their confession, ἀληθῶς θεοῦ υἱὸς εἶ (Mt).

(ii.) *The Lord's hard sayings at Capernaum.*—St. John records ($6^{60ff.}$) that the sequel of the Lord's teaching at Capernaum about the bread of life was that many of His disciples left Him. Jesus turns to the Twelve and asks them if they too are intending to go away. Simon Peter at once answers for the rest. His reply brings out the apostle's belief in the Lord (1) as superior to all other teachers (πρὸς τίνα ἀπελ.; cf. Jn 3^{2}); (2) as the source of a life-giving revelation (cf. v.^{63}); (3) as the embodiment of Divine holiness.

This, the last element in the confession, is introduced with the emphatic ἡμεῖς πεπιστεύκαμεν καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν. The apostles (ἡμεῖς) with their sure conviction are placed in contrast to the faithless seceders. Their present assured belief is the outcome of past experience deliberately interpreted. What is the meaning of the title ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ? In a wholly independent context it is put into the mouth of the demoniac (Mk 1^{24}). It would therefore appear to be a recognized title, probably a title of the Messiah. This is confirmed when we turn to Ac 3^{14} (τὸν ἅγιον κ. δίκαιον ἠρνήσασθε), where it is placed beside τὸν . . . δίκαιον (which is certainly used of Messiah; see below, on Theology of St. Peter's Speeches). In this (apparently) Messianic title two lines of thought, as it would seem, converge. (*a*) Jehovah is 'the Holy One of Israel' (*e.g.* Is 1^{4}). (*b*) The messengers of Jehovah, the typical priest (τὸν Ἀαρὼν τὸν ἅγιον κυρίου, Ps 105 (106) ^{17}) and the prophet (2 K 4^{9}) are holy; the whole theocratic nation is holy (*e.g.* Ex 19^{6}, Nu 16^{3}; note in this connexion the mysterious phrase 'the Saints' apparently of the members of the nation, Zec 14^{5}, Dn $7^{18.22.25.27}$). This holiness is conceived of by current Jewish expectation as actually realized in the Messianic people, Ps-Sol 17^{36} (ὅτι πάντες ἅγιοι, κ. βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν χριστὸς κύριος). The Messiah Himself, then, who was regarded at once as the special messenger of Jehovah, and also as the flower and crown of the Messianic nation, was naturally described as 'the Holy One,' 'the Holy One of God.' But just as the Messianic title ὁ δίκαιος was raised to a higher and more absolute meaning by later NT writers (*e.g.* 1 Jn 2^{1}), so it was in the case of ὁ ἅγιος (Rev 3^{7}, 1 Jn 2^{20}). To return to St. Peter's use of the phrase at Capernaum, though the words are an official title, yet their ethical and spiritual meaning is not lost here or in Mk 1^{24}. Messiah's sinlessness and purity were a magnet to faithful disciples (cf. 1 P 2^{22}). And the avowed realization of this, as contrasted with Lk 5^{8}, marks a stage in the apostle's spiritual education.

(iii.) *The questions at Cæsarea Philippi.*—There are three stages in the history—(A) *The Confession* (Mt 16^{13-28}, Mk 8^{27-38}, Lk 9^{18-27}).—The account in Mt is the fullest; on the omission of the promise to St. Peter in Mk see Swete on 8^{29}. The Galilæan ministry was drawing to a close (see Swete, p. 166). Our Lord was farther from Jerusalem than at any other time of His ministry, and on the borders of the purely Gentile world. The time and place, then, of themselves suggest the question whether Israel, generally and as represented by His immediate disciples, accepted Him;

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[*] Mt 8^{14} introduces the account without any indication of time. It would appear that at this point he is bringing together typical works of healing (8^{1-17}), just as he has brought into a single discourse (5–7; cf. 13) typical utterances of the Lord.

whether the foundation for the great work of the future was being solidly laid. The occasion was felt by the Lord to be a great crisis, and He prepared for it as such by prayer (Lk 9^{18}). The confession of St. Peter at Capernaum was the impulsive response of the disciple to the Master's anxious, foreboding question. But now the stage in the education of the Twelve had been reached when it was well that they should deliberately and definitely face the question of the Lord's Person. In the outskirts (Mk 8^{27}), therefore, of Cæsarea the Lord put two questions to the Twelve —(*a*) What were men generally saying of Him? Here they all contributed something to the answer. They had seen different sides of Jewish opinion. (*b*) What was the thought of the Twelve themselves about Him? Here the answer of one is the answer of all, and St. Peter is their natural spokesman. The Twelve regarded Him as the Divine Messiah.

The Gospels vary as to the words—*Σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός* (Mk), *τὸν χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ* (Lk), *Σὺ εἶ ὁ χρ. ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος* (Mt). The important question arises, Was St. Peter commended for confessing the Divinity of Jesus or His Messiahship? It is probably true that 'the Son of God' was not a common designation of the Messiah, but (1) the language of 2 Es $7^{28.\,29}$ ('My Son Messiah') $13^{32.\,37.\,52}$ 14^{9}; comp. Enoch 105^{2}; (2) the language which the evangelists put into the mouths of persons who can hardly be conceived of as one and all rising to the absolute meaning of the title 'Son of God,' but who would naturally use Messianic language (Mt 8^{29} ‖ Mk Lk, Mt 14^{33} see above, Mt $27^{40.\,43}$ [27^{54} ‖ Mk], Mk 3^{11}, Lk 22^{70}, Jn $1^{34.\,49}$ 11^{27} 19^{7}); (3) the language of Lk 4^{41} (*σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ . . . ᾔδεισαν τὸν χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι*); (4) the language of St. Matthew in the immediate context, v.^{20} *ἵνα μηδενὶ εἴπωσιν ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστός*, seem to make it clear that the title 'Son of God' was used as bearing a Messianic meaning in our Lord's day. Hence it matters little whether we consider *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος* as part of the original confession, or as an addition of St. Matthew. In either case it is as Messiah that St. Peter confesses Jesus. See especially Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* pp. 219–226. Thus the revelation of suffering which follows in each Gospel is the earliest insistence on that side of the true Messiah's work which became the greatest stumbling-block to the Jew.

(B) *Our Lord's welcome of the Confession* (Mt 16^{17-19} only).—It is clear that our Lord regarded the deliberate confession of His Messiahship as marking a crisis in His relations with the Twelve, and as a pledge of the growth of the kingdom. He answers it with a solemn beatitude addressed to St. Peter (*μακάριος εἶ*—the only occasion when the Lord pronounces a beatitude on an individual), and by a declaration that his confession had no lower source than a revelation from the Father Himself (cf. Gal $1^{15\text{f.}}$). And then speaking, as it would appear, as King Messiah (*κἀγὼ δέ*—'The Father has revealed Me as Messiah to the disciple; I in turn reveal My disciples' place in the kingdom'), He opens out the future under four metaphors—

(*a*) *St. Peter as the foundation of the new Israel.*—Taking the Syriac versions as our guide, we may conclude that our Lord's words, spoken in Aramaic, run thus: 'Thou art *Cepha*, and upon this *Cepha* I will build my congregation.' Here there are three points to be briefly considered—(*α*) *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μου*. The word is used in its ancient theocratic sense, and the meaning is best represented by the paraphrase, 'I will build my *Israel*.' It must be sufficient to refer to Hort's *The Christian Ecclesia* pp. 3–18, esp. p. 10 f. (*β*) *οἰκοδομήσω*. The metaphor of building, to express the idea of creating and giving unity and permanence to a society of men, is not uncommon in the OT (*e.g.* Ps 28^{5}, Jer 18^{9}). It is important to notice that the Lord reserves to Himself the prerogative of activity. He alone is the builder. Compare the Messianic parable in *Sibyll. Orac.* v. 420 ff. (*γ*) In what sense is *Cepha* the foundation? Does the word point to the first stone of the building, the foundation-stone, or to the soil, the rock on which the first stones are laid? We may say, in view of our Lord's earlier saying (Mt $7^{24\text{ff.}}$, Lk 6^{48}), that almost certainly the latter is the true interpretation.[*] Thus the Rock is, so far as the scope of the parable is concerned, separated from the stones reared thereon. This last point helps us to answer the question as to the interpretation of the Rock. It is the apostle who has just made the confession that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah. The parable itself limits its application. When the foundation has been laid, the apostle's function as described by the metaphor will have ceased. He will support the first stones of the ecclesia. The true comment on the Lord's promise is Ac 1–10.

Other interpretations of these famous words can be only briefly noted. (1) The Rock is *Christ*. This interpretation is excluded by the fact that in the Aramaic there is no variation (Cepha . . . Cepha) as in the Greek (*πέτρος . . . πέτρᾳ*), and that Christ Himself speaks of Himself as the *builder*. (2) The Rock is *St. Peter's confession*. This interpretation is excluded by the fact that the confession considered in itself was wholly inadequate. It does not include either the Resurrection or the Divinity of the Lord. Its value was strictly relative to the time when it was made. The same consideration excludes the modification of the above view which explains the Rock of *St. Peter's faith*. That faith was a quality which varied from time to time. (3) *St. Peter as the type of, or in combination with, the other apostles*, is the Rock. So Hort (*Ecclesia* p. 16 f., *e.g.* 'In virtue of this personal faith vivifying their discipleship, the Apostles became themselves the first little Ecclesia, constituting a living rock upon which,' etc.). But our Lord's words, as reported by St. Matthew, could not be more personal. To suppose that the Lord addresses St. Peter here as a type of his fellow-apostles, is in effect to imply that no words could be personal unless a typical reference were explicitly excluded. See also 'Additional Note' on p. 795^{b}.

A clear statement as to the exposition of the words and the lines of patristic interpretation is to be found in Lightfoot, *Clement* ii. pp. 481–490.

(*b*) *The new Israel as the conqueror.*—The *ἐκκλησία* is an aggressive power. Death—the adversary of Christ—is in possession of his stronghold. But 'his gates' (cf. Ps 9^{13} 107^{18}, Job 38^{17}, Is 38^{10}) cannot withstand the attack. The new Israel is victorious against 'walled cities' like the first Israel (cf. *e.g.* Dt $3^{4\text{f.}}$). Such appears to be the meaning. The clause, however, has no special bearing on St. Peter's functions.

(*c*) *St. Peter as the steward of the kingdom.*[†]—*δώσω σοι τὰς κλεῖδας τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν*. The words seem to be an intentional reminiscence of the message of Jehovah as to Eliakim (Is 22^{22}): 'The key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder.' The words are paraphrased in the LXX text represented by B (*καὶ δώσω τὴν δόξαν Δαυεὶδ αὐτῷ*), but ℵ* has *καὶ δώσω καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν κλῖδαν οἴκου Δ.*, and A has a conflate reading.

(*d*) *St. Peter as the scribe who 'binds' and 'looses.'*—*καὶ ὃ ἐὰν δήσῃς κ.τ.λ.* In this use of 'binding' and 'loosing' there cannot be but a close reference to the current technical use of these words to express the authoritative decision of a scribe on a matter of obligation (cf. Mt 5^{19}; cf. Edersheim, *Life and Times* ii. p. 84 f.). Such decisions on St. Peter's part in the new kingdom shall be the echoes of decisions already promulgated in heaven. On these two verses see especially Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* pp. 174–178.

In regard to the essential meaning of this series of metaphors as applied to St. Peter, the following points should be noted: (1) They seem to be all conditioned by the scope of the first of them, the rock-foundation, *i.e.* our Lord is dealing with the first stage of the history of the new ecclesia. The relation of St. Peter to the new Israel is in some sense to correspond to the relation of Moses and Joshua to the ancient Israel. (2) The promise as to 'binding' and 'loosing' given here to St. Peter is in Mt 18^{18} given to the disciples. It would seem, therefore, if the words in the two places are to be understood in precisely the same sense, that St. Peter is, on the former occasion, singled out from the other disciples because he would be the first to exercise, or would be the leader in the exercise of, a power common to all. At the same time it must be noted that (*α*) the context in ch. 18 (viz. vv.$^{15-17.\ 21\text{ff.}}$) deals with the forgiveness of sins; (*β*) Dalman (p. 177) shows that in Jewish Aramaic the word 'to loose' (שְׁרָא), at any rate, is used metaphorically in *various* senses. It does not then seem certain that the terms must bear the same meaning in both passages. (3) The Bk. of the Acts records the historical fulfilment of the promises to St. Peter. But it must be remembered that in that Book we have not a *complete* history of the earliest days of the Church, and that the writer is himself familiar rather with somewhat later developments. There may well have been occasions, unnoticed by the author of the Acts, which contributed to the complete fulfilment of the Lord's promises to St. Peter.

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[*] It is true that the word *cepha* is not used by the Syriac versions in these two passages. But that the word *cepha* does mean 'a rock' as well as 'a stone' is clear from the fact that it is used to render *πέτρα* in Mt 27^{60} (Pesh.) 27^{51} (Syr$^{\text{sin}}$ Pesh.); it may therefore have been used by our Lord in the saying in question. See additional note on the Rabbinical use of Rock in reference to Abraham at end of art. 1 PETER.

[†] Compare the remarkable legend preserved in *Apoc. Baruch* 10^{18} and (in a somewhat different form) in the *Rest of the Words of Baruch* 4, 'Jeremiah took the keys of the sanctuary of God and went out of the city and cast them away before the sun, saying, "To thee I say, O sun, take the keys of the sanctuary of God . . . forasmuch as we were not found worthy to keep them, because we were false stewards."'

(C) *The Lord's rebuke of St. Peter.*—The confession of St. Peter and our Lord's announcement that He Himself would be the founder of a new Israel form the turning-point in the education of the Twelve. Mt marks the transition by the phrase ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο (v.^{21}), which in 4^{17} stands at the beginning of the ministry, and occurs nowhere else. Henceforth the Lord reveals to the apostles the mystery of the Divine purpose (δεῖ) as to the Messiah —His humiliation in His rejection by the representatives of Israel at Jerusalem (the centre of Israel's life) and His death, His exaltation in the Resurrection. The idea of a suffering Messiah was alien to current Jewish expectations (cf. Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. p. 184 ff.). St. Peter at once protests against his Master's appropriation of it to Himself. His action (προσλαβόμενος) and his words[*] alike imply a position of kindly patronage towards the Lord. The Lord turns immediately upon him, and the sight of the other disciples (Mk) necessitates a public and severe rebuke—a reversal for the time of the words of commendation just pronounced;—a sentence of rebuff, pronounced as upon an enemy, takes the place of the beatitude; the rock-foundation of Messiah's Israel has become Messiah's stumbling-stone; a temper of mind capable of receiving the revelation of the Father has been succeeded by a temper of mind wholly earthly.

A week after these events at Cæsarea (Mk $9^{2\text{ff.}}$, Mt $17^{1\text{ff.}}$, Lk $9^{28\text{ff.}}$), the three disciples, who had been witnesses of a previous revelation of Christ as the *Life*, are allowed, on the Mount of Transfiguration, to learn the 'mystery' of Christ as the *Glory* of God. The impulsive and inopportune request of St. Peter sprang from a dread of the withdrawal of the outward signs of revelation (cf. 2 Co $3^{7.\ 13}$); it was the prayer of a consciously weak and earthly faith. The revelation on the mountain confirmed both elements in the disclosure of the issues of Messiah's life on earth which the Lord gave at Cæsarea. The uniqueness of His Person was brought home to the Three by (*a*) the glory of the Lord Himself; (*b*) His mysterious converse with the Founder and the Reformer of Israel's polity, in which He is seen to be the mediator between the living and the departed; (*c*) the voice from heaven attesting His Sonship.

In the period between the Transfiguration and the Entry into Jerusalem St. Peter is mentioned on *four* occasions. At Capernaum, his home, the collectors of the temple dues put to him the question whether his Master did not pay the half-shekel, and St. Peter is made by his Master the means of its payment. The Lord uses the incident to lead up His disciple's mind to the conception of His Divine Sonship (Mt $17^{24\text{ff.}}$). On the three remaining occasions St. Peter is represented as questioning the Lord as to the practical and immediate bearing of His words,—asking as to the scope of the parables of the faithful slaves and the sudden coming of the thief (Lk 12^{41}, cf. Mk 13^{37}); asking as to the number of times a brother should be forgiven (Mt 18^{21}); asking as to the reward in store for the Twelve in view of their absolute self-renunciation, as contrasted with the refusal of the young ruler to surrender his wealth and follow Christ (Mt 19^{27}, Mk 10^{28}, Lk 18^{28}). These questions reveal the apostle's impulsiveness, the practical bent of his character, something perhaps of a lack of reverence towards his Master; while the last of them shows an undue sense of the deserts of himself and his fellow-apostles.

5. *The week before the Passion.*—Nothing is told us of St. Peter in connexion with the Triumphal Entry. Mk preserves two words of his addressed to Christ on the *Tuesday*. To St. Peter the sight of the withered fig-tree recalls (ἀναμνησθεὶς) the incident of the previous day, and he points his Master to the effect of His prophecy (Mk 11^{21}, cf. Mt 21^{20}). Again, after the Lord that same day had left the temple and crossed the Kidron on His way to Bethany, He sat down on the Mt. of Olives. The main body of the apostles apparently continued their way. Four of their number—Peter, James, John, and Andrew—possibly deputed by the rest, asked Him privately a question as to the *time* when His prophecy just spoken should have its fulfilment, and as to the events which should herald it (Mk 13^{3}; cf. Mt 24^{3}, Lk 21^{7}). The form of the sentence (ἐπηρώτα αὐτὸν . . . Πέτρος καὶ Ἰάκωβος κ.τ.λ.) suggests that St. Peter was the spokesman. Luke preserves the detail that on the *Thursday* it was St. Peter and St. John whom the Lord sent to 'prepare the passover' (22^{8}; cf. Mt 26^{18}, Mk 14^{13}). In the Upper Room and in the events which followed St. Peter took a prominent part. It appears that at the Paschal meal the Lord took the place of host, St. Peter the second place, reclining on Christ's left, St. John the third, on the Lord's right hand (Westcott on Jn 13^{23}). When, then, Christ washed the disciples' feet (Jn $13^{4\text{ff.}}$), St. Peter must have been either the first or the last to whom He came. The former alternative is the more probable, Jn's favourite οὖν here (v.^{6}) as elsewhere simply denoting immediate sequence. In the dialogue which follows, different traits of the apostle's character are vividly brought out in his question expressing startled humility (v.^{6} Κύριε, σύ μου . . . ;), in his emphatic refusal (οὐ μὴ . . . εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα) to allow Christ to wash his feet, in his sudden change of mind and the eager prayer in which, giving a material meaning to Christ's words, he asks for what he considers a larger blessing. Later on in the meal, when the Lord speaks of the presence of the traitor (v.^{21}), St. Peter, assuming that He had whispered the secret to St. John, abruptly asks the latter to tell it openly to the rest. Later still, when the traitor had gone out, St. Peter, taking up Christ's words (v.^{33}) about His 'going,' inquires with his old literalness whither He is going; and again, asserting his absolute devotion, why he cannot at once follow his Master in His mysterious journey (v.$^{36\text{ff.}}$). At this point Jn inserts the prophecy of the three denials. Lk ($22^{28\text{ff.}}$) also puts the warning at this time, though his version of the Lord's words is different from that in Jn. In Lk Christ solemnly addresses Peter and unveils the world of spiritual conflict. Satan had demanded the surrender to himself of all the apostles, as he had demanded Job (Job 1^{12} 2^{6}), that he might sift them all—the metaphor bringing out their weakness and their separation (cf. *e.g.* Ps 1^{4}). But Peter had been the subject of urgent supplication on his Master's part that his faith might not wholly and finally fail (ἐκλίπῃ). It is implied that the apostle would not pass through the trial unscathed. But beyond the trial a return to former spiritual relationships is promised—a return which would bring with it the duty of 'stablishing his brethren.' In answer to Peter's protestation of absolute fidelity, Christ explicitly foretells that before the cock crowed (twice, Mk) the next morning, Peter would thrice deny Him.[*] It is remarkable that in Jn, though three other of the Twelve ($14^{5.\ 8.\ 22}$) interrupt the Lord's words with questions, St. Peter remains silent, perplexed and saddened, it would seem, by his Master's unexpected doubt of his loyalty. At length Christ and the Eleven go out into the Mount of Olives. It is at this point that, according to Mt ($26^{31\text{ff.}}$) and Mk ($14^{27\text{ff.}}$), the Lord warned them that they all would 'be made to stumble,' and foretold in detail Peter's faithlessness—a prophecy prefaced and followed by passionate protestations on the apostle's part. Thus it appears that we have three different accounts—Mt ‖ Mk, Lk, Jn—of Christ's words to Peter as to the denial. A not improbable solution of the difficulty is that Christ warned His followers several times that night that their loyalty towards Himself would be sorely tested; that He only once explicitly foretold Peter's fall; but that the several evangelists connected that prophecy with different words of warning. When the Lord and His apostles reached Gethsemane (Mt $26^{36\text{ff.}}$, Mk $14^{32\text{ff.}}$), He took Peter and James and John aside from the rest and admitted them to a knowledge of the *μυστήριον* of His human sorrow and perfected obedience, the last of the three revelations which were crises in their spiritual education. On His return to them the first time, finding them sleeping, He singles out Peter for rebuke, tacitly contrasting his inability to 'watch one hour' with his earlier boast. One other detail is preserved as to Peter's conduct in the garden, at the moment of the Lord's arrest (Mt $26^{51\text{ff.}}$, Mk $14^{47\text{ff.}}$, Lk $22^{50\text{ff.}}$, Jn $18^{10\text{f.}}$). Not waiting for an answer to the question, 'Lord, shall we smite with the sword?' (Lk, cf. 22^{38}), and going near to frustrate the Lord's care for His followers' safety (Jn 18^{8}), he snatches his sword out of its sheath and, striking at the head of a slave of the high priest who had, as we may suppose, taken hold of Christ, he wounds him. Christ's last miracle secures the safety of the apostles by undoing the misdoing of His impetuous follower. Jn, when all reasons for reticence were over, gives us the names, 'Simon Peter,' 'Malchus'; Lk alone records the healing. When Christ was led away to the high priest's official residence, St. Peter, striking a balance between his fears for himself and his love for his Master, 'followed afar off' (Mt, Mk, Lk). Apparently, as he drew near the high priest's palace, he overtook St. John (Jn 18^{15}), and was by him brought into the court. The latter, it would seem, passed on into the audience-chamber. Then follow the three denials, the whole group of incidents taking up about an hour (Lk 22^{59}). On the relation to each other of the narratives in the four Gospels see Westcott, Additional Notes to Jn 18. The second cock-crow (Mk) and the sudden piercing gaze of the Lord (ἐνέβλεψεν, Lk) recalled to Peter's mind the prophecy of Christ, 'and he went out and wept bitterly' (Mt, Lk; on Mk's ἐπιβαλών see Field's interesting note in *Notes on the Translation of the NT* p. 41). There is no further reference to St. Peter in the history of the Passion.

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[*] Syr$^{\text{sin}}$ in Mk 8^{32} reads, 'But Simon Cepha, as if sparing Him, said to Him, (God) spares Thee.' The last words, a formula of deprecation (cf. *e.g.* Ac 10^{14} 11^{8}), render the ἵλεώς σοι of Mt 16^{22} in Syr$^{\text{cur}}$ Pesh. From this formula the remarkable paraphrase, 'as if sparing Him,' is derived.

6. *The period between the Resurrection and the Ascension.*—In the accounts of the day of the Resurrection St. Peter is twice mentioned. From these notices it appears that after his fall he did not separate himself from the other apostles, and that he was still regarded as their natural leader. (i.) Early on that morning Mary Magdalene hurried from the garden to Simon Peter and to John, to tell them that the tomb was empty. The two apostles went together to the tomb, as they had gone together to the high priest's court three days before. They both ran, but St. Peter, the older man, fell behind. St. John came first to the sepulchre, but did not enter. St. Peter, practical and impetuous, went into the sepulchre, and took note (θεωρεῖ) of the orderly arrangement of the cloths and the napkin. Then they returned, still (it would seem[*]) perplexed, to their own homes (Jn 20^{1-10}). (ii.) Later in the day, some time before the evening, the Lord appeared to St. Peter—alone—to seal his repentance with forgiveness (Lk 24^{34}; cf. 1 Co 15^{5}, where the appearance to Cephas has the first place). (iii.) In the third appearance of Christ to the apostles as a body (Jn 21; cf. $20^{19.\ 26}$), at the Lake of Tiberias, Peter takes a conspicuous part. The quick intuition of faith is characteristic of John (v.^{7}; cf. 20^{8}). But when another has discerned the Lord, the rapid act of preparation, the leap into the sea that he may reach his Master the quicker, then, when all have landed, the return to the ship that he may begin the necessary work of bringing the net to land,—all these acts belong to a lifelike portrait of St. Peter. After the meal, provided by Christ, there follows St. Peter's public restoration, corresponding to the private assurance of forgiveness given him on the day of the Resurrection.[†] To the thrice-repeated denial there answers the thrice-repeated question as to his love towards Christ and the thrice-repeated charge, covering the whole sphere of pastoral activity. So far the official and the personal have been blended together. Now in a solemn 'oracle' (ἀμὴν, ἀμήν) the Lord deals with the personal issue of the apostle's life of service—the helplessness and the devotion of a martyr's death. The last recorded word of St. Peter addressed to Christ is an impulsive, unselfish question (v.^{21}). The last word of Christ to St. Peter is an echo of the earliest call interpreted in the light of the cross—*ἀκολούθει μοι . . . σύ μοι ἀκολούθει* (vv.$^{19.\ 22}$).

II. HISTORY OF ST. PETER AFTER THE ASCENSION, IN THE NT.—The three periods of the growth of the Church, treated of in the Acts,[‡] are clearly described in 1^{8}—the Church of Jerusalem, the Church of Palestine, the Church of the World.

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[*] For the Fayum fragment see Harnack in *Texte u. Untersuch.* v. 4, p. 483 ff., and especially Hort's letters to the *Times* (June 25, July 16, 1885).

[*] To one who hesitates to accept Hort's theory of 'Western non-interpolations' (see the writer's *Syro-Latin Text* p. 130 n.) the external evidence against the authenticity of Lk 24^{12} must seem of very little weight. On the other hand, the linguistic similarity to Jn is curious, and cannot be accidental. It would be rash to assert that we have not here a sign of cross-currents of apostolic tradition, which the available evidence will perhaps never enable us to follow out.

[†] On the subtle variation of words in Jn 21^{15-17} see Westcott's notes.

[‡] The theory of Blass, that the common and the 'Western' texts of the Lucan Books represent two editions by St. Luke, is well known. The present writer has criticised it in *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels* p. 133 n. In that book and in *The Old Syriac Element in Cod. Bezæ* he has given reasons for his belief that the 'Western' text is largely due to (1) assimilation to scriptural passages; (2) the influence of Old Syriac texts. 'Western' readings of exceptional interest in parts of the Acts dealing with St. Peter are to be found in 10^{25} 11^{2} (a mosaic of phrases used in Ac and Epistles about St. Paul) 12^{10}

1. *The Church of Jerusalem* (1^{1}–8^{1}).—During this period St. Peter stands alone as the leader and spokesman of the disciples.

(*a*) In the days which passed between the Ascension and the day of Pentecost, St. Peter in the first apostolic speech urged the appointment of a disciple to fill the apostolate of Judas. Into the problems suggested by Lk's record of the speech (including the insertion, v.$^{18f.}$) it is unnecessary to enter. It is sufficient to notice (i.) that St. Peter bases his argument on an appeal to the OT, *i.e.* to two passages of the Psalms (68 (69)^{26} 108 (109)^{8} LXX), prefiguring respectively the vacancy of the traitor's pastoral office and the duty of appointing a successor; (ii.) that St. Peter defines the essential function of an apostle as being 'a witness of the Resurrection [of the Lord Jesus].'

(*b*) On the early morning of Pentecost the disciples were all gathered together in one of the many chambers (οἶκοι) of the temple (v.^{2}; for this sense of οἶκος cf. *e.g.* Jer 42 (35)^{4} 43 (36)$^{10. 12}$; Jos. *Ant.* VIII. iii. 2). The chambers and courts of the temple were crowded with worshippers from among 'the dwellers at Jerusalem' (v.^{6} τὸ πλῆθος; cf. 21^{36}, Lk 1^{10}), to whom 'immediately after midnight the Temple gates [had been] thrown open' (Edersheim, *The Temple* p. 228). Such in all probability was the place* and such the audience of St. Peter's speech, after the Spirit had been given and His presence attested by the gift of tongues. A strong case can be made out for the opinion that St. Peter spoke in Greek (T. K. Abbott, *Essays* p. 129 ff.; Salmon, *Introduction*^{6} p. 172 f.; on the other side see Neubauer in *Studia Biblica* i. p. 62 ff.).† The speech begins as an *apologia* (v.^{15}); it ends with a proclamation of the crucified Jesus of Nazareth as the Sovereign Messiah (v.^{36}).

Ac 2^{14-36}. Jesus, the enthroned Messiah.

(1) Vv.$^{14-21}$. The charge of drunkenness is disproved (*a*) by the circumstances, 'the third hour of the day'; (*b*) by the fact that the phenomena correspond to Joel's prophecy (Jl 2^{28-32} (3^{1-5})).

(2) Vv.$^{22-24}$. Jesus of Nazareth was accredited as God's messenger to Israel by Divine miracles; according to God's eternal counsel He was surrendered to the Jews, murdered by them through the instrumentality of Gentiles, raised from death by God Himself—the necessary issue.

The Divine purpose and action are throughout emphasized.

(3) Vv.$^{25-32}$. This necessity was foreshadowed in David's prophecy (Ps 15 (16)$^{8-11}$). His words could not apply to himself. Therefore, as a prophet, in view of the promised dynasty (Ps 131 (132)^{11}, 2 S 7^{12}), he foresaw and spoke of 'the raising up of the anointed one'—a prophecy finally fulfilled in the Resurrection.

(4) Vv.$^{33-35}$. The Resurrection involved the exaltation through the Divine action. The exalted Messiah receives from the Father, and gives, the promised Spirit.

It is impossible that the exaltation should be interpreted of David; for David spoke of 'his lord,' seated at God's right hand (Ps 109 (110)^{1}).

(5) V.^{36}. The duty, therefore, of all Israel (the 'Dispersion' and the dwellers at Jerusalem alike) is to acknowledge God's action in constituting the victim of their malice the Anointed One and the Sovereign King—Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.

The result of St. Peter's speech was the conviction of his hearers. In answer to their question, 'What shall we do?' (cf. Lk $3^{10. 12f.}$), he urges—(1) that they should repent, *i.e.* of the great national sin of rejecting the Messiah; (2) that each should be baptized in the name of Jesus Messiah; (3) such baptism having as its result forgiveness, (4) and leading on to the bestowal of the special gift of the Spirit.

With the day of Pentecost the life of the Church as a society, quickened and endowed with the gifts of the Spirit, began.

(*c*) How long a time elapsed between the day of Pentecost and the evening when St. Peter worked the 'notable sign' on the cripple at the Beautiful Gate there is no evidence. The miracle was wrought 'in the name of Jesus Messiah, the Nazarene.' The man healed was a well-known object of pity, and his restoration at once drew 'all the people' round him and Peter and John in the great eastern portico of the temple. To them St. Peter proclaims Jesus as the Restorer.

Ac 3^{12-26}. Jesus, the glorified Servant, the Restorer.

(1) Vv.$^{12-16}$. The miracle was not the work of the apostles; it was an incident in the unbroken history of Redemption. For the name of Jesus, the Servant of the God of the Fathers, rejected and slain by Israel, raised and glorified by God, was the source of restoration.

(2) Vv.$^{17-26}$. Israel's present position, duty, and hope. (*a*) The 'sufferings of the Messiah' were due, on the *human* side, to the crime of Israel's ignorance, on the *Divine* side to the action of God in fulfilment of His utterances through the prophets. (*b*) Consequently (οὖν) there is a present call to national repentance, such repentance issuing in (1) forgiveness; (2) the advent of 'seasons of refreshing'; (3) the final mission of the Messiah as the Restorer of all things. (*c*) Israel's present opportunity was foretold by Moses and all the prophets. Of this prophetic line and of the first covenant those present are the heirs. To them belongs a priority in the blessings which spring from God's act in raising up and sending His Servant, whose work reaches to the conversion of each Israelite.

The action and the words of St. Peter were a double challenge. The officials in charge of the temple resented the assumption of the position of 'teachers' on the part of men whom they despised as *'am ha-'areẓ*. The Sadducees were provoked by the proclamation of the Resurrection. The two apostles were therefore put in prison, and the next morning brought before the Sanhedrin. In answer to the formal question as to their authority or commission, St. Peter answered that the cripple was healed 'by the name of Jesus Messiah, the Nazarene,' whom the rulers to whom he speaks had crucified, whom God had raised. He then brings together the three thoughts—Messiah's rejection, the apparent triumph of the rulers, the reversal of their judgment and the exaltation of the rejected One—in the words of Ps 117 (118)^{22}, and declares that in this Name only is there salvation. It is to be noticed that, the first time that St. Peter appears before the high priests, he appeals to that verse of the Psalms by a reference to which (after the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen) our Lord a few weeks before had roused their vain resentment (Mt $21^{42ff.}$ ‖ Mk, Lk). It was this, doubtless, which led them to recognize the apostles as the companions of Jesus. At length, in spite of their refusal to be silent as to the facts of their experience (4^{20}; cf. 1 Jn $1^{1f.}$), the apostles are set at liberty by the chief priests.

(*d*) In the next subsection (4^{32}–5^{16}) the Acts turns from the external dangers and triumphs to the inner life of the Church. Two contrasted cases of the action of the members of the brotherhood in regard to property are narrated—the case of Barnabas, and the case of Ananias and Sapphira. In dealing with Ananias, St. Peter exercises the χάρισμα of 'discernment of spirits.' When the guilt of Ananias has been proved by his fate, and Sapphira comes before him, St. Peter is represented as foretelling her doom. The apostle is the Joshua of the new Israel (Jos $7^{16ff.}$; cf. 2 K $5^{20ff.}$). With this history the words of St. Paul (1 Co 5^{5}, 1 Ti 1^{20}) should be compared.

(the 'seven steps' due to assimilation to Ezk $40^{6. 22}$). See also 'Western' readings in $3^{11. 14}$ $4^{14. 24}$ 5^{29} 8^{24} $10^{13. 15. 19. 26. 39. 41}$ 11^{17} $12^{5. 7. 17}$ $16^{7. 12}$.

* The supposition that the events described in Ac 2 took place in the temple is in itself natural; it explains several details of the history; and it is in complete harmony, it is believed, with Lk's language.

† The internal evidence of the speeches in the Acts (see below, p. 766) appears to the present writer a complete refutation of the theory which regards them as the simple invention of the author of the book, and a proof that with varying accuracy they represent what was said on the several occasions. That the author of the Acts, however, is responsible for their present literary form and for much of their language is a view quite consistent with a belief in their substantial fidelity. It is quite possible that St. Peter and St. Luke met at Rome—an important point for the criticism of the Gospel and the Acts.

Shortly afterwards there ensued among the apostles a fresh activity of the 'gift of healing.' In particular, St. Peter became an object of almost superstitious regard to the populace at Jerusalem. And the fame of these miracles spread through the neighbouring districts.

(*e*) This outburst of popular feeling awoke the envy of the Sadducæan faction (5^{17-42}). They now, in order to ensure the destruction of this new insurrection against their materializing views, imprison all the apostles. The latter, delivered from prison, resume in the temple their work of public teaching. Brought by the chief officer of the temple before the Sanhedrin, the apostles by the mouth of St. Peter (1) affirm that they are acting according to a Divine command, which they have no choice but to obey. (2) They affirm the continuity of national redemption. God, who had 'raised up' judges (cf. *e.g.* Jg $2^{16.\ 18.}$ 3^{9}), had 'raised up Jesus.' The action of the rulers in putting Him to a cruel death, which seemed to mark Him out as cursed of God (cf. Dt 21^{23}), had been reversed by God's action in exalting Him both to rule and to deliver, in order that Israel might receive the gifts of national repentance and national forgiveness. (3) They affirm that their witness to this message was inspired by the Spirit, a Divine gift bestowed, not on Israel's worldly rulers, but on faithful Israelites who obeyed God's revelation. By these words the Sadducæan party was kindled to a frenzy of murderous hatred. But in a private conference the Pharisee Gamaliel persuaded them to follow a more prudent policy. They recall the apostles, scourge them, and dismiss them with a command that they should no more 'speak in the name of Jesus.'

St. Peter's name does not occur in the history either of the appointment of the Seven or of the trial of Stephen. When, after the murder of the latter, 'a great persecution' arose and the brethren 'were scattered,' St. Peter, with the other apostles, remained in Jerusalem.

Thus, during the earliest period of the Church's life at Jerusalem, St. Peter vindicates the primacy with which the Lord entrusted him. He is never, indeed, represented as independent of the other apostles. But he is throughout the history the leader and spokesman of the rest—within the society of the brethren ($1^{15ff.}$ $5^{1ff.}$) itself, before the crowds of listening and inquiring Jews ($2^{14ff.}$ $2^{37ff.}$ $3^{12ff.}$; cf. 5^{15}), before the Sanhedrin ($4^{8ff.}$ $5^{29ff.}$).

2. *The Church of Palestine* (8^{1}–9^{31}).—(*a*) After the outbreak of the persecution, the new, like the old, Israel became a *διασπορά* (*διεσπάρησαν*, *διασπαρέντες*, $8^{1.\ 4}$ 11^{19}). The story of what seems to have been the most important of these enforced evangelistic journeys is given in detail. Philip, one of the Seven, instructs and baptizes many converts in 'the city of Samaria.' The step was an important one. It involved the admission that pure Israelitish blood was not a necessary qualification for admission to the Christian society. The apostles, acting together (8^{14}), sent the two most prominent members of their body, Peter and John, to review and to confirm the work of the evangelist. An outpouring of the Holy Spirit in this second stage of the Church's history answers to the day of Pentecost in the first period. But the gift is not spontaneous. It is the Divine response to the prayer of the two apostles, and it is bestowed through their act of ministry. In the sequel St. Peter appears as the sole actor. Simon Magus regards the whole transaction as an exhibition of magical dexterity, and offers to pay liberally for the impartment to himself of the apostles' secret power. He stands out thus early in the history of the Church as the type of the degrading influence on Christianity of paganizing associations. Peter pronounces him to be at present an alien from the gospel, but holds out hope of the purifying influence of repentance and prayer for forgiveness. The apostles, after some further work, returned to Jerusalem, and on their way 'evangelized many villages of the Samaritans.' Thus, in this first effort to extend the gospel beyond its earliest limits, the initiation does not rest with St. Peter. The function which belongs to him, as one of the delegates of the apostolic college, is to set upon the work the seal of authoritative approval, and to deal decisively with a new danger inseparable from the contact of the Church with outside habits of thought and life.

In the earlier chapters of the Acts there is not one clear indication of date. But it is possible to ascertain approximately the time which elapsed between the Ascension and the visit of Peter and John to Samaria. It appears tolerably certain that Damascus was not included in the kingdom of Aretas before the beginning of the reign of Gaius (Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. p. 357 f.; Turner, art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT in vol. i. pp. 416, 424), and that therefore St. Paul's flight from Damascus (2 Co 11^{32}) cannot have been earlier than A.D. 37, nor his conversion earlier than 35 (Gal 1^{18}; cf. Ac 9^{23}). Some weeks, perhaps months, must have elapsed between the conversion of St. Paul and the martyrdom of St. Stephen (Ac 8^{3} 9^{13} $22^{4f.}$ $26^{10ff.}$ *εἰς τὰς ἔξω πόλεις*, Gal 1^{13}). Hence the apostles' visit to Samaria must have taken place about five years after the Ascension (A.D. 29).

3. *The Church of the World* (9^{32}–end).—After his return from Samaria, it seems that St. Peter continued at Jerusalem during the remainder of the persecution. But the conversion of Saul of Tarsus and the consequent peace of the Church were the signal for an important change in the apostolic policy. St. Peter starts alone on a journey of visitation and evangelization—vaguely described in Ac 9^{32} by the words *διερχόμενον διὰ πάντων*. It is followed by a more or less protracted sojourn at Lydda and Joppa, where Christian communities had already been founded, and later at Cæsarea. The significance of this notice is appreciated only when it is observed that throughout the earlier period of the history Luke has been at pains to emphasize the solidarity of the apostolic body at Jerusalem ($8^{1.\ 14}$ 6^{2} $5^{18.\ 40ff.}$). We are therefore led to the conclusion that this is the time when the apostolic college at Jerusalem, with St. Peter as its natural leader and spokesman, separated, and when James became the acknowledged head of the Church there. Luke sketches the history only of St. Peter at this important crisis, partly because of his primacy among the apostles, partly because his divinely guided action had an important bearing on the extension of the Church to the Gentiles.

The apostle's journey ended at Lydda, where the miraculous restoration of the cripple Æneas had a wide influence through Lydda and 'the Sharon.' From Lydda St. Peter is summoned to Joppa, and there restores Tabitha to life. Lk in his account of the miracle seems desirous of suggesting that with one significant exception—'he kneeled down and prayed'—St. Peter in action and in words imitated the example of the Lord in the house of Jairus. The miracle was the means of the conversion of many in Joppa. There Peter prolonged his sojourn, in the house of a certain Simon, a tanner, near the shore (10^{6}). The place was doubly significant. On the one hand, since the trade of a tanner was considered among the Jews as almost unclean (see Schoettgen and Wetstein on Ac 9^{43}), the choice of this house as a lodging may indicate that the apostle's Jewish prejudices were becoming weaker. On the other hand, Joppa, looking out over the waters of the Mediterranean, was to a Jew 'an entrance for the isles of the sea' (1 Mac 14^{5}), and by its very position suggested the problem of those 'afar off.' Thus the apostle's mind was in a sense prepared for the thrice-repeated vision, and for the divinely given interpretation of it—'What God hath cleansed, make not thou common'—overruling scruples which held him back from 'killing and eating' what to him as a Jew was 'common and unclean'*; and in turn this 'voice from heaven' prepared him to receive the monition of the Spirit that he should go with the messengers of the Roman centurion, 'nothing doubting.' In regard, then, to the evangelization of a Gentile, distinct supernatural direction was given to the Hebrew apostle as it had earlier been vouchsafed to the Hellenistic evangelist (8^{29}). St. Peter at once with six brethren (11^{12}), whose devotion to Judaism was beyond suspicion (10^{45}), went with Cornelius' messengers to Cæsarea. The entrance of the leader of the apostles into the Roman capital of Judæa, the noted seaport, predominantly Gentile in character, was in itself a crisis in the progress of the gospel. The sequel increased the significance of the visit. On his first meeting with Cornelius the apostle refuses the Roman's unexpected act of reverence, and entering the house begins with an emphatic statement as to the position of a religious Jew towards Gentiles, and as to the way in which God had Himself taught him to regard no human being as 'common or unclean.' This was the only explanation of his ready response to Cornelius' invitation. Then, in answer to Cornelius' story of the Divine direction granted to him, St. Peter begins his solemn address to his Gentile hearers.

It is clear that in 10$^{34-43}$ we have a summary of a speech which was early interrupted (11^{15}; cf. 4^{1} 7^{54} 22^{22}).

(1) V.$^{34f.}$. The apostle declares that now he grasps the truth that God is the moral ruler (not of Israel only, but) of men belonging to every nation.

(2) Vv.$^{36-41}$. There follows a historical statement as to the Divine message through Christ, the sovereign of all men, primarily addressed to Israel, His unction by the Holy Spirit, His ministry of miracles attested by witnesses, His shameful death, His Resurrection and manifestation through God's direct action to witnesses chosen by God, who by clear proofs were convinced that He was alive.

(3) Vv.$^{42.\ 43}$. He Himself commanded the apostles to proclaim to Israel His appointment by God as Judge of living and dead. The prophets' universal witness to Him implies the truth that every man (Gentile as well as Jew) may have through faith in Him the gift of forgiveness.

Doubtless, the prophets' witness was meant to be the preface to a statement of our Lord's commands as to 'all the nations.' Throughout the speech we notice two contrasted lines of thought—(1) the wider scope of revelation: *ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει* v.^{35}, *πάντων κύριος* v.^{36}, *πάντα τὸν πιστεύοντα* v.^{43}; (2) the insistence on Israel's being the primary destination of the gospel (vv.$^{36.\ 39.\ 42}$). It is significant that in regard to the universality of the Divine gifts an appeal is made to the witness of the prophets (v.^{43}). The reference to Israel's priority in blessing and to the prophets is very natural in the Jewish apostle, to whom the reconciliation of the old revelation and this new manifestation of God's purposes was a fresh problem. It probably had also an apologetic meaning in reference to the Jewish companions of St. Peter (v.^{45}).

As the apostle was speaking, the Holy Spirit fell upon his hearers, His presence being attested by the gift of tongues. The apostle at once interprets this miraculous endowment as a Divine sign of their admission within the Christian body, and directs their baptism.

Thus the Spirit at Cæsarea, as at Jerusalem at the first, was bestowed apart from any act of human ministry. The occasion is marked as the Gentile Pentecost.† It will be noticed that the three outpourings of the Spirit signalize the commencement of the three stages of the progress of the gospel—Jerusalem, Samaria, the Gentile world—and that with each of them St. Peter is intimately connected.

News of the events at Cæsarea soon reached Jerusalem, and the circumcised Christians complained of St. Peter's conduct in eating with uncircumcised Gentiles. Apparently a formal assembly of those in authority was held, and the apostle answered the charge brought against him by a simple narrative of what had taken place. The gainsayers were convinced. They confessed that 'God had granted to the Gentiles also repentance unto life' (11^{18})—a confession clearly falling very far short of an acknowledgment of the equal standing of Jew and Gentile in the Christian society.

These events took place in the months succeeding St. Paul's conversion. At the end of three years (*i.e.* A.D. 37 or 38 probably), St. Paul went up to Jerusalem (Gal 1^{18}, cf. Ac 9$^{26ff.}$ 22$^{17ff.}$ 26^{20}). His special object was 'to visit Cephas,' whose guest he was for fifteen days. His reference to this visit seems to show that St. Peter alone of the Twelve was at Jerusalem at this time.

Of St. Peter's life during the next six or seven years no notice is preserved. Shortly, however, before the death of Herod Agrippa, in the spring of 44, that king, whose policy it was to conciliate the Pharisaic party (Jos. *Ant.* XIX. vii. 3), made an attack on the Church. It would appear that the growth of the Christian body had excited the envy of the Jews (12$^{3.\ 11}$), and the enthusiasm with which they welcomed the execution of one of the apostles encouraged the king to throw St. Peter into prison. On the night before the great popular spectacle of which the apostle's trial was to be the occasion, he was miraculously freed from his chains and led by an angel out of the prison. At length, roused completely from sleep and conscious of the situation, he goes to the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark. With difficulty gaining admission, he tells those who had gathered there to intercede for him of his wonderful escape, and bidding them inform 'James and the brethren of these things' 'he went to another place.'

In this narrative three points call for a brief notice. (1) The fact that St. Peter so immediately and naturally hastens to 'the house of Mary,' coupled with the fact that he was obviously well known there, and that it was the place where many met together to pray for him, suggests that this house was his home when he was in Jerusalem. The guest had become in a sense the head of the household, and hence his expression of fatherly regard towards John Mark (1 P 5^{13}). (2) The reference to James confirms the conjecture (see above) that he was already in a position of official leadership. (3) There is no word added to define the *ἕτερος τόπος* to which the apostle retired. Conjecture has been busy: Antioch, Cæsarea, Rome have all been named. With the last guess we may connect the belief that St. Peter went to Rome in the reign of Claudius (*e.g.* Eus. *HE* II. xiv. 6; see below).

About two years later St. Paul, with Barnabas, visited Jerusalem in connexion with the famine. His stay there was, from the nature of his mission, a short one. The historian's mention simply of 'the elders' (Ac 11^{30}) at Jerusalem and St. Paul's silence as to this visit in Gal 1. 2 appear to show that neither St. Peter nor any other of the Twelve was then at Jerusalem.

At the end of the decade—probably A.D. 49—Paul and Barnabas, as the envoys of the Antiochene Church, went up to Jerusalem about the question of the circumcision of Gentile converts (Ac 15$^{1ff.}$). James, the President of the Church there, and (of the Twelve) Peter and John were at Jerusalem. Whether the two latter had been specially summoned, or whether they were for a time living in the Holy City, there is no evidence to show. Even in the calm narrative of the Acts, much more in the broken sentences of the Epistle to the

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* The apostle's remonstrance is probably a conscious reminiscence of Ezk 4^{14}; cf. also Dn 1$^{8ff.}$, 1 Mac 1$^{62f.}$, 2 Mac 6$^{18ff.}$ 7^{1}. The description of the animals in the 'vessel' is taken from Gn 1$^{24.\ 26}$, and carries the mind back to the Divine act of creation (1 Ti 4^{3}, cf. Mk 7^{19}). The command *θῦσον κ. φάγε* is an echo of Dt 12^{15}.

† Note the use of the Pentecostal keyword *ἐκκέχυται* (v.^{45}), cf. *ἐκχεῶ* 2^{17}, *ἐξέχεεν* 2^{33} (Tit 3^{6}); and the phrase *ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου*, cf. 2^{38} (11^{17}, He 6^{4}).

Galatians, there are signs that the controversy was not without its bitter and painful side. St. Paul appears to imply, though he does not state, that the older apostles favoured some kind of compromise (cf. Ac $21^{20\text{ff.}}$)—the circumcision, perhaps, of Titus, as a qualification for his position as teacher and as the companion of an apostle. In a private conference between the three 'Apostles of the Circumcision' and St. Paul, it was agreed that they should all follow the general lines of their earlier work, the latter aiming primarily at the evangelization of the Gentiles, the three former continuing to work among those of the circumcision. The subsequent history of St. Paul shows how far he was from regarding this understanding as laying down rigid and cramping limits for his activity. As he felt free to teach the Jews at Thessalonica, Athens, Corinth, and Ephesus, so, we may be sure, St. Peter would not consider that he was precluded from teaching Gentiles, whether by word or by letter. Neither side could alter or could wish to alter the terms in which the commission from the Lord had severally come to them. St. Paul had been sent to Israel as well as to the Gentiles (Ac 9^{15} 26^{17}), the older apostles to the Gentiles as well as to Israel (Mt 28^{19} [Mk] 16^{15}, Lk 24^{47}, Ac 1^{8}). At the same time, St. Paul's language in Gal 2^{8}, drawing a comparison between his own activity in the Gentile world and St. Peter's among the Jews, implies that the years of St. Peter's life, of which the Acts preserves no record, were marked by successful work among his own people. The private conference prepared the way for the assembly of 'the apostles and the elders,' of which the Acts gives an account. After long discussion, St. Peter addressed those gathered together.

(1) Vv.$^{7\text{-}9}$. (*a*) Those present remembered that, in the early days of the gospel, Peter, a staunch Jew, was fixed upon, not by any human arrangement, but by a Divine choice, as the means whereby the Gentiles should hear and believe. (*b*) And, further, God confirmed the step itself, taken under His guidance, by giving His Spirit to these Gentiles as He had given it at Pentecost to Jews; and, purifying (not their flesh by circumcision but) their hearts by the gift of faith, He put Jew and Gentile on a level. (2) Vv.$^{10.\,11}$. The history of the past points to the duty of the present (*νῦν οὖν*). Those present had no right to tempt God by putting a yoke on the neck of Gentile disciples, the hopeless weight of which was proved by the experience of generations of Jews. On the contrary, so far from bearing this burden, and so having any justification for imposing it on others, Jewish disciples had put themselves on a level with Gentile disciples by their belief that (not circumcision but) the 'grace of the Lord Jesus' was the means of salvation for Jew and Gentile alike.

St. Peter's words, it appears, calmed the excitement of the whole assembly (*ἐσίγησεν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος*), which had been aroused in the 'long discussion,' so that they listened quietly to the statement of 'Barnabas and Paul.' The reference of St. James' speech to 'Symeon's' narrative, and to the agreement of its drift with the words of the prophets, is the last mention of St. Peter in the Acts.

The Church at Jerusalem decided to send to Antioch with Barnabas and Paul two delegates, viz. Judas Barsabbas and Silas. They in due time returned to Jerusalem, while Paul and Barnabas remained behind. It was natural that the official messengers of the mother Church should in time be followed by the chief of the apostles. St. Paul, under the stress of a later controversy, raises for a moment the veil which hid the history of St. Peter's sojourn at Antioch (Gal 2^{11}).* At first, he tells us, St. Peter ate with the Gentile disciples, treating them as on an equality with their Jewish brethren. Afterwards certain members of the Church at Jerusalem came from James. These men had been for the moment silenced by the decision of the conference, but they had not been satisfied with its spirit. Perhaps in Jerusalem under the strong rule of St. James they had hidden their discontent. Perhaps also in Jerusalem it was not necessary for them to be often brought into contact with Gentile Christians. At Antioch they saw what a predominantly Gentile Church was. How far they went in practical disloyalty to the decision of the 'Council' we are not told. But the spirit of these malcontents had a disastrous effect on the conduct of St. Peter.* Under their influence he withdrew from the society of, perhaps even from full fellowship in worship with, the Gentile Christians, not probably receding from his former doctrinal position, but practically treating these Gentiles as on a lower level than Jewish believers. He was guilty, not of false doctrine, but (as once before) of moral cowardice. But the effect of his example was disastrous. All the Jewish Christians at Antioch acted the same part as he did (see art. MARK). St. Paul saw that no less an issue was at stake than the real unity of the Church. He felt it his duty publicly to rebuke St. Peter.

St. Paul, in writing to the Corinthians (prob. A.D. 55), mentions the existence at Corinth of a party who called themselves by the name of Cephas (1 Co 1^{12} 3^{22}). There is not the least reason, however, why St. Peter should be made responsible for their 'heresy' any more than St. Paul for the folly of those who assumed his name. Nor does the existence of a Cephas party at Corinth imply that St. Peter ever visited Corinth. The statement of Dionysius of Corinth (*c.* A.D. 170, *ap.* Eus. *HE* II. xxv. 8), that St. Peter and St. Paul together planted the Church at Corinth and taught there, seems to be simply a mistaken inference from St. Paul's language in 1 Corinthians. There does not appear to be any other trace of a tradition that St. Peter worked in Greece.

The evidence supplied by 1 Peter as to the history of the apostle will be examined in the art. on that Epistle.

The invitation in Rev 18^{20} to 'the saints and *the apostles* and the prophets' to rejoice over the judgment of Babylon, *i.e.* Rome, *ὅτι ἔκρινεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ κρίμα ὑμῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς* (cf. 19^{2}), may not unreasonably be considered as an allusion to the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul under Nero. If it is urged that the juxtaposition of 'the apostles' and 'the prophets' points to a wider use of the former term, such as we find in the *Didaché*, it may be answered that the word 'apostle' is used in its strictest sense in Rev 21^{14}.

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* On St. Paul's journeys to Jerusalem as given in the Acts and in Galatians see art. on CHRONOLOGY OF NT in vol. i. p. 423 f. The present writer, however, is quite unable to accept the interpretation of Gal $2^{11\text{ff.}}$ suggested on p. 424, viz. that that passage precedes in time Gal $2^{1\text{-}10}$. In plain narrative the simple ὅτε δέ (with aor.) must surely express sequence; cf. Gal 1^{15} 2^{12} 4^{4}. The paraphrase given to justify the interpretation alters the setting of 2^{11} and supplies just the word which must have been expressed in Greek had the passage borne the suggested meaning —'So far from simply submitting to them, I once [*sic*] publicly rebuked their chief.'

* Hort, *Judaistic Christianity* p. 80 f., supposes that 'James may have thought it most prudent to send cautions to Peter' (*i.e.* as to the offending of Jewish susceptibilities), and that the persons mentioned in Gal 2^{12} were the bearers of this message.

The present writer would hazard the conjecture that these messengers of James were the bearers of his Epistle. We have in this supposition an adequate explanation of their mission. The date of St. James' Epistle is commonly placed about this time (Mayor, p. cxxiv, gives A.D. 40–50; Zahn, *Einl.* i. p. 92, gives *c.* A.D. 50). It would be very natural that, after the Council at Jerusalem, the President of the Church there should address a letter to the Jewish converts in the Dispersion, to whom recent events must have been a trial of faith; not less natural that he should not directly allude to those events. But at least in two points the Epistle may be thought to have an indirect bearing on the temptations and anxieties of the time. (1) It deals especially with sins of temper and of speech—sins which would inevitably characterize a crisis of keen controversy. (2) It condemns a perversion of St. Paul's doctrine of faith. It might be well for St. James (without touching on personal matters) to reassure Jewish converts by showing them that the acceptance of St. Paul's position in regard to the Gentiles did not involve the acceptance of doctrines which they, however mistakenly, were accustomed to associate with St. Paul's name.

4. *The doctrinal position of the Petrine speeches in the Acts.*—(i.) *The historical witness.*—(*a*) The Lord's ministry fills only a little space in St. Peter's speeches at Jerusalem (2^{22}). It was well known to his hearers, and it was overshadowed by more recent events. Its significance, however, is briefly indicated. The Lord's miracles were works of God wrought through Him (*e.g.* Jn 14^{10}). They therefore not only answered to the general Messianic expectation (cf. Jn 7^{31}), but were proofs of His mission as God's messenger to Israel (*ἀποδεδειγμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς*). At Jerusalem, St. Peter appeals to the knowledge of his hearers; at Cæsarea, speaking before Gentiles, to the witness of himself and his Jewish companions (10^{39}). (*b*) The crucifixion had its assured place in the Divine counsels (2^{23} 3^{18}; cf. 4^{28}), and was not therefore the chance triumph of the Lord's foes. But on the human side it was the act of Israel ($2^{23.36}$ 3^{17} 4^{11} 5^{30}), though done in ignorance (3^{17}). It involved absolute humiliation (*e.g.* 2^{23} *ἔκδοτον . . . προσπήξαντες*), scornful rejection by Israel (*e.g.* 3^{14} 4^{11}), and to Jewish eyes the curse of God (5^{30} *κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου*; cf. Dt 21^{23}). The last point is important. It suggests that in the earliest as in later times the Jews urged the words of Dt as a final proof of the Divine rejection of Jesus the Nazarene (hence probably the blasphemous creed *ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς*, 1 Co 12^{3}), and that St. Peter directly met the Jewish position. (*c*) The Resurrection was the immediate act of God the Father ($2^{24.32}$ 3^{15} 4^{10} 5^{31} 10^{40}). It was the Divine refutation of Israel's blasphemy, because it was the Divine reversal of Israel's act of rejection. But a revelation of the risen Messiah had not been given to all (10^{41}). It was therefore the primary duty of the apostles to bear witness to the things which 'they saw and heard' (4^{20} 10^{41}; cf. 1 Jn $1^{1\text{ff.}}$) as proof of the fact of the Resurrection (2^{32} 3^{15} 4^{20} 5^{32} 10^{41}). Further, the Resurrection involved the Exaltation—the session of 'Jesus Messiah' at God's right hand as *κύριος* ($2^{33.36}$ $3^{13.21}$ 5^{31}). Thus the confession *Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός* (2^{36}; cf. 1 Co 12^{3}, Ro 10^{9}, Ph 2^{11}) is the direct antithesis of the Jewish blasphemy *ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς*, and an appeal to Israel to make it their own is the solemn conclusion of St. Peter's first address to the Jews. The activity of the exalted Jesus is manifested in the gift of the Holy Spirit (2^{33}) and in miracles of healing (3^{16} 4^{10}; cf. 4^{30}).

(ii.) *The continuity of revelation and redemption.*—The doctrine of a Messiah who had suffered, and who by definite acts of God had been raised from the dead and exalted to supreme sovereignty, was new. But in various ways St. Peter insists that these facts of redemption were the development of the whole history of the people. He who thus worked out His purpose is 'the God of our fathers' (3^{13} 5^{30}; cf. *Shemoneh Esreh* 1,* 'Blessed art Thou, Jehovah, our God and the God of our fathers . . . our shield and the shield of our fathers'). This consummation of the Divine action was the burden of all prophecy ($3^{18.24}$ 10^{43}; cf. 4 Es 9^{4}, and see Weber, *Die Lehren des Talmud* p. 355). Those to whom St. Peter spoke were 'the sons of the prophets and of the covenant' (3^{25}; cf. *υἱοὶ τῆς διαθήκης*, Ps-Sol 17^{17}; 'a son of the law,' Apoc. Bar 46^{4}; and see Wetstein *in loc.*). It should be noticed that Lk, who records St. Peter's applications of prophecy, tells us the source whence he learned them (Lk 24^{44}; cf. v.^{27}).

(iii.) *The doctrine of the Messiah.*—'Jesus the Nazarene' was declared by God to be Messiah (2^{36}). The person of the Lord is here presented from the point of view of His Messiahship. (*a*) *Messianic titles.*—(α) The Messiah (*ὁ χριστός, Χριστός*). The anointing is specially referred to in 4^{27} 10^{38}; cf. Is 61^{1} (Lk 4^{18}), Ps 44 $(45)^{8}$. With 10^{38} (*ἔχρισεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς πν. ἁγίῳ καὶ δυνάμει*) cf. Ps-Sol 17^{42} (*ὁ θεὸς κατηργάσατο αὐτὸν δυνατὸν ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*). (β) The Servant (*παῖς*), $3^{13.26}$, comp. (the prayer of the apostles) $4^{27.30}$. The phrase is derived from a series of passages in Deutero-Isaiah. Its current Messianic application is certified by Apoc. Bar 70^{9} 'My servant Messiah.' On the Rabbinic interpretation of the passages in Isaiah see Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* ii. p. 726. When, through the influence of the controversy with the Ebionites, the meaning of Christological phrases was more keenly analyzed by the Church, it became customary, when the ancient phrase was used of our Lord, to indicate, *e.g.*, by the addition of *ἠγαπημένος*, that *παῖς* was to be taken as an equivalent of *υἱός* (*e.g.* Clem. *59 (thrice), *Ep. ad Diog.* 8, *Mart. Polyc.* *14, *Acta Theclæ* *24; cf. Wis $2^{13.18}$). The phrase, however, is used in its original meaning in *Did.* *ix. 2 (*εὐχαριστοῦμεν . . . ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαυεὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου*), *ix. 3, *x. 2. The simple use, therefore, of this pre-Christian Messianic title, which in sub-apostolic times was avoided or guarded, is very primitive.† It should further be noticed that most of the earliest Christian passages where the phrase occurs (marked above with *) are liturgical, and that it twice occurs in the apostles' prayer (Ac 4). Hence it seems probable that it was characteristic of Jewish prayers, that thence it passed into the primitive vocabulary of the Church, and that, having liturgical associations, it long maintained its place in Christian prayers, though now it received a higher doctrinal connotation. Comp. Lock in *Expositor*, series iv. vol. iv. p. 178 ff.; Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* p. 226 ff. (γ) *ὁ ἅγιος καὶ δίκαιος*, 3^{14}; cf. $4^{27.30}$ 7^{52} 22^{14}. Righteousness and holiness are the characteristics of Messiah's time; see *e.g.* Ps-Sol 17^{36}, Enoch 38^{2} 'when the righteous One shall appear before the eyes of the elect righteous,' where, as in 53^{6} (cf. 46^{3}), 'the righteous One' is a designation of the Messiah (cf. Weber, *Die Lehren d. T.* p. 344). For the holiness of Messiah cf. *e.g.* Ps-Sol $17^{28\text{ff.}}$. (δ) There is a group of expressions which may be called archaic, being derived from the record of the earliest period of Israel's history. Such expressions are *ἀναστήσας* (3^{26}; cf. v.^{22}) and *ἤγειρεν* (5^{30}) in the sense of 'God raised up, brought upon the scene,' *ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σωτῆρα ὕψωσεν* (5^{31}; cf. 13^{23}), comp. *e.g.* Jg $3^{9.15}$. But phraseology of this kind was not simply archaic. It had been adopted into the devotional and liturgical language of the Messianic hope; cf. *e.g.* Ps-Sol $17^{23.47}$, Apoc. Bar 39^{7} 40^{3}, *Shemoneh Esreh* 11.

(*b*) *The issues of Messiah's advent.*—The horizon is bounded by the limits of the national hope. 'The promise' (2^{39}, cf. Ps-Sol 12^{8}) is primarily for Israel. There are in the speeches at Jerusalem but three hints of a wider blessing — *ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα* (2^{17}, from Jl 2^{28}), *καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς εἰς μακρὰν ὅσους ἂν προσκαλέσηται Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν* (2^{39}, from Is 57^{19}, Jl 2^{32}), *ὑμῖν πρῶτον* (3^{26}, cf. Mk 7^{27}). But how through the agency of a restored Israel this extension of Messianic redemption is to be brought about is in no way defined. Thus the forecast, while it insists upon, does not go beyond, the more generous Jewish expectation as to the nations, such as finds expression in, *e.g.*, Ps-Sol 17^{38} (*ἐλεήσει πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐν φόβῳ*). It will be noted that in these speeches the phrase τὰ ἔθνη is conspicuously absent.

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* The Benedictions (in the original) are given in the Palestinian and Babylonian recensions in Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* p. 299 ff. An English rendering will be found in Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. p. 83 ff.; see also Westcott, *Hebrews* p. 206 ff.

† It should be remembered that the LXX often represents עֶבֶד in Isaiah and elsewhere by *δοῦλος* (*e.g.* Is 42^{19} 48^{20} $49^{3.5}$). It is therefore not improbable that St. Paul's words *μορφὴν δούλου λαβών* in Ph 2^{7} allude to the prophecies in Deutero-Isaiah. But in Ph 2 the preceding and the succeeding context alike guard against any misconception.

To Israel three blessings are offered through the work of Jesus Messiah: (1) national repentance and forgiveness (2^{38} 3^{19} 5^{31}; cf. 3^{26} 13^{38}, Lk 1^{77}), chiefly in reference to the great national sin of rejecting 'the Lord's Anointed'; cf. *e.g.* Ps-Sol $18^{5f.}$, *Shemoneh Esreh* 5, 6 (especially in the Babylonian recension, which must be of Palestinian origin, Dalman, *Die Worte* p. 301 n.); (2) national rest and peace (καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως, 3^{19}); cf. *e.g.* Enoch 50^{1}, Ps-Sol $10^{6f.}$ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ Ἰσραήλ, 14^{6} 17^{50} 18^{7}; (3) the mission of Messiah from heaven, and the coming of 'times of the restoration of all things (ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων, 3^{21})'; cf. the Rabbinic passages quoted in Weber (p. 333 f.) as to the necessity of repentance for the coming of Messiah and its attendant blessings; for 'the restoration' see, *e.g.*, Enoch $45^{4f.}$, Apoc. Bar 73 f.*

It must be observed that in 4^{2} the Sadducees are represented as 'sore troubled' because the apostles 'proclaimed in Jesus the resurrection from among the dead' (τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν), *i.e.* a resurrection of the righteous. The reference may be to some words of the apostles unrecorded in Lk's brief summary, or to an interpretation which the Sadducees put on their teaching about the Resurrection of Jesus. On the Jewish doctrine of the Resurrection see *e.g.* Ps-Sol 3^{16}, *Shemoneh Esreh* 2; see also Charles, *Eschatology* p. 302 f.

In reviewing the doctrine of St. Peter's early speeches we note that the new facts of the ministry of Jesus, His death, His Resurrection and Exaltation, are stated with absolute precision and emphasis. But the theological interpretation of these facts is inchoate. The predestination of the Messiah is spoken of (2^{23} 3^{18}, cf. 4^{28}), but His pre-existence is not affirmed, nor is anything said of His unique relation to the Father. The death of Christ is not contemplated in a sacrificial aspect, nor is it brought into connexion with the problem of justification. There is no allusion to the moral and spiritual power of the Resurrection through the union of the believer with the Risen Lord, nor to the sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit. The convictions and hopes created or quickened in the apostle's mind are expressed in terms of the religion of a devout Israelite. If we compare St. Peter's speeches with any one of the apostolic Epistles (except that of St. James, which deals almost wholly with questions of conduct), we see the difference between an immediate interpretation of the Christian facts in their bearing on Israel, and a matured apprehension and exposition of these facts in their universal and absolute significance.

III. ST. PETER IN CHRISTIAN TRADITION.—1. *St. Peter's early life.*—Epiphanius, a monk of Jerusalem of the 9th cent., in his 'Acts and end of . . . Andrew,' relates (ed. Dressel p. 45 f.) that 'in the days of Hyrcanus, the priest and king of the Hebrews, there was a certain Jonas of the tribe of Symeon. He was a poor man, and at his death left his two sons, Simon and Andrew, in great poverty. They hired themselves out. Andrew devoted himself to a life of absolute continence. Simon married the daughter of Aristobulus, brother of the Apostle Barnabas, and, as it is said, had a son and a daughter. . . . After the death of his mother-in-law he committed his wife to the Theotokos' (cf. for other authorities Lipsius* p. 7). In the *Book of the Bee* of Solomon, a writer of the first half of the 13th cent., who, according to Lipsius (*Die Apokr. Ap., Ergänzungsheft* p. 19), constantly depends on older sources, the apostle belonged to the tribe of Naphtali (*Oxford Semitic Series*, I. pt. ii. p. 104). Clement (*Strom.* iii. 6, p. 535 ed. Potter, quoted in Eus. *HE* III. xxx.) says that the apostles Peter and Philip had children;† and Jerome (*adv. Jovinian.* i. 26) states that the περίοδοι mentions a son and a daughter of St. Peter; while he himself, arguing apparently from the silence of Scripture (Mk $1^{29ff.}$), supposes that his wife had died before his call to follow Christ. Clement in the passage just quoted asserts that the apostles travelled with their wives οὐχ ὡς γαμετὰς ἀλλ' ὡς ἀδελφάς, and employed them in ministrations to women (cf. *Clem. Recog.* ii. 1, vii. 25, 36; *Hom.* xiii. 1, 11). Clement further preserves a tradition (*Strom.* vii. 11, p. 868 ed. Potter, quoted in Eus. *HE* III. xxx.), to which, it seems, no independent writer alludes, that St. Peter's wife suffered a martyr's death, and that the apostle, when he saw her led away, encouraged her with the words μέμνησο, ὦ αὕτη, τοῦ κυρίου (as Eus. gives the phrase),—words which may imply that she too had known the Lord. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that she was one of the women who suffered in the Neronian persecution (Clem. Rom. vi.).

The story of Petronilla, the supposed daughter of St. Peter, is given in *Acta Nerei et Achillei* 15 (ed. Achelis p. 14 f.), and in *Acta Philippi*, in Tischendorf, *Apocal. Apocr.* pp. 149, 155. Augustine (*contr. Adimant.* 17; Migne, *Pat. Lat.* 42, 161) also mentions the fact that the story had a place in the apocryphal books in use among the Manichæans. The beauty of the daughter, so the story runs, was a trouble to the apostle, who therefore prayed that she might be paralyzed. He afterwards, in answer to the challenge of Titus, bade her rise and minister to them. After her restoration she was sought in marriage by 'Flaccus the Count.' She puts him off for three days, and on the third day dies after receiving the Eucharist. The Encratite element in the story connects it with the Gnostic Πράξεις Πέτρου (see below), from which it was doubtless originally derived (see Lipsius pp. 81, 203 ff.). The saint's memorial day is May 31. Over her tomb in the Ardeatine Way pope Siricius, about 390, erected a basilica. The inscription on the tomb was AVR · PETRONILLÆ · FILIÆ · DVLCISSIMÆ. The name Petronilla is to be connected, not with Peter but with Petronius. The founder of the Flavian house bore the name of Petro. The catacomb in which Petronilla was buried was closely connected with the Flavian gens, being the 'Cemetery of Domitilla,' the wife of Flavius Clemens. Doubtless the story arose from a mistaken etymology. Petronilla, an early convert to Christianity and a member of the Flavian family, was in later days assumed to be a daughter of the Apostle Peter (see Lightfoot, *Clement* i. p. 37 ff., who gives references to de Rossi's articles; Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome* p. 340 ff.).

As to (late) traditions respecting the personal appearance of the apostle, it must suffice to refer to Lipsius p. 213. As the tonsure was supposed to be due to St. Peter's example, it is of interest to notice that Jerome (*Comm. in Gal.* i. 18) refers to a statement of the *Periodi* that he was bald.

For information in regard to early pictures and representations of the apostle, see art. in *Dict. Chr.*

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* Dalman (*Die Worte Jesu* p. 145 f.), with whom Charles (*Eschatology* p. 374 n.) agrees, maintains that the words ἀποκατάστασις παντων have nothing to do with the 'renewal of the world,' but refer to the fulfilment of the predictions of the Prophets. He bases his opinion upon the Peshitta—'until the completion of the times of those things which God spoke by the mouth of His holy prophets.' But this is merely a paraphrastic abbreviation characteristic of the Peshiṭta. The word ἀποκατάστασις *cannot* refer to the fulfilment of prophecy (cf. *e.g.* Mt 12^{13} 17^{11}, Ac 1^{6}), and when taken in its natural sense is in harmony with Jewish ideas.

* References to Lipsius (unless it is otherwise stated) are to *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, II. i.

† Cf. Origen *in Evang. Matth.* xvi. 21 (Lomm. iii. p. 371); Epiph. *Hær.* xxx. 22 (ed. Petav. p. 147).

Ant. ii. p. 1621; Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome* p. 210 ff.

Among the sayings of our Lord preserved in extra-canonical authorities a few are addressed to St. Peter. (1) Ignatius, *Smyr.* 3, 'When [after the Resurrection] He came to Peter and his company, He said to them, Lay hold and handle Me, and see that I am not a demon without body.' Cf. Lk $24^{36f.}$. On the question whether this saying had a place in 'the Gospel according to the Hebrews,' see Lightfoot *in loco.* (2) '2 Clem.' 5, 'The Lord saith, Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves. But Peter answered and said unto Him, What then if the wolves should tear the lambs? Jesus said unto Peter, Let not the lambs fear the wolves after they are dead,' etc. Cf. Mt 10^{28}, Lk $12^{4f.}$. See Lightfoot's note. (3) 'The Gospel according to the Hebrews' (*ap.* Jerome, *adv. Pelag.* iii. 2), 'Si peccauerit, inquit, frater tuus in uerbo et satis tibi fecerit, septies in die suscipe eum. Dixit illi Simon discipulus eius, Septies in die? Respondit Dominus et dixit ei, Etiam ego dico tibi, Usque septuagies septies.' Cf. Mt 18^{22}, Lk 17^{4}. See Westcott, *Introduction* p. 456; Hilgenfeld, *NT extra Canon.* iv. pp. 16, 23. (4) 'The Gospel according to the Hebrews' (*ap.* Origen *in Matth.* tom. xv. 14), 'Conuersus dixit Simoni discipulo suo sedenti apud se, Simon fili Johanne, facilius est camelum intrare per foramen acus, quam diuitem in regnum cælorum.' Cf. Mt 19^{16}. See Westcott p. 463; Hilgenfeld p. 16. (5) 'The Gospel of the Ebionites' (*ap.* Epiph. *Hær.* xxx. 13), 'And when He came to Capernaum, He entered into the house of Simon, surnamed Peter; and He opened His mouth and said, As I passed along the Lake of Tiberias I chose John and James, sons of Zebedee, and Simon and Andrew . . . you then I wish to be twelve apostles for a testimony to Israel.' See Westcott p. 466; Hilgenfeld pp. 33, 36. On the Gospel and the Apocalypse of Peter see below, p. 776 f.

2. *St. Peter in connexion with the Syrian Antioch.*—According to a very widespread tradition, St. Peter was the founder and organizer of the Church in Antioch. The Clementine Romance, which must date back at least to the beginning of the 3rd cent., makes the apostle's entry into Antioch and his success there the happy conclusion of the story (*Hom.* xx. 23; *Recog.* x. 68 ff.). Baseless as most of its details are, in such a matter as this it would be likely to reflect current tradition, especially as it probably originated in Syria (see below). Origen (*Hom. vi. in Luc.*, ed. Lomm. v. p. 104) calls Ignatius 'the second Bishop of Antioch after the blessed Peter.' This statement was not improbably derived from an earlier list of Antiochene bishops. Such a list Lipsius (p. 25, cf. Lightfoot, *Clement* i. p. 333 f.) thinks can be assigned to the time of Victor of Rome. Other important notices of St. Peter's connexion with the Church of Antioch preserved in Christian literature are: (1) *Greek:* (*a*) *Apost. Const.* vii. 46; (*b*) Euseb. *HE* III. xxxvi. 2, *Chron.* (see below); (*c*) Chrys. *Hom. in Ign. Mart.* (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* l. 591); (*d*) Theodoret, *Dial. Immut.* (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* lxxxiii. 81); (*e*) *Chron. Paschale* (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xcii. 557). In the last document we are told that in the fourth year after the Ascension Peter went to Antioch, that at the request of the Jewish Christians he enthroned himself as bishop, that he did not receive or regard any Gentile Christians, and that so leaving them to themselves he departed thence—a story which must be derived from some early Ebionite romance cognate to the Letter of Peter to James prefixed to the *Clem. Homilies.* (2) *Latin:* (*a*) Jerome, *de Virr. Illustr.* 1; (*b*) Leo, *Epp.* 106, 119 (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* liv. 1007, 1042); (*c*) *Liber Pontificalis* (in all the several forms, ed. Duchesne pp. 50 f., 118), see below; (*d*) Gregory the Great, *Ep.* vii. 40 (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* lxxvii. 899), 'ipse firmauit sedem [in Antiochia] in qua *septem annis*, quamuis discessurus, sedit.' The festival of 'Cathedra Petri in Antiochia' was on Feb. 22 (see below, p. 773). (3) *Syriac: Doctr. Apost.* (Cureton, *Anc. Syr. Documents*, p. 33).

To pass to the *date* and *length* of Peter's sojourn at Antioch. The *Lib. Pontificalis*, both in the original form as restored by Duchesne (p. 51), and in the later recension (p. 118), gives seven years (so Greg.) as the length of Peter's Antiochene episcopate. This evidence probably represents the Roman tradition of the earlier years of the 6th century. The Felician abridgment (*c.* A.D. 530), however, has 'annos x.' (p. 50). It would not be difficult in a reconstruction of St. Peter's life to find a place for an Antiochene ministry of seven or ten years' duration. But the evidence is too late to claim serious attention. The dates given in the two chief versions of Eusebius' *Chronicon* are conflicting (ed. Schoene, p. 150 ff.). The Armenian version places the apostle's departure for Rome, 'when he had first founded the Church of Antioch,' in the *third* year of *Gaius* (39–40), and the appointment of Euodius in the *second* year of *Claudius* (42–43). Jerome (so also Syriac epitome, ed. Schoene p. 211) gives the departure for Rome in the *second* year of Claudius, and the appointment of Euodius two years later. The arrangement in Jerome seems artificial, for he places in three consecutive years three important events connected with the three great Churches—Rome, Alexandria, Antioch. Moreover, the Petrine dates in the *Chronicon* are connected with what appears to be the impossible assumption of a 25 years' episcopate at Rome. The simple tradition, however, which associates St. Peter with the early period of the Church at Antioch, seems to go back to the 2nd cent., and is intrinsically probable.

3. *St. Peter in connexion with Pontus and the provinces of Asia Minor.*—Origen (*ap.* Eus. *HE* III. 1) is the earliest authority—Πέτρος δὲ ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ Βιθυνίᾳ Καππαδοκίᾳ τε καὶ Ἀσίᾳ κεκηρυχέναι τοῖς ἐκ διασπορᾶς Ἰουδαίοις ἔοικεν. The last word shows that the statement is an inference; the enumeration of provinces and the reference to the διασπορά make it plain that the source of the inference is the salutation of 1 P. Epiphanius (*Hær.* XXVII. vi. p. 107 ed. Petav.) goes a step further, and states that the apostle *often* visited Pontus and Bithynia. Jerome (*de Virr. Illustr.* 1) places this missionary journey between the apostle's episcopate at Antioch and his journey to Rome in the second year of Claudius. The Syriac *Doctrine of the Apostles* (Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents* p. 33) informs us that 'Antioch and Syria and Cilicia and Galatia, even to Pontus, received the apostles' hand of priesthood from Simon Cephas, who himself laid the foundation of the Church there, and was priest and ministered there up to the time when he went from thence to Rome.' In this missionary journey Andrew was traditionally associated with Peter. Thus, in the catholic *Acts of Andrew* as given by Epiphanius (ed. Dressel pp. 45–82), a monk of Jerusalem of the 9th cent., the story is told how the two brothers journey from the Syrian Antioch to Tyana in Cappadocia, and from thence to Sinope in Pontus. Epiphanius himself visited Sinope, and found there traditions of the apostles' visit. The inhabitants pointed out a spot on a desert island some six miles from the city where the apostles dwelt, and the chairs on which they sat to teach (pp. 47, 50). There are, however, indications that in this tradition there has been a confusion between the obscure Simon Zelotes and his well-known brother-apostle Simon Peter (Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelg.* I. p. 612, II. i. p. 6). Photius (*Cod.* cxiv.; Migne, *Pat. Gr.* ciii. 389) among the Leucian Acts mentions *Acts* *of Andrew.* We may infer, therefore, that the kernel of the later *Acts of Andrew* was supplied by this 2nd cent. romance. On the *Acts of Andrew* in their different forms see Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelg.* I. 543–622; James, *Apocr. Anecdota* ii. p. xxix ff.; Bonnet, *Passio Andreæ* (*Acta Ap. Apoc.* ii.). On the tradition as to St. Peter's work in Pontus, etc., see Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelg.* II. i. p. 4 ff. There is no reason to regard it as anything but an inference from the salutation of the Epistle.

4. *St. Peter in connexion with Babylon.*—Lipsius adduces two pieces of evidence to show that St. Peter visited Babylon. (1) He refers to two Nestorian writers (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* iii. 2, p. vi) who make this assertion. But, apart from the lateness of their date, their statement is avowedly based on a literal interpretation of 1 P 5^{13}. And, again, the earlier Syriac tradition as given in the *Doctrine of Addai* (p. 44 ed. Phillips) and in the *Doctrine of Simon Cephas* (Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents* p. 35) knows nothing of Babylon, and makes the apostle visit Rome. (2) Lipsius argues that, when the *Acts of Simon and Jude* (Fabricius, *Cod. Apocr. NT* ii. p. 608 ff.) make Simon the Cananæan go to Babylon, the obscure Simon has taken the place of his famous namesake, and that therefore these *Acts* supply an argument for Simon Peter's visit to Babylon. It can only be said that such a conclusion rests on an inversion of probability. In short, there is no evidence for the theory that St. Peter worked at Babylon (see Lipsius, *Die Apokr. Apostelg.* II. ii. pp. 145 f., 175, *Ergänzungsheft* p. 32; and, on the other side, Zahn, *Einl.* ii. p. 21).

5. *St. Peter in connexion with Rome.* — The chief points at issue are, whether St. Peter visited Rome; if he did, how long he worked there; whether he suffered martyrdom there; and if so, at what date. It will be most convenient to arrange the evidence under the several Churches.

(1) *Rome.*—(*a*) Clement (*c.* A.D. 96) v. vi. In the previous chapters Clement has spoken of the evils which have sprung from 'jealousy and envy.' He has taken examples from Scripture in chronological order, ending with David. 'Let us,' he continues, 'come to the athletes who lived but lately (*τοὺς ἔγγιστα γενομένους*, *i.e.* as compared with the OT heroes), the noble examples of our own generation. Because of envy the great and righteous pillars (of the Church) were persecuted and contended unto death. Let us set before our eyes the good apostles —Peter, who endured many labours and, having borne his witness (*μαρτυρήσας*), went to the appointed place of glory; Paul (who suffered much and journeyed far and), having borne his witness before the rulers, departed thus from the world and went to the holy place. . . . To these men . . . there was gathered a great company of the elect, who, being the victims of jealousy, by reason of many outrages and tortures became a noble example among us.' The main points are these: (i.) The most reasonable explanation of the fact that the examples of the other apostles are passed over and Peter and Paul alone mentioned, is that Clement points to those two apostles whose examples of heroism were best known to the Church in whose name he writes (cf. Ignatius, below). (ii.) That St. Paul suffered at Rome is universally allowed. The language is carefully chosen to emphasize the likeness between the experiences of the two apostles. (iii.) If the passage, when naturally interpreted, discloses the place of St. Peter's martyrdom, what of the time? We have seen that in the preceding context Clement followed the order of time. It is unlikely that he would desert that order in regard to events within his own knowledge and that of his readers. Since, then, 'the great company of the elect' who suffered were plainly Nero's victims, it seems to follow that the two apostles perished *either* before *or* during the Neronian persecution. The former alternative may be put aside as unsupported by any evidence. Further, a close association of the apostles and 'the great company' seems implied in the phrase *τούτοις . . . συνηθροίσθη*. Indeed, a strict interpretation of these words appears to justify us in going a step further. They mean '*to* these' rather than '*with* these' 'there was gathered,'* and thus seem to imply that the apostles were among those 'who were seized first' (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44), the first-fruits of a too abundant harvest. Thus the obvious interpretation of Clement's words is that St. Peter and St. Paul were martyred in the Neronian persecution; while the language is not explicit enough to have created the tradition. (*b*) Caius, a Roman presbyter, a contemporary of Zephyrinus and Hippolytus. Eus. *HE* II. xxv. quotes the following words from the treatise of Caius against Proclus the Montanist: *ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι· ἐὰν γὰρ θελήσῃς ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Βατικανὸν ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Ὠστίαν, εὑρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἱδρυσαμένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.* The words of Caius are an explicit statement (1) that both the apostles worked for some time at Rome; (2) that they died a martyr's death at Rome. But the question remains—Did *τὰ τρόπαια* mark the place of execution (so Lipsius) or of burial (so Zahn)? There are strong reasons for choosing the latter alternative. The *ἐγὼ δέ* of Caius suggests that he at Rome claims to eclipse what Proclus appealed to in Asia Minor, *i.e.* the tombs of Philip and his daughters at Hierapolis (Eus. *HE* III. xxxi. 4). This clearly was the meaning which Eusebius himself put upon the words (cf. III. xxxi. 1). Thus we can draw another inference from Caius' words, viz. that at the beginning of the 3rd cent. the Roman Church thought that it possessed the bodies of the two apostles. No certain answer can be given to the further question—Of what did these *τρόπαια* consist? The word may imply the erection on the spot of a building of some kind, a *memoria* such as the *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne pp. 55, 125) says that Anencletus built. Or it may point to some natural or other object which identified the spot, such as the catholic *Acts*† speak of (see below, p. 772). (*c*) Hippolytus. In the *Refutatio* (vi. 20) this writer speaks of the conflict between Simon Magus and 'the apostles' at Rome, and in particular of Peter's opposition to him. It appears, however, that Hippolytus used the apocryphal *Acts* (Bonwetsch, *Studien zu den Komm. Hippolyts* p. 27), and we cannot be sure, therefore, that his statement is independent evidence. Yet the end of Simon as described by him differs from his end according to the extant *Acts.* (*d*) The Muratorian Canon. The fragment speaks of the 'passion of Peter' in close connexion with St. Paul's journey to Spain. As these two events are mentioned together in the *Acts of Peter*, it is probable that the writer (very probably Hippolytus) has these *Acts* in his mind (James, *Apocr. Anecdota* ii. p. x f.), and we are not entitled to infer more than that he does not question the truthfulness of the *Acts* in these matters. (*e*) The notice in the *Depositio Martyrum* (see below, p. 772) as to the translation of the apostles' bodies in 258 confirms the evidence of Caius.

(2) *Syria.*—(*a*) Ignatius of Antioch (*c.* 115). He writes to the Romans (c. iv.) thus: *οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν.* Contrast the similar but studiously general language addressed to the

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* Compare Eur. *Rhesus* 613, ὅδ' ἐγγὺς ἧσται καὶ συνήθροισται στρατῷ, and (with Zahn, *Einl.* i. p. 447) 1 K 11^{24} (Cod. A) εἰς αὐτόν, 1 Mac 1^{52} πρὸς αὐτούς.

† Ed. Lipsius pp. 172, 216: ἔθηκαν [τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ] ὑπὸ τὴν τερέβινθον πλησίον τοῦ ναυμαχίου εἰς τόπον καλούμενον Βατικανόν.

Trallians (c. iii.): *ἵνα ὢν κατάκριτος ὡς ἀπόστολος ὑμῖν διατάσσωμαι.* In the letter to the Romans St. Peter and St. Paul are mentioned—such is the natural explanation—because they had actually given commandments to the Roman Church (see Lightfoot *in loc.*). (*b*) Clementine literature (*Recog.*, *Hom.*). The *Grundschrift* had its origin probably in Syria before the close of the 2nd cent. In the documents now extant there are a few allusions to Peter's visit to Rome. But it is not certain that they are not due to later editing (see below, p. 775). (*c*) Documents of the Syriac-speaking Church: *The Doctrine of Addai*, 'in its present shape a work of the latter half of the 4th cent.' (Wright, *Short Hist. of Syriac Literature* p. 9), speaks of 'the Epistles of Paul, which Simon Peter sent us from the city of Rome' (ed. Phillips p. 44); so *Doctr. of the Apostles* (Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents* p. 33).

(3) *Corinth.*—Dionysius, bishop of Corinth (*c.* 170), addressed a letter to Soter, bishop of Rome, a fragment of which is preserved in Eus. *HE* II. xxv. 8. After speaking of the common work of St. Peter and St. Paul at Corinth, he continues: *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμόσε διδάξαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν.* The reference to the common work of the two apostles in Corinth is probably a mere inference from 1 Co. But there is nothing in the NT which can account for the assertion of their common activity in Italy. Dionysius must therefore here refer to a tradition, which *may* have come to him through the medium of the Petrine *Acts*, but which, however it reached him, he accepted. It matters little whether *ὁμόσε* is taken loosely to mean 'together,' or more strictly '(going to) the same place,' *i.e.* in Italy. Dionysius can have only Rome in his mind. The last words of the extract imply that the apostles suffered, not necessarily on the same day, but during the same persecution.

(4) *Asia Minor.*—(*a*) Papias (*c.* 130). It is a reasonable inference from the language of Eusebius (*HE* II. xv. 2, III. xxxix. 15, 16) that Papias interpreted *Babylon* in 1 P 5^{13} of Rome, and is therefore a witness for the Roman visit. (*b*) The Gnostic *Acts of Peter* were probably the work of Leucius Charinus in the second half of the 2nd cent. As Leucius lived in Asia Minor, it is clear that he did not place the scene of Peter's conflict with Simon Magus at Rome from motives of ecclesiastical patriotism. It is natural to suppose that he built up the romance on a current tradition of Peter's visit to Rome (see below, p. 774).

(5) *South Gaul.*—Irenæus (*c.* 190) gained his knowledge of earlier times from many sources. As the pupil of Polycarp in Asia, he was acquainted with the traditions of 'the school of St. John.' He himself visited Rome, probably on more than one occasion, and, it would appear, he resided there for some time (Lightfoot, *Essays on 'Supernatural Religion'* p. 267). His list of Roman bishops makes it probable that he had had access to the records preserved in the Roman Church. He writes thus (III. i. 1): 'Matthew . . . published his Gospel while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome and founding the Church there. And after their departure (*ἔξοδον*) Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, he too handed on to us in writing what Peter preached.' Irenæus, it will be noticed, speaks of the joint work of the apostles at Rome as belonging to a period so well known that it supplies a means of dating another event. Further, it is natural to take the word *ἔξοδος* as referring to the apostles' death; for (independently of other notices) this interpretation is favoured by (1) the use of the word, cf. Wis 3^2 7^6, Lk 9^{31}; 2 P 1^{15}; Clem. Alex. pp. 570, 882, ed. Potter, and the frequent use of *exitus* in Tertullian (Oehler on *Scorp.* 9); (2) the context—to say that Mark recorded the substance of Peter's preaching after his death defines not only the date but the *reason* of the composition of the Gospel.

(6) *Alexandria.*—(*a*) Clement (*c.* 200), in a fragment of the *Hypotyposeis*, preserved by Eusebius (*HE* VI. xiv.), and in the commentary on 1 Peter contained in the same treatise and now extant in a Latin translation (ed. Potter p. 997), in connexion with the composition of St. Mark's Gospel speaks of St. Peter's preaching at Rome. (*b*) Origen (*c.* 250). In the passage quoted above (p. 768), Origen, after speaking of St. Peter's journeys in Asia Minor, adds that 'at last, having arrived in Rome, he was crucified head downwards, having himself requested that he might so suffer.' (*c*) Peter of Alexandria. The date of the *Epistola Canonica* is apparently A.D. 306 (*Dict. Chr. Biog.* iv. p. 331). In it (Can. 9, Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iv. p. 34) mention is made of St. Peter's crucifixion at Rome.

(7) *North Africa.*—(*a*) Tertullian (*c.* 200). The passages in Tertullian's writings are—*Scorp.* 15: 'Orientem fidem Romæ primus Nero cruentauit. Tunc Petrus ab altero cingitur, cum cruci adstringitur'; *de Bapt.* 4: 'quos P. in Tiberi tinxit'; *de Præscr. Hæret.* 32: 'Romanorum [ecclesia refert] Clementem a Petro ordinatum'; *ib.* 36: 'Ista quam felix ecclesia [sc. Romæ] . . . ubi Petrus passioni dominicæ adæquatur.' Thus Tertullian is the earliest writer who (1) speaks of the manner of St. Peter's death—by crucifixion; (2) and explicitly states that it took place in Nero's reign. (*b*) Commodian. This earliest Christian poet, probably of African extraction, writing about A.D. 250 (see *Dict. Chr. Biog.* i. p. 610), speaks in the *Carmen Apologeticum* 820 f. of Peter and Paul suffering in Rome under Nero.

(8) This Catena will best be ended with a reference to the two historians of the first part of the 4th cent., *Lactantius* and *Eusebius.* Lactantius in *Instit. Div.* iv. 21 speaks of Peter and Paul preaching in Rome, adding, 'ea prædicatio in memoriam scripta permansit'—which Zahn (*Ges. Kan.* ii. p. 884) considers to be a reference to the *Pauli prædicatio* (cf. pseudo-Cyprian, *de Rebapt.* 17); and in *de Mort. Persec.* 2 he says of Nero: 'Petrum cruci affixit et Paulum interfecit.' The following passages from Eusebius are to the point:—*HE* II. xiv. (Peter's conflict at Rome with Simon Magus in Claudius' reign), xv. (Peter and the composition of Mark's Gospel at Rome), xvii. (in the reign of Claudius, Philo became acquainted with Peter at Rome; cf. Jerome, *de Virr. Illustr.* xi.; Photius, *Cod.* 105), xxv. (Paul beheaded, Peter crucified at Rome), III. xxi. (Clement third in succession 'after Peter and Paul'), xxxi. 1; *Demons. Evang.* iii. 5. 65 (St. Peter crucified at Rome head downwards); *Theophania* iv. 7 (ed. Lee p. 221; Peter's 'honourable sepulchre in the very front of their city,' *i.e.* Rome), v. 31 (ed. Lee p. 315; Peter crucified at Rome). See just below on the *Chronicon.* Passages from later writers are collected by Lipsius p. 236 ff. For a summing up of this evidence see below, p. 777.

6. *Chronological notices* in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius and in the *Liber Pontificalis.*—(i.) *The Chronicon.*—(*a*) St. Peter's arrival in Rome. The *Armenian* version assigns St. Peter's arrival at Rome, after founding the Church at Antioch, to the 3rd year of Caius, *i.e.* 39–40, adding, 'commoratur illic antistes ecclesiæ *annis viginti.*' The appointment of Euodius as bishop of Antioch is placed in the 2nd year of Claudius, *i.e.* 42–43. *Jerome* puts the appointment of Euodius in the 4th year of Claudius, *i.e.* 44–45, and the arrival of St. Peter at Rome, after founding the Antiochene Church, in the 2nd year of Claudius, *i.e.* 42–43. He adds:

'xxv annis eiusdem urbis episcopus perseuerat.'[*] (*b*) St. Peter's death. The *Armenian* version puts the Neronian persecution, 'when the apostles Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom at Rome,' in the 13th year of Nero, *i.e.* 67–68, and perhaps by a pure mistake the beginning of Linus' episcopate 'post Petrum' is assigned to the previous year.[†] *Jerome* places the persecution, the martyrdom of the two apostles, and the accession of Linus to the episcopate in the last—the 14th—year of Nero. It may be noticed that the date in the Armenian version for Peter's arrival at Rome seems to be a revision of the Eusebian date, and was perhaps attained thus. It is said in this version that Peter continued at Rome 20 years: this brings us to 59–60—an absurd date for the apostle's death. But if we suppose that in the processes of translation and revision 'twenty' was substituted for 'twenty-five,' then we get a date assigned to Peter's death very shortly after the fire in July 64. It seems likely, then, that the Armenian version, assuming 25 years' episcopate, worked back from the summer or autumn of 64, and so gave the early date for Peter's arrival in Rome. If this be so, we have here indirect evidence of the survival of the tradition that Peter's martyrdom took place in 64. The date, however, of the apostle's death is unrevised, and retains its Eusebian position at the end of Nero's reign. Two other passages dealing with the date of St. Peter's arrival at Rome must be quoted: (1) Eus. *HE* II. xiv., where, after an account of Simon's mischievous doings at Rome, Eusebius adds that Providence brought Peter also thither *ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς Κλαυδίου βασιλείας*. (2) Jerome (*de Virr. Illustr.* 1): 'Romam pergit ibique *viginti quinque annis* cathedram sacerdotalem tenuit usque ad *ultimum annum* Neronis, id est, *quartum decimum*' (cf. v.). Harnack (*Die Chronol.* p. 124 n.) points out that Eusebius in the *History* does not refer to a 25 years' episcopate, and puts Peter's arrival at Rome simply in the reign of Claudius, and that it is therefore *possible* that the reference to the 25 years and the location of the commencement of that period in the 2nd year of Claudius may be due to Jerome. This may be so; but the fact that both the versions of the *Chronicon*, the Armenian and Jerome, mention the length of Peter's stay at Rome (the original number of years in the Arm. as in Jerome having probably been 25), and that they both place his martyrdom there near the end of Nero's reign, points to the dates and the 25 years' episcopate having been derived from the original statement of the Eusebian *Chronicon*. It is probable (Lightfoot, *Clement* i. p. 339; Harnack, *Chronol.* p. 123) that Eusebius derived his early papal chronology from Julius Africanus; and the latter may in his turn have used earlier documents, *e.g.* the lists of Hegesippus. But (assuming that it had a place in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius) there is no evidence to show whether the 25 years' episcopate was the invention of Eusebius or whether he inherited it from one of his predecessors. It will appear in a moment that it is probably the result of an artificial arrangement of dates. We turn to the *date of the martyrdom*, which is put in the last year of Nero's reign. It is to be noticed that the catholic *Acts of Peter* (ed. Lipsius p. 172 f.) connect with the apostle's death a prophecy that 'Nero should be destroyed not many days hence' and relate its speedy fulfilment. Eusebius' words, preserved by Syncellus, are: *ἐπὶ πᾶσι δ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀδικήμασι* [*ἀτυχήμασι* Codd.] *καὶ τὸν πρῶτον κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἐνεδείξατο διωγμόν, ἡνίκα Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος κ.τ.λ.* It does not appear that Eusebius was acquainted with Tacitus, and, if he did not connect the persecution with the great fire, it was very natural that, whether he followed the catholic *Acts* or no, he should regard the attack on the Church as the filling up of Nero's iniquities (cf. Ac 12^{1-23}). On the other hand, the evidence of Tacitus is decisive that the persecution followed immediately upon the fire; and the *Chronicon* records under the year 63–64 'many conflagrations at Rome.' We have still to account for *the legend of the 25 years' episcopate* at Rome. If the *terminus ad quem* of Peter's sojourn at Rome was determined as suggested above, we may conjecture that (the ministry at Antioch being regarded as a mere offshoot of the ministry at Jerusalem) Peter's departure for Rome was placed at the expiration of the 12 years, after which, according to the tradition which had a place in the *Κήρυγμα Πέτρου* (*ap.* Clement, *Strom.* vi. 5) and the Gnostic *Acts of Peter* (ed. Lipsius p. 49; for other references see Harnack, *Die Chronol.* p. 243), the Lord commanded the apostles to go forth into the world (cf. Ac 12^{17}). If the Passion was placed in the year 30, then the sojourn of Peter at Rome would be considered to commence about the year 42, and just about a quarter of a century would elapse between that date and the martyrdom at the end of Nero's reign.[*]

(ii.) *The Liber Pontificalis.*—We turn now to the later catalogues of Roman bishops. (1) The Liberian catalogue (Duchesne p. 2) has the notice, 'Petrus ann. xxv mens. uno d. viiii.[†] Fuit temporibus Tiberii Cæsaris et Gai et Tiberi Claudi et Neronis, a cons. Minuci [*lege* Vinici] et Longini usque Nerine et Vero [*lege* Vetere]. Passus autem cum Paulo die iii kl. iulias, cons. s̄s̄., imperante Nerone.' The date of this catalogue is 354. It gives the date of Peter's 25 years' Roman episcopate as A.D. 30–55. The notice immediately preceding puts the date of the crucifixion as A.D. 29 ('duobus Geminis cons.'), and then adds: 'et post ascensum eius beatissimus Petrus episcopatum suscepit.' The singular date of Peter's episcopate, therefore, seems based on the assumption that *Christ* made the apostle a bishop, and that his see must have been Rome. (2) The *Liber Pontificalis* in the earlier form (as restored from the Felician and Cononian abridgments) puts side by side the following statements:—(*a*) 'Primum sedit cathedra episcopatus in Antiochia ann. vii.' (*b*) 'Ingressus in urbe Roma Nerone Cesare ibique sedit cathedra episcopatus ann. xxv mens. ii dies iii.' (*c*) 'Fuit temporibus Tiberii Cesaris et Gaii et Tiberii Claudi et Neronis.' To these statements (Duchesne p. 50 f.) the later recension (Duchesne p. 118) adds another, 'martyrio cum Paulo coronatur, post passionem Domini anno xxxviii.' According to this statement the date of the martyrdom is 67 (cf. Jer. *de Virr. Illustr.*). It is unnecessary to examine the different parts of the above mosaic. But however the chronological context varies, the xxv years' episcopate is preserved.

7. *The burial-places of St. Peter.*—The Ambrosian hymn connects the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul with three spots in Rome—'Trinis celebratur uiis Festum sacrorum martyrum' (Daniel, *Thes. Hymn.* I. xc.). These *viæ* are the

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[*] The Syriac Epitome (Schoene p. 211) puts the foundation of the Church at Antioch and St. Peter's arrival at Rome ('et præfuit ecclesiæ illi annos xxv') in *Anno Abr.* 2058 (=A.D. 42–43), the appointment of Euodius two years later; but under *An. Abr.* 2064 (=A.D. 48–49) it has the entry, 'Petrus apostolus moderator eccl. Romanæ factus est.'

[†] It is, however, possible that we should connect this appointment of Linus with what there are some reasons for thinking to be the fact that Peter left Rome for a time about a year before his martyrdom there (see below, p. 778).

[*] In the Eastern and Oriental lists given in Duchesne, *Lib. Pontif.* p. 34 ff., there are variations from 25 years—(i.) The *Short Chronography* of 853 gives 22 years; (ii.) Nicephorus 2 years; (iii.) Syncellus leaves a blank; (iv.) Eutychius 22 years; (v.) Elias of Nisibis 28 years.

[†] For a possible explanation of the variations of the number of months and days see Duchesne, *Lib. Pontif.* p. xx n.

Ostian, the place of St. Paul's death and burial; the Aurelian, the resting-place of St. Peter; and the Appian, where the bodies of both apostles were laid for a time. The facts are briefly these:

(1) *The Vatican.*—The belief that the apostle was buried on the Vatican goes back to the time of Caius (see above); so Jerome, *de Virr. Illustr.* 1: 'Sepultus Romæ in Vaticano iuxta uiam triumphalem' (this *via* runs N.E. of the Vatican); *Acta Petri et Pauli*, 84 (ed. Lipsius p. 216, cf. p. 172), ἔθηκαν αὐτὸ ὑπὸ τὴν τερέβινθον [cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xvi. 44] πλησίον τοῦ ναυμαχίου [cf. *Martyr. a Lino conscr.* x., ed. Lipsius p. 11; see above] εἰς τόπον καλούμενον Βατικανόν; *Lib. Pontif.* (ed. Duchesne pp. 52 f., 118 ff.): 'Sepultus est uia Aurelia, in templum Apollonis, iuxta locum ubi crucifixus est, iuxta palatium Neronianum in Vaticanum, in territurium Triumphale, uia Aurelia, iii K. iul.' In the last notice the temple of Apollo probably refers to a temple of Cybele (Duchesne p. 120; Lipsius p. 401) on this site; by the *palatium Neronianum* is meant either Nero's gardens or the Circus (probably to be identified with the *Naumachia*). It was apparently on this spot that Anencletus, according to the *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne pp. 55, 125), built a *memoria beati Petri*, where tradition said that all the Roman bishops till the time of Zephyrinus (except Clement and Alexander) were buried. The Church of *San Pietro in Montorio* is the outcome of another and later tradition that the apostle suffered on the Janiculum—a tradition which possibly arose from a confusion between the *via Aurelia* on the Vatican and the older *via Aurelia* with the *porta Aurelia* on the Janiculum.*

(2) *The Ad Catacumbas.*—In the *Depositio Martyrum*, one of the tracts which form the collection called by the general name of the *Liberian Catalogue*, and which were possibly edited in 354 by Furius Filocalus, who certainly illuminated them and who executed the inscriptions of Damasus in the catacombs (Lightfoot, *Clement* i. p. 249), we find the notice: 'iii Kal. iul. Petri in Catacumbas et Pauli Ostense Tusco et Basso cons.' There can be no doubt that this is a blundering revision of an original notice running thus: 'iii Kal. iul. Petri et Pauli in Catacumbas Tusco et Basso cons.,' the reviser, whoever he may have been, interpreting the statement as referring to the *martyrdom* of the apostles. This misinterpretation of the original notice is still more flagrant in the *Martyr. Hieronymianum*: 'iii Kl. iul. Romæ natale apostolorum Petri et Pauli: Petri in Vaticano uia Aurelia: Pauli uero in uia Ostensi: utrumque in Catacumbas; passi sub Nerone, Basso et Tusco consulibus.' In reality the year indicated is A.D. 258, and the reference is to the transference of the apostles' remains from their respective resting-places on the Ostian and Aurelian roads to the Catacumbas on the Appian road, *i.e.* the Church of St. Sebastian, during the Valerian persecution, a few weeks before the martyrdom of pope Xystus in August. Damasus, as we learn from the *Lib. Pontif.* (ed. Duchesne pp. 84 f., 212; cf. p. civ), decorated the chamber, and placed over the *locus bisomus* the inscription—

> 'Hic habitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes,
> Nomina quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris.
> Discipulos oriens misit, quod sponte fatemur. . . .
> Roma suos potius meruit defendere ciues.'

A misunderstanding of the common memorial day of the two apostles, which finds definite expression in the blundering notice of the *Depositio*, gave rise, it appears, to the legend that the two apostles *suffered* on the same day—a statement which first occurs in Jerome, *de Virr. Illustr.* 5: [Paulus] 'quarto decimo Neronis anno *eodem die quo Petrus* Romæ pro Christo capite truncatur, sepultusque est in uia Ostiensi.' The historical fact that the apostles' remains were supposed to have lain at one time near the place of their death and again in the *Catacumbas*, and then (see below) to have been restored to their original resting-places, gave rise to two stories. (*a*) The reference to the East in the verses of Damasus suggested the legend found in the *Acta Petri et Pauli* (ed. Lipsius p. 220) of Eastern Christians attempting to steal the bodies. These *Acts* assert that the bodies rested in the *Catacumbas* a year and seven months; a later tradition, found in the Salzburg Itinerary, makes the period 40 years (Duchesne p. cv; Benson, *Cyprian* p. 482 f.). (*b*) According to the *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne pp. 65 ff., 150 ff.), Cornelius, bishop of Rome 251–253, at the request of a certain matron named Lucina, removed the bodies of the apostles by night from the *Catacumbas*. The body of Paul Lucina buried in her own grounds on the Ostian road. 'Beati Petri accepit corpus beatus Cornelius episcopus et posuit iuxta locum ubi crucifixus est, inter corpora sanctorum episcoporum, in templum Apollonis, in monte Aureo, in Vaticanum palatii Neroniani, iii Kal. iul.' The epithet *aureus* has probably arisen from the word *Aurelius*.

(3) *The Vatican.*—The *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne pp. 78 f., 176; cf. the addition in one MS of the *Passio Sanctorum App.*, ed. Lipsius p. 176) gives the legend, derived originally from the *Acta Silvestri*, extant only in later recensions, that Constantine was baptized by Silvester, and thereby cured of leprosy; that at the request of the bishop he built a *basilica* in honour of St. Peter on the site of a temple of Apollo; that he placed the apostle's body there in a tomb of bronze surmounted by a golden cross. It is likely enough that the *basilica* was begun at the end of Constantine's reign. But the body of the apostle cannot have been removed there before 354, since that is the date of the Liberian *Depositio*, where it is implied that the body still rested *ad Catacumbas*. The translation therefore must have taken place between 354 and the time when Damasus (366–384) placed in the *Catacumbas* the inscription quoted above. On the whole subject see Duchesne, *Lib. Pontificalis* pp. civ ff., 119 f., 125, 152, 193 ff., 214; Lipsius, *Die Apokr. Apostelg.* II. i. p. 391 ff. (with reff. to his earlier works); Lightfoot, *Clement* ii. p. 499 f.; Benson, *Cyprian* p. 481 ff.; Erbes, 'Das Alter der Gräber u. Kirchen des Paulus u. Petrus in Rom,' in Brieger's *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.* vii. p. 1 ff. (1885); Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome* pp. 122 ff., 345 ff. (1892); de Waal, *Die Apostelgruft ad Catacumbas* (1894); Erbes, 'Die Todestage der Apostel Paulus u. Petrus,' 1899 (*Texte u. Untersuch. NF* iv. 1).

There are five *memorial days* which claim notice. (i.) June 29. The origin of the observance of this day as a festival of St. Peter and St. Paul has been pointed out above, and it has been shown that probably as early as Jerome, certainly before the *Mart. Hieronymianum*, compiled early in the 7th cent., the day was regarded as the anniversary of the death of the apostles. In the Gelasian Sacramentary there are three sets of 'Orationes et Preces' for the festival: 'In natali S. Petri proprie,' 'In natali apostolorum Petri et Pauli,' 'In natali S. Pauli proprie.' When in the Gregorian Sacramentary a further step was taken, and the 'natalis S. Pauli' was transferred to the next day, June 29 became the memorial day of St. Peter alone. This common festival of the two apostles passed into the Greek Church, though it is uncertain at what date, and has a place also in the Coptic, Ethiopic, Syrian, and Armenian calendars. A Syriac Martyrology of the year 412, published by Wright in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for Oct. 1865, Jan. 1866, places this festival on Dec. 28. (ii.) Feb. 22. In the Liberian *Depositio Martyrum* there is the entry: 'viii Kal. Mart. natale Petri de catedra.' In the *Martyr. Hieronymianum* the corresponding notice is 'viii Kl. Mart. cathedra Petri *in Antiochia.*' (iii.) Jan. 18. In the same *Martyrologium* we have 'xv Kal. Feb. dedicatio cathedræ S. Petri apostoli qui [qua] primo Romæ sedit.' (iv.) Aug. 1. The Roman *Martyrologium* has 'Kal. Aug. Romæ ad uincula catenas S. Petri osculandas,' or, according to some MSS, 'Kal. Aug. Romæ dedicatio primæ ecclesiæ a b. Petro constructæ [et consecratæ].' Since the church *S. Petri ad uincula* was probably built under Sixtus III. (432–440), the origin of the festival may be as early as the time of this pope. The original reference of the festival was to the miracle recorded in Ac 12^7. The corresponding festival in the Greek Church was on Jan. 16, in the Armenian Church on Jan. 22. For further information see Sinker's article in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* ii. p. 1623 ff.; Lipsius, *Die. Apokr. Apostelg.* II. i. p. 404 ff.

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* Lanciani (*Pagan and Christian Rome* p. 127 f.) supposes that the erection of this church on the Janiculum to commemorate the martyrdom is due to a misinterpretation of the tradition that St. Peter suffered *inter duas metas*.

8. *The Acts of Peter.*—These *Acts* are collected and edited by Lipsius (1891) in the first vol. of the *Acta Apost. Apocrypha*, edited by himself and Bonnet.

(1) The Gnostic *Acts.* — (i.) The documents. These are: (*a*) *Martyrium b. Petri Ap. a Lino ep. conscriptum.* This *martyrium* is contained in several MSS. The name of Linus is found only in the title. (*b*) *Actus Petri cum Simone.* The sole authority for this text is the Codex Vercellensis, a 7th cent. MS. (*c*) *μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Πέτρου.* This document corresponds with the closing portion of the *Actus* (xxx–end). The authorities for this text are a 9th cent. MS at Patmos, and a MS of later date at Mt. Athos. There exist also a Slavonic and an Æthiopic version (the latter is translated in Malan's *Conflicts of the Holy Apostles*), and some fragments of a Sahidic version. It appears certain that the two first-named Latin texts are independent, and rest ultimately on a common Greek text. The complicated problem of the relation of these texts is discussed by Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelg.* II. i. p. 109 ff.; Zahn, *Ges. Kan.* ii. p. 834 ff.

(ii.) Substance. The following is a brief summary of the story. (*a*) Paul in obedience to a vision departs from Rome on his journey to Spain. (*b*) Simon Magus arrives in Rome and gains adherents. The brethren are distressed that Paul has left them, and that they have no leader to help them against Simon. Just at this time, however, the twelve years after the Ascension being past, Christ appears to Peter in a vision and bids him go to Rome. (*c*) Peter arrives in Rome. After preaching to the brethren, at their request he goes from the synagogue to the house of Marcellus (formerly a disciple of St. Paul), where Simon is. At this point there ensues the episode of the speaking dog which takes Peter's message to Simon. Marcellus, who had been so much under Simon's influence that he had erected in his honour a statue with the inscription *Simoni iuueni deo*, repents. In course of time it is arranged that there should be a public encounter between Peter and Simon in the Forum. Peter's power of truly raising the dead proves him to be superior to Simon. [At this stage in the story the Athos MS begins]. Simon undertakes to fly to heaven. This he attempts to do before a great crowd in the Via Sacra.* Under the influence, however, of Peter's prayers he falls and breaks his thigh. He is stoned by the crowd, leaves Rome, and shortly afterwards dies at Terracina. (*d*) [At this point the Linus-Martyrium and the Patmos MS begin]. The prefect Agrippa [note that the minister of Augustus is transferred to Nero's reign] has four concubines, who are persuaded by Peter to refuse Agrippa any further intercourse. Xanthippe similarly withdraws from her husband Albinus, a friend of the emperor's [in the *Acta Xanthippæ* (James, *Apocr. Anecdota* p. 58 ff.) the husband's name is Probus]. Albinus, therefore, and Agrippa make common cause against Peter. (*e*) At the request of Xanthippe and the brethren, Peter consents to leave Rome. As he is passing through the gate of the city he sees Christ entering. The well-known conversation between the Lord and the apostle takes place (see below), and he returns to the city knowing that the Lord would suffer *in him.* St. Peter is brought before Agrippa, who condemns him to be crucified. When he is brought near the cross he addresses it in mystic language —*ὦ ὄνομα σταυροῦ, μυστήριον ἀπόκρυφον κ.τ.λ.* He asks that he may be fixed to it head downwards, and in mystical language he explains the significance of that position.* At the burial, Marcellus acts the part of Joseph of Arimathæa. Peter, however, appears to him in a vision and reminds him of the Lord's saying, 'Let the dead be buried by their own dead.' So Marcellus awaits Paul's return to Rome. The romance ends with a notice of Nero first determining to persecute the converts of Peter and afterwards being restrained by a vision (one text says 'of Peter,' another 'of an angel,' another of 'a certain one') of one who chastised him, and warned him to 'refrain his hands from the servants of Christ.'

(iii.) History and date. At the end of the 4th cent. and onwards apocryphal *Acts of Peter* are spoken of as being in authoritative use among heretics, especially the Manichæans; cf. Augustine, *c. Faust.* xxx. 4, *adv. Adimant. Manich.* 17; and (somewhat earlier) Philaster, *Hær.* 88. At the same time these *Acts* were not infrequently alluded to without note of suspicion, and occasionally even definitely cited, by catholic writers. Thus Isidore of Pelusium (*Ep.* ii. 99; Migne, *Pat. Gr.* lxxviii. 544) adduces a saying taken from the discourse of Peter in the house of Marcellus (*Actus Petri cum Simone* xx., ed. Lipsius p. 67)—*καθὼς Πέτρος ὁ κορυφαῖος τοῦ χόρου ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ πράξεσι σαφῶς ἀπεφήνατο* "*Α ἐχωρήσαμεν ἐγράψαμεν.* The earliest writer who refers to these *Acts* by name is Eusebius, *HE* III. iii. 2. Classing them with the *Gospel*, the *Preaching*, and the *Apocalypse* of Peter, he says 'we do not own these writings as handed down among the catholic (books), because no Church writer, either among the ancients or among our own contemporaries, has ever used the testimonies to be derived from them' (cf. Jerome, *de Virr. Illustr.* i.). The earliest writer who certainly *refers* to these *Acts*—he does not quote them by name—is the African poet Commodian, about A.D. 250, who, in *Carmen Apologeticum* 615 ff., writes: 'Et canem [fecit] ut Simoni diceret: clamaris a Petro . . . Infantem fecit quinto mense proloqui uolgo.' Commodian, then, supplies a *terminus ad quem* for the composition of these Petrine *Acts.* Harnack, indeed (*Chronologie* p. 552 ff.), argues that they were actually written about the middle of the 3rd century. He lays special stress on the fact that Hippolytus (*Refut. Hær.* vi. 20) gives an account of Peter's triumph over Simon, and of the latter's death, quite different from that contained in the *Acts*, and he concludes that Hippolytus did not know our *Acts*, and that therefore they could not have been then written. To this line of argument it may be replied: (*a*) that Hippolytus' ignorance of them would not prove their non-existence; (*b*) that ignorance of them on his part cannot be deduced from the fact that he follows quite another story; for Hippolytus, a *malleus hæreticorum*, would naturally avoid a story which he found in a heretical book. Harnack further insists that allusions in these *Acts* to, *e.g.*, the emperor and to details of Church life point to the 3rd cent., while, in opposition to Lipsius and Zahn, he altogether denies that the *Acts* bear a Gnostic character. It is quite possible that some of the allusions to which Harnack appeals as proving the later date of the *Acts* as a whole point to interpolations on the part of an editor or a translator. But there are strong reasons for assigning the *Grundschrift* to the 2nd cent. Lipsius (p. 266) and Zahn (*Ges. Kan.* ii. p. 861) have both noted the resemblance in ideas and modes of expression between the *Acts of Peter* and the Leucian *Acts of John*. The fragment of the last-named *Acts* printed for the first time in James' *Apocr. Anecdota* ii. brings to light still further points of likeness. James (p. xxiv ff.) has collected a number of parallels between the fragment of the Johannine *Acts* and the *Actus Petri cum Simone*, and is justified in concluding 'that they show as clearly as any evidence of this kind could, that whoever wrote the *Acts of John* wrote the *Acts of Peter*' (p. xxiv). 'Acts of Peter' were among 'the Acts' which, according to Photius (*Biblioth. Cod.* cxiv.), were contained in αἱ λεγόμεναι τῶν ἀποστόλων περίοδοι—the work of Leucius Charinus. This Leucius (see Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelg.* i. p. 83 ff.), a somewhat shadowy personage, seems to have belonged to Asia Minor, and to have written during the 2nd cent., about 160 as Zahn thinks (*ib.* p. 864). Thus the original Gnostic *Acts* were a 2nd cent. romance, and had their origin in Asia Minor.

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* The origin of this tradition is probably to be found in the story told by Suetonius (*Nero* 12).

* *περὶ ὧν ὁ κύριος ἐν μυστηρίῳ λέγει Ἐὰν μὴ ποιήσητε τὰ δεξιὰ ὡς τὰ ἀριστερὰ καὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ ὡς τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ τὰ ἄνω ὡς τὰ κάτω καὶ τὰ ὀπίσω ὡς τὰ ἔμπροσθεν, οὐ μὴ ἐπιγνῶτε τὴν βασιλείαν* (c. ix.).

(2) From the Gnostic we turn to the catholic *Acts*. These are often distinguished by the name Marcellus, who in some Latin MSS appears (in a superscription) as the author. (i.) Documents. These *Acts* are found in two chief forms, which Tischendorf (*Acta Apost. Apocr.* pp. 1–39) has somewhat disastrously endeavoured to weave into a single whole. The one, which may be designated as A, is found in Latin MSS, and in *one* Venice *Greek* MS (which Lipsius represents by the symbol E); the other, which may be designated as B, is found in the majority of Greek MSS. The most important difference between the two forms is that B begins with a long account (§§ 1–21) of the fear caused by Paul's appeal to Cæsar among the Jews at Rome (who had already had trouble enough through Peter's presence there), and of the closing stages of Paul's journey to the city. This section seems to be quite late, and is attributed by Lipsius (*Prolegom.* p. lxi) 'insipido cuidam sæculi ix monacho qui Siciliæ uel Magnæ Græciæ nescio quod monasterium incolebat.' Of the common Greek text there exists a Slavonic version.

(ii.) Substance. The outline of the story is as follows: (*a*) Paul arrives in Rome (Cod. E alone adds ἀπὸ τῶν Σπανιῶν). The two apostles meet with great joy. Paul stills a dispute between Gentile and Jewish Christians. The preaching of the apostles converts multitudes, and in particular 'Livia the wife of Nero and Agrippina the wife of Agrippa' [note the confusion] leave their husbands, while not a few soldiers withdraw from military service. (*b*) Simon Magus now begins to traduce Peter, and performs magical tricks. He is summoned before Nero, and claims to be the Son of God. The two great apostles and Simon hold a disputation and a trial of strength in miracles before Nero. At length Simon requests that a wooden tower may be erected, from which he undertakes to throw himself, that his angels may bear him to heaven. When the day arrives, Simon begins to fly, to the great distress of Paul. Peter, however, adjures the angels of Satan to help him no longer. Simon falls in the Via Sacra and dies. (*c*) Nero thereupon commands that the apostles should be thrown into prison. At Agrippa's suggestion Paul is beheaded in the Via Ostiensis. Peter, when he is brought to the cross, asks that, being unworthy to hang as his Lord hung, he may be crucified head downwards. He then relates to the people the *Quo vadis* story, and, after having prayed to the Good Shepherd, he gives up the spirit. (*d*) Three legends follow: (*α*) The legend of Perpetua, the three executioners, and Potentiana—in part closely akin to the Veronica legend—is rather Pauline than Petrine (comp. the Plautilla story in the *Passio S. Pauli*, ed. Lipsius p. 38 ff.). (*β*) Certain holy men appear, saying that they have come from Jerusalem; they, with Marcellus, bury the apostle's body 'under the terebinth near the Naumachia, at the place called the Vatican.' (*γ*) Certain men from the East carried off the bodies of the two apostles. They were overtaken at a place called *Catacumbas* at the third milestone along the Appian Way. There the saints' bodies were kept for a year and a half. Then the body of Peter was transferred to a tomb on the Vatican near the Naumachia, that of Paul to the Ostian Way. At their tombs great benefits were granted to the faithful through their prayers. The day of their martyrdom was June 29.

(iii.) History and date. The story of the men from the East who endeavoured to carry off the apostles' bodies arose, as is now generally agreed (see, *e.g.* Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelg.* p. 312; Lightfoot, *Clement* ii. p. 500), from a misunderstanding of the inscription of pope Damasus (366–384); see above, p. 772. Thus we must allow time for the circumstances which Damasus commemorates to have been forgotten, and for the meaning of his lines to have become obscure. The *Acts*, therefore, *in their present form* can hardly be much earlier than the middle of the 5th cent. On the other hand, many indications (*e.g.* the relics of early confessions of faith embedded in the *Acts*, chs. 58. 69) point to the conclusion that the *Grundschrift*, on which interpolations from other sources have been engrafted, was a document similar to the *Prædicatio Petri*, and, with it, is to be assigned to the middle of the 2nd cent. (Lipsius p. 333 ff.). The further problem as to the relation of the *Grundschrift* of the catholic *Acts* to the *Grundschrift* of the Gnostic *Acts* appears to elude criticism.

A Latin *Passio Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* (Lipsius, *Acta* pp. 223–234) need not be discussed at any length. It gives an account of the conflict between the apostles and Simon Magus, dealing rather with miracles than with theology. Clement (not Agrippa) appears as the *præfectus urbis*. The date, according to Lipsius, is the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century.

The *Quo vadis* legend. The story is found in the Gnostic *Acts*—in the Linus-text (vi) and in the *μαρτύριον* (vi); there is a *lacuna* here in the Cod. Vercellensis. It runs thus in the Linus-text, the important words in the Greek text being added: 'Ut autem portam ciuitatis uoluit egredi, uidit sibi Christum occurrere. Et adorans eum ait: Domine quo uadis? (Κύριε, ποῦ ὧδε;). Respondit ei Christus: Romam uenio iterum crucifigi (εἰσέρχομαι εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην σταυρωθῆναι). Et ait ad eum Petrus: Domine, iterum crucifigeris? (Κύριε, πάλιν σταυροῦσαι;). Et dixit ad eum dominus: Etiam iterum crucifigar. Petrus autem dixit: Domine, reuertar et sequar te. Et his dictis dominus ascendit in cælum.' In the catholic *Acts* Peter relates the story after he has been nailed to the cross. The Latin (61) is: 'Dixi: Domine, quo uadis? Et dixit mihi: Sequere me, quia uado Romam iterum crucifigi. Et dum sequerer eum, redii Romam. Et dixit mihi: Noli timere, quia ego tecum sum, quousque introducam te in domum patris mei.' In pseudo-Ambrose (*Serm. contr. Aux.* ii. 867, ed. Bened.) the words are: 'Domine, quo uadis?' 'Venio iterum crucifigi.' It seems probable that the story had its origin in a reminiscence of the conversation recorded in Jn 13^{36-38} (Κύριε, ποῦ ὑπάγεις; Latt. Domine, quo uadis?) and an *agraphon* preserved by Origen (*in Joan* xx. 12, ed. Brooke ii. p. 51)—'If any one will accept the saying recorded in the *Acts of Paul* as spoken by the Saviour, ἄνωθεν μέλλω σταυροῦσθαι.' The *Acts of Paul* is apparently an early 2nd cent. document of orthodox origin, and belongs to a different group of writings from the Gnostic *Acts of Peter* (Zahn, *Ges. Kan.* II. ii. p. 865 ff.). It is plain from the context in Origen that in the *Acts of Paul* the saying had no application to St. Peter. Origen quotes in the context He $6^{5f.}$, Gal 2^{19}. Possibly the *Acts of Peter* and the *Acts of Paul* alike derived the saying from 'an earlier document, probably the Preaching of Peter' (Zahn, *Einl.* ii. p. 25). It seems probable, then, that the conversation of our Lord and St. Peter in Jn 13 suggested a scene in which this saying was dramatized. Further, Zahn (*ib.*) is inclined to think that the ambiguous word ἄνωθεν (=*denuo, desuper*) suggested the story that Peter was crucified head downwards. The explanation does not seem a natural one. It is far more likely that the mode of death was one of the 'addita ludibria' of which Tacitus speaks.

9. *The Clementine Literature.*—(i.) Documents. These are three in number. (*a*) The *Homilies* in Greek. Two MSS only are known to exist—the one at Paris, the other at the Vatican. (*b*) The *Recognitions.* The Greek original has perished. The Latin rendering by Rufinus, preserved in a large number of MSS, a Syriac translation of part of the work, and an Arabic abridgment printed in *Studia Sinaitica* v., form the extant authorities for the text. Rufinus, in the preface to his translation, notes incidentally that the Greek original was extant in two forms. He further tells us that, while he had deliberately omitted some passages as obscure, he had aimed at a close, if bald, rendering. It may be added that a comparison between his version and the Syriac version generally confirms his statement. (*c*) Of far less importance than the two documents just mentioned is the *Epitome*—a late abridgment of the *Homilies.* The three Clementine works may be conveniently studied in Migne's *Patrologia Græca*, vols. i., ii.

(ii.) Substance. The romance of Clement's life—his early separation from his family and his ultimate discovery of them—need not detain us. Peter is the great opponent of Simon Magus, and long discourses addressed to his own disciples or to inquirers, or directed against Simon, are put into his mouth. The story in regard to Peter is, in outline, as follows. In the seventh year after the Passion, Clement finds Peter at Cæsarea, where the latter, having been sent thither by James, is about to hold a disputation with Simon Magus. After three days' discussion Simon is driven away by the populace. Peter follows Simon to Tripolis, according to the *Recognitions*; according to the *Homilies*, to Tyre, and thence to Sidon, Berytus, Byblus, and so to Tripolis. At Antioch Simon meets with great success, but is at length driven thence by a report that Cornelius the centurion had arrived armed with an imperial commission to destroy all sorcerers. Simon flies to the neighbouring town of Laodicea, where in the *Homilies* the scene of the great disputation between Peter and Simon is laid. In the *Homilies* the story ends with Peter's departure for Antioch; in the *Recognitions*, with his enthusiastic reception by the people there after the expulsion of Simon.

(iii.) Date and character. The documents which we possess exhibit different forms of a religious romance, written in the interests of a philosophical Ebionitism. The anti-Pauline element is strong in the *Homilies.* Under the character of Simon Magus, St. Paul is attacked (*e.g.* xvii. 19). The same tone of hostility to the work and teaching of St. Paul dominates the letter of Peter to James, § 2, which is prefixed to the *Homilies.* In the *Recognitions* this controversial element is omitted or softened down, the invective dealing only with St. Paul's action before his conversion (i. 70 f.). The doctrine of the *Homilies* is akin to that of the Elchasaite sect, which, according to Hippolytus (*Ref. Hær.* ix. 13), established itself at Rome during the episcopate of Callistus. The *Recognitions* is quoted by Origen (*Comm. in Genesim ap.* Philoc. xxiii. 21, and *Comm. in Matth.* xxvi. 6 f., ed. Lommatzsch iv. p. 401). The evidence, though slight, points to the first quarter of the 3rd cent. as the period to which the Clementine literature as we possess it should probably be assigned. From what *place* did it emanate? The claim of Rome is negatived by the almost entire absence of any reference to a visit of Simon to the city, and his conflict with the apostle there. The allusions to Rome as the final scene of the controversy (*Recog.* i. 13, 74, iii. 64; *Hom.* i. 16) are so incidental in character that they may well be the interpolation of a later editor, the writer, for example, who composed the *Epistle of Clement to James*, prefixed to the *Homilies*, in which an account of Clement's ordination at Rome as bishop by Peter is given. The scene of the story is confined within the boundaries of Syria, and it is therefore antecedently probable that Syria was the region in which the Clementine literature had its first home. This conclusion is confirmed by the character of the NT quotations, which appear to be derived from a Semitic document, whether an Aramaic Gospel or a Syriac version of the Gospels. One point, however, seems clear, viz. that the *Recognitions* and the *Homilies* are independent recastings of a common original, or of (closely related) common original documents. The relation of this document or these documents to the *Periodi Clementis*, to which Jerome (*adv. Jovin.* i. 26; *in Gal.* i. 18) refers for details about Peter which are not found in our Clementines, and to the κήρυγμα Πέτρου (see below), must remain with our present evidence an unsolved problem. The question of primary interest is: What did the original story or document on which the Clementines are based include? Was its subject the conflict between Peter and Simon in Syria only? Or did it relate an earlier conflict in Syria and a final conflict at Rome? In other words, do the Clementines and the Petrine *Acts* respectively depend on independent documents, the one narrating the conflict between Peter and Simon in the East, the other dealing with their final meeting in the West? or do they severally elaborate two parts of one common history? The former is the opinion of Salmon (*Dict. Chr. Biog.* iv. p. 685), the latter that to which Lipsius inclines (*Apokr. Apostelg.* II. i. p. 38 f.). It may be noticed that, while there are in the Clementines (see above) a few references to the Roman episode, on the other hand allusions are to be found in the Petrine *Acts* (*Actus Petr. cum Simone* v., *Martyr. Petri et Pauli* 17) to the Syrian conflict; but all these allusions are too slight to bear the weight of any conclusions. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (vi. 8, 9) contains the whole story of Peter and Simon,—the story of a conflict in Syria with points of contact with the Clementine history, and the story of a conflict in Rome with points of contact with that of the *Acts.* It seems less unlikely that here we come upon a relic of a complete story than that we have here a piecing together of two stories, which were originally independent. Of the precise doctrinal position of the original document it is vain to speculate. If the original story did follow St. Peter to Rome, there is a doctrinal reason why the Ebionite Clementine writers should refuse to acquiesce in the tradition that St. Paul and St. Peter worked at Rome together. That the original romance was early, there can be no doubt. Bishop Lightfoot held (*Clement* i. 361) that it 'cannot well be placed later than the middle of the 2nd century.'

10. *Non-Canonical writings ascribed to St. Peter.*—Eusebius (*HE* III. iii.), after mentioning the two Epistles which have a place in the Canon (see separate articles), proceeds to speak of other writings connected with Peter's name—the *Acts of Peter* (see above), the *Gospel according to Peter*, the *Preaching of Peter*, and the *Apocalypse*. These, he adds, 'we do not acknowledge as handed down to us among the Catholic writings, for no Church writer, either in ancient times or in our own, ever made use of the testimonies they supply' (cf. III. xxv.). To this list Jerome (*de Virr. Illustr.* 1) adds the *Judicium*.

(1) *The Gospel of Peter.*—A portion of what is universally agreed to have been the Petrine *Gospel* mentioned by Eusebius was found among the Akhmîm fragments, and published by M. Bouriant in Nov. 1892. The fragment begins with a reference to our Lord's trial before Pilate and Herod, and then gives an account of the mockery, the crucifixion, the burial, and the resurrection. The author writes in the first person (cc. vii. xii.), and identifies himself with Peter: 'But I Simon Peter and Andrew my brother' (c. xiv.). The *Gospel* is the subject of a letter written by Serapion, who was bishop of Antioch during the last decade of the 2nd cent., and preserved by Eusebius (*HE* vi. 12). Serapion had found the *Gospel* at Rhosus on the Bay of Issus, and had at first approved it. Further knowledge, however, led him to condemn it on the double ground that it owed its origin to the Docetæ, and that it contained additions to 'the true teaching about the Saviour.' The fact that Serapion, a man of literary and controversial activity, did not know of the *Gospel* before his accidental discovery of it, that no other 2nd cent. writer is proved to have used it, and that few later writers were acquainted with it, and these only men in some way connected with Syria, shows that its circulation and influence were confined within narrow limits. As to its *date*, Harnack holds that in the fragment the four Gospels are not placed on the same level, Mt probably not being used at all, and that the Petrine *Gospel* was used by Justin. These considerations seem to him to point to the beginning of the 2nd cent. (cf. Sanday, *Inspiration* (1893) p. 310, 'hardly later than the end of the first quarter of the 2nd cent.'). On the other hand, it is by no means certain that Justin used the *Gospel*; their undoubted connexion can be explained in other ways. And, further, the text of the Gospels had already had a history before it was used by the author of the Petrine *Gospel*; indeed there is strong reason to think that he used a harmony of the Gospels, that of Tatian or some earlier harmony, at least for the portion of the history covered by the extant fragment.* The implied text, then, of the Gospels suggests that the date can hardly be much before 150 (so Swete: Zahn 130), while a limit in the other direction is supplied by the fact that the *Gospel* had been in existence some time before Serapion discovered it. See the editions of Bouriant, Lods, Robinson (1892), Harnack, Zahn, Swete (1893); also von Schubert, *Die Composition des pseudopetrinischen Evangelienfragments*, 1893; Salmon, *Introduction*, Appendix (1894) p. 581 ff.

(2) *The Preaching of Peter* (κήρυγμα Πέτρου).—It is probable that this document is quoted by Origen (*de Princ. Præf.* 8) under the title 'Petri *doctrina*'†; it is possible that it is to be identified with the 'Prædicatio Petri *et Pauli*,' quoted by Lact. *Instit. Div.* iv. 21, comp. pseudo-Cyprian *de Rebapt.* 17. The extant fragments of the *Preaching* are collected in Hilgenfeld's *NT extra Canonem* (1884) iv. p. 51 ff., and in von Dobschütz, 'Das Kerygma Petri kritisch untersucht' (1893; *Texte u. Unters.* xi. 1).* It is clear from what has come down to us that the book gave—not a single discourse, but—the substance of discourses by one speaking in the name of the apostles (the first person plural is always used†). It deals with the τρίτον γένος among Jews and Gentiles, insisting on a pure monotheism as opposed to the errors of Judaism and of heathenism alike, and incorporating directions of our Lord in reference to the evangelization of the Gentiles. Clement of Alexandria (cf. Heracleon *ap.* Origen, *in Ev. Joh.* Tom. xiii. 17) regards the spokesman of the apostles throughout as Peter; and further, having the whole book before him, he implies that it claimed to be *written* by Peter—ὁ Πέτρος γράφει (*Strom.* vi. 7, p. 769 ed. Potter; comp. Origen's question in the passage just referred to—πότερόν ποτε γνήσιόν ἐστιν ἢ νόθον ἢ μικτόν). The *Preaching* exercised a wide influence. It was apparently used among others by Apollonius of Asia Minor (*ap.* Eus. *HE* v. xviii. 14) at the end of the 2nd cent., Heracleon, the author of the Epistle to Diognetus, Justin, Aristides (Robinson in *Texts and Studies* i. 1, p. 86 ff.). Its date must therefore be very early. Harnack, holding that Egypt was the birthplace of the book, gives its date as 110–130 (140); Zahn as 90–100. Von Dobschütz suggests that in the first decade of the 2nd cent. a Christian at Alexandria felt that St. Mark's Gospel (ending at 16^8) needed a supplement, and wrote the *Preaching* as a δεύτερος λόγος, and further that from it the 'shorter ending' of Cod. L (Swete, *St. Mark* p. xcvii ff.) is derived. For further information see von Dobschütz, 'Das Kerygma Petri' (*Texte u. Untersuch.* xi. 1, 1893); Harnack, *Die Chronologie*, 1897, pp. 472–474; Zahn, *Geschichte des NT Kanons*, 1892, II. ii. pp. 820–832; Salmon, art. 'Preaching of Peter,' in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* (vol. iv. 1887); Hilgenfeld, *NT extra Can. Rec.*, ed. altera, 1884, iv. pp. 50–65.

(3) *The Apocalypse of Peter.*—A considerable fragment of the *Apocalypse* of Peter was discovered and published with the fragment of the *Gospel*. Before 1892 only some half dozen small fragments were known to exist (see, *e.g.*, Zahn, *Ges. Kan.* II. ii. p. 818). The Akhmîm fragment begins in the middle of a sentence containing apocalyptic words put into our Lord's mouth. The apostles—'we, the twelve disciples'—then go into the 'mountain' with the Lord to pray, and ask to see one of the righteous who had 'departed from the world,' 'in order that . . . being encouraged we may encourage also the men who hear us.' In answer to Peter's questions the Lord reveals the place of happiness and the place of torment, in which punishments are meted out to various classes of sinners. It appears from the reference to the apostles' hearers that they had received a command to teach; but a time during the Lord's ministry is perhaps less in harmony with the supposed situation than a time after the resurrection. The *Apocalypse of Peter* is mentioned in the Muratorian fragment (unless the passage is corrupt; see p. 780). Clement of Alexandria quotes it three or four times, once as Scripture (*Ecl. ex Scrip. Proph.* xli.); and, according to Eusebius, he commented on it. Thus there is good ground for regarding the *Apocalypse* as a 2nd cent. document, especially if it is allowed that it was used in the

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* The present writer has elsewhere (*The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Cod. Bezæ* p. 121 ff.) given reasons for thinking that 'behind those parts of the fragment which are based on the Canonical Gospels there lie the corresponding sentences of the *Syriac* Diatessaron.'

† This is to be distinguished from the *διδασκαλία Πέτρου* referred to by later Greek Fathers. Von Dobschütz (p. 107) identifies this Peter with Peter of Alexandria.

* The 'Preaching of Peter' in an Arabic MS, published by Mrs. Gibson in *Studia Sinaitica* No. v., has no connexion with the *Preaching* under discussion.

† The first person *singular* is used in one fragment (Hilgenfeld p. 57, l. 23); but this fragment is derived *ἐκ τῆς διδασκαλίας Πέτρου* (von Dobschütz p. 118; cf. Holl, *Fragmente vornican. Kirchenväter* (1899) p. 234).

Acts of Thomas (ed. Bonnet, p. 39) and in the *Passion of St. Perpetua* (James, p. 60 f.). Zahn, writing before the publication of the Akhmîm fragment, lays stress on the fact that Origen shows no sign of having known the *Apocalypse*, that Clement may have derived his knowledge of it from his Hebrew teacher, that several notices of it seem to connect it with Palestine, and he therefore thinks that Palestine was its birthplace. On the other hand, the coincidences with the *Pistis Sophia*, both in vocabulary and matter, seem to make an Egyptian origin more probable. The text has been edited by Bouriant, James, Lods (1892), Harnack (1893); see Zahn, *Ges. Kan.* II. ii. p. 810 ff.; Salmon, *Introduction to NT*, Appendix (1894) p. 589 f.

(4) Jerome in *de Virr. Illustr.* i. 5 mentions the *Judicium* among the apocryphal books which bear St. Peter's name. Rufinus, *in Symb. Apost.* 38, gives the *Libri Ecclesiastici* which belong to the NT as 'libellus qui dicitur Pastoris siue Hermes, qui appellatur *Duæ Viæ* uel *Judicium* Petri.' It seems probable that Jerome and Rufinus have the same document in mind. Further, the whole list of books in Rufinus appears to be based upon the list given in the Festal Epistle of Athanasius, who couples together 'the *so-called Teaching of the Apostles* and the Shepherd.' It is probable that the *Judicium Petri* was a Latin document, in which Peter alone was represented as the speaker, corresponding to the Greek document *αἱ διαταγαὶ αἱ διὰ Κλήμεντος καὶ κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων.* See Hilgenfeld, *NT extra Can. Rec.* iv. p. 111 ff.; Salmon, *Introduction* p. 554; Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel* p. 193 ff.

(5) An 'Epistle of Peter to James' is prefixed to the Clementine *Homilies*, and is thoroughly Ebionite in its teaching.

IV. Reconstruction of the later History of St. Peter.—Except the testimony of 1 Peter, we have in the NT no clear evidence as to the apostle's movements after St. Paul's notice in Gal 2. What evidence the NT supplies as to later times is negative. But the tradition of the Church and the statements of early writers, together with the evidence of 1 Peter, give a basis for conclusions which reach a very high degree of probability. An endeavour will now be made to interpret the evidence as to the three following points—(1) St. Peter's visit to Rome; (2) the Simonian legend; (3) the period which succeeded the 'Council' at Jerusalem.

1. *St. Peter's visit to Rome.*—Of those who deny that St. Peter visited Rome, Lipsius may be taken as the type. His interpretation of the evidence is given in his great work, *Die Apokr. Apostelgeschichten* II. ii. pp. 1–69 (1887), where he embodies the results of his previous investigations—*Quellen der römischen Petrussage*, arts. in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, arts. in *Jarhrb. f. protest. Theologie* (1876). His theory is briefly as follows. The tradition of St. Peter's presence at Rome takes two forms. The *one* brings St. Peter and St. Paul together at Rome; together they found the Church there, and together they suffer. The *other* represents St. Peter as the opponent of the false apostle, Simon Magus, who is St. Paul under a thin disguise; as pursuing him from land to land and finally in Rome triumphing over him, and then dying a martyr's death. The first form of the legend may be called the Petro-Pauline legend, the second the Simonian. Since the two agree in bringing the apostle to Rome, they cannot be independent; and the question at once arises—Which is the original form? The Petro-Pauline legend corresponds to the Gentile view of the relation of the two apostles: they are friends and fellow-workers. The Simonian legend answers to the Jewish conception, according to which St. Paul is 'the enemy.' Now the latter view is historically prior to the former. It follows, therefore, that the Simonian legend is the earlier, and that it is the parent of the Petro-Pauline tradition. The one historical basis of the whole structure of romance is the visit of St. Paul to Rome. On this is built up the fabric of St. Peter's visit to Rome; and, since the first builders were Ebionites, St. Paul becomes Simon Magus. This anti-Pauline legend is alone responsible for the tradition that Simon Magus taught in Rome, and further fixed the date of his arrival there under Claudius. For St. Peter went there after the twelve years' of preaching at Jerusalem were over, and with his arrival that of his opponent was made to coincide. Such is the theory. It is open to attack from many quarters. It is blind to the many-sidedness and unanimity of early testimony, and in particular it is driven to explain away the evidence of Clement, while it rejects the authenticity of 1 Peter. On the other hand, it accounts for this general concurrence of witnesses by the hypothesis of a romance whose genesis was a complex and highly artificial process. But, in fact, Lipsius' theory is really an offshoot of the Tübingen theory of the apostolic age. The main trunk is now seen to be lifeless. The branch cannot but share its decay.

The strength of the case for St. Peter's visit to, and martyrdom at, Rome lies not only in the absence of any rival tradition, but also in the fact that many streams of evidence converge to this result. We have the evidence of official lists and documents of the Roman Church, which prove the strength of the tradition in later times, and which, at least in some cases, must rest on earlier documents. The notice of the transference of the apostle's body to a new resting-place in 258, and the words of Caius, show that the tradition was definite and unquestioned at Rome in the first half of the 3rd cent. The fact that Caius in the passage referred to is arguing with an Asiatic opponent, the evidence of the (Gnostic) *Acts* of Peter, the passages quoted from Origen, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, show that at the same period the tradition was accepted in the Churches of Asia, of Alexandria, and of Carthage. The passage of Irenæus carries the evidence backward well within the 2nd cent., and is of special importance as coming from one who had visited Rome, whose list of Roman bishops suggests that he had had access to official documents, and who, through Polycarp, was in contact with the personal knowledge of St. John and his companions. The testimony of Clement of Rome seems clear when his words are examined, while at the same time it is not definite and circumstantial enough to have *created* a legendary history. This concurrence of apparently independent testimony becomes much more impressive when it is remembered that the NT supplies nothing which could give rise to a legend that St. Peter visited Rome. On the contrary, the narrative of the Acts and the notices in St. Paul's later Epistles seem to make such a visit improbable. Moreover, the one clear statement as to place in 1 P literally interpreted becomes a conclusive argument that the apostle's work in his later years lay in a region far from Rome. It is only when the words of 1 P 5^{13} receive the less obvious, but in reality more natural, interpretation that they are seen to be a strong confirmation of the evidence of early writers. Thus the main pieces of evidence are independent and consistent. When combined they form a solid body of proof which is practically irresistible.

But if St. Peter was martyred at Rome (apart from the indications of date in 1 P, on which see following art.), there is no reason to question the belief that he suffered during the Neronian persecution. This is distinctly asserted by Tertullian; it is presupposed in all forms of the Petrine *Acts*; it is implied in Caius' notice of the tomb on the Vatican; it is the almost necessary inference from Clement's words.

Again, what was the length of his sojourn at Rome? The tradition of a 25 years' episcopate is unhistorical. But that legend crystallized, while it exaggerated, the widespread belief that the apostle spent time enough at Rome to leave his mark upon the Church there. Such a tradition finds early expression in the language of Irenæus, of Dionysius of Corinth, probably also in the words of Ignatius. It is implied in the early accounts of the composition of St. Mark's Gospel.

To what reconstruction of the history does the evidence point? It seems impossible to suppose that St. Peter had already worked in Rome when St. Paul wrote the Ep. to the Romans ($1^{11ff.}$ $15^{22ff.}$), or when at a later time he expressed his desire 'to see Rome' (Ac 19^{21}). Moreover, the account of St. Paul's arrival in Rome (Ac $28^{14ff.}$) seems to exclude the possibility of St. Peter's having been in the city at that time. Thus it seems certain St. Peter had not visited Rome when St. Paul's captivity there began. The evidence of the Epistles of both the Pauline captivities is also negative. If St. Peter had been in the city when St. Paul wrote to the Philippians, and again to the Colossians and Philemon, his description in the one case of the fortunes of the gospel at Rome, and in the other of his own environment, could hardly have been uninfluenced by the fact. We turn to the one Epistle of the second captivity. If we accept the constant tradition of the Church that St. Paul suffered in the Neronian persecution (*i.e.* shortly after July 64), 2 Ti can hardly be placed in the year 64; for the apostle seems to look forward to a winter not far distant (ταχέως, πρὸ χειμῶνος, $4^{9.21}$). It appears, therefore, that 2 Ti was written some two or three months before the winter of 63 closed the seas. The language of this Epistle ($4^{10ff.}$) shows that St. Peter was not in Rome when it was written. The supposition that he arrived in Rome for the first time *after* 2 Ti was written hardly allows the time which the early patristic notices of his work there (see above) postulate. We are led, therefore, to the conclusion that St. Peter's arrival at Rome must in all probability be placed after the last of the Epistles of St. Paul's first captivity, and long enough before 2 Ti to allow St. Peter to have left the city when that Epistle was written, after having worked there some considerable time. Early tradition, however, gives us one further clue to the time. The two apostles *worked together*. Now it is almost impossible to suppose that, after St. Paul had once taken the apostolic oversight of the Church's work in Rome, St. Peter could, apart from St. Paul, have planned a visit there. But did the suggestion that he should come to Rome reach St. Peter from St. Paul himself? It is abundantly clear (1) that St. Paul's mind was set on averting any rupture between Jewish and Gentile Christians, and on welding them together in the one Church (Hort, *Ecclesia* p. 281 ff.); (2) that in his view Rome was the key to the evangelization of the empire; (3) that he was keenly alive in his own case to the importance of one who was the unique representative of one side of the Church's work visiting now the Mother Church at Jerusalem, now the Church in the capital of the empire; (4) that the problem of reconciling the two great elements in the Church presented itself in a concrete form in Rome (Ph $1^{15ff.}$), and that in Rome he grasped, as even he had never done before, the greatness of the issues involved (Eph 2^{11}–4^{16}). His evangelistic policy could find no truer or more practical expression than a request to St. Peter to visit Rome while he himself was still there. Such an invitation would be a fitting corollary of the Ep. to the Ephesians. If the Churches saw the Apostle of the Gentiles and the leader of the Apostles of the Circumcision taking counsel together and working together at Rome, they would learn the lesson of the unity of the Church as they could learn it in no other way. Moreover, St. Paul looked forward to his captivity soon ending. Even if he were set at liberty, he was pledged to undertake distant journeys. Whatever, therefore, the issue might be, the Church in Rome would be deprived of his immediate guidance; and as the far-reaching needs and opportunities of that Church pressed on him, he might well realize how manifold would be the gain resulting from the presence there of St. Peter. It is therefore a conjecture, but a conjecture supported by no inconsiderable amount of indirect evidence, that St. Paul summoned St. Peter to Rome. It is possible that St. Mark, whom we know to have been the companion of St. Peter, was with St. Paul when he wrote to the Colossians as the messenger and the forerunner of St. Peter. If this account of St. Peter's visit to Rome is correct, it will follow that he arrived there towards the end of St. Paul's first captivity, perhaps in the spring of 61. His absence from Rome when St. Paul wrote 2 Ti we may perhaps explain on the supposition that he had been summoned to Jerusalem in connexion with the death of St. James and the appointment of his successor.* He must have returned to Rome before July 64.

2. *The Simonian legend.*—The most probable account of its genesis is that it grew out of a mistaken identity (Salmon, art. 'Simon Magus,' in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* iv. p. 682 ff.). With the Simon of Ac 8 another Simon of Samaria was confused. This latter Simon was a Gnostic teacher, who probably lived at the end of the 1st cent. The confusion meets us as early as Justin Martyr, who, expressing probably a general opinion, gave the latter Simon a kind of primacy among heretics. He either himself visited Rome or gained a reputation there through his followers. The strange blunder about the statue can hardly have been a private aberration of Justin's, since it is found in the Gnostic *Acts of Peter*†—a document which seems to be quite independent of Justin's influence. But when once Simon Magus had been promoted to the first place among heretics, it was natural that the conflict between him and the chief of the apostles, related in the Acts, should be prolonged into a drama of controversy, the earlier scenes of which were laid in the towns of Syria, while the final denouement was reserved for Rome, which both combatants were believed to have visited. In the development of the story considerations of time were boldly disregarded. On the one hand, the last scenes of the drama had to be enacted in the reign of Nero in order to connect them with the fact that St. Peter suffered under that emperor. On the other hand, it was natural to bring Simon to Rome not so very long after the events recorded in the Acts—in the reign of Claudius (Justin, *Apol.* i. 26); and it seemed fitting that St. Peter should go to Rome when the expiration of the twelve appointed years set him free to leave Jerusalem (*Actus Petri* v. ed. Lipsius p. 49). Somewhat thus does it seem probable that the legend grew, and, as was natural, assumed somewhat different forms—*e.g.* Simon in the Clementines is rather the heretic, in the Petrine *Acts* the magician. The final stage in the evolution of the story was reached when Simon was utilized by the Ebionites for a covert attack on St. Paul.

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* Eus. *HE* III. xi.: μετὰ τὴν Ἰακώβου μαρτυρίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτίκα γενομένην ἅλωσιν τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ λόγος κατέχει τῶν ἀποστόλων κ. τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν τοὺς εἰσέτι τῷ βίῳ λειπομένους ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ πανταχόθεν συνελθεῖν κ.τ.λ. Eusebius places the death of St. James immediately before the siege of Jerusalem, according to the statement of Hegesippus (ap. *HE* II. xxiii. 18). Josephus (*Ant.* xx. ix. 1), however, puts it between the death of Festus and the arrival of Albinus. It seems that the latest date which can be assigned to Albinus' entrance on his office is the summer of 62 (Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. p. 188 n.).

† *Actus Petri* x.: [Simon] me tantum suasit ut statuam illi ponerem, suscribtioni tali: 'Simoni iuueni deo.'

3. *The period which succeeded the Council at Jerusalem.*—Setting aside, then, the Simonian legend as historically worthless, we are brought to the question—What is the probable account of St. Peter's life after the events at Antioch related by St. Paul in Gal 2 (*i.e.* probably A.D. 50) and St. Peter's arrival in Rome (*i.e.* probably A.D. 61). The absence of any trace of personal knowledge of the Churches in Asia Minor in the letter which the apostle addressed to them is a strong argument that he had not visited those districts. Though the tradition which connects St. Peter with the Syrian Antioch, and makes him the organizer of the Church there, does not (apart from the Clementine literature) meet us before the time of Origen, yet in itself it is probable. St. Paul's narrative in Gal 2 is too incidental and too little to St. Peter's credit to have originated a legend. On the other hand, it is natural to suppose that the Clementine literature, especially if its birthplace was Syria, located the apostle's conflict with Simon in towns in which a still living tradition preserved the memory of St. Peter's activity. We are most faithful to the suggestions of the somewhat scanty evidence if we suppose that, after he ceased to make Jerusalem his home, St. Peter laboured in the towns of Syria, and not improbably made the Syrian Antioch the centre of his work.

It may be useful to state *probable* results in a tabular form—

A.D.	
29–35	Ministry at Jerusalem: towards the close of the period a visit to Samaria (Ac $8^{14\text{ff.}}$).
35–44	Close of the ministry at Jerusalem: a missionary journey in which periods of somewhat protracted residence at Lydda, Joppa, Cæsarea, and probably other Syrian towns, had a place: somewhat frequent visits to Jerusalem (Ac 11^2, Gal 1^{18}, Ac $12^{3\text{ff.}}$).
44–61	Work in Syrian towns with Antioch as its centre: at least one visit to Jerusalem in 49 (Ac 15^7), but such visits few.
61–64	Work at Rome, interrupted probably by a visit to Jerusalem (Eus. *HE* III. xi.): martyrdom shortly after the fire at Rome in July 64.

LITERATURE.—See at the end of the article on 2 Peter.

F. H. CHASE.

PETER, FIRST EPISTLE OF.—

I. Transmission of the Text.
II. Reception in the Church.
III. Use of the LXX, vocabulary, literary style.
IV. The readers to whom the Epistle was primarily addressed, and their circumstances.
V. Authorship and date.
VI. Occasion of Composition, the journey of Silvanus.
VII. Summary of the Epistle.
VIII. Doctrine of the Epistle.

I. TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT.—Little need be said on this subject. For the authorities—MSS and Versions—see art. JUDE (EPISTLE OF) in vol. ii. p. 799. Two statements, however, with special reference to 1 P must be added. (1) The Epistle is contained in the Syriac Vulgate (Peshiṭta); but there does not seem to be evidence as to any *Old* Syriac text. (2) Fragments of the Epistle are contained in the following *Old Latin* MSS—the Fleury palimpsest = h (1 P 4^{17}–5^{14}); the Munich fragments edited by Ziegler = q ($1^{8\text{-}19}$ 2^{20}–3^7 4^{10}–5^{14}); Cod. Bobiensis = s ($1^{1\text{-}12}$ $2^{4\text{-}10}$; see *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, No. iv. pp. xx f., 46 ff.). As to *Patristic* evidence, citations from the Epistle are abundant, in Greek writers from the time of Polycarp onwards; in Latin writers from that of Tertullian. No serious critical problems are presented by the text.

II. RECEPTION IN THE CHURCH.—It will be convenient to trace the stream of evidence backwards. In all those catalogues of Canonical Books which belong to the 4th cent. and onwards, whether put forth by conciliar authority or found in the works of individual theologians, 1 P has a place. The only writer as to the favourableness of whose verdict there is any doubt is Theodore of Mopsuestia. In reference to him, Leontius of Byzantium (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* lxxxvi. 1365) states—αὐτήν τε τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰακώβου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὰς ἑξῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀποκηρύττει καθολικάς. It seems probable (see Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia* pp. 65 ff., 374 f.) that the language of Leontius is loose, and that nothing more is meant than that Theodore rejected James as well as the four Catholic Epistles—2 P, Jude, 1 and 2 Jn—which were not accepted by the Antiochene and the Syrian Churches. Of the grounds for this conclusion two may be mentioned. If Theodore had really rejected 1 P and 1 Jn, the general Council of Constantinople (553) would not have failed to reckon this among the reasons for their condemnation of him. On the other hand, Junilius (*Instit. regularia* i. 6, 7), whose statements as to the Canon reflect the views of Theodore (Kihn, p. 358 ff.), reckons *beati Petri ad gentes prima* among the books *perfectæ auctoritatis.* In the earlier half of the 4th cent. Eusebius includes this Epistle among the books 'generally received' (ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις, *HE* III. xxv. 2). In the earlier passage of the History (III. iii. 1) which deals with the Canon he makes the important statement—'this epistle the Fathers also of former days (οἱ πάλαι πρεσβύτεροι) have quoted in their writings as indisputably authentic.' The evidence of Eusebius as to the general acceptance of the Epistle is carried back something like a century in a passage from Origen's Commentary on St. John, quoted by Eusebius (*HE* VI. xxv. 8)—Πέτρος . . . μίαν ἐπιστολὴν ὁμολογουμένην καταλέλοιπεν. So far there has been no sign of divergence.

We are now brought to the writers who represent the great Churches of Christendom at the beginning of the 3rd and at the close of the 2nd cent. (1) *Alexandria.* Clement again and again quotes words from the Epistle as those of St. Peter. Thus *Strom.* iii. p. 562 ed. Potter, καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τὰ ὅμοια λέγει Ὥστε τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν καὶ ἐλπίδα εἶναι εἰς θεόν; *ib.* iv. p. 622, ὁ Π. ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ φησὶν Ὀλίγον ἄρτι, εἰ δέον, λυπηθέντες; so with other formulæ of citation, *Pæd.* i. p. 124, iii. pp. 296, 303; *Strom.* iii. p. 544, iv. p. 584 f. Moreover, Clement's *Hypotyposeis* contained 'short expositions' of this as well as of the other Catholic Epistles and of the Epistle of Barnabas and the Apocalypse of Peter (Eus. *HE* VI. xiv. 1; Photius, *Biblioth.* 109); and some at any rate of his comments on 1 P remain translated and possibly edited by Cassiodorus (cf. Zahn, *Forschungen* iii. 133 ff.). (2) *Carthage.* Tertullian quotes and refers to the Epistle as the work of St. Peter. Thus *de Orat.* xx., 'De modestia quidem cultus et ornatus aperta præscriptio est etiam Petri, cohibentis eodem ore, quia eodem spiritu, quo Paulus' (1 P 3^3, 1 Ti 2^9); *Scorpiace*, xii., 'Petrus quidem ad Ponticos, Quanta enim, inquit, gloria,' etc. For other quotations and references see Rönsch, *Das NT Tertullian's* pp. 556–563. (3) *South Gaul.* Irenæus, a witness to the traditions of Asia Minor, Rome, and South

Gaul, quotes the Epistle by name, iv. 9. 2 (ed. Massuet), 'Et Petrus ait in epistola sua Quem non uidentes' . . . ; iv. 16. 4 f., 'Propter hoc ait Dominus (Mt 12^{36} $5^{28.22}$) . . . Et propter hoc Petrus ait Non uelamentum' . . . ; v. 7. 2 [after 1 Co $13^{9.12}$ has been quoted, Iren. continues], 'Hoc est quod et a Petro dictum est Quem cum non uideritis diligitis.' For anonymous references see Zahn, *Gesch. des NT Kanons* i. 1, p. 303 f. (4) *Rome.* When we turn to the Church of Rome we find the evidence very slight. Hippolytus *on Dan.* iv. 59 (p. 336 ed. Bonwetsch) uses language derived from 1 Co 2^{9} and 1 P 1^{12} (*εἰς ἃ καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν τότε ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι*). The reference is clear, and the juxtaposition with Pauline words shows that the phrase is regarded as scriptural. But it is not a case of definite quotation. In the Muratorian Canon there is no mention of 1 P. It seems, however, inconceivable that a document in which, *e.g.*, the Epistle of Jude and a (supposed) letter of St. Paul to the Laodiceans find a place, should know nothing of an Epistle so widely accepted as 1 P, especially if Zahn's view is correct that the African Church received its NT from Rome (*Ges. Kan.* i. 1, p. 25 f.). The character of the fragment makes it quite possible that the apparent omission is due to the carelessness of a translator or of a scribe. But two other suggestions deserve consideration. (*a*) There is no formal mention of 1 Jn ; but the opening words of the Epistle are cited in the passage of the fragment which deals with St. John's Gospel. It is probable, therefore, that the author of the Canon considered it unnecessary separately to mention an Epistle to which he had already incidentally referred. It is likely enough that 1 P 5^{13} was quoted in connexion with St. Mark's Gospel and its relation to St. Peter's preaching, with which the first sentence of the extant fragment appears to deal (see art. MARK). (*b*) Zahn (*Ges. Kan.* ii. 1, p. 110 n.) conjectures that a word and a line have fallen out in a later passage of the fragment, which he would restore thus: 'Apocalypsi (n) etiam Johannis et Petri [unam] tantum recipimus [epistulam ; fertur etiam altera,] quam quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt.' In any case, the Muratorian fragment being what it is, it is unreasonable to deduce rejection or ignorance of 1 P from its apparent silence.

The remains of the literature of the 2nd cent. supply abundant evidence of the influence of the language of the Epistle on persons widely separated from each other. (i.) *Martyrdoms.* In the Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs (Robinson, *The Passion of St. Perpetua* p. 106 ff.) who suffered at Carthage in A.D. 180, we find the words, 'Donata dixit: Honorem Cæsari quasi Cæsari ; timorem autem Deo,'—words which are closer to 1 P 2^{17} than to Ro 13^{7}. Again, in the Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne (A.D. 177), preserved in Eus. *HE* v. i. f., there is an echo of 1 P 5^{6} in the words *ἐταπείνουν ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν κραταιὰν χεῖρα, ὑφ᾽ ἧς ἱκανῶς νῦν εἰσιν ὑψώμενοι* (ii. 5) ; of 1 P 5^{8} in *ἤδη δοκῶν ὁ διάβολος καταπεπωκέναι* (i. 25), and in *οὓς πρότερον ᾤετο [ὁ θὴρ] καταπεπωκέναι* (ii. 6). (ii.) *Apologists.* The language of Theophilus, *ad Autolycum* ii. 34, *τὸν δὲ ποιητὴν . . . τῶν ὅλων . . . ἀθετοῦσιν, πειθόμενοι δόγμασιν ματαίοις διὰ πλάνης πατροπαραδότου . . . οἳ [οἱ προφῆται] καὶ ἐδίδαξαν ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀθεμίτου εἰδωλολατρείας*, recalls 1 P 2^{11} 1^{18} 4^{3}. When Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 103, dealing with Ps 22^{13}, suggests the alternative interpretation—*ἢ λέοντα τὸν ὠρυόμενον ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔλεγε τὸν διάβολον*—he probably has in mind 1 P 5^{8}. (iii.) *Heretics.* There is some evidence that the Gnostic sects, who early broke away from the Catholic Church, were familiar with the Epistle—(*α*) the Marcosians (representatives of the Western school of the Valentinians), whose actual words Irenæus (I. 18. 3) seems to be reproducing, *τὴν τῆς κιβωτοῦ δὲ οἰκονομίαν . . . ἐν ᾗ ὀκτὼ ἄνθρωποι διεσώθησαν, φανερώτατά φασι τὴν σωτήριον ὀγδοάδα μηνύειν* (1 P 3^{20}) ; (*β*) the Eastern Valentinians, according to Clem. Alex., *Excerpta ex Scriptis Theodoti* lxxxvi., *οὐ συνεισῆλθον εἰς τὰ ἡτοιμασμένα ἀγαθὰ, εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι* (1 P 1^{12}); (*γ*) Basilides, according to Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. p. 600, *μηδὲ λοιδορούμενοι ὡς ὁ μοιχὸς ἢ ὁ φονεὺς, ἀλλὰ ὅτι χριστιανοὶ πεφυκότες* (1 P $4^{14f.}$). (iv.) *Ep. to Diognetus* ix., *αὐτὸς τὰς ἡμετέρας ἁμαρτίας ἀνεδέξατο, αὐτὸς τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν ἀπέδοτο λύτρον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν . . . τὸν δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδίκων* ; cf. 1 P 2^{24} 3^{16}. (v.) *Hermas, Vis.* IV. iii. 4, *ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ χρυσίον δοκιμάζεται διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς κ. εὔχρηστον γίνεται, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς κ.τ.λ.* ; cf. 1 P 1^{7}, but see also Pr 17^{3}, Sir 2^{5}. Again, *Vis.* III. xi. 3, IV. ii. 4, 5 (*ἐπιρίψατε τᾶς μερίμνας ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον*) ; cf. 1 P 5^{7}, but more probably Ps 54 (55) ^{22} is the source. Thus the references to 1 P in Hermas are very doubtful. (vi.) *Barnabas*, xvi. 10, *τοῦτό ἐστιν πνευματικὸς ναὸς οἰκοδομούμενος τῷ κυρίῳ* ; cf. 1 P 2^{5}. (vii.) *Didaché* i. 4, *ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν* ; cf. 1 P 2^{11}. (viii.) *Papias.* Eusebius, *HE* III. xxxix. 16, tells us of Papias—*κέχρηται δ᾽ αὐτὸς μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου ὁμοίως.* Since Eusebius (*HE* IV. xiv. 9) uses similar language as to Polycarp (see below), we cannot infer from this notice that Papias did more than silently adopt Petrine expressions. It must, however, be remembered that the character of Papias' *Expositions* differed widely from that of Polycarp's *Epistle.* The latter is hortatory. The former dealt largely with matters of history and tradition. Thus Papias' use of 1 P is likely to have been of such a kind as to necessitate an explicit reference to the Epistle. These *a priori* considerations are confirmed by an examination of Eusebius' words elsewhere. In *HE* II. xv. 2, Eusebius, giving an account of the composition of St. Mark's Gospel, mentions a story (*φασί*) that St. Peter approved of the evangelist's action, and gave his authority to the Gospel. He then parenthetically gives his authorities—'Clement in the sixth book of the *Hypotyposeis* has recorded the story ; and, further, the bishop of Hierapolis, by name Papias, confirms his testimony'—and at once proceeds (in the *oratio obliqua*): *τοῦ δὲ Μάρκου μνημονεύειν τὸν Πέτρον ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ, ἣν καὶ συντάξαι φασὶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς Ῥώμης, σημαίνειν τε τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸν τὴν πόλιν τροπικώτερον Βαβυλῶνα προσειπόντα διὰ τούτων Ἀσπάζεται κ.τ.λ.* (1 P 5^{13}). From this somewhat confused passage we learn that Eusebius found three points noted in the writings either of Clement or of Papias or of both—(1) the reference to Mark in 1 P ; (2) the composition of 1 P at Rome ; (3) the allegorical use of the name Babylon in 1 P. Now, when we turn to the extant fragments of Clement's *Hypotyposeis* (ed. Potter p. 1007), we find that of these three points Clement mentions the former two and is silent as to the last. It appears, therefore, to be a just inference that in regard to this last Papias was Eusebius' authority. Moreover, that Papias' *Expositions* did contain a passage in which 1 P 5^{13} would naturally be appealed to, is certain from the words of Papias himself (*ap.* Eus. *HE* III. xxxix. 15)—*οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ κυρίου* [Μᾶρκος] *οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, ὕστερον δὲ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ*—a passage which makes it clear that in the now lost portion of his work Papias gave a detailed account of Mark's connexion with St. Peter. If, then, 1 P 5^{13} was referred to in that earlier section of the *Expositions* in regard to Mark's presence with St. Peter at Rome, it follows that Papias must have appealed to the Epistle, and therefore have recognized it, as the work of St. Peter. (ix.) *Polycarp* (*c.* A.D. 115). There is a long series of coincidences between Polycarp's Epistle and 1 P—*Ep. Polyc.* i. *εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες πιστεύετε χαρᾷ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ εἰς*

ἣν πολλοὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν εἰσελθεῖν ‖ 1 P $1^{8.12}$; ii. *διὸ ἀναζωσαμένοι τὰς ὀσφύας* ‖ 1^{13}; ii. *πιστεύσαντες εἰς τὸν ἐγείραντα τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόντα αὐτῷ δόξαν* ‖ 1^{21}; ii. *μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἢ λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας* ‖ 3^{9}; v. *πᾶσα ἐπιθυμία κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος στρατεύεται* ‖ 2^{11} (cf. Gal 5^{17}); vii. *νήφοντες πρὸς τὰς εὐχάς* ‖ 4^{7}; viii. *ὃς ἀνήνεγκεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματι ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ . . . τοῦτον γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν* [*sc. τῆς ὑπομονῆς*] *ἔθηκε δι' ἑαυτοῦ* ‖ $2^{24.22.21}$; x. fraternitatis amatores diligentes inuicem . . . omnes uobis inuicem subiecti estote, conuersationem uestram irreprehensibilem habentes in gentibus, ut ex bonis operibus uestris, etc. ‖ 2^{17} 1^{22} 5^{5} 2^{12}. That Polycarp was thoroughly familiar with 1 P cannot be doubted. He does not, however, preface any of its words and phrases which he weaves into his letter with any formula of citation, nor does he ever mention St. Peter's name. Harnack (*Die Chronologie*, p. 463) therefore concludes that Polycarp did not regard the Epistle as the work of St. Peter, alleging that this Father deals differently with St. Paul, to whom he several times refers by name, and more than one of whose sayings he introduces with an *εἰδότες ὅτι*, clearly marking it thereby as a quotation. But, on the other hand, it may be urged—(1) that Polycarp uses, without any note of quotation, phrases derived from Clement's Epistle and from the Epistles of his master St. John (ch. vii., cf. 1 Jn $4^{2ff.}$, 2 Jn ^{7}), as Harnack admits, and we must add phrases from the OT, the Acts, and from the Gospels; (2) that the phrase *εἰδότες ὅτι* in each case (chs. i. iv. v.; cf. ch. vi. *εἰδότες ὅτι πάντες ὀφειλέται ἐσμὲν ἁμαρτίας*) introduces an epigrammatic, axiomatic statement (cf. Ro 5^{3} 6^{9}, 1 Co 15^{58}, 2 Co 1^{7} 4^{14} 5^{6}, Gal 2^{16}, Eph $6^{8f.}$, Ph 1^{16}, Col 3^{24} 4^{1}), while the phrases quoted from 1 P are rather of a hortatory type; (3) that Polycarp is writing to a Church which St. Paul founded and to which he addressed an Epistle, and that it is in reference to these facts that he mentions St. Paul's name (chs. iii. ix. xi.); that on the one occasion when he appeals directly to the authority of St. Paul's writings (ch. xi., 'sicut Paulus docet'), it is for a statement which is of the nature of a revelation—*Sancti mundum iudicabunt* (1 Co 6^{2}). Further, Polycarp's love for and familiarity with 1 P are a proof that he regarded the Epistle as a document of supreme interest and authority—a document which he had by heart; they must be interpreted in the light of the fact that Irenæus, his spiritual son, habitually refers to it as the letter of St. Peter. (x.) *Clement of Rome*, vii. *ἀτενίσωμεν εἰς τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ γνῶμεν ὡς ἔστιν τίμιον τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ* ‖ 1 P 1^{19}; xxxvi. *ἀναθάλλει εἰς τὸ θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς* [so Codd. A C (om. *αὐτοῦ*), *τὸ φῶς* Syr., Clem. Alex.]; lix. *δι' οὗ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς, ἀπὸ ἀγνωσίας εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν κ.τ.λ.* ‖ 1 P $2^{9.15}$. Again, Clement uses the Petrine word *ὑπογραμμός* in reference to *ὑπομονή* (v.) and, after quoting Is 53, Ps 22, to Christ's humility (xvi.), cf. 1 P 2^{21}. Further, in 1 P 4^{8} we have Pr 10^{12} quoted in the form *ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν*, a form approximating to the Hebrew but widely different from the LXX. The Petrine rendering is found in Clem. xlix. and in 'the Ancient Homily' (2 Clem.) xvi. Again, Pr 3^{34} (*κύριος ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται* LXX, Heb. 'He') is quoted in Ja 4^{6}, 1 P 5^{5}, in the form *ὁ θεὸς ὑπερηφάνοις κ.τ.λ.* In this latter form the words are cited in Clem. xxx. (*θεός*), Ign. *Eph.* v. (*ὑπερηφ. ὁ θεὸς ἀντιτάσσεται*).

To sum up: 1 P is, with the single exception of 1 Jn, the only one among the Catholic Epistles 'of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.' No sooner did a *theological* literature (properly so called) spring up in the Church than this Epistle is quoted by name as the work of St. Peter. In the earliest Christian literature outside the NT (*i.e.* A.D. 90–190) it is second only to the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles in the extent of the influence which it exercised on the language and thoughts of writers widely separated from each other in place and in circumstances. The testimony which these writers bear to the Epistle is indirect, with one probable exception. There is good reason for thinking that Papias referred to it explicitly as the Epistle of St. Peter. The only natural interpretation of the facts—the early and wide influence of the Epistle on the one hand, on the other the consistent and unwavering attribution of it to St. Peter on the part of all writers from Irenæus' time onward—is that from the first it was regarded as the work of that apostle.

III. USE OF THE LXX, VOCABULARY, LITERARY STYLE.—(i.) The thought and language of 1 P are deeply influenced by the OT, and the writer uses the OT in the LXX version. It is not possible to draw an absolute line between direct quotations and instances of mere appropriation of LXX language. In the former category the following passages may be conveniently classed—1^{16} (Lv 11^{44} 19^{2} 20^{7}), 1^{24} (Is $40^{6ff.}$), 2^{6-8} (Is 28^{16}, Ps 117 [118]^{22}, Is 8^{14}), $2^{9f.}$ (Is $43^{20f.}$, Ex $19^{5f.}$ ‖ 23^{22} [cf. Mal 3^{17}], Hos $1^{6.8f.}$ $2^{1(3).23(25)}$), $2^{22.24f.}$ (Is $53^{9.12.5}$), $3^{10ff.}$ (Ps 33 [34]$^{12ff.}$), 4^{8} (Pr 10^{12}), 4^{18} (Pr 11^{31}), 5^{5} (Pr 3^{34}). When these quotations are examined textually, it appears that (1) the writer quotes from memory, this conclusion being suggested by the number of small variations and adaptations (see especially $3^{10ff.}$); (2) in one passage (2^{6}) his reminiscence of the LXX is influenced by his remembrance of Ro 9^{33}; (3) there is some slight evidence for the conclusion that the LXX text familiar to him resembled that found in ℵAQ rather than that given by B (cf. von Soden, *Hand-Comm.* p. 113); see 2^{6} (+*ἐπ' αὐτῷ*; but the addition may be due to Ro 9^{33}), 2^{22} (*εὑρέθη δόλος*); but note, on the other hand, 3^{12} (+*ὅτι*); (4) that in one passage (4^{8}) he either himself formulates, or (in view of Ja 5^{20}) more probably adopts, a revised translation of the Hebrew.

Apart from quotations, however, the writer continually weaves into his own language words and phrases which are (possibly unconscious) reminiscences of the LXX.

Most phrases of this kind are indicated by the use of uncial type in WH. To these may be added—1^{2} *εἰρήνη πληθυνθείη* (Dn 3^{98}), 1^{13} *ἀναζωσάμενοι . . . τὰς ὀσφύας* (Pr 29^{35}), 1^{19} *ἀμνὸς ἄμωμος* (*e.g.* Ex 29^{38}), 2^{4} *προσερχόμενοι* (Ps 33 [34]^{6}, see Hort's note), 2^{24} *τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον* (Dt 21^{23}), 3^{13} *τίς ὁ κακώσων* (Is 50^{9}), 5^{6} *ταπεινώθητε . . . ὑπὸ τὴν κραταιὰν χεῖρα* (Gn 16^{9} and *e.g.* Job 30^{21}), *λέων ὠρυόμενος* (*e.g.* Ezk 22^{25}). Moreover, the following words are probably derived from the LXX—*ἀντίδικος, γυναικεῖος, ἐπίλοιπος, ἱεράτευμα, κατακυριεύειν, καταπίνειν, κλῆροι, παροικία, πότος, πύρωσις, ῥαντισμός, ῥύπος, συντρέχειν* (Ps 49 [50]^{18}). Again, not a few expressions suggest that the writer of the Epistle was acquainted with some books of the Apocrypha—*ἀδελφότης* (1 Mac twice, 4 Mac four times, in abstract sense), *ἀθέμιτος* (2 Mac thrice, 3 Mac once), *ἐπίσκοπος ψυχῶν* (cf. Wis 1^{6} 3^{13}), *κτίστης* (Jth once, Sir once, 2 Mac thrice, 4 Mac twice), *πρόγνωσις* (Jth twice), *ὑπογραμμός* (2 Mac once). The three epithets *ἄφθαρτος, ἀμίαντος, ἀμάραντος* (1^{4}) occur in Wisdom; the combination *ἐκζητεῖν κ. ἐξεραυνᾶν* (1^{10}) in 1 Mac 9^{26}.

(ii.) A rough analysis of the vocabulary of the Epistle seems to reveal four main elements—(*a*) With one of these, that derived from the LXX, we have already dealt.. (*b*) There is the obvious Christian element, examples of which are *φιλαδελφία* (*φιλάδελφος*), *χάρισμα*. It is important to remember that, though St. Paul's Epistles are the earliest evidence for the use of such words as these in a specifically Christian sense, it does not follow that their currency was due to him, or that a writer who so uses them is proved thereby to be a literary debtor to him. (*c*) There is a considerable number of words and expressions in the Epistle which do not occur elsewhere in the NT, and which may be briefly described as *classical*.*

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* For instances of verbal affinity with Philo see Salmon, *Introduction*^{6} p. 505 f.

They are—ἀναγκαστῶς (Plato), ἀνάχυσις (Philo, Plut., Strabo), ἀντιλοιδορεῖν (Lcian., Plut.), ἀπέχεσθαι ἐπιθυμιῶν (Plato), ἀπογενέσθαι (Herod.), ἀπόθεσις (Plato, Arist. = 'laying up'), βιοῦν (Hom.), ἐμπλοκή (Strabo), ἐπικάλυμμα (Menand.), οἰνοφλυγία (Xen., Arist.; verb LXX twice), ὁμόφρων (Hom., Hes., Pind.), ὁπλίζειν (Herod., Thuc.), ὁ παρεληλυθὼς χρόνος, πατροπαράδοτος (Dion H., Diod., Inscriptions; cf. Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien* p. 94), προθύμως (Herod., Aesch.); cf. also ἔννοια (Plato, Arist., Polyb.) also in LXX, He 4^{12}, ἐπηρεάζειν (Xen., Dem., Arist.) found also in Lk 6^{28}.

(*d*) We notice in this Epistle a remarkable series of words for which there seems to be no earlier or contemporary authority—*ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος*, *ἀμαράντινος*, *ἀναγεννᾶν*, *ἀνεκλάλητος*, *ἀπροσωπολήμπτως*, *ἀρτιγέννητος* (found, however, in Lucian), *ἀρχιποίμην* (found, however, in 4 K 3^4 (Symm.) *Test. xii. Patri.* Jud. 8), *ἐγκομβοῦσθαι*, *περιέχει ἐν γραφῇ*, *περίθεσις*, *προμαρτύρεσθαι*, *σθενοῦν*, *συνπρεσβύτερος*, *ὑπολιμπάνειν* (but in Dion. H. = 'to fail').

The vocabulary, then, of the writer is a full one, including as it does words representing the several strata of the language. The proportion of classical words is large; so, too, is the list of words of which there is little or no independent attestation. None, however, of those which come under the last head strikes the reader as affected or odd. Each is correctly formed. The meaning of all but a very few words (*e.g.* *ἐπερώτημα*, *ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος*) is at once clear.

(iii.) The general style, like the vocabulary, shows that the writer within certain limits had a very considerable appreciation of, and power over, the characteristic usages of Greek.

The sentences are naturally linked to each other, and are impeded, as a rule, by no special difficulties of construction. They rise at times into a simple grandeur (*e.g.* $1^{3-9.\,17-21}$ 2^{21-25} 5^{6-10}). Passing to matters of detail, we note a keen sense of the significance of order, rhythm, and balance in the arrangement of words—*e.g.* 1^{17-21} $2^{11f.}$ 2^{21} (ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὑμῖν) $4^{2.\,12}$ 5^5. Again, the letter is marked by a fulness and deliberateness of expression shown in (1) the writer's love of putting a fact or a duty first negatively and then positively, see $1^{14.\,18.\,23}$ 2^{16} $3^{3.\,9.\,21}$ 4^2 $5^{2f.}$; (2) the skilful use of epithets and adverbial expressions, *e.g.* $1^{3.\,18.\,22}$ 2^2; (3) the expansion of a single idea by means of synonyms—$1^{4.\,10f.\,19}$ $2^{8.\,11.\,25}$ $3^{4.\,8.\,15.\,22}$ 4^{18} $5^{8.\,10}$. Passages where the use of allied but contrasted words adds force or delicacy to the language are 1^5 (τετηρημένην . . . φρουρουμένους), 2^1 3^7 (συνοικοῦντες . . . συγκληρονόμοι), 4^{8-10} (ἑαυτοὺς . . ἀλλήλους . . . ἑαυτούς), 5^7 (τὴν μέριμναν ὑμῶν . . . αὐτῷ μέλει). The tenses are used with marked exactness, and their force is often brought out by contrast, 1^5 (τετηρημένην, φρουρουμένους), 1^8 (ἰδόντες, ὁρῶντες), $1^{11f.}$ (ἐδήλου, ἀπεκαλύφθη), 1^{13} (ἀναζωσάμενοι, νήφοντες), 2^{10} (ἠλεημένοι, ἐλεηθέντες), 2^{17} (τιμήσατε (the abstract rule), ἀγαπᾶτε, φοβεῖσθε, τιμᾶτε (the detailed fulfilment)), so also 2^{13} (ὑποτάγητε), 2^{18} 3^1 (ὑποτασσόμενοι), 4^{10} (ἔλαβον, διακονοῦντες), 4^{13} (χαίρετε, χαρῆτε). Again, the use of contrasted prepositions is often full of meaning, 1^2 (κατά, ἐν, εἰς), 1^3 (κατά, εἰς, διά), 1^5 (ἐν, εἰς; ἐν, διά), 1^{21} (διά, εἰς), 2^4 (ὑπό, παρά), 3^{18} (περί, ὑπέρ). The meaning of the opening paragraph—the fulfilment of the Divine purpose in relation to Messiah and the Gentiles—largely depends on the pregnant use of the preposition εἰς ('reserved for,' 'destined for') in $1^{5.\,10.\,11}$. Again, it will be felt how much is involved in the double contrast between the plural and the singular in 4^2 ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθυμίαις, θελήματι θεοῦ (cf. Heracleon *ap.* Origen *in Joan.* tom. xx. 24, τὸν διάβολον μὴ ἔχειν θέλημα ἀλλ' ἐπιθυμίας; cf. also 5^3 (τῶν κλήρων . . . τοῦ ποιμνίου)).

It is interesting to contrast this Epistle with the Pauline Epistles in regard to the imagery used. The figures are drawn from the associations of *birth*, *childhood*, and *family life* ($1^{3.\,14.\,17.\,22f.}$ 2^2), *nomadic life* ($1^{1.\,17}$ 2^{11}), *temple and worship* (2^5 3^{15}), *building* (2^4), *the fields and pastoral life* ($1^{4\,(24)}$ $5^{2.\,8}$), *military life* (1^5 2^{11} 4^1), *painting* (2^{21}), *working of metals* (1^7 4^{12}). The writer differs from St. Paul in the lack of originality which his imagery shows—it is almost entirely derived from the OT: in the narrowness of its range: in its simplicity and brevity; no metaphor is expanded or permitted to lead on to side issues.

To sum up: the writer of the Epistle must have been a diligent student of the LXX, and was saturated with its language. In particular, it may be noted that his mind is constantly recurring to the Bk. of Proverbs. There is also reason for thinking that he was acquainted with some books of the Apocrypha. The nature and range of his vocabulary shows that he had considerable knowledge of, and power over, the resources of the Greek language; and this conclusion is confirmed when we note the delicacy and accuracy of his perception in regard to the rhythmical arrangement of words, the use of synonyms, and the management of tenses, prepositions, etc. At the same time, there is no sign of any conscious effort after effect. We do not find here the trained rhetoric of the writer to the Hebrews, the impetuous, unstudied, eloquence of St. Paul, or the epigrammatic conciseness of St. James. Viewing the Epistle from a purely literary standpoint, we find its merit in the exact correspondence between its spirit and its form. The simple impressive language is the spontaneous expression of the writer's tender persuasiveness and calm logic.

IV. THE READERS TO WHOM THE EPISTLE WAS PRIMARILY ADDRESSED, AND THEIR CIRCUMSTANCES.—The Epistle is addressed to the Christians in the four Roman provinces which together coincided with the region which bears the modern name of Asia Minor. It has, indeed, been lately urged (Deissmann, *Bibelstudien* p. 244) that no letter, properly so called, could be addressed to communities scattered over so vast a district; the circulation of such an Epistle, it is said, would have taken up many years of the life of the messenger. Such a position, however, leaves out of sight the wonderful facilities for travel which Rome had created throughout the empire, as well as the fact that in St. Paul we have an instance of a Christian missionary who did plan and execute rapid tours of visitation over large districts (cf. *e.g.* Ac 15^{41}–16^5 $18^{22f.}$ (cf. 19^1) 19^{21}). Moreover, since the letter does not deal, as many of St. Paul's Epistles do, with controversy or business, or with matters of pressing local or personal importance, there would be no need for the messenger to deliver it immediately to all those to whom it was addressed. It would be sufficient if he communicated it to the several Churches in the provinces, as in the course of time he reached them. See also below, § 6.

From the question of their home we turn to the problem of their *past*. Is the letter addressed to those who had been converted to Christ from Judaism or from heathenism? The opinion that its readers were *Jews* by birth was held (as we infer from his language about St. Peter's travels) by Origen (quoted by Eus. *HE* III. i.), by Didymus of Alexandria, by Eusebius (*HE* III. iv. 2), and by the Greek Fathers generally. This consensus of ancient opinion was followed by many scholars between the Revival of Learning and the present century—Erasmus, Calvin, Grotius, and Bengel. Among critics of the last half century it has won the constant and earnest support of B. Weiss (*e.g.* *Der petrinische Lehrbegriff*, 1855, p. 99 ff.; *Introd. to NT*, 1888, vol. ii. p. 137 ff., Eng. tr.), and recently of Kühl in his commentary in the Weiss-Meyer series. The two last mentioned scholars, it should be added, maintain their view as to the readers of the Epistle in close connexion with their conclusion as to the early date of the Epistle (see below). On the other hand, in ancient times Augustine (*c. Faust.* xxii. 89; *Enarr. in Ps.* 146 (147) 9) and Jerome (*adv. Jovinian.* 1^{39}) held that the Epistle was addressed to *Gentile* Christians, though in *de Virr. Illust.* 1 the latter follows Origen in speaking of the apostle's 'prædicationem dispersionis eorum qui de circumcisione crediderant in Ponto'; and for this view recent critics of all schools have given a practically unanimous vote.

A brief examination of Kühl's arguments will serve to bring into prominence some important points. (1) The word διασπορᾶς in the salutation, it is said, is decisive; it must point to 'Jewish settlements' (cf. Ja 1^1)—an argument which convinced ancient opinion. As against this interpretation no stress can be laid on the absence of the article before διασπορᾶς; for in such a formula as a salutation prefixed to a letter the article is frequently omitted. The following considerations, however, seem to have decisive force on the other side. (*a*) In the clause itself the words παρεπίδημοι and διασπορά are kindred to each other, both dealing primarily with the manner of man's life on earth. Since the former is here used in a metaphorical sense (cf. 1^{17} 2^{11}), it would be harsh to take the latter literally. (*b*) The opening and the close of the Epistle cannot be interpreted independently of each other. There is an intentional correspondence between them. The phrase ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς in 1^1 answers to ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή in 5^{13}. The word διασπορά and the name Βαβυλών (=Rome, see art. BABYLON IN NT and, both published since that art. was written, Hort, *1 Peter* pp. 6, 167 ff., and Zahn, *Einl.* ii. p. 19 ff.) are both expressions taken from the vocabulary created by Jewish history and afterwards transferred to the Christian Church. (*c*) Elsewhere in the Epistle language primarily applied to Israel is used of the Christian Church, see especially 2^9. (*d*) The Epistle itself supplies a comment on διασπορά used metaphorically in 5^9 τῇ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ὑμῶν ἀδελφότητι; compare Jn 11^{52}, *Didaché* x. 5. These considerations further exclude Salmon's suggestion (*Introd.*^{6} p. 442), that 'the Epistle was written to members of the Roman Church whom Nero's persecution had dispersed to seek safety in the provinces'—a suggestion which is also open to the objection that, while it is natural and intelligible to use a recognized term in a *metaphorical* sense, it cannot be said to be either natural or intelligible to give it a special application unless that application is explained or in some way indicated by the context. (2) The use of the OT without note of quotation in cases where the force of the words as proof depends on their recognition as derived from the OT, presupposes a familiarity with the OT which converts from heathenism would not possess. To this it may be replied—(*a*) that the Epistle contains no argumentative passage, and that a writer might well enforce an exhortation by an appeal to OT language which his readers would not fully appreciate; moreover, it is not denied that in the Churches of Asia Minor there was an element of Jewish converts; (*b*) that the force of Kühl's argument depends almost entirely on his further supposition that the Epistle is addressed to *recent* converts (see below). (3) Kühl adduces certain passages as proving the Jewish descent of those addressed. The words of Hosea quoted in 2^{10} were originally spoken to Jews; it is natural, therefore, it is said, that St. Peter should re-apply them to the Jews. In 2^{25} Kühl pleads that the correlative terms ἦτε πλανώμενοι and ἐπεστράφητε imply that those addressed had *lapsed*—an assertion not true of Gentiles. But Kühl's interpretation of both these passages assumes a general apostasy on the part of the Jews of the Dispersion, for which, in fact, we have not the slightest evidence. In regard to 2^{25}, even if the idea of a return is pressed (but see Ac 14^{15} $15^{3.\,19}$, 1 Th 1^9), the original relation of man to God may well have been in the apostle's mind here as in 4^{19} (πιστῷ κτίστῃ; cf. *e.g.* Ac $17^{26\text{ff.}}$, Col 1^{20} ἀποκαταλλάξαι). Again, in reference to 3^6, Kühl argues that Gentile women would become Sarah's children by conversion to Christ, and that therefore of none but Jewish women could it be said that they became so 'by well-doing.' But, even if the common punctuation of the passage is adopted, the words may very well mean, 'whose children you (Gentile) women *proved yourselves* by well-doing' (see Hort on 1^{15}, p. 71). There is, however, much to be said for making the clause ὡς Σάρρα . . . τέκνα a parenthesis, and taking ἀγαθοποιοῦσαι κ.τ.λ. as co-ordinate with ὑποτασσόμεναι.

On the other hand, there are passages of two kinds which only by repeated acts of exegetical violence can be construed as applicable to Jews. (1) Passages scattered throughout the Epistle dealing with the past moral condition of those addressed, 1^{14} (cf. Ac 17^{30}, Gal 4^8, Eph 4^{18}), 1^{18} (cf. Ro 1^{21}, Eph 4^{17}; on πατροπαραδότου see Hort's note), $4^{2\text{-}4}$ (for τὰ ἔθνη in an ethical sense see 1 Th 4^5, Eph 2^{11} 4^{17}; note also ξενίζονται—heathen neighbours would not *wonder* if *Jews* did not join in their idolatrous immoralities). (2) The opening paragraph ($1^{3\text{-}12}$), where the contrast between 'us' (writer and readers alike, 1^3) and 'you' (cf. Eph $1^{12\text{f.}}$), and still more the emphatic and remarkable language used about 'you' as persons for whom the blessings of the gospel were destined in God's purpose, and whom they had at length reached ($1^{5.\,10.\,12}$, cf. 1^{25}), seem to imply the fundamental conception of the admission into the family of God of the long-excluded Gentiles (see Hort's notes on $1^{3\text{-}12}$).

Further, the negative argument in this case is of considerable weight. The writer is silent on many topics on which almost inevitably he would have dwelt had he been speaking as a Jew to Jews. Then he does not, like St. James, draw out the moral teaching of the Law; nor, like the writer to the Hebrews, does he concern himself with the spiritual interpretation of the ancient histories, and of the ritual of the old covenant. He never takes occasion by a reference to 'the Fathers' to allude to the glories of Israelitish ancestry and its manifold significance for a Christian Jew (see Ac $3^{13.\,25}$ 5^{30} $7^{2.\,38}$ $13^{17.\,32}$ 22^{14}, He 1^1, cf. Ro $9^{3\text{f.}}$). In short, the contrast between our Epistle (both in matter and manner) and those apostolic speeches and Epistles which are addressed to Jews, and, we may add, those parts of St. Paul's Epistles in which he turns to the Jewish element in the Churches to which he writes, is by itself a cogent reason for rejecting the theory that the Epistle was primarily addressed to *Jewish* Christians.

To sum up: the Acts supplies evidence that in many churches within the provinces enumerated in 1 P 1^1 there was a considerable Jewish element, and there is no reason for supposing that the other churches comprehended in the salutation differed from these in character. Such converts from Judaism would be especially alive to the meaning of the allusions to OT language so frequent in the Epistle. All considerations, however, point decisively to the conclusion that St. Peter had in his mind predominantly, though probably not exclusively, *Gentile* readers.

We pass to the evidence supplied by the Epistle as to the *more recent history* and *the present condition* of its readers. They owed their conversion to more than one evangelist (1^{12}). That they were newly-made converts is certainly not implied by the injunction ὡς ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη τὸ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα ἐπιποθήσατε (2^2; cf. 1 Co 14^{20}; Hermas, *Sim.* ix. 29); the habit of responding to their true spiritual instincts was a lifelong duty. And, on the contrary, there are indications that they had been Christians for some considerable time. St. Peter assumes that there were Christian presbyters in the communities addressed, and, moreover, that these elders were exposed to temptations arising from official routine, and from motives of sordid greed and of ambition—temptations which would hardly assail men watching over the first stages of the growth of infant churches. Further, the apostle implies that sufficient time has elapsed since his readers became Christians for them to have become a marked body among their heathen neighbours, and to have had experience of the difficulties and dangers inseparable from such a position.

What was the nature of these perils? On our answer to this question depends our view as to the date of the Epistle, and consequently, to a large extent, as to its general character and meaning. Does the letter presuppose that its readers were the victims of a persecution organized or authorized by the State? And, if so, is there evidence that this persecution was of a kind unknown in the year A.D. 64?

It will be convenient to consider the second of these two questions first. The passage on which the answer depends is $4^{15\text{f.}}$, and three points in regard to it claim attention. (*a*) In view of the evidence now available, it seems unreasonable to question St. Luke's statement that 'the disciples were first called Christians at Antioch' shortly before the year A.D. 44, still more unreasonable to doubt its currency at Rome at least some little time before the Neronian persecution[*] (see Lightfoot, *Ignatius* i. p. 400 ff.; Zahn, *Einl.* ii. p. 40 ff.; also art. CHRISTIAN in vol. i. p. 384 ff.). The name *Christian*, then, does not in itself suggest a date later than 64. (*b*) But 'the Epistle seems to refer directly to the edict of Trajan, which has a place in Pliny's correspondence, if the difficult word ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος points to the *delator*' (Jülicher, *Einl.* p. 135; cf. Holtzmann, *Einl.* p. 494). But, even if the essential idea of *delator* were not absent from the word ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος, the passage itself refutes this view. For, since the first three offences are mentioned in the inverse order of their heinousness—murder, theft, ill-doing (on the last see Hort, p. 135 f.)—the fourth place in the series could not be assigned to so vile an offence as that of the *delator*. Moreover, the ἢ ὡς before ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος, contrasted with the previous ἢ . . . ἤ, marks the transition to a different *kind* of offence. All the requirements of the passage are satisfied if we suppose that three *legal* offences are spoken of, then a *social* fault. The word itself, when examined, confirms this view. It is best illustrated by Epictetus, *Encheir.* iii. 22 (quoted by Zahn, *Einl.* ii. p. 39), *οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἀλλότρια πολυπραγμονεῖ* [*i.e.* the Cynic] *ὅταν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἐπισκοπῇ, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἴδια*, and Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3. 19, 'aliena negotia curo Excussus propriis'—the former passage being a protest against, the latter a playful pleading guilty to, the charge often brought against the philosophers of busying themselves with their neighbours' concerns. The Christians, in their first zeal for the Divine law of purity and love, would be apt to be betrayed into an exasperating officiousness, into making a vain attempt to set the world around them to rights. Such a social indiscretion would not bring them within the law, but it would most surely involve them in much suffering—hence such apostolic precepts as Col 4^{5}, Eph 5^{15} (cf. 1 Th 4^{11}, 2 Th 3^{11}). The word *ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος*, then, appears to show that the word *πασχέτω* has a wider reference than to punishments inflicted by a magistrate (cf. $2^{19f.}$). (*c*) A distinction is drawn between the proceedings against Christians under Nero in A.D. 64 and those which took place at a later time. In the earlier period, it is said, Christians suffered not as Christians but as those who were proved guilty of crime. In the later period the name *Christian* itself ensured condemnation. No evidence, it is allowed, is extant as to the time when the earlier procedure gave place to the later. The transition had taken place before the correspondence of Trajan and Pliny; it possibly took place as early as Vespasian's reign. The language of 1 P $4^{15f.}$, it is urged, presupposes the circumstances of the later period, when a Christian suffered as a Christian. But surely this conclusion is due to a confusion of thought. It is obviously true that such language could be used by a Christian teacher *after*, but it by no means follows that it could not be used *before*, the alleged change in the attitude of the State towards the Church. For even if it be granted that in the eyes of the law each Christian who suffered in Nero's gardens suffered as a convicted incendiary, yet in the eyes of his fellow-believers he suffered for Christ; and when once the nickname *Christian* had become a current term, the phrase 'to suffer as a Christian' would become a natural synonym of the older phrases 'to suffer for Christ' or 'for the name of Christ' (Mt 24^{9}, Lk 21^{12}, Ac 5^{41} 9^{16} 15^{26} 21^{13}, Ph 1^{29}).

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[*] Two possibilities must be borne in mind. (*a*) Luke does not say that the name *Christian* was first invented at this time, but that it was now first used of 'the disciples.' It may have been applied to the Jews at Antioch earlier, and thus it may be a part of the inheritance which passed to Christianity from Judaism. (*b*) It may have been used of 'the disciples' independently at different places, especially if it was already applied to Jews. There is, however, nothing strange in a speedy importation of the nickname from the Syrian Antioch to Rome (cf. Juv. iii. 62).

It is, moreover, open to serious question whether the evidence implies any essential difference between the proceedings under Nero and those under, *e.g.*, Trajan. All that we know of the Neronian persecution is derived from the somewhat rhetorical account in Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 44), one brief sentence of Suetonius (*Nero* 16), and the allusion in Clement's Epistle. To the present writer, the evidence seems to point clearly to the conclusion that in A.D. 64 at Rome the Christians suffered legally for their religion. The reasons for this view are briefly these: (1) It would have ill-suited Nero's position to throw the blame of the great fire on persons who would have to be proved guilty of incendiarism before they were punished. We must surely conclude that he adopted the simple and sensible plan of slaking the public thirst for vengeance by the dramatic punishment of an unpopular class of people on whom he could shift the odium of being the authors of the fire, but who could be legally condemned without more ado as the votaries of a *religio illicita*. 'The legal grounds for interference were in existence from the first, and no special edict was needful' (Harnack, *Die Chronol.* p. 454 n.; cf. Lightfoot, *Ignatius* i. p. 11; Westcott's Essay on 'The Church and the World' (in *Epistles of St. John*)). (2) The language of Tacitus is quite consistent with, even if it does not require, this interpretation of the situation. Thus, in regard to the clause 'Primum correpti qui fatebantur,' the whole context refutes the idea that the confession was of incendiarism. The meaning can only be 'fatebantur *se esse Christianos*.' The admission of Christianity was the turning-point of their case. Again, in the following clause ('Multitudo ingens haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis conuicti sunt') the word *conuicti*, which appears to imply judicial investigation of detailed criminal charges, is a conjecture for the MS reading *coniuncti*—a word which may justly be thought to be more in Tacitus' manner than the prosaic *conuicti*. Nor can the phrase 'odium humani generis' be taken as naturally pointing to *illegal actions or conduct*. It has a close parallel in the phrase which Tacitus uses in his description of the Jews (*Hist.* v. 5), *aduersus omnes alios hostile odium*. Jews and Christians would alike hold aloof from the social life of pagans; they would alike rebuke by their conduct, if not by their words, the idolatries and the profligacies of their neighbours. If the Roman Christians used such words as we find in St. Paul's Roman Epistle (*e.g.* Ro 1^{18} $2^{9f.}$), they might easily be represented as 'haters of the human race.' (3) The words of Suetonius ('afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis nouæ ac maleficæ') are most naturally interpreted as asserting that Christians suffered as *Christians*. Moreover, if Nero was the first to act on the essential illegality of their position, and so stamped Christianity as illegal, the historian had a good reason for placing his notice of the fact among various police regulations. If, on the other hand, they were condemned not for their Christianity but for their criminal actions (real or supposed), there would be nothing new about the procedure—nothing to differentiate their case from that of criminals generally. (4) It is difficult to suppose that the *ingens multitudo* (cf. πολὺ πλῆθος, Clem.), including, according to Clement, matrons and girls and slaves, were one and all convicted of criminal actions. Their condemnation as votaries of an illegal religion, especially in a time of excitement and panic, would be an easy and expeditious matter (cf. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 85; Suet. *Claud.* 25).

So far, then, it appears (*a*) that the somewhat scanty evidence as to the Neronian persecution does not support the theory, that it differed essentially from later persecutions in regard to the method of procedure against the Christians; (*b*) that, if such a difference were proved to exist, the language of 1 P would be as natural from the pen of a Christian teacher in the earlier as in the later period.

We are thus brought to the question—What was the nature of the sufferings to which those to whom the Epistle was addressed, like their fellow-Christians throughout the world (5^{9}), were exposed? Were they the victims of a *persecution directed by the State*? 'The clearest point,' writes Dr. Hort (p. 1), 'is that [the Epistle] was written during a time of rising persecution to men suffering under it'; and he suggests that this was *either* 'the persecution begun by Nero, or a secondary persecution arising from that,' *or* a persecution peculiar to Asia Minor, 'independent of any known persecution bearing an emperor's name, and perhaps even a little earlier than Nero's persecution' (p. 3 f.), adding that the language about the emperor and his officers ($2^{13ff.}$) is in favour of the second of these two alternatives. 'The Christian congregations,' says Jülicher (*Einl.* p. 135; cf. Harnack, *Die Chronol.* p. 453), 'and that throughout the whole world, have now to endure bitter suffering, to bear the fiery proving of their faith (4^{12})—a trial so bitter that now the end of all things cannot be far off ($4^{7.17}$) . . . The period of systematic persecutions has begun.' On the other hand, Zahn (*Einl.* ii. p. 34) finds it hard to comprehend how a 'persecution of the Christian confession, regulated by the imperial power or by the magistracy, can be discovered in the Epistle.' A decision between views so diametrically opposed can be arrived at only by an examination of the Epistle itself. The passages bearing on the question may be conveniently considered under the following heads :—

(1) 4^7 ('the end of all things is at hand'). This phrase is a commonplace with those (*e.g.* Jülicher, Harnack) who insist that the Christians of Asia Minor were enduring the extreme bitterness of persecution. The context, however, gives no countenance at all to the supposition that the expectation of the end was connected in the writer's mind with the cruelty of the Church's sufferings. He draws from the expectation the lesson, not of patience but of devout sobriety—a duty dealt with also in the preceding context.

(2) $1^{6f.}$ $4^{12f.}$ (two very kindred passages speaking of 'the proving of faith'). The language in the former of these passages, an echo of Ja $1^{2f.}$, is quite general (ἐν ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς). In the other passage the word πύρωσις, derived from Pr 27^{21} (where it is parallel to δοκίμιον), emphasizes, not the intensity of the suffering but its testing and proving nature, and thus the English equivalent 'the fiery trial' (AV, RV), as commonly understood, suggests misleading associations.[*] It should be remembered that the *locus classicus* on παιδεία in the NT (He $12^{7ff.}$) is addressed to men who had 'not yet resisted unto blood.' The words which follow about participation in 'the sufferings of the Christ,' while they imply the idea of trials endured for His sake, do not go beyond such passages as 2 Co 1^5 4^{10}, Ph 1^{29}, Col 1^{24} (cf. Ro 8^{18}, 2 Co 4^{17}). With these two passages may be associated $5^{8f.}$, where the devil is regarded as the author of suffering to the faithful, but where the point of the reference lies, not in the greatness of those sufferings but in the possibilities of spiritual declension which they involve.

(3) $2^{19f.}$ $3^{14.17}$ $4^{15.19}$ 5^{10}. In this group of passages 'suffering' for Christ's sake is undoubtedly spoken of. But πάσχειν (cf. 1 Th 2^{14}, 2 Th 1^5, Gal 3^4) is an inclusive word; in 2^{20} it is a synonym of κολαφίζεσθαι.

(4) 2^{12} $3^{9.16}$ $4^{4.14}$. From these passages it appears that slanders and insults had a prominent place among these 'sufferings.'

(5) $3^{13f.17}$. The form of these hypothetical sentences (τίς ὁ κακώσων . . . ; ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πάσχοιτε [not εἰ πάσχετε], and εἰ θέλοι [not θέλει]; cf. εἰ δέον 1^6) makes it clear that the writer regards suffering for Christ as no more than a possibility for at least some of those whom he is addressing. Such language is inconsistent with the hypothesis that a general persecution, organized by the government, was raging fiercely.

(6) 3^{15} $4^{15f.}$. Both these passages are very frequently supposed to deal with the relation of Christians and Roman magistrates. But in neither case can this reference be sustained. On $4^{15f.}$ see above. In 3^{15} (ἕτοιμοι ἀεὶ πρὸς ἀπολογίαν παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι κ.τ.λ.) the word παντί as well as the expression μετὰ πραΰτητος καὶ φόβου show that the injunction deals with the general intercourse of the Christians with their pagan neighbours (cf. Col 4^6 πῶς δεῖ ὑμᾶς ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ ἀποκρίνεσθαι).

(7) $2^{13ff.}$ The passage is an echo of St. Paul's words in Ro $13^{1ff.}$. But in place of the general language of Ro (ἐξουσίαι ὑπερέχουσαι . . . αἱ οὖσαι ἐξουσίαι . . . οἱ ἄρχοντες) we have in 1 P a clear and detailed reference to the imperial government—'the emperor (βασιλεύς),' 'provincial governors sent by him (ἡγεμόνες δι' αὐτοῦ πεμπόμενοι).' Moreover, St. Peter's description of the purpose of the existing central government as being (on one side) the 'commendation' of 'well-doers' goes considerably beyond the earlier dictum of St. Paul (τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποίει, καὶ ἕξεις ἔπαινον ἐξ αὐτῆς); and this description he still further emphasizes by the explanation—'thus (*i.e.* in accordance with His κτίσις—the Divine institution of civil government) it is the will of God, that by well-doing men silence the ignorance of those who are senseless.' To this passage must be added the other passages in the Epistle where the writer speaks in a tone of unwavering hopefulness as to the effect of ἀγαθοποιΐα on the heathen world (2^{12} $3^{1.16}$). St. Paul wrote Ro 13 when he still regarded the Roman State as 'the restraining power,' and still looked to the Empire as the protector of the Church. That a Christian teacher, *writing from Rome after Nero's attack on the Church* to fellow-Christians in the provinces, should adopt St. Paul's language, only making it more explicit and emphasizing its hopefulness, seems inconceivable. How impossible such a position at that time would have been, is clear when with the paragraph in 1 P we compare the symbolism of the Apocalypse —the beast and the harlot seated on the seven hills, 'drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus' (Rev $17^{6.9}$).

To sum up: the passage last considered affords strong reason for thinking that the storm of the Neronian persecution had not as yet swept over the Church at Rome, and that no persecuting policy against the Church had been adopted by the Roman magistrates in Asia Minor. Not a word is found in the Epistle about men shedding their blood or laying down their lives for the gospel. None of the passages in any of the above groups, as we have seen, contains any reference to, or hint of, an organized persecution. But it needs only a little reflexion in the light of actual history to convince us how much of the keenest suffering the confession of Christ must have cost these Asiatic Christians, though the State had not as yet become their enemy. They were called upon to face violence, slander, the severance of social and family ties, worldly ruin. In the earliest days of their missionary activity St. Paul and Barnabas frankly told their converts—διὰ πολλῶν θλίψεων δεῖ ἡμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ (Ac 14^{22}). Such tribulations were not confined to the Churches of Asia Minor. It was well that St. Peter, out of his wider experience at Rome[*] and elsewhere, should remind them that these sufferings were the lot of the Christian brotherhood everywhere (5^9).

V. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE.—It will be convenient to preface the discussion of these questions with a tabular statement (founded on that given by Holtzmann, *Einl.* p. 318 ff.) of the different views held by representative critics.

I. *On the Assumption of the Authenticity of the Epistle:* (1) *c.* 54 A.D. (before St. Paul's sojourn at Ephesus)—B. Weiss, Kühl. (2) During the later period of St. Paul's activity before his imprisonment—B. Brückner. (3) 59 or 60—Gloag. (4) *c.* 62 (during St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome)—Steiger, Guericke, Bleek, Wieseler. (5) Shortly before the Neronian persecution—Hofmann, Renan, F. C. Cook, Zahn. (6) *c.* 65 (or a little later)—*e.g.* Eichhorn, de Wette, Neander, Grimm, Huther, Sieffert, Ewald, Wiesinger, Usteri; probably the majority of English scholars, *e.g.* Plumptre, Salmon, Farrar, Sanday (apparently; *Expositor*, June 1893, p. 411), Hort (not earlier than 62, probably after Neronian persecution), Lightfoot ('probably written not earlier than the summer of 64,' *Clement* ii. p. 499). (7) 70–80, Ramsay (who would assign 80 as the probable date, *The Ch. and the Empire* p. 279 ff.), Swete (preferring apparently the first half of the decade, *St. Mark* p. xvii f.).

II. *On the Assumption of the Spuriousness of the Epistle*: (1) Under Domitian (81-96)—Scholten, von Soden (92-96), Harnack (83–93, but possibly one or even two decades earlier than 83, *Die Chronol.* p. 454), McGiffert (about 90). (2) Under Trajan (98-117)—Schwegler, Baur, Keim, Lipsius, Pfleiderer, Hausrath, W. Brückner, Hilgenfeld, S. Davidson, Jülicher (about 100). (3) Under Hadrian (117-138)—Zeller. (4) 140-147—Volkmar.

The difficulties involved in the theory that the Epistle is spurious may be conveniently considered first. They are many, and of various kinds. A close study of the document itself reveals no motive, theological, controversial, or historical, which explains it as a forgery (cf. Harnack, *Die Chronol.* p. 456 f.). It denounces no heresy. It supports no special system of doctrine. It contains no rules as to Church life or organization. Its references to the words and the life of Christ are unobtrusive. It presents no picture of any scene in St. Peter's earlier life, and does not connect itself with any of the stories current in the early Church about his later years. Why, moreover, should a forger, with all the world to choose from, select so strangely wide a district, four provinces, as the supposed destination of the letter, and why should he mention them in an order (on this supposition) so chaotic and so inexplicable? Why should he represent Silvanus as the amanuensis or the bearer of St. Peter's letter, though in the Acts he nowhere appears as in any way connected with that apostle, but both in the Acts and in three Epistles

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[*] Cf. *Didaché* xvi. 5, τότε ἥξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας, καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοί κ.τ.λ. The previous context speaks of the advent of the 'world-deceiver.'

[*] When St. Paul first arrived at Rome, the Jews at Rome tell him that they know that 'everywhere this sect is spoken against' (Ac 28^{22}). The language of Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 44) clearly implies that before the Neronian persecution Christians were regarded at Rome with feelings of hatred and horror—'quos per flagitia inuisos uolgus Christianos appellabat . . . aduersus sontes et nouissima exempla meritos.'

(1 and 2 Th, 2 Co) as the companion of St. Paul? Why, above all, should a forger give to Pauline thoughts and to Pauline language a prominent place in an Epistle bearing the name of St. Peter? These difficulties do not appear less formidable when we review the theories of those critics who have attempted to meet them. The Tübingen school, indeed, had a clear and concise answer to the question why a Pauline element is found in a Petrine Epistle. The letter, in their view, is a *Unionsschrift* (see Holtzmann, *Einl.* p. 316), celebrating the agreement of the two parties in the Church which bore the names of the two great apostles. 'But that theory,' to quote Harnack's verdict (*Die Chronol.* p. 456, cf. p. vii ff.), 'is admittedly profoundly shaken in general, and in particular it is refuted in its application to 1 Peter.' We turn at once to three recent theories.

(*a*) Von Soden (*Hand-Commentar zum NT* iii. 2, p. 117), putting the letter in the last four years of Domitian's reign, suggests that Silvanus was the author of the Epistle (5^{12}): that, however, instead of speaking in his own name, he makes St. Peter, the glorious martyr (5^{1}), utter words of encouragement to Churches among which the apostle had himself once worked; that, conscious what judgment the apostle had formed of him, he ventures to add the testimony to himself πιστοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὡς λογίζομαι; that he perhaps derived his right to speak in the apostle's name from his own position as an ἀπόστολος (1 Th 2^{6}) and a prophet (Ac 15^{32}). A theory burdened with such complicated improbabilities hardly merits serious discussion.

(*b*) Jülicher (*Einl.* p. 134 ff.) holds that the letter was written about the year 100. In view of 5^{13} and of the author's familiarity with St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, he conjectures that he was a Roman Christian. In spite of its obvious 'catholic' character, the letter is addressed to the five provinces of Asia Minor; and Jülicher finds an explanation of this fact in the supposition that the writer was a native of Asia Minor, and thus had a natural interest in the brethren of that region. He had, it is clear, an intimate knowledge of St. Paul's writings; but, when he wanted to give an apostolic authority to his own words, he refrained from using the name of that apostle, partly from motives of reverence and partly that he might not tear open again wounds which were now half healed. It is clear that this special view of the composition of the Epistle is open to all, or to nearly all, the objections mentioned above as generally valid against the supposition of its spuriousness.

(*c*) Harnack (*Chronol.* p. 457 ff.) draws a distinction between the opening and closing sentences ($1^{1f.}$ $5^{12ff.}$) and, on the other hand, the main body of the Epistle (1^{3}–5^{11}). The latter—whether originally a letter or not, there is no evidence to determine—is the work of 'some prominent teacher and confessor, who, possibly writing from Rome, and, it may be, a prisoner there, was certainly so familiar with Pauline Christianity that he could move about within its area with perfect freedom.'* The date of this document, which to us is a fragment, lies between 83–93, but may conceivably be some 20 years earlier. The opening and closing sentences, on the other hand, Harnack, modifying a suggestion first put forward by him in his edition of the *Didaché* (p. 106 n.), considers to have been added between A.D. 150 and 175. He further discovers resemblances in style between these sentences and 2 Peter, the earliest document in which our Epistle is quoted as the work of St. Peter, and indulges the suspicion that the clauses which now begin and end 1 Peter are the work of the same author as 2 Peter.

Harnack (p. 458 ff.) urges that his view as to $1^{1f.}$ $5^{12ff.}$ is confirmed by four arguments. (1) These sentences can without loss be removed from the document. *But*, on this principle, all Epistles might profitably be curtailed at both ends. (2) These sentences are poor in style, and present various difficulties. *But* it is only natural that the beginning and the close of a letter should be simple and plain in style, and Harnack's objection to the phrase εἰς ὑπακοὴν καὶ ῥαντισμὸν αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (1^{2}) is due to a want of appreciation of the words (see below, p. 794). Further, the existence of ambiguities in those parts of a letter which deal with personal matters is often a strong proof of its authenticity. The writer of a letter assumes on the part of his correspondents a knowledge of personal facts, obvious enough at the time, but soon forgotten. Moreover, any gaps in such knowledge the bearer of a letter would be trusted to fill up. (3) The motive of such additions lay in a sense of the instructiveness of the document, and the feeling that words so full of edification must be apostolic. Phenomena not wholly dissimilar are found in connexion with other documents—'Ephesians,' Ep. Barnabas, the so-called Second Ep. of Clement. *But* the first assertion suggests no answer to the question why the fragment should be assigned to St. Peter and not rather to St. Paul, with whose writings it has obvious points of contact. In regard to the second assertion, the reply is obvious. The documents adduced fail as parallels, both in other respects and especially just in the crucial point, viz. the addition to a document of sentences containing details geographical and personal, which are, as they stand, obscure, and are altogether lacking in picturesque precision. (4) Tradition favours the hypothesis. No writer before Irenæus quotes the letter as that of St. Peter. On the reception of the Epistle in the Church see above.

Harnack's hypothesis is open to serious objections, based on the internal evidence of the document itself and on external evidence. In the first place, what was the character of the document (*i.e.* 1^{3}–5^{10})? It was not a *treatise*, for it is hortatory throughout. Was it, then, like the so-called Second Epistle of Clement, a *homily*? This is in the highest degree improbable, partly because of its close resemblances to St. Paul's *Epistles*, especially of the opening paragraph—εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ κ.τ.λ. (1^{3})—to the opening paragraph of 2 Co and 'Ephesians'; partly because of the great variety of topics dealt with—a procedure natural in a letter, but ill-suited to a sermon; partly because the language is general, and there is an absolute lack of any such reference to the immediate surroundings or the special circumstances of his hearers as we should expect in the words of a preacher; partly because the whole tone of the document produces the impression that the teacher is not face to face with those whom he is addressing—note especially the phrase πρεσβυτέρους οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν παρακαλῶ (5^{1}). If, then, the document was neither a *treatise* nor a *homily*, it must have been a *letter*; and, if a letter, it must originally have included, if not some personal message, at least some form of salutation. We must therefore suppose either that the interpolator deliberately excised the original beginning or ending or both, or that the document came into his hands in a mutilated form. This last hypothesis, so far as the initial salutation is concerned, is highly improbable; for the first leaf of the MS must have contained much more of the letter than the customary brief words of salutation, and the paragraph which must have immediately followed the salutation (1^{3ff}) is extant. In the second place, the difficulties arising from the consideration of internal evidence are increased when external evidence is taken into account. The main body of the Epistle, as Harnack admits (p. 461 f.), was known to Clement (probably), Polycarp, and Papias. The Epistle therefore must have been widely circulated before the time of the supposed interpolator. How are we to account, then, for these widely-circulated (uninterpolated) copies having disappeared, leaving no posterity; while all known MSS and versions, all MSS used by Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, and all other early writers who quote the Epistle as the work of St. Peter, must have descended from a single ancestor—the copy, that is, in which the additions at the beginning and the end were made about the middle of the 2nd cent.?* The improbabilities involved in Harnack's hypothesis are many and great. It is important, because it essentially belongs to a period of transition. It is the product, on the one hand, of the lingering influence of an older criticism, too thoroughly bent upon negative results to retain much delicacy of perception; and, on the other hand, of a keen literary and spiritual sense of the significance of a writer's matter and manner. His own words (p. 464 f.) are remarkable, and appropriately conclude this section: 'If the hypothesis here brought forward should prove erroneous, I should more readily prevail upon myself to regard the improbable as possible and to claim the Epistle for Peter himself, than to suppose that a *Pseudo-Petrus* wrote our fragment as it now stands, from the first verse to the last, soon after A.D. 90, or even from ten to thirty years earlier. Such an assumption is, in my opinion, weighed down by insuperable difficulties.'

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* McGiffert (*History of Christianity in the Apost. Age* p. 599) conjectures that the writer of the Epistle was Barnabas. He accepts Harnack's theory of interpolation.

* Harnack supposes interpolations not only in 1 P, but also in Jude, the Pastoral Epistles, Mt, Jn (*Die Chronologie* pp. 468, 485, 700, 679). The improbability of such a hypothesis in the case of a single document, as pointed out above, is very great. The improbability of the same improbable series of events having taken place in the case of six separate documents is infinite. The argument is well put by Dom Butler in the *Dublin Review* for Jan. 1899, p. 13 ff.

We proceed, then, to examine the objections urged against the view that the salutation is original and veracious, and that the Epistle was written by St. Peter. The chief of these are five in number—

(1) The references to persecution are of such a kind as to imply a date which lies outside the probable, if not the possible, limits of St. Peter's life. This objection has been (p. 783 ff.) considered.

(2) St. Peter was a Jew of lowly origin, and Papias speaks of Mark as his ἑρμηνευτής. The Epistle, on the other hand, is written in good Greek, and the writer was thoroughly familiar with the LXX (so, *e.g.*, Jülicher, *Einl.* p. 132 f.). The facts alleged as to the Epistle are undisputed (see above, p. 781 f.). Are they incompatible with St. Peter's authorship? In Galilee, with its Greek towns such as Gadara (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. xi. 4, *BJ* II. vi. 3), there was so considerable an element of Greek life that, even when St. Peter became a follower of Christ, it is unlikely (to say the least) that he was wholly ignorant of colloquial Greek (Mayor, *St. James* pp. xli, ccix; Abbott, *Essays on the Original Texts of the Old and New Testaments* p. 162 ff.; Zahn, *Einl.* i. p. 28 f.). We may reverently suppose that our Lord, when He chose the apostle as 'the rock on which He would build His Church,' discerned in him intellectual as well as spiritual gifts which fitted him for his destined work. In Jerusalem, after the Ascension, St. Peter had much intercourse with Hellenistic Jews. His departure from Palestine can have been no sudden step; and it would be strange if he did not prepare himself for the work which lay before him by using opportunities, which certainly were within his reach, of increasing whatever knowledge he already had of the *lingua franca* of the Roman world. Mark was known in the early Church as 'the interpreter of Peter,' probably because he assisted the apostle in his first attempts to address Greek-speaking people. Greek must have been the vehicle of communication with Cornelius, and not improbably with the Jews of the Dispersion on the Day of Pentecost. We may conjecture that Mark was one of 'the brethren' who accompanied St. Peter from Joppa (Ac 10^{23}), and that he helped him in speaking to the Roman centurion and his household. It may well be that Mark 'the interpreter' read with the apostle some Greek literature, and especially the LXX, of which it is not impossible that he had gained some knowledge in his home at Bethsaida. At any rate the years which St. Peter spent in missionary work outside the borders of the Holy Land, specially, we may add with great probability, in the Syrian Antioch and its neighbourhood (see above), cannot but have given him a familiarity with Greek sufficient to enable him to write a letter in Greek, even if he still had to trust Mark 'the interpreter' to prune away in it any solecism of which he might still be guilty. The Epistle of St. Peter, it must be remembered, is no isolated phenomenon in the apostolic age. One who accepts the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude as genuine is entitled to point to them as a proof that even Jews who, so far as it appears, did not extend their labours beyond Jerusalem, could acquire a good Greek style.

(3) If the Epistle was written from Rome, its silence about the death of St. Paul, if his martyrdom was recent, or, if St. Paul was then at Rome, the absence of any message from him or news about him, is said to be inexplicable (cf. von Soden p. 115). The subject will come before us again. For the present, it is sufficient to say that the bearer of the letter—such as Silvanus appears to have been—might well be entrusted with personal news (Hort p. 6).

(4) It is alleged that we do not find in the Epistle much which we should expect to find in a letter of St. Peter, the chief of the Lord's personal followers; that it shows no sign of a vivid remembrance either of Christ's life or of His teaching (von Soden p. 115; Jülicher p. 134; Harnack p. 451). We cannot, then, place the Epistle after St. Paul's Epistles and suppose it to be the work of St. Peter, unless we admit, according to Jülicher's view, that 'Paul had exercised on Peter a greater influence than Jesus.' The discussion of this objection falls under two heads. (*a*) *The Lord's life.* Silence as to the facts of the Lord's life and ministry, strange to us in the case of one who remembered details the knowledge of which would have been of priceless value to later generations, is not a phenomenon peculiar to 1 Peter. From the Books of the NT other than the Gospels hardly a hint as to the events of our Lord's earthly life can be gathered. In the speeches recorded in the Acts, if we may assume that they represent with substantial accuracy the apostle's earlier teaching, St. Peter refers once to the Lord's baptism (10^{38}, cf. 1^{22} 4^{27}) and twice to His miracles (2^{22} 10^{38}), but to nothing else before the Passion. The facts of the NT then point to the conclusion that in their public teaching, whether oral or written, the apostles concentrated attention on the great *momenta* of the Lord's 'manifestation'—His sufferings and death, His resurrection and exaltation. While, however, there is in the Epistle nothing biographical or autobiographical, there are unobtrusive indications that its author was an eye-witness of the Lord's life. In 1^{8} (ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες ἀγαπᾶτε) a return to the *first* person plural (v.^{3}) would have been quite natural had the writer been one who had not seen the Lord. The words gain greatly in force and tenderness if they are the words of a disciple who loved One whom he had seen (Jn $21^{15\text{f.}}$), and who welcomes to a fellowship in his love for Christ those who had not seen. Again, when in 5^{1} the writer speaks of himself as ὁ συνπρεσβύτερος κ. μάρτυς τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων, the description is almost pointless unless it implies that he bears witness to what he himself had seen (contrast 4^{13}). The whole clause is clearly intended to justify the authority with which the writer addresses 'the elders.' He shared their position as elders, and therefore knows their difficulties. He is a witness to the very events which form their Gospel, and therefore has a unique claim to be heard. The full significance of the clause is seen only when it is compared with (i.) the commands addressed to the eleven, Jn 15^{26}, Lk 24^{47}, Ac 1^{8}; (ii.) St. John's words in Jn 19^{35} (cf. 21^{24}), 1 Jn $1^{1\text{ff.}}$ 4^{14}; (iii.) St. Peter's words as recorded in Ac $1^{21\text{f.}}$ 2^{32} 3^{15} 4^{20} 5^{32} 10^{39}; and when, on the other hand, we mark the entire absence in St. Paul's Epistles of any similar expression, and that in passages where he is insisting on his apostolic authority (*e.g.* 2 Co 10^{1}–12^{13}, Gal 1). The nearest parallels in St. Paul—1 Co 9^{1} $15^{8.\,15}$, cf. Ac 22^{15} 26^{16}—serve to bring out into sharper relief the distinctiveness of the Petrine phrase (cf. Ac $13^{31\text{f.}}$). An instance of this μαρτυρία is found in 2^{23}—a reminiscence of the arrest, and of what St. Peter saw as he lingered in the high priest's vestibule. In this connexion the force of the imperfects is not to be overlooked. They give not the summary statement of the historian, but the vivid remembrance of the eye-witness. Again, in the phrase ἀλλήλοις τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην ἐγκομβώσασθε (5^{5}), the picturesque word ἐγκομβώσασθε gathers up the details of the scene related in Jn $13^{4\text{ff.}}$ and its lessons. (*b*) *The Lord's teaching.* The following are the chief coincidences between 1 P and sayings of our Lord: (*a*) recorded in the Synoptic Gospels—1 P 1^{4} ‖ Mt 5^{5} 25^{34} 6^{20}; $1^{6.\,8}$ 4^{13} ‖ Mt 5^{12}; 1^{10} ‖ Lk 10^{24}; 1^{11} ‖ Lk $24^{26.\,44}$; 1^{13} ‖ Lk 12^{35} 21^{34}; 1^{17} ‖ Mt 6^{9} Lk 11^{2};

2^{3} ∥ Mt $18^{2f.}$ 19^{14} Lk 18^{17}; 2^{4} (προσερχ.) ∥ Mt 11^{28} (cf. Jn 6^{37} 7^{37}); 2^{5} ∥ Mt 16^{18}; 2^{7} (Ps 118^{22}) ∥ Mt 21^{42}; 2^{12} (cf. 3^{16}) ∥ Mt 5^{16}; $2^{13. 17}$ ∥ Mt 22^{21}; 2^{21} (ἐπακολ.) ∥ *e.g.* Mt 10^{38}*; 2^{23} (cf. 4^{19}) ∥ Lk 23^{46}; 2^{25} ∥ *e.g.* Mt 9^{36} Lk 15^{4}; 3^{9} ∥ Lk 6^{28}; 3^{13} ∥ Lk 10^{19} 21^{18}; 3^{14} ∥ Mt 5^{10}; 3^{14} ∥ Mt $10^{26ff.}$; 3^{16} ∥ Lk 6^{28}; 4^{7} (cf. 5^{8}) ∥ Mt 24^{42} 25^{13} 26^{41} Lk 12^{37} 21^{34}; 4^{14} ∥ Mt 5^{11}; 4^{19} (π. κτίστῃ) ∥ Mt $6^{25ff.}$; 5^{1} ∥ Lk 24^{47} (Ac 1^{8}) Mt 19^{28} Lk $22^{28ff.}$; 5^{3} ∥ Mt $20^{25f.}$; 5^{6} ∥ Mt 23^{12}; (*β*) recorded in St. John—1 P $1^{3. 23}$ ∥ Jn 3^{3}; 1^{8} ∥ 20^{29}; 1^{19} 2^{24} ∥ $1^{29. 36}$; 1^{22} ∥ $13^{34f.}$ 15^{12}; 2^{9} ∥ 8^{12} 12^{46}; 2^{25} (Gentiles) ∥ $10^{11. 14. 16}$; $5^{2. 4}$ ∥ $21^{16. 17}$ (note τὰ ἀρνία μου). It has been already noticed that St. Peter's imagery differs from that of St. Paul (see above, p. 782). It may further be remarked that all his metaphors (except those of painting and working in metals) find parallels in the Lord's sayings. In estimating the force of the list of parallels given above, two points must be borne in mind: (1) We are not here dealing with a question of literary indebtedness. For us the sayings of Christ are preserved in the literature of the Greek Gospels. One who heard them uttered in the original Aramaic would reproduce them, when writing in Greek, in a form peculiar to himself. Hence verbal similarity to the Gospels is not a measure of real coincidence. (2) The Gospels do not give us an exhaustive collection of our Lord's sayings. Hence, in the case of a document which claims to be the work of an apostle, the Gospels are an imperfect criterion of indebtedness to the Lord's teaching. Yet, judging the influence of our Lord's sayings on the writer of 1 P by the admittedly imperfect standard of the written Gospels, it is not too much to say that his mind is saturated with the words of Christ, and that, in dealing with questions and circumstances very different from those which called forth the Lord's teaching, he instinctively turns to the substance and to the words of that teaching as bearing upon the actual needs of the present. St. Paul was certainly acquainted with the Lord's teaching (see, *e.g.*, 1 Co 7^{10}), whether in an oral or in some written form; but the whole literature of his Epistles supplies a list of coincidences with the Gospels fewer in number and far less close than this one Epistle. Apart from the Johannine Epistles, the only parallel in this respect to 1 P is the Epistle of James.

(5) The objection against the Petrine authorship of our Epistle on which recent critics have laid most stress is its affinity in doctrine, thought, and language with the Pauline Epistles. Jülicher (p. 133) brings out three points as to the relation of 1 P to the Pauline literature. (i.) There is nothing un-Pauline in it. (ii.) In regard to his conception of Christ, of the saving efficacy of His death, of faith and regeneration, the writer of 1 P breathes the Pauline spirit even as he uses the Pauline formulas (*e.g.* ἐν Χριστῷ 3^{16} $5^{10. 14}$, ζωοποιεῖν 3^{18}, ἀποκάλυψις and ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι six times, his favourite word ἀναστροφή). (iii.) There are many similarities between 1 P and the Pauline Epistles, especially Ro and Eph, which cannot be accidental; the ascription of Eph and 1 P to the same author is a proposition which has been seriously maintained.† This whole position has the approval of Harnack (*Die Chronol.* p. 451 ff.). But the words of the latter in maintaining it give expression to significant admissions. 'The author,' he writes (p. 452), 'is completely determined by the spirit of Pauline Christianity. But this determination is united with such independence and freedom in regard to religious thought and teaching within the limits of this Paulinism, that the assumption is an obvious one that Paul himself is the author of the document.' And again (p. 364 n.), 'Were it not for the dependence [of 1 P] on the Pauline Epistles, I might perhaps allow myself to maintain its genuineness: that dependence, however, is not accidental, but is of the essence of the Epistle.'

It will be best to clear the ground by indicating the affinities between 1 P and the Epistles of the NT.—(i.) Romans, (ii.) Ephesians, (iii.) other Pauline Epistles, (iv.) James. (i.) *Romans*, 1 P 1^{14} ∥ 12^{2}; 1^{17} ∥ $2^{6. 11}$; $1^{20f.}$ ∥ $16^{25f.}$; 1^{21} ∥ 4^{24}; 1^{22} ∥ $12^{9f.}$; 2^{5} ∥ 12^{1}; 2^{8} ∥ $9^{32f.}$; $2^{13ff.}$ ∥ 13^{1-7}; 2^{24} ∥ 6^{2-11}; $3^{8f.}$ ∥ 12^{9-18} (cf. 1 Th 5^{15}); 3^{18} ∥ 6^{10}; 3^{21} ∥ 6^{4} (cf. Col 2^{12}); 3^{22} ∥ 8^{34}; $4^{1f.}$ ∥ 6^{2-11}; 4^{3} ∥ $1^{21ff.}$ $13^{12ff.}$; $4^{10f.}$ ∥ 12^{3-8}; 4^{13} (cf. 5^{1}) ∥ 8^{17}; 4^{17} ∥ $10^{16. 21}$ (Is 65^{2}); 5^{1} ∥ 8^{18}. (ii.) *Ephesians*, 1 P 1^{3} ∥ 1^{3}; 1^{14} ∥ $2^{2f.}$ $4^{22. 18}$; 2^{5} ∥ $2^{20ff.}$; 3^{8} ∥ 4^{32}; 3^{9} (εὐλογία) ∥ 1^{3}; 3^{15} ∥ 3^{17}; 3^{18} ∥ 2^{18} 3^{12}; 3^{22} ∥ $1^{20ff.}$ (cf. Ro 8^{34}). (iii.) *Other Pauline Epistles*, 1 P 1^{2} ∥ 2 Th 2^{13} (cf. 1 Th 4^{7}); 1^{3} 3^{21} ∥ Tit 3^{5}; 1^{13} ∥ 2 Ti 4^{5}; $1^{21f.}$ ∥ the Pauline trilogy, *e.g.* 1 Co 13^{13}; 2^{16} ∥ Gal 5^{13} (different sense); 4^{5} ∥ 2 Ti 4^{1} (but cf. Ac 10^{42}); 4^{9} ∥ Ph 2^{14}; 4^{13} ∥ 2 Co $1^{5. 7}$, Ph 3^{10}; 5^{8} ∥ 1 Th 5^{6}. Note also 2^{25} 5^{2} ∥ Ac 20^{28} (Pauline speech). (iv.) *James*, 1 P 1^{1} ∥ 1^{1} (διασπορά); $1^{6f.}$ ∥ $1^{2f. 12}$ (but see Mt $5^{11f.}$); 1^{23} ∥ 1^{18}; 2^{1} ∥ 1^{21}; 2^{11} ∥ 4^{1}; 5^{6} ∥ $4^{7. 10}$; 5^{9} ∥ 4^{7}. It should further be noted that (*a*) a phrase from Pr 10^{12} is introduced in 1 P 4^{8} and apparently alluded to in Ja 5^{20}, both Epistles using a rendering other than that of LXX; (*b*) Is 40^{6} is alluded to in Ja $1^{10f.}$ and quoted in 1 P 1^{24}; (*c*) Pr 3^{34} is quoted in Ja 4^{6}, 1 P 5^{5}—both having ὁ θεός, LXX Κύριος.*

To take first the case of James, the coincidences in this Ep. with 1 Peter can hardly be accounted for on the ground of personal intercourse between the two writers. They seem to imply literary indebtedness. The relative dates of the two documents (apart from other considerations) supply a decisive argument that the borrowing is on the side of 1 P (see, *e.g.*, Zahn, *Einl.* i. p. 95). Mayor (p. cxxiv) gives 40 as the earliest, 50 as the latest, year in which James can have been written. Zahn (*Einl.* i. p. 92) gives 50 as its approximate date. The Epistle would therefore be well known among the Jewish Christians in the Syrian towns, and certainly among those in the Syrian Antioch, in the sixth decade A.D. (see above, note on p. 765). There are reasons for thinking that in this decade St. Peter was working in this district, and that he made Antioch his headquarters (p. 779). It is, then, a natural conclusion that St. Peter studied the Epistle of James soon after it was written, and that some 12 years later many of its graphic phrases were fresh in his memory. In any case, the fact that 1 P is influenced in thought and language by James is an important indication that the mind of the writer was one which received and retained such impressions.

The coincidences between 1 P and the Pauline Epp. other than Romans and Ephesians are not very close, and are to be accounted for as the outcome of a common evolution of Christian phrases and conceptions rather than as instances of direct borrowing. The most striking of them, ἐν ἁγιασμῷ πνεύματος (2 Th 2^{13}, 1 P 1^{2}), would, in fact, naturally suggest itself when the practical meaning of the term πνεῦμα ἅγιον became realized in the Church.

The case of Romans is widely different. There is no doubt that the author of 1 P was acquainted with this Epistle. Nor is this surprising, if the writer is St. Peter. For as St. Paul was familiar with James, so Romans could hardly escape the notice of the Apostles of the Circumcision. Though

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[*] Outside the Gospels, Rev 14^{4} is the only passage in NT, except 1 P 2^{21}, where 'to follow' is used in this connexion.

[†] This is the conclusion of Sieffert (*Zeitschrift f. wissensch. Theol.* 1881, pp. 178 ff., 332 ff.).

[*] The supposed coincidences between 1 P and (*a*) Hebrews (see, *e.g.*, von Soden, *Hand-Commentar* iii. 2, p. 2), (*b*) Apocalypse (see Spitta, *Apokal.* p. 511 ff.) will be found in either case to be such as would naturally appear in independent Christian writers of the same period who were well acquainted with the LXX.

addressed to a particular Church, it dealt with fundamental questions respecting both Judaistic Christianity and the relation of 'all Israel' to the gospel. It is not therefore an extravagant supposition that, giving as it did the apostle's mature views on matters about which he must on more than one occasion have conferred with them (cf. Gal 2^{2}), he himself communicated it to the leaders of the Jewish Churches. At any rate it could hardly fail to become known, soon after it was written, at the Syrian Antioch, the great meeting-point of Jewish and Gentile Christianity in the East as Rome was in the West, and so to be brought under St. Peter's notice.

In regard to the relation of Ephesians to 1 P the case is less simple. Critics of different schools agree in holding that 1 P is profoundly influenced by Ephesians. The nature of some of the coincidences noted above seems to put it beyond doubt that the writer of 1 P was familiar with the language of Ephesians. A list of coincidences, however, inadequately represents the indebtedness of 1 P to that Epistle. 'The connexion, though very close, does not lie on the surface. It is shown more by identities of thought and similarity in the structure of the two Epistles as wholes than by identities of phrase' (Hort p. 5). Salmon (*Introd.* pp. 443, 445), noting independently the same facts, suggests two interpretations of them. (*a*) 'We might conjecturally explain this difference by supposing the Epistle to the Romans to have been so long known to St. Peter that he had had time to become familiar with its language, while his acquaintance with the Ephesian Epistle was more recent.' (*b*) 'Peter may have arrived at Rome before Paul quitted it, in which case there would be a good deal of *viva voce* intercourse between the apostles, as there had been in former times. The doctrines taught by Paul in his Epistle to the Ephesians would also naturally be the subject of his discourses to the Christians at Rome; and these discourses may have been heard by Peter.' Looking only, however, at the broad facts of the case, we may say that, if Ephesians was written by St. Paul during his first captivity, and if St. Peter visited Rome not long afterwards, the acquaintance of the writer of 1 P with Ephesians need cause no difficulty on the supposition that that writer was St. Peter.

From the question of literary we pass to that of *doctrinal* indebtedness. The writer of 1 P, it is urged (see above), in his theology takes St. Paul as his master. There is nothing, it is added, un-Pauline in the Epistle. The inference drawn is that St. Peter cannot be the author of the Epistle. Two observations cover a large part of the ground occupied by such criticisms. (1) Behind the argument there lies the tacit assumption that the two apostles stood in regard to each other in a position analogous to that taken by the leaders of two factions—a progressive and a reactionary party—leaders who alike by essential differences of principle and by the necessities of party-strife are prevented from learning from each other. Such a view of the mutual relation of the apostles is, it is believed, wholly unsupported by the evidence of the NT and of early Christian literature. (2) The Epistles of St. Paul form for us so large a part of the apostolic literature of the first age, *i.e.* the period prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, that insensibly we assume that ideas and doctrines emphasized in these Epistles must be of Pauline origin. That St. Paul had a predominant share in the moulding of Christian theology, there can be no doubt. But a body of Christian doctrine was growing up apart from the immediate sphere of his influence. St. Paul must have been a recipient as well as a source of spiritual intuitions. Estimating early writings by our imperfect criteria, we are probably in danger of exaggerating the Pauline element. Thus, to take as an example the crucial phrase ἐν Χριστῷ, which Jülicher regards as borrowed by St. Peter (3^{16} $5^{10.\ 14}$) from the Pauline Epistles, there is no question that St. Paul dwelt upon the phrase and placed it in many different lights. But did he create it? The evidence points to a negative answer. For (*a*) the phrase is in fact the echo of OT phrases—'in God,' *e.g.*, Ps 56^{4} 60^{12} 62^{7}, 'in Jehovah,' *e.g.*, Is $45^{17.\ 25}$, the Christian adaptation of these OT expressions being natural as the bearing of the Incarnation upon the doctrine of God was fully realized; (*b*) the idea is implied in Mt 18^{20}, and less distinctly in such references to 'the name' of Christ as Mk $9^{37\text{ff.}}$; (*c*) the conception finds repeated and emphatic expression in St. John's record of our Lord's sayings (*e.g.* 6^{56} $15^{4\text{ff.}}$); and if we accept these reports, which are clearly independent of Pauline influence, as in any degree historical, we can hardly doubt that the use of the phrase ἐν Χριστῷ must be traced back to Christ's own teaching. At any rate, an argument can hardly be founded on the assumption that the phrase was originated by St. Paul. On the other hand, the ideas expressed in 1 P 2^{24} $4^{1\text{f.}}$ may reasonably be considered to bear the stamp of an individual mind, and to have been learned from St. Paul's writings or from his spoken words. Further, when the doctrine of the Epistle comes to be examined, it will appear that it differs both negatively and positively from that of St. Paul's Epistles (cf. Hort p. 4).

To sum up: all that we learn of St. Peter from the NT gives us the picture of a man prompt and enthusiastic in action rather than fertile in ideas. His borrowing from St. James' Epistle shows that his mind was receptive and retentive of the thoughts of others. The Epistle undoubtedly owes much to St. Paul. But it is only when the Pauline element is isolated and exaggerated that it becomes a serious argument against the Petrine authorship of the Epistle.

Jülicher (p. 132) implies that, had not the name *Peter* been prefixed to the Epistle, no one would have supposed that St. Peter was the author. This position is so far true that, had the Epistle been anonymous, to assign the Epistle to St. Peter would have been an unverifiable hypothesis. We do not possess any document sufficiently authenticated as the work of St. Peter to be a standard by which the Petrine claims of such an Epistle could have been judged. The evidence of the speeches in the Acts, though worth consideration as confirmatory, is too indirect, and their date (assuming that they are substantially historical) too far removed from any date which can with any probability be given to the Epistle, for a reliable criterion to be supplied by them. But these considerations have a double application. If, on the one hand, they forbid the rash assertion that an anonymous document is Petrine, so, on the other hand, they are a warning against the hasty rejection of a document which bears St. Peter's name on the ground of its alleged un-Petrine character. The arguments urged to prove that 1 P is un-Petrine have been examined, and they have been shown to be unsubstantial, resting largely on unsupported presumptions. On the other hand, the serious difficulties involved in the hypothesis that the name Peter is a later addition have been pointed out, and it has been shown that the acceptance by the Church of the Epistle as the work of St. Peter was early in date, wide in extent, and unvarying.

But is the Petrine authorship to be accepted indeed, but accepted with certain qualifications? Zahn, following out the suggestions of earlier writers (Ewald, Grimm, Spitta), maintains (*Einl.*

ii. pp. 10, 16) that, while the Epistle originally bore the name of Peter, the apostle entrusted the actual composition of it to Silvanus, as one peculiarly fitted, certainly more fitted than himself, to put his thoughts into such a form as would appeal to the Gentile Christians of Asia Minor,—one, moreover, who was known to many of the readers of the letter, and whom they would therefore credit with accurately reproducing for them St. Peter's ideas. The question turns on the interpretation of 5^{12} διὰ Σιλουανοῦ ὑμῖν τοῦ πιστοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ὡς λογίζομαι, δι' ὀλίγων ἔγραψα. The words τοῦ πιστοῦ ἀδ., Zahn argues, imply that the part taken by Silvanus was a responsible one, and therefore cannot have been that of a mere amanuensis. He must therefore have been *either* a messenger who conveyed the letter, *or* a friend who put St. Peter's thoughts into the form of a letter. The former alternative, it is argued, is excluded, because in that case the commendation would have been meaningless—painfully useless, if Silvanus proved untrue and the Epistle never came into the hands of its intended recipients; superfluous, if he delivered the letter to them. Against this theory the following considerations together seem decisive:—(1) If Silvanus were the real writer of the Epistle, especially if he is to be identified (see below) with the Silas of the Acts and the Silvanus of St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians and Corinthians (2 Co), we should expect some salutation from him to his readers. In Ro 16^{22} Tertius, who was simply the scribe, sends a greeting in the first person (ἀσπάζομαι ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ Τέρτιος ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐν κυρίῳ). (2) Such a divided authorship—the main ideas being supplied by one man, their manipulation and expression being the work of another—could not result in a letter so natural and so easy in its passage from thought to thought, the transition to a fresh and important idea (*e.g.* 1^{10}) being sometimes due to an incidental phrase. (3) The tone of authority in 5^{1}, where the address is strictly personal, is explicable only on a theory either of deliberate personation or of real apostolic authorship. (4) The language of 5^{12} is absolutely natural if Silvanus was, what his position in the early Church (see below) fitted him to be, an apostolic delegate, who could, out of his own knowledge, speak of all personal matters and of the progress of the Church in Rome, and whose experience and special gifts (Ac 15^{32}) qualified him to give direction and instruction in questions of faith and of conduct. Compare especially Ac 15^{27}, Col $4^{7ff.}$, Eph $6^{21f.}$. The language in the context confirms this view: (*a*) the order of the words διὰ Σ. ὑμῖν τοῦ π. ἀδ. is remarkable, and seems designed to picture St. Peter's messenger and his friends face to face; (*b*) δι' ὀλίγων ἔγραψα implies that the apostle's written words were few, because he knew that they would be enforced and supplemented by the living voice of Silvanus.

For διά of the bearer of a letter compare διὰ βιβλιαφόρων, Est 3^{13} 8^{10}; the subscriptions added in many MSS to the Pauline Epistles, *e.g.* Romans—ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Κορίνθου διὰ Φοίβης, $\text{curs}^{\text{pl.}}$; ἐπεμφθη δὲ διὰ Φοίβης, 133; the 'verso' of a letter in the Berlin Papyr. 385—ἀπόδος Σωκράτῃ Σκιφᾷ ἀπὸ Σερηνίλλας θυγατρὸς διὰ Σεραπαμμῶνος ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῆς. Further, γράφειν (γράψαι) διά τινος is used in reference to the bearer. In Ac 15^{22} the determination of the Church at Jerusalem to send delegates to Antioch is mentioned, in v.^{23} the additional fact that the delegates conveyed a letter. To the phrase in v.^{23} (γράψαντες διὰ χειρὸς αὐτῶν) there corresponds the phrase in v.^{30} ἐπέδωκαν τὴν ἐπιστολήν. So Polyc. *ad Phil.* xiv. 'Hæc uobis *scripsi per* Crescentem, quem in præsenti commendaui uobis et nunc commendo.' Three passages in the Ignatian Epistles are, at first sight, ambiguous, and may refer either to the scribes or to the bearers of the letters. (*a*) From Smyrna Ignatius wrote to three Churches near at hand (Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles) and to the distant Church of Rome. In ch. 10 of the Epistle to the last named Church he says, γράφω δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα ἀπὸ Σμύρνης δι' Ἐφεσίων τῶν ἀξιομακαρίστων. Several reasons make it probable that the Ephesians were the bearers and not the amanuenses of the letter—(1) The plural: it would be natural to dictate a short letter to one person; (2) the context: after a parenthetical sentence Ign. continues: περὶ τῶν προελθόντων με ἀπὸ Συρίας εἰς Ῥώμην, the probability being that the mention of those who had gone before him from *Syria* to Rome is suggested by the mention of those who are even now going before him from *Smyrna* to Rome; (3) the sequel: at the next stage of the journey (Troas) only one of the Ephesians was still with Ignatius, viz. Burrhus. (*b*) From Troas Ignatius writes to the Philadelphians, the Smyrnæans, and to Polycarp. In the closing salutations of the two former Epistles the words occur—ἐν Τρωάδι· ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν διὰ Βούρρου. Here the context gives no help towards the interpretation of διά. But other considerations seem decisive. If διά points to the scribe, then there seems to be no reason why the amanuensis should be mentioned in three letters (*Rom.*, *Philad.*, *Smyr.*), but passed over in silence in the remaining four letters. If, however, in each case διά designates the bearer, then the facts admit of an easy explanation. There would be no need to mention the messenger in the case of the letter to Polycarp; for the same person would be in charge of it who was entrusted with the letter to the Smyrnæans. Again, the distance from Smyrna to Ephesus, Magnesia, and Tralles was small, and there must have been constant means of communication, of which Ignatius would naturally avail himself. In the case of all the letters which had to travel far, the name of the bearer (or bearers) is consistently given. Further, the elaborate care bestowed by Ignatius (*Smyr.* xi., *Polyc.* vii. f.) and by Polycarp (*ad Phil.* xiii.) on the appointment of delegates to the Church of Syria, and the conveyance of letters by their means, is important as confirming the interpretation of the Ignatian phrase γράφειν διά τινος given above, and also as illustrating the employment in apostolic and sub-apostolic times of men of recognized position in communications between Churches.

VI. THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF COMPOSITION.—The restoration of a history must be conjectural. The test of probability in such a case is the extent to which the scheme as a whole offers a natural explanation of the details which have a claim to be taken into account. In the preceding art. it was pointed out that a good deal of indirect evidence points to the supposition that St. Paul during his imprisonment himself summoned St. Peter to Rome, chiefly in order that the sight of the two apostles—the one commonly regarded as the Apostle of the Gentiles, the other as the Apostle of the Circumcision—planning and working together might bring home to the Roman Christians the great lesson of unity. St. Peter, we may suppose, arrived in Rome shortly before St. Paul's release. St. Paul had not very long before written the Epistle to the Ephesians, setting forth in it his mature views on fundamental questions, many of which could not but engage St. Peter's attention in Rome. It would therefore be almost inevitable that St. Peter should study, or, if he had read it before, should study afresh, that Epistle. Moreover—what is of more importance—he would be brought into close and unrestrained intercourse with the mind of the writer. Such intercourse might well recall to his memory the thoughts and words of the Epistle to the Romans, and perhaps suggest its re-perusal. It makes no great demand on the imagination to see how an Epistle written by St. Peter under such circumstances would be full of Pauline thought and Pauline language, and, in particular, would be likely not seldom to echo the words of the Epistles to the Romans and to the Ephesians.

Is it possible to arrive at any probable conclusion as to the *point of time* when the Epistle was written? (i.) The language of that important section of the Epistle which deals with obedience to the civil power (2^{13-17}), gains greatly in point and reality if it was used in view of St. Paul's appeal to the emperor having recently issued in his acquittal. It would be natural for one writing at such a time to recall what St. Paul had himself said on this subject (Ro $13^{1ff.}$), and, while using his expressions, to sharpen them and give them greater definiteness. Then it might well seem that 'the praise of them that do well' was an end of the magistrate's functions. If the decision of the Imperial Court had lately frustrated the endeavour of the Jews to secure the condemnation of the apostle of the true Messiah, the event would appear as a revelation of 'the will of God' in respect to His use of the power of the civil magistrate—*ἀγαθοποιοῦντας φιμοῖν τὴν τῶν ἀφρόνων ἀνθρώπων ἀγνωσίαν.* (ii.) Critics from many points of view have laid stress on the absence in the Epistle of any reference to St. Paul. It is one of the problems of the Epistle. But does not the difficulty vanish at once if we suppose that St. Peter wrote while St. Paul was still in Rome, and that Silvanus was undertaking as *St. Paul's messenger* a journey to the Churches of Asia Minor? In that case it would have been unnatural for the Epistle to convey a *message from* St. Paul; while *news about* St. Paul would be needless, since Silvanus would himself explain the position of affairs at Rome.

It is commonly taken for granted that the **Silvanus** of 1 P is the same person as the Silas of Acts and the Silvanus of St. Paul's Epistles. This is an assumption, though a highly probable one. Four persons bearing the name in the shortened form (Silas) meet us in the pages of Josephus. The name Silvanus is found in the form Σιλβανός in *CIG* 1816, 7256, in the form Σιλουανός in *CIG* 4039, 4071. The name, then, is not so common as to make it very likely that more than one Silvanus was closely connected with the apostles. And, further, what we know of the Silvanus of the earlier apostolic history corresponds so strikingly with the facts and probabilities involved in the mention of Silvanus in 1 P, that the identification is advanced many stages of probability. The points important for our present purpose are as follows. Silvanus appears suddenly at the time of the 'Council' at Jerusalem as an ἀνὴρ ἡγούμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς (Ac 15^{22}). He is chosen by the Church at Jerusalem to undertake a mission of extreme delicacy as delegate to the Church of Antioch. There his prophetic gifts made a deep impression. After a time he returned to Jerusalem. That he had left Antioch before the painful controversy alluded to in Gal 2, and that he was not therefore one of οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι who proved faithless to St. Paul's teaching, seems clear from the fact that St. Paul deliberately selected him as his companion after the rupture with Barnabas and Mark (see art. MARK). As St. Paul's companion, he visited Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium. With him he traversed τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, and, having shared his journey along the borders of Mysia, with him entered Europe. When St. Paul was constrained by 'the brethren' to hasten from Berœa, he left behind him Silas and Timothy—Silas, doubtless, as his representative, and Timothy as Silas' companion and assistant—to carry out the important work of building up the recently planted Church. When the apostle arrived at Athens, he seems to have felt keenly the need of the support of Silas' and Timothy's presence (Ac 17^{15}). It seems probable that Timothy joined St. Paul at Athens, and was sent back by him thence to Thessalonica (1 Th 3^{1}), and that Silas remained in Macedonia and continued the work in other cities besides Berœa, till he at length, with Timothy, left Macedonia, and met St. Paul at Corinth (Ac 18^{5}). It is important to notice that, whatever the exact details of the history may have been, Silas was entrusted by St. Paul with the task of developing his own initial work in the Churches of Macedonia, to which the apostle himself, as time went on, became bound with unusually strong and tender ties of affection. After his arrival at Corinth, Silvanus disappears from the narrative of the Acts (cf. 2 Co 1^{19}). Some ten years elapse, and we find a Silvanus at Rome, probably, as we have seen, while St. Paul was still in the city. (*a*) It would have been very natural for St. Paul's old companion to join him at Rome, where others among the apostle's former fellow-workers had gathered round him (Col $4^{7\text{-}14}$, Philem $^{23\text{f.}}$). St. Paul clearly had special need of the sympathy and faithful co-operation of 'those who were of the circumcision' (Col 4^{11}). (*b*) On the other hand, the fact that Silvanus is not mentioned in any of the Epistles of the Captivity, and that he appears in the city, apparently not long after the last of these was written, in connexion with St. Peter, suggests the probability that he came to Rome with St. Peter. Silvanus was in early days closely connected with the Churches of Jerusalem and Antioch (Ac $15^{22.\,32.\,33}$), and it may well be that after he ceased to travel with St. Paul he resumed work in Syria. St. Peter, as we saw, probably came to Rome from Syria, possibly from Antioch. The two men may thus have been much thrown together in later as in earlier years. If St. Peter was summoned to Rome by St. Paul himself with the express purpose of deepening the unity of the Church, he would naturally choose as the companion of his journey to the capital one of St. Paul's old associates. For such a mission Silvanus was peculiarly fitted. He was a Jewish Christian who had long possessed the confidence of the leaders of the Church at Jerusalem (Ac $15^{22\text{ff.}}$). He had been closely associated with St. Paul. He was a Roman citizen (Ac 16^{37}). St. Paul was in the habit of sending his most trusted friends as his delegates to distant places to consolidate or to extend his work. It would be very natural that he should send Silvanus on such a mission to districts in some of which were Churches in planting which they had worked together, while in others were Christian communities which must have been to some extent the indirect outcome of their common work. On the assumption, then, that we have to deal with only one Silvanus in the apostolic history, we are able to weave the probabilities into a natural and consistent narrative; and, so far as is possible in such cases, the assumption is justified.

But why does St. Peter seize the opportunity of Silvanus' journey to write an Epistle to the Churches of Asia Minor? There is no indication that he had any personal knowledge of his readers in any of the districts to which he writes. It does not appear that he wished to bring before them and the Church generally any characteristic convictions of his as to the interpretation of the Christian faith, as St. Paul desired to do in the Epistles to the Romans and to the 'Ephesians.' No controversy is touched upon by him. The Epistle bears no trace of having been called forth by the difficulties or needs of any particular Church. Is not the motive which led St. Peter to write a letter to the Christians scattered over the vast districts of Asia Minor the same which we saw reason for thinking brought him to Rome? It is plain that if Silvanus, who long before had been known to some of these Churches as a companion of St. Paul, and who now was travelling as St. Paul's delegate, brought with him a letter from St. Peter, the effect on the minds of the Asiatic Christians would be only less powerful than that produced on the Roman Christians by the sight of the two apostles working and planning together in the Capital. The fact that the letter was written and received under such circumstances, would be the strongest enforcement of the lesson of the Church's unity. The Epistle may even have been written at St. Paul's request. But however that may be, the motive suggested seems adequate and simple. It harmonizes with the phenomena of the Epistle, and indeed throws fresh light on some of them. Thus it is no longer surprising that there is no great thought or purpose, doctrinal or personal, which dominates the whole Epistle. Its scope is truly summed up in the very general words — *ἔγραψα παρακαλῶν καὶ ἐπιμαρτυρῶν ταύτην εἶναι ἀληθῆ χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ* (5^{12}). Again, the Pauline tone of the Epistle is seen to correspond with all the circumstances of its composition. If these were what we have found reason to think them to have been, the letter could not but be Pauline. Once more, have we not here a final explanation of the fact that, though the mind of St. Peter constantly recurs to the words of Christ, he makes only indirect allusions to the privilege which he once had of watching the life of the Incarnate Lord? To have dwelt on this would have been to *appear* to disparage the apostolate of St. Paul.

To sum up: all the conditions of the problem seem to be satisfied if we assign the Epistle to a time shortly after St. Paul's trial had ended in his acquittal. The power of the Roman State seemed to be on the side of the Church. But the hatred of the Jews was an enemy 'scotched, not killed,' nay, perhaps it was intensified because deprived of its expected prey. Nor would the social trials of the Christians among their heathen neighbours be lessened by the Imperial decision. The daily experience of a Christian at Rome might well suggest serious warnings as to the proving of faith through suffering. The situation was as follows. St. Paul had himself summoned St. Peter to Rome, with the supreme object of showing to the Christians at Rome and to 'the brotherhood in the world' the unity of the Body and of the Spirit. St. Peter had arrived in Rome, and with him St. Paul's old companion Silvanus. After St. Paul's release Silvanus consents to become his delegate, as he had been years before, and on his behalf to undertake a long journey in Asia Minor. Silvanus would explain to these Churches the situation at Rome. He would enforce the spiritual and doctrinal lessons which were uppermost in St. Paul's mind. But the work of consolidating the Churches, and in them the Church, would be greatly advanced if Silvanus, the messenger of St. Paul, brought with him a letter from St. Peter. The letter itself might deal with general topics, as indeed was inevitable when it was addressed to readers spread over so vast an area. But the fact that it was written by St. Peter, now a fellow-worker with St. Paul at Rome, and transmitted by the common friend of both apostles, now executing St. Paul's commission, was itself the revelation of the mind of the apostles, and a call to deepen the common life of 'the brotherhood,' the significance of which cannot be exaggerated.

It is right to notice two other recent reconstructions of the apostolic history in connexion with the composition of 1 P. The points in which they are open to criticism have been sufficiently indicated in the preceding sections and in art. PETER. (1) Zahn's theory (*Einl.* ii. p. 18 f.) is as follows:—It is almost impossible to explain the silence of the Epistle as to St. Paul if St. Peter wrote *either* at a time when the two apostles were together in Rome *or* after St. Paul's death. It is probable that Mark went from Rome to Asia Minor (Col 4^{10}) in the autumn of 62, or early in 63, and afterwards visited Jerusalem. From him St. Peter learned the difficulties which the Jewish Christian teachers had created for St. Paul, and also the intention of the latter after his expected release to undertake a journey to the far West. St. Peter felt these tidings to be a call to himself to visit Rome. Such a visit was no violation of the compact recorded in Gal 2^9, since the Roman Church had not been founded by St. Paul, and was composed of Jewish Christians, many of whom were Palestinian Jews. St. Peter arrived in Rome in the autumn of 63 or early in 64. St. Paul had already left the city. Since the duration of St. Paul's missionary journey to Spain could not be foreseen, it was natural that St. Peter should tread in St. Paul's footsteps in other ways, and in particular in caring for the Churches of Asia. The fact that Silvanus assisted him in writing the Epistle, enabled him to strike a note in the letter which would find an echo in the hearts of men who directly or indirectly owed their Christianity to St. Paul. As nothing in the Epistle implies that he had recently arrived in Rome, and as his correspondents appear to be already aware of the fact that he was in the city, St. Peter probably wrote the Epistle in the course of the year 64, a few months before his martyrdom. (2) Swete (*St. Mark* p. xvii f.) follows Lightfoot in dissociating the martyrdom of St. Peter from that of St. Paul, but argues that 'it is open to consideration whether St. Paul's was not the earlier.' He thinks that 'an examination of 1 Peter supplies more than one reason for believing the Epistle to have been written subsequently to St. Paul's death.' Over and above the references to persecution which, he thinks, point to 70–75 as the limit of date, he notices that the letter is addressed to Christian communities some of which were Pauline Churches; that its bearer is 'a well-known colleague of St. Paul'; that it contains reminiscences of two of St. Paul's writings (Eph, Ro). 'The conclusion can scarcely be avoided that at the time when it was written St. Paul had finished his course. The care of the Churches had devolved on St. Peter; the two oldest associates of St. Paul had transferred their services to the surviving Apostle; both had originally been members of the Church at Jerusalem, and, when the attraction of the stronger personality had been withdrawn, both had returned to their earlier leader. St. Peter on his part is careful to show by the character of his letter and by his selection of colleagues that he has no other end than to take up and carry on the work of St. Paul.'

It remains to notice the evidence supplied by the Epistle as to *the intended journey of Silvanus.* On the questions suggested by 1 P 1^1 see especially Hort's dissertation, 'The Provinces of Asia Minor included in St. Peter's address' (*1 Peter* pp. 157–184; cf. p. 17). Hort shows that (1) the position of Asia neither first nor last in the list, (2) the fact 'that Pontus and Bithynia stand at opposite ends of the list, though they together formed but a single province, the title of which combined both names,' indicate that in that list we have presented the projected course of the journey. Silvanus 'was to enter Asia Minor by a seaport of Pontus, and thence to make a circuit till [he] reached the neighbourhood of the Euxine once more.' Why he purposed to land in Pontus it is vain to conjecture. The condition of the Christian communities, or some special call to evangelistic work in that district or in the districts to which he would thus best gain access, may have been the determining motive. It is probable that Silvanus was to land at Sinope, the most important of the towns on the seaboard of Pontus. Thence he would visit the northern portion of the vast province of Galatia, probably making its capital Ancyra his headquarters. At Ancyra he would find more than one road by which he could reach Cæsarea, the one town of considerable importance in Cappadocia. Taking at this point the great road running westward to Ephesus, he would be able to visit the Churches in South Galatia, and so to enter the province of Asia. Northwards there lay Christian communities through which he would pass on his way to Bithynia, where it seems to have been the intention that he should again take ship. 'In thus following by natural and simple routes the order of provinces which stands in the first sentence of the Epistle, Silvanus would be brought into contact with every considerable district north of the Taurus in which there is reason to suppose that Christian communities would be found' (Hort p. 184).

VII. SUMMARY OF THE EPISTLE.—The opening of a new section in the Epistle is marked in 2^{11} 4^{12} by the appeal conveyed by the word ἀγαπητοί. Thus the letter has three main divisions of which the several topics may be thus *approximately* represented—(I.) 1^1–2^{10} the privileges belonging to the redeemed family of God; (II.) 2^{11}–4^{11} the duties of 'the brethren'; (III.) 4^{12}–5^{14} the trials of 'the brethren.' The different sections, however, overlap in regard to their subjects, and the thought of the Epistle is too spontaneous and (in a literary sense) too unpremeditated to admit of any formal analysis. The following paraphrase is an attempt to bring out the sequence and general treatment of ideas:—

I. 1^1–2^{10}. *The privileges belonging to the redeemed family of God.*—(1) $1^{1f.}$. *Salutation.* (2) $1^{3\text{-}12}$. *The joy of σωτηρία.* (*a*) Vv.$^{3\text{-}5}$. Benediction of the Father for the new birth and the heavenly inheritance. (*b*) Vv.$^{6\text{-}9}$. This joy in Christ is maintained by you in the midst of present sorrows, the issue of which will be seen at 'the revelation of Jesus Christ.' Faith in an unseen Lord is the spring whence comes this joy of σωτηρία. (*c*) Vv.$^{10\text{-}12}$. This σωτηρία was the subject of the prophets' search, as they foretold the facts which evangelists proclaimed to you, and which angels desire to discern. (3) 1^{13}–2^{10}. *The fruits of this σωτηρία in life.* (*a*) Vv. $^{13\text{-}21}$. *Seriousness.* Such being your position, do you, with minds alert and passions in control, set your hope on the Divine grace ever supplied to you, as Jesus Christ is gradually revealed to you. Not your sinful past, but the holiness of God must be the standard of your life. You must be solemnized by (α) the remembrance that your 'Father in heaven' is a strict Judge; (β) the thought of the greatness of the price paid for your redemption from an inheritance of vanity. (*b*) Vv.$^{22\text{-}25}$. *Love towards the members of the spiritual family.* The self-purification involved in redemption leads on to the cultivation of love towards the members of the spiritual family—genuine, deep, active. This is a duty which flows from the fact of ἀναγέννησις. (*c*) $2^{1ff.}$. *Growth.* If (on the negative side) you have stripped off from yourselves malice and such unchildlike vices, you must (on the positive side) surrender yourselves to your true spiritual instincts and live by the spiritual milk, the spiritual sustenance which is the direct gift of God. So you will grow up unto σωτηρία. (*d*) $2^{4\text{-}10}$. *Privilege.* Christ is the living stone, rejected by the act of men but in God's sight ἔντιμος. He is the foundation on which you are being built up as a spiritual house for spiritual acts of worship. This view of Christ (*i.e.* as the foundation stone) finds expression in the very letter of Scripture (Is 28^{16}). It has a double aspect. On the one hand, it is for you who believe that He is ἔντιμος. On the other hand, for those who disbelieve, the Psalmist's words about the stone of stumbling are true, their very stumbling being within the limits of the Divine purpose. But you are the true Israel, with all the privileges of the λαὸς θεοῦ.

II. 2^{11}–4^{11}. *The brotherhood which is in the world, and its duties.*—(1) $2^{11f.}$. *General introductory counsels.* Be like mere sojourners in the world. Let the moral beauty of your conduct make your very detractors watch you, so that in the day of decision they may glorify God. (2) 2^{13}–3^{12}. *Duty of submission to every Divine institution among men.* (*a*) $2^{14\text{-}17}$. *Subjects and civil magistrates.* For Christian freedom must not be a cloak for (social or political) disaffection. 'Honour the king' is one practical application of the universal rule 'Honour all men.' (*b*) $2^{18\text{-}25}$. *Slaves and masters.* Obey even unreasonable masters. He who does right and patiently suffers wrong, pleases God. To nothing less than this were you called. For Christ suffered for us; and in all His sufferings left us the pattern-sketch of a life of sinless endurance and constant trust. (*c*) $3^{1\text{-}6}$. *Wives and husbands.* To watch the wife's serious and pure life may win the husband who has been deaf to the spoken message. Her adornment must be within—a spirit placid in itself, gentle towards others. Such is the example of the wives of ancient story. (*d*) 3^7. *Husbands.* Husbands have a corresponding duty—to pay their wives the reverence due to their weakness. Those who share an earthly home (συνοικοῦντες) must behave to each other as those who share (συγκληρόνομοι) the heavenly inheritance. (*e*) 3^{8-12}. *A summary of mutual duties* (cf. 5^5). In a word, let kindness rule. Do not return evil for evil, but bless your revilers; for the inheritance of blessing is the end of the Christian calling (Ps 34^{12-16}). (*f*) 3^{13-22}. *Suffering and its reward.* I spoke of *evil.* Who shall do you evil, if you be champions of good? But even *should* you suffer for righteousness' sake, you are happy. Do not fear, but make your hearts a sanctuary for the Christ. Towards others, be always ready to explain and defend your faith to any questioner. In yourselves, maintain a good conscience, that your conduct may shame your detractors. For, *should* this be God's will, it is better that you, like Christ, should suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing. For Christ once for all, *i.e.* dealing decisively with sins, died, the just on behalf of the unjust, that He might bring you (then afar off) to God. But these sufferings had (as yours will have) their issue in blessing. (i.) On the one hand, His being put to death in regard to His flesh was His quickening in regard to His (human) spirit. Clothed in that human spirit He extended (καί) His sphere of ministry. He journeyed and made proclamation to the spirits in prison, spirits who slighted God's long-suffering in the days when the ark was being built. In the ark only eight souls were saved, the water (which to others was the instrument of judgment) bearing up the ark and so becoming an instrument of σωτηρία. The reality, of which the water of the Flood was a type, even baptism, saves (σώζει) you; not the external cleansing of the flesh, but the inquiry of a good conscience after God,* the final source of its efficacy being the resurrection of Jesus Christ. (ii.) The patient suffering of Christ had a second issue—His triumph. He journeyed (as before into Hades 3^{19}, so now) into heaven and is at God's right hand, the victorious sovereign over all spiritual powers. (*g*) 4^{1-6}. *The ideal of Christian life.* Christ then suffered in relation to the flesh. Hence the true conception of life. Let it be your armour. To have suffered in regard to the flesh means to have ceased to exist in regard to sins. Realize your spiritual position by living no longer by the rule of the manifold lusts of men, but by the one will of God. It is enough to have given the past to the heathen vices of debauchery, drunkenness, idolatry. The heathen wonder that you hold aloof from their vile riot, and traduce your motives. But the injustice is not for ever. They will have to give an account to Him with whom the judgment of living and dead is 'as a very little thing' (ἑτοίμως). Such judgment of the dead is just. For the proclamation of the gospel to the dead had this for its object, that, while the dead must be judged after the pattern of men in reference to the flesh (the earthly life), they may nevertheless be enabled to live after the pattern of God (cf. 1^{15}) in reference to the spirit. (*h*) 4^{7-11}. *Christian life in view of the approaching end.* The end of all things is near. Therefore be serious and devout. Most of all, cultivate mutual love. Let each man use his peculiar endowment for the good of the whole body —his gift of utterance, relying on Divine inspiration; his gift of ministry, resting on Divine strength. So God will be glorified.

III. 4^{12}–5^{14}. *The trials of the brethren.*—(1) 4^{12-19}. *Trust in the midst of suffering.* Let not God's process of testing and refining you seem to you strange, as if some strange chance were befalling you. Rather rejoice at your participation in the sufferings of the Christ, that when His glory is revealed your joy may be intensified. To bear Christ's reproach is an outward sign of a spiritual grace resting on you. I say *Christ's reproach*, for I would not have any of you suffer for any criminal act or for any social indiscretion. But to suffer as a Christian is a reason not for shame but for thanksgiving. You must expect suffering. For the set time has come for the judgment to begin with God's household. What, then, shall be the end of those who wilfully reject the gospel? Hence let those who have even to suffer in fulfilment of the Divine purpose do right and commend themselves to a Creator who will not 'forsake the work of his own hands.' (2) 5^{1-5}. *Pastors and people.* I who share their office (and so can sympathize with them), and am a witness to the sufferings of the Christ (and so speak with authority), charge your elders to shepherd God's flock, not in the spirit of slaves or hirelings or tyrants. Then when the Chief Shepherd is manifested they will have their reward. You younger men have a corresponding duty, to be subject to elders. All of you—your duty is humility and mutual service. (3) 5^{6-11}. *Final counsels.* Humble yourselves under God's dealings that He may exalt you. Cast your anxiety on Him, knowing His providential care for you. Watch; for the devil ravins for you as a prey. Firm through your faith resist him, conscious that for your brethren throughout the world the same sufferings are being fulfilled. God who called you, He, after your brief space of suffering, will strengthen you. (4) 5^{12-14}. *Commendation of the bearer of the letter. Salutations.*

VIII. Doctrine of the Epistle.—In this section an attempt will be made to indicate in outline the doctrinal teaching contained in the Epistle. The letter is a *λόγος παρακλήσεως*, and contains no *systematic* exposition of any part of the Christian faith. But in the mind of the writer there is a consistent and comprehensive theology which finds incidental and instinctive expression.

The Petrine speeches in the Acts were called forth by special circumstances, and (except the speeches recorded in Ac 10^{30-43} 15^{7-11}) were all addressed to non-Christian Jews at Jerusalem. We have no right, therefore, to look to them for the full cycle of Christian doctrine which even 'in the beginning of the Gospel' St. Peter had apprehended. The following coincidences, however, between 1 P and the Petrine speeches recorded in the Acts are noteworthy:—1 P 1^{10} (προφῆται) ‖ Ac $3^{18. 21. 24}$ 10^{43}, cf. $2^{16ff. 25ff.}$ $3^{22. 25}$; $1^{11. 21}$ ‖ $2^{24. 32f.}$ $3^{13ff.}$ 4^{10} $5^{30f.}$ 10^{40}; 1^{21} ‖ 3^{16}; 2^7 ‖ 4^{11} (Ps); 2^{24} (ξύλον) ‖ 5^{30} 10^{39}; 4^5 ‖ 10^{42} (see also 2 Ti 4^1); 5^1 ‖ 1^{22} 2^{32} 3^{15} $10^{39. 41}$. Of these coincidences, the parallel between 1 P 1^{21} (τοὺς δι' αὐτοῦ πιστούς) and Ac 3^{16} (ἡ πίστις ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ) is very remarkable. It is the kind of coincidence which suggests direct connexion of some kind. Mere literary dependence on the one side or the other is not supported by coincidences between 1 P and portions of the Acts other than the Petrine speeches. The suggestion made on other grounds (see above, p. 762 n.), that St. Peter and St. Luke may well have met in Rome, should in this connexion be kept in mind.

(1) *The doctrine of God.*—(*a*) *The Holy Trinity.*—As elsewhere in the NT (2 Th 2^{13}, 1 Co $12^{4ff.}$, 2 Co 13^{14}, Eph $3^{14ff.}$ $4^{3ff.}$, Jude $^{20f.}$, cf. Rev 1^4), the Three Persons are revealed in their several relations to the complete redemption of man (1^2). The fact that the Three Names are not given in the order of historical manifestation is an indication that the Persons are regarded as 'coequal' (cf. 2 Co 13^{14}). The mystery of the *essential* relation of the Three Persons is not otherwise touched upon. In regard to their relation *κατ' οἰκονομίαν*, the Father is spoken of as 'the God and Father' of the incarnate Lord ('Jesus Christ,' 1^3), and as the object of His unfailing trust in the extremity of humiliation (2^{23}), while the *temporal* mission of the Spirit is referred to (1^{12}). (*b*) *The Father.* The unique phrase *πιστὸς κτίστης* (4^{19}) implies that the relation of God to man as Creator is the final basis of trust (cf. Mt $6^{25ff.}$, He 12^9). The spiritual Fatherhood of God, *i.e.* the regeneration of men through the revelation in Christ and the Divine act of the resurrection, is a root-thought in the Epistle ($1^{3. 23}$), and from it springs the social teaching as to *φιλαδελφία*. (*c*) *The Son.* Is the pre-existence of Christ asserted or postulated in the Epistle? In the phrase *τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς* [*sc.* *τοῖς προφήταις*] *πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ* (1^{11}), the reference in *Χριστοῦ* is not primarily personal; the word rather alludes to the conception of the Messiah progressively revealed and apprehended (see Hort's note). Again, in 1^{20} *φανερωθέντος* is placed in antithesis to *προεγνωσμένου*, and therefore does not necessarily imply personal pre-existence. The words, however, in $3^{18f.}$ appear to be decisive. The personality of Him whose actions are described resided neither in the *σάρξ* (cf. 4^1) nor in the *πνεῦμα*. Clothed in that human spirit (*ἐν ᾧ*), when the flesh had been laid aside in death, *He* carried out His ministry among the dead. Thus the passage distinctly implies that He who worked on earth and in Hades was a superhuman Person, assuming all the elements of human nature, and therefore existing before the beginning of the human life. (*d*) *The Spirit.* The Spirit is mentioned in $1^{2. 11f.}$ 4^{14}. In 4^{14} the words, an echo of Is 11^2, are a Christian adaptation of the thought and language of the OT. The Spirit of God which rested on Messiah is the portion of those also who suffer for Messiah's sake. The earlier passage (1^{11}) is, as was seen above, closely connected with the ancient Messianic hope. 'The Spirit of Messiah' was 'in the Prophets.' But the mention of the Spirit in v.^{11} cannot be disconnected from the mention of the Spirit in v.^{12}. The Spirit was the power through which the witness of the ancient prophets and the witness of Christian evangelists were rendered. Thus the two verses together emphasize the continuity of revelation (cf. the 'Constantinopolitan' Creed). For in v.^{12} (*διὰ τῶν εὐαγγ. ὑμᾶς πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἀποσταλέντι ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ*) the reference is definite, not to *a* but to *the* Holy

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* The history of Cornelius (Ac $10^{22. 31. 47}$) is the best commentary on the phrase ἐπερώτημα εἰς θεόν in this connexion.

Spirit. The absence of the article simply brings out the *character* of the power—'through no less a power than the Holy Spirit'; compare, *e.g.*, Ro 8^{14-16} and the anarthrous but definite use of θεός, Χριστός, κύριος, υἱός (He 1^{2}). The addition of ἀποστ. ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ can hardly be taken otherwise than as an allusion to the historical gift of the Spirit at Pentecost.

(2) *Redemption.*—Everything in regard both to the Redeemer (1^{20}, cf. Ac 2^{23}) and the redeemed ($1^{1f.}$) is conditioned by the πρόγνωσις of the Father. Even disobedience to the gospel does not lie outside the sphere of His purpose (2^{8}). The *preparation* is dwelt on in 1^{10-12}. The prophetic witness was twofold—(*a*) to the sufferings destined for Messiah (εἰς Χρ.) and the different elements in His subsequent glory; (*b*) to the Divine grace destined for the Gentiles (εἰς ὑμᾶς, cf. Ac 10^{43}). It should be noted that in this Epistle there is no allusion to the Law either in its ceremonial or in its moral aspect, nor again (except the passing reference to the 'holy women,' $3^{5f.}$) to the ancient story of Israel; contrast St. Paul's Epistles. The Divine Person took human nature in its completeness—σάρξ and πνεῦμα (3^{18}); in 2^{24} the Lord's σῶμα is spoken of, but St. Peter has no occasion to refer to the Lord's ψυχή, in St. Paul's psychology the σῶμα and the ψυχή together making up the σάρξ. Christ was sinless ($2^{22f.}$, the language being derived from Is 53^{9}; cf. 1^{19}). He endured the last issue of the life of sinful man in the separation of 'flesh' and 'spirit,' and 'in His spirit' passed into the unseen world of waiting human spirits (3^{19}, cf. Ac $2^{27.\ 31}$). His death is presented in a twofold aspect. On the one hand, it consummated the example of the typical human life (2^{21}). On the other hand, in His death He met the needs of sinful men. He 'died' to help them—δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων (3^{18}). And His help to them consisted in this, that He finally and effectually dealt with sins (ἅπαξ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν, 3^{18}). The mode in which He dealt with sins is developed in 2^{24}. Adopting the language of Is 53^{12}, the apostle says that the Sinless One 'took our sins' (not sin as a principle, but the concrete sins of men) to Himself, *i.e.* by virtue of His representative humanity. His human 'body' was, as it were, the vessel in which the sins of men were gathered (ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ) and borne to the last extreme of humiliation—the ξύλον involving to the mind of Jews the Divine curse (Dt 21^{23}). By His death (so the context implies) His relation to the flesh and to sins finally ended (2^{24} 4^{1}, cf. Ro 6^{10}), so that the true life of humanity is henceforth ideally set free from the dominion of sin. This freedom the redeemed have to work out in their several lives. In $1^{18f.}$ a different line of thought is followed. Gentiles (for it is to Gentile Christians that the Epistle is addressed, see above) were ransomed (ἐλυτρώθητε—the word is taken from Is 52^{3}; cf. especially Mt 20^{28}, 1 Ti 2^{6}) from bondage to an inheritance of vanity, and the ransom was no less a price than the 'precious blood' (cf. Ps 72^{14} Heb., 115 $(116)^{6\ (15)}$ LXX) of Christ. Christ Himself is likened to a lamb free from intrinsic blemish and from accidental stain (ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου). The whole cycle of ideas is probably derived from the history of the first Passover and of Israel's redemption from Egypt. The reserve of the passage is remarkable. Nothing is said in regard to the question to whom the λύτρον was paid. The sacrificial language is metaphorical (ὡς ἀμνοῦ); it is simple and is not developed. The *aim* of the Lord's sufferings is twofold. It has a heavenly and an earthly side. On the one hand, ἀπέθανεν . . . ἵνα ὑμᾶς προσαγάγῃ τῷ θεῷ (3^{18}). There is a slight emphasis on ὑμᾶς—'you Gentiles who were afar off' (Eph 2^{13}). Christ dealt with the sins of men, and remained Himself δίκαιος. His work and His abiding character fitted Him to bring those whom He had freed from sin into the presence of God. The ideas of mediatorship and reconciliation lie in the background. On the other hand, Christ bore our sins ἵνα ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν (2^{24}). Here and in $4^{1f.}$ Christ's death is described as involving the Christian's death to sin (cf. St. Paul, *e.g.*, Ro $6^{2ff.}$). The correlative idea of 'the life to righteousness' leads naturally to the teaching of the Epistle in regard to the resurrection. The resurrection *in regard to Christ Himself* is described as the reversal (1^{11} 3^{22}; cf. 4^{13} 5^{1}) through the act of the Father (1^{21}) of the humiliation involved in suffering and death—a conception which is prominent in the Petrine speeches in the Acts (see above, p. 766), but which in the Epistle falls into the background. *In regard to men*, it is δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (*a*) that the Father 'begat anew' (ἀναγεννήσας) all Christian men (ἡμᾶς, 1^{3}, cf. 1^{23}); (*b*) that Baptism becomes in the gospel dispensation (νῦν) the crisis of salvation to each (ὑμᾶς . . . σώζει, 3^{21}; cf. Tit 3^{5} ἔσωσεν). Further, the effect of redemption is not limited to the initiation of the Christian life. If 'sanctification by the Spirit' is represented (1^{2}) as the influence which surrounds (ἐν) the working out of the Divine purpose in the case of the ἐκλεκτοί, that ἐκλογή has for its immediate end (εἰς) the twofold issue ὑπακοὴ καὶ ῥαντισμὸς αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ—a life lived in accordance with the Divine will and pattern ($1^{14.\ 22}$, cf. *e.g.* 1^{16} 2^{15}), and continually cleansed from the defilement of sin by the application of the quickening blood of Christ. The thought and the language are derived from the OT. The phrase ῥαντισμὸς αἵματος recalls at once the ὕδωρ ῥαντισμοῦ of Nu $19^{9.\ 13.\ 20f.}$ (cf. He 12^{24}, Barn. v. 1 ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ῥαντίσματος αὐτοῦ). In ancient Israel provision was made whereby the faithful Israelite, defiled by contact with the dead, should be sprinkled with 'the water of separation.' In the true Israel not water poured on the ashes of the victim, but the blood of Jesus Christ (cf. He $9^{13f.}$), is ever ready for the cleansing of those who are *obedient*, but who from time to time are defiled through contact with evil. Thus the sequence of thought is precisely that in 1 Jn 1^{7} (ἐὰν ἐν τῷ φωτὶ περιπατῶμεν . . . τὸ αἷμα Ἰησοῦ κ.τ.λ.).* The end of the divinely sustained growth (2^{2}) and of the discipline of the Christian man (1^{5}) is 'salvation' (εἰς σωτηρίαν)—that 'perfect soundness' which answers to God's purpose in creation.

(3) *The Church.*—The two aspects in which the Christian Church is prominently presented in this Epistle are closely related to OT language and Jewish thought. (*a*) The Church is regarded 'as first and foremost the true Israel of God, the one legitimate heir of the promises made to Israel' (Hort p. 7). Hence in $2^{9f.}$ the remarkable transference to Christians in their corporate aspect of the prerogatives which belonged to Israel. The Christian Society is represented as a priestly body (2^{9}) chosen to do priestly service (2^{5}), but the spiritual character of this worship (as opposed to the material and merely ceremonial worship of ancient Israel) is insisted on (πνευματικὰς θυσίας, 2^{5}; cf. Ro 12^{1}, Jn 4^{23}). The idea of the new Israel is not foreign to St. Paul (*e.g.* Gal 6^{16}) or other writers of the NT, but nowhere is it insisted on with such emphasis as here. (*b*) The Church is a universal brotherhood (2^{17} 5^{9}). In the OT Israelites are constantly described as 'brethren' (*e.g.* Ex 4^{18}, Dt

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* Hort, basing the interpretation of the phrase on Ex 24^{3-8}, concludes that the reference is to an initial pledge of obedience and an initial 'sprinkling with blood'—the admission to the Christian covenant. The preposition εἰς (emphasized by juxtaposition with ἐν), pointing to a *goal*, and the position of the clause seem to the present writer strong arguments against this interpretation.

18^{15}, Neh 5^{8}); for the usage of later times comp. *e.g.* 2 Mac 1^{1}, Ac 22^{5} 28^{21}. In the true Israel the tie is not natural, but spiritual. It grows out of the fundamental fact of the Divine *ἀναγέννησις* (1^{2}). The duties involved in this brotherhood are distinctly described as flowing from the spiritual relation of Christians to God as their Father—*ἀλλήλους ἀγαπήσατε . . . ἀναγεγεννημένοι* (1^{23}). Hence the repeated insistence on *ἀγάπη* and *φιλαδελφία* (1^{22} 2^{17} 4^{8}). If the very term *ἀδελφότης* (2^{17} 5^{9}) emphasizes the notion of unity, the qualifying words *ἡ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ* (5^{9}; cf. *διασπορᾶς*, 1^{1}) suggest the idea of *universality*: the 'brotherhood' is catholic. Little is said of the organization of the Church. The spirit in which *elders* are to work is enforced in 5$^{1ff.}$. In 4$^{10f.}$ there is an allusion to the due exercise of *χαρίσματα* in the Christian Society, and particular reference is made to those who teach and those who minister. The term *ἐκκλησία*, however, does not occur in the Epistle. The allusions to the Church suggest that, while the writer had a deep realization of the broad facts, he had not been led specially to ponder on their inner significance and promise, as the 'Ephesians' shows that St. Paul had done.

(4) *Eschatology*.—The Epistle holds an important position in the NT in respect to eschatological teaching. St. Peter (4^{7}) regards the 'end of all things,' *i.e.* the great consummation, when the present order will pass away, as near at hand. In this point there is an important contrast between the teaching of this Epistle and that of the later Epistles of St. Paul (Hort, *Romans and Ephesians* p. 141 f.). The time of the end is regarded under two chief aspects. (1) It will be a time of *ἀποκάλυψις*. Then the progressive 'revelation of Jesus Christ' (1^{13}) will culminate in a final 'revelation of Jesus Christ' (1^{7} 5^{4}; cf. Lk 17^{30}), a 'revelation of his glory' (4^{13}; cf. 1$^{11.\,21}$). Then will be the *καιρὸς ἔσχατος* when the 'inheritance' of Christians will be 'revealed,'* their participation in the glory 'which shall be revealed' (5^{1}), God's *αἰώνιος δόξα* which was the goal of their 'calling' (5^{10}). (2) It will be a time of *judgment*. God, indeed, is essentially *ὁ κρίνων—ἀπροσωπολήμπτως* (negatively, without partiality; 1^{17}), *δικαίως* (positively, with absolute justice; 2^{23}), *ἑτοίμως* (with the unerring precision of perfect knowledge; 4^{5}). His judgment is individual, and is determined by each man's action (1^{17}). It will then comprehend 'quick and dead' (4^{5}; cf. Ac 10^{42}, 2 Ti 4^{1}). It will be observed that, throughout, the judgment is ascribed to the final authority of the Father (cf. *e.g.* Ro 14^{10}), and that nothing is said in the Epistle of the mediatorship of the Son in the judgment (Ro 2^{16}, 2 Co 5^{10}; cf. Jn 5$^{22.\,27}$).

But the question inevitably arises, How will perfect justice in judging the dead deal with those who died before the proclamation of the gospel? To this question St. Peter gives an answer in 4^{6}, in close connexion with which we must take 3$^{19f.}$. The difficulty of the two passages lies not so much in any obscurity of language as in the mysterious nature both of the subject with which they deal and of the problems which they suggest. The earlier of the two passages (3$^{19f.}$) is limited in scope, dealing only with the case of those who, being disobedient, perished in the great typical judgment of the ancient world. The interpretations which explain the words as referring either (1) to an antediluvian mission of Christ, or (2) to an evangelization of the *angels* who fell (Jude ^{6}, 2 P 2^{4}), appear (in view of the context, the grammatical construction, and the parallel in 4^{6}) to be quite untenable. What appears to be the simple and natural view of the passages is given in the paraphrase above. It may further be observed (*a*) that the apostle necessarily uses the language of human experience (*πορευθεὶς*; cf. v.^{22}), though narrating events transcending human experience; (*b*) that the phrase *τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν* in reference to Hades is quite natural language for a Jew; comp. Apoc. Bar xxiii. 4 'a place was prepared where the living might dwell and the dead might be guarded,' 2 Es 7$^{85.\,95}$; (*c*) that it is not impossible that the apostle's language (*ἐκήρυξε . . . φυλακῇ*) was suggested by Is 61$^{1f.}$ 42^{7} 49^{9}. The emphasis of the passage rests on the Person of the *κῆρυξ*. The later passage (4^{6}) differs from the earlier in *three* important respects: (*α*) the reference is not limited to the dead belonging to one generation. The anarthrous *καὶ νεκροῖς* is not in itself necessarily universal in scope, but here it must be interpreted in the light of the preceding words (*τῷ . . . κρίνοντι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς*); (*β*) the main point here (according to the requirements of the context) is the simple fact that the gospel was preached to the dead, not (as in 3^{19}) the agent in its proclamation; hence the difference of wording (*ἐκήρυξεν, εὐηγγελίσθη*) is no argument that the two passages have not a common reference to a single occasion; (*γ*) while in 3^{19} nothing is said as to the aim or effect of the proclamation, here its object is distinctly stated. It is important to notice that this sentence, in which the purpose is described, is one in which '*μέν* and *δέ* oppose two clauses, whereof one is really subordinate to the other' (Liddell and Scott *sub voce μέν* ii. 5). The purpose of the preaching was not that the dead should be judged, but that *though judged* . . . they yet might live. . . . The aorist (*κριθῶσι*) points to the one season of the judgment; the contrasted present (*ζῶσι*), to the continuous life *κατὰ θεὸν* (cf. 1^{15}). The two passages taken together appear unquestionably to assert that at the supreme crisis of redemption the Redeemer Himself proclaimed the gospel to the dead, those who perished in the Flood being particularly specified, and that therefore such blessings of the gospel as are not confined to this earthly order were offered to them.

Apart from possible allusions to the subject in three passages of St. Paul (Ro 10^{7} 14^{9}, Eph 4^{9}), no writer in the NT refers to the *descensus ad inferos*, with the significant exception of St. Peter (cf. Ac 2$^{27.\,31}$), who may well have learned the mysterious facts of which he speaks from the lips of the Risen Lord Himself. The simplicity and reticence of St. Peter's disclosure are remarkable. On references to the *descensus* in early Christian literature see Lightfoot on Ign. *Magn.* ix. (add to the passages collected *Gospel of Peter* ix.). It appears certain that these early references are not based upon the passages in 1 P. 'No direct appeal is made to St. Peter in any of the numerous references to the Descent; the earliest quotation of 1 P 4^{6} we have been able to find is in Cyprian's *Testimonia*' (Swete, *Apostles' Creed* p. 58). Hence in these passages we have expansions of a primitive Christian tradition, independent of St. Peter's written words.

Additional note on the name 'Peter.'—Dr. Schechter, in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for April 1900, p. 428 f., writes thus: 'Besides the epithets "the God-fearing" Abraham or Abraham "the friend of God," Abraham also bears in Rabbinic literature the title of "the Rock." . . . The Rabbinic passage forms an illustration of Nu 23^{9} "For from the top of the rocks I see him," and runs thus: There was a king who desired to build, and to lay foundations; he dug constantly deeper, but found only a swamp. At last he dug and found a *petra* (this is the very word the Rabbi uses). He said, "On this spot I shall build and lay the foundations." So the Holy One, blessed be he, desired to create the world, but meditating upon the generations of Enoch and the Deluge, he said, "How shall I create the world whilst those wicked men will only provoke me?" But as soon as God perceived that there would rise an Abraham, he said, "Behold I have found the *petra* upon which to build and to lay foundations." Therefore he called Abraham Rock [צוּר], as it is said, "Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn. Look unto Abraham your father" (Is $51^{1.2}$). Yalkut i. 766. See Dr. Taylor's *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, ed. 2, p. 160.'

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* Hort takes the words *ἑτοίμην ἀποκαλυφθῆναι* (1^{5}) to refer to the immediately preceding *εἰς σωτηρίαν*, and interprets *ἐν καιρῷ ἐσχάτῳ* as meaning 'in a season of extremity.' But (1) it is difficult to disconnect *ἐσχάτῳ* here from *ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων* in 1^{20}; and *καιρός* is common in eschatological phrases in Daniel and NT, *e.g.* 4^{17}, Rev 1^{3}; (2) the 'inheritance' is the main subject of the passage, and for *εἰς σωτηρίαν* (standing alone) comp. the same phrase in 2^{2}; (3) *ἑτοίμην ἀποκαλυφθῆναι* (cf. 5^{1}) is correlative to *τετηρημένην ἐν οὐρανοῖς*.

LITERATURE.—See at the end of the article on 2 Peter.

F. H. CHASE.

PETER, SECOND EPISTLE OF.—

I. The Epistle considered apart from the question of its genuineness.
  1. Transmission of the Text.
  2. Summary of the Epistle.
  3. Doctrine of the Epistle.
  4. The writer of the Epistle, its readers, the circumstances of its composition.

II. The question of the genuineness of the Epistle.
  1. The integrity of the Epistle.
  2. Reception in the Church.
  3. Vocabulary and style.
  4. Internal evidence—(*a*) references to the gospel history; (*b*) absence of personal messages and greetings; (*c*) alleged anachronisms; (*d*) doctrine.
  5. Relation to 1 P.
  6. Literary affinities—(*a*) Jude; (*b*) Josephus; (*c*) Apocalypse of Peter.
  7. Conclusion.

I. THE EPISTLE CONSIDERED APART FROM THE QUESTION OF ITS GENUINENESS.—1. *TRANSMISSION OF TEXT.* For the authorities—MSS and Versions—see art. JUDE (EPISTLE OF) in vol. ii. p. 799. Some further points must be noted. (1) 2 P is not contained in the Peshiṭta. The text given in the printed editions of that version is, it appears, part of the Philoxenian version of the NT made in the early years of the 6th cent. (see below, p. 805). (2) Portions of pre-Hieronymic texts are found in the Fleury palimpsest=h (edited by Berger, 1889), in the Munich fragments edited by Ziegler=q (only 1^{1-4}), and in the *Speculum* commonly known by the symbol m (ed. Weihrich). The text represented in h q, according to Berger, is one based on a late 'Italian' text, kindred to that revised by Jerome, transplanted to Africa and there greatly altered—'an African text of a late period.' Some remarkable fragments of an old Latin text are contained in Priscillian (ed. Schepss)—1^{20} (omnis profetia uel scribtura interpraetationem indiget, p. 87), $2^{3.10}$ (p. 29), 2^{5} (p. 46). Ambrose (*de Fide* iii. 12) quotes 1^{10}. (3) Patristic evidence for the text is found chiefly in (*a*) Greek writers—Didymus, Ephraem (not Syriac works), Cyril Alex., John of Damascus, the commentators Œcumenius and Theophylact, the fragments in Cramer's *Catena* (some being ascribed to Athanasius, Eusebius of Emesa, and Chrysostom; on the last see below, p. 805 n.); (*b*) Latin writers—Ambrose, Priscillian, Jerome, Augustine, Fulgentius, Vigilius, Bede. Difficulties of interpretation give a sense of insecurity in regard to the text (*e.g.* $2^{11.14}$). Hort supposes that there are primitive errors in $3^{10.12}$. On 3^{2}, see below p. 811; and on 3^{10} see Vansittart in the *Journal of Philology* iii. p. 357 ff., where he suggests that the 'existence' of this Epistle, as of that to the Hebrews, 'depended for many years on a single copy.'

2. *SUMMARY OF THE EPISTLE.*—The Epistle (after the salutation) seems to fall into three sections—(1) 1^{3-11}; (2) 1^{12}–2^{22}; (3) 3^{1-18}. Each of the two latter sections begins with a reference to the writer's personal relation to those whom he addresses, and in both cases he goes on to speak of the dangers which will soon overtake them from false teachers.

(1) (i.) $1^{1f.}$ *Salutation*; (ii.) $1^{3f.}$ *Divine gifts.*—The Divine power has given us all needful endowments, endowments through which He has given us[*] His promises, that through these promises you, having escaped from the world's corruption, may become sharers in the Divine nature. (iii.) 1^{5-7} *The duty of diligence.* Such gifts imply duties. Use diligence on your part that one excellence in you may grow out of another. (iv.) 1^{8-11} *The hope of diligence.* Such excellences, where they exist, cause fruitfulness. For he who has them not is blind, and forgets that he was cleansed from the sins of his old life. Therefore with the greater diligence see that you make God's calling and choice of you an abiding blessing. For so acting, you will not stumble; and the gift of entrance into the eternal kingdom will without stint be yours.

(2) (i.) 1^{12-15} *The writer's care for his friends.*—Hence, though ye know these truths, I will ever keep them fresh in your memory, so long as I am in this tabernacle, for I know from the Lord's disclosure of the future to me that my putting it off will come suddenly. Further, I will take diligent care that, as during my life so also after my departure, you shall be reminded of these truths. (ii.) 1^{16-21} *The teachers' warrant.* For we did not follow fables skilfully elaborated when we told you of the power of the Lord and His coming (*i.e.* in the flesh). Our warrant was that we had been initiated into the mystery of His majesty. We beheld the glory which He received from the Father, when the voice of God addressed Him as My Son, when we were His companions in the Holy Mount. And what is more abiding than a fleeting *voice* we possess in the prophetic *word*. Give heed to it as a lamp shining in a foul place till the perfect dawn comes. But remember that the interpretation of a prophecy in Scripture does not lie within a man's unaided power[†]; for prophecy came not by the will of man, but men spake from God as they were controlled by the Spirit. (iii.) 2^{1-11} *False teachers; their sure punishment.* As there were false prophets in Israel, so there will be false teachers among you, denying even the Master who purchased them. Many will follow them, their life and their teaching being marked by lasciviousness, greed, insincerity. But their judgment has long been actively working. For God ever punishes the evil. He punished angels when they sinned, committing them to dens of darkness to be kept for judgment; the ancient world, while He delivered Noah; the Cities of the Plain, their overthrow being an example of what shall happen to ungodly men, while He delivered Lot, ever wearied out by the lascivious life of the lawless. Yes, the Lord can deliver the godly from temptation, and keep the unrighteous in punishment for the day of judgment. And this is chiefly so with those whose sins are uncleanness, proud insubordination, and slandering; whereas angels, greater in power than they, bring no slanderous accusation against them (*i.e.* these sinners) before the Lord. (iv.) 2^{12-22} *Marks of such false teachers.* Such men may be easily discerned. In their sins, and therefore in their punishment, they are like irrational animals. They blazon their profligacy in broad daylight. They are spots and flaws in your company. Their glances are ceaselessly unchaste. They entice restless souls. They sin from motives of covetousness like Balaam, who was miraculously rebuked for his madness. They are as purposeless as waterless springs or tempest-driven mists: their end will be thick darkness. With empty vauntings they entice into lusts those who are just escaping from evil companionship. Themselves the slaves of corruption, they promise a spurious liberty. They are indeed slaves. For if they were rescued from the deflements of the world and are now again ensnared therein, their last state has become worse than their first. For ignorance of righteousness is better than deliberate rebellion against the holy commandment. Their degradation is set forth in common proverbs.

(3) (i.) $3^{1f.}$ *The writer's Epistles.*—In this, as in my former letter, I remind you of the words spoken long ago by the prophets, and of the Lord's commandment brought to you by those of the apostles who were your teachers. (ii.) 3^{3-7} *Mockers at the promise of the Return.* Remember before all else that in the last days mockers will come, men of lustful life, scornfully asking what has become of the promise of His return. For the Fathers passed away, and the world's course is unchanged. Such mockers are self-condemned. For they wilfully forget that by the word of God the heavens were made, and the earth compacted of water and by means of water, waters which became the instrument of judgment. And by the same word the heavens and the earth are being kept for the fire of the final judgment. (iii.) 3^{8-13} *The Lord's delay and His coming.* Forget not that God reckons not time as men reckon. His seeming slowness in fulfilling His promise is in truth His long-suffering towards you, that all may come to repentance. Howbeit the day of the Lord will come suddenly, the day when the vault of heaven shall pass away, and the stars shall melt

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[*] Spitta (*Der zweite Brief des Petrus* p. 41 ff.) would read ὑμῖν in v.^{4} with A 36, 38 syr-bod syr-hl-mg, and would take the ἡμᾶς of v.^{3} and the δι' ὧν of v.^{4} to refer to the apostles.

[†] Spitta (p. 115) takes the words to mean, 'Keine Prophezeiung der Schrift ist der Art dass sie vernichtet werden könnte.'

with heat, and the earth and men's works therein shall be discovered. The certainty of this dissolution of material things is a call to holiness of life and to an earnest expectation of His coming. Then—because the day of God has come—the whole fabric of the universe shall be burned up. But we expect, according to His promise, new heavens and a new earth—the home of righteousness. (iv.) 3^{14-18} *The steadfastness of believers in the strength of this hope.* Wherefore having these hopes, be diligent that you may be found of the Lord at His coming blameless. And regard the Lord's long-suffering as salvation, as Paul said to you, and as he says in all his letters, dealing in them with these matters—letters in which are many difficult sayings which those who lack learning and stability twist and wrench, as they do all the other Scriptures. But do you be on your guard against the evil influence of the lawless, and grow in grace and knowledge.

3. *DOCTRINE OF THE EPISTLE.*—(1) *The doctrine of God.* (*a*) *The Father.* The term *πατήρ* is used only in relation to the Incarnate Son (1^{17}). God by His word (command) was the Creator and is the Sustainer of the universe ($3^{5.7}$). He is above the limitations of time (3^{8}). He inflicts punishment on angels and men ($2^{4ff.}$), and thus the *ἡμέρα κρίσεως* (3^{7}) is described as *ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμέρα* (3^{12}). But He is long-suffering, and delays judgment (3^{9}, cf. 3^{15}). He gave His witness to the Incarnate Son (1^{17}). Men can *know* God (1^{2}) and can partake of the Divine nature (1^{4}). The phrase *θεία φύσις* (1^{4}) refers rather to what God essentially *is*; the phrase *ἡ μεγαλοπρεπὴς δόξα* (1^{17}) to God as revealing Himself by outward signs. (*b*) *The Son.* Nothing is said of the pre-existence of the Lord. The term *θεός* is, however, applied to Him in 1^{1} *τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν κ. σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χρ.*; contrast the order in 1^{2} *τοῦ θεοῦ κ. Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν*, and compare 1^{11} 3^{18} *τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν κ. σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.* Compare the phrase *ἡ θεία δύναμις αὐτοῦ* (1^{3}), and note how He is closely joined with the Father as the object of man's knowledge (1^{2}). In 1^{16} it seems the preferable, if not the necessary, interpretation to take *παρουσία* of the First rather than of the Second Coming, for (*α*) the context speaks of history and not prophecy; (*β*) the word itself, though as a fact elsewhere in the NT and in this Epistle ($3^{4.12}$) it is used of the Second Coming, naturally bears this meaning* (cf. *ἔλευσις*, Ac 7^{52}). If this interpretation of 1^{16} be the true one, then the message of the Incarnation is described as dealing with *τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δύναμιν καὶ παρουσίαν*—the Lord's essential power and His coming to the world. His *μεγαλειότης* was revealed on the Mount of Transfiguration. He purchased men (*i.e.* by His blood, cf. Rev 5^{9}), and so became their absolute Master (*δεσπότης*, 2^{1}; cf. *δοῦλος . . . Ἰ. Χρ.*, 1^{1}). The term *σωτήρ*, as applied to Him, is characteristic of this Epistle ($1^{1.11}$ 2^{20} $3^{2.18}$). His kingdom is described in the words of Daniel (3^{10} [4^{3}] 7^{27}, cf. 1 Mac 2^{57}) as an *αἰώνιος βασιλεία* (cf. Lk 1^{33}, Rev 11^{15}). He will fulfil His promise to return (3^{4}). (*c*) *The Holy Spirit.* The only mention of the Holy Spirit is in reference to His controlling inspiration of the ancient prophets (1^{21}).

(2) *Redemption.*—In regard to our Lord, it was wrought out by Him in His act whereby He purchased men (2^{1}); in regard to Christians, it is brought into contact with each one in the *καθαρισμός* which parts the new from the old life (1^{9}). The Divine 'calling' and 'choice' of men are regarded as closely related (*τὴν κλῆσιν κ. ἐκλογήν*, 1^{10}; note the *vinculum* of the common article). Human effort is needed to give them an abiding validity (*βεβαίαν*). In 1^{3} (*τοῦ καλέσαντος ἡμᾶς*) it is uncertain (*α*) whether the *ἡμᾶς* refers to Christians generally or to the apostles in particular; (*β*) whether the *ὁ καλέσας* refers to the Father or to Christ. Much stress is laid on conduct and on the cultivation of Christian virtues ($1^{5ff.}$). Knowledge (*ἐπίγνωσις*, $1^{2.3.8}$ 2^{20}; *γνῶσις*, 1^{5} 3^{18}) has a pre-eminent position assigned to it. The object of knowledge is the Father ($1^{2.3(?)}$) and Christ (1^{8} 2^{20} 3^{18}); in 1^{5} *γνῶσις* appears without further definition. The knowledge of God and of Christ is the means whereby men escape the evil of the world (2^{20}) and receive grace and peace (1^{2}) and spiritual endowments (1^{3}). The cultivation of Christian excellences leads to fruitfulness in regard to this knowledge (1^{8}), which is not a final but a progressive knowledge (3^{18}). Since it is closely allied to *χάρις* (3^{18}), it is clearly a spiritual and not an intellectual attainment. On the other hand, the *γνῶσις* of 1^{5} (without a definition of its object) is apparently 'knowledge' generally; it is described as the link between *ἀρετή* and *ἐγκράτεια.* The end of the Divine promises is that men should become *θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως* (1^{4}). The goal of Christian diligence is the entrance into the Lord's 'eternal kingdom' (1^{11}).

(3) *Creation.*—The cause of creation was 'the word (command) of God' (3^{5}). But at least in regard to the earth further (physical) details are given—*γῆ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ δι' ὕδατος συνεστῶσα.* Probably the interpretation given by Œcumenius (quoted by Field, *Notes on Translation of the NT* p. 242) is the true one—*ἡ γῆ ἐξ ὕδατος μέν, ὡς ἐξ ὑλικοῦ αἰτίου· δι' ὕδατος δέ, ὡς διὰ τελικοῦ* (*sic lege pro διατελικοῦ*)*· ὕδωρ γὰρ τὸ συνέχον τὴν γῆν, οἷον κόλλα τις ὑπάρχον αὐτῇ.* In v.^{10} the universe is described as consisting of 'the heavens' (the vault of heaven), the stars (*στοιχεῖα*), the earth.

(4) *Angelology.*—It is clearly laid down that there once was 'a *fall*' of certain angels (*ἀγγέλων ἁμαρτησάντων*, 2^{4}), and that their sin was followed by Divine vengeance. God committed them to 'pits of darkness,' there to be kept for (final) judgment. In a later passage of the Epistle (2^{11}) there is an obscure reference to the ministry of angels. The false teachers (it is there said) *δόξας οὐ τρέμουσιν, βλασφημοῦντες, ὅπου ἄγγελοι ἰσχύϊ κ. δυνάμει μείζονες ὄντες οὐ φέρουσιν κατ' αὐτῶν παρὰ Κυρίῳ βλάσφημον κρίσιν.* It must remain doubtful if *κατ' αὐτῶν* refers to the false teachers or (as the parallel in Jude$^{8f.}$ suggests) to the *δόξαι* just mentioned. In either case, angels appear to be represented as bringing before the Lord tidings as to the conduct of created beings, whether angels or men.

(5) *Eschatology.*—Fallen angels and unrighteous men alike undergo *temporary* punishment until the time of their final doom ($2^{4.9}$). The day, when 'the promise of his coming' is fulfilled, variously described as *ἡμέρα κρίσεως* (2^{9} 3^{7}), *ἡμέρα κυρίου* (3^{10}), *ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμέρα* (3^{12}), has three aspects—(*α*) In regard to the sinful: To the ungodly it will be a *ἡμέρα . . . ἀπωλείας* (3^{7}, cf. 2^{1} 3^{16}); and of this 'destruction' the overthrow of the Cities of the Plain is the type (2^{6}). The disclosure as to the angels who sinned does not go beyond the simple idea of *κρίσις* (2^{4}); (*β*) In regard to the universe: 'Dissolution' (*τούτων . . . πάντων λυομένων*, 3^{11}) is the destiny of all parts of the material universe. The means of this dissolution will be fire (*πυρὶ τηρούμενοι* 3^{7}, *καυσούμενα* 3^{10}, *πυρούμενοι, καυσούμενα* 3^{12}). (*γ*) In regard to the righteous: The dissolution of 'the heavens and earth that now are' will usher in the fulfilment of the Divine promise of 'new heavens and a new earth.' The spiritual character of the new universe is insisted on—*ἐν οἷς δικαιοσύνη κατοικεῖ* (3^{13}). In an earlier passage of the Epistle (1^{19}), where the meaning and the construction are doubtful, it seems to be implied that that day will be the dawn of such full daylight 'in the hearts' of the faithful that the 'lamp' of prophecy will be no more needed.

4. *THE WRITER OF THE EPISTLE, ITS READERS, THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF ITS COMPOSITION, AS REPRESENTED IN THE EPISTLE ITSELF.*—(1) *The Writer.* The writer speaks as 'Simon (Symeon) Peter, bond-servant and apostle of Jesus Christ.'

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* Compare, *e.g.*, Ign. *Philad.* 9, *τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ σωτῆρος . . . τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἀνάστασιν*; *Apol. Aristidis*, 15; Justin, *Apol.* i. 52; see Lightfoot on Ign. *l.c.*

He refers to two, possibly to three, occasions in his discipleship—(*a*) his presence on the Mount of Transfiguration ($1^{16\mathrm{ff.}}$); (*b*) the Lord's revelation to him in regard to his death (1^{14}); (*c*) the Lord's call of himself and of other disciples (1^{3}). The last reference is doubtful (see above, p. 809). The Epistle does not assert that he had visited those to whom he writes; though it is not unnatural to suppose that this is implied in $1^{12\mathrm{ff.}}$ 3^{2}. But he had written to them one earlier letter (3^{1}), the object of which had been, what the object of the present letter was, viz. to kindle their minds to remember the teachings of the ancient prophets and of the apostles who had instructed them. He calls St. Paul 'our beloved brother,' and he was acquainted with several of his Epistles, and especially with one which that apostle had written to those whom he is now addressing. He himself now writes under a sense that his death is imminent (1^{14}); and he promises that, so long as he lives, he will still remind them of his teaching, and that he will make provision that after his decease they should always be able to call it to mind. Nothing in the letter, it should be added, reveals the place where he writes, his companions, or his plans. (2) *The recipients of the letter.* Unless we assume that the former Epistle referred to in 3^{1} is 1 P, nothing is said in the Epistle to show where its intended recipients dwelt. The two phrases, *τοῖς ἰσότιμον ἡμῖν λαχοῦσιν πίστιν* (1^{1}, cf. Jude ^{3}), and *ἀποφυγόντες τῆς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ φθορᾶς* (1^{4}), make it probable that they were Gentile rather than Jewish converts. But the language is too general to warrant a certain inference. Some at least of the apostles had been among their teachers (3^{2}), and it appears from 1^{12} that they were not recent converts. From their past we turn to their future. The Epistle warns them of the advent among them of certain false teachers. It is an assumption—though it is a probable assumption—that the three passages of the Epistle which speak of false teachers—$2^{1\text{-}22}$, $3^{3\text{-}7}$, 3^{16}—refer to the same persons. Taking this identification for granted, we note the following points in the description of these enemies of the truth: (1) Their life and teaching are such that in effect they deny the rule of Christ and His law (2^{1}); (2) they are themselves immoral, and by life and teaching they infect others ($2^{2.\ 10.\ 12\mathrm{ff.}\ 18\mathrm{f.}}$); (3) they are insubordinate to authority (2^{10}); (4) they are influenced as teachers by greed of gain ($2^{3.\ 12.\ 14}$); (5) as teachers they are plausible and crafty ($2^{3.\ 14.\ 19}$); (6) their teaching is empty rhetoric (2^{18}); (7) they ridicule the idea of Christ's return ($3^{3\mathrm{ff.}}$); (8) they support their false teaching by an unscrupulous appeal to Scripture (3^{16}). Such are the notes of the false teaching which will arise *ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν* (3^{3}).

To this statement of the details as to the writer and recipients of the Epistle, which seem to be implied in the document itself, it will be well to append the views as to the *occasion* of the Epistle and the *circumstances of its composition*, which have been put forward of late years by two critics who have defended its authenticity.

(i.) The chief points which Spitta emphasizes in his elaborate work, *Der zweite Brief des Petrus und der Brief des Judas*, 1885, are as follows:—St. Peter wrote the Epistle late in his life to *Jewish* Christians, to whom both he (3^{1}) and St. Paul (3^{15}) had addressed letters which have not been preserved. He promises to make provision that after his death his friends shall be reminded of his teaching. The Epistle of Jude was accordingly written at a later time for the express purpose of carrying out St. Peter's intention; and in that Epistle there are several direct references (vv.$^{4.\ 5.\ 12}$) to 2 P, while in Jn 17 f. we find words from 2 P 3^{3} quoted as apostolic words. The destination of the Epistle explains its subsequent history. The 'paulinische Einseitigkeit' of our NT Canon is one of many proofs that the early Church was not wont to welcome documents which had Jewish associations.

(ii.) Zahn, *Einleitung* ii. 42–110, 1899, takes the same general line as Spitta, but is somewhat more precise and circumstantial in his reconstruction of the history. St. Peter addressed the Epistle to Churches, mainly Jewish, in Palestine and in the adjacent districts, but not N. or N.W. of the Syrian Antioch. The apostle had long before taken a leading part in their evangelization, and had subsequently written to them a letter now lost. St. Paul also, not improbably during his imprisonment at Cæsarea, had sent them a letter; but this letter, like the letter of St. Peter just mentioned, has not been preserved. One of the chief reasons why St. Peter wrote them this second letter was to warn them against false teachers, whose evil influence he had himself seen at work in *Gentile* Churches. He feared lest the plague should spread to Jewish converts. The apostle then, over and above the exhortations and warnings of the Epistle itself, promises that he will, as long as he lives, remind them of the truths on which he insists, and further, that he will write for them an instruction in doctrine (*Lehrschrift*), that after his death they may have these things ever brought to mind. The *time* of the Epistle must be placed late in St. Peter's life; for (α) he writes as one now growing old; (β) many letters of St. Paul are in existence; (γ) there is a feeling of disappointment abroad that the promise of the Return is unfulfilled; (δ) the first generation of Christians is now dying off. As to the *place* where the Epistle was written, it contains no indication that St. Peter had as yet been in Rome. On the other hand, it is natural to suppose that, when he wrote to them, he was not living in the immediate neighbourhood of his correspondents. Thus it is an obvious conjecture (*a*) that the *place* where the Epistle was written was Antioch; (*b*) that the *time* of its composition was shortly before St. Peter left the East for Rome, where he probably arrived in the autumn of 63; *i.e.* the date falls within the years 60–63. About a dozen years later (*circ.* 75) St. Jude wrote to the same Churches, and (vv.$^{4.\ 17}$) formally quoted 2 P as an apostolic document. As to the later history of 2 P, it is important to emphasize the fact that 1 P and 2 P were written to wholly different groups of Churches. It is quite natural, therefore, that their fate should be different. For a long time Gentile Christians would trouble themselves but little as to an Epistle addressed to Jewish Christians. Hence the comparative obscurity into which 2 P fell.

There is little room for difference of opinion as to *the date of 2 P* among critics who maintain the genuineness of the Epistle, and hold the almost universal opinion that it was written as a sequel to 1 P, the latter Epistle being placed near the end of St. Peter's life. The case, however, is somewhat altered for any who follow B. Weiss and Kühl (see above, p. 782 f.) in their view that 1 P was written about the year 54. Yet these critics do not diverge from the conclusion as to the date of 2 P mentioned just above. On the one hand, Kühl urges that the silence of the Epistle as to the destruction of Jerusalem is a proof that it was written before the year 70. On the other, the fact that St. Peter holds himself henceforth alone responsible for the instruction of those to whom he writes, though he is aware that St. Paul had written to them, points to a time after the death of the latter apostle. The most probable date, therefore, is (according to Kühl) about the middle of the 6th decade.

II. THE QUESTION OF THE GENUINENESS OF THE EPISTLE.—1. *INTEGRITY OF THE EPISTLE.* Before discussing the problem of the genuineness of the Epistle we must clear out of the way the question of its integrity. Are we bound to consider the Epistle as a whole? May not some of the difficulties in regard to its genuineness arise from the fact that the Epistle as it stands has been interpolated? In this matter Kühl has inherited the suspicions of two earlier critics—Bertholdt and Lange. It will be sufficient to examine the case as stated by Kühl. He supposes (1) that the whole of ch. 2 is an interpolation; (2) that in $3^{1f.}$ words have been inserted to facilitate the dovetailing of the interpolated passage into the original letter. In this original document, according to Kühl's theory, the passage about prophecy was succeeded immediately by an exhortation—*ὑμεῖς δέ, ἀγαπητοί, μνήσθητε τῶν προειρημένων ῥημάτων ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν, τοῦτο πρῶτον γινώσκοντες κ.τ.λ.* He is thus enabled to maintain that the Epistle in its original form is older, in its present interpolated form more recent, than Jude. It should be added that the reference in 3^1 to an earlier Epistle, addressed by the same writer to the same readers, likewise disappears. Suspicions as to the integrity of a document, when they are interested, are themselves suspicious. In this case they claim no external support. And the internal evidence of the Epistle is against them. The transition from 1^{21} to $2^{1f.}$ is natural. The thought of ancient prophecy leads to a reference to its parody in the false prophets of old days. If the writer goes on to draw a parallel between the dangers of the past and the dangers which he foresees in the future, the sequence of his thought is quite simple. Again, there cannot be said to be any difference in style between ch. 2 and the rest of the Epistle. Again, if affinities with Jude are most conspicuous in ch. 2, they are not confined to that chapter, and, when examined, they appear to be *borrowings from* Jude as clearly in ch. 1 as in ch. 2 (see art. on JUDE, § 4). Lastly, it will be shown later that the coincidences between 2 P and the *Apocalypse of Peter* are found both in ch. 1 and in ch. 2 of 2 P. Their diffusion cannot but be a weighty argument for the integrity of the Epistle. The suspicions, then, of Kühl and his predecessors in this view must be dismissed as arbitrary and unsupported by external or internal evidence.

2. *RECEPTION IN THE CHURCH.*—The investigation falls under three heads—(1) the alleged use of the language and characteristic thoughts of 2 P in documents (other than Books of NT) belonging to 1st and 2nd centuries; (2) such alleged use of, and references to, 2 P in documents belonging to the period between the beginning of the 3rd century and the time of Eusebius; (3) the evidence of Eusebius and of other writers of the 4th and 5th centuries; the reception of 2 P in the Canon of the Eastern (Greek) and Western Churches, and its rejection in the Syrian Church.

(1) Some of the alleged coincidences will be examined in detail. The rest are dealt with in the general remarks at the end of this section.

(*a*) *Clement of Rome.*—(i.) 'We have Noah and Lot adduced in vii. 5 and xi. 1 similarly to what is done in 2 Peter ii. 5–9' (Warfield in the January number of the *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 1882, p. 53). But in Clement the examples of Noah and Lot do not stand side by side as in 2 P, but are widely separated in a whole series of OT worthies. (ii.) Clem. vii. *ταῦτα, ἀγαπητοί, οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς νουθετοῦντες ἐπιστέλλομεν, ἀλλὰ κ. ἑαυτοὺς ὑπομνήσκοντες* ‖ 2 P 1^{12} 3^1. Beyond the fact that the common Greek word meaning 'remind' occurs in both passages in reference to a letter, there is no resemblance in phraseology or idea. (iii.) Clem. vii. *Νῶε ἐκήρυξεν μετάνοιαν* ‖ 2 P 2^5. Lightfoot, however, shows that Clement probably derived this conception of Noah from the *Sibylline Oracles.* (iv.) Clem. ix. *τοὺς τελείως λειτουργήσαντας τῇ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ* ‖ 2 P 1^{17}. It must, however, be observed that in the LXX the noun (*μεγαλοπρέπεια*) is (especially in the Psalms) a very favourite word, and that the adjective occurs in reference to God, *e.g.* 2 Mac 8^{15} (*τὸ μ. ὄνομα*). The special phrase in question is an echo of the language of the Psalms—20 $(21)^6$ *δόξαν κ. μεγαλοπρέπειαν*, 144 $(145)^{5.\ 12}$ *τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν τῆς δόξης τῆς ἁγιωσύνης σου . . . τὴν δόξαν τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας τῆς βασιλείας σου.* In Clement the adj. is common, being used in reference to the Divine will, gifts, worship, strength, name (ix. xix. xlv. lxi. lxiv.). The impression that in Clement the phrase in question and similar expressions have a liturgical origin (*i.e.* that they are derived from [Greek] synagogue prayers) is confirmed by a reference to the Greek Liturgies, *e.g. Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, ἅγιος εἶ καὶ πανάγιος, καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς ἡ δόξα σου* (Swainson p. 129), *Liturgy of St. James* (Swainson p. 268). (v.) Clem. xxiii. A passage is quoted as Scripture containing the words, 'These things we did hear in the days of our fathers also; and behold we have grown old, and none of these things hath befallen us.' The thought is not dissimilar to 2 P 3^4, but there is no coincidence of expression. Clement probably took the quotation (cf. '2 Clem.' xi.) 'from some spurious prophetic book'; see Lightfoot, *in loc.* (vi.) Clem. xxxv. *ἀκολουθήσωμεν τῇ ὁδῷ τῆς ἀληθείας* ‖ 2 P 2^2. But it must be remembered that the use of *ἡ ὁδός* (*e.g. τῆς ζωῆς, διδαχῆς*, see Harnack on *Did.* 1^1) and the use of *ἡ ἀλήθεια* (*e.g. ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας*) are very common; the combination of the two words therefore is in no way remarkable. (vii.) Clem. xxxiv. *εἰς τὸ μετόχους ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι τῶν μεγάλων κ. ἐνδόξων ἐπαγγελιῶν αὐτοῦ* ‖ 2 P 1^4. But it must be noticed that the phrase has a parallel in an earlier chapter (xix.), *μεγάλων καὶ ἐνδόξων μετειληφότες πράξεων.* Compare also xxvi. *τὸ μεγαλεῖον τῆς ἐπαγγελίας αὐτοῦ.*

(*b*) *The Ancient Homily* ('*2 Clement*') xvi. *ἔρχεται ἤδη ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως ὡς κλίβανος καιόμενος καὶ τακήσονταί τινες [lege αἱ δυνάμεις] τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ὡς μόλιβος ἐπὶ πυρὶ τηκόμενος, καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ κρύφια καὶ φανερὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρώπων* ‖ 2 P $3^{7.\ 10.\ 12}$. The *language* of the earlier part of the extract is largely derived from Mal 4^1, Is 34^4. The *idea* of the conflagration of the world at the judgment was somewhat widely current in the 2nd cent. In the last clause there is in language, idea, and context a certain coincidence with 2 P 3^{10} (*γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα εὑρεθήσεται*), where, however, the reading (see above, p. 796) is very doubtful. The notion, however, of a disclosure of secret things is inseparable from the notion of the judgment; and the language and thought of the Homily are in reality nearer to Ro 2^{16} 1 Co 3^{13} 4^5 than to 2 P 3^{10}. Spitta, *Der Zweite Brief* p. 534 n., notices some other coincidences, of which the most striking are *Hom.* v. (*ἡ δὲ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλη καὶ θαυμαστή ἐστιν*) ‖ 2 P 1^4; *Hom.* ix. (*ἐξ εἰλικρινοῦς καρδίας*) ‖ 2 P 3^1 (but cf. Is 38^3, He 10^{22} *); *Hom.* xiv. (*ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν*) ‖ 2 P 3^3 (a phrase unique in NT but not uncommon in LXX).

(*c*) *Didaché.*—'The passage 3, 6–8,' writes Spitta (p. 534 n.), 'shows a very remarkable kinship with Jude and 2 Peter. We notice the rare expression *γόγγυσος* (cf. Jude ^{16}), and especially the twice repeated *βλασφημία, αὐθάδης* and *τρέμων*, and we compare 2 P 2^{10}.' In *Did.*, however, the *τρέμων* is part of a phrase which clearly comes from Is 66^2. For *αὐθάδης* cf. Pr 21^{24}, Tit 1^7. When the whole chapter of the *Didaché* is read, the idea that we have here a literary link with 2 P vanishes.

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* Comp. Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 35, *ἐν ὁσιότητι καρδίας καὶ εἰλικρινεῖ γνώμῃ.*

(*d*) *Ignatius.*—Spitta points out coincidences between Ignatius and 2 P—*Eph* xi. 1, xii. 2 ‖ 2 P 3^{15}; xiv. 1 ‖ 2 P 1^{15}; *Trall.* xiii. 3 (ἐν ᾧ εὑρεθείημεν ἄμωμοι) ‖ 2 P 3^{14}. The last is the only one in the series which deserves consideration, and about it Spitta himself allows that the phrase of Ign. may very well be 'stereotyp gewordene Wunschformel.'

(*e*) *Barnabas* xv. συνετέλεσεν ἐν ἓξ ἡμέραις. τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι ἐν ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν συντελέσει Κύριος τὰ σύνπαντα. ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ [σημαίνει] χίλια ἔτη. αὐτὸς δέ μοι μαρτυρεῖ λέγων· Ἰδοὺ ἡμέρα Κυρίου ἔσται ὡς χίλια ἔτη ‖ 2 P 3^{8}. In connexion with this passage of Barnabas it will be convenient to bring together and to discuss the whole group of passages which are alleged to be reminiscences of 2 P 3^{8}.

(i.) Justin, *Dial.* 81, τὸ οὖν εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις, ἔφην· κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ ξύλου αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἔσονται, τὰ ἔργα τῶν πόνων αὐτῶν παλαιώσουσι· (Is 65^{22}) νενοήκαμεν ὅτι χίλια ἔτη ἐν μυστηρίῳ μηνύει. ὡς γὰρ τῷ Ἀδὰμ εἴρητο, ὅτι ᾗ δ' ἂν ἡμέρᾳ φάγῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἀποθανεῖται, ἔγνωμεν αὐτὸν μὴ ἀναπληρώσαντα χίλια ἔτη. συνήκαμεν καὶ τὸ εἰρημένον ὅτι Ἡμέρα Κυρίου ὡς χίλια ἔτη εἰς τοῦτο συνάγειν. There then follows a reference to Rev $20^{4ff.}$.

(ii.) Iren. v. 23. 2 (Iren. has given one interpretation of Gn 2^{17} and then proceeds), 'Quidam autem rursus in millesimum annum reuocant mortem Adæ: quoniam enim *dies Domini sicut mille anni*, non superposuit autem mille annos sed intra eos mortuus est.'

(iii.) In v. 28. 3 Irenæus is discussing Gn $2^{1f.}$—'a narrative of the past and a prophecy of the future'—ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα Κυρίου ὡς χίλια ἔτη· ἐν ἓξ οὖν ἡμέραις συντετέλεσται τὰ γεγονότα.

(iv.) In Hipp. *in Dan.* 23. 24 the words—ἡμέρα δὲ (γὰρ) Κυρίου (ὡς) χίλια ἔτη—are adduced in reference to creation.*

There is no doubt that the final source of the saying is Ps 89 (90) ^{4}. But the question remains whether the writers just cited take the phrase directly from 2 P or whether they borrow it from some source independent of 2 P, to which indeed 2 P may well itself be a debtor for it. Three points must be noticed. (1) In all the writers cited above (except 2 P) the form of the phrase consistently is ἡμέρα Κυρίου. (2) In all of them the saying is used in regard to the mystical interpretation of a passage in Gn 2—in Barn., Iren. (v. 28. 3), Hipp. in reference to Gn $2^{1f.}$; in Justin, Iren. (v. 23. 2) in reference to Gn 2^{17}. Thus the context in all these passages is very similar and quite alien from the context in 2 P. (3) That speculations similar to the idea expressed in this saying were current in Rabbinical literature is clear from Schöttgen and Wetstein on 2 P 3^{8}, and from Schöttgen, *Horæ Heb.* ii. p. 497. And this evidence as to Jewish thought on the matter is carried back into the 1st cent. A.D. (Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. p. 138 f.) by a passage in the Book of Jubilees (sometimes called the 'Little Genesis'), referred to by Hilgenfeld on Barn. xv., which (see *Jahrb. f. bibl. Wiss.* ii. p. 241) runs as follows: 'And [Adam] lived 70 years less than 1000 years; for *a thousand years are as one day* according to the heavenly testimony. Therefore it is written concerning the tree of knowledge, "On the day when ye eat thereof, ye shall die." Wherefore he fulfilled not the years of that day, but died therein.' The subject, it will be observed, is the same as that in relation to which Justin and Iren. (v. 23. 2) adduce the saying. The evidence, then, seems clearly to point to the conclusion that the source of the interpretation of a thousand years as 'a day of the Lord' was Jewish, probably a Haggada concerned with Gn 2. The saying became something of a commonplace in the Christian literature of the 2nd cent., and was used by the Fathers, cited above, in a sense more cognate to its Jewish origin than that in which it is found in 2 Peter.

(*f*) *The Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs.*—The parallels in this book 'render it probable,' says Warfield p. 52, 'that the author had and used 2 Peter.' 'They are such,' he continues, 'as the very rare phrase μιασμοῖς [Oxford MS—μιάσμασι] τῆς γῆς in Benj. 8, cf. 2 P 2^{20}—a phrase found in 2 Peter only in the NT, and in the *Test. XII. Patt.* only in its age; the rare phrase τοῦ πλάττειν λόγους in Reuben 3, which seems to have been suggested by 2 P 2^{3}; the use of τηρεῖν in Reuben 5, just as it is used in 2 P 2^{9}.' As to the first of these alleged coincidences it must be noticed (1) that the word μιασμός is found in Wis 14^{26}, 1 Mac 4^{43}, and occurs elsewhere in the *Testaments*, viz. in Levi 17; (2) that it has been already used in the immediately preceding context (οὐ γὰρ ἔχει μ. ἐν καρδίᾳ); (3) that the special phrase (τῆς γῆς) is suggested by the metaphor of the sentence (ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος οὐ μιαίνεται προσέχων ἐπὶ κόπρον . . . οὕτω καὶ ὁ καθαρὸς νοῦς ἐν τοῖς μιασμοῖς τῆς γῆς συνεχόμενος κ.τ.λ.). The phrase πλάττειν λόγους is used in Demosthenes and other classical writers. In regard to the last of the three coincidences it must be sufficient to refer to Jude ^{6}, *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* 7^{1} 18^{4}; similar phrases are common in the Enochian literature (see art. on JUDE, vol. ii. p. 801).

(*g*) The *Shepherd of Hermas.*—Zahn (*der Hirt des Hermas* p. 431) and Warfield (p. 51) have collected a number of passages in the *Shepherd* which they suppose to contain reminiscences of 2 P. It must be sufficient to examine three of the passages on which special stress is laid. (i.) *Vis.* i. 3. 4, τῷ ἰσχυρῷ ῥήματι πήξας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ θεμελιώσας τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ ὑδάτων ‖ 2 P 3^{5}. In reality, however, the passage is an echo of passages in the OT, Ps 23 (24) ^{2} 103 (104) $^{5f.}$ 135 (136) ^{6} ($\aleph^{c.a}$ AT), Is 40^{22}, and has no points of contact with the language of 2 P. (ii.) *Sim.* viii. 11, ὁ Κύριος ἔπεμψέ με σπλαγχνισθεὶς πᾶσι δοῦναι τὴν μετάνοιαν καίπερ τινῶν μὴ ὄντων ἀξίων διὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν· ἀλλὰ μακρόθυμος ὢν ὁ Κύριος θέλει κ.τ.λ. ‖ 2 P 3^{9}. Zahn urges that of the many passages in Hermas which deal with repentance, this alone connects it with the Divine μακροθυμία and emphasizes the universality of the gift. But it must be observed (α) that the πᾶσιν is taken up from the immediately preceding context, ὕπαγε καὶ πᾶσι λέγε ἵνα μετανοήσωσι; (β) that the passage has quite as much affinity with Ac $17^{30f.}$ Ro 2^{4} as with 2 P 3^{9}. (iii.) *Sim.* vi. 4. 4, τῆς τρυφῆς καὶ ἀπάτης ὁ χρόνος ὥρα ἐστὶ μία . . . ἐὰν οὖν μίαν ἡμέραν τρυφήσῃ τις καὶ ἀπατηθῇ κ.τ.λ. ‖ 2 P 2^{13}. But it will be noticed (α) that the μίαν ἡμέραν of Hermas points to the riot as shortlived, the ἐν ἡμέρᾳ of 2 P points to it as shameless—'in broad daylight'; (β) that both τρυφή and ἀπάτη are favourite words with Hermas. As to the former, the desire ποικίλων τρυφῶν is a sign of the presence of 'the angel of evil' in a man (*Mand.* vi. 2. 5). Again, ἀπάτη in *Mand.* viii. 5 has a place among the 'evil works' from which 'the bondservant of God must abstain.' Having been thus spoken of *separately*, they are joined together in a long description of 'the man who *thinks* that he has the spirit' (*Mand.* xi. 12), and they reappear separately and side by side throughout the *Sixth Parable.* Their occurrence, therefore, in Hermas appears to be quite independent of 2 P. Other coincidences are *Vis.* iii. 7. 1 ‖ 2 P 2^{15}; *Vis.* iv. 3. 4 ‖ 2 P 2^{20}; *Sim.* v. 6. 8, 7. 1, viii. 11. 1, ix. 13. 9 ‖ 2 P 1^{20} (but the use of ἐπίλυσις in regard to the parables is quite obvious); *Sim.* vi. 2. 2 ‖ 2 P 2^{12}

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* Compare Hippolytus, 'Heads against Caius,' in *Hermathena* vii. p. 403 f. (cf. pp. 406, 418), 'The number of the years is not the number of days, but it represents the space of one day . . . according to the saying, One day in the world of the righteous is as a thousand years.'

(but *καταφθορά* is common in the LXX); *Sim.* vi. 2. 6 ‖ 2 P 2^{20} (but in Hermas *ἐμπλέξαι* is the natural word to use of sheep entangled in thorns, etc.); *Sim.* ix. 17. 5, 18. 1 ‖ 2 P 2^{21} (but cf. Gal $4^{8f.}$). When, then, the passages in Hermas are examined, the conclusion is that they are interesting as illustrations of the passages in 2 P, but give no probability to a theory of literary dependence.

(*h*) *Justin, Dial.* 82, 'For with us even until now are there prophetic gifts, whereby you also yourselves [*i.e.* you Jews] should know that the things which of old belonged to your nation have now been transferred to us. But as there were withal false prophets in the time of the holy prophets who arose among you, so also in the present day are there many *false teachers* (*ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι*) also, of whom our Lord forewarned us to beware.' 'But where,' Warfield asks (p. 51 f.), 'can this forewarning be found? Does it exist anywhere but in 2 P 2^{1} (cf. 1^{21}). . . . It is exceedingly difficult to see how there can be any reasonable doubt but that these passages are drawn from 2 Peter. And if so, it is noticeable that Justin refers to 2 Peter with respect, as Scripture, as, practically, the words of our Lord—in a word, as an authoritative book giving the Lord's teaching.' To Warfield's question as to the source of this warning Justin himself supplies a decisive answer. After a few words on our Lord's foreknowledge, Justin continues, '*For He said* that we should be murdered and hated for His name's sake, and that many false prophets and false Christs should come (*παρελεύσονται*) in His name and lead many astray; and this *is* the case.' The reference, therefore, plainly is to Mt $24^{5.\ 9.\ 11.\ 24}$. There are apparently only two reasons which can be pleaded as grounds for hesitation. (1) The word *ψευδοδιδάσκαλος* does not occur in the report of our Lord's words in Mt, or indeed anywhere in the NT except in 2 P. But in Christian circles, where the words *ψευδάδελφος, ψευδαπόστολος, ψευδολόγος, ψευδομάρτυς, ψευδοπροφήτης, ψευδόχριστος* were all current (all occurring in NT), and where a *διδάσκαλος* was closely allied to a *προφήτης*, the word *ψευδοδιδάσκαλος* was sure to arise, and its occurrence in two writers cannot be taken to imply literary obligation. In *Ep. Polyc.* 7 we find *τὰς ψευδοδιδασκαλίας*, and in *Didaché* $13^{1.\ 2}$ *διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός* appears as well as *προφήτης ἀληθινός*—a phrase which implies *ψευδοδιδάσκαλος*. (2) A parallel is drawn in Justin, as in 2 P, between the false teachers in the Christian Church and the false prophets in Israel. But it will be observed (α) that the comparison is very natural in a discussion of the presence of prophetic gifts in the Church; (β) that Justin does not speak of it as part of the warning for which he quotes the Lord's authority. There is a similarity between the passage in 2 P and that in Justin, but it justifies no other conclusion in the case of Justin than that which we reached in the case of Hermas.

(*i*) *Melito.*—A passage is quoted from a fragment of Melito's *Apology*, which has been preserved in a Syriac translation (Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, p. 50 f.), of which the principal clauses are as follows: 'There was once a flood and wind, and the chosen men were destroyed by a mighty north wind . . . but, again, at another time there was a flood of waters, and all men and living creatures were destroyed by the multitude of waters, and the just were preserved in an ark of wood, by the ordinance of God. So also it will be at the last time; there shall be a flood of fire, and the earth shall be burnt up together with its mountains, and men shall be burnt up together with the idols which they have made . . . and the sea, together with its isles, shall be burnt; and the just shall be delivered from the fury, like their fellows in the ark from the waters of the Deluge.' It should be noticed that earlier in the fragment (p. 50) there had been an allusion to the judgment of fire: 'Fear Him who shaketh the earth . . . and removeth the mountains from their place; Him who can make Himself like fire, and burn up everything.' Further, it will be observed (α) that Melito refers not only to the Flood and the great judgment by fire, but also to the destruction of the Tower of Babel; and (β) that the destruction of the Tower has a place in the *Sibylline Oracles* iii. 97 ff., while in the immediately preceding context (iii. 82 ff.) there is a prophecy of the destruction of the world by fire. In line 109 there is an incidental allusion to the Flood, a subject which is treated at length in bk. i., the early date, however, of this book not being so fully established as that of bk. iii. (Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. p. 287). There are no links of phraseology or of characteristic ideas which connect Melito with 2 P. The verdict, therefore, of Westcott (*Canon* p. 223 n.) seems to be the only reasonable one: 'It is impossible therefore to affirm that the reference in Melito is to 2 Peter, and not rather to the Sibyllines or to the widespread tradition on which they rested.'

(*k*) *Theophilus of Antioch.*—Two passages have been pointed out in Theophilus *ad Autolychum*, which, it is urged, have all the appearance of being reminiscences of 2 P. (i.) ii. 9, *οἱ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι, πνευματοφόροι* πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ προφῆται γενόμενοι κ.τ.λ.* Compare 2 P 1^{21} *ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι ἐλάλησαν ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι* (*οἱ ἅγιοι θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι*, ℵA, etc.). But it must be noticed that the key-word of the passage (*πνευματοφόρος*) is derived from the LXX of Hos 9^{7} (*ὁ προφήτης . . . ὁ πνευματοφόρος*), Zeph 3^{4}; that Theophilus uses the word in the sense of 'an inspired speaker' in ii. 22 (*αἱ ἅγιαι γραφαὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ πνευματοφόροι*), iii. 12 (*διὰ τὸ τοὺς πάντας πνευματοφόρους ἑνὶ πνεύματι θεοῦ λελαληκέναι*); that language similar to that under discussion is habitual in Theophilus; see ii. 33, 35, iii. 17, cf. Justin, *Apol.* i. 33; and, lastly, that the phrase 'man of God' is very common in the OT (occurring some 50 times) in reference to a prophet. Thus a reference to other passages in Theophilus shows that here he is using LXX language in reference to the Prophets. (ii.) ii. 13. In his treatment of the Divine command, 'Let there be light,' Theophilus observes, *ἡ διάταξις οὖν τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦτό ἐστιν ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ, φαίνων ὥσπερ λύχνος ἐν οἰκήματι συνεχομένῳ, ἐφώτισεν τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανόν.* The metaphor is thought to be derived from 2 P 1^{19}. But the word *οἴκημα* is suggested by the previous context—*ἄνθρωπος γὰρ κάτω ὢν ἄρχεται ἐκ τῆς γῆς οἰκοδομεῖν*—the human building is contrasted with the Divine. The metaphor of the *λύχνος* is obviously suggested by the subject under discussion—the light kindled by man is contrasted with the light kindled by God. If it is thought necessary to find a 'source' for a metaphor so obvious in the context, 2 Es 12^{42} ('Tu enim nobis superasti ex omnibus prophetis, sicut *lucerna in loco obscuro*') is as near to Theoph. as is 2 P.

(*l*) *Irenæus.*—We have already dealt with two passages in this writer (p. 800). In two other passages he has been supposed to be relying on 2 P. (i.) iii. 1. 1, *μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων* [*sc.* Petri et Pauli] *ἔξοδον* ‖ 2 P 1^{15}. But that *ἔξοδος* (*exitus*) was not an uncommon word in this sense in early Christian literature has been pointed out on p. 770. (ii.) 'We come in the fourth book' (xxxvi. 4), Warfield writes (p. 49), 'to another passage in which [Irenæus] adduces Noah, then Sodom and Gomorrah, and Lot, to show that God will punish the wicked and save the holy. Our minds go immediately to 2 Peter ii. 4–7, whence the framing of this passage seems to have been derived.' Here, too, it is important to look at the previous context. The object of the chapter is to show that Christ came from the Father, who had sent the prophets in earlier days. Irenæus proves, therefore, from Christ's sayings the unity of God's character in the old and in the new dispensation. In the course of the argument he quotes Lk $21^{34f.}$ $12^{35f.}$ 17^{26-31} (Noah, Lot, Sodom), Mt 24^{43}. He then draws the inference, 'Unum et eundem annuntians Dominum, qui in temporibus Noe propter inobedientiam hominum superduxit diluuium, et in temporibus Lot propter multitudinem peccatorum Sodomitarum pluit ignem a cœlo; et in nouissimo . . . superducet diem iudicii.' There then follows the passage to which Warfield refers, the 'framing' and the ideas of which are clearly drawn from the passage just quoted from the Gospels.

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* The word is printed here as it appears in Otto's ed. of Theophilus and in the Cambridge LXX. But it is possible that it should be accented as a passive, *πνευματόφορος*. See Lightfoot's note on Ignatius *Eph.* i.

(*m*) There are one or two passages from heretical documents belonging (in their original form) probably to the 2nd cent. which must be examined. The first of these is a phrase of Ptolemæus, a follower of Valentinus, still living when Irenæus wrote. Zahn (*Gesch. Kan.* i. p. 759) compares a phrase of this writer's, preserved by Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxxiii. 6)—παρούσης δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας, with 2 P 1^{12}. But the context in Ptolemæus (i.) shows that the word ἀλήθεια is used in different senses in the two passages, and (ii.) itself naturally accounts for the use of the phrase. It runs thus: αἱ γὰρ εἰκόνες . . . καλῶς ἐγίνοντο μέχρι μὴ παρῆν ἀλήθεια. παρούσης δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας δεῖ ποιεῖν.

(*n*) *The Clementine Literature.*—(i.) *Recog.* v. 12, 'Unusquisque illius fit seruus cui se ipse subjecerit' ‖ 2 P 2^{19}. Salmon (*Introd.* p. 488) compares Origen, *In Exod. Hom.* 12, 'Unusquisque a quo uincitur huic et seruus addicitur.' Both passages occur in a translation by Rufinus, and may therefore be interpolations. Salmon, however, points out that 'the difference of the Latin makes it likely that in both cases Rufinus is translating, not interpolating.' But it is equally possible that Rufinus, translating two different books at two different times, interpolated different free renderings of 2 P 2^{19}. The question whether Rufinus did interpolate when he was translating will come before us again in connexion with Origen. (ii.) *Hom.* xvi. 20. Salmon (p. 488 n.) calls attention to the words ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον μακροθυμεῖ, εἰς μετάνοιαν καλεῖ. In these words, 'taken in connexion with the whole context, there is very probably a use of 2 Pet. iii. 9.' In the context Peter speaks of the blasphemies of Simon Magus and of 'the boundless long-suffering of God.' The earth had not opened; fire had not come down from heaven; rain was not poured out; beasts were not sent forth from the thicket to avenge this spiritual adultery. 'But, on the contrary, He is long-suffering; He calls to repentance.' It is difficult to see what there is in the context which specially recalls 2 P, while the particular phrase is nearer to Ro 2^{4} (τῆς μακροθυμίας καταφρονεῖς . . . τὸ χρηστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς μετάνοιάν σε ἄγει) than to 2 P 3^{9}, though, in fact, it is too natural and obvious to require any literary source.

(*o*) *Actus Petri cum Simone* xx. (ed. Lipsius p. 67) 'Unusquisque enim nostrum sicut capiebat uidere, prout poterat uidebat. Nunc quod uobis lectum est iam uobis exponam. Dominus noster uolens me *maiestatem suam* uidere *in monte sancto*, uidens autem luminis splendorem eius cum filiis Zebedei, cæcidi tamquam mortuus et oculos meos conclusi et *uocem* eius audiui *talem qualem referre non possum*, qui me putaui exorbatum ab splendore eius . . . et exurgens iterum *talem eum uidi qualem* capere potui.' A phrase in the next chapter (ed. Lipsius pp. 68, 32) must be compared, 'tale lumen . . . quod enarrare nemo hominum possit.' The Gnostic *Acts of Peter*, of which this document forms part, belong in all probability to the 2nd cent. (see above, p. 774). The only authority, however, for this particular document is a 7th cent. MS, presenting a Latin version of the original Greek. Can we be certain, then, that the whole passage quoted above is not interpolated by some editor or translator? It was shown above (p. 774) that the Gnostic *Acts of Peter* probably formed part of the series of Leucian *Acts*, to which the *Acts of John* also belong. Now in the *Acts of John* (James, *Apocr. Anecdota* ii. p. 7) there is a long account of the Transfiguration, and this account contains a phrase (as James, p. xxvi, notes) of the same type as phrases which occur several times in the Petrine *Acts* at this point—φῶς τοιοῦτον ὁποῖον οὐκ ἔστιν δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ χρώμενον (*lege* χρωμένῳ) λόγῳ φθαρτῷ ἐκφέρειν οἷον ἦν. It seems to be a legitimate inference that there is every probability that the Leucian *Acts of Peter*, like the Leucian *Acts of John*, contained (*i.e.* in their original form) a reference to the Transfiguration, and that the Latin version reproduces characteristic phrases of the original. Now there are three coincidences with 2 P in the Latin passage of the Petrine *Acts* quoted above—(i.) 'maiestatem suam uidere'; (ii.) 'in monte sancto'; (iii.) 'uocem eius talem.' Of these the last has strong claims to be considered a phrase of the original Leucian *Acts*; it seems at first sight a complete parallel to the φωνῆς τοιᾶσδε of 2 P 1^{17}; but in 2 P the 'voice' is the Father's 'voice,' in the *Acts* it is the utterance of the Son; and again, in 2 P the τοιᾶσδε introduces the actual words, while in the *Acts* the 'talem' is followed by a 'qualem.' Thus the parallel, when examined, is less striking than on the surface it appears. Of (i.) (ii.) it can only be said, that if we could be certain that these phrases represented corresponding expressions in the original Leucian *Acts*, the conclusion would be irresistible that there is some direct connexion between the Petrine *Acts* and 2 P. But we have no right to *assume* that these phrases are not due to an editor or translator, and consequently it would be lost labour to speculate on the kind of connexion between the two documents which, if original, they would imply. Clearly this is an important point in relation to the problem of 2 P on which fresh light would be very welcome.

We have now reviewed the passages in the sub-Apostolic writings and in the Christian literature of the 2nd century, which, it is alleged, contain reminiscences of 2 P. If we put aside the passage from the Clementine *Recognitions* and that from the *Acts of Peter* as open to the suspicion of not accurately representing the original texts, there does not remain, it is believed, a single passage in which the coincidence with 2 P can with anything approaching confidence be said to imply literary obligation to that Epistle. The resemblances in thought or phrase are such as are constantly found in quite independent specimens of literature, when they belong to the same general period and deal with the same general subject.

(2) It will be convenient to range the authorities which claim discussion in the next period under the several Churches.

(i.) *Alexandria.*—(*a*) *Clement.* Did Clement in the *Hypotyposeis* comment on 2 P? The statement of Eusebius, *HE* VI. xiv. 1, runs thus: 'In the *Hypotyposeis*, to speak briefly, he has composed concise expositions of all Canonical (ἐνδιαθήκου) Scripture, not omitting even the disputed (Epistles), I mean that of Jude and the remaining Catholic Epistles, as well as (τε) Barnabas and the so-called Apocalypse of Peter.' This evidence is confirmed by that of Photius (*Biblioth.*

109), who speaks of the *Hypotyposeis* as 'giving interpretations of Genesis, Exodus, the Psalms, the Epistles of St. Paul, the Catholic Epistles, and Ecclesiasticus (*τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ*).' The last phrase is probably a scribe's blunder for *τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν*; compare Rufinus, *in Symb. Apost.* 38, 'alii libri sunt, qui non canonici sed ecclesiastici a maioribus appellati sunt.' If this be so, Photius has in mind the non-Canonical books mentioned by Eusebius. On the other side must be set two pieces of evidence. (*a*) Cassiodorus (*de Instit. Div.*) in a passage of the Preface asserts that 'it is said (*ferunt*) that Clement expounded the Divine Scriptures of the Old and of the New Testament from the beginning to the end.' But in a later passage (c. 8) of the same book he limits the scope of Clement's work, 'In epistolis autem canonicis Clemens Alexandrinus . . . id est in epistola S. Petri prima, S. Joannis prima et secunda, et Jacobi, quædam Attico sermone declarauit.' (*β*) Cassiodorus goes on to speak of a translation which he had made of Clement's expositions, but in which he omitted doctrinal statements which offended him. It is probable, on the whole, that the Latin version of Clement's expositions which we now possess is that of Cassiodorus. This Latin version includes expositions of 1 P, Jude, 1 Jn, 2 Jn. It will be seen that this series of Epistles corresponds with the list given by Cassiodorus, if in the latter we suppose that James was substituted by a mistake for Jude. We have, then, two conflicting views—one (based on the evidence of Eus., Photius, and the Preface of Cassiodorus) to the effect that Clement commented on all the Catholic Epistles; the other (supported by Cassiodorus' statement in the body of his work, and by the extant Latin version of Clement's commentaries) to the effect that Clement commented on *four* of the Catholic Epistles, 2 P not having a place among those four. The reconciliation of these two contradictory conclusions, so far as 2 P at least is concerned, may be found in the supposition that Clement did comment on 2 P, but that in his work it had a place by the side, not of 1 P but of the *Apocalypse of Peter*,* which Clement quotes as the work of Peter and as Scripture (*Eclogæ ex Scriptt. Proph.* xli. xlviii. xlix.). In that case Cassiodorus might well exclude Clement's comments on 2 P from his avowedly eclectic version; or they may have had no place in his copy of Clement. It is an important fact that no passage can be adduced from Clement's works in which 2 P is referred to, still less any in which it is quoted by name. Thus the evidence, which cannot be considered as altogether free from doubt, points to the conclusion that Clement regarded 2 P as a book hovering, like the *Apocalypse of Peter*, on the borders of the number of the books definitely recognized as Apostolic, but that he did not place it on a level with 1 P. (*b*) *Origen*. The first absolutely incontrovertible reference in Christian literature to 2 P is found in the words of Origen reported by Eus. *HE* VI. xxv. 8, *Πέτρος δέ . . . μίαν ἐπιστολὴν ὁμολογουμένην καταλέλοιπεν, ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν· ἀμφιβάλλεται γάρ*. No other passage is quoted from any of Origen's works now extant in the original Greek in which he quotes from, or alludes to, 2 P. There are, however, several passages in *Rufinus' translation* of certain works of Origen, not extant in Greek, where 2 P is used. They are as follows. *In Ep. ad Rom.* iv. 9 (ed. Lomm. vi. p. 302), 'ad participationem capiendam diuinæ naturæ, sicut Petrus Apostolus edocuit' (2 P 1^{4}); *ib.* viii. 6 (vii. p. 234), 'Petrus in epistola sua dicit Gratia uobis et pax multiplicetur in recognitione Dei; et iterum alibi Ut boni dispensatores multiplicis gratiæ Dei' (2 P 1^{2}, 1 P 4^{10}); *in Exod.* xii. 4 (ix. p. 149), 'Scio enim scriptum esse, quia unusquisque a quo uincitur huic et seruus addicitur' (2 P 2^{19}); *in Levit.* iv. 4 (ix. p. 221), 'Et iterum Petrus dicit Consortes, inquit, facti estis divinæ naturæ' (2 P 1^{4}); *in Num.* xiii. 8 (x. p. 157), 'Et ut ait quodam in loco Scriptura Mutum animal humana voce respondens arguit prophetæ dementiam' (2 P 2^{16}); *in Lib. Jesu Naue* vii. 1 (xi. p. 63), 'Petrus etiam duabus epistolarum suarum personat tubis.' Compare the allusions in the two following passages—*in Num.* xviii. 4 (x. p. 228), 'Consuetudinem propheticam . . . de qua dicitur Omnis prophetia non potest propria absolutione constare' (2 P 1^{20}); *in Ezech.* v. 3 (xiv. p. 74), 'Multo nobis utilius fuerat diuino non credidisse sermoni, quam post credulitatem adhuc rursum ad peccata conuerti, quæ ante commisimus' (2 P 2^{21}). The question remains—Are these references to, and quotations from, 2 P part of the original text of Origen, or insertions by Rufinus? (1) It is a fact worth noticing, that while it would have been consonant with Eusebius' plan (*HE* III. iii. *τίνες τῶν κατὰ χρόνους ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων ὁποίαις κέχρηνται τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων*) to record the use which Origen made of the Epistle, had he found in the Greek text of Origen the passages given above from the Latin translation, he does not notice their existence. (2) It would not have been against the probabilities of the case if no reference to 2 P had occurred in the extant Greek works of Origen, and yet a single allusion or so had been made to that Epistle in a work which chanced to survive only in a Latin translation. But it is certainly strange that not one reference is to be found in the works of Origen extant in Greek, but that half a dozen present themselves in those works of Origen which exist only in Rufinus' Latin. The idea of *θεοποίησις*, for example, is a characteristic thought with Origen (as indeed it is with Clement). We are surprised that twice in the works which are preserved to us in Rufinus' translation Origen illustrates the idea from 2 P, while in his other works he never does so. Thus the number of references to 2 P in Rufinus' translation creates a suspicion as to their genuineness. (3) Each of these references to, or quotations from, 2 P can, it is believed, be cut out without injury to the context.* But whatever be the truth as to the references to 2 P found in those works of Origen which have reached us only through the medium of Rufinus' translation, the deliberate statement of Origen as to 2 P remains. The phrase *ἀμφιβάλλεται γάρ* clearly conveys, not an opinion of Origen's, but information as to the division of opinion in his time; it may further be thought to suggest that 2 P had already *secured a position*, which was assailed. The words of the previous clause—*ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν*—leave us in little doubt that Origen's judgment was unfavourable to the Epistle.

(ii.) *Egypt.*—The two great Egyptian versions, the Sahidic and the Bohairic, contain all the seven Catholic Epistles. The date of these versions, however, has not been put beyond doubt. Lightfoot placed 'the completion or codification of the Memphitic [*i.e.* Bohairic] version' at the middle of the 3rd cent. (Scrivener, *Plain Introduction* ^{3} p. 343). Headlam, in his completion of Lightfoot's article

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* Zahn (*Forsch.* iii. p. 154) suggests that in view of its prophetic contents Clement connected 2 P with the Petrine *Apocalypse*.

* In one passage referred to above—'Petrus in epistola sua dicit Gratia uobis et pax multiplicetur in recognitione Dei: et iterum alibi Ut boni dispensatores multiplicis gratiæ Dei' (Lomm. vii. p. 234)—there seems to be some *positive* evidence for the theory of interpolation. It would be most unnatural for Origen to refer to 2 P with the words *in epistola sua*; to quote the salutation of 2 P, which only differs from that of 1 P by an immaterial addition (*in recognitione Dei*); and then to add a quotation from 1 P, introducing it with the phrase *et iterum alibi*.

(in the fourth edition of Scrivener, ii. p. 104 f.), holds that 'it has been sufficiently proved that translations into Coptic existed in the 3rd cent., very probably in the 2nd.' F. Robinson (art. on EGYPTIAN VERSIONS in vol. i. p. 670 ff.) urges that such conclusions are in danger of outrunning the evidence, and that 'historical evidence, on the whole, points to the 3rd cent. as the period when the first Coptic translation was made.' The investigation desiderated by Westcott (*Canon* p. 370), *i.e.* 'how far an older work underlies the printed text, and whether that can be attributed to one author,' has not yet been accomplished. We must therefore acquiesce in his verdict as to the Bohairic version, a verdict which is even more applicable to the Sahidic—'till this has been determined, no stress can be laid upon the evidence which the version affords for the disputed Cath. Epp.'

(iii.) *Carthage.*—There is no evidence that Tertullian or Cyprian was acquainted with 2 P.

(iv.) *Asia Minor.*—(*a*) In a letter to Cyprian (Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxv. 6), Firmilian, bp. of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, writes: 'Stephanus . . . adhuc etiam infamans Petrum et Paulum beatos apostolos . . . qui in epistolis suis hæreticos execrati sunt et ut eos euitemus monuerunt.' The reference, it would seem, must be to 2 P, since 1 P contains no indictment of heretics. (*b*) Methodius, bp. of Olympus and afterwards of Patara, who appears to have suffered in the Diocletian persecution. Zahn (*Gesch. Kan.* I. i. p. 313) points out some passages in the treatise *de Resurrectione*, in which he thinks that this writer alludes to 2 P 3^10-13^. They are as follows:—*ἐκπυρωθήσεται μὲν γὰρ πρὸς κάθαρσιν καὶ ἀνακαινισμὸν καταβασίῳ πᾶς κατακλυζόμενος ὁ κόσμος πυρί, οὐ μὴν εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἐλεύσεται παντελῆ καὶ φθοράν . . . διὸ ἀνάγκη δὴ καὶ τὴν γῆν αὖθις καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐκφλόγωσιν ἔσεσθαι πάντων καὶ τὸν βρασμόν* (ed. Jahn p. 78); and again, *ἵνα γινώσκωμεν εὐδηλότερον ὅτι πάντων πυρὶ καταβασίῳ κατομβρουμένων τὰ ἐν ἁγνείᾳ σώματα καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ διαπρέψαντα καθάπερ ψυχρῷ ὕδατι τῷ πυρί, οὐδὲν ἀλγυνόμενα πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἐπιβήσονται* (p. 94). But the words of Methodius do not contain any phrases borrowed from 2 P, and may well be speculations on the *ἐκπύρωσις* independent of that Epistle. There is, however, a fragment from the same treatise (Pitra, *Anal. Sacra* iii. p. 611) which explicitly quotes 2 P 3^8^—*χίλια δὲ ἔτη τῆς βασιλείας ὠνόμασεν τὸν ἀπέραντον αἰῶνα διὰ τῆς χιλιάδος δηλῶν· γέγραφεν γὰρ ὁ ἀπόστολος Πέτρος ὅτι μία ἡμέρα παρὰ Κυρίῳ ὡς χίλια ἔτη καὶ χίλια ἔτη ὡς ἡμέρα μία.* In this connexion the evidence of the Dialogue which passes under the name of Adamantius should be noticed. In this work, which was probably written in the later years of Constantine, large use is made of the works of Methodius (Hort in *Dict. Christ. Biog.* i. p. 39 f.), and 2 P is quoted in it. In one passage (§ 2, p. 58 ed. Wetstein) the orthodox interlocutor helps his Marcionite opponent out of a difficulty as to St. Paul's authority by adducing Ac 9^15f.^ and 2 P 3^15^ (*τῇ δὲ ὑπὸ Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου γεγραμμένον*). In another passage (§ 1, p. 41), it should be added, words (*ἕκαστος ᾧ ἥττηται τούτῳ καὶ δεδούλωται*) very near to those of 2 P 2^19^ are appealed to as 'the common proverb' (*ὁ ἔξωθεν λόγος*).

(v.) *Rome.*—(*a*) *Murat. Canon.* 2 P is not mentioned in the text of the fragment as it stands. Zahn (*Gesch. Kan.* II. i. p. 110 n.), however, conjectures that in one passage some words have slipped out, and he would restore it thus: 'Apocalypsin etiam Johannis et Petri [unam] tantum recipimus [epistulam; fertur etiam altera], quam quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt.' For the language cf. Eus. *HE* III. iii. 4. The suggestion appears a probable one, but without further evidence it must remain a conjecture. (*b*) *Hippolytus.* The following passages claim attention:—*Refut. Hær.* ix. 7, *οἳ πρὸς μὲν ὥραν αἰδούμενοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας συναγόμενοι ὡμολόγουν μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν βόρβορον ἀνεκυλίοντο* (2 P 2^22^); *in Dan.* iii. 22, *ᾧ γὰρ ἄν τις ὑποταγῇ τούτῳ καὶ δεδούλωται* (2 P 2^19^); *ib.* iv. 10, *εἰ γὰρ καὶ νῦν βραδύνει πρὸ καιροῦ, μὴ θέλων τὴν κρίσιν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐπενεγκεῖν* (2 P 3^8^ 2^5^); *ib.* iv. 16, *μήποτε . . . ἀπονυστάξαντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐκπέσωσιν τῆς ἐπουρανίου ζωῆς*; *ib.* iv. 60, *ἵνα μὴ . . . ἀπονυστάξαντες ἐκπέσωμεν τῆς αἰδίου ζωῆς* (2 P 3^17^). These coincidences are not such as to produce conviction.* The first two, which are not the least striking of the series, are of the nature of proverbs, and it is rash to infer literary indebtedness from the common use of such expressions. The use of *ἐκπεσεῖν* in the last two passages is not in itself specially remarkable (cf. *e.g.* Gal 5^4^, *Epist. ap.* Eus. *HE* VII. xxx. 13; *Can. Petri Alex.* 8, 10, 11 (Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iv. p. 31 ff.)). Taken together, however, these passages in Hippolytus give the impression that he was acquainted with 2 P.

(vi.) *The division of sections in Codex B.*—In this MS there are two divisions of sections, one older than the other. This double division is carried on through the Catholic Epistles with the exception of one Epistle. In 2 P (standing between 1 P and 1 Jn) the older divisions are wanting (Gregory, *Proleg.* i. pp. 156, 359). The conclusion is inevitable that the ancestor of Codex B, to which these divisions were first attached, did not contain 2 P.

(vii.) *Old Latin Texts.*—That there were pre-Hieronymian Latin translations of 2 P (see above, p. 796) is clear. But the fragments which remain indicate that these translations belonged to the later 'Italian' type of text; nor is there any evidence that others of earlier date ever existed. This view, in regard to the absence of 2 P from older Latin translations of the Catholic Epistles, is confirmed by the fact to which Westcott (*Canon* p. 263 ff.) calls attention, 'It appears that the Latin text of the Epistle [in the Vulgate] not only exhibits constant and remarkable differences from the text of other parts of the Vulgate, but also differs from the first Epistle in the rendering of words common to both; . . . it further appears that it differs not less clearly from the Epistle of St. Jude (which was received in the African Church) in those parts which are almost identical in the Greek.' 'The supposition,' he adds, 'that it was admitted into the Canon at the same time with them becomes at once unnatural.'

To sum up the evidence of the 3rd cent.: 2 P was *probably* commented on by Clement, but regarded as the companion, not of 1 P but of the *Apocalypse of Peter*; it is not, however, quoted in his extant works. Origen certainly knew of the Epistle as accepted by some, but rejected by others; it is probable that he himself did not use it. It was received into the Canon by the Egyptian Churches, but the time of its reception we do not know. It was accepted in Asia Minor by Firmilian and Methodius, the latter of whom regards the *Apocalypse of Peter* as 'inspired' (*Conviv. Virg.* ii. 6). It is probable, but not certain, that it was known at Rome in the time of Hippolytus. Neither Tertullian nor Cyprian refers to it, and it does not appear to have been included among the Catholic Epistles in any but the late pre-Hieronymian Latin texts. There is no Western attestation of the Epistle during this period.

(3) We now pass to the 4th cent., when the place which, as will appear, 2 P had already secured among the Apostolic books became assured everywhere except in the Syrian Church. (*a*) *Eusebius.* It appears from *HE* II. xxiii. 25 (*τῆς λεγομένης Ἰούδα,*

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* Zahn (*Gesch. Kan.* I. i. p. 316 n.) also compares with 2 P 1^20^ Hipp. *de Antichr.* 2, *οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἰδίας δυνάμεως ἐφθέγγοντο . . . ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν προειρημένα καλῶς μαθητευθέντες λέγομεν οὐκ ἐξ ἰδίας ἡμῶν ἐπινοίας.* But there is no close resemblance in language.

μιᾶς καὶ αὐτῆς οὔσης τῶν ἑπτὰ λεγομένων καθολικῶν) that the phrase 'Catholic Epistles' (cf. VI. xiv. 1) was already a recognized term, and that they were already commonly regarded as seven in number. We turn to the two great passages in which Eus. deals with the books of the NT. In *HE* III. iii., after mentioning 1 P as 'certainly genuine,' he continues, *τὴν δὲ φερομένην δευτέραν οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκον μὲν εἶναι παρειλήφαμεν· ὅμως δὲ πολλοῖς χρήσιμος φανεῖσα, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσπουδάσθη γραφῶν.* He then refers to the *Acts of Peter*, the *Gospel*, the *Preaching*, and the *Apocalypse*, and, after stating the plan and purpose of his references to the books of the NT, he gives his own judgment in regard to 2 P—*τὰ μὲν ὀνομαζόμενα Πέτρου, ὧν μόνην μίαν γνησίαν ἔγνων ἐπιστολὴν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πάλαι πρεσβυτέροις ὡμολογημένην, τοσαῦτα.* In the later passage (III. xxv.) Eus. divides the books into two main classes—the accepted books (*ὁμολογούμενα*) and the disputed books (*ἀντιλεγόμενα*). The latter class is again subdivided. There are within it (*α*) 'disputed books which are yet recognized by most (*γνώριμα τοῖς πολλοῖς*),' and (*β*) 'disputed books which are spurious (*νόθα*).' To the latter subdivision belongs (among other books) the *Apocalypse of Peter*; to the former, 'the so-called Epistle of James, that of Jude, *the Second Epistle of Peter*, and the so-named Second and Third of John.' From these passages of Eus. we learn some important points about 2 P. (i.) The Catholic Epistles were, at the time Eus. wrote, regarded (at least in some quarters) as seven in number'[*]; (ii.) the judgment of the past, as Eus. had received it, was against 2 P—*οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκον μὲν εἶναι παρειλήφαμεν.* (iii.) The reason why 2 P had been 'studied (*ἐσπουδάσθη*) in company with the other Scriptures' was, according to Eus., that it was regarded very commonly as answering the purposes of practical edification (*πολλοῖς χρήσιμος φανεῖσα*). (iv.) Eus. did not himself receive 2 P as *γνησία ἐπιστολή*. When he speaks of 1 P, which he accepted without a doubt, as *παρὰ τοῖς πάλαι πρεσβυτέροις ὡμολογημένη* (cf. § 1), he clearly implies that 2 P was deficient in such recognition. The opinion of Eus. is significant. His knowledge of early Christian literature was wide. He was acquainted with many works which are lost to us. When, then, the modern critic fails to discover in early writings any certain trace of 2 P, his experience is only a repetition of that of Eusebius. And further, the evidence of Eus. indicates that the recovery of such lost books as those of Papias and Hegesippus, which were known to him, would in all probability supply us with no fresh evidence as to 2 P.

We turn now to the great Churches of the East, and to the great writers whose influence dominated Western Christendom in the 4th century and onwards.

(i.) *The Churches of Syria.*—(*α*) *The Syriac-speaking Churches.* The Syriac Vulgate (Peshiṭta) contained only *three* of the Catholic Epistles, viz. James, 1 P, 1 Jn. There do not appear to be any quotations from or references to 2 P in Aphraat or in the Syriac works of Ephraem.[†] At a much later time (*i.e.* the 13th cent.) Ebed Jesu, a Nestorian bishop of Nisibis, writes, 'Tres autem Epistolæ quæ inscribuntur Apostolis in omni codice et lingua, Jacobo scilicet et Petro et Joanni; et Catholicæ nuncupantur' (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* iii. *Pars* i. p. 9 f.). On the other hand, the discoveries and investigations of Dr. Gwynn of Dublin (*Royal Irish Acad. Transactions*, xxvii. p. 269 ff., xxx. p. 347 ff.) show that the Harklensian version of 2 P, Jude, and 2, 3 Jn is a revision of the text of these Epistles published by Pococke in 1630, which is given in the printed editions of the Peshiṭta; and further, that the Pococke text of these Epistles was a part of the Philoxenian version made by Polycarp for Xenaias or Philoxenus, the Monophysite bishop of Mabug about the year A.D. 500. It appears, therefore, that 2 P was rejected by the early Syrian Church, but that early in the 6th cent. it was accepted at least in the Monophysite branch of that Church. (*β*) *The Greek School of Antioch.* Among the innumerable quotations from and allusions to Scripture found in the writings of Chrysostom,[*] Theodore, and Theodoret, there does not appear to be one reference to 2 P. In the Synopsis commonly ascribed to Chrysostom (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* lvi. 314 ff.) the phrase used—*τῶν καθολικῶν ἐπιστολαὶ τρεῖς*—implies not only the acceptance of three Epistles, but the rejection of others. The views of Theodore are preserved (see arts. on JUDE and 1 PETER) in Junilius' treatise, *Instituta Regularia.* Of the Catholic Epistles only 1 P and 1 Jn are accepted. 'Adiungunt quam plurimi quinque alias, quæ apostolorum canonicæ nuncupantur.' These five Epistles, among which is 2 P, are described as being *mediæ auctoritatis* (Kihn, *Theodore* p. 478 ff.). Thus 2 P had no place in the Syriac NT. The great Antiochene school of exegetes joined their Syriac-speaking neighbours in its rejection. Moreover, since Chrysostom's expositions at any rate were addressed to popular audiences, the rejection of the Epistle by the great teachers in question must have reflected the usage of the Antiochene Church generally in the matter. (ii.) *Asia Minor.* 2 P has a place in the list of Gregory Nazianzen; yet neither he nor Gregory of Nyssa nor Basil appears to quote or to refer to the Epistle (Westcott, *Canon* p. 446). An expression of doubt is found in the list of Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium (*c.* 380 A.D.)—*καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν | τινὲς μὲν ἑπτά φασιν, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς μόνας | χρῆναι δέχεσθαι.* (iii.) *Jerusalem.* Cyril includes 2 P in his list of books, as does his contemporary and fellow-countryman Epiphanius (cf. Zahn, *Gesch. Kan.* II. i. p. 226 n.). (iv.) *Alexandria.* The list of NT books given by Athanasius in one of his Festal Epistles includes 2 P. Towards the end of the century, however, the doubt as to 2 P finds expression in the commentary on the Epistle by Didymus. His words, as they are preserved in the Latin translation, are as follows: 'Non est igitur ignorandum *præsentem epistolam esse falsatam*, quæ licet publicetur non tamen in canone est' (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xxxix. 1774). The Latin phrase printed above in italics probably represents the Greek words *ὡς νοθεύεται αὕτη ἡ ἐπιστολή.* If this be so, the passage conveys not the writer's own view, but a report of the opinion of others. Zahn (*Gesch. Kan.* I. i. p. 312) urges that Didymus is here recording a judgment which is a relic of the 2nd or 3rd cent., though expressed in the language of later times. The similarity of the terms used to those employed by Eusebius in reference to James (Eus. II. xxiii. 25) suggests rather that Didymus here preserves an opinion more or less contemporary with himself,—the view probably of scholars who conceded a public use of the book—'it seemed useful to many' (Eus. *HE* III. iii. 1),—but protested against its being placed on the same level as books whose authenticity was not questioned. (v.) *Constantinople.* The Church in *New Rome* was in many respects the daughter of the Church at Antioch. But she did not inherit any doubts as to the full Canon of the NT. Constantinople was the centre and the type of Imperial influence on matters ecclesiastical and religious. The preparation, which Constantine entrusted to Eusebius, of 'fifty copies of the Divine Scriptures' for use in the new capital, had important results. It was natural that these copies should contain all the books of the NT which had gained general recognition. A quasi-official standard was thus set up; and the distinction between 'acknowledged' and 'disputed' books soon became little more than a matter of antiquarian interest (Westcott, *Canon* p. 427).

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[*] The fact that seven Catholic Epistles appear for the first time, so far as the present writer knows, in Eusebius of *Cæsarea*, confirms the suggestion of Sanday (*Studia Bibl. et Eccles.* iii. pp. 253, 259), that 'it is possible that the collection of seven Epistles may have originated [at Jerusalem]; or if brought in the first instance from Egypt, it would seem to have been at Jerusalem that it first became established.'

[†] F. H. Woods in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* iii. p. 138. In v. 342 B. Eph. has the words 'the day of the Lord is a thief.' The phrase has been thought to be derived from 2 P 3^{10}, for, when it is compared with the Pesh. of 1 Th 5^{2}, it will be noticed that (1) 'in the night' is omitted, (2) 'the Lord' takes the place of 'our Lord.' But such slight differences and coincidences are hardly worth consideration in the case of a common proverbial expression.

[*] Some of the comments on 2 P in Cramer's *Catena* are there ascribed to Chrysostom. The present writer (*Chrysostom* p. 79 n.) has pointed out that these fragments bear some resemblance to Chrysostom's work. They are, however, too brief to warrant a positive opinion.

We turn to the West. There appears to be no ante-Nicene evidence for 2 P in the West. It is quoted in the last quarter of the 4th century by Ambrose of Milan (*de Fide* iii. 12, 'Petrus sanctus adseruit dicens Quapropter satagite,' etc. (1^{10})), and by Priscillian in Spain (see above, p. 796). It has a place in the list of Philastrius of Brescia (*c.* 385), and later in that of Rufinus (*c.* 410). On the other hand, in the Canon Mommsenianus, which appears to be an African list of the middle of the 4th cent., it is inserted, but inserted with a protest—

> epl̄ae Iohannis III u̅r̅ CCCCL
> una sola
> epl̄ae Petri II u̅e̅r̅ CCC
> una sola.

The author of the list, transcribing an older catalogue, added an expression of his own doubt.* The decisive influences, however, in Western Christendom were those of Jerome and Augustine. The latter, though not insensible to the effect on the authority of a book caused by its rejection in some quarters (*de Doctr. Chr.* ii. 12, 13), yet in practice appealed without distinction to all the books of our NT. Jerome was acquainted with the widespread doubts as to the genuineness of 2 P. In the section in the *de Virr. Illustr.* which deals with St. Peter, he says, 'Scripsit duas epistolas quæ catholicæ nominantur; quarum secunda a plerisque eius esse negatur propter stili cum priore dissonantiam.' The kind of objection which they are alleged to have urged limits the reference of *a plerisque*: Jerome has in mind the doubts of the learned. This *dissonantia* he thus accounts for (*Quæst. ad Hedib.*, Migne, *Pat. Lat.* xxii. 1002), 'Duæ epistolæ quæ feruntur Petri stilo inter se et charactere discrepant structuraque uerborum. Ex quo intelligimus pro necessitate rerum diuersis eum usum interpretibus.' These doubts, however, Jerome himself puts on one side, and in his letter to Paulinus (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xxii. 548) he speaks of the books which make up our NT without any sign of differentiating between them—'Paulus Apostolus ad septem ecclesias scribit . . . Iacobus Petrus Joannes Judas Apostoli septem epistolas ediderunt.' This view, which doubtless represents that of the Church of Rome, found expression in the Canon of the Vulgate. The recognition in this version of the Seven Catholic Epistles practically closed the question in the West. Thus during the course of the 4th cent. the Epistle was finally received into the NT of Greek-speaking and Latin-speaking Christendom, though the Syriac-speaking Churches still refused to it entrance into their Canon.

To sum up: The evidence as to the reception of 2 P in the Church has now been given and sifted. It becomes necessary to interpret it as a whole. We do not find any certain trace of 2 P in the extant literature of the 2nd cent. Coincidences, which have been adduced to prove literary indebtedness, turn out on examination to be nothing more than illustrations, literary or doctrinal. Further, the words of Eusebius, as was pointed out above, seem to exclude the possibility that books now lost contained clear references to 2 P. Spitta and Zahn (see above, p. 798) agree in finding an explanation of the obscurity in which the Epistle remained in the supposition that it was addressed by St. Peter to Jewish Christians, and that Gentile Christians would not be likely to take much interest in a document written for Jewish fellow-believers. The theory is open to criticism in several directions. (i.) It cannot be said that there is anything in the Epistle itself which suggests that it was addressed by a Jew to Jews. The negative argument urged against the supposition that 1 P was sent to Jewish Churches is valid here; see above, p. 783. (ii.) But let it be granted that internal evidence favours the supposition that it was addressed to Jewish converts. Would such a destination be likely to be a bar to its recognition in other Churches? The Epistle of St. James and that to the Hebrews were both addressed to Jewish communities; and though they were by no means universally accepted in ancient times, yet their history stands in marked contrast to that of 2 P. (iii.) The argument for the authenticity of 2 P, as urged by these critics, depends largely on the witness of the Ep. of St. Jude, which in their view was sent to the same Church or Churches as 2 P. Why, then, was the brief Epistle of one who was not an apostle circulated widely, while a longer Epistle of the chief of the Lord's personal followers was permitted to remain in absolute obscurity?

The want of allusions to the Ep. and of reminiscences of its language is more significant when two further considerations are taken into account. In the first place, the style of the Epistle is so remarkable that its phrases, if known, could hardly fail to be remembered, and, if regarded as apostolic, to be appealed to; and it must be added that, if appealed to, they could not but be reproduced in a form which would make recognition easy and obvious. In the second place, the Epistle would have been a controversial armoury for the assailants of the Gnostics. Had it been known and looked on as authoritative, it could not but have been used, as 1 John and 2 John are used by Irenæus (i. 16. 3, iii. 16. 5, 8). The first piece of *certain* evidence is the passage from Origen quoted by Eusebius, though it hardly admits of doubt that the Epistle was known to Clement of Alexandria. It is certain that during the 3rd cent. the Epistle gained acceptance in certain Churches, though the evidence is too scanty and (*e.g.* as to the date of the Egyptian and of the Old Latin texts) too uncertain for us to define with any exactness what those Churches were. It is clear also that by the time of Eusebius the recognition of *Seven* Catholic Epistles had (at least in Churches which he knew best) become usual. On the other hand, the evidence of Origen, Eusebius, Didymus, and Jerome shows that those teachers whose knowledge of Christian literature prior to their own days was widest, were conscious of the doubt which attached to 2 P.

How, then, was 2 P received into the Canon? The history is very obscure, but the evidence suggests that there were three stages. (*a*) The information which we possess as to the *Hypotyposeis* of Clement leads us to think (see above, p. 803) that at Alexandria, at the beginning of the 3rd cent., 2 P was regarded as the companion of the *Apocalypse of Peter* rather than of 1 P. This is to some extent confirmed by the position of Methodius, who used 2 P (see above, p. 804), but who also counted the *Apocalypse of Peter* among 'divinely inspired writings' (*Conviv. Virg.* ii. 6; Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xviii. 57). (*b*) If this be so, yet before the time of Eusebius the two documents had parted company. Eusebius, who did not himself accept 2 P, gives us his view of the way in which before his time 2 P had secured a place among the Catholic Epistles—πολλοῖς χρήσιμος φανεῖσα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσπουδάσθη γραφῶν. When once it was 'studied with the other Scriptures,' it could not fail to attach itself to 1 P, for it proclaimed itself as a 'second Epistle' of that apostle (3^{1}). This juxtaposition would necessarily confirm the respect already paid to it, and would, for most readers, decide at once its apostolic authorship. Further, we may conjecture that, when other Epistles besides the three—1 P, 1 Jn, Ja—were reckoned as Catholic Epistles, there would be a natural tendency to make that group seven in number. So the collection would seem to have a sacred completeness, and also to be brought into relation with the Pauline collection. For St. Paul wrote to Seven Churches (*Canon Murat.*; Jerome, *ad Paul. Ep.* liii. 8, Migne, *Pat. Lat.* xxii. 548), and his Epistles were regarded as fourteen in number. Again, the Apocalypse was addressed to Seven Churches. (*c*) We have already seen how, notwithstanding the doubts of the learned, the fuller Canon of the Catholic Epistles gained final recognition in the Greek Churches of the East and in the Western Churches. Reviewing the whole history, we remark that the case of 2 P is unlike that of Jude. We find no trace of the Epistle in the period when the tradition of apostolic days was still living. This lack of early evidence, even when taken in conjunction with the paucity of 3rd cent. evidence, the doubts expressed by, *e.g.*, Origen and Eusebius, and the absence of the Epistle from the NT of the Syriac-speaking Church, does not *prove* its spuriousness. But the absolute insufficiency of external evidence creates a presumption against its genuineness, and throws the whole burden of proof on the internal evidence of the Epistle itself.

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* Harnack (*Theol. Ltzg.* 1886, col. 173) suggests that in the repeated *una sola* there is in one case a reference to James, in the other a reference to Jude. The word *sola*, however, would remain unexplained (see Zahn, *Gesch. Kan.* II. i. p. 155 n.; Sanday in *Studia Bibl. et Eccles.* iii. p. 243 ff.).

3. *VOCABULARY AND STYLE.*—(*a*) *Vocabulary.* A full examination of the remarkable vocabulary of 2 P is beyond the limits of this article. The following are the main points:—

(i.) *The influence of the LXX.*—The Epistle contains no formal quotation from the OT. WH use uncial type only in five places—2^{2} (Is 52^{5}) 2^{22} (Pr 26^{11}) 3^{8} (Ps 90 (89)^{4}) 3^{12} (Is 34^{4}) 3^{13} (Is 65^{17} 66^{22}). But in none of these passages is the resemblance of language so close as to make the reference to the LXX certain. In 2^{2} (δι' οὓς . . . βλασφημηθήσεται) the writer perhaps does but adopt a type of phrase common in early Christian literature; see Lightfoot on *Clement*, 1. The only word common to 2^{22} and Pr 26^{11} is κύων, and we may have a current proverb based on the words of Proverbs. Much the same may be said of 3^{8} (see above, p. 800). In $3^{12\text{f.}}$ the writer is perhaps adopting the phraseology of Christian apocalyptic writings based on Is (cf. Rev 21^{1}, *Apoc. Petr.* apud Macarius Magn. iv. 7; see Lightfoot on '2 Clem.' xvi.). Other LXX phrases are εἰρήνη πληθυνθείη 1^{2} (Dn 3^{98}, but see 1 P 1^{2}, Jude^{2}), ἡ αἰώνιος βασιλεία 1^{11} (Dn 3^{100}), κατακλυσμὸν ἐπάγειν 2^{5} (Gn 6^{17}), ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν 3^{3} (*e.g.* Jos 24^{27}). For ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει (1^{18}) compare Ps 2^{6}, Is 11^{9} 27^{13} 63^{18}, Ezk 28^{14} (where, however, 'my,' 'thy,' or the like, is always added). The phrase ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας 2^{8} (LXX^{3}) is also classical (Eur. *Rhesus* 445). Words used in this Epistle which are characteristic of the LXX are ἔλεγξις (Job^{2}), ἐντρυφᾶν (LXX^{5}), καθαρισμός (common in LXX), κατακλύζειν (LXX^{6}, Wis^{2}), καταπονεῖσθαι (2 Mac^{1}, 3 Mac^{2}), καταστροφή (Gn 19^{29}), μεγαλειότης (LXX^{4}), μεγαλοπρεπής (Dt^{1}, 2 Mac^{2}, 3 Mac^{1}; see above, p. 799), μῶμος (common in LXX), νυστάζειν (LXX^{11}), σκήνωμα (common in LXX), ὑποζύγιον (common in LXX = 'ass'). Some of these words, however, such as καθανισμός, μῶμος, were at an early period adopted into the vocabulary of the Church, and so, without any borrowing from the LXX, would naturally be used by a Christian writer. That the author of 2 P derived some of his words and phrases from the LXX is clear. But it is no less clear that he was not steeped in its language. It was not a book which he was wont 'nocturna uersare manu, uersare diurna.'

(ii.) *Classical words.*—A large element in the vocabulary consists of what may be roughly described as classical words. Care, however, must be taken not to set up a delusive standard. In his articles on 2 P in *Expos.* (Ser. II. vol. iii.) E. A. Abbott writes thus (p. 206): 'In order to appreciate the resemblance between this Indian-English [*i.e.* a passage quoted from the *Madras Mail*] and the style of the Second Epistle, we must bear in mind that some of the words employed by the author of the latter are very rare in Greek literature; and others, though good classical Greek in themselves, are rare or non-existent in the New Testament.' A modern scholar, with his apparatus of NT lexicons and concordances, is apt unconsciously to isolate the vocabulary of the NT writers or of a certain section of them, and, forgetting that the limits of this vocabulary are accidental, to make it something of an absolute rule by which to judge a document whose authenticity is doubtful. With this caution the following list of words is given which do not occur in the NT except in 2 P*—ἄθεσμος (3 Mac^{2}, Diod., Philo, Joseph., Plut.), ἀκατάπαυστος (*v.l.* in 2^{14}; Polyb., Diod., Joseph., Plut.), ἅλωσις (LXX^{1}; Pind., Herod., Æsch.), ἀμαθής (Symm. (Ps); Herod. and onwards), ἀμώμητος (Hom., inscr.; adv. Herod.; *v.l.* in Ph 2^{15}), ἀποφεύγειν (common Herod. and onwards; Sir^{1}), ἀργεῖν (Soph., Eur., and onwards; LXX^{6}), ἀστήρικτος (*Anthol.*, Longin.), αὐχμηρός (Eur., Plato, etc.; *Apoc. Petri*), βλέμμα (Æsch. and onwards; on meaning see below), βόρβορος (LXX^{1}; Æsch. and onwards; comp. ἐν βορβόρῳ κυλίεσθαι Epict. *Diss.* 4. 11. 29), βραδυτής (Hom. and onwards), διαυγάζειν (Polyb., Plut., Aq. (Job)), δυσνόητος (Lucian, Diog. Laert.), ἐγκατοικεῖν (Herod., Eur., Polyb.), ἑκάστοτε (Herod. and onwards common), ἔκπαλαι (Philo, Joseph., Plut., Arrian), ἐξακολουθεῖν (LXX^{6}; Polyb., Joseph., Plut., Dion. Hal., Epict.), ἐπάγγελμα (Dem., Isocr., Aristot.), ἐπίλυσις (Aq. (Gn), Sym. (Hos); Hermas, Iren., Clem., Sext. Emp., Heliod.; verb Mk), ἐπόπτης (Æsch., Dem. 'spectator'; Plut., Inscr. in reference to mysteries), ἰσότιμος (Philo, Joseph., Plut., Lucian, Æl.), λήθην λαβεῖν (Jos. *Ant.* II. ix. 1), μίασμα (LXX^{8}; Tragg. and onwards common), μιασμός (Wis^{1}, 1 Mac^{1}; Aq. (Dt), Symm. (K), Plut., *Test. xii. Patr.*, Hermas), ὀλίγως (Aq. (Is); *Anthol.*), ὁμίχλη (LXX^{10}; Hom. (*Il.*), Æsch., Ar., Xen., Aristot.), παρανομία (LXX^{9}; Thuc., Plato, Polyb., Dion. Hal.), παρεισάγειν (Isocr., Polyb., Plut., Diod.), παρεισφέρειν (Dem. 'to bring in a law'), πλαστός (Herod., Eur., Xen., Lucian), στηριγμός (Aristot., Diod., Plut.), στρεβλοῦν (LXX^{1}, 3 Mac^{1}, 4 Mac^{4}; Herod. and onwards common in literal sense), ταχινός (LXX^{6}; Theocr., Callim., Aratus), τεφροῦν (Theophr., Lycophro, Philo, Dion. Cass., Antonin., *Anthol.*), τοιόσδε (LXX^{3}; Hom. and onwards common), τολμητής (Thuc., Philo., Joseph., Plut., Lucian), ὗς (LXX^{7}; Hom. and onwards common), φωσφόρος (Tim. Locr., Philo).

(iii.) *Very rare or unique words.*—They are ἀκατάπαστος (*v.l.* in 2^{14}; on the possible origin and meaning of the word see Hort's *Introduction* [*Notes* p. 170]), ἐμπαιγμονή (KL and other authorities omit ἐν ἐμπ. in 3^{3}), ἐξέραμα, κυλισμός (so BC* curs^{4}; κύλισμα ℵAKLP, etc.), παραφρονία, ῥοιζηδόν, ταρταροῦν. Of these, two (ἐξέραμα and κυλισμός) occur in the two proverbs cited in 2^{22}, and we cannot be sure therefore that they are due to the writer himself. In the case of three of the words the matter is one of form. The word ἐμπαιγμονή does not seem to occur elsewhere; but ἐμπαιγμός, which does not occur in profane writers, is found in LXX^{6}, in Theodot.^{1}, in an anonymous Greek version^{2}, and in He 11^{36}. Again, there does not seem to be anything to choose in point of rarity between κυλισμός and κύλισμα. For both, a reference is given in the lexicons to a work on farriery (*Hippiatrica*) of late date. The former is found in Theod. (Pr 2^{18}), the latter in Symm. (Ezk 10^{13}). The former expresses the *act* of rolling, the kindred Aristotelian word κύλισις being inadmissible since it has a technical athletic sense; the latter properly the thing rolled, and so perhaps the place of rolling—the word κυλίστρα, which is used in Xen. *Eq.* 5. 3, is apparently a technical term in the training of horses. Again, if παραφροσύνη is found in Plato and Hippocrates, the παραφρονία of 2 P shares the opprobrium of being a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον with παραφρόνησις, which is used by the LXX in Zec 12^{4}. Again, for ῥοιζηδόν (as for ῥοιζηδά) Nicander, a poet who wrote about 150 B.C., is quoted, the verb (ῥοιζεῖν) and the noun (ῥοῖζος) both being recognized Greek words. Again, the verb ἐξερᾶν is used of vomiting (metaphorically) in classical Greek (Aristoph.) and in Aquila (Lv 18^{28}), and 'vomit' is a natural meaning of ἐξέραμα. Lastly, though ταρταροῦν is found apparently only in 2 P and in a scholium on Homer, the compound καταταρταροῦν is used by Apollodorus and Sextus Empiricus. The words which have been examined are, it cannot be denied, strange and unusual terms; but something can be said in defence of each of them. The papyri which have been discovered of late years have brought home to us our ignorance of colloquial Greek, and suggest caution in peremptorily condemning a word found only in a particular writer as the barbarism of an individual.

(iv.) *Solecisms.*—There are certain expressions in the Epistle which, *so far as our knowledge of the language goes*, appear to be contrary to usage. They are as follows:—

(*a*) βλεμμα (βλέμματι καὶ ἀκοῇ, 2^{8}). Field (*Notes on Trans. of NT* p. 241) writes thus: '*In seeing and hearing.* This seems to be the only admissible interpretation, though quite at variance with the use of βλέμμα in good writers. . . . St. Peter should have written either ὁράσει καὶ ἀκοῇ or βλέπων καὶ ἀκούων.'

(*b*) καυσοῦσθαι ($3^{10.12}$). It is pointed out that Dioscorides (*c.* 100 A.D.) and Galen (*c.* 160 A.D.), both medical writers, use the word in the sense of 'to suffer from καῦσος, *i.e.* a remittent fever.' The word does not appear to occur elsewhere. On the other hand, it must be noticed that Athenæus (see Sophocles, *Lexicon*) uses the cognate noun καῦσος of 'burnt soil,' and that Hesychius assigns to it the meaning of 'a volcanic country.'

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* In this list the LXX includes the Apocrypha. Words are not included which are given under the next (iii.) section.

(*c*) μελλήσω (1^{12}; so ℵABCP curs⁴ Ægyptt (boh sah), οὐκ ἀμελήσω KL, etc., Syr-hkl). Field (*ib*. p. 240) writes thus: 'RV renders [μελλήσω] "I shall be ready," and Alford "I will be sure"; but no example of any such use of μελλήσω is forthcoming. . . . I think it not improbable that St. Peter wrote διὸ μελήσω, "I will take care," a rare but not unexampled construction for διὸ μελήσει μοι.'

(*d*) μνήμην ποιεῖσθαι (1^{15}). The phrase is used from Herodotus onwards with the sense 'to make mention of.' In the passage quoted from Thucydides ii. 54 (πρὸς ἃ ἔπασχον τὴν μνήμην ἐποιοῦντο), the expression signifies 'they shaped their recollections' (cf. i. 140, πρὸς τὰς ξυμφορὰς καὶ τὰς γνώμας τρεπομένους). In Arist. *Rhet*. iii. 12. 4, μνήμην πεποίηκεν means 'he has made him famous' (see Cope's note). But no instance of the phrase in the sense of 'to remember' is forthcoming.

(*e*) μυωπάζειν (τυφλός ἐστιν μυωπάζων, 1^9). The passage quoted for the verb from Arist. *Probl*. 31. 16. 25 (μυωπάζειν λέγονται οἱ ἐκ γενετῆς τὰ μὲν ἐγγὺς βλέποντες, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀποστάσεως οὐχ ὁρῶντες) is not found in Bekker's text. The adjective μύωψ, however, occurs several times in the passage, as in *Rhet*. iii. 11. 12, in the technical sense 'shortsighted,' nor is it found with any other meaning. There seems to be no justification at all from usage for the opinion of those who, like Spitta (p. 73 ff.), take μυωπάζων in 2 P to imply '*wilful* blindness,' and so explain its position after τυφλός ἐστιν; nor is such a meaning natural. There can be little doubt that the writer of 2 P is here guilty of a rhetorical bathos.

(*f*) παρεισφέρειν (σπουδὴν πᾶσαν παρεισενέγκαντες, 1^5). Wetstein quotes Jos. and Diod. for the phrase σπουδὴν πᾶσαν εἰσφέρειν. It must, however, be confessed that the RV 'adding on your part' is rather a benevolent paraphrase than a translation (παρα- in παραδοῦναι and similar words having the idea of *transmission*), and that it is difficult to assign any meaning which can be justified by usage to the double compound. In 2^1 the similarly formed verb παρεισάγειν is correctly and pertinently used (cf. Gal 2^4, Jude ^{4}).

(*g*) σειρός (σειροῖς ζόφου, 2^4; so ℵABC Aug. *al*, σειραῖς KL, etc., boh Syr-hkl). Field (*ib*. p. 241) writes thus: 'σειρός, σιρός, or σιρρός, "a pit," or "excavation," properly for the storage of grain, as Demosth. p. 100, 28. . . . Philo, *de Tel. Constr*. p. 86. . . . And J. Pollux joins κατάγειοι οἰκήσεις, καὶ σειροί, καὶ φρέατα, καὶ λάκκοι. Alford wrongly translates "dens," and says: "The word is used for a *wolf's den* by Longus i. 11"; but he can never have read the passage, in which the method of trapping a she-wolf is thus described: συνελθόντες οὖν οἱ κωμῆται νύκτωρ, σιρρὸν ὀρύττουσι τὸ εὖρος ὀργυιᾶς. . . .' Here too, then, it seems probable that the author of 2 P has in the midst of a somewhat magnificent phrase interpolated a word with which a technical sense was commonly, if not exclusively, associated.[*]

(v.) We pass on to note a remarkable characteristic of the vocabulary of 2 P, viz. *its iteration*. There are some words which must be repeated, whenever it is necessary to express distinctly and briefly the idea which they connote (*e.g.* πίστις); and to this class some of the words in the following list may justly be thought to belong. But it is obvious that in the majority of cases there is no such justification. And it is best to give the list in full that this peculiarity of the Epistle may be clearly seen. It will be remarked (1) that some of the words and phrases repeated are in themselves unusual; (2) that they sometimes occur more than once within a very short space.

Words (or kindred words) and phrases repeated are—ἄθεσμος 2^7 3^{17}; ἀποφεύγειν 1^4 $2^{18.\,20}$; ἀπώλεια 2^1 *bis*. ^{3} $3^{7.\,16}$; ἀσέλγεια 2^7, ἀσέλγειαι $2^{2.\,18}$; βέβαιος $1^{10.\,19}$; δεδωρημένης 1^3, δεδώρηται 1^4; δελεάζειν $2^{14.\,18}$; ἔκπαλαι 2^3 3^5; ἐξακολουθεῖν 1^{16} $2^{2.\,15}$; ἐπαγγελία $3^{4.\,9}$, ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι 2^{19}, ἐπάγγελμα 1^4 3^{13}; ἐπάγειν $2^{1.\,5}$; ἐπιχορηγεῖν $1^{5.\,11}$; εὐσέβεια $1^{3.\,6.\,7}$ 3^{11}, εὐσεβής 2^9, ἀσεβής 2^5 3^7; ζόφος $2^{4.\,17}$; ἡττᾶσθαι $2^{19f.}$; ἴδιος $1^{3.\,20}$ $2^{16.\,22}$ $3^{3.\,16.\,17}$; καυσοῦσθαι $3^{10.\,12}$; λανθάνειν $3^{5.\,8}$; λύεσθαι $3^{10.\,11.\,12}$; μισθὸς ἀδικίας $2^{13.\,15}$; μίασμα 2^{20}, μιασμός 2^{10}; πάρεστιν 1^9, παρούσῃ 1^{12}; βεβαίαν . . . ποιεῖσθαι· ταῦτα γὰρ ποιοῦντες 1^{10}; προσδοκᾶν $3^{12.\,13.\,14}$; σπουδάζειν $1^{10.\,15}$ 3^{14}, σπουδή 1^5; στηριγμός 3^{17}, ἐστηριγμένους 1^{12}, ἀστήρικτος 2^{14} 3^{16}; ταχινός 1^{14} 2^1; τηρεῖν (for future judgment) $2^{4.\,9.\,17}$ 3^7; τοῦτο πρῶτον γινώσκοντες 1^{20} 3^3; ὑπομιμνήσκειν 1^{12}, διεγείρειν ἐν ὑπομνήσει 1^{13} 3^1; οὐκ ἐφείσατο $2^{4f.}$; φωνὴ ἐνεχθεῖσα $1^{17.\,18}$, ἠνέχθη προφητεία 1^{21}, φερόμενοι 1^{21}; φθείρειν 2^{12}, φθορά 1^4 2^{12} (*bis*); φθέγγεσθαι $2^{16.\,18}$.

(vi.) There are some interesting pairs of synonyms found in the Epistle. (*a*) ἀγάπη, φιλαδελφία (1^7), the thought apparently being that 'love of the brethren' must lead on to 'love' in the widest sense (contrast 1 P $1^{22f.}$ 4^8; see Westcott on 1 John 2^{10}). (*b*) ἄσπιλοι καὶ ἀμώμητοι (3^{14}), cf. σπίλοι καὶ μῶμοι (2^{13}). In 1 P 1^{19} we have ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου. The word μῶμος (=blame, disgrace, in classical Greek) is common in the LXX as representing in sound and approximately in sense the Hebr. מום ('blemish,' in the case of sacrificial victims); hence also frequently in the LXX the word ἄμωμος (of a victim 'without blemish'). Thus the two words ἄμωμος and ἄσπιλος can with propriety stand side by side. The writer of 2 P, however, connects together ἄσπιλος and ἀμώμητος (cf. *v.l.* in Ph 2^{15}), apparently transferring to the latter word the special sense which had become attached to ἄμωμος, though it should be noticed that μωμητός is once used in the LXX (Dt 32^5) in translating מום. (*c*) κλῆσιν καὶ ἐκλογήν (1^{10}), see Lightfoot on Col 3^{12}. (*d*) λόγος, φωνή ($1^{18f.}$). There is 'a recognized distinction between λόγος and φωνή, as denoting respectively "an intelligible utterance" and an "irrational cry"' (Lightfoot on Ignatius, *Rom*. 2); cf. Jn $1^{1.\,14.\,23}$. Here the distinction between the two words lies in the transitoriness of the φωνή (cf. Lk 9^{36}) and the permanence of 'the prophetic λόγος.' But it is remarkable that the term of inferior dignity is here used of the direct utterance of God Himself. (*e*) τυφλός ἐστιν μυωπάζων (see above).

The vocabulary, then, of the Epistle is a singular one. The writer affects unusual, striking, poetical words. He is apt to amplify or decorate a current phrase in a way which makes its appropriateness at least questionable (*e.g.* σπουδὴν πᾶσαν παρεισφέρειν, ἄσπιλοι καὶ ἀμώμητοι). Briefly, his vocabulary is to a remarkable degree an *ambitious* one. On the other hand, the extraordinary list of repetitions stamps it as *poor and inadequate*. The reader is constantly tempted to think that the author intentionally dwells upon a sonorous word, which pleases his fancy, unconscious that the unnecessary recurrence of a word spoils the literary effect. Further, the writer can hardly be defended against the charge of using words and phrases incorrectly. There is little doubt that this indictment has been exaggerated, and that our ignorance of colloquial Greek is apt to betray us into condemning words which with fuller knowledge we should accept without question. But, as a matter of fact, we do not find that good Greek writers hit upon expressions which seem to us uncouth in themselves, and which lack authority, with anything like the same frequency as the writer of 2 Peter.

(*b*) From the Vocabulary we turn to more general characteristics of *Style*. The writer, fond as he is of unusual words, has but a poor supply of connecting particles (*e.g.* μέν . . . δέ is not found in the Epistle). Thus it is remarkable how sentence after sentence is linked to the preceding words by means of γάρ—$1^{8\text{-}11}$ (4 times), $2^{18\text{-}21}$ (4 times); and how relatives (sometimes involving an awkward ambiguity) are employed for the same purpose—1^4 $2^{2.\,3}$ $3^{1.\,6.\,12}$. Closely connected with this poverty of connecting particles is the fact that we have in the Epistle involved and cumbrous sentences, *e.g.* $1^{3f.}$ (where, if the reading διὰ δόξης be adopted, διά is used four times), $2^{12\text{-}16}$. The following points claim notice under this general heading—In $2^{4f.}$ we have the phrase οὐκ ἐφείσατο ἀλλά twice used, and the repetition is made the more unpleasing by the fact that the first ἀλλά introduces a contrast differing in kind from that introduced by the second (ἀλλὰ . . . παρέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ . . . ἐφύλαξεν). In 2^{18} there is an awkward involution of one participial clause in another (τοὺς . . . ἀποφεύγοντας τοὺς ἐν πλάνῃ ἀναστρεφομένους), while in v.^{20} ἀποφυγόντες is used of a set of persons other than those referred to in the τοὺς ἀποφεύγοντας of v.^{18}. Again, the piled-up genitives of 3^2 are very cumbrous, and not free from ambiguity (but on the possibility of a 'primitive' error see below, p. 811). Again, the double ἀπό and the οὕτως of 3^4 (ἀφ' ἧς οἱ πατέρες ἐκοιμήθησαν, πάντα οὕτως διαμένει ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως) confuse the meaning. Again, while in Jude ^{10} the φυσικῶς (ὅσα δὲ φυσικῶς ὡς τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα ἐπίστανται) is natural and forcible, the corresponding phrase in 2 P 2^{12} (ὡς ἄλογα ζῷα γεγεννημένα φυσικὰ εἰς ἅλωσιν) wants both simplicity and clearness. In the sentences which follow, the artificial elaboration of the writer's style is very conspicuous,—v.^{12} γεγεννημένα . . . εἰς φθορὰν . . . ἐν τῇ φθορᾷ αὐτῶν καὶ φθαρήσονται, ἀδικούμενοι μισθὸν ἀδικίας,—while in the next verse we have the strained and eccentric phrase ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες μεστοὺς μοιχαλίδος. There are, indeed, passages in the Epistle in which an earnestness of exhortation or of hope moulds the language, and in which we recognize a certain grandeur and power of diction, *e.g.* $1^{1\text{-}4.\,19\text{-}21}$ $3^{11\text{-}13.\,17f.}$. But this is not the impression which we gain from the Epistle as a whole. The student probably has to confess that not seldom in reading the Epistle he has paused in perplexity over some startling or strange phrase. The experience which he has gained from time spent on the writings of St. Paul or St. John encourages him to hope that if he patiently ponders on the words they will at length reveal their meaning; that the reason why an unusual expression was chosen will in time become plain to him. But his hope is disappointed. The sense of the artificiality of the expression does not wear off, and, as he dwells on it, he cannot honestly say that its significance grows upon him. This Epistle is the one book of the NT which, it may be thought, gains by translation. The reader of the dignified and sober English of the AV, in which the ambiguities and eccentricities of the original are to a great extent obliterated, has probably a far higher idea of the literary style of the Epistle than the student of the Greek.

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[*] It seems, however, not improbable that we have here a 'primitive' error. The writer of 2 P almost certainly had in mind Jude ^{6} (δεσμοῖς ἀϊδίοις ὑπὸ ζόφον τετήρηκεν). If he wished instead of the common word δεσμοῖς to substitute the much rarer word σειραῖς,—which, however, means 'cords *or* ropes' rather than 'heavy chains,'—it would be very likely that, with the sound of the twice-repeated -οις (δεσμοῖς ἀϊδίοις) in his mind, he would write σειροῖς for σειραῖς.

The question has still to be faced how far the style and diction of 2 P assist us in arriving at a verdict as to its genuineness. We have no right to assume that an Epistle of St. Peter would be written in good Greek, or even that it would be free from offences against literary propriety and good taste. But style is an index of character. The Epistle does produce the impression of being a somewhat artificial piece of rhetoric. It shows throughout signs of self-conscious effort. The author appears to be ambitious of writing in a style which is beyond his literary power. We may hesitate to affirm that the literary style of the Epistle in itself absolutely disproves the Petrine authorship. But it must be allowed that it is hard to reconcile the literary character of the Epistle with the supposition that St. Peter wrote it.

4. *INTERNAL EVIDENCE*.—(*a*) *References to the Gospel history*. (i.) Spitta (p. 37 ff.) and Zahn (p. 60 f.) take the words *τοῦ καλέσαντος ἡμᾶς* (1^3) to refer to the Lord's call of the apostles (cf. *ἡμῖν* 1^1). This interpretation of the passage would be less improbable if the reading *ὑμῖν* in place of *ἡμῖν* (1^4) had satisfactory critical support. The natural, if not necessary, view of the whole context is to take the whole series *ἡμῶν* (1^2), *ἡμῖν*, *ἡμᾶς* (1^3), *ἡμῖν* (1^4) as referring to the writer and the readers alike, joined together in their common faith. In that case 1^3 speaks of the *fact* that those addressed had been 'called,' while 1^{10} takes up the thought and emphasizes the *duty* involved in that 'call.' There is therefore in all probability no reference to the Gospel history in 1^3.

(ii.) In $1^{16ff.}$ there is the reference to the Transfiguration. Spitta (pp. 101 ff. 493 ff.) and Zahn (p. 58) urge that this reference is independent of the accounts of that event in the Synoptic Gospels. Thus the former lays stress on the fact that in 2 P it is said that the Lord 'received honour and glory' from the Father. This points, he thinks, to what the parallel in the history of Moses (Ex $34^{29ff.}$, 2 Co $3^{7ff.}$) would lead us to expect, viz. that the glory of Jesus was the *reflexion* of the glory of God—a communication of glory which preceded the attestation of the heavenly voice. This account of the glorification of Jesus on the Mountain is different from, and (as being more natural) earlier in date than, that given by the Synoptists. But, on the other hand, it must be noted (*a*) that the phrase is *λαβὼν τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν* (not *λαβὼν . . . δόξαν*), and that *τιμή* points rather to an attesting voice than to a reflected glory; (*β*) the obvious and almost necessary interpretation of the two participles *λαβὼν . . . ἐνεχθείσης* is that the latter defines and explains the former—'He received honour and glory when there came to Him,' etc. Omission of details of the history (*e.g.* the presence of Moses and Elias) in an allusion contained in a letter cannot reasonably be taken to show that the writer is giving an account independent of, or more primitive than, that of the Synoptists. To pass to another point, the form of the words spoken by the heavenly voice in 2 P is nearer to that in Mt than to that in either of the two other Synoptists. The words as read in Cod. B (followed by WH)—*ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός μου οὗτός ἐστιν, εἰς ὃν εὐδόκησα*—differ from those in Mt in (*a*) order; (*β*) insertion of the second *μου* (cf. Mt 12^{18} (Is 42^1)); (*γ*) substitution of *εἰς ὃν* (a construction not found elsewhere in LXX and NT *) for *ἐν ᾧ*; (*δ*) omission of *ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ*. The bulk of authorities (ℵACKL, etc.), however, give the words in a form which differs from that of Mt in two points only, (*γ*) (*δ*). Again, it is often suggested that the words *τοῦ σκηνώματός μου* (v.^{14}) and *τὴν ἐμὴν ἔξοδον* (v.^{15}), occurring in the immediately preceding context, contain references to the history of the Transfiguration (Mt 17^4 ‖ Lk 9^{31}). If this is so, then, since the term *ἔξοδος* is used by Luke, not in words which he reports, but in his own brief summary of the conversation between the Lord and Moses and Elias, it follows that the writer of 2 P was acquainted with Lk. The word *ἔξοδος*, however, is not uncommon in such a connexion (see p. 770).

(iii.) In 2^{20} (*γέγονεν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἔσχατα χείρονα τῶν πρώτων*) there is a clear reminiscence of the saying recorded in Mt 12^{45} ‖ Lk 11^{26} (*γίνεται τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου χείρονα τῶν πρώτων*).

(iv.) In 1^{14} (*ταχινή ἐστιν ἡ ἀπόθεσις . . . καθὼς καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν* 'I. X. *ἐδήλωσέν μοι*) we have a reference to a disclosure made to St. Peter by our Lord as to his death. Spitta (pp. 88 ff., 491 f.) lays it down peremptorily that 'there is absolutely no connexion between 2 P 1 and Jn 21'; that the allusion is to some other prophecy of Jesus not recorded in the Gospels, but on which the *Quo Vadis* story is based. It is true that the words used in 2 P do not necessarily imply that the writer is indebted to the Gospel of St. John: they are quite compatible with the supposition that St. Peter is (independently of any written document) recalling and reproducing in his own words the substance of the Lord's revelation to him. But it is unreasonable to postulate an occasion other than that recorded in Jn 21, when the Lord revealed something of the circumstances of the apostle's death. The Lord's prophecy as given in Jn 21^{18} contains all that is required in 2 P. If the word *ταχινή* be taken to mean 'coming soon' (as Spitta interprets it), then the reference is rather to the *ὅταν γηράσῃς*; if it is understood to mean 'sudden,' then the allusion is to the violence plainly foreshadowed in the Lord's words.

The alleged references to the Gospel history contained in the Epistle have now been examined. The first of them has been put aside. The remaining three, when taken together, will probably produce on many minds the impression that the writer of 2 P was acquainted with Mt and Jn and (if the allusion which some have found in *ἔξοδος* be pressed) with Lk also. But such an impression, however strong it may be, does not amount to a well-founded conviction. The verdict on the non-genuineness of the Epistle, as far as this piece of evidence goes, is a *non liquet*.

The case, however, is different when we turn to another aspect of the reference to the Transfiguration and to the Lord's prophecy as to St. Peter's death. Do these allusions reveal a too keen anxiety on the writer's part to identify himself with St. Peter? Have we here some one personating the apostle, and therefore, in order to support his assumed character, unduly emphasizing two scenes

* This construction, however, occurs in the version of the heavenly words given in *Clem. Hom.* iii. 53.

in the Lord's life, each of which was closely connected with St. Peter?

The answer to the question, when so put, is, it is believed, that *in themselves* these allusions do not supply any valid argument against the genuineness of the Epistle. It cannot be considered strange or unnatural that the writer, if he were indeed the great apostle, should recall either of these incidents.

But there is a characteristic of the Epistle on the negative side which must be taken into account. (α) We should have expected that a personal follower of the Lord, who had heard our Lord's discourses, would instinctively reproduce much of his Master's teaching. It is true that, as was pointed out above (p. 788), our knowledge of our Lord's sayings is imperfect. The Gospels do not record all our Lord's words. But they certainly preserve a wide representative cycle of His teaching. And we should expect a letter of St. Peter to contain some reminiscences of Christ's words, which, with the Gospels in our hands, we could identify as such. 2 P does not fulfil that expectation. There is but one of the sayings of the Lord recorded in the Gospels alluded to in 2 P (2^{20} ∥ Mt 12^{45}, Lk 11^{26}). (β) Again, the Epistle does not refer to the great *momenta* of the Lord's life on earth—the Passion, the Resurrection, and the Exaltation. Here then we have, as it appears to the present writer, two weighty arguments against the genuineness of the Epistle—a negative argument and a positive argument. On the one hand, the Epistle does not contain what we should have confidently expected an Epistle of St. Peter to contain—allusions to the Lord's sayings and allusions to the great events of the Lord's life. The force of this argument is greatly increased when with 2 P we compare 1 P. On the other hand, the fact that the only allusions to incidents in the Lord's life found in the Epistle are such as would support the character of one writing as St. Peter, does become, in view of the silence of the Epistle as to the Passion, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and of the absence from it of allusions to the Lord's teaching as recorded in the Gospels, a serious ground for questioning the Petrine authorship of the Epistle.

(*b*) *Absence of personal messages and greetings.*—No companion of the apostle is mentioned. The apostle himself sends no personal message or greeting. On the former of these two points no stress can be laid. The latter has some weight as against the theory of Spitta and Zahn, that the Epistle was addressed by St. Peter to a Palestinian Church (or Palestinian Churches) with which the apostle had had personal dealings; it has none as against the common view that St. Peter sends a second letter to Churches throughout the provinces of Asia Minor, which he had never visited. Apart from these two special points there is, it must be allowed, a certain indefiniteness in the Epistle as to the circumstances and surroundings of those to whom the letter was sent, and more especially of the writer. Nothing is said, for example, of the place whence the letter was written. But it would be easy to draw on the imagination for reasons which might naturally and fully explain the reticence of the letter on personal matters. The result therefore is a purely negative one. The genuineness of the Epistle does not receive the support which it would have gained, had it contained personal messages and personal news which harmonized with known facts. On the other hand, no substantial argument adverse to its genuineness can fairly be deduced from their absence.

(*c*) *Anachronisms.*—(i.) $3^{15f.}$ Does the passage imply that in the writer's time a *collection* of St. Paul's Epistles existed, and that they were regarded as Scripture? The first point to be considered is the meaning of the phrase τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς. Spitta (p. 294) holds that 'only writings of St. Paul's associates can be intended, addressed to the Gentile Christians who belonged to the sphere of his apostolic work.' According to this view, it would appear that the term αἱ γραφαί is used not in the sense of 'Scriptures,' but with a general non-technical meaning. Zahn (*Einl.* pp. 98 f., 108) follows the same general line of interpretation, but enters more into detail. In his opinion, the reference is to 'writings of a religious character—writings which could claim respect in Christian circles either because of the persons who composed them, or because the Christian congregations made use of them in public worship.' 'We do not know,' he adds, 'how much Christian literature already existed in the years 60–64.'* He urges that, as the allusion to these writings is altogether incidental, and as no distinguishing epithet, *e.g.* 'holy,' 'prophetic,' is added, the special sense of αἱ γραφαί, as applied to a collection of the Holy Scriptures, is here excluded. He further points out that, as the technical sense of the term הספרים did not prevent the Jews from using the word ספר of any book whatever, so the narrower use of αἱ γραφαί and τὰ γράμματα did not as a matter of fact debar Greek-speaking Christians from employing the words γραφή, γραφαί, and γράμματα in a wide and general sense; if no instance of this sense of γραφή is found in the NT, that is a mere matter of chance. To substantiate his position as regards γραφή he refers to 2 Ch 2^{11} (εἶπεν Χειρὰμ . . . ἐν γραφῇ), Neh 7^{64} (ἐζήτησαν γραφὴν αὐτῶν τῆς συνοδίας), Dn 5^{5} (τὴν γρ. ἐκείνην, *i.e.* the writing on the wall), 1 Mac $14^{27.48}$ (the writing on tables of brass), Iren. iii. 6. 4, xvii. 4, v. Prol. (in each case *hæc scriptura* of Irenæus' own work), Clem. *Strom.* vi. 3 (p. 755, ed. Potter; προϊούσης τῆς γραφῆς, *i.e.* the treatise itself), Eus. *HE* II. xi. 1 (τὴν περὶ τούτου . . . τοῦ Ἰωσήπου γραφήν). Similar uses of the word might be quoted from classical Greek (where it commonly has a formal sense ['document'], often a legal sense ['indictment']), *e.g.* Thuc. i. 129, τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου, Ξέρξης δὲ ἥσθη τε τῇ ἐπιστολῇ κ.τ.λ. In all these passages, it will be noticed, it is clear, either from the phrase itself or from the context, what the γραφή in question is. They present no parallel to the *absolute* use of the word in the *plural*. The phrase αἱ γραφαί used absolutely points to a definite and recognized collection of 'writings,' *i.e.* the Scriptures. If any further assurance of this is needed, it is given (α) by the context—the word στρεβλοῦσιν shows that the writings were authoritative, and that their support had at all costs to be secured, and (β) by the added word λοιπάς—τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς; compare Sir. *Prol.* ὁ νόμος καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων; Iren. ii. 28. 7, 'Dominus manifeste dixit et *reliquæ* demonstrant Scripturæ.' From the καί and the τὰς λοιπάς—ὡς καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς—we are obliged to infer that the Epistles of St. Paul are regarded as Scripture. Again, the fact that St. Paul's Epistles are regarded as Scripture, together with the phrase ἐν πάσαις ἐπιστολαῖς, leads to the further conclusion that the writer of 2 P possessed not merely isolated letters of St. Paul, but a collection of his Epistles, to which, as authoritative documents of the faith, appeal was made.† It is impossible to suppose that a collection of St. Paul's Epistles had been made and that they were treated as Scripture during the lifetime of St. Peter.

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* Zahn's theory as to 2 P, it should be observed, leads him to assume an (earlier) Ep. of St. Peter now lost (3^{1}), an Ep. of St. Paul now lost (3^{15}), the promise on St. Peter's part of a *Lehrschrift* otherwise unknown to us (1^{15}), 'other writings' now lost (3^{16}).

† Compare the *Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs*, Libri et epistulæ Pauli uiri iusti (Robinson, *The Passion of S. Perpetua* p. 114, in 'Texts and Studies' I. ii.).

(ii.) 3^{2} *μνησθῆναι τῶν προειρημένων ῥημάτων ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑμῶν ἐντολῆς τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος.* It is possible that there is a primitive error in the text, and that *διά* should be inserted after *τῆς*—'the commandment of the Lord and Saviour *given through* your apostles'* (cf. the title of the *Didaché*—*διδαχὴ Κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*, and also 2^{21} *τῆς παραδοθείσης αὐτοῖς ἁγίας ἐντολῆς*). But this suggestion does not affect the matter with which we are at present concerned. It is true that the phrase 'your apostles' admits of the explanation that the writer is referring to those apostles who had taught the readers of the Epistle, and that, so interpreted, the phrase cannot be said to be an impossible one in a letter written by St. Peter. But, on the supposition that St. Peter is writing to Christians whom he had himself taught, it must be admitted that it is strange that he should use an expression so cold and so general. Two other considerations must be taken into account. In the first place, it seems certain (see art. JUDE, EPISTLE OF, vol. ii. p. 802 f.) that the whole phrase is an expansion of the corresponding words in Jude ^{17}, where there is a simple and natural reference to the *oral* teaching of the apostles (*ἔλεγον*). Secondly, the addition of a reference to the prophets changes the kind of remembrance. The idea of keeping in mind the teaching of *Scripture* is introduced. Now in the 2nd cent. it was customary to speak of Scripture either under the two divisions —the Prophets and the Apostles—(*e.g. Murat. Canon*, 'neque inter prophetas completum numero neque inter apostolos'), or under the three divisions —the Prophets, the Lord (the Gospel), and the Apostles—(*e.g.* Iren. i. 8. 1, *ἣν* [*ὑπόθεσιν*] *οὔτε προφῆται ἐκήρυξαν οὔτε ὁ Κύριος ἐδίδαξεν οὔτε ἀπόστολοι παρέδωκαν*); see Lightfoot on Ign. *Philad.* v. The impression produced by 2 P 3^{2} is that we have here a post-apostolic writer elaborating the simple phrase of Jude ^{17} and instinctively reproducing phraseology current in his own days, while the *ὑμῶν* is introduced as being in character with the style of a letter. This impression is strengthened when the passage under discussion is taken in connexion with 3^{15} (see just above).

(iii). Closely connected with the points just dealt with is the problem suggested by the controversial element in the Epistle.

It has often been noticed that the writer speaks of the rise of certain false teachers as future ($2^{1f.}$ 3^{3}), and then, using the present tense ($2^{11.\,12.\,17f.\,20}$ 3^{5}, cf. 3^{16}), describes them as already active. It might be argued that he projects himself into the future, and then, from the point of view of a spectator, regards future events as actually happening. But it must be remarked that (1) this change from the future to the present takes place twice ($2^{10ff.}$ 3^{5}); (2) in ch. 2 perfects are used (*γέγονεν* 2^{20}, *συμβέβηκεν* 2^{22}). The most natural interpretation of these phenomena is that the writer first speaks in his assumed character of a prophet, and that then, forgetting that assumed character, he depicts the false teaching actually rife around him.

Does the language used betray any sign of being aimed against the Gnostics? It is clear that those against whom the writer warns his readers not only practised, but taught, immorality. Their error was not only a matter of life (as appears to be the case with the libertines of St. Jude's Epistle), but also of doctrine. They are *ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι* (2^{1}). In this connexion the language of $1^{5f.}$ is remarkable—*ἐπιχορηγήσατε . . . ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ τὴν γνῶσιν, ἐν δὲ τῇ γνώσει τὴν ἐγκράτειαν.* Here *γνῶσις* is used absolutely, and it is linked with *ἀρετή* and *ἐγκράτεια.* It would seem as if the writer emphasizes the bearing of a true *γνῶσις* on conduct because he has in mind those whom a false *γνῶσις* betrayed into *ἀκρασία.* It will be remembered that the name 'Gnostic' was, as far as our knowledge goes, first claimed by sects whose teaching justified profligacy of life (Iren. i. 25. 6; Hippolytus, *Hær.* v. 6). Again, it may be thought that the words *ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελλόμενοι αὐτοὶ δοῦλοι ὑπάρχοντες τῆς φθορᾶς* (2^{19}) exactly express the theory of certain Gnostic teachers as to the 'spiritual' man's independence of matter, and the practical results of that doctrine (cf. *e.g.* Iren. i. 25. 4). Again, the writer of 2 P charges the false teachers with perverting Scripture (3^{16}). It is clear that, when St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Romans, there were those who depraved the doctrine of grace (Ro $6^{1.\,15}$; cf. Jude ^{4}). But there is no trace in apostolic times of false teachers supporting their views by a reckless or dishonest interpretation of the Old Testament, which alone could then be known under the name of Scripture. Nor, indeed, is it easy to see how the controversies of that age could give occasion to a forced exegesis of the OT; the arguments which the Judaistic opponents of St. Paul may well have drawn from the OT would be of a different kind. But such violent wresting of Scripture (*i.e.* the OT and the NT) as is described by the word *στρεβλοῦσιν* was the characteristic method by which the Gnostics of the 2nd century endeavoured to support their doctrines. Irenæus charges them with such a dishonest procedure again and again (i. *Præf.*; 3. 6, *παρατρέποντες τὰς ἑρμηνείας καὶ ῥᾳδιουργοῦντες τὰς ἐξηγήσεις*; 8. 1; 9. 1, *καταχρησάμενοι τοῖς ὀνόμασιν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπόθεσιν μετήνεγκαν*). This indictment, then, of the false teachers does not appear to harmonize with what we know, or with what we can with reasonable probability conjecture, of the apostolic age. It does fit in with the characteristics of a later time.

(iv.) $3^{3f.}$ *ἐλεύσονται . . . ἐμπαῖκται . . . λέγοντες Ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ; ἀφ' ἧς γὰρ οἱ πατέρες ἐκοιμήθησαν, πάντα οὕτως διαμένει ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως.* It is sometimes urged that the question of the scoffers points to a time later than the days of the apostles; and even more stress is laid on the reply—not an assurance of the nearness of the advent, but an explanation of delay (v.^{8} *μία ἡμέρα παρὰ Κυρίῳ κ.τ.λ.*). It is, however, difficult to feel the force of these arguments considered in themselves. The fact that 'the immediate imminence of the coming of the Lord . . . faded out of view' in St. Paul's mind, as the Epistle to the Ephesians seems to indicate, 'when year after year passed away, and still there was no sign of the Lord's coming' (Hort, *Rom. and Eph.* p. 141 f.), is a sufficient proof that towards the end of St. Peter's life men would not be unlikely to ask the question put into the mockers' mouths, nor a Christian teacher unlikely to give some such answer as we find in 2 P 3^{8}. The passage will come before us again when we come to compare 2 P with 1 P. But the phrase *ἀφ' ἧς οἱ πατέρες ἐκοιμήθησαν* gives rise to much more serious misgivings. Who are 'the fathers'? They are, says Spitta (p. 234 ff.), the actual fathers of those who are introduced as speaking.* This interpretation is open to several grave objections. (*a*) Since to St. Peter the phrase *οἱ πατέρες* would have a quasi-technical sense (cf. *e.g.* Jn 6^{58}, Ac 7^{19}, Ro 9^{5}, He 1^{1}), the meaning suggested would require the addition of ἡμῶν.* (β) The words 'since our fathers died,' put into the mouth of a number of persons, fix no definite limit of time. (γ) The context seems to imply that 'the fathers' had embraced the Christian hope, and so early in the history of the Church as St. Peter's lifetime it would be quite unnatural to introduce a group of persons speaking of their fathers as Christians (see Zahn, *Einl.* ii. p. 72). Zahn (*ib.* pp. 67, 73) urges that the term οἱ πατέρες could be used of the first generation of Christians — the ἀρχαῖοι μαθηταί (Ac 21^{16}) — before it had died off to the last man, and that, in fact, a whole generation separated the years 60–63, in which he places the Epistle, from the day when the promise to return was given. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that the use of the term οἱ πατέρες in itself implies a considerable lapse of time. The founders of a movement are not called 'the fathers' till a later age looks back upon their work. Further, the clause as a whole implies a distant retrospect; the words ἀφ' ἧς . . . ἐκοιμήθησαν πάντα οὕτως διαμένει could not have been used unless a considerable interval had elapsed since the passing away of 'the fathers.' The words might conceivably be justified on the hypothesis that St. Peter is here foretelling the future, and that he dramatically puts into the mouth of the mockers, who should 'come in the last days,' words appropriate only from their supposed point of view. But such an interpretation is too artificial. And it must be confessed that here again we seem to be carried far beyond the limits of the apostolic age.

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* So the Syriac (Harklean) version, 'the commandment of our Lord and Saviour which (was) by the hand of the apostles.'

* Spitta gets over the difficulty that *ἀφ' ἧς* implies a considerable interval by supposing that the relative *ἧς* refers back to *τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ*. He takes *ἀπό* in a pregnant sense with *ἐκοιμήθησαν*—'Die Väter sind entschlafen von der Parusie weg, ihr Tod hat sie der Parusie entzogen.' For this use of *ἀπό* he compares Ro 9^{3}, Col 2^{20}, 2 Co 11^{3}. It is strange that he does not see that the *γάρ* (*ἀφ' ἧς γάρ*) makes such an interpretation absolutely impossible.

(*d*) *Doctrine.*—The doctrine of the Epistle is chiefly remarkable, so far at least as our present purpose is concerned, on the negative side. We should not, indeed, have expected St. Peter to dwell with such detail ($3^{10ff.}$) on the physical accompaniments of 'the day of the Lord,' and on its relation to the several parts of the material universe, as contrasted with its human and spiritual issues. We might feel it strange that what we should elsewhere describe as physical speculations on the process of creation, should find a place in a letter written by St. Peter (3^5). But these are matters of taste and feeling, or at least of opinion; and on such considerations no decisive judgment can be based. But it is otherwise with the silence of the Epistle as to doctrines of primary importance. St. Peter was an eye-witness of the human life of the Incarnate Word, of His sufferings, of the manifestations of the Risen Lord, and of His Ascension. He heard Christ's words about the Paraclete, and partook of the outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost. But the Epistle says nothing of the example of Christ, or of His sufferings and death, or, except the allusion in 2^1 (τὸν ἀγοράσαντα αὐτοὺς δεσπότην), of Redemption. It is silent as to the Resurrection and the Ascension. It makes no reference to the Holy Spirit except as the source of inspiration to the ancient prophets (1^{21}). It does not allude to prayer. We have no right, it may be urged most truly, to expect an apostolic Epistle to treat of every Christian doctrine, even the most vital. But is it conceivable that St. Peter, with his history and his experience, would pass over all these matters, essential to the Christian faith, as though they were not? The silence as to the Resurrection is the crucial point. The apostles were essentially witnesses to the Resurrection. The Resurrection was the final proof of the Divine mission of the Lord, the foundation of the Christian faith. As such it holds a unique place in the writings of the apostles, and in their teaching as reported in the Acts. But in this Epistle, when the writer (1^{16}) has occasion to appeal to the guarantee of the truth of his teaching as to 'the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ,' the Resurrection is ignored, and the apostolic witness to Christ is made to rest on the Transfiguration. The Transfiguration was doubtless an event of deep meaning; but its meaning was relative to the time when it took place, and to the circumstances of those who were present on the mountain. Its glory was in the days of the Lord's humiliation a transitory anticipation of the Resurrection. It belongs to an order of events different from that to which the Resurrection belongs. It would be difficult to exaggerate the significance of the fact that in the Epistle generally, and especially at this particular point in it, the Resurrection is unnoticed. A subordinate but not unimportant matter is the language used by the writer of 2 P in this reference to the Transfiguration—ἐπόπται γενηθέντες τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλειότητος (1^{16}). The word ἐπόπτης is borrowed from the Greek mysteries, where it denoted one who was admitted to the third and highest stage. For the word itself cf. Plut. *Alcib.* 22, τοὺς ἄλλους ἑταίρους μύστας προσαγορεύοντα καὶ ἐπόπτας; *CIG* 71*b*, 2158 (in both of which places it is closely associated with μύστης); Clement of Alexandria is fond of using words of this group in reference to the spiritual vision of God (*e.g. Pæd.* i. 6 (p. 113), 7 (p. 129); *Strom.* i. 28 (p. 424), ii. 2 (p. 431). The metaphor is not one which we should have expected St. Peter to use. It is artificial, and savours of a later time when the Church borrowed such terms, often probably through the medium of the Gnostics, from the language of the Greek mysteries.*

5. *RELATION TO 1 PETER.* — Under this head little more has to be done than to bring together results which have been already reached as to the two Epistles separately.

(*a*) *Vocabulary and literary style.* — As to the former point, Warfield (p. 67) writes thus: 'These resemblances are seen not only in peculiar phrases, such as the form of salutation, "Grace and peace *be multiplied*," found in these two Epistles and nowhere else, but also in the recurrence in both of rare combinations, such as ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου, 1 P 1^{19} repeated 2 P 2^{13} and 3^{14} and nowhere else, and also the common possession of a very peculiar vocabulary such as is represented by the occurrence in both of ἐποπτεύσαντες (1 P 2^{12}, 2 P 1^{16}), ἰσότιμος (1 P $1^{7.19}$, 2 P $1^{1.4}$), reinforced by the like community in such as φιλαδελφία (1 P 1^{22}, 2 P 1^7); χορηγεῖν (1 P 4^{11}, 2 P $1^{5.11}$); ἀπόθεσις (1 P 3^{21}, 2 P 1^{14}); ἀρετή (1 P 2^9, 2 P 1^3); ἀναστροφή (1 P 1^{15}, 2 P 2^7); ἀλήθεια in a peculiar sense (1 P 1^{22}, 2 P 1^{12}); κομίζεσθαι (1 P 1^9, 2 P 2^{13}), etc., all of which are rare words in the New Testament.' It seemed best to quote this passage at length. A glance reveals how this list needs careful sifting. Thus Warfield's mode of statement is confusing; the word ἰσότιμος, for example, does not occur in 1 P, but πολύτιμος (1^7) and τίμιος (1^{19}). Again, the plural αἱ ἀρεταί in 1 P 2^9 (a reminiscence of Is 43^{21}) is clearly far from being a parallel to the singular ἀρετή, 2 P 1^3, though in both passages the reference is to God. But in fact verbal coincidences, however abundant, between 2 P on the one hand and on the other 1 P and the Petrine speeches in the Acts (*Speaker's Com.* iv. p. 226), would be of but little weight in support of the genuineness of 2 P; for if that Epistle is not genuine, but was written in the 2nd cent., it is clear that both 1 P and the Acts must have been accessible to its author, and that therefore he may have derived words or phrases from them. The real question is whether a comparison of the two Epistles reveals that kind of similarity which suggests that they are the product of the same mind. It must be said briefly that the two documents are in complete contrast in reference to literary style. This contrast is obvious whether we regard smaller points of expression (*e.g.* the connexion of sentences and clauses) or the broader literary characteristics of the two Epistles. The style of 1 P is simple and natural, without a trace of self-conscious effort. The style of 2 P is rhetorical and laboured, marked by a love for striking and startling expressions.

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* Cursives^4, Ægyptt (boh sah), Syr-hkl add ἡμῶν. But, in the case of an addition of this nature, the evidence of versions is of little value.

* The habit of using language derived from the mysteries, in reference to communications supposed to be made by our Lord to His disciples, runs riot in the Gnostic *Pistis Sophia*.

(*b*) *Use of the OT.*—The writer of 1 P formally quotes the OT; he deliberately adopts its language (*e.g.* $2^{9f. 22}$); he instinctively, and apparently unconsciously, falls into its phraseology. The writer of 2 P, on the other hand, as we have seen, never formally quotes the OT, and uses but few distinctively OT expressions. This is precisely the reverse of what we should have expected to be the case if the theory of Spitta and Zahn were true, namely, that St. Peter wrote the First Epistle to Gentile, the Second Epistle to Jewish, Christians.

(*c*) *Reminiscences of the Lord's teaching.*—The writer of 1 P constantly shows that he has the Lord's sayings in his mind. It is doubtful if the writer of 2 P refers to more than two of them.

(*d*) *Use of St. Paul's Epistles.*—The writer of 1 P is deeply influenced, both in thought and in language, by two of St. Paul's Epistles (Ro, Eph). The writer of 2 P, while he mentions St. Paul's Epistles generally, owes no debt, literary or doctrinal, to them. This argument, however, cannot be said to carry so much weight as it appears to do at first sight. For we saw cause to believe that there were special reasons why the words and thoughts of these two Epistles of St. Paul should be in St. Peter's mind when he wrote the First Epistle.

(*e*) *Doctrine.*—It has often been remarked that while in 1 P 'the end' is regarded as near (4^7), the writer of 2 P seems to contemplate delay as part of the Divine counsel. It might be a not unfair reply that in the one case the writer sets forth his own personal hope, in the other case he has to meet the jibes of enemies of the truth, and to account for the unquestionable fact of delay which gave point to their mocking question. But, indeed, the difference between the two Epistles in regard to doctrine is deeper and more far-reaching than a contrast of view as to the hope of the Lord's speedy return. Any one who has endeavoured to draw out the doctrinal teaching of the two Epistles must feel that they are widely separated from each other. There is a richness of devout thought, a vital apprehension of the great facts and truths which are characteristic of Christianity, in 1 P, for which we search in vain in 2 P. The thought of Christ's sufferings, considered as the supreme example and as redeeming acts dealing with all the needs of men, the thought of Christ raised and exalted by the Father, the thought of the present personal relation of Christians to Christ's work and to Christ Himself, dominate the one Epistle; they are, as we have seen (see above, p. 812), passed over in the other.

Such are the differences between the two Epistles. It remains to examine certain considerations which have been suggested with a view to explain or to mitigate the difficulty.

(1) *Difference of date.*—If St. Peter wrote the two Epistles, they could not be widely separated in point of time. The examination of all the evidence points to the year 61 as the probable date of 1 P (see above, p. 791 f.). 2 P, if the work of St. Peter, could not be placed more than a year or two later, or, if we accept the view of Spitta and Zahn that the former Epistle alluded to in 2 P 3^1 is not 1 P, a year or two earlier. Even if we put aside ancient evidence, and, accepting the theory which finds in 1 P indications of a later date (see above, p. 783 f.), suppose that St. Peter's life was prolonged beyond the year 70, the interval between the two documents cannot have been much more than ten years. It may well be doubted whether ten years at the end of a long life can reasonably be supposed to have so completely changed a man's literary style and the tone and range of his thoughts.

(2) *Difference of subject.*—The object of 1 P, it is urged, was to comfort and encourage the suffering; that of 2 P to warn against a shameful perversion of the truth. It must, however, be remembered that ch. 1 of 2 P is not denunciatory. Such a difference of subject might well account for a difference of tone, and a difference in the relative position and emphasis given to Christian doctrines. It would modify; it would hardly revolutionize.

(3) *Difference of circumstances.*—The strongest presentation of the case in this respect is probably the theory of Zahn (*Einl.* ii. p. 96). 'So long,' he says, 'as men started with the assumption that 1 P is a document actually composed by the apostle ('ein eigenhändiges Schreiben des Apostels'), and that 2 P purports to be intended for a circle of readers similar to that addressed in 1 P, then the great diversity of the two Epistles in thought and language could not but be strong evidence against the genuineness of 2 P. But this evidence is destroyed, since both the above-mentioned assumptions have been shown to be erroneous. It is obviously intelligible that Peter, in a letter addressed to the Gentile Churches of Asia Minor, which Silvanus wrote by his commission and in his name, should speak in a way different from that in which he speaks in a letter of his own composition ('in einem eigenhändigen Brief') addressed to Churches of Jewish Christians, who owed their Christianity to him and his associates.'

In this position three points must be noticed. (*a*) It is remarkable that both Spitta (p. 530 ff.)* and Zahn, in defending the Petrine authorship of 2 P, are obliged to give up the real Petrine authorship of 1 P. It has, however, been shown in the article on 1 PETER (p. 789 f.) that (*α*) the language about Silvanus in 1 P 5^{12}, though it does not exclude, yet certainly does not support, the hypothesis that the composition of the letter was left to him; (*β*) the phenomena of the Epistle itself are decisive against this theory. (*b*) It has been pointed out (see above, pp. 798, 806) that 2 P contains no indication of being addressed to Jewish Christians, and that the internal evidence, both negative and positive, points decisively in the opposite direction. (*c*) But if these two points are conceded, it is clear that everything depends on the sense given to 'speaking in a different way'—'anders redet.' The supposed variation of circumstances would account for a difference, perhaps a great difference, between the two letters. But, on the one hand, it must be observed that the characteristic of tender and sympathetic affection is conspicuous in the letter which was addressed to those with whom St. Peter had had no personal dealings, while it is absent from the letter which (in Spitta's and Zahn's view) was sent to persons who owed their Christianity to the apostle—a reversal of what would have been naturally anticipated. And, on the other, the differences between the two Epistles in literary style and tone and teaching are, as it appears to the present writer, so numerous and so fundamental that no difference of amanuenses or 'interpreters' can account for them unless we are prepared to admit that, in the case of either one or both of these letters, the substance and the language alike were left absolutely in the hands of the apostle's companion.

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* 'Dass die beiden kanonischen Petrus-Briefe nicht aus derselben Feder stammen können, muss ich mit manchen altkirchlichen und den meisten neueren Forschern unbedingt behaupten' (p. 530).

6. *LITERARY AFFINITIES.**—(*a*) *The Epistle of Jude.* That there is a close literary connexion between Jude and 2 P is certain. Which of the two writers is the borrower? It must be here sufficient to refer to the article on the EPISTLE OF JUDE (vol. ii. p. 802 f.), where the question is discussed. Further study confirms the present writer in the conclusion there reached, that the 'various lines of argument converge, and, as far as demonstration is possible in literary questions, demonstrate the priority of Jude.'† What is the bearing of this result on the question of the genuineness of 2 P? It is obvious that the fact that 2 P borrows from Jude is no more prejudicial to the genuineness of the former than the fact that 1 P borrows from Ro and Eph tells against the authenticity of 1 P. The difficulties in regard to date, if we prolong the apostle's life beyond 64, are not insuperable. The result is therefore a negative one. 2 P is deprived of a witness on whose evidence recent defenders of the apostolic authorship of 2 P (Spitta and Zahn) have greatly relied.

(*b*) *Josephus.* — In an article in the *Expositor* (2nd series, vol. iii. p. 49 ff.) E. A. Abbott maintained that there is a remarkable series of coincidences in language between 2 P and the *Antiquities* of Josephus (*Præf.* 3, 4; IV. viii. 2 [the last words of Moses]). 'Taken as a whole,' Abbott concludes (p. 62), 'the evidence in favour of the theory that the author of the Second Epistle imitated Josephus can hardly fail to appear striking, if not convincing.' The theory was examined by Salmon in his *Introduction*, p. 638 ff. (ed. 1; the discussion is curtailed in later editions). He points out (1) that 'the alleged coincidences relate entirely to words, and not at all to thoughts'; (2) that 'they do not occur in passages of [what he himself would call] "brief compass"'; (3) that 'they are not in the same sequence and connexion'; (4) that 'the words common are not "unusual or startling," or such as can fairly be called *hapax legomena*.' It will probably be now generally admitted that the theory broached by Abbott has broken down on examination. There is a curious series of coincidences between the Preface of St. Luke's Gospel and Josephus *Contra Apionem* i. 10. The same account is probably to be given of the resemblances between Josephus and Lk and of those between Josephus and 2 P. They are most likely due to the diffusion of 'commonplaces' of rhetorical study, set prefatory phrases, and the like.

(*c*) *The Apocalypse of Peter.*—When the fragment of this *Apocalypse* was published, it was at once noticed (*e.g.* by James, *A Lecture on the Apocalypse of Peter* p. 52) that between it and 2 P there is a remarkable series of coincidences. The following table includes one or two coincidences between 2 P and fragments of the *Apocalypse* preserved by Patristic writers (the numbering of these fragments being that given by James, p. 94 f., who, on p. 52, pointed out most of these resemblances):—

APOCALYPSE OF PETER.	2 PETER.
1 *πολλοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔσονται ψευδοπροφῆται, καὶ ὁδοὺς καὶ δόγματα ποικίλα τῆς ἀπωλείας διδάξουσιν· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ υἱοὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας γενήσονται. καὶ τότε ἐλεύσεται ὁ θεὸς . . . καὶ κρινεῖ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀνομίας.*	$2^{1f.}$ *ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται ἐν τῷ λαῷ, ὡς καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσονται ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι, οἵτινες παρεισάξουσιν αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας . . . ἐπάγοντες ἑαυτοῖς ταχινὴν ἀπώλειαν.* 2^3 *οἷς τὸ κρίμα ἔκπαλαι οὐκ ἀργεῖ.* 3^7 *ἡμέραν . . . ἀπωλείας τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀνθρώπων.* 3^{12} *τὴν παρουσίαν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμέρας.*
τοὺς πιστούς μου τοὺς . . . ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βίῳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἑαυτῶν δοκιμάζοντας.	2^8 *δίκαιος . . . ψυχὴν δικαίαν ἀνόμοις ἔργοις ἐβασάνιζεν.*
2 *ὁ Κύριος ἔφη Ἄγωμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος . . . ἀπερχόμενοι δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταί.*	1^{18} *ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν . . . σὺν αὐτῷ ὄντες ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει.*
In § 3 'two men suddenly appear,' as on the Mount of Transfiguration. The description of their glory recalls Mt 17^2.	
[τῶν] δικαίων τῶν ἐξελθόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου.	1^{15} *μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἔξοδον.*
ποταποί εἰσι τὴν μορφήν.	3^{11} *ποταποὺς δεῖ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς.*
6 *τόπον . . . αὐχμηρὸν πάνυ . . . σκοτινὸν εἶχον αὐτῶν τὸ ἔνδυμα κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα τοῦ τόπου.* Cf. 12 *ἐν τόπῳ σκοτινῷ.*	1^{19} *ἐν αὐχμηρῷ τόπῳ.*
οἱ κολαζόμενοι ἐκεῖ. Cf. 7 *πῦρ . . . κολάζον αὐτούς,* 10 *ἐν τῇ κολάσει ἐκείνῃ . . . τὴν κόλασιν ἐκείνων,* 11 *τῶν κολαζομένων,* 13, 15 *κολαζόμενοι,* 17 *ταύτης τῆς κολάσεως,* 19 *τῆς τοιαύτης κολάσεως.*	2^9 *κολαζομένους τηρεῖν.*
7 *οἱ βλασφημοῦντες τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης.* Cf. 13 *οἱ βλασφημοῦντες καὶ κακῶς εἰπόντες τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης.*	2^2 *δι' οὓς ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας βλασφημηθήσεται.* 2^{21} *τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης.*
8 *ἄνθρωποί τινες ἀποστρέφοντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην.* Cf. 20 *οἱ ἀφέντες τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.*	2^{15} *καταλείποντες εὐθεῖαν ὁδόν.*
8 *λίμνη τις . . . πεπληρωμένη βορβόρου.* Cf. 9 *τὰς κεφαλὰς εἶχον ἐν τῷ βορβόρῳ.* 15 *ἐκυλίοντο.* Cf. *Acta Thomæ* 53, *εἶδον βόρβορον . . . καὶ ψυχὰς ἐκεῖ κυλιομένας.*	2^{22} *κυλισμὸν βορβόρου.*
9 *οἱ συμμι[χθέντες] αὐτῶν τῷ μιάσματι τῆς μοιχείας.* Cf. 17 *οἱ μιάναντες τὰ σώματα ἑαυτῶν ὡς γυναῖκες ἀναστρεφόμενοι.*	2^{10} *τοὺς ὀπίσω σαρκὸς ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ μιασμοῦ πορευομένους.* 2^{20} *ἀποφυγόντες τὰ μιάσματα τοῦ κόσμου.*
15 *ἀμελήσαντες τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ θεοῦ.*	2^{21} *ὑποστρέψαι ἐκ τῆς παραδοθείσης αὐτοῖς ἁγίας ἐντολῆς.* 3^2 *τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑμῶν ἐντολῆς τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος.*
Fragments 1, 2 (from Macarius, *Apocritica*, iv. 6 f.). Heaven and earth will be	$3^{10.\,12}$.

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* An inscription from Stratonicea in Caria, given by Deissmann (*Bibelstudien* i. p. 277 f.), contains the phrases, *τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων αἰωνίου ἀρχῆς, πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ἰσφέρεσθαι ἰς τὴν πρὸς [αὐτοὺς εὐσεβ]ειαν, τῆς θείας δυνάμεως ἀρετας*; cf. 2 P 1^{11} 1^5 1^3. But these coincidences do not, as Deissmann thinks, indicate any connexion between the inscription and the Epistle.

† 'The Assumption of Moses' was used by Jude (see art. EPISTLE OF JUDE, vol. ii. p. 802). But the question arises whether 2 P does not show an acquaintance with the *Assumption* independent of the knowledge of it which he might have gained from the passage of Jude. The apparent resemblance alluded to is between 2 P 2^{13} *ἡδονὴν ἡγούμενοι τὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τρυφήν*, and the *Assumption* vii. 4, 'omni hora diei amantes conuiuia deuoratores gulæ.' But the resemblance is seen to be a merely superficial one, when the force of *omni hora* is noticed. The *Assumption* rebukes gluttons who would feast at any hour of the day; the Epistle, shameless profligates who riot in broad daylight.

APOCALYPSE OF PETER.	2 PETER.
judged—ἡ γῆ παραστήσει πάντας τῷ θεῷ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως καὶ αὐτὴ μέλλουσα κρίνεσθαι σὺν καὶ τῷ περιέχοντι οὐρανῷ . . . τακήσεται πᾶσα δύναμις οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἐλιχθήσεται ὁ οὐρανὸς ὡς βιβλίον, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄστρα πεσεῖται (Is 34^4).	
5*b* (from Methodius *Conviv. Virg.* ii. 6) τὸν θεσμὸν τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνης φύσεως τοῦ θεοῦ.	1^4 θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως.
ib. καταφρονήσαντες τῆς σῆς ἐντολῆς.	2^{21} 3^2.

James (p. 53 ff.) draws attention to several documents which appear to borrow from the *Apocalypse of Peter*. It is worth while to note coincidences between 2 P and some of these documents.

(*a*) 'The First Book of Clement, which is called the Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ: the words which He spake to His holy apostles after He had risen from the dead.' The book seems to have been originally written in Greek. Lagarde (*Reliquiæ Juris Ecclesiastici Antiquissimi Græce* p. 80 ff.) has retranslated the extant Syriac version into Greek. James (p. 54) holds that at least the first fourteen sections of this document 'give us a very fair idea of the lost first part of the Apocalypse of Peter.'

TESTAMENT.	2 PETER.
§ 8 There shall rise up shepherds, lawless men, unjust, despisers, covetous, lovers of pleasure, lovers of gain, lovers of money, chatterers, exalting themselves . . . opposing the ways of the gospel . . . dishonouring all the way of piety. . . . They shall lay commandments upon men not according to the Scripture and the commandment as the Father willed.	$2^{1ff. 10. 14. 18. 21}$.
[The faithful] shall teach men that, if they prove their spirit, they are upright and fit for the kingdom, and they shall tell them of knowledge and virtue and prudence [γνῶσιν καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ σύνεσιν, Lagarde].	2^8 $1^{11. 5}$.

(*b*) 'The Apocalypse of Paul.' 'This book we have in a rather shortened text of the original Greek [Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphæ* pp. 34–69], in a fuller Syriac version, and in a Latin version which is the fullest of all [*Texts and Studies* ii. 3, pp. 11–42]' (James p. 65). It is 'to a large extent a compilation from earlier works' (see *Texts and Studies* ii. 2, p. 21).

APOCALYPSE OF PAUL.	2 PETER.
13 πῶς ἐξέρχονται ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου, 14 τὰς τῶν δικαίων καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐξόδους, ποίῳ σχήματι ἐξέρχονται ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου. 15 τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς πῶς ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ σκηνώματος αὐτῆς, 47 πρὶν ἐξελθεῖν σε ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου.	$1^{13ff.}$ ἐφ' ὅσον εἰμὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ σκηνώματι . . . ἡ ἀπόθεσις τοῦ σκηνώματός μου . . . μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἔξοδον.
18 παραδοθήτω ἡ ψυχὴ αὕτη ταρταρούχῳ ἀγγέλῳ καὶ φυλαττέσθω ἕως τῆς μεγάλης ἡμέρας τῆς κρίσεως.	2^4 σειροῖς ζόφου ταρταρώσας παρέδωκεν εἰς κρίσιν τηρουμένους.
25 ὅστις ἐλύπησε τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, μὴ ποιήσας τὸ θέλημα αὐτῆς διὰ τὸν θεόν.	2^8.
33 ἅγιος γὰρ ὢν ὁ θεὸς μετανοῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀναμένει αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ μετάνοιαν.	3^9 μακροθυμεῖ εἰς ὑμᾶς, μὴ βουλόμενός τινας ἀπολέσθαι ἀλλὰ πάντας εἰς μετάνοιαν χωρῆσαι.

In the earlier part of the *Apocalypse* (4 ff.) there is a striking passage, in which the Sun asks from God permission to burn up men because of their sins; καὶ ἐγένετο φωνὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἡ μακροθυμία μου πάντων τούτων ἀνέχεται, ὅπως μετανοήσωσιν. The same answer is given to similar petitions made by the Moon and Stars and by the Sea. Compare a similar passage in another document, which seems to be connected with the Apocalypse of Paul, *The Testament of Abraham* x. (ed. James p. 87 f.).

39 γυναῖκας . . . ἀπαγομένας ἐν τόπῳ σκοτινῷ, 42 τὸ φρέαρ ἐκεῖνο σκότους καὶ ζόφους πεπληρωμένον.	1^{19} ἐν αὐχμηρῷ τόπῳ, 2^4 σειροῖς ζόφου.
43 οἱ ἐν ταῖς κολάσεσιν κρινόμενοι, 44 πάντες οἱ ἐν ταῖς κολάσεσιν.	2^9 εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως κολαζομένους τηρεῖν.
50 ἐγώ εἰμι Νῶε . . . καὶ οὐκ ἐπαυσάμην τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κηρύσσειν Μετανοεῖτε· ἰδοὺ γὰρ κατακλυσμὸς ἔρχεται.	2^5.

(*c*) 'The Apocalypse of Esdras' (Tischendorf, *ib.* pp. 24–33).

APOCALYPSE OF ESDRAS.	2 PETER.
14, 50 εἰς κρίσιν παρέδωκας.	2^4 παρέδωκεν εἰς κρίσιν τηρουμένους.
43 θέλω, δέσποτα, ἰδεῖν καὶ τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τοῦ ταρτάρου, 53 κατήγαγόν με κατώτερον ἐν ταρτάροις.	2^4 ταρταρώσας.*

To what conclusion does a study of the coincidences between 2 P and the *Apocalypse of Peter* lead us? There are five possible views which may be taken. (1) The coincidences may be boldly put aside as mere chance resemblances without significance. This view hardly needs discussion. It can scarcely be held by a serious critic, who considers the coincidences as a series, and appreciates the nature of the most striking of them. Few will hesitate as to the correctness of Salmon's view, that 'the agreements of our fragment [*i.e.* the Apocalypse of Peter] with the second Epistle of Peter . . . are more than accidental' (*Appendix to Introduction* p. 591). So Sanday (*Inspiration* p. 347), 'The resemblances are so marked as I think to prove that the two writings are nearly connected.' (2) Did the writer of the *Apocalypse* borrow from 2 P? This view seems to be impossible in view of (*α*) the naturalness of the words and phrases as they stand in their several contexts in the *Apocalypse*; (*β*) the fact that some of them are repeated in the *Apoc.* (sometimes with the form varied), and are found also in kindred documents; (*γ*) the fact that we find in the *Apocalypse* none of the strange and remarkable phrases of 2 P which would fix themselves in the mind of a reader who remembered enough constantly to borrow. (3) Did the writer of 2 P borrow from the *Apocalypse*? This view appears to be a quite possible one. (4) Are the two documents the work of one writer? This is the view to which Sanday (*Inspiration* p. 347) seems to incline. 'It is no doubt possible,' he writes, 'that the writer of the Apocalypse may have imitated the Epistle, or that both may have been affected by some common influence. If there had been on the whole better reason than not for believing the Epistle to be the genuine work of St. Peter, it would be natural to fall back upon some such assumption. But, as the balance of argument is really the other way, the question is forced upon us whether it is not on the whole more probable that the two writings are both by the same hand. This is at least the simplest of the different hypotheses which are open to us.' The present writer ventures to think that this explanation is excluded by a consideration of the literary style of the two documents. The *Apocalypse* is simple and natural in style. There is nothing remarkable in its vocabulary. It is, in a word, wholly free from the literary peculiarities which are so strongly marked in 2 P. (5) Are the two documents the work of two writers who belonged to the same school, whose thoughts moved in the same directions, and to whom the same expressions and words had grown familiar? Among these five possible explanations the choice seems to lie between (3) and (5). The fact that there is a similarity between the two writings, not only in words or in definitely marked ideas, but also in general conceptions—*e.g.* in both there is the picture drawn of Christ on a mountain with His apostles, the latter being admitted to a secret revelation which they should afterwards use for the confirmation of their disciples—seems to be an argument of some strength in favour of the view that the two documents are the product of the same school.

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* The word τάρταρος occurs in three passages of the LXX (in none of which is there anything answering to it in the Hebrew)—Job $40^{15 (20)}$ $41^{22 (23)}$, Pr 24^{51} (30^{16}); also in Enoch 20^2 Οὐριὴλ . . . ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ταρτάρου. Thus the word is found in Jewish writings, which it is quite possible that St. Peter may have read. On the other hand, we should not have expected that the apostle would have applied to the judgment of God a derivative of a word so characteristic of heathen mythology. Further, the use of the derived verb ταρταροῦν implies that the word τάρταρος was a recognized term, in connexion with a Christian representation of Divine punishments, with the writer of 2 P and those for whom he wrote. We find the ideas essentially connected with the conception of Tartarus, emphasized in the *Apocalypse of Peter*; we find the word *Tartarus* itself in one kindred document (*Apoc. of Esdras*) and the derivative ταρταροῦχος in another (*Apoc. of Paul*). It is exceedingly probable that Hippolytus knew, and borrowed from, the *Apoc. of Peter* (James p. 67 f.). Now in Hippolytus' *Refutatio* (x. 34) we read, δι' ἧς ἐπιγνώσεως ἐκφεύξεσθε . . . ταρτάρου ζοφερὸν ὄμμα ἀφώτιστον . . . καὶ ταρταρούχων ἀγγέλων κολαστῶν ὄμμα κ.τ.λ.; and in a fragment of the same writer on the Song of 'the three Children,' preserved by Theodoret (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* x. 868), the words occur, ἔπειτα τὰ καταχθόνια ὠνόμασαν πνεύματα ταρταρούχων ἀγγέλων. The use then of the word ταρταροῦν is in itself a distinct argument for the view which regards 2 P as a document closely connected with the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

7. *CONCLUSION.* — The task remains of interpreting, as a whole, the evidence bearing on the question of the genuineness of 2 Peter. The external evidence is, as was pointed out, wholly insufficient. No evidence exists at all till the time of Clement of Alexandria, or (if we would speak with absolute certainty) till the time of Origen. Thus the burden of proof is thrown on the Epistle itself. It is *conceivable* that, through some accident or series of accidents, a genuine Epistle of St. Peter might lie hid till the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd cent. and then suddenly come to light. But an Epistle claiming to be such must bear unmistakable testimony to its own genuineness. The internal evidence of 2 P has been examined. The literary style of the Epistle is artificial; it shows little command over or appreciation of the language, and yet it is extraordinarily ambitious. It is not easy to think that St. Peter can have cultivated such a style, and the Epistle itself gives no support whatever to the idea that an amanuensis was employed in its composition. Again, the only events in the gospel history to which allusion is made are incidents which had a conspicuous place in St. Peter's life. About all other events in the Lord's life, even the most momentous, the Epistle is absolutely silent. It hardly alludes to any of the Lord's sayings which are recorded in the Gospels. The suspicion, therefore, cannot fail to arise, that the references which are made to the gospel history are selected as being in harmony with the supposed authorship. From history we turn to doctrine. Nothing is said in the Epistle of the Passion or the Resurrection or the exaltation of Christ, or of the Holy Spirit in the Christian Church, or of Prayer. Not only is the Resurrection passed over, but the Transfiguration takes its place as the guarantee of the truth of the gospel. The difficulties, therefore, in the way of holding that the Epistle is the work of a personal disciple of Christ, called to be a witness of the Resurrection, which a study of the Epistle itself reveals, are very serious. They become much more serious when it is compared with what we have every reason to believe to be the genuine words of St. Peter. The First Epistle is wholly different from the Second in literary style, in its use of OT language, in its allusions to the Lord's life and teaching. It dwells with reiterated emphasis on those primary Christian facts and doctrines which have no place in the Second Epistle. The internal evidence, then, reviewed so far, is adverse to the Petrine authorship. But there is another element in the internal evidence, of which, at this point, account must be taken. There are in the Epistle what appear to be clear signs of a date much later than the apostolic age. It is only by unnatural interpretations that 3^4 and $3^{15f.}$ can be made to harmonize with a time within the possible limits of St. Peter's life. The anachronisms of the Epistle seem clearly to point to the 2nd cent. as the time of its composition. This conclusion, based on internal evidence, is confirmed when external evidence is taken into account. On the one hand, it is in accordance with the absence of any trace of the Epistle till the beginning of the 3rd cent. On the other hand, it is at one with what is the natural, if not necessary, inference from the resemblances between the Epistle and the *Apocalypse of Peter*, viz. that these two documents are the work of the same school and belong (approximately) to the same date.

The evidence is obviously cumulative. Different minds will vary in the interpretation of this or that piece of evidence, and in the weight which they allow to evidence the interpretation of which is unquestioned. To the present writer it appears that too many independent lines of evidence converge towards one result to allow of hesitation. The only conclusion, it is believed, which is in accordance with the evidence, external and internal, is that 2 P is not the work of the apostle, but is a document which must be assigned to the 2nd century.

Two subjects remain for consideration—

(1) Is it possible to ascertain with any degree of probability the *place* where, and the *time* when, the Epistle was written? It has been shown to be probable on literary grounds that the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the Second Epistle of Peter belong to the same school. This conclusion is confirmed by what seems to be the natural interpretation of the evidence as to Clement of Alexandria. It appears likely that he, in his *Hypotyposeis*, placed the two documents side by side, and commented on them as closely related writings. It seems probable that the birthplace of the *Apocalypse* was Egypt (see above, p. 777), and we therefore infer that it is also probable that 2 P was written in Egypt (cf. Jülicher, *Einl.* p. 151; Harnack, *Die Chronologie* p. 469). This conclusion is further supported by the fact that the Epistle has points of contact in language and thought with two great writers of Alexandria—Philo and Clement.

(1) *Philo.* Salmon (*Introduction* p. 502 ff.) notes that 'there is a whole host of 2 Peter's rare words in Philo.' Thus, to take a single example, the word *ἰσότιμος* (2 P 1^1) occurs in Philo, *Leg. Alleg.* ii. 6 (ed. Mangey i. 70, *ἰσότιμον αὐτὸ ἡγησάμενος ψυχῇ*); *de Sacr. Abelis et Caini* 3 (i. 165, *τὸν σοφὸν ἰσότιμον κόσμῳ* *); and *ἰσοτιμία* is found in *de Cherub.* 34 (i. 160), *Vita Mosis* 7 (ii. 86). But more important than resemblance in mere vocabulary is kinship in modes of thought. Thus, if 2 P speaks of God's *ἀρετή*, in Philo we have the phrases *τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ σοφίαν τοῦ θεοῦ* (*Leg. Alleg.* ii. 14, i. 75), *τὰ περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν αὐτοῦ* (*Quis Rerum Div. Her.* 22, i. 488), *τῆς θείας ἀρετῆς* (*ib.* 23, i. 489), *τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦ πάντα μεγάλου θεοῦ* (*de Somniis* i. 16, i. 635). Again, Philo supplies parallels to the phrase *θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως*, 2 P 1^4—*e.g.* *Vita Mosis* ii. 11 (ii. 143), *ᾔδει γὰρ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἵλεω*; *de Spec. Leg.* iv. 8 (ii. 343), *τῆς μακαρίας καὶ εὐδαίμονος θεοῦ φύσεως*; *de Abram.* 28 (ii. 22), *οἱ μιμούμενοι τὴν θείαν φύσιν*; *de Somniis* i. 28 (i. 647), *ὅσοι λογικῆς κεκοινωνήκασι φύσεως*. Again, with the phrase *τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον* in 2 P 1^{19} and with the words of the Epistle as to prophecy, 1^{20} (*πᾶσα προφητεία γραφῆς ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως οὐ γίνεται, οὐ γὰρ θελήματι ἀνθρώπου κ.τ.λ.*), we compare the use of the same phrase *ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος* in, *e.g.*, *Leg. Alleg.* iii. 14 (i. 95), *de Plant. Noe* 28 (i. 347); and similar expressions, such as *ὁ προφήτης λόγος* (*de Congr. Erud. Grat.* 30, i. 543), *στόματι προφητικῷ* (*de Mut. Nom.* 24, i. 599), *ἐν προφητικαῖς ῥήσεσιν* (*ib.* 31, i. 604), *ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος* (*Leg. Alleg.* iii. 4, i. 89; *ib.* 56, i. 119); and Philo's language about prophecy in, *e.g.*, *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 52 (i. 510, *προφήτης γὰρ ἴδιον μὲν οὐδὲν ἀποφθέγγεται, ἀλλότρια δὲ πάντα ὑπηχοῦντος ἑτέρου*); *Vita Mosis* i. 51 f. (ii. 125 f., *λέγω γὰρ οὐδὲν ἴδιον ἀλλ' ἅττ' ἂν ὑπηχήσῃ τὸ θεῖον . . . ἐξαίφνης θεοφορεῖται*); *de Monarch.* i. 9 (ii. 222, *προφήτης θεοφόρητος θεσπιεῖ καὶ προφητεύσει, λέγων μὲν οἰκεῖον οὐδὲν . . . ἑρμηνεῖς γάρ εἰσιν οἱ προφῆται θεοῦ καταχρωμένου τοῖς ἐκείνων ὀργάνοις πρὸς δήλωσιν ὧν ἂν ἐθελήσῃ*); *de Spec. Leg.* iv. 8 (ii. 343, *προφήτης τε μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἴδιον ἀποφαίνεται τὸ παράπαν ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἑρμηνεὺς ὑποβάλλοντος ἑτέρου πάνθ' ὅσα προφέρει . . . ἐπιπεφοιτηκότος δὲ καὶ ἐνῳκηκότος τοῦ θείου πνεύματος κ.τ.λ.*).

(2) *Clement.* 2 P 2^{22} (*ὗς λουσαμένη εἰς κυλισμὸν βορβόρου*) has a close parallel in the proverb quoted by Clement, *ὕες ἥδονται βορβόρῳ μᾶλλον ἢ καθαρῷ ὕδατι* (*Cohort.* 10, p. 75, ed. Potter; *Strom.* i. 1, p. 317), in the earlier passage a saying of Democritus being added, *ἐπὶ φορυτῷ μαργαίνουσι*. With the phrase *τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ τῶν πάλαι αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτιῶν* (2 P 1^9) compare *Quis Dives salv.* 40 (p. [illegible]), *τῶν μὲν οὖν προγεγενημένων θεὸς δίδωσιν ἄφεσιν, τῶν δὲ ἐπιόντων αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ*; *Strom.* iv. 24 (p. [illegible]), *ἀφίενται γοῦν [illegible] τοῦ Κυρίου [illegible] τῆς πίστεως*. Again, with 2 P 2^{19} (*ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, αὐτοὶ δοῦλοι ὑπάρχοντες τῆς φθορᾶς*) compare *Strom.* iv. 6 (p. [illegible]),

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* The words which follow—*τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἐργαζόμενος κ.τ.λ.*—illustrate 2 P 3^7 (*τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ τεθησαυρισμένοι εἰσὶν κ.τ.λ.*).

οὐκ ἔτι ἀδιαφόρως βιωτέον οὐδὲ ἀναίδην δουλευτέον τοῖς ἀτιμοτάτοις μέρεσιν ἡμῶν, γαστρὶ καὶ αἰδοίοις, δι' ἐπιθυμίαν κολακευόντων τὸν ἡμέτερον νεκρόν.—The similarity of two other passages in 2 Peter to characteristic passages in Clement is much more important. (i.) In Clement's system faith is the foundation; on this is built a superstructure of good living; 'knowledge,' with the higher virtues which spring from it (ἀπάθεια taking a prominent place among them), is a later stage of growth. See, *e.g.*, the passage at the beginning of *Strom.* vi. where he refers to the purpose of his *Pædagogus*—ὁ παιδαγωγὸς . . . τὴν ἐκ παίδων ἀγωγήν τε καὶ τροφὴν παρέστησεν, τουτέστιν, ἐκ κατηχήσεως συναύξουσαν τῇ πίστει πολιτείαν καὶ προπαρασκευάζουσαν τοῖς εἰς ἄνδρας ἐγγραφομένοις ἐνάρετον τὴν ψυχήν, εἰς ἐπιστήμης γνωστικῆς παραδοχήν. He bitterly complains of those who divorce faith from conduct, *e.g.* *Strom.* i. 9 (p. 341), μόνην καὶ ψιλὴν τὴν πίστιν ἀπαιτοῦσιν. The ascending series of virtues in 2 P $1^{5\text{f.}}$ (πίστις, ἀρετή, γνῶσις, ἐγκράτεια, ὑπομονή, εὐσέβεια, φιλαδελφία, ἀγάπη) is seen at once to have points of contact with that type of Alexandrian thought which finds expression in Clement's writings. With the words of 2 P compare especially Clement, *Strom.* ii. 6 (p. 445), ἡ πρώτη πρὸς σωτηρίαν νεῦσις ἡ πίστις ἡμῖν ἀναφαίνεται, μεθ' ἣν φόβος τε καὶ ἐλπὶς καὶ μετάνοια, σύν τε ἐγκρατείᾳ καὶ ὑπομονῇ προκόπτουσαι, ἄγουσιν ἡμᾶς ἐπί τε ἀγάπην ἐπί τε γνῶσιν; *Strom.* vii. 10 (p. 865), τῷ ἔχοντι προστεθήσεται· τῇ μὲν πίστει ἡ γνῶσις· τῇ τε γνώσει ἡ ἀγάπη· τῇ ἀγάπῃ δὲ ἡ κληρονομία. (ii.) It would be easy to adduce a very large number of passages from Clement illustrating the essential idea of the phrase θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως (2 P 1^4). In the first place, he constantly dwells on man's relation to God by creation (*e.g.* *Cohort.* 10, p. 78); man cannot be ἄμοιρος θείας ἐννοίας (*Strom.* v. 13, p. 698). In the second place, he raises to the highest place of Christian hope the Platonic idea that 'the end of happiness is ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν' (*Strom.* ii. 19, p. 482; cf. *e.g.* *Strom.* vii. 3, p. 835). Lastly, he finds the consummation of man's being in θεοποίησις (*e.g.* *Cohort.* 11, p. 89; *Strom.* vi. 14, p. 797, δύναμιν λαβοῦσα κυριακὴν ἡ ψυχὴ μελετᾷ εἶναι θεός; *ib.* 15, p. 803). Clement was a debtor to those who had gone before for much of his characteristic teaching. It is a reasonable conclusion from the parallels with Philo and Clement that the writer of 2 P was influenced in some of his conceptions and in his phraseology by the Christian school of Alexandria as it existed before Clement's time.

In regard to *date*, the *superior* limit is approximately fixed by the fact that the Epistle was known to Origen, probably to Clement, and that it was already accepted by some in the time of the latter as the work of St. Peter. It can hardly, therefore, have been composed quite recently in Clement's, certainly not quite recently in Origen's, time. The latest possible date, therefore, would be about the year A.D. 175. As to the *inferior* limit, the following considerations are pertinent. (1) A literature is growing up, connecting itself with the name of St. Peter. (2) The immoral Gnostic sects are active. (3) St. Paul's Epistles have been collected: they are regarded as Scripture, and, with other Scriptures, they are violently misinterpreted by the heretics. These indications point to a date later than the first quarter of the 2nd cent. We may conclude provisionally that the Epistle was written a few years before, or a few years after, the middle of the 2nd cent., in Egypt, perhaps in Alexandria.

It must be added that a first rate commentary on 2 P is a great want of English theological literature. Such a commentary would have for its primary object the examination in detail of the relation of the language and ideas of 2 P to early Christian literature, and especially to pseudepigraphic and apocryphal documents. Till this work has been accomplished, conclusions as to the place of writing and as to the exact date within the 2nd cent. to which 2 P is to be assigned, must be regarded as tentative.

(2) In what sense is 2 P to be viewed as a *forgery?* When we regard the Epistle from the point of view of those who possess in the NT a fixed and definite collection of apostolic writings, our natural impulse, when we find ourselves unable to maintain its genuineness, is to condemn it as a shameless forgery, composed with the express purpose of gaining, by means of false statements, a place by the side of the genuine Epistle of St. Peter. But it may well be doubted if this verdict is not wholly vitiated by our ignorance of the circumstances of its composition, and by our natural transference of the ideas of a later time to an earlier and different age. The Epistle is closely related to the *Apocalypse of Peter.* It seems itself to refer (1^{15}) to some other related document or documents. If, then, it was part of a literature which connected itself with the name of St. Peter, the Epistle with similar writings may well have been put forward without any sinister motive. The very number of such documents may well have been at the time a sufficient bar to misconception. Their real character may have been perfectly well known to the readers for whom they were primarily intended. In other words, the personation of the apostle, which appears so wicked when 2 P is viewed as an isolated document, may well have been an obvious literary device rather than a religious or controversial fraud.

The religious and theological aspect of the conclusion that the genuineness of the Epistle cannot be maintained, lies outside the scope of this article. The present writer, however, may be allowed to say, that in his opinion the adoption of such a critical verdict can cause perplexity only when the Lord's promise of guidance to His Church is regarded as a charter of infallibility.

LITERATURE.—(1) *THE LIFE OF ST. PETER:* Baronius, *Annales*, 1609; Xavier, *Hist. S. Petri*, 1639; H. A. Birks, *Studies in the Life and Character of St. Peter*, 1887; Couard, *Simon Petrus der Apostel des Herrn.* There is no standard 'Life' of St. Peter. Information must be sought in (i.) articles in Dictionaries (an asterisk in the following list indicates that the Epistles are included in the art. or are treated of by the same writer), *e.g.* **Encyc. Brit.* (Harnack, 1885); *Herzog (J. P. Lange, 1859); *Herzog-Plitt (Sieffert, 1883); Kitto (W. L. Alexander, 1866); Schenkel (Holtzmann, 1871); *Smith (F. C. Cook, 1863); *Winer (1848): (ii.) Introductions to Commentaries on Epistles, *e.g.* Plumptre, Kühl: (iii.) Commentaries on the Gospels, the Acts, Galatians (especially Lightfoot), 1 Corinthians: (iv.) 'Lives of Christ' and kindred books, *e.g.* Bruce, *Training of the Twelve*, 1871; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, 1884, abridged ed. 1886; Ewald, *Geschichte d. Volkes Israel*, 1864–68, Eng. tr. *History of Israel*, 1883–86; Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, 1897; Farrar, *Life of Christ*, 1876; Andrews, *Life of our Lord upon the Earth*, 1892; Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgesch.*^{3} 1879, Eng. tr. *Times of Jesus*, 1882, *Times of Apostles*, 1895; Keim, *Gesch. Jesu von Nazara*, 1867–72, Eng. tr. *Hist. of Jesus of Nazara*, 1873–83; Lange, *Leben Jesu nach den Evangelien*, 1844–47, Eng. tr. *Life of the Lord Jesus Christ*, 1864; Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, 1863, 17th ed. 1882; Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, 1882, 3rd ed. 1888, Eng. tr. *Life of Christ*, 1883–84; Beyschlag, *Leben Jesu*, 1885–86; Didon, *Jésus Christ*, 1890, Eng. tr. 1893; cf. art. JESUS CHRIST in vol. ii. p. 653: (iv.) Works on the Apostolic Age, *e.g.* V. Bartlet, 1900; Ewald, *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, vii.; Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity*, 1882; Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 1894; Lechler, *Das apost. u. das nachapost. Zeitalter*^{2}, 1857, Eng. tr. *The Apost. and post-Apost. Times*, 1886; Lightfoot, 'St. Paul and the Three,' in comm. on *Galatians*, 1865, 'St. Peter in Rome,' in *Clement*, ii. p. 481 ff., 1890; McGiffert, *Hist. of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, 1897; Neander, *Planting of the Christian Church*, 1832, Eng. tr. 1841; Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 1895; Rankin, *The First Saints*, 1893; Renan, *Les Apôtres*, 1866, *St. Paul*, 1869, *L'Antichrist*, 1873, *Les Évangiles*, 1877, *L'Église Chrétienne*, 1879; Ritschl, *Die Entstehung der altkath. Kirche*, 1850, 2nd ed. 1857; Stanley, *Sermons and Essays on the Apost. Age*, 1847, 3rd ed. 1874; Weizsäcker, *Das apost. Zeitalter*, 1886, Eng. tr. 1894; cf. art. ACTS OF THE APOSTLES in vol. i. p. 35.

The chief recent works dealing with St. Peter's visit to Rome and collateral matters have been referred to in the body of the art. on PETER. Of older books Baronius, *Annales*, i., 1609, and Spanheim, *Dissertatio de ficta profectione Petri Ap. in urbem Romam*, 1679, may be mentioned; and among works of the present century J. Delitzsch in *SK*, 1874 (pp. 213–260, 'Zur Quellenkritik der ältesten kirchlichen Berichte über Simon Petrus u. Simon Magus'); Langen, *Gesch. der röm. Kirche*, 1881 (i. pp. 40–63); Puller, *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*, 1893; Schmid, *Petrus in Rom*, 1879; Windischmann, *Vindiciæ Petrinæ*, 1836.

(2) *THE THEOLOGY OF ST. PETER (SPEECHES IN THE ACTS, EPISTLES)*: B. Weiss, *Der petrinische Lehrbegriff*, 1855; the relevant sections in works on the Biblical Theology of the NT, *e.g.* Baur, *Vorlesungen*, 1864; Beyschlag, 1891, Eng. tr. 1895 (bk. iii. § 3); Bovon, 1893: Holtzmann, 1896; Pfleiderer, *Das Urchristenthum*, 1887; Reuss, 1864, Eng. tr. 1872: Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, 2nd ed. 1896 (bk. iv. ch. iii.); Schmid, 1853, Eng. tr. 1870; Adeney, 1894: G. B. Stevens, 1899; B. Weiss, 5th ed. 1888, Eng. tr. from 3rd ed. 1882; Dale in *The Atonement*, 1878, pp. 97–148; Briggs in *The Messiah of the Apostles*, 1895, pp. 21–41.

The following list of books dealing with 1 P $3^{19\text{ff.}}$ $4^{5\text{f.}}$ is given in Charles, *Eschatology*, 1899, p. 376 n.; Dietelmaier, *Historia Dogmatis de Descensu Christi ad Inferos litteraria*, 1741 and 1762; Güder, *Die Lehre von d. Erscheinung Christi unter den Toten*, 1853; Zezschwitz, *De Christi ad Inferos*

Descensu, 1857; Usteri, *Hinabgefahren zur Hölle*; Schweitzer, *Hinabgefahren zur Hölle*, 1886; Hofmann, *Schriftbeweiss*, ii. 335–341; Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, 3rd ed. 1897, pp. 458–488; Spitta, *Christi Predigt an die Geister*; Bruston, *La Descente du Christ aux Enfers*, 1897; Stevens, *Theology of the NT*, 1899, pp. 304–311. To these may be added Pearson on art. v. of the Apostles' Creed with the notes; Plumptre, *The Spirits in Prison*, 1884; Wright, *Biblical Essays*, 1886, p. 138; Delitzsch and Hofmann in *Expos*. 4th ser. vol. iii. 1891, pp. 241–263; Balfour in *Expos. Times*, vii. (1896) 356–359.

(3) *THE RECEPTION OF THE EPISTLES* (*1 P*, *2 P*) *IN THE CHURCH:* Charteris, *Canonicity*, 1880, pp. 301–318 (based on the next named); Kirchhofer, *Quellensammlung*, 1844, §§ 28, 29; Westcott, *History of the Canon*, 5th ed. 1881; Zahn, *Gesch. des NT Kanons*, 1888, especially I. i. pp. 302–318. On 2 P reference may also be made to Salmon, *Introduction*, 6th ed. 1892, pp. 483–490; Spitta, *Der zweite Brief des Petrus*, p. 533 f.; Warfield, *Southern Presbyterian Review*, Jan. 1882.

(4) *COMMENTARIES:* (i.) On both Epistles: (α) Ancient: Didymus of Alexandria (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xxxix, Latin version with a few Greek fragments); Œcumenius (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* cxix.); fragments and scholia in C. F. Matthæi, *Nov. Test.* v. 1782, *Scholia ad Eph. Cath.* p. 196 ff.; and in Cramer, *Catena*, 1840. (β) Modern: the Reformation Period, Erasmus, 1516, 1535; Luther, 1523; Calvin, 1551. The 17th and 18th centuries, Grotius, *Annotationes*, 1650; Wolf, *Curæ Philologicæ*, 1741; Bengel, *Gnomon*, 1773. The present century (in alphabetical order)—Alford, 4th ed. 1871; J. T. Beck, 1895; B. Brückner, 3rd ed. 1865; K. Burger in Strack-Zöckler's *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*^{2}, 1895; H. Couard, 1895; Fronmüller in Lange, *Bibelwerk*, 1862, 4th ed. 1890, Eng. tr. 1867; Goebel, 1893; Hofmann, 1875; Huther in Meyer, 1852, Eng. tr. 1881; Keil, 1883; Plumptre in *Camb. Bible for Schools*, 1880; Pott, 1810; M. F. Sadler, 1891; S. D. F. Salmond in Schaff's *Popular Commentary*, 1883; Schott, 1863; von Soden in *Hand-Commentar*^{2}, 1892; A. Wiesinger in Olshausen, *Bibelwerk*, 1 P 1854, 2 P 1862; Wordsworth, new ed. 1872. (ii.) On 1 P only: Clement of Alexandria, *Hypotyposeis* (Zahn, *Forschungen*, iii. pp. 79–83, pp. 93–95), stands at the head of the list. Modern commentaries—F. C. Cook in *Speaker's Commentary*, 1881; Hort (an important fragment on 1^1–2^{17}; published posthumously, 1898); R. Johnstone, 1888; A. J. Mason in Ellicott's *Comm. for English Readers*, 1883; Steiger, 1832, Eng. tr. 1836; Theile, 1833; Usteri, 1887. (iii.) On 2 P only: Dietlein, 1851; Harms, 1873; Lumby in *Speaker's Commentary*, 1881; Plummer in Ellicott's *Comm. for English Readers*, 1883; Steinfass, 1863.

(5) *GENERAL* (*ON THE EPISTLES*).—The relevant sections in the Introductions to the NT, especially the following:—Bleek, Davidson, Hilgenfeld, Holtzmann, Jülicher, Salmon, B. Weiss, de Wette (ed. 1860), Zahn; arts. in Dictionaries, etc. marked with * in (1); also Kitto (1 and 2 Pet., W. Wright); Schenkel (1 P, Holtzmann; 2 P, Schenkel); also the following books and articles:—E. A. Abbott, articles on 2 P in *Expositor*, Jan. Feb. March 1882; Cludius, *Uransichten des Christenthums*, 1808 (pp. 296–311; said to be the first critic to question the authenticity of 1 P); Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 1895, p. 244 f. (1 P), p. 277 ff. (2 P); Ewald, *Sieben Sendschreiben*, 1870; Farrar, art. on 2 P in *Expositor*, June 1882, *The Early Days of Christianity*, 1882 (i. pp. 121–219 on both Epistles); Gloag, *Introduction to Cath. Epistles*, 1887; Grimm in *SK*, 1872, pp. 657–694 ('Das problem des ersten Petrus-briefes'); Grosch, *Die Echtheit des zweiten Briefes Petri*, 1889 (dates 1 P A.D. 55, 2 P 66–67, and maintains genuineness of latter); Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel* ('Texte u. Untersuch.' ii. 1, 2), 1884 (p. 105), *Die Chronologie*, 1897 (pp. 450 475, 'Die unter dem Namen des Petrus fünf Schriften'); Link in *SK*, 1896 (pp. 405–436, 'Der Dolmetscher des Petrus'); Mayerhoff, *Die petrinischen Schriften*, 1835; McGiffert, *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, 1897 (pp. 482 ff. 596 ff. on 1 P; p. 600 ff. on 2 P); Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893 (pp. 279–295 on date of 1 P); Sanday in *Expositor*, series 4, vol. vii. 1893 (pp. 406–413 on date of 1 P), *Inspiration*, 1893 (especially pp. 346 ff. 382 ff. on 2 P); E. Scharfe, *Die petrinische Strömung der neutestamentlichen Literatur*, 1893 (expansion of art. in *SK*, 1889, pp. 633 670, 'Die schriftstellerische Originalität des ersten Petrusbriefs'); Spitta, *Der zweite Brief des Petrus u. der Brief des Judas*, 1885; Swete, in *Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark*, 1898 (pp. xvi–xviii); Warfield, articles on the canonicity and genuineness of 2 Peter in the *Southern Presbyterian Review*, Jan. 1882, April 1883; B. Weiss, in *SK*, 1866 (p. 256 ff., 'Die petrinische Frage, Das verhältniss zum Judasbrief'); Schulze in Zöckler's *Handb. d. theol. Wissensch*. 1883 (i. p. 529 f.).

F. H. CHASE.

PETHAHIAH (פְּתַחְיָה).—**1.** The head of the nineteenth [LXX eighteenth] priestly course, 1 Ch 24^{16} (B Φεταιά, A Ἀφεσσή). **2.** A Levite who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{23} (B Φαδαιά, A Φεθειά); introduced by a later hand in Neh 9^{5} (LXX om.). **3.** A Judahite officer, who 'was at the king's hand in all matters concerning the people,' Neh 11^{24} (B Παθαιά, A Φαθαιά).

PETHOR (פְּתוֹר; B *Φαθουρα*, A *Βαθουρα*).—The home of Balaam (Nu 22^{5}, Dt 23$^{4(5)}$), said (Nu) to be 'on the River' (*i.e.* the Euphrates), and (Dt) to belong to Aram-naharaim (cf. Nu 23^{7}), *i.e.* the region between the Euphrates in its upper course (by and below Carchemish) and the Khabour, some 400 miles N.N.E. of Palestine. It is no doubt the *Pitru*, mentioned by Shalmaneser II. (B.C. 860–825): 'I crossed the Euphrates, and took the city Ana-Ašur-utîr-aṣbat on the other side of the Euphrates, on the Sagur, which the Hittites call *Pitru*' (*KIB* i. 133, l. 37–40; cf. 163, l. 36; 173, l. 85–6); and the *Pedru*, named long before among his conquests by Thothmes III. (W. M. Müller, *As. u. Eur.* 291; *RP*^{2}, v. 38, No. 280). The Sagur is the modern *Sajur*, which flows into the Euphrates from the N.W. at a point about 60 miles N.E. of Aleppo: Pitru or Pethor, if 'on' both the Euphrates (Nu 22^{5}) and the Sajur, must thus have been on the W. bank of the former river at its junction with the Sajur, and therefore, speaking strictly, just beyond the W. border of Aram-naharaim (Dt 23^{4}).* It was, of course, much more nearly N. of Moab than 'east' (Nu 23^{7}); but it must be remembered that the term 'east' is used broadly (see Gn 29^{1}, of Ḥaran, in the same neighbourhood). For 'mountains' (*ib.*) between the Sajur and the Euphrates, Dillm. refers pertinently to Sachau, *Reise in Syr. u. Mesop.* 1883, pp. 159 ff., 165 ff. (cf. also the map). See, further, Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 155 f., *Keilinschr. u. Geschichtsforsch.* 220 f.; Dillm. on Nu 22^{5}; Sayce, *HCM* 274.

S. R. DRIVER.

PETHUEL (פְּתוּאֵל; perhaps, by a copyist's slip, for בְּתוּאֵל *Bethuel*, so LXX [Βαθουήλ] and other VSS, but Vulg. *Phatuel*).—The father of the prophet Joel, Jl 1^{1}.

PETITION.—**1.** שְׁאֵלָה from שָׁאַל to ask, is tr. 'petition' in 1 S 1$^{17.27}$, 1 K 2$^{16.20}$, Est 5$^{6.7.8}$ 7$^{2.3}$ 9^{12}. In Jg 8^{24} we find the subst. and vb. together, literally 'ask an asking,' EV 'desire a request.' So 1 K 2^{16} (EV 'ask a petition'), 2^{20} (EV 'desire a petition'). In Est 5^{7} 'petition' and 'request' appear as synonyms (Heb. שְׁאֵלָה and בַּקָּשָׁה). **2.** מִשְׁאָלָה from the same vb., Ps 20^{5}. **3.** The Aram. בָּעוּ, from בְּעָא 'to inquire into,' Dn 6$^{7.13}$: in v.^{12} the subst. is not expressed in Heb. **4.** *δέησις*, 1 Mac 7^{37} 'a house of prayer and petition' (*οἶκος προσευχῆς καὶ δεήσεως*; RV 'prayer and supplication'). **5.** *αἴτημα*, 1 Jn 5^{15} 'We have the petitions which we desired' (*τὰ αἰτήματα ἃ ᾐτήκαμεν*, RV 'which we have asked'). **6.** *Oratio*, 2 Es 8^{24}.

PETRA.—See SELA.

PEULLETHAI (פְּעֻלְּתַי, B Ἰαφθοσλααθί, A Φολλαθί).—The eighth son of Obed-edom, 1 Ch 26^{5}.

PHAATH MOAB (Φαὰθ Μωάβ), 1 Es 5^{11} (B Φθαλειμωάβ), 8^{31} (B Μααθμ., AV Pahath M.) = Pahath-Moab.

PHACARETH (Φακαρέθ), 1 Es 5^{34} = Pochereth-hazzebaim, Ezr 2^{57}.—The succeeding word belongs to this name as in Cod. B Φ. Σαβειή, and is not a separate name as it is taken by Cod. A and RV 'the sons of Sabie.'

PHAISUR (B Φαισούρ, A Φαισού), 1 Es 9^{22} = Pashhur, the head of a priestly house, elsewhere called Phassurus, 1 Es 5^{25}.

PHALDEUS (B Φαλαδαῖος, A Φαλδαῖος, AV Phaldaius, 1 Es 9^{44} = Pedaiah, Neh 8^{4}.

PHALEAS (Φαλαίας), 1 Es 5^{29} = Padon, Ezr 2^{44}.

PHALIAS (B Φαλίας, A Φιάθας, AV Biatas), 1 Es 9^{48} = Pelaiah, Neh 8^{7}.

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* See the excellent map of 'Syria, Assyria, and Babylonia,' in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, i. in the art. ASSYRIA.

PHALTIEL (*Phalthiel, i.e.* פַּלְטִיאֵל, cf. 2 S 3^{15}; D *Salatiel*, Syr. *Psaltiel*). — The 'captain of the people,' who had an interview with Esdras at the close of his first vision, 2 Es 5^{16}.

PHANUEL (Φανουήλ, *i.e.* פְּנוּאֵל *Penuel*). — The mother of Anna, Lk 2^{36}.

PHARAKIM (B Φαρακέμ, A -κείμ, AV Pharacim), 1 Es 5^{31}.—His sons were among the temple servants who returned with Zerubbabel. The name is omitted in the parallel lists of Ezr and Neh.

PHARAOH (פַּרְעֹה, Φαραώ).—The term does not occur in the Tel el-Amarna letters, nor perhaps anywhere else in cuneiform literature. In fact, so far as we know, in ancient times it was the Hebrews alone who adopted the term; from Hebrew it passed into Greek, and from Greek into Arabic. In face of these facts it is almost superfluous to mention that Renouf has noted that פַּרְעֹה can, if necessary, be connected with an Arabic and even with a Hebrew root (*PSBA* xv. 421). The word existed in full use in Egyptian, with a purely Egyptian etymology, and there is no need to seek it further. The earliest instance of the title in Hebrew is probably in Ex 15^4, generally assigned by critics to about B.C. 950.

In inscriptions of the Old Kingdom an expression *Pr-'o*, 'great house,' is found, and signifies the royal house or estate, especially in titles such as 'superintendent of the gardens of *Pr-'o*'; but there is nothing to show that it was then applied to the person of Pharaoh. In the Middle Kingdom, from dynasty 12–16 it still designated strictly the palace and royal establishment rather than the king, yet it is already often followed in writing by the *Vivat*! 'Life, Prosperity, Health.' In the New Kingdom it became at once personal, and was soon a common term for the king: *e.g.* a letter is addressed to Amenhotep IV. (18th dynasty) as 'Pharaoh the Lord.' In the 19th dynasty it is the usual expression for the king in unarchaistic narrative and in the stories, and is followed by the royal personal determinative. Certain hieratic documents show that in the 22nd dynasty it preceded the personal name of the king in dates, thus: 'the *Stn* (king) *Pr-'o* (Pharaoh), Shashaqa.' In formal inscriptions the older royal titles persisted to the end, but in demotic the new style alone was used (at least from the 25th dynasty, the period of the Assyrian invasion), and documents exist naming the *Pr-'o Nk'w*, the exact equivalent of 'Pharaoh-Necho.' At the same time the king is always referred to in narrative as *Pr-'o*. Probably not much later than this the '*Ayin* was lost. In Old Coptic (of the 2nd cent. A.D.) the descendant of *Pr-'o* is simply ⲡⲉⲣⲟ, 'the king,' and the ⲡ being misinterpreted as the def. article, left only ⲉⲣⲟ as the word for king in Coptic. Φερών, given as the name of an Egyptian king in Hdt. II. cxi., is evidently only the royal title *Pr-'o*.

The phrase 'Pharaoh king of Egypt,' so common in the OT, is not taken from the Egyptian. In Assyrian, 'Pir'u king of Musri,' named in an inscription of Sargon, seems at first the precise equivalent to it, but Winckler (*Mitth. d. vorderas. Ges.* 1898, i. 3) distinguishes Musri, a north-Arabian land, from Misri, Egypt; so this equation is at least very doubtful.

Shishak is the first king of Egypt whom the Bible definitely names; and it is a guarantee of comparatively early date and a non-Egyptian source for the record in 1 K $14^{25ff.}$, that his name is not there preceded by the title 'Pharaoh.' The Saite kings Pharaoh-Necho and Pharaoh-Hophra are accurately entitled as in contemporary Egyptian. The Ethiopian conqueror Tirhakah is regularly called 'Pharaoh Tirhakah' in Egyptian documents, but in the Hebrew (2 K 19^9) his true position is more accurately defined as 'king of Cush.'

1. The first appearance of the title according to the canonical scheme of the biblical books is in Gn 12^{10-20}. As Abram is to be placed long before the 18th dynasty, the title here seems an anachronism such as is met with in the late Egyptian stories. Another difficulty in the narrative is the mention of Abram's having camels in Egypt. Herodotus refers to camels on the borders of Egypt in the time of Cambyses, which at least testifies to their presence in the writer's own day (5th cent. B.C.), and this, except for the passage in Genesis, is the earliest mention of the animal in connexion with Egypt; it would, however, be easy to believe that camels were known throughout the Persian period and as far back at least as the Assyrian invasions in the 7th cent. (25th dynasty). As the narrative presents no clear feature—famines being frequent — by which Abram's Pharaoh may be distinguished from others, and since Egyptian, as well as Hebrew, chronology is at present exceedingly obscure for the earlier periods, it is obviously useless to attempt his identification.

2. The Pharaoh of Joseph. The long and elaborate story of Joseph presents some very interesting data for consideration, but they are not favourable to the view that it is historically true. Its use of the title 'Pharaoh,' and of *Yĕ'ōr*, the late Egyptian name of the Nile, which is derived from the old form *Ytr*, alike preclude an early date for its redaction. Far weightier is the evidence of the names Potiphera (*P-ti-p-R'*, 'the gift of the Sun'), Asenath ([*N*]*es-Neith*, 'belonging to Neith'), Zaphenath-pa'aneah (*Zt-p-ntr-e-f-'nkh*, 'Saith the god, "he liveth"!'), which are of forms common after the 21st dynasty, and not occurring at all before it. The name Asenath strongly suggests the times of the Saite dynasties, when the worship of Neith was prominent and all these types of names were in full currency. A genuine Egyptian name of the type of Zaphenath-pa'aneah would have included the name of a specific deity, but at any rate the Hebrew author was so familiar with the formation of Egyptian names that he could introduce appropriately into the formula a new element *p-ntr*, 'the god,' instead of a god's name, without committing a solecism. The relations of Egypt with Palestine from the 10th cent. B.C. onward, and especially in and after the period of the Assyrian invasions, may explain this.

In a priestly inscription of the latest period, at the Cataracts, there is a record, that can scarcely be historical, of a 7 years' famine under one of the earliest kings, perhaps B.C. 3000, but we have no other record of any famine of like duration until Arab times. Our knowledge of Egypt is still very limited. Of the tenure of land in Egypt we know little; of the buying up of the people and their land, and the ultimate arrangement for paying ⅕th of the produce as a tax to Pharaoh, nothing is known. To seek the prototype of the Pharaoh of Joseph seems a rather thankless task. The chariot may or may not be an anachronism; its employment probably began under the Hyksos. It is usually conjectured that the Pharaoh who raised Joseph to the highest place in the realm and treated his shepherd brethren so well was a Hyksos, 'Shepherd,' king of the 15th or 16th dynasty. But of the Hyksos kings we know practically nothing except that some of them ruled the whole of Egypt, that they worshipped particularly or exclusively the god Set, and that their principal residences were On (Heliopolis) and Avaris (most likely Zaru) in the N.E. of Lower Egypt. Probably other events than those recounted in Genesis brought about the disappearance of the feudal system of the Middle Empire before the New Kingdom. See, further, article Joseph.

3. 4. The Pharaohs of the Oppression and the Exodus. On the supposition that these events took place in the 18th or 19th dynasty, 'Pharaoh' is a term which might well be employed by a contemporary historian of them. But *Yĕʾōr* for the Nile seems to lower the date, and, had the great occurrences been still fresh in the remembrance of the emigrants or of their immediate descendants at the time of writing down the story, the distinctive names of the Egyptian kings concerned, and other definite information, would hardly have been omitted from the narrative. If the account is literally true, or almost so, it presents us with a considerable historical sequence to fit into the Egyptian history of the New Kingdom, a period for which our information is much fuller than usual. Ramses II. of the 19th dynasty is generally (see Driver's discussion in Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology*, 52 ff.) accounted the Pharaoh of the Oppression, and his son and successor, Merenptah, is considered to be the Pharaoh of the Exodus, which some, however (*e.g.* Lieblein, *PSBA*, 1899, 66), would place in the reign of Amenhotep III. or IV. of the 18th dynasty, supporting their argument by the movements of the 'Ḥabiri' (Hebrews?) in Palestine as disclosed by the Tel el-Amarna letters. The name of **Raamses** given (Ex 1^{11}) to a store city built by the Hebrews clearly refers to some city built for one of the kings named Ramses. Of these Ramses II. was the greatest; he was also preeminent as a builder. Several cities were called after his name, and one in the Eastern Delta, in the region of Goshen, retained it till a late date. He was also active at Pithom, as is shown by M. Naville's excavation there; but it is by no means clear that he was the founder of it: probably the site was already ancient in his day. The Oppression evidently lasted many years. Ramses II. reigned 67 years, and thus the Exodus may have taken place in the short reign of Merenptah, the son and successor of that aged king. The remarkable fact that the Israelites are named on a monument of Merenptah (see Petrie, *Six Temples*, pls. xiii., xiv.) as destroyed or harried by him, apparently in Palestine, does not disprove this theory, as detachments from the main body might have left Egypt from time to time, and settled and multiplied at Hebron, round the tombs of the patriarchs. Nor is it disproved by the recent discovery of the mummy of Merenptah in the tomb of Amenhotep II., for the biblical narrative does not distinctly state that Pharaoh himself was drowned in the Red Sea. The Israelites are said to have passed through the desert of Sinai, and wandered 40 years in its neighbourhood; and it happens that there are no records extant of Egyptian expeditions to the quarries of Sinai during the reigns of Merenptah and his successor. On the other hand, there is no trace in the Hebrew records of any Egyptian invasion of Palestine before Shishak of the 22nd dynasty; unless indeed, as some think, 'the hornet' of Jos 24^{12}, Ex 23$^{27.28}$, Dt 7^{20} refers to the inroad of Ramses III. This king of the 20th dynasty certainly harried the country, and, had the Israelites previously entered it in force, it is hardly probable that his invasion would not be mentioned in the Book of Judges. But it is possible to reconcile the chronology of Judges with a theory that would make the entry of the Israelites into Palestine subsequent to the last campaign of Ramses III. (Petrie, *PSBA*, 1896, p. 243). Also, even on the usual theory, the passage of the Egyptian armies along the coast roads into Syria would leave untouched the highlands of Palestine and the Valley of the Jordan, from which the spread of the Hebrews must, as a matter of fact, have been only gradual. To sum up, the monuments of Egypt give us no record either of the Oppression or of the Exodus. As the story stands, there are passages in it which are difficult to credit, but some modifications would enable us to place it in the time of Ramses II. and Merenptah. See, further, art. Moses.

5. In 1 Ch 4^{18} there is mention of a 'daughter of Pharaoh' in a genealogy; but not only is her chronological position doubtful, it is even uncertain whether a royal title or a personal name is intended by the expression.

6. In David's lifetime Hadad the Edomite fled to Egypt and was well received by Pharaoh, who gave him the sister of his queen Tahpenes to wife (1 K 11$^{14ff.}$). Here the queen's name offers a clue, but at present no such name has been recognized from Egypt. At the end of the 11th cent. B.C. Egypt was ruled by two contemporaneous dynasties, one ruling at Thebes and the other at Tanis (Zoan) in the Eastern Delta, the latter, however, having the suzerainty over the whole country. The power of Egypt must have been small, and no large monuments were raised in that period.

7. Solomon's Egyptian father-in-law (1 K 2^{46} 3^{1}) should likewise be a Tanite king (21st dynasty); according to 1 K 9^{16} he took Gezer and gave it to Solomon.

It is noticeable that Shishak king of Egypt (the founder of the 22nd dynasty) is never called Pharaoh. This is the first occasion in the Bible on which a distinctive name is given to an Egyptian king. It seems as if the vague traditions in the earlier stories were now succeeded by more positive knowledge as to later events. As noted above, Shishak was called by the Egyptians 'Pharaoh Shishak' (*Rec. de Trav.* xxi. 13, l. 1), but the fashion was a new one, and would be little known to foreigners.

8. 'Pharaoh king of Egypt' of the time of Sennacherib and Hezekiah. In both versions (2 K 18^{21} and Is 36^{6}) the Rabshakeh addresses Hezekiah with the words, 'Behold thou trustest on the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt; whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it: so is Pharaoh king of Egypt to all that trust on him.' Here 'Pharaoh king of Egypt' is a vague way of designating the king, who appears at that time to have been Tirhakah, in 2 K 19^{9} rightly called 'king of Ethiopia.' In Egyptian documents this conqueror of Egypt is regularly designated 'Pharaoh Tahraqa.' It may be questioned whether there is not in the biblical account a confusion between two distinct campaigns of Sennacherib, and whether 'Pharaoh king of Egypt' does not refer to another king reigning in B.C. 701; cf. art. Hezekiah in vol. ii. p. 378^{b}. Tirhakah probably did not begin to reign before B.C. 685.

F. Ll. Griffith.

PHARAOH-HOPHRA.—See Hophra.

PHARAOH-NEC(H)O.—See Neco.

PHARAOH'S DAUGHTER.—See Pharaoh, and Moses, p. 447^{b}.

PHARATHON (*Φαραθών*).—A place in Judæa, fortified by Bacchides against Jonathan, 1 Mac 9^{50}. The EV separate *Pharathon* from the preceding name, reading 'Timnath, Pharathon,' whereas LXX seems to combine the two—*τὴν Θαμνάθα Φαραθών*. G. A. Smith agrees with the latter, holding that 'evidently one place' is referred to (but see Buhl, *GAP* 206 f.). Pharathon is probably the village *Fer‘on* in the low hills west of Shechem, guarding the approach to the main route on the Plain of Sharon, and Timnath may be Timnath-heres. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xi. Cf. also art. PIRATHON.

C. R. CONDER.

PHARES.—1 Es 5^5. See PEREZ, *ad init.*

PHARIDA.—1 Es 5^{33} = **Perida** of Neh 7^{57} or **Peruda** of Ezr 2^{55}. See PERIDA.

PHARISEES.—

- i. Origin and History of the Pharisees and the Sadducees.
- ii. Leading Characteristics of the Pharisees.
  - (1) Their scrupulous observance of the Law.
  - (2) Their belief in the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, and future retribution.
  - (3) Messianic expectations.
  - (4) Belief in angels and spirits.
  - (5) Doctrine of Divine Providence and freedom of man's will.
  - (6) Their separation from the mass of the people.
  - (7) The Pharisees and the supremacy of the Gentiles.
- iii. The Pharisees and Jesus.
  - (1) Their opposition to our Lord.
  - (2) Our Lord's criticism of the Pharisees.
- Literature.

i. ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE PHARISEES AND THE SADDUCEES.—Though the Pharisees and the Sadducees make their first appearance as distinct parties during the latter half of the 2nd cent. B.C., they represent tendencies which can be traced much further back in Jewish history. When Ezra returned from Babylon (B.C. 458), he found the Jews living in and around Jerusalem divided into two parties on the question of intercourse with foreigners. Those who returned first from exile (B.C. 537) had been more scrupulous in this matter. They seem to have held aloof at first not only from the heathen inhabitants of the land, but also from the descendants of those Jews that had been left in Palestine by Nebuchadnezzar, and to have admitted into the new community only those whose ancestors had been in exile, or who were otherwise able to prove that they were of pure stock (Ezr 2, Neh 7^{6-73}). Gradually, however, they fell away from this strictness; they received into their fellowship their Palestinian brethren and such of the heathen as acknowledged J″ and His commandments; and many of them even entered into alliances of various kinds with those of their heathen neighbours who remained heathen.

That such was the case we learn especially from the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Immediately upon his arrival in Jerusalem, Ezra was informed that many of the people had intermarried with the people of the land, the chiefs of the people being most guilty ($9^{1f.}$).* A commission appointed to inquire into the matter took three months to perform its task ($10^{16f.}$). The number of those who had contracted such marriages was very great; the list that was drawn up (10^{18-44}) contains the names of four members of the high priest's family (v.^{18}). Ezra perceived that a grave crisis had arisen in the history of the Jewish community in Palestine; the holy seed was being profaned (9^2); the heathen element might soon become dominant; the danger could be averted only by the adoption of measures that would secure that only such could belong to the community as were of pure Jewish blood. He accordingly demanded that they put away their foreign wives and children, without giving them the opportunity of becoming Jews ($10^{1-5.\ 11}$). Though they pledged themselves to do so ($10^{5.\ 19}$), this measure was not, at least permanently, carried out.† For when Nehemiah first visited Jerusalem (B.C. 444) he found matters exactly as Ezra had found them. The 'nobles of Judah' were in close alliance with the foreign element (Neh 6^{17-19} 3^5); the Sabbath was not strictly kept (10^{31}, cf. $13^{15ff.}$); and mixed marriages were exceedingly common. After taking the precautionary measure of building the wall of Jerusalem, he held an assembly of the people, at which they resolved to separate themselves entirely from all foreigners, and to observe all the LORD'S commandments (9^2 $10^{28ff.}$). He did not, however, compel them to put away their foreign wives and children, but only to pledge themselves to abstain from all mixed marriages in future (10^{30}). But he had not yet gained a complete victory. When he revisited Jerusalem in 432, he found that the high priest Eliashib had renewed his close fellowship with Tobiah ($13^{4ff.}$), that the Sabbath was still desecrated (v.$^{15ff.}$), that many of the people were still marrying foreign wives (v.$^{23ff.}$), and that a grandson of the high priest was son-in-law to Sanballat (v.^{28}). Against these abuses he took active measures. He cast out all Tobiah's household stuff, and had the chambers of the temple purified (v.$^{8f.}$); he renewed his injunctions against Sabbath desecration and the contracting of fresh mixed marriages, and expelled the high priest's grandson from the Jewish community (v.^{28}).* 'Thus,' he adds, 'cleansed I them from all strangers' (v.^{30}). Complete separation from all foreign elements became henceforth the principle of Judaism.

In connexion with these proceedings it is important to notice that the natural leaders of the people, including the members of the high priest's family, who had become a sort of temple nobility, were among the chief offenders, and that it was from them that Nehemiah experienced the greatest active opposition. Backed up by the authority of the Persian king, he was able to crush their opposition, and to establish in Judæa the strict separation which from the first had ruled among the pious exiles in Babylonia. 'The aftertime shows plainly that he accomplished the work of his life. He impressed the stamp of his spirit upon Judaism for all time, and forced it to follow the course he had marked out' (Cornill, *History of the People of Israel*, p. 168; see also Wellhausen, *Isr. und Jüd. Geschichte*^{3}, p. 173). We must not, however, make Nehemiah a Pharisee and Eliashib a Sadducee. In them and their respective adherents we have only, at the most, a preparation for the parties that formed much later. The victory of Nehemiah was the victory of Judaism generally, not of Judaism in its specific Pharisaic form.

Regarding the latter half of the Persian period we have hardly any authentic information. The high priest was probably, under the Persian governor of Syria, the civil as well as religious head of the Jewish community; he and his priestly brethren of higher office along with their families would doubtless form a kind of aristocracy, even as compared with the rest of the priests. Judging from the conduct of some of their successors towards the close of the Greek period, it is very unlikely that their influence was always of an ideal character (cf. the story of Johanan and Bagoses, *Ant.* XI. vii. 1). In spite of the triumph of the exclusive party under Ezra and Nehemiah, there still remained an Israel after the flesh, and a deep gulf between it and the Israel after the spirit.†

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* We learn from Mal $2^{14f.}$ that some of the Jews had put away their Jewish wives in order to marry foreign women.

† According to the LXX of 10^{44} they put away their foreign wives along with their children.

* According to Josephus (*Ant.* XI. viii. 2 ff.) this expelled priest was Manasseh, for whom Sanballat built the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim.

† For detailed proof drawn from the Psalms see Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*, p. 184 ff. We need not suppose that only wicked people were opposed to the rigorism of Ezra. Cheyne (*Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, p. 220) makes the Book of Ruth 'an idyllic story to justify admitting into the community any foreign women who heartily adopted the nationality and religion of their Jewish husbands. . . . It shows that Ezra did not gain an at all complete victory over the friends of mixed marriages.'

The conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great and the setting up of the Greek kingdoms of Egypt and Syria under his successors brought the Jews into close contact with a new and highly developed civilization. During the first half of the Greek period Judæa belonged to Egypt, and the Palestinian Jews, with whom we are mainly concerned, though surrounded by Greek cities, with which they had constant intercourse, do not seem to have been much harmed by such intercourse. It was otherwise when Syria (B.C. 198) became the paramount power. Antiochus III., it is true, favoured the Jews in many ways, and allowed them the enjoyment of unconditional religious freedom (*Ant.* XII. iii. 3. 4). A crisis came, however, when Antiochus Epiphanes ascended the throne (B.C. 175). He resolved to suppress the Jewish religion, and he found a party among the Jews themselves ready to play into his hands. This party contained leading members of the priesthood, several of whom had adopted Greek names, and who, in order to further their own ambitious designs, were prepared to go almost any length in Hellenizing the people. During the reign of Seleucus IV., one Simon, who was 'guardian' of the temple, and who was evidently one of the chiefs of this Hellenizing party, had caused serious trouble to the high priest Onias III. (2 Mac 3–4^{6}). On the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes to the throne, Jason, whose name was originally Jesus (*Ant.* XII. v. 1), supplanted his brother Onias in the high priesthood (B.C. 175) by promising the king a large sum of money; in return for another large sum he also received permission to erect a gymnasium in Jerusalem and to register its inhabitants as citizens of Antioch (2 Mac 4$^{7-9}$). And now the work of Hellenization began. Jason 'forthwith brought over them of his own race to the Greek fashion. . . . Seeking to overthrow the lawful modes of life, he brought in new customs forbidden by the law; he established a Greek place of exercise under the citadel itself, and caused the noblest of the young men to wear the Greek cap. And thus there was an extreme of Greek fashions, and an advance of an alien religion . . . ; the priests had no more any zeal for the services of the altar; but despising the sanctuary, and neglecting the sacrifices, they hastened to enjoy that which was unlawfully provided in the palæstra, after the summons of the discus; making of no account the honours of their fathers, and thinking the glories of the Greeks best of all' (2 Mac 4$^{10-22}$; cf. 1 Mac 1$^{14f.}$). He even sent money to Tyre to provide a sacrifice for Hercules. After three years Jason was supplanted in the high priesthood by Menelaus, brother of the above-mentioned Simon,* who is described in 2 Mac 4^{25} as 'bringing nothing worthy the high priesthood, but having the passion of a cruel tyrant and the rage of a savage beast.' In order to secure his position with the king by means of bribery, Menelaus spoiled the temple of its vessels of gold (4^{32}); the aged high priest Onias, who protested against this sacrilege, was treacherously murdered (4$^{33ff.}$), and a deputation from Jerusalem, which appeared before Antiochus to accuse Menelaus of these and other outrages, was put to death (4$^{39-50}$). On a false rumour of the death of Antiochus, Jason endeavoured to recover the high priesthood. Thinking that Judæa was in revolt, Antiochus returned from Egypt (B.C. 170), took Jerusalem by storm and gave it up to pillage for three days. He also entered 'the most holy temple of all the earth,' having Menelaus for his guide; he took the holy vessels with his 'polluted hands' and spoiled the temple treasury (5$^{11-21}$; cf. 1 Mac 1$^{20ff.}$). Two years afterwards an even worse fate befell Jerusalem. Returning from a campaign in Egypt, Antiochus sent an officer with a large army to Jerusalem, with orders to slay all that were of full age, and to sell the women and the younger men. These orders were executed most relentlessly. The city was plundered and set on fire; its walls were torn down; such of its inhabitants as had not been put to the sword or made captive fled; only apostates and heathen strangers remained; and the city of David was rebuilt into a strong citadel, the Akra, which was held by a Syrian garrison till B.C. 142 (2 Mac 5$^{22ff.}$; cf. 1 Mac 1$^{29ff.}$). Soon thereafter a decree was issued by Antiochus suppressing the Jewish religion. The sacrifices in the sanctuary at Jerusalem were forbidden; the Sabbaths and feasts were to be profaned and the sanctuary polluted; their sons were no longer to be circumcised; the sacred books had to be delivered up; altars and temples and shrines for idols were to be built in the cities of Judah, and swine's flesh and unclean beasts were to be offered in sacrifice. These injunctions were rigidly carried out by overseers appointed for the purpose. On the 15th of Chislev (*i.e.* December) B.C. 168 an altar was erected to Zeus Olympius on the altar of J″, and on the 25th a sacrifice was offered on it to the heathen deity. Whether Menelaus officiated as high priest, we cannot tell. Such of the Jews as remained loyal to the law were barbarously put to death, no respect being paid to age or sex (1 Mac 1$^{41ff.}$).

Hellenism had evidently made considerable progress not only among the priestly aristocracy and the inferior priests (2 Mac 4$^{14f.}$), but also among the people generally (1 Mac 1$^{11ff.}$), more especially in Jerusalem and among the young men (cf. *Ant.* XII. v. 1 with 1 Mac 1^{15}). At first there was probably no intention, even on the part of the leading Hellenizers, to apostatize from the national religion; what they desired was to remove from Judaism its narrowness and exclusiveness, to give up the intolerable and, as it seemed to them, barbarous customs of the fathers, so that they might freely participate in the advantages of Greek culture and in the joys of Greek life. But even after Antiochus had taken his extreme measures, many of the Hellenizing party still adhered to him.* 'Many of Israel consented to his worship, and sacrificed to the idols, and profaned the Sabbath' (1 Mac 1^{43}; cf. what is said of the 'lawless' and 'ungodly' 3$^{5.8}$ 6^{21} 9^{23} 10^{14}; also Dn 8^{23} 11$^{30.32}$). After the outbreak of the Maccabæan rising we find them among the 'Macedonian' garrison of the citadel (*Ant.* XII. v. 4, ix. 3) and in the armies of Seron, Ptolemæus, Nicanor, and Gorgias (XII. vii. 1. 3). But, as the Maccabæan rising proves, these measures of Antiochus had shown the mass of the people to what Hellenism was tending and had awakened a powerful reaction.

Apart, however, from this national reaction, the radical Hellenism of the priestly aristocracy had called forth another extreme party, the Hasidæans (see art. HASIDÆANS). This party is, in principle, as ancient as Judaism, but it was opposition to extreme Hellenization that brought them close together into a separate company (συναγωγή, 1 Mac 2^{42}), shortly before the Maccabæan rising, and made them all the more resolved to stand by the threatened law. They were the party of those who had laid most to heart the teaching of the scribes (cf. 1 Mac 7$^{12.13}$); they were so devoted to the law (2^{42}) as not even to defend themselves when attacked by the Syrians on the Sabbath (v.$^{32ff.}$); they observed strictly the laws as to purification (1 Mac 1$^{62f.}$,

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* According to Josephus (*Ant.* XII. v. 1), Menelaus, whose name was originally Onias, was the brother of Jason. According to Wellhausen his Hebrew name was Menahem or Manasseh.

* According to Josephus (*Ant.* XII. ix. 7) it was Menelaus that persuaded him to compel the Jews to renounce their religion; cf. 2 Mac 5^{15}.

2 Mac $6^{18ff.}$), and insisted upon complete separation from the Gentiles (2 Mac 14^{38}). Though they were not the first to raise the standard of revolt against the Syrians, they soon associated themselves with Mattathias and his friends in the common cause (1 Mac 2^{42}); but they withdrew from the struggle, when religious freedom was granted and Alcimus, a descendant of Aaron, was made high priest instead of Menelaus ($7^{12ff.}$), and do not seem, at least as a party, to have taken any further share in the war, in spite of the perfidy of Alcimus in putting many of them to death. They were an exclusively religious party, supremely interested, not in the political independence of the nation, but in the strict observance in every respect of the laws and customs handed down from the fathers.

We have dwelt at considerable length on the Hellenizers and the Hasidæans, because these were the progenitors respectively of the Sadducean and Pharisaic parties.

It is during the reign of John Hyrcanus (B.C. 135–105) that we first hear of these as two opposed parties.* According to Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. x. 5. 6), Hyrcanus on one occasion invited the Pharisees to a feast, and having entertained them well and put them in good humour, reminded them that they knew he was desirous to be a righteous man and to do all things whereby he might please God, after their manner. If they observed him erring in any way, he requested them to correct him. They all expressed entire satisfaction with him, except one, Eleazar by name, who informed him that, if he would be really righteous, he must lay down the high priesthood and be content with the civil government of the people, and stated, as the reason for making this demand, that they had heard from old men that his mother had been a captive in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. Not only Hyrcanus, but also all the rest of the Pharisees were indignant at Eleazar for repeating this story, which of course insinuated a suspicion as to the purity of Hyrcanus' descent. But one, Jonathan, a Sadducee, and a great friend of Hyrcanus, assured the latter that Eleazar had simply expressed the sentiments common to all the Pharisees, and advised him to test them by putting to them the question, what punishment Eleazar deserved. On their answering that he deserved stripes and bonds, Hyrcanus was very angry, and concluded that Eleazar had reproached him with their approbation. He accordingly left the party of the Pharisees, abolished the decrees they had imposed upon the people, and punished those that observed them with death.

Though the form of the story as told by Josephus is certainly unhistorical,† there is every reason to believe that in the time of Hyrcanus the Pharisees had become a well-defined party and broke decisively with the Hasmonæan princes. The Maccabæan rising, which was originally in defence of religion (1 Mac $2^{27.\ 50}$), had developed in a way that was little to the mind of 'the pious,' who, as we have seen, had withdrawn from the contest, when religious freedom was granted in the year 163. It gradually became a war, not for the law, but against the ancient aristocracy for the ethnarchy under the Syrians, and ended in the founding of a worldly dynasty. In the course of their struggles, Judas and his brothers were compelled by the necessity of their position to make use of 'profane' means; they entered into alliances with Gentile nations (1 Mac 8^{17} $12^{1ff.}$ 14^{24}), and took the side, now of one, now of another pretender to the Syrian throne; they accepted from the kings of Syria military titles and commands and even the office of high priest ($10^{26ff.\ 65}$ $11^{27f.\ 57ff.}$ 14^{38}), and acted generally in accordance with the dictates of worldly prudence. The result was the establishment under Simon of a thoroughly secular State, the civil ruler being at the same time high priest (14^{41-47}). Hyrcanus, whom Josephus calls a disciple of the Pharisees, walked in the footsteps of his predecessors. He renewed the alliance with Rome (*Ant.* XIII. ix. 2, XIV. x. 22) and kept a standing army of foreign troops, with which he accompanied Antiochus Sidetes against the Parthians (XIII. viii. 4). It is true, he destroyed the Samaritan sanctuary upon Mt. Gerizim, and forcibly converted the Idumæans and razed Samaria to the ground; but these were purely political measures, undertaken for the purpose of extending his dominion beyond the narrow limits of Judæa. His high priesthood was a secondary matter. 'For Hyrcanus the tiara had fallen to the rank of a mere decoration; he was a secular prince like the neighbouring heathen kings; his State was a purely secular realm, which was no longer able to pursue spiritual aims, no longer had spiritual concerns' (Cornill, p. 212).

The majority of the people were meanwhile satisfied with this turn of affairs. They were proud not only to enjoy religious freedom, but also to be once more an independent nation, and honoured the valiant princes who had led them to victory (1 Mac 13^{26} $14^{4.\ 11.\ 40ff.}$). The ancient aristocracy also, the extreme Hellenizers of the time of Epiphanes, who at first had held out against Judas and his brothers, had either been swept away or had recognized the futility of carrying on the struggle, and along with their adherents came over to the new rulers, to whom they were able, from their birth and attainments, to render considerable service. Taught by experience, they had given up all thought of overthrowing the national religion, and accommodated themselves to the new order of things, which imposed upon them no harsh restrictions, and allowed them the full enjoyment of the good things of this life (cf. 1 Mac 15^{32}). Along with the leading men of the new *regime*,* they became the chief supporters of the Maccabæan princes, with whose political aims they were in full sympathy. It is this party, consisting of members of the ancient and the new aristocracy and their adherents, that went by the name of **Sadducees.** They were primarily a purely political party. They were supremely interested in the maintenance and prosperity of the State as a secular State; religion was with them an altogether secondary concern; and they held very lax views on the subject of exclusiveness.

To 'the pious,' on the other hand, the Hasmonæan rule must have become ever more and more obnoxious. Since the outbreak of the Maccabæan rising they had doubtless grown both in numbers and exclusiveness, and were now known by the name, **Pharisees.** These were essentially a purely religious party, although we shall find them occasionally using political means for the attainment of their religious ends. Their fundamental principle was complete separation from everything non-Jewish. In order to secure this separation the law must be scrupulously kept; there must be no adoption of foreign ideas or ways of living; there must be no alliances with other nations; Israel, as the chosen people of J″, must live an altogether separated life. The whole tendency of the new dynasty was against this exclusiveness. Hence the opposition to it of the Pharisees. Josephus may be right in making the ostensible ground of their quarrel with Hyrcanus the possession by him of the high priesthood. But the real ground of their opposition to him was much deeper. The Hasmonæans were orthodox worshippers of J″, and even compelled neighbouring peoples to become Jews. But the dynasty they had founded was a worldly dynasty; and the Pharisees felt instinctively that in a national State with national politics their ideal was less likely to be realized than even under the rule of the Gentiles. The success of the Maccabæan rising had thus led to the formation of the two parties which played so important a part in the after history of the Jews.[*]

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* According to *Ant.* XIII. v. 9, they existed as parties as early as the time of Jonathan.

† Montet, *Essai sur les origines des partis saducéen et pharisien*, 205 ff.; Wellhausen, *op. cit.* 290.

* The frequent occurrence of foreign names at this time among the Jews shows the progress that Hellenism had made among them. The Hasmonæan princes themselves bore foreign, in addition to their Hebrew names: Hyrcanus, Antigonus, Aristobulus, Alexander, Alexandra. For other Greek names at this time see 1 Mac $14^{22.\ 24}$ 15^{15} $16^{11f.}$; *Ant.* XIII. ix. 2. 'That which was surprising in the case of the first Hellenizing high priests, had, it would seem, become the fashion in the national party, at least among those of higher rank. They had learned to do what the foreigners did, and did not scruple to bear foreign names' (Bertholet, *op. cit.* 230 f.).

Under Alexander Jannæus (B.C. 104–78) the opposition between the Hasmonæans and the Pharisees broke out into open conflict. Jannæus was a man of such an utterly worthless character that he very soon alienated the people from him and made them sympathize with the Pharisees. On one occasion, when, at a Feast of Tabernacles, he was officiating as high priest, the people pelted him with the lemons they were carrying for the celebration, and reviled him as the son of a captive and as being therefore unworthy of his priestly office. At his command his troops cut down 6000 of the people (*Ant.* XIII. xiii. 5). When he returned to Jerusalem from his war with Obâdas, defeated and without an army, there broke out an open rebellion, which lasted for six years, during which 50,000 Jews perished. When, wearied of the contest, he asked the conditions of peace, they demanded his death and called in the aid of the Syrian king, Demetrius III. (Eucairus). Jannæus was totally defeated and fled to the mountains. Moved by sympathy with him in his sore need, and perhaps dreading lest their country should once more become subject to Syria, many of the Jews deserted to him; Demetrius was compelled to retire, and Jannæus took fearful revenge upon his adversaries:—upon his return in triumph to Jerusalem he caused 800 of their chiefs to be crucified (*Ant.* XIII. xiii. 5, xiv. 1. 2). That the leaders in this rebellion were Pharisees, is evident from the fact that they afterwards avenged the execution of the 800 (*Ant.* XIII. xvi. 2), and that Jannæus, when dying, counselled his wife Alexandra Salome to make peace with them and be guided by them (XIII. xv. 5).

Alexandra Salome (B.C. 78–69), during whose reign Hyrcanus II., her eldest son, was high priest, followed entirely her dying husband's advice. She recalled the exiled Pharisees, admitted them to a large share in the government, and reintroduced the Pharisaic practices which John Hyrcanus is said to have abolished (*Ant.* XIII. xvi. 1 ff.; *BJ* I. v. 1 ff.). She also gave to the heads of the scribes a seat in the Sanhedrin along with the priestly aristocracy and the elders. According to later tradition, this was the golden age of Judaism.[†] But the Pharisees, who, according to Josephus, governed the queen, made a bad use of their authority. They took such fearful vengeance upon the Sadducees that a deputation of the latter, led by Aristobulus, Salome's younger son, presented themselves before her, protesting against the cruel treatment to which they were subjected. They reminded her of the assistance they had rendered her husband, hinted at the readiness with which neighbouring monarchs would receive them into their service, and insisted upon being at least placed in her fortresses. They not only succeeded in having an end put to the reign of terror, but also obtained command of all the fortresses, except three, where, along with Aristobulus, who soon joined them, they awaited the death of the queen to snatch the power out of the hands of the Pharisees (*Ant.* XIII. xvi. 2. 3. 5; *BJ* I. v. 3. 4).

On the death of Alexandra, Aristobulus (B.C. 69–63) soon dispossessed Hyrcanus II. of both the kingship and the high priesthood (*Ant.* XIV. i. 2, XV. vi. 4, XX. x.). He befriended the Sadducees, who were his chief supporters. In the course of the struggle that ensued, both the brothers appealed to the Romans, and presented themselves before Pompey in Damascus, in order to plead their cause. A third party (whom most take to have been Pharisees) also appeared before him, desiring the abolition of the sovereignty altogether, and the restoration of the old sacerdotal constitution (*Ant.* XIV. iii. 2). When at last he was compelled to take the temple-mount by storm (B.C. 63), Pompey entered the Holy of Holies, but left the treasures of the temple untouched. Many of the leaders of the Sadducees were executed; Aristobulus and his children were taken to Rome; and Hyrcanus was restored to his much-curtailed inheritance, not as king, but as high priest and ethnarch, with the nominal control of the civil administration of the country. How the Pharisees regarded this terrible catastrophe we learn from the Psalms of Solomon.[*] They looked upon it as a Divine punishment of the Sadducean aristocracy and priests, who had called the Romans into the land (8^{12-19}), but were at the same time bitterly enraged against the heathen, who had so impiously defiled the temple and the holy city (Ps-Sol 1, 2, 8, and 17, which seem to refer to Pompey's capture of Jerusalem; cf. Ryle and James, *op. cit.* xliii).

After the loss of national independence, the opposition between the Pharisees and the Sadducees naturally soon lost its political character, and became more and more distinctly religious. The Sadducees, who still formed the majority of the Sanhedrin, attempted, during the ethnarchy of Hyrcanus, to call Herod to account for his lawless proceedings in Galilee, but this attempt only proved their powerlessness (*Ant.* XIV. ix. 1 ff.). When Herod captured Jerusalem (B.C. 37), he put to death 45 of these Sadducean Sanhedrists (*Ant.* XV. i. 2 calls them leaders of the party of Antigonus, cf. *BJ* I. xviii. 4; *Ant.* XIV. ix. 4 says 'all the members of the Sanhedrin' except Sameas); and he still further diminished their power by deposing and appointing high priests according to his own pleasure, and by introducing among the high priestly families his own relations and creatures. When he purged the Sanhedrin in the manner just described, he spared the leaders of the Pharisees, who had advised the citizens to throw open the gates of the city to him (*Ant.* XIV. ix. 4, XV. i. 1); and although they refused to take the oath of allegiance, he merely punished them with a fine (XV. x. 4; XVII. ii. 4). Recognizing their influence with the people, he at first would fain have gained them over to his side, and therefore took pains in several ways to respect their religious feelings (cf. XV. xi. 5. 6); but they simply acquiesced in his rule, as being a Divine judgment upon the people for their sins. Towards the end of his reign, their attitude towards him became one of hostility. They conspired with members of his household to secure his overthrow (XVII. ii. 4), and (B.C. 4) instigated their pupils to cut down the golden eagle, which he had placed over the chief entrance to the temple as a sign of Roman sovereignty. For this offence he caused a number of them to be burned alive (XVII. vi. 2–4; *BJ* I. xxxiii. 1–4).

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[*] See Bousset, *Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judenthum*, p. 29 ff. The Psalms of Solomon complain bitterly of the Hasmonæans having assumed the office of high priest and the title of king; see Ryle and James, *Ps. of Sol.* on 8^{12} $17^{5\text{ff.}}$. Hyrcanus, however, did not call himself king, but 'high priest and head of the commonwealth of the Judæans.'

[†] Montet, *op. cit.* 277 ff. 'Under Simon ben Shatach [a leading Pharisee and brother of the queen] and queen Salome, rain fell on the eve of the Sabbath, so that the corns of wheat were large as kidneys, the barley corns as large as olives, and the lentils like golden denarii; the scribes gathered such corns and preserved specimens of them in order to show future generations what sin entails' (Talm. Bab. *Ta'anith 23a*, in Streane, *The Age of the Maccabees*, p. 72).

[*] These are of Pharisaic origin, and date, according to Ryle and James, from between B.C. 70 and 40, according to Cheyne between 63 and 45.

When, after the deposition of Archelaus, Judæa passed under the direct rule of the Romans, the latter left internal matters largely in the hands of the Sanhedrin, under the presidency of the high priest, who belonged to the Sadducean party (*Ant.* XX. ix. 1; Ac 5^{17}). The Sadducean aristocrats, with whom the new families raised by Herod to the high priestly dignity had soon mixed, thus regained a considerable measure of power; but in order to stand well with the people, they were compelled to act in respect of all legal questions in accordance with the principles of the Pharisees (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 4). The latter, many of whom sat in the Sanhedrin (Ac 5^{34} 23^{6}), were the real leaders of the people. Under Agrippa I. (A.D. 41–44), who, at least within Palestine, lived the life of a pious Jew, observing strictly the ancient laws and offering daily sacrifices, they had matters very much after their own mind. To please them, Agrippa persecuted the Christians, put James, the brother of John, to death, and cast Peter into prison (Ac 12). When Judæa passed again under the direct rule of the Romans, the Sadducees once more became the nominal possessors of authority. But their doom was sealed. With the destruction of Jerusalem, the high priesthood and the Sanhedrin vanished, and the Sadducees, as a party, disappeared from history.

It was otherwise with the Pharisees.* They survived the Temple and the State. They had not, strictly speaking, been a political party within the old commonwealth, and for that very reason, when the latter perished, their influence was not lessened. Their leading Rabbis formed a body, which regarded itself as a continuation of the ancient Sanhedrin. At first it had its seat at Jamnia; it afterwards removed to Galilee, and remained for a long time at Tiberias. The office of president was hereditary in the family of Hillel. The president's authority grew rapidly. He bore the title of the old high priests, *Nasi* or *Ethnarch*, and, later, *Patriarch*; in course of time he was recognized by the imperial government as the head of the Palestinian Jews; from Jews in foreign lands he received gifts of money, which were collected annually by his representatives. These Rabbis separated themselves more and more completely from the Gentiles. The LXX, which had become the Christian's Bible, was supplanted by a more literal translation, that of Aquila. They also became more strict among themselves; the old tendency of the scribes to regulate the whole of life by the law was accentuated. The result was a spiritual slavery such as had never before existed. The communities voluntarily submitted to the new hierarchy; they willed the end, viz. the maintenance of Judaism, and therefore accommodated themselves to the means. As result we have the preservation of Judaism as an international fellowship even after the downfall of the theocracy.

ii. LEADING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PHARISEES.—(1) *Their scrupulous observance of the law.* According to Josephus they were noted for their accuracy in interpreting the laws (*BJ* I. v. 2, II. viii. 14, *Vita* 38, *Ant.* XVII. ii. 4), and for the scrupulousness with which they kept them (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 3). They held as binding not only the written, but the oral law, the 'traditions of the fathers' (XIII. x. 6, xvi. 2). Like their progenitors, the Hasidæans, they were, speaking generally, the party of the scribes, whose precepts they carried into practice, and whose leaders, latterly, proceeded from their ranks (XV. i. 1, x. 4). The account given of them in the NT is substantially the same as that of Josephus. In the Gospels the Pharisees and the scribes are constantly mentioned in the same connexion, and in such a way as to imply that they practically formed the same party, *e.g.* Mt 5^{20} 12^{38} 15^{1}, Mk 2^{16} $7^{1.5}$, Lk $5^{17.21.30}$ 6^{7} 7^{30} 11^{53} 14^{3} 15^{2}, Jn 8^{3}.* The great discourse in Mt 23 (cf. Lk 11^{37-52}) is directed against both the Pharisees and the scribes. Gamaliel is both a Pharisee and a doctor of the law (Ac 5^{34}); the Pharisees form the straitest sect of the Jewish religion (26^{5}), and Saul, a Pharisee (Ph 3^{6}), had been brought up according to the strict manner of the law of the fathers (Ac 22^{3}). Attention is called to their holding the traditions of the elders, especially in regard to the washing of hands and vessels (Mk 7^{1-5}=Mt 15^{2}, Mt $23^{25f.}$, Lk $11^{38f.}$), to their tithing (Lk 18^{12}, etc.), fasting (Mk 2^{18}=Mt 9^{14}, etc.), and strict observance of the Sabbath (Mk $2^{23ff.}$=Mt $12^{1ff.}$, Lk $13^{10ff.}$ $14^{1ff.}$, Jn 5^{1-16} $9^{14ff.}$). The traditions of the elders were even more binding than the commandments of the written law (Mk 7^{8}). In later Jewish writings we find similar statements. The written law had to be explained in accordance with tradition. 'The sword comes upon the world for suppression of judgment; and for perversion of judgment; and for explaining Torah not according to canon (tradition).'† 'Words of *Soferim* are akin to words of Torah and more beloved than words of Torah, for (Ca 1^{2}) Thy *Love* is better than *Wine*.' It is added that whereas the Torah contains both *light* and *weighty* precepts, the words of the Soferim are all of the latter class (Rabbi Jochanan in Taylor, *op. cit.* 105). 'It is a greater crime to teach contrary to the precepts of the scribes than contrary to the Torah itself' (*Sanhedrin* xi. 3 in Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 390 [*HJP* II. ii. 12]). No contradiction was allowed to anything that had once been introduced and laid down by the fathers (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 3).

The Pharisees were thus the strictly legal party among the Jews. Their piety was strictly legal; the essence of religion consisted in the accurate knowledge and scrupulous observance of the law and tradition, which were the norm of all life, national, social, and individual. The Sadducees, while they had a tradition of their own, utterly rejected the traditions to which the Pharisees were so much attached.

(2) *Immortality of the soul, resurrection of the body, and future retribution.* According to Josephus, the Pharisees taught that every soul is incorruptible, but that only those of good men pass over into another body, while those of the wicked are punished with eternal suffering (*BJ* II. viii. 14). They held that there is an immortal vigour in souls, and that under the earth there are rewards and punishments for those that have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; that for the latter there has been appointed an everlasting prison, but the former have the power to return to life (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 3 f.). In the above passages Josephus does not represent the Pharisees as

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* See Wellhausen, *op. cit.* 371 ff.

* Such expressions as 'the scribes of the Pharisees' (Mk 2^{16}), 'the Pharisees and their scribes' (Lk 5^{30}), 'the scribes of the Pharisees' part' (Ac 23^{9}), show that there were also non-Pharisaic scribes.

† *Pirke Aboth* v. 13; see Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers.*

believing in the transmigration of souls, but as holding the doctrines, common to Judaism since Dn 12^{2}, of a resurrection of the body and of a future retribution. The Psalms of Solomon also speak only of a resurrection of the righteous. The sinner 'falleth; verily grievous is his fall, and he shall not rise again; the destruction of the sinner is for ever. But they that fear the LORD shall rise again unto life eternal, and their life shall be in the light of the LORD, and it shall fail no more' ($3^{13.16}$). 'The life of the righteous is for ever. But sinners shall be taken away unto destruction' ($13^{9f.}$). 'Therefore is their inheritance hell and darkness and destruction. . . . But the saints of the LORD shall inherit life in gladness' ($14^{6f.}$; cf. 15^{11-15}). The Sadducees denied the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body.

(3) *Messianic expectations.* The doctrine of the resurrection was a cardinal doctrine with the Pharisees, because of its close connexion with their Messianic hopes. They looked for a literal reign of God upon earth, when the power, of which they were meanwhile deprived, would be in their hands; for the Messianic kingdom was to be the kingdom of the saints, and they were the saints. In the Psalms of Solomon we have a good account of these hopes as cherished by them shortly before our Saviour's birth. The Messiah, who is not Divine, is the son of David, and is raised up by God, whose vicegerent he is upon earth. He delivers Israel from the supremacy of the Gentiles (*i.e.* the Romans), whom he destroys with the word of his mouth, and thrusts out the sinners (*i.e.* the Sadducees) from the inheritance of God. He reigns over Israel, evidently in Jerusalem, which he purges and makes holy as in the days of old; the Gentiles also become subject to him. Pure from sin himself, there is no iniquity in his day in the people's midst; they are all holy and the sons of their God. Though his kingdom is really an earthly kingdom, nothing is said of material blessings.* But that their hopes were occasionally of a very materialistic nature, is evident from the prospect which, according to Josephus, they held out to Bagoas, the eunuch (*Ant.* XVII. ii. 4). Naturally the Sadducees were wholly indifferent to such Messianic expectations.

(4) *Angels and Spirits.* The Sadducees denied that there was either angel or spirit; the Pharisees confessed both (Ac 23^{8}).

(5) *Divine providence and freedom of man's will.* According to Josephus, the Pharisees, while making everything dependent on fate and God, taught that the doing of what is right or wrong is for the most part in man's own power, but that fate also co-operates in every action (*BJ* II. viii. 14). They maintained that all things are done by fate, and yet admitted a measure of freedom to man, so that he contributes to the divinely willed result (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 3); or, as it is put in another passage (XIII. v. 9), they taught that some things, but not all, are the work of fate; with regard to some events, it is in man's power whether they happen or not. It is altogether improbable that the Pharisees spoke of 'fate'; but the Psalms of Solomon bear witness to the substantial accuracy of Josephus' statements. 'Verily as for man—his portion is laid in the balance before Thee—he addeth not thereto nor increaseth contrary to Thy judgment, O God' (5^{6}). 'O God, our works are in our choice, yea, in the power of our own soul: to do either righteousness or iniquity in the works of our hands. Whoso doeth righteousness layeth up for himself life at the LORD'S hand: and whoso doeth wickedness is guilty of his own soul to destroy it' ($9^{7.9}$).* The Pharisees believed in the omnipotence and providence of God, and therefore held that in human actions, good or bad, a co-operation of God must be assumed. At the same time they insisted upon the freedom of man's power of choice, and upon man's responsibility. The Sadducees denied 'fate' altogether, and made man the absolute master of his own destiny.

(6) *Their separation from the mass of the people, their distinctive 'Pharisaism.'* On all the above-mentioned points the Pharisees simply held what was common to later orthodox Judaism. But all our sources present them to us as a distinct party within the people, an *ecclesiola in ecclesia.*† This is implied also in the name that they bore. The name, Φαρισαῖοι, is derived from the Aramaic פְּרִישַׁיִן, *stat. emphat.* פְּרִישַׁיָּא, and denotes 'the separated ones.' Whether this name was given them by their adversaries (Schürer, Montet, Edersheim) or adopted by themselves,‡ it connoted something more specific than the separation from the Gentiles, which, since the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, was characteristic of all who would be genuine Jews. It referred to their separation from the great mass of even their orthodox fellow-countrymen. The latter, however willing, were unable to observe strictly the minute prescriptions of the law as to foods and levitical purity; they were consequently unclean in the eyes of the Pharisees, who, in order to avoid all risk of being defiled, held aloof, as far as possible, from all intercourse with them. '*Parush* is one who separates himself from all uncleanness and from unclean food and from the people of the land, who are not scrupulous in the matter of food' (Nathan ben Jechiel). The Pharisees were thus the Separatists or Purists. The name, however, that they gave themselves was *ḥăbērîm* (חֲבֵרִים 'associates'), a name which also shows that they formed among themselves a close fellowship. A *ḥābēr* is one who, whether learned or unlearned, scrupulously observes the law, written and oral, more especially in respect of levitical purity, tithes, and all other religious dues. According to the OT view each Israelite was the *ḥābēr* (רֵעַ) of the other; the Pharisee acknowledged as his *ḥābēr* only him who scrupulously observed the law. These scrupulous observers of the law, and these alone, were the *ḥăbērîm*, the genuine Israelites. The rest of the people were simply the *'am hā-'āreẓ*, the people of the land, common persons, the vulgar herd. In the Books of Ezr ($9^{1f.}$ $10^{2.11}$) and Neh (10^{28-31}) this name was given to the heathen and half-heathen inhabitants of Palestine as distinguished from the Jews; as used by the Pharisees, it designated the mass of the people as distinguished from themselves, the real Israelites, the Israel according to the spirit.§

They were naturally unable to separate themselves entirely from 'the people of the land,' and had therefore to draw up precise rules regulating their intercourse with them. 'The full *ḥābēr* undertook not to sell to an *'am hā-'ārez̤* any fluid or dry substance (nutriment or fruit), not to buy from him any such fluid, nor to entertain him as a guest in his own clothes (on account of their possible impurity)' (Edersheim, i. 312). Hillel 'used to say, No boor is a sinfearer; nor is the vulgar [an *'am hā-'ārez̤*] pious' (*Aboth*, ii. 6); cf. Jn 7^{49}: 'this multitude which knoweth not the law are accursed'; also the fault found with our Saviour on account of His free intercourse with publicans and 'sinners,' Mt 9^{9-13}, Mk 2^{14-17}, Lk 5^{27-32} 7^{36-50}.

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* See Ryle and James, *op. cit.* lii. ff.; Hühn, *Die messianischen Weissagungen des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes*, 91 ff.

* See Sir 11^{14}: 'Good things and evil, life and death, poverty and riches are from the Lord' (cf. 33^{7-15}); $15^{11ff.}$: 'Say not thou, It is through the Lord that I fell . . ., it is He that caused me to err . . . (The Lord) left man in the hand of his own counsel. If thou wilt, thou shalt keep the commandments; and to perform faithfulness is of thine own good pleasure. He hath set fire and water before thee; thou shalt stretch forth thy hand unto whichsoever thou wilt. Before man is life and death; and whichsoever he liketh, it shall be given him.'

† According to Josephus (*Ant.* XVII. ii. 4) they numbered above 6000 in the time of Herod.

‡ Wellhausen (*op. cit.* 289) says it was a title of honour and called attention, not so much to their separation, as to their eminent piety.

§ The above paragraph summarizes Schürer, *GJV* ^{3} ii. 396–403, a very full and lucid account of the matter; cf. also Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, etc., 42–46; Edersheim, i. 311 f. Schürer remarks that the question, Who is my neighbour? (Lk 10^{29}), was a very important question to a Jew. The *ḥābēr* of a Rabbi was a Rabbi; the *ḥābēr* of a priest was a priest; the *ḥābēr* of an Israelite was an Israelite.

Notwithstanding the fact that they thus separated themselves from the mass of the people, they were not a religious 'sect' (Ac 15^{5} 26^{5}) in the strict sense of the term. Neither in worship nor doctrine did they separate themselves from the Jewish community at large. 'Hillel said, Separate not thyself from the congregation' (*Aboth*, ii. 5). They worshipped in the temple and the synagogue along with their fellow-countrymen, and the views they held as to the law, the resurrection of the body, etc., were by no means peculiar to themselves. They were, indeed, in all respects 'the classical representatives of post-exilic Judaism, (Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 403 [*HJP* II. ii. 25]).

While their separation from the *'am hā-'ārez̤* shows that the Pharisees were far from being democrats, they were nevertheless, at least ultimately, the popular and most influential party. They had more influence with the multitude than even the king and the high priest (XIII. x. 5, XVII. ii. 4); they had the multitude on their side (XIII. x. 6), so that the Sadducee officials had to act according to their principles (XVIII. i. 4). Even in Roman times, when the high priest was still the head of the Sanhedrin, and the Sadducees had probably the most votes, the Pharisees were the real rulers in respect of legal matters. They had influence especially with women, *e.g.* Alexandra Salome and the female members of Herod's household (XVII. ii. 4). They were also, according to the Gospels, the real leaders of the opposition to our Lord. Several reasons contributed to their popularity. They had more regard to the public than the Sadducees (*BJ* II. viii. 14); they were milder as judges (*Ant.* XIII. x. 6, XX. ix. 1); they shared, and indeed nourished, the national hatred against the Romans; the doctrines they held and taught, their scrupulous observance of the law, and their outwardly strict and severe manner of life caused them to be revered as pattern Israelites (XVIII. i. 3). That they courted this popularity, we learn, not only from the Gospels, but also from such sayings in the *Pirke Aboth* as 'Let thy house be opened wide; and let the needy be thy household' (i. 5); 'Receive every man with a pleasant expression of countenance' (i. 16); and Hillel's saying (quoted above), 'Separate not thyself from the congregation' (ii. 5).

(7) *The Pharisees and the supremacy of the Gentiles.* Though the Pharisees were not a political party, it is unjust to represent them as unpatriotic. Their patriotism, however, was 'religious patriotism' (Cheyne). Their ideal was the kingdom of David. What they desired was not the setting up of a merely independent secular kingdom of Israel, but an Israel reconstituted by means of the law, an Israel over which God reigned in the person of His vicegerent, and from which all 'sinners' were excluded. For the setting up of this Jewish nationality they looked, not to the adoption of political methods, but to a direct interposition of God; the great means whereby they could prepare the way for this Divine interposition was the strict carrying out of the law. So long as this was permitted, they could tolerate even a foreign yoke, as being a Divine punishment for the people's sins; only when this was not permitted, or when their principles were flagrantly outraged, did they resist with force, as in the time of Alexander Jannæus and towards the close of Herod's reign (cf. the Hasidæans in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes). Their use of political means to further their religious ends during the reign of Alexandra Salome shows that they were by no means consistent in the application of their religious principle.

A fairly correct idea of their attitude to the foreign domination may be formed from the Psalms of Solomon. The LORD, who is 'King over the heavens and judgeth kings and rulers' ($2^{34.\ 36}$), is 'our King' (5^{22}), He is 'our King henceforth and even for evermore' ($17^{1.\ 51}$); He is the King of the expected Messiah (v.^{38}). Because of the people's sins, He has meanwhile given them up to a foreign yoke. In $17^{5.\ 6}$ ('Thou, O LORD, didst choose David to be king over Israel, and didst swear unto him touching his seed for ever, that his kingdom should not fail before Thee. But when we sinned, sinners rose up against us; they fell upon us and thrust us out: even they, to whom Thou madest no promise, took away our place with violence'), the allusion is probably to the usurpation of the high priesthood and kingship by the Hasmonæans; but the psalmist writes in the same strain of the overthrow of Jerusalem by the Romans. God not only did not prevent Pompey from casting down fenced walls with a battering-ram (2^{1}), but it was He that brought the Gentiles upon Jerusalem (2^{24} 8^{16}). God's righteousness was manifest in these judgments (2^{16} $8^{7.\ 31}$); they were a judging of Israel with chastening (8^{32}; 18^{4} 'Thy chastening is upon us as upon a firstborn son only-begotten'). Still the psalmist does not conceive this foreign domination as lasting. He looks forward with confidence to a restoration of Israel under the divinely raised up, but human, Messiah ($17^{35f.}$), who puts no confidence in any carnal weapon (v.^{37}), suffers no wicked person or stranger to dwell any more among the people (vv.$^{29.\ 31}$), nor any iniquity to be in their midst (vv.$^{29.\ 36}$), and judges the nations and the peoples with the wisdom of his righteousness (v.^{31}). 'Blessed are they that shall be born in those days' (17^{50} 18^{7}); but the present generation must wait God's appointed time (7^{9}); they must pray for its speedy advent ($17^{23-25.\ 51}$), and be prepared for it by a Divine cleansing (18^{6}: 'The LORD cleanse Israel for the day, when He shall have mercy upon them and shall bless them; even for the day of His appointing, when He shall bring back His anointed').

This was undoubtedly the attitude of the Pharisees generally to the Gentile rule. Such rule was meanwhile to be tolerated, as being a Divine chastisement (the standpoint of Pollio and Sameas, *Ant.* XIV. ix. 4, XV. i. 1); but it was nevertheless a violation of God's sovereignty over the elect people. God alone was king of Israel; there could be no lawful king of Israel, save God's vicegerent, the 'son of David.' In accordance with this principle they were opposed to the Hasmonæan princes (who were neither descendants of David nor of the legitimate high priestly family) and abhorred the rule of Herod and the Romans. To the former the majority of them refused the oath of allegiance (*Ant.* XV. x. 4, XVII. ii. 4); and they questioned the lawfulness of paying taxes to the latter (Mt $22^{17ff.}$, Mk $12^{14ff.}$, Lk $20^{22ff.}$). They thus by their teaching and practice fanned the flame of national hostility to the Romans, and were indirectly responsible for the rebellion against Rome. Josephus is anxious to separate the Zealots entirely from the Pharisees (in *Ant.* XVIII. i. 1. 6 he calls them a fourth philosophic sect), and draws attention to the fact that some leading Pharisees did not approve of their excesses (*BJ* IV. iii. 9); but he is forced to admit that it was a Pharisee, named Zadok, who along with Judas Galilæus formed that party, and that the notions they held were those of the Pharisees (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 1. 6, cf. *BJ* II. viii. 1). The Zealots were the party of political action, and simply carried out the Pharisaic principles to their logical conclusion.

iii. THE PHARISEES AND JESUS. — (1) *Their opposition to our Lord.* The Pharisees and scribes were the first to assume an attitude of hostility and criticism to Jesus. They maintained this attitude all through His public ministry down to the very close; for although in the last days of His life the Sadducees were most prominent, the Pharisaic scribes also took part in His trial and condemnation. They had many reasons to find fault with Him. He claimed authority to forgive sins (Mt 9^{3}, Mk $2^{6f.}$, Lk 5^{21}), and associated freely with publicans and 'sinners' (Mt 9^{11}, Mk 2^{16}, Lk 5^{30} 7^{39} $15^{1f.}$ 19^{7}); He and His disciples were indifferent to ascetic practices (Mt 9^{14}, Mk 2^{18}, Lk 5^{33}), and to levitical purity (Mt $15^{1ff.}$, Mk $7^{1ff.}$, Lk $11^{37f.}$), and were not careful to observe the Sabbath in the orthodox fashion (Mt $12^{1-8. 9-14}$, Mk $2^{23ff.}$ $3^{1ff.}$, Lk $6^{1ff. 6ff.}$ 13^{14} $14^{1ff.}$, Jn $5^{10ff.}$ $9^{13ff.}$). They accused Him of being in league with Beelzebub (Mt $12^{24ff.}$, Mk $3^{22ff.}$, Lk $11^{14ff.}$, cf. Mt 9^{34} 11^{19}), demanded a sign from Him (Mt $12^{38f.}$ 16^{1}, Mk 8^{11}), and attempted to frighten Him from Galilee into Judæa, where He would be more in the power of the Sanhedrin (Lk 13^{31}, cf. Plummer, *St. Luke*, 348). They put testing questions to Him, *e.g.* as to the way of inheriting eternal life (Lk $10^{25ff.}$), as to the greatest commandment (Mt $22^{34ff.}$, Mk $12^{28ff.}$), and as to the law of divorce (Mt 19^{3}, Mk 10^{2}). These were leading questions meant to test His orthodoxy, and to discredit Him, if possible, with the people (see Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, p. 202 on Mk 10^{2}: 'probably their intention was simply to place Him in apparent opposition to Moses, who had permitted divorce'). Their most skilful testing question was that as to the lawfulness of paying tribute to Cæsar (Mt $22^{15ff.}$, Mk $12^{13ff.}$, Lk $20^{19ff.}$): whatever answer He gave, He could hardly avoid offending either the Roman authorities or the people. For their alliance with the Herodians in this matter (Mt 22^{16}, Mk 12^{13}), cf. Mk 3^{6}. From their standpoint their opposition to Him was inevitable. They felt instinctively that the whole spirit of His life was in flat contradiction with their most cherished convictions.

(2) *Our Lord's criticism of the Pharisees.* Jesus recognized that the opposition between Himself and the Pharisees was essential, and not only defended Himself against their attacks, but also criticised them keenly. He frequently denounced them as hypocrites (*e.g.* Mt $6^{2. 5. 16}$ 15^{7} $23^{13. 15. 23. 25. 27. 29}$, Mk 7^{6}), whited sepulchres (Mt 23^{27}, cf. Lk 11^{44}), the offspring of vipers and serpents (Mt 12^{34} 23^{33}), an evil and adulterous generation (Mt 12^{39} 16^{4}), and blind guides (Mt 15^{14} $23^{16. 19. 24. 26}$); He warned His disciples against their leaven (Mt $16^{6. 11f.}$, Mk 8^{15}, Lk 12^{1}), denied that their righteousness qualified for admission into the kingdom of heaven (Mt 5^{20}), and declared that, while the publicans and harlots were entering the kingdom, they were remaining outside (Mt $21^{31f.}$). He recognized their official character, and the duty of the people towards them as authorized teachers, but He warned against following their example (Mt $23^{2f.}$). He also charged them with a great many specific vices, most of which were inherent in Pharisaic Judaism.

The fundamental principle of Pharisaic Judaism was complete separation from everything non-Jewish; hence their separation from the mass of their fellow-countrymen; hence also their devotion to the minute study and scrupulous fulfilment of the law. The law was God's great gift to Israel; their possession of the law was the most signal proof that they were God's chosen people; it separated Israel as a 'holy' people from all other peoples. It was also the only, and the absolutely perfect, means of attaining the Messianic salvation both for the individual and the nation. Life had therefore no other aim and meaning than the study and fulfilment of the law. One evil consequence of this 'idolatry of the law' was the externalizing of religion. God was conceived of mainly as Lawgiver and Judge. The religious relation between God and Israel was purely legal; it was founded on a purely legal compact. Religion was not a fellowship with God, but a strictly legal walk before God. Their zeal for the law was consequently a serving of God for the sake of reward; more especially for the supreme reward of sharing in the glory and bliss of the Messianic age. It was possible to satisfy God's demands perfectly in a legal way; and by doing so they hoped to enjoy the commanding God, whom they obeyed, as a a gracious God. This doctrine of merit led almost of necessity to a great multiplication of precepts, to a hedging or fencing of the law, so as to make its violation almost impossible. They also sought to acquire merit by doing more than was commanded. Moreover, in their keeping of the law, they considered mainly whether a particular action was commanded or forbidden. Their attitude to their almost deified law was external, formal, mechanical. They laid stress not upon the rightness of an action, or upon the disposition from which it was done, but upon its being commanded and upon its formal correctness. They applied this principle even to such matters as fasting and prayer. They attached excessive importance to the precepts relating to foods and levitical purity, because the strict observance of these precepts kept them from defilement. They made the law 'only a manual of religious etiquette.' Their righteousness was thus mere formalism; their righteous man was one who kept the law, written and oral, in an external, but formally correct manner.

Our Lord's whole teaching regarding God as the Father was a criticism of Pharisaic legalism. God is not primarily Lawgiver and Judge, but the heavenly Father. Religion is fellowship with God. The religious bond uniting God and man is grace on God's part, trust and love and heartfelt obedience on the part of man. In the relation between God and man there is no room for the idea of merit (Lk 17^{7-10}). God cares for individual sinners *quâ* sinners, and throws the kingdom of heaven wide open to all who are willing to enter in. He sends His Son to seek and to save the lost, and rejoices greatly when any lost one comes back. He rewards men, not according to the quantity of work they have done, but in accordance with His own sovereign grace (Mt 20^{1-16}). Our Lord explicitly criticises the externalism of the Pharisees. According to Him, the basis of the ethical life is not an external authority, but the personal relation of an individual to God (cf. Mt $5^{45. 48}$ $18^{32f.}$, Lk 7^{47}). What He demands is not outward correctness, but inner moral life (Mt 23^{25-28}, Lk 11^{39-41}), the surrender of the whole personality (Mt 22^{37-40}), not the mere performance of a number of externally good deeds. That which 'defiles' a man is the evil condition of his own heart (Mt $15^{11ff.}$, Mk $7^{14ff.}$). No action is of any moral worth, unless it is the expression of the inward disposition (cf. what is said of almsgiving, prayer, and fasting Mt $6^{2. 5. 16}$ $9^{14f.}$). The righteousness of the kingdom of heaven is inward and spiritual; it is the fruit of a renewed heart and of a filial relation to God.

The purely formal ethics of the Pharisees led to a great many other evils. They paid no attention to the ethical content of a law. Ethically indifferent precepts were as important as those bearing on really moral duties, simply because they were contained in the law or tradition. They accordingly busied themselves with minute trifles, to which they even attached greater importance than to the discharge of duties to their fellow-men. They divorced morality and religion (Mt $15^{1ff.}$, Mk $7^{1ff.}$, Mt $23^{23f.}$, Lk 11^{42} 18^{12}, cf. Mt $5^{23f.}$ 9^{13} $12^{10ff.}$: justice and mercy, etc., are opposed by our Lord to a false way of serving God; mercy is better than sacrifice; duty to parents takes precedence of so-called religious duty; to be reconciled to one's brother is more necessary than coming to the altar; the Sabbath is 'sanctified' by doing good; 'the programme of genuine religion': 'genuinely ethical deeds are more important than the observance of ceremonial prescriptions'—Jülicher). Their externalism did not deliver them from the impulses of the natural man, such as covetousness and rapacity (Mt 23^{25}, Mk 12^{40}, Lk 20^{47}, cf. 16^{14}) and the desire of receiving honour from men (Mt $23^{6ff.}$, Mk $12^{38ff.}$, Lk 11^{43} $14^{7ff.}$ 20^{46}); while it led inevitably to casuistry (*e.g.* in respect of the Sabbath;* oaths, Mt 23^{16-22}; duty to God outweighing duty to man, Mt $15^{3ff.}$, Mk $7^{9ff.}$; inventing statutes virtually cancelling more irksome ones, Mt 23^{4}, Lk 11^{46}), ostentation and self-righteousness (Mt 6^{1-18} 23^{5}, Mk 12^{40}, Lk 16^{15} $18^{9ff.}$ 20^{47}), censoriousness (Lk $18^{9ff.}$), and hypocrisy (Mt 23^{25-28}, Mk 12^{40}, Lk $11^{39.44}$ 16^{15} 20^{47}). They paid external homage to the great men of the past, but were altogether void of their spirit (Mt $23^{29ff.}$, Lk $11^{47ff.}$). By means of their false interpretations of scripture and their legal conception of religion they shut the kingdom of heaven both against themselves and others (Mt 23^{13}, Lk 11^{52}); while by means of their fencing of the law, they turned the commandments of God (*e.g.* as to the Sabbath), which were given to help men to live a true life (Mk 2^{27}), into heavy burdens, grievous to be borne (Mt 23^{4}, Lk 11^{46}). There were doubtless in our Lord's time many good men among the Pharisees, but the tendency of the whole system was to produce hypocrisy (cf. what is said of proselytes Mt 23^{15}), or, in the case of earnest and sincere souls, self-torture and a sense of estrangement from God (cf. Mt $11^{28ff.}$; see Weber, 320 f.).

LITERATURE.—Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 380 ff. [*HJP* II. ii. 1 ff.], also in Riehm's *HWB*^{2} 1205 ff., 1339 ff.; Wellhausen, *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer*, also *IJG*^{3} 157–388; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und verwandter Schriften*; Montet, *Essai sur les origines des partis saducéen et pharisien et leur histoire jusqu'à la naissance de Jésus-Christ*; Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*^{3} i. 129 ff., also in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, iv. 518 ff.; Sieffert, 'Sadducäer und Pharisäer' in Herzog, *PRE*^{2} xiii. 210 ff.; O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, 158 ff., also in Stade, *GVI* ii. 394 ff.; Ewald, *GVI*^{3} iv. 357 ff.; Cornill, *History of the People of Israel*, 145 ff.; Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, *passim*; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, i. 322; Davaine, *Le Saducéisme, étude historique et dogmatique*; Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*, 123 ff.; H. J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der neutest. Theologie*, i. 28 ff., 62 ff.; Jacob, *Jesu Stellung zum mosaischen Gesetz*; Bousset, *Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judentum*; Ehrhardt, *Der Grundcharakter der Ethik Jesu im Verhältniss zu den messianischen Hoffnungen seines Volkes*, etc.; Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, ii. 54 ff., 459 ff. and *passim*; Bruce, *The Kingdom of God*^{4} 187 ff.; Mackintosh, *Christ and the Jewish Law*, 39 ff.; Fairbairn, *Studies in the Life of Christ*, 165 ff.; Ryle and James, *The Psalms of Solomon*, xlix ff.

D. EATON.

PHARPAR (פַּרְפַּר, B Ἀφαρφά, A Φαρφαρά) is named by Naaman, along with the ABANAH (2 K 5^{12}), as one of the rivers of Damascus. Much has been written on the subject, but its identity is still in doubt. The Arab. Version gives *Taurâ* for Pharpar, but the modern Beirût revision simply transliterates *Farfar*. There is a local belief, for which some antiquity is claimed, that Abanah and Pharpar are represented by *Nahr Baniâs* or *Abaniâs*, and *Nahr Taurâ*, respectively. In favour of this, Dr. Wm. Wright argues in Nelson's *Bible Treasury* (p. 250), quoting the late Dr. Meshaka, one of the most learned of modern Damascenes. The old Arab geographers, however, are unaware of the pre-eminent charms of any two rivers of Damascus. Dimashki (*c.* A.D. 1300) speaks of seven streams into which the waters of *el-Barada* are divided, and mentions among the others, with no special commendation, *Nahr Thaurah* and *Nahr Balniyas* (or *Bānās*). So also Idrisi (A.D. 1154). But even these names are unknown to Istakhri and Ibn Haukal (A.D. 951–978), who refer to only three canals as branching off from the main stream. It is hard to see why Naaman should have ignored the river itself, flowing towards the city with full refreshing current, to extol two of the canals supplied by its waters.

The identity of Pharpar with *el-A'waj* is maintained by Thomson (*Land and Book*, iii. 359, 398, 429). The two main sources of this stream rise on the eastern slopes of Hermon, just under *Ḳaṣr 'Antâr*; the *'Arny* to the north, and the *Jennâny* to the south. Below *Sa'sa'* the latter takes the name *Sabirâny*, which it retains after confluence with the *'Arny*, as far as *el-Kisweh*, on the great *hajj* road. Thence to the lake it is called *el-A'waj* ('the crooked'). In the season of melting snows the volume of water it carries is very great; but later in the year the stream is much attenuated. Escaping from the valley, *el-A'waj* waters the south-eastern part of the plain of Damascus, and, splitting up into several streams, falls at last into *Bahret el-Hijâneh*. In the *Wâdy Barbar* it is natural to detect an echo of the ancient 'Pharpar'; but Thomson errs in making this *Wâdy* tributary to the *Sabirâny*. Such waters as it supplies are carried into the plain north of *Jebel el-Aswad*, while the *Sabirâny* flows to the south. The proposed identification, therefore, loses what support might be derived from similarity of name. It is, however, adopted by G. A. Smith as probable (*HGHL*^{1} 642), and by Baedeker as certain (*Pal.*^{3} 268, 312). Dr. Wright quotes Dr. Meshaka to the effect that *el-A'waj* 'is not a river of Damascus at all. It is distant a ride of 3 hours from the city at the nearest point.' Against this we have the statement of Dimashki (*c.* 1300), 'another river (of Damascus) is called *el-A'waj*,' and the distance from *Bawwabet Ullah* to the nearest point is only 6 miles.

It is futile to seek for the Pharpar in the short stream from *'Ain Fijeh*.

Beside *el-Barada*, with its copious and never-failing supplies, *el-A'waj* may seem hardly worthy of mention. But during the greater part of the year it carries down no mean volume of water; and there is no other stream near the city at all deserving the name of river. It should also be remembered that whatever ministered to the fruitfulness and beauty of any part of the famous plain would be an object of grateful pride to the Damascene soldier.

LITERATURE.—Thomson, *Land and Book*, iii. 429–432; Baedeker, *Pal.*^{3} 268, 312; Nelson's *Bible Treasury*, 250; Guy le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, 235, 238, 265, 266.

W. EWING.

PHASELIS (Φάσηλις)*.—A city on the eastern extremity of the coast of Lycia near the Pamphylian frontier, standing apart, not only geographically, but generally even politically, from the rest of the country. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* v. 36) and Stephanus Byz. actually assign it to Pamphylia; but this is erroneous. It was said to be a Dorian colony; and it became a city of great importance at a very early time, being one of those which shared in the trade with Egypt under Amasis, B.C. 570–526. It struck a series of coins in the 6th and early 5th cent. with a variety of types, among which the most noteworthy are the prow and the stern of a war galley.

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* See Schürer, ii. 470 ff., 491 f.; Edersheim, ii. 774 ff.

* Φασηλίς wrongly in edd. of 1 Mac 15^{23}, and in some classical authors; but Φάσηλις is right, and is now printed in Strabo, p. 666, Paus. iii. 3. 8 (where older edd. have oxytone), etc. Φασηλίς was the name of a kind of vase or utensil in Alexandria.

These coins, which were struck on the Persian standard, cease about B.C. 466, when the Athenian confederacy became powerful on these coasts; but Thucydides (ii. 69) mentions that Phaselis was a place of consequence in the Athenian trade with Phœnicia and the Levant coasts generally. Its coinage began again about B.C. 400, and during the 4th and 3rd cents. the same types were characteristic. During that period it was a more or less independent city; but while Lycia was under the power of the Ptolemies, B.C. 276–204, Phaselis was probably under the same influence; and at the end of that time a radiated head, which is conjecturally taken as representing Ptolemy IV., appears on the prow in the reverse type.

When Seleucid power ended in B.C. 190, Phaselis commenced to use the type of Pallas. About B.C. 168 it began to strike coins with the types of the Lycian confederacy (Κοινὸν Λυκίων), founded in that year (see LYCIA); and in the 1st cent. it also struck coins which are of a different style. There can therefore be no doubt that at least in the period later than B.C. 77 (when it was captured by Servilius Isauricus), it ceased to be a member of the Lycian confederacy; and Strabo mentions that it was not a member in his time (B.C. 64–A.D. 19). But Mr. G. F. Hill, in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Brit. Museum, Lycia*, p. lxvii, thinks there is no reason to deny its membership during the period before B.C. 77. But the mention of Phaselis among the States to which the Roman consul sent letters in B.C. 139 in favour of the Jews (1 Mac 15[23]), proves that it was at that time a free city, distinct from the Lycian confederacy (which is also mentioned as a recipient of similar letters); and Mr. Hill admits that there is some reason to think that it was not a member of the confederacy about B.C. 100, for it must have been one of the greatest cities of Lycia, yet Artemidorus does not mention it when enumerating the six members of the first class at that period. Now, even its coins with confederacy types do not mention the name ΛΥΚΙΩΝ, as is the case with those of most cities; there are, however, occasional examples of the same omission on the coins of other Lycian cities, even during the early period of the confederacy. But, on the whole, it would appear that Phaselis either never belonged to the confederacy (but merely from alliance and common interest adopted the types), or ceased before 138 to belong to it; and the words of Cicero (*Verr.* ii. 4. 10, 21) suggest that it had originally been a Lycian city, but that it soon allied itself with the Cilician pirates (which led to its capture by Servilius) and separated from the Lycians.

Phaselis stood on a promontory with a very conspicuous mountain behind it. Livy (xxxvii. 23) describes this in vague and hardly accurate terms. He is evidently alluding to the vast ridge of Taurus, which rises from the coast all along the eastern part of Lycia, and is seen by sailors for a great distance out at sea; but he is hardly correct in saying that Phaselis is the first land descried by sailors on the voyage from Cilicia to Rhodes.

No coins of Phaselis are known with certainty under the Roman empire except in the time of Gordian III. (others are probably forged), which shows that it hardly maintained its ancient importance in the post-Christian period. It was a bishopric in the Byzantine time.

W. M. RAMSAY.

PHASIRON (A Φασιρών, ℵ Φασειρών, V Φαρισών).—Name of a Nabatæan tribe (1 Mac 9[66]). Since most Nabatæan names find easy etymologies in Arabic, it ought to be possible to explain this from that language; the roots, however, which this name recalls, seem rarely used for forming proper names, except, indeed, *fazara*, which gives *Fazārah*, a well-known tribal name. The form *Pashīrōn* of the Peshiṭta version makes it no easier. The name may be corrupt. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

PHASSURUS (B Φάσσορος, A Φάσσουρος, AV Phassaron), 1 Es 5[25] = Pashhur.

PHEREZITE occurs in AV and RV of 2 Es 1[21] and in AV of Jth 5[16] for the more usual PERIZZITE, which is the reading of RV in the latter passage.

PHICOL (פִּיכֹל, Φικόλ).—The captain of the host of Abimelech, who accompanied his master upon the occasion of the latter's entering into treaty with Abraham, Gn 21[22. 32] (E), or Isaac, 26[26] (J). See ABIMELECH, No. 1.

PHILADELPHIA (Φιλαδέλφεια, WH -*ία*).—A city in the E. part of Lydia, in the valley of the Cogamis* (an important tributary of the Hermus), on the extreme outermost slopes of Mount Tmolus. It is now a station on the railway, 28¼ miles from Sardis, 64 from Magnesia, 105 from Smyrna (by the detour which the railway makes round Mount Sipylos). It is situated only 650 feet above the sea near the upper end of the low coast valley which runs up from the gulf of Smyrna; and around it on all sides, except the road to Sardis, rise the mountains which form the rim of the great central plateau, or extend out from it towards the sea like fingers. Thus the Cogamis valley is a sort of funnel (like the Lycus valley, with its cities, see LAODICEA) in the flank of the lofty main plateau of Asia Minor. A few miles farther up the course of the river was the old city of Kallatebos, mentioned by Herodotus on the march of Xerxes, whose rank and power were probably transferred to Philadelphia, when it was founded. The name Philadelphia shows that it commemorates Attalus II. Philadelphus (so named from his affectionate and loyal conduct to his elder brother and predecessor, Eumenes II.); and it must have been founded between B.C. 189 (when Eumenes came into possession of this country) and Attalus's death in 138.

The importance of the new city lay in its relation to the cities of the upper plateau. The direct waggon and carriage road from the cities of northern Phrygia to the Ægean ran past Philadelphia to Smyrna; and a considerable part of the fertile district called the Katakekaumene, or Burnt Land, also sent its abundant vintages, fine wines, and other produce by Philadelphia to the same port (though the western Katakekaumene would send direct by Sardis to Smyrna). Strabo seems perhaps to describe Philadelphia as part of the Katakekaumene, but this is hardly accurate geographically; and his expression, on p. 579, that it was on the side of that district, must be taken strictly as denoting the outer side. That district was a broken, irregular country forming part of the great plateau, but on a lower level, like a step leading up to it. The Katakekaumene lay north and north-east from Philadelphia. It derived its name from the extraordinarily fresh and impressive traces of volcanic action which appear in it: great streams of lava, and vast heaps of cinders, looking as if they had just cooled yesterday, surround the three 'funnels' (as Strabo calls them, Devitt, or Ink-pots,[*] as the Turks now call them), which are the craters of volcanoes that were active down to a comparatively recent time. These blackened and bare rocks and cinder heaps encroach in irregular outline on the rich, green, fertile glens and slopes of the luxuriant country, with its ten cities, from which it derived its other name, Decapolis. Strabo (xiii. p. 628) describes Philadelphia as being constantly subject to earthquakes, so that the walls and houses could hardly stand firm; but modern experience tends to show that there is considerable exaggeration in his picture. He also says that few people lived in the city, but that most lived in the open country, and were engaged in cultivating the very fertile land. This account would suggest a somewhat simple and rustic settlement; but that is hardly the impression that one gets from other facts. Philadelphia was evidently a place of importance in the imperial organization of the province of Asia. It took the name Neokaisareia for a time in the 1st cent., being so styled on coins of Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, and the name was evidently given to it under Tiberius, who aided it to recover from a great earthquake in A.D. 17. Under Vespasian it was honoured with the title Flavia. In the reign of Caracalla it received the honour of the Neokorate (see PERGAMUM).[†] Meetings of the Council of the province Asia, with the games called Κοινὰ Ἀσίας, were held in it, at least in later time.

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* So spelt on a coin. Pliny has Cogamus.

Philadelphia was the seat of one of the seven Churches to which were sent special messages through the mouth of John, in the opening of the Apocalypse. In all probability each of the seven is to be understood as the centre and head of a district; and it would be quite a mistake to understand that there were only these seven Churches in the province. Laodicea is certainly to be taken as representative at least of the whole Lycus valley (where the Churches of Colossæ and Hierapolis had long existed), and probably also of southern Phrygia (see LAODICEA). Similarly Philadelphia stands as representative of a district; and there can be no doubt that its district consisted of the neighbouring regions of the plateau, including parts of eastern Lydia and western Phrygia. None of the valley west of it could be in its district, for the Hermus cities would fall either under Sardis or under Thyatira.

These facts, and its abundant coinage, reveal to us rather a rich and powerful city, connected by trade with a large district towards the east and north, for which it formed a centre, and thus well suited to be one of the central Churches of Christianized Asia. It is said that there has been 'set before it a door opened' (Rev 3^{8}), and the 'open door' doubtless refers to its position on the threshold of the eastern country, and to the rapidity with which the new religion was spreading to the plateau through the cities connected with Philadelphia. On this sense of the 'open door' compare 2 Co 2^{12}.

But it is hardly possible, in our almost complete ignorance of the inner history and circumstances of Philadelphia, to find an intimate connexion between them and the language of the address to the Church. It may, however, be noticed that in the seven letters to these Churches, it is chiefly the faults which are associated with the local circumstances, and which derive light therefrom. In so far as a Church attained Christian purity, its character rises to a higher plane; in so far as it degenerates from that high level, it becomes affected by its earthly surroundings. Now the two Churches which are addressed in terms of almost unmingled praise are Smyrna and Philadelphia; and in those two addresses we find least reference to local history and situation. Philadelphia had kept the word, and not denied the name of God. It is described in Rev 3^{8} as having 'a little power'; and this is considered by some commentators to be explained and illustrated by Strabo's description of the actual city as being small. But the allusion to its 'little power' seems rather to point to the Church being a recent foundation, which had not yet acquired great strength in the city, though there is a brilliant opening before it. As a newly founded and small Church it was more likely to escape notice and persecution; and hence it is to be 'kept from the hour of trial,' 3^{10}. It is stated in 3^{9} that there was a synagogue in Philadelphia. The Jews of this synagogue had degenerated greatly from the strictness of Hebrew morality and religion, had complied with the pagan customs and ways of living, and had become 'the synagogue of Satan.' Yet this synagogue was to recognize the love that God had bestowed on this Church, and to bow down before it. This apparently implies that the Jews of Philadelphia were in process of rallying to the Christian side. The Church on the whole is rebuked for no faults or weakness; but is exhorted to continue strong and energetic, as it has hitherto been; and to 'hold fast what it has.'[*] Great rewards are promised to those who are steadfast and win the victory. The name of God, and the name of His city, the new Jerusalem, and the new name of the writer who addresses them, are to be written on all who overcome (on this see PERGAMUM).

Philadelphia was a bishopric under the metropolitan see of Sardis, in the Byzantine period, mentioned in all the lists immediately after Sardis. It grew steadily as the Ægean coast cities tended to dwindle, and the central regions of Asia Minor to grow more important in the Byzantine period. In the last centuries of the empire it rose to a lofty pitch of heroism. It was long the bulwark of the Christians against the encroachments of the Turkish power, whose centre was at Konia or Iconium. Frederick Barbarossa was permitted to enter the city alone by its inhabitants, though they fought for two days against his army, as he was marching across Asia Minor on the fourth crusade in 1190. Andronicus Palæologus (1283–1328) recognized its importance by raising it to the rank of a metropolitan archbishopric, and making it tenth in 'the order of dignity.'[†] This probably implies that it now became practically the Christian centre of Lydia (in place of Sardis), although the official lists (*Notitiæ Episcopatuum*), with their usual conservatism (see PERGA), continue to mention it, as before, in the list of bishoprics subject to Sardis (sometimes with the added note, 'which was promoted to the rank of a *metropolis*,' as in *Not.* xiii.). In 1306 it stood a long siege by the Seljuk Turks; but, after suffering terribly from hunger, it was relieved by Roger de Flor with his Catalan troops. Again in 1324 it suffered a similar siege, and even greater extreme of hunger; but again was relieved by the Byzantine general, Alexius Philanthropenus. As the Turkish power spread westward, Philadelphia was entirely isolated, but still maintained its proud independence as a free Christian city in a Turkish land, until it was conquered by a combined army of Ottoman Turks and Byzantine imperial troops sent by the submissive emperor, in a year which is given variously between 1379 and 1390.* In 1403 it is said to have been captured by Tamerlane, who built a wall with corpses (the situation of which is still pointed out).

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[*] Wrongly called, by almost all travellers and guide-books, Devlit.

[†] See Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, p. 103 ff. Marquardt (*Röm. Staatsverw.* i. p. 341) is mistaken in saying that it was the seat of a *conventus*; but it was one of the places in the *conventus Sardianus* where the court of the *conventus* might be held by the proconsul.

[*] On the Jews in Phrygia and Lydia see *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ch. xv.

[†] See Parthey, *Notitiæ Episcop.* xi. No. 11, p. 226.

It is remarkable that the city whose noble Christian career is intimated in the message Rev 3^{8-14} should have had the most glorious history of all the cities of Asia Minor in the long struggle against the Turks. Perhaps the only city that could vie with it was Smyrna (also highly praised in Rev); but the resistance of Smyrna was due in part to European aid, while Philadelphia maintained itself with native steadfastness and vigour. It is still to a large extent Christian. 'He that overcometh, I will make him a pillar in the sanctuary of my God, and he shall go out thence no more,' Rev 3^{12}.

The modern name of Philadelphia is Ala-Sheher, the 'reddish city' (or rather parti-coloured, with a reddish-brown tinge), so called from the colour of the hillside that slopes away backwards and upwards behind the city. It was by a mere error, due to a smattering of Turkish, that older travellers reported its name as Allah-Sheher, the City of God, which has led to a good deal of mistaken moralizing. W. M. RAMSAY.

PHILEMON (Φιλήμων).—The correspondent to whom St. Paul addressed the charming letter which bears his name (see the following article). The name occurs with considerable frequency in inscriptions, and is found twice in literature in connexion with Phrygia, viz. in the beautiful legend of Philemon and Baucis (Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 631), and in Aristoph. *Aves*, 762. St. Paul's correspondent was most probably a native of Colossæ (cf. Philem ^{1} with Col 4^{17}); and in Theodoret's time his house was pointed out in that city. Tradition speaks of him as bishop of Colossæ (*Apost. Const.* vii. 46), and the *Menæa* of Nov. 22 record his martyrdom there, by stoning, in company with Apphia, Archippus, and Onesimus, in the reign of Nero. In the case of such facts as these, local tradition may generally be regarded as trustworthy, and here it falls in with the documentary evidence, for the idea that Philemon was of Laodicea is a mere guess.

Philemon was a dear and intimate friend of St. Paul (vv.^{1,22}), and probably one of his converts (v.^{19}). Of the circumstances of his conversion to the Christian faith we have no record, but it may well have taken place during St. Paul's stay at Ephesus (Ac 19^{26}; but cf. also Ac 16^{6}). From the facts that he owned slaves (see ONESIMUS), and that he was noted for his hospitality and charity to his fellow-Christians (vv.$^{2,5-7}$), it is plain that he was a rich man. St. Paul speaks of 'the church in his house' (v.^{2}), and does not scruple to bid him prepare a lodging for him against the time he should arrive in Colossæ (v.^{22}). It only remains to be added that Philemon was so earnest in his work for the gospel, that St. Paul can call him a συνεργός (was this at Ephesus?), and that the tone of the apostle's appeal on behalf of Onesimus would lead us to conclude that he was a man of high and generous character, who might be expected to rise superior to the prejudices of heathendom as to the relations between master and slave. APPHIA may have been his wife, and ARCHIPPUS his son. J. H. BERNARD.

PHILEMON, EPISTLE TO.—

i. External tradition.
ii. Transmission of text.
iii. Purport and analysis of the Epistle.
iv. Its internal evidence and genuineness.
v. Its place in St. Paul's life.
vi. Its attitude to slavery.

i. The earliest certain quotations from this Epistle are found in Origen (cf. *Hom.* xix. *in Jer.* 2, *Comm. Series in Matt.* §§ 66, 72), who expressly ascribes it to St. Paul. That Marcion accepted it is explained by Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* v. 21) as due to its extreme brevity. The Muratorian Canon names among the Pauline Epp. 'ad filemonem unam.' Eusebius counts it among the ὁμολογούμενα (*HE* iii. 25). It must have been included, if we are to judge from the extant documentary evidence, in the earliest collection of Pauline letters. The play upon words (εὔχρηστος . . . ἄχρηστος) of v.^{11} is found again in Theophilus (*ad Autol.* i. 1), and Ignatius (*Eph.* ii., *Magn.* ii.) uses ὀναίμην as it is used in Philem ^{20}; but these last coincidences do not necessarily betray literary connexion, though they suggest it.

ii. The text of the Epistle is attested by the uncials א A C D L P ב (this last unpublished) and F G (these omit v.^{21}–end); and by the Egyptian, Syriac, and Latin VSS (of the OL we have *d e f g m*). Of the cursives it is sufficient to mention 17, 47, 67**, 137 as specially valuable.

iii. This Epistle differs from all the other Pauline Epp. which have reached us, in that it is a strictly private letter written to an individual friend. It is possible, though not certain, that the words ἐγὼ Παῦλος ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί (v.^{19}) apply to the whole letter, which would thus have been an autograph, and not written by an amanuensis, as was St. Paul's usual habit. The Pastoral Epp., although addressed to individuals, are semi-official in character, and deal with the affairs of the whole Christian society; the nearest parallel in the NT to Philemon is 3 Jn, addressed to 'Gaius the beloved.' This characteristic of Philemon provoked prejudice against it in early times, and Jerome, Chrysostom, and Theodore of Mopsuestia found it necessary to defend the Epistle against the charge of secular triviality, unworthy of St. Paul, and unbefitting, as was argued, a work to be included in the sacred Canon of the NT. But modern critics from Luther to Renan have shown a keener insight, and have found in the contents of the Epistle matter for admiration rather than for depreciation.

The body of the letter is an appeal made by St. Paul to PHILEMON, a citizen of Colossæ, on behalf of ONESIMUS, a runaway slave who had come under the apostle's influence and had embraced the Christian faith. Onesimus seems (v.^{18}) to have been a thief, and would in the ordinary course of things have been subjected to very severe punishment had he come again into the power of his former master Philemon. The apostle, with rare tact and delicacy, which only bring his strong sense of justice into fuller relief, asks pardon for the offender, not only as a personal favour to himself (vv.^{9,11,14}), but on the ground of the brotherhood in Christ of master and slave (v.^{16}). He does not ask directly that Onesimus shall be freed, although he indirectly suggests it (v.^{21}); 'the word *emancipation* seems to be trembling on his lips' (Lightfoot).

An analysis of the letter may be drawn up as follows:—*Salutation* (vv.$^{1-3}$); *thanksgiving* for Philemon's love and faith (vv.$^{4-7}$); *request* that he will receive Onesimus, the bearer of the letter, with kindness (vv.$^{8-17}$); adding the assurance that, so doing, he will gratify the writer, who hopes soon to visit Colossæ (vv.$^{18-22}$); *salutations* and final *benediction* (vv.$^{23-25}$).

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* 1379 in Muralt, *Chronographie Byzantine*, from whom we take the preceding dates, 1306 and 1324.

The whole Epistle has frequently been compared to a beautiful letter written by the younger Pliny on a similar occasion (Plin. *Ep.* ix. 21), of which a translation is given by Lightfoot (*Col. and Philem.* p. 316).

iv. Considerable as is the external testimony (see i.) to the Pauline authorship of this Ep., the strongest argument for its genuineness is based on its internal evidence of truth, its witness to itself. 'Peu de pages,' says Renan, 'ont un accent de sincérité aussi prononcé. Paul seul a pu écrire ce petit chef d'œuvre.' The vocabulary of the Ep. has indeed been challenged in refutation of this general impression which it leaves upon the mind, and has been described, *e.g.* by Baur, as un-Pauline. As a matter of fact, the only words which do not occur again in St. Paul are ἀναπέμπειν, ἀποτίνειν, ἄχρηστος, ἐπιτάσσειν, ξενία, ὀνίνασθαι, and προσοφείλειν; and of these all but the last occur elsewhere in the NT or in the LXX.* No serious argument can be based on such a meagre list; and, on the other hand, many phrases in the letter are unmistakably Pauline. Not to lay overmuch stress on the form of salutation (v.^{3}), and farewell (v.^{25}), and the opening thanksgiving (vv.$^{4ff.}$), which are in St. Paul's undoubted style, for these might be imitated by a *falsarius*, the diction all through is that with which we are familiar in the Pauline Epistles. We have the metaphor ὃν ἐγέννησα ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς which recalls 1 Co 4^{15}; we have words like ἐπίγνωσις, παῤῥησία, παράκλησις; we have τάχα which only occurs again Ro 5^{7}; and we have quite a number of coincidences with Eph, Col, Ph; *e.g.* cf. δέσμιος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ (vv.^{1} and ^{9}) with Eph 3^{1}, συνεργός and συστρατιώτης (vv.$^{1.\,2}$) with Ph 2^{25}, ἀνῆκον (v.^{8}) with Eph 5^{4} Col 3^{18}, συναιχμάλωτος (v.^{23}) with Col 4^{10}, and ἀδελφὸς ἀγαπητός (v.^{16}) with Eph 6^{21} Col 4^{7}. On the whole, not only does the artless style of the letter powerfully support its claim to be genuine, but the phraseology is strikingly like that of the other Pauline Epp., and especially Eph, Col, Ph, the Epp. of the first Roman captivity.

v. An obvious link connecting the letter with Colossians is supplied by the proper names which occur in both Epistles. Both purport to come from 'Paul and Timothy'; while writing both Paul is in captivity; in both Archippus is greeted (v.^{1}, Col 4^{17}); Aristarchus, Mark, Epaphras, Luke, Demas join in the salutations with which the letters conclude; Onesimus a 'beloved brother' is to be the bearer of both letters, accompanied as it would seem by Tychicus (v.^{16}, Col 4^{7}). With this agrees the fact that no greeting to Philemon is found in Colossians, because to him a separate letter had been addressed. And as Ephesians and Colossians were intrusted to the same messenger, viz. Tychicus (Eph 6^{21}, Col 4^{7}), we are led to the conclusion that the three Epistles, Eph, Col, Philem, were written at the same time and under the same circumstances. (See EPHESIANS, EPISTLE TO).

A determination of the *place* of writing will help us to determine the *time*. As St. Paul was in captivity, the letter must have been written either from *Cæsarea* (Ac 24–26) or from *Rome* (Ac 28^{30}). Tradition is all in favour of Rome, and the *a priori* arguments which have been alleged on the side of Cæsarea are untrustworthy.

Thus (*a*) it has been urged that Cæsarea being nearer to Colossæ than Rome, it would be more natural that Onesimus should fly there. But, on the contrary, a fugitive could more easily hide himself in the great metropolis. (*b*) If Eph, Col, Philem were carried by the same messenger from Rome, he would arrive first at Ephesus, and yet in Eph we find no commendation of Onesimus. This is explicable only, it has been supposed, on the hypothesis that Onesimus was no longer with Tychicus, having arrived at his destination (Colossæ) before the messengers reached Ephesus. But this would involve an approach from Cæsarea rather than Rome. It is a sufficient answer to this that arguments *e silentio* are very untrustworthy, and that no reason has been assigned why a slave like Onesimus should be singled out for mention in a letter to a Church where he was not known. (*c*) Philem ^{22} suggests that St. Paul intended to go direct to Colossæ, while Ph 2^{24} speaks of his intention of going to Macedonia. This would suggest a starting-point south of Colossæ, so that that place might be visited *en route* to Macedonia.

But we do not know how far the apostle's plans were modified in the interval between the composition of Philemon and Philippians, nor is there any reason why he should not have proceeded from Rome to Colossæ *viâ* Philippi.

The positive arguments, independent of tradition, in favour of Rome are slight. *E.g.* from Eph 6^{19} it appears that St. Paul had a certain amount of freedom while in captivity, which is hardly consistent with what we know of his imprisonment at Cæsarea and of the dangers to which he was there exposed (Ac 23^{21}; but cf. 24^{23}). But leaving that aside, there is at least nothing to forbid us to acquiesce in the traditional belief that it was in Rome that the apostle wrote the three letters Eph, Col, Philem, as it is evidently the place from which he wrote the kindred Epistle to the Philippians (Ph 1^{13} 4^{22}; cf. PHILIPPIANS, EPISTLE TO).

The question as to the priority of Philippians to the group Eph, Col, Philem, is difficult, and there is not a great deal of evidence available. Lightfoot, Sanday (see Smith's *DB*^{2} i. 627), and Hort (*Rom. and Eph.* p. 102) support the view that Philippians was written earlier than Eph, Col, Philem; but the opposite opinion, that it is the latest of the Epp. of the first Roman captivity, has also many defenders, *e.g.* Zahn (*Einleit.* i. 386, 392), Gwynn (*Speaker's Comm.*), and Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 358), and on the whole it seems to the present writer the more probable.

The reasons for this opinion are the following: (α) It seems from a comparison of Eph with Ph that the conditions of the apostle's imprisonment are represented as more rigorous in the latter Ep. than in the former, which contemplates a state of things like that portrayed in Ac 28$^{30.\,31}$. On the other hand, when Ph was written, he has been put on his trial, and forced to make his ἀπολογία (cf. Ph 1$^{16f.}$ 2$^{17.\,23}$). (β) Again, a comparison of Philem ^{22} (ἐλπίζω γὰρ ὅτι διὰ τῶν προσευχῶν ὑμῶν χαρισθήσομαι ὑμῖν) with Ph 2^{24} (πέποιθα ἐν κυρίῳ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ταχέως ἐλεύσομαι) taken in connexion with the joyful tone of Ph, despite the trials which the writer has endured, points to the fact that he was much more confident of his release when Ph was written than at the period of writing Philem, and this would naturally arise from the fact that his trial, which had not come on before the group of letters Eph, Col, Philem was despatched, was in progress and was already so far advanced that he could predict the issue with some confidence. (γ) Too much has been made of the fact that Luke and Aristarchus who join in the salutation to the Colossians and to Philemon are not named in Ph, for they are not named in Eph either. Yet still it falls in with the hypothesis that they had departed before Ph was written; and indeed Ph 2^{20} ('I have no man likeminded [*sc.* with Timothy] who will care truly for your state') seems to make it certain that when Ph was despatched the companions who are named in Col, Eph, Philem had departed from the side of the apostle. The only positive argument of any weight which has been urged on the other side is that the similarities between Ro and Ph are much closer than between Ro and Eph, Col, Philemon. Lightfoot, in particular, urges that Philippians resembles the earlier rather than the later group of Pauline letters, and that therefore it must be placed before Eph, Col, Philemon. Such an argument has little force, for on any hypothesis the interval which separates Eph, Col, Philem from Ph is too brief to account for any marked change in style, supposing such to exist. And, on the other side, the undoubted parallels between Ph and the Pastoral Epp. may be brought forward (cf. *e.g.* 1^{23} and 2^{17} with 2 Ti 4^{6}, 4^{8} with 1 Ti 3^{8}, 1^{21} with Tit 1^{11}, 1$^{12.\,26}$ with 1 Ti 4^{15}).

We thus are inclined to place Philemon before Philippians, and therefore it will fall not quite as late in St. Paul's first captivity as that Epistle. The determination of the year of writing will depend on the system of Pauline chronology which is adopted (see CHRONOLOGY, vol. i. p. 420). It is perhaps most probable that it was written in the year A.D. 61.

vi. The conditions of social life which form the background of the Ep. are deeply interesting to the student of history, and the letter derives a peculiar importance from the light which it throws on the attitude of the early preachers of the gospel to the institution of *slavery*. It is not condemned, nor (as has been said already, § iii.) does St. Paul even advocate directly the emancipation of Onesimus. Christianity did not attempt all at once to abolish an institution which was so deep rooted in Roman social life, however inconsistent it was with the religion of the Incarnation. Indeed the revelation of the brotherhood of men in Christ made it especially necessary to emphasize (as the apostles did) the fact that social differences were not thereby obliterated. Even if (which is doubtful) St. Paul was so much in advance of his age as to have grasped the idea that no man has a right to *own* another, to have proclaimed the iniquity of slavery to a world which was not prepared for it would have exposed society to the frightful dangers of a *bellum servile*, on the one hand, and would, on the other, have done more to arouse the hostility of the Roman imperial authorities than any other proclamation could have effected. Christians had to show at the very outset that Christianity was not inconsistent with good citizenship, and that the reforms which it hoped to promote in social life would not be imposed violently from without, but that they would be the outcome of the development of the national conscience, in which the seed of the gospel was to grow and fructify, secretly but surely, as the leaven spreads in the meal. And the event has justified the policy. Slowly and steadily, as Christianity spread, did the condition of the slave improve in imperial Rome; until at last the time came when it was possible for the Church, with a fuller recognition of the implications of the creed, and without danger to her own corporate life, to preach emancipation. And the letter to Philemon is the first indication in Christian literature that the problem of the relation of master to slave must be seriously affected by the new conception of the brotherhood of man, which Christ's apostles had set themselves to proclaim.

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* ἐλλογᾶν (WH) occurs again in Ro 5^{13} (TR in both ἐλλογεῖν).

LITERATURE.—Lightfoot on *Colossians and Philemon* is the best; von Soden (*Hand-Commentar*) and Vincent (*Internat. Crit. Comm.*) are also valuable; and Abp. Alexander's comm. in the *Speaker's Comm.* is picturesque and full of matter.

J. H. BERNARD.

PHILETUS (Φίλητος) is mentioned along with Hymenæus in 2 Ti 2^{17} as sharing in the same heresy regarding the resurrection. The nature of that heresy has been already explained in the article on Hymenæus (which see), and it is sufficient to state here that it consisted in doing away with anything in the nature of a bodily resurrection, and resolving all Scripture references to such a state into figure or metaphor. For full particulars regarding the men and their heresy, reference may be made to J. G. Walch, *Miscell. Sacra*, p. 81 ff.; and to F. R. Walch, *Hist. der Ketzereien*, i. 125 ff. See also Ellicott on *The Pastoral Epp. in loc.*, and Burton, *Bampton Lect.*, Note 59, p. 428.

The names of Philetus and Hymenæus occur separately among those of Cæsar's household whose relics have been found in the Columbaria at Rome.

G. MILLIGAN.

PHILIP (Φίλιππος).—**1.** King of Macedonia, B.C. 359–336, and father of Alexander the Great (1 Mac 1^{1} 6^{2}). **2.** A Phrygian, who was left by Antiochus Epiphanes as governor of Jerusalem, after he had plundered the temple in B.C. 170 (2 Mac 5^{22}). Philip is described as being 'in character more barbarous than him that set him there,' and he showed his cruelty by burning certain fugitive Jews, who had taken refuge in caves, and scrupled to defend themselves on the Sabbath (*ib.* 6^{11}). He was the first to take measures against Judas Maccabæus (*ib.* 8^{8}), and is often identified with—**3.** A 'friend' and foster-brother (σύντροφος) of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Mac 8^{2a}). This view is supported by Zöckler, but the grounds of the identification are somewhat precarious (cf. Rawlinson in *Speaker's Comm.*). Epiphanes on his deathbed gave his ring to Philip, and appointed him chancellor and guardian of his son, Antiochus V. (1 Mac $6^{14f.}$). Lysias, however, gained possession of the young king, and seized the supreme power. Philip, returning with the army from Persia, occupied Antioch, whereupon Lysias, who with Antiochus Eupator was prosecuting the war in Palestine, hastily made terms with Judas Maccabæus and returned to Syria (*ib.* 6^{55-63}). Lysias took Antioch, and according to Josephus (*Ant.* XII. ix. 7) put Philip to death. The statement that, on the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, Philip took refuge in Egypt with Ptolemy Philometor (2 Mac 9^{29}), cannot be reconciled with our other authorities; and 2 Mac alludes elsewhere (13^{23}) to Philip's attempt to establish his authority as regent. **4.** Philip V., king of Macedonia, B.C. 220–179. His overthrow in battle is mentioned as one of the great achievements of the Romans (1 Mac 8^{5}). An able and energetic monarch, he extended his power in Greece and Epirus, and in B.C. 215 made an alliance with Hannibal. The war with Rome, however, was not carried on with much energy, and after some years a hollow peace was made. In the year 200 the Romans again declared war, but gained little advantage till the supreme command was entrusted to T. Quinctius Flaminius, by whom Philip was completely defeated at Cynoscephalæ in Thessaly (B.C. 197), and forced to accept humiliating terms. During the remaining years of his life he attempted to recover something of his former power, but his cruel and suspicious conduct alienated his subjects, while he was continually troubled by disputes between his two sons. He was at last induced to put his younger son Demetrius to death, and dying shortly afterwards was succeeded by Perseus (which see).

H. A. WHITE.

PHILIP (Φίλιππος, *Philippus*).—**1.** THE APOSTLE. One of the Twelve, belonging to Bethsaida of Galilee (Jn 12^{21}), the fourth of those who attached themselves to Christ as followers, and the first whom our Lord directly called (1^{43}). He had probably been, like his fellow-townsmen Andrew and Peter, a disciple of John the Baptist; for his call took place near 'Bethany beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing,' on the day after Christ's interview with Simon Peter, when Jesus purposed (ἐθέλησεν) to leave the district for Galilee ($1^{28.43}$).

Himself 'masterfast,' Philip, either at Bethany or on his arrival, along with Jesus, at Cana, communicates his discovery of the Messiah foretold in the OT to his friend Nathanael, describing Jesus (in accordance with his defective information at the time) as the son of Joseph (1^{45}). Unable to meet directly Nathanael's objection to an alleged Messiah sprung from Nazareth (see NATHANAEL), Philip wisely falls back on experimental evidence, invites Nathanael to 'come and see,' and is the means of his friend's coming, not only into the Master's presence, but under His saving power ($1^{46ff.}$). When the Twelve are chosen, Philip becomes one of the second quartette, at whose head, in each list, his name stands (Mt 10^{3}, Mk 3^{18}, Lk 6^{14}). He appears thrice otherwise in the Gospel history; and all the references to him (except the bare statement that he was one of the Twelve) are made by his fellow-townsman John, who, writing probably after all his fellow-apostles were dead, appears anxious, in the case of Philip and Andrew, to rescue from oblivion or obscurity, through a few significant reminiscences, some characteristics of those two friends of his youth.

Philip's prompt reply to our Lord's inquiry in Jn $6^{5f.}$ suggests that he had anticipated his Master's compassionate desire to feed the multitude in the wilderness, and had reckoned up (privately, but not unobserved by Jesus) the minimum sum required for the purpose,* without any thought, seemingly, of miraculous intervention. Philip's Greek name, given to him, perhaps, in honour of Philip the tetrarch (Lk 3^{1}), led probably to the 'Greeks who came up to worship at the feast' selecting him as a medium of introduction to Christ; but it was an appropriate coincidence that those who wished to 'see Jesus' should have applied to one who had said to Nathanael, 'Come and see.' Philip's application to Andrew (who also bore a Greek name, and, like Philip, had brought another into Christ's presence), to take part, as principal (Jn 12^{22} RV), in the desired introduction, arose probably not from any doubt as to our Lord's willingness (Jn 10^{16}), but from modesty and a sense of the importance of the occasion. The request of Philip, on the occasion of Christ's address on the night before the Passion (14^{8}), for some such revelation, presumably, of God the Father as Moses had enjoyed (Ex $33^{18ff.}$), indicates the union of earnest religious aspiration with somewhat dull spiritual apprehension. He was seeking after the shadow of a theophany, when the substance of the incarnation was already given to him; just as he had formerly concerned himself about the need of 200 pence, when the riches of Christ's miraculous power were available. Philip's motto appears to have been 'Seeing is Believing,' both in the signification of undue dependence upon testimony addressed to the senses, and in the worthier meaning of an appreciation of the value of experimental evidence. The main lesson to be learned from the incidents of Philip's history as related in the Gospel is this, that while a sincere believer needs to be thoroughly 'proved' (Jn 6^{6}) and instructed before he is fit to 'go forth' as a leader and pastor of the Church; on the other hand, if the portion of truth already apprehended be faithfully held, he may, amid defective knowledge (Jn 1^{45} 'son of Joseph') and imperfect spiritual insight, possess the genuinely missionary spirit, be instrumental in leading others to Christ, and advance the kingdom of heaven.†

Philip's life and work after the Ascension are obscured by the widely prevalent confusion in early times between this apostle and the evangelist Philip, who was one of the 'Seven.'‡ The confusion arose, doubtless, from the wider use, after Pentecost, of the word 'apostle,' as including others besides the Twelve (see APOSTLE). It seems best to accept as reliable the earliest distinct testimony regarding Philip's later career furnished by Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus in the latter part of the 2nd cent., who was likely to have been well-informed. Polycrates (quoted by Eusebius, iii. 31) states that Philip, 'one of the Twelve,' lived as one of the 'great lights of Asia,' and is 'buried at Hierapolis along with his two aged virgin daughters'; and he adds that another daughter, who 'lived in (fellowship with) the Holy Spirit,' was buried at Ephesus.* The statement of Polycrates is supported by the apocryphal *Journeyings of Philip the Apostle* (3rd cent.), which represent Hierapolis as the chief scene of his labours, and associate him significantly with Bartholomew (who is described, however, as one of the Seventy); by Theodoret, the historian, who records in his *Commentary* on Ps 116 [Eng. 117] that 'the apostle Philip controverted the error of the Phrygians' (to whose country Hierapolis belonged); by pseudo-Dorotheus, who states in his *Synopsis* that Philip of Bethsaida preached in Phrygia, and is buried with his daughters in Hierapolis; and by pseudo-Epiphanius, who makes a similar declaration (Lipsius, *Apokr. Apost.* i. pp. 211–213, iii. 25, 26).† In substantial harmony, so far, with Polycrates is his contemporary Clement of Alexandria, who states (*Strom.* iii. 6) that the 'apostles Peter and Philip begat children,' and that the latter apostle 'gave his daughters in marriage' (which would account for the burial of one daughter in Ephesus and not in Hierapolis). The fact of Philip the Evangelist having had four virgin daughters who prophesied, does not invalidate the early testimony to Philip the Apostle having also had notable daughters, although it may have led to confusion on the part of later or less well-informed writers; and the apostle's settlement and labours in Asia Minor harmonize with the introduction of his name on three occasions into the Gospel written at Ephesus by St. John.‡

Regarding Philip's labours prior to his settlement in Hierapolis, the traditions are divergent. The *Journeyings* represent him as travelling through Lydia and Asia; in the apocryphal *Acts of Philip*, Upper Hellas, particularly Athens (where he is said to have abode for two years, and to have founded a Church, appointing presbyters and deacons), and afterwards Parthia, are the scenes of his ministry; while later Latin documents attribute to him the evangelization of the Gauls (Galatians?) and Scythians (Lipsius, iii. 26, 50, E. 19; Fabricius, *Cod. Apoc.* ii. 736). Similarly conflicting are the traditions regarding the manner of Philip's death. A natural decease appears to be indicated by Clement of Alex. (*Strom.* iv. 9), pseudo-Doroth., pseudo-Epiphan., and the Latin *Passio Philippi* (according to the last-mentioned, at the age of

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* A denarius or 'penny' (about 9½d.) purchased 12 wheat or 36 barley 'loaves' (Mishna, *Peah*, viii. 7 and Rev 6^{6})—round cakes an inch thick and a span in diameter. 200 'pence' would thus procure a scant meal (Jer 37^{21}, Lk 11^{6}) for 5000 men and 2200 women and children.

† Clement of Alex. (*Strom.* iii. 4) records a tradition that Philip was the disciple referred to in Mt 8^{21} as asking Christ for permission 'first to go and bury my father.' If so, the incident belongs to Philip's call, not to discipleship, but to apostleship, when permanent departure from home was involved.

‡ Thus Tertullian (*de Bapt.* 18) speaks of the Apostle Philip being 'snatched away from the eunuch'; the Philip of Ac 6 is referred to in the *Apost. Const.* vi. 7 as συναποστολος; and in Calendars of the Coptic and Armenian Churches there is a commemoration of Philip as 'Deacon and Apostle' (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* iii. 645; cf. Wright, *Apoc. Acts of Ap.* ii. p. 69 ff., where the history is given of Philip, 'Apostle and Evangelist'). Even Eusebius shares in the confusion (*HE* iii. 31).

* Eus. (*HE* iii. 39) refers to a still earlier testimony in the same direction by Papias, bishop of Hierapolis (first half of 2nd cent.), to the effect that the daughters of Philip the apostle had told him (Papias) about a man raised from the dead in their father's time. As Eus., however, does not quote the exact words of Papias, and as the historian himself confused the two Philips, this reference must be regarded as uncertain.

† In a recently discovered ancient Christian inscription at Hierapolis reference is made to a Church τοῦ ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου καὶ θεολόγου Φιλίππου (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 552). Although Philip the Evangelist is sometimes called ἀποστολος in the wide sense (see above), so formal an ascription of apostleship is not likely to have been made except to one of the Twelve.

‡ The earliest and strongest testimony in favour of the Philip who settled in Hierapolis being the evangelist, is the statement in Eusebius (*HE* iii. 31), that in a dialogue held at Rome early in the 3rd cent. between Caius and Proclus a Montanist, the latter is represented as referring to 'four prophetesses, daughters of Philip, whose tomb, as well as that of their father, was at Hierapolis.' It is, of course, not absolutely impossible that both Philips were buried with their respective daughters in the same city; but, assuming the improbability of such a coincidence, it is a tenable supposition that either Eus. (through his own ideas being confused) misunderstood, so far, Proclus, or that Proclus himself, knowing about 'daughters of Philip' buried at Hierapolis, assumed mistakenly that these belonged to Philip the Evangelist. The tradition, moreover, which identifies the Philip of Hierapolis with the evangelist is neutralized by the counter-tradition, according to which the latter became bishop of Tralles (see next article).

87). Other ancient authorities ascribe martyrdom to the apostle. Pseudo-Hippol., the *Journeyings*, and the Æthiopian *Acts* represent him as crucified head downwards (according to the first document, under Domitian; according to the second, in the reign of Trajan); while several Latin martyrologies and an ancient Irish *Passio* relate that he was first stoned, then crucified (Lipsius, iii. 25, 26, 48, 50, E. 73; Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies from Leabhar Breac*, pp. 112, 358).

LITERATURE (in addition to works referred to).—*Acta Sanctorum*, vol. xiv. p. 7 ff.; Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 45 f.; *Expositor*, Jan. 1875, Dec. 1877; A. Maclaren, *A Year's Ministry*, 2nd series; A. B. Bruce, *Training of the Twelve*.

2. PHILIP THE EVANGELIST.—One of the Seven chosen by the primitive Church at Jerusalem, and ordained by the apostles (Ac 6) to take charge of the daily ministration of charity to the Christian widows and other poor (see DEACON). If not a Hellenist Jew, he was a Hebrew with conspicuously liberal sympathies. After the outbreak of persecution, inaugurated with the martyrdom of his colleague Stephen, Philip, hindered in the fulfilment of one office, straightway entered on the work of another. He was one of those who departed from Jerusalem for missionary ministry ($8^{4.5}$). As Stephen was the forerunner of Paul in unfolding the relation of Christianity to Judaism and in repudiating the Jewish claim to a monopoly of Divine favour, so Philip was the precursor of the Apostle of the Gentiles in missionary zeal, and particularly in opening the door of the Church's fellowship to non-Jewish believers. (1) He selected as his first missionary field the (chief) city of Samaria (Ac 8^5 RV), *i.e.* either Sebaste (Samaria) or Neapolis (Sychem). The Samaritans, notwithstanding their partial Hebrew descent and partial acceptance of Judaism (including circumcision), were rigidly excluded from the Jewish Church, and were denied even the privilege, accorded to heathens, of becoming proselytes. To this people Philip, mindful doubtless of our Lord's own Samaritan ministry (Jn 4), proclaimed the Gospel and administered baptism. The inhabitants of the city had long been under the influence of SIMON MAGUS (which see), whom his sorceries had induced them to regard as 'the Power of God which is called Great' (Ac 8^{10}). Philip's preaching, supported by miracles of healing and of dispossession, was successful in transferring Samaritan allegiance from Simon to Christ. The population as a whole were baptized; and Simon himself (although with divided heart, as the issue proved) believed and received baptism. Philip's success in Samaria led to the despatch thither of Peter and John, who completed the work which the evangelist had begun. The first stage was thus reached in the development of the Christian Brotherhood out of a Jewish sect into the Catholic Church. (2) A further service in the same direction was rendered by Philip through his baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch, whom he met, by Divine suggestion and providential arrangement, on the road between Jerusalem and Gaza (Ac $8^{28\text{ff.}}$).* This eunuch, who held the high office of treasurer to CANDACE (which see), queen of the Ethiopians, had apparently become, in his native land, a 'proselyte of the gate'† to Judaism, and was returning home, after worship in the temple, on the occasion, presumably, of one of the great annual festivals. Philip's conduct in relation to the eunuch notably exemplifies trustful obedience to Divine leadings (Ac 8^{27}), alertness in availing himself of missionary opportunity (8^{30}), and broad-minded disregard of national and religious prejudice (8^{38}). The Ethiopian, as a descendant of Ham, belonged to a despised race (Nu 12^1, Am 9^7), and, if literally a eunuch, was inadmissible into the full membership of the Jewish Church (Dt 23^1). Philip by the reception of this man into the Christian Church, virtually declared that disabilities of race and outward condition have no place there, but that all who believe in Christ are eligible for membership and baptism.* It was probably Philip's signal service to the cause of Church extension on these two occasions which led, at least in part, to the designation of him as *the* evangelist (Ac 21^8).

After the baptism of the Ethiopian, Philip evangelized the country between Azotus (Ashdod) and Cæsarea, which, according to tradition, was his birthplace (see documents quoted by Lipsius, *Apokr. Apos.* iii. 2, 40), and where eventually he took up his abode (Ac 21^8). There, along with four virgin daughters who were prophetesses,† he was found residing, more than 20 years later, by St. Paul and his friends, who remained for some days as guests in his house, on their way to Jerusalem. During the apostle's protracted imprisonment at Cæsarea we may assume there would be much intercourse (Ac 24^{23}) between Philip and one with whose missionary zeal and broad ecclesiastical views the evangelist would be in full sympathy. Among those who were in Cæsarea along with St. Paul (at least during part of the time) was St. Luke (Ac 27^2); and the details of Philip's early evangelistic ministry, recorded in Ac, were doubtless, at this time, communicated to Luke by Philip himself. The historical credibility, therefore, of the narrative in Ac 8 can be questioned only by those who dogmatically reject all records of what is supernatural (Ac $8^{7.26.39}$).‡

In 65 A.D. the revolt which developed into the great Jewish war broke out at Cæsarea; and Philip, like other Jewish Christians, would probably leave Palestine before the fatal issue. We are prepared, accordingly, for traditions which indicate his ultimate settlement elsewhere. These traditions are divergent. (1) The earlier connects the evangelist and his daughters with Hierapolis (see note ‡ on p. 835^b), but is rendered doubtful by the manifest confusion which existed as to the two Philips. It appears to the present writer much less worthy of acceptance than (2) the tradition which represents Philip, with his daughters, as settling at Tralles§ in Asia Minor, as performing there many miracles, and as becoming ἐπίσκοπος or ἐπίτροπος of the Church which he was mainly instrumental in building up in that city (pseudo-Doroth. *Synopsis*; *Martyr. Basilii*; Joseph. Hymnographus; and other authorities quoted in *Acta Sanctorum*, xxi. p. 608 ff., and by Lips. iii. 2, 3). In favour of the latter tradition is the fact of its being associated, not like the former, with both Philips, but with the evangelist alone. According to most forms of the tradition, he died a natural death at Tralles; but one authority (a Greek *menologium*, quoted by Lips. *l.c.*) represents him as suffering martyrdom there.

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* According to Jerome (*Epist.* 103) and a Roman martyrology (quoted by Lipsius, iii. 3), the baptism took place at Bethsoron, near Hebron.

† The word εὐνοῦχος is sometimes applied to a high court-official, without implying castration (Gn 39^1 LXX); but this treasurer, owing to his employment in a confidential capacity under a queen, would most probably be a eunuch literally (see ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH). Such a condition would prevent him from becoming a 'proselyte of righteousness,' but was not incompatible with his admission to worship in the temple as a 'proselyte of the gate' (Is $56^{4.5}$). The supposition that he was a Jew, born in Ethiopia, is hardly consistent with the natural interpretation of the passage. The one argument in its favour, viz. that no such objection seems to have been raised to Philip's procedure as was made in the case of Peter and Cornelius (Stokes, *Acts of the Apostles*, i. p. 412), is met by the fact that the baptism of Cornelius and his household was notorious, having been, in a manner, publicly administered (Ac $10^{24.33}$); whereas the Ethiopian was baptized without witnesses, and the circumstances would probably, at the time, become known only to a limited and sympathetic circle.

* According to an old Ethiopic tradition, the eunuch is represented as having evangelized the subjects of Candace or Hendake (Ludolf, *Hist. Æthiop.* iii. 1, 2; Niceph. Callist. *Hist. Ecc.* ii. 6).

† Jerome (*Epist.* 108) states that the chambers of the four daughters were still shown at Cæsarea in his day. An ancient Greek *menologium* (quoted by Lipsius, iii. 3) records their names as Hermione, Charitine, Irais, and Eutychiane. Hermione is stated by the same authority to have practised medicine, and to have been thrown, without injury, into a caldron of boiling water in the reign of Hadrian.

‡ It is open for us, however, although not necessary, to regard the interventions referred to in $8^{26.39}$ as made through natural means; in the former case through a dream, in the latter through a divinely produced impulse of Philip's own mind (Stokes and Holtzmann, *in locis*).

§ This city is usually understood to be the more celebrated Tralles in Caria; but, if we suppose it to be the other Tralles

LITERATURE.—Ewald, *Hist. of Apostolic Age*; Goulburn, *Acts of the Deacons*; Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostgesch.* vol. iii.; *Acta Sanctorum*, June 6; Stokes, *Acts of Apostles*, vol. i. chs. xvii. xx.

H. COWAN.

PHILIP (HEROD).—See HEROD in vol. ii. pp. 358^{b} and 359^{a}.

PHILIPPI (Φίλιπποι).—Philippi, in Turkish *Felibedjik* or Little Philippi, to distinguish it from Philippopolis in Bulgaria, was founded (or rather re-founded, for an earlier town had existed on the site) by Philip of Macedon in the middle of the 4th cent. and called after his name. It was situated in eastern Macedonia—so near Thrace that it is sometimes spoken of as Thracian—on a steep hill rising at the edge of a great plain which stretches far inland to the north and north-west. In the opposite direction stood its port of Neapolis (the modern Kavala), 8 or 9 miles distant, at the nearest point of the coast: the road connecting the two, part of the great Egnatian road which ran across from the Ægean to the Adriatic, passed through a depression in a line of hills which stretch east and south-east of Philippi and cut it off from the sea. An immense marsh lay directly south of the town, fed by the springs which gave it its older name of *Crenides*. At the present time two streams pass one on each side of Philippi, but at some short distance from it,—the larger rising on the east and flowing to the south of the town,—and fall into this lake or marsh, which in turn is itself a source, though not the main one, of the river Dramenica, a tributary of the Strymon. If ancient authorities, however, are to be trusted, this river, known as Angitas or Gangites or Gangas, derived its name from the Philippi branch. Where the country is so marshy, the configuration of the streams may have altered since St. Paul's day.

Philippi, with the rest of the dominions of Perseus, king of Macedonia, fell under Roman domination by the victory of the consul Æmilius Paullus in 168 B.C., whose reorganization of the conquered territory, while it preserved municipal freedom and self-government and diminished taxes, aimed at destroying the political unity of Macedonia by a division into four regions; a division so strictly carried out that an inhabitant of one region could neither intermarry with nor hold property in another. Of these regions the first, which had Amphipolis for its capital, included the whole district east of the Strymon, and therewith Philippi. It is, however, doubtful to what extent this system of tetrarchies survived the formal establishment of Macedonia as a province (A.D. 146).

The event which differentiated the fate of Philippi from that of Macedonia at large was of much later date. In the autumn of B.C. 42 the party which had brought about Cæsar's death in the hope of restoring the republic was finally extinguished in the defeat of Brutus and Cassius by Antony and Octavian (afterwards Augustus) outside the walls of Philippi. The colony of Philippi, *Colonia Augusta Julia* [*Victrix*]* *Philippensium*, was founded, as the name *Julia* implies, in honour of the victory of the cause of Julius Cæsar (cf. Strabo, vii. fr. 41, κατοικία μικρά, ηὐξήθη δὲ μετὰ τὴν περὶ Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον ἧτταν): and the first citizens, if we may judge from the phrase *cohors praet. Phil.* upon the coins, were soldiers of the bodyguard of Antony and Octavian. A second foundation by Augustus after the battle of Actium eleven years later, when many of the dispossessed partisans of Antony in Italy were transplanted to Dyrrhachium and Philippi (Dio, li. 4, § 6), is commemorated by the other title *Augusta*. The territory of the colony included Neapolis.

Each Roman colony was a fresh representation of the Roman people in miniature. The magistrates, elected by the citizens, or rather by the senate of the colony, fulfilled on a small scale the functions of their prototypes in Rome, and like them were attended by lictors bearing *fasces* or bundles of rods: their authority, within their district and over its inhabitants, excluded even that of the governor of the province. And Philippi, besides the normal privileges of all colonies, possessed as well the *ius Italicum*, or exemption for its territory from the rent ordinarily reserved for the Roman state over conquered countries.

About a hundred Latin inscriptions survive from Philippi: the most interesting, *CIL* III. i. 633, records the names of a *collegium* or burial guild recruited from the lower classes (including out of a total of 69, 4 slaves of the *colonia* and 3 of private persons), and entitled *cultores* or *sodales Silvani*. The guild had its *sacerdos*, its *junior* [*sacerdos*], and its *aedilis*, and had erected a temple (the gifts for which are recorded) to its tutelary deity.

Christianity first made its way to Philippi, as far as we know, in the person of St. Paul. Somewhere about A.D. 50, perhaps most probably in the spring of that year (see CHRONOLOGY OF NEW TESTAMENT, vol. i. p. 422), the apostle in the course of his second missionary journey crossed for the first time from Asia, and having set foot on European ground at the seaport of Neapolis, pushed on without delay to the mother city of Philippi, where sufficient stay was made to preach and found a Church. His companions were, from Antioch Silas (Ac 15^{40}), from Lystra Timothy (16^{1}), from Troas Luke (16^{10}, where the first person plural commences in the narrative).

St. Luke describes Philippi as πρώτη τῆς μερίδος Μακεδονίας πόλις κολωνία, a phrase which, as it stands, must mean *either* 'the first city in rank,' *or* 'the first city they came to,' in (that) district of Macedonia. The objections to either interpretation are serious. (1) Philippi was not the first city in rank, for Thessalonica was the capital of Macedonia as a whole, while in S.E. Macedonia, Amphipolis, distant only 30 miles from Philippi, was not only the capital of the region in the original Roman tetrarchy (see above), but was still in St. Luke's day much more than its equal in importance: Amphipolis had a separate issue of coins for the reign of each of the emperors from Augustus to Nero, while for the same period Philippi was apparently content with two, one under Augustus and one under Claudius. (2) Nor is the translation 'first city to come to' any more satisfactory. As a matter of fact the apostle first set foot in Neapolis; and in so far as Neapolis was Thracian (so Bp. Lightfoot, *Philippians*^{4}, p. 50, n. 1), Philippi must have been the same, since Neapolis was in the territory of Philippi (*CIL* III. i. p. 120). And if the geography of this interpretation is doubtful, its grammar is impossible: πρώτη is never used in this sense without qualifying words (Field, *Notes on the Translation of the New Test. ad loc.*, quoting πρώτη μετὰ τὴν Γαλατίαν, πρώτη . . . πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, πρώτη . . . ἰόντι ἀπ' Ἀχαίης). Moreover, in either translation the τῆς before μερίδος is intolerably awkward, and so the older scribes felt: B drops the article, and the Bezan reviser (D) substitutes for πρώτη τῆς μερίδος the single word κεφαλή.

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in Lydia, which was also the seat of a bishopric (Hierocles, *Notitiæ Episc.* p. 168), and was distant from Hierapolis only fifteen miles, the proximity of the two cities would account the more easily for Philip the Evangelist, as well as Philip the Apostle, being associated with Hierapolis.

* Ramsay, *Journal of Theological Studies*, Oct. 1899, p. 116, follows Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 192, in adding *Victrix*: but Mommsen, *CIL* III. i. 660, denies the title; and it does not seem to be sufficiently proved from the coins.

Hort (*New Testament in Greek*, Appendix, *ad loc.*) attempted to escape these difficulties by reading Πιερίδος for μερίδος, 'a chief city of Pierian Macedonia.' But if we are to emend, it is better to read πρώτης for πρώτη τῆς, 'a city of the first region of Macedonia and a colony.' This simple emendation—it may have arisen either by the accidental reduplication of the letters τη, or from a misunderstanding of the correction if by mistake πρώτη was written originally, and -της written over it to correct it—occurred first to Joannes Clericus (according to Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 68, but we have not been able to verify the statement) and to the unnamed friend of an English divine, James Peirce (see Peirce's *Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Philippians*, ed. 1, A.D. 1725, ed. 2, A.D. 1733, p. 3, and L. M. Artemonius, *Initium Evangelii S. Johannis*, A.D. 1726, pt. i. p. 211); and in our own day has occurred independently to Field, *op. cit.* p. 124, Blass, *loc. cit.* and *Acta Apostolorum*, *ad loc.*, and to the present writer. The only possible objections appear to be (i.) that μερίς does not mean a district or region (Hort, *loc. cit.*); and (ii.) that though Philippi had belonged to the 'first region,' the whole division into tetrarchies had fallen out of memory long before. But as to (i.) μερίς is in fact found as a term for subdivisions of the Egyptian 'nomes' (Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 158, note); as to (ii.) there is nothing in our present knowledge to justify so sweeping an assertion (Ramsay, *ib.*).

St. Paul was always accustomed to commence his mission within the sphere of the religious organization of Judaism. But Philippi—unlike the Cypriot towns, Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Thessalonica, Berœa, Athens, Corinth, Ephesus (Ac $13^{5.14}$ 14^{1} $17^{1.10.17}$ 18^{4} 19^{8})—possessed apparently no synagogue, so small was the number and importance of the Jews there, and on the Sabbath St. Paul found the few Jewish worshippers at prayers beyond the gates of the city by the riverside. If we ask ourselves why under such circumstances St. Paul stopped at Philippi, the most probable answer is that what attracted him was exactly the feature which accounted for the paucity of Jews, namely, that it was not an ordinary Greek town but a Roman colony: Rome and things Roman were uppermost in the mind of St. Paul.

The reading of the Textus Receptus is οὗ ἐνομίζετο προσευχὴ εἶναι, 'where there was accustomed to be prayer'; and Blass's conjecture, *ad loc.*, ἐνόμιζον ἐν προσευχῇ εἶναι, gives a similar sense. The Western authorities, however (ἐδόκει προσευχὴ εἶναι, D; *oratio esse uidebatur*, latt.), as well as Westcott and Hort (ἐνομίζομεν προσευχὴν εἶναι, but no single uncial gives exactly this reading), say nothing about the *habitual* character of the worship there; and it would be possible, if St. Paul's visit could coincide with one of the great Jewish fasts (those of the 4th, 5th, 7th, and 10th months, Zec 8^{19}), to suppose that the riverside worship was due only to the solemnities of the day. Compare Tertullian, *de ieiunio* 16, 'Iudaicum certe ieiunium ubique celebratur, cum omissis templis per omne littus quocumque in aperto aliquando iam precem ad cælum mittunt'; by which we ought perhaps to interpret the more general words of the Decree of the Halicarnassians (Josephus, *Antiquities*, XIV. x. 23), τὰ σάββατα ἄγειν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συντελεῖν . . . καὶ τὰς προσευχὰς ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος. Where no seashore was available, any open place, *quocumque in aperto*, appears to have answered the purpose. It will be noted that both authorities specially mention 'prayer' or 'prayers' as the distinguishing mark of this open-air service, just as St. Luke does for Philippi.* On the whole it is more probable that we are to understand that the open space by the river was the normal scene of what Jewish worship there was at Philippi.

That St. Paul 'sat' and so spoke 'to the women who had gathered' there, appears to imply both a contrast to the more formal procedure of a synagogue (St. Paul stands to preach at Pisidian Antioch, Ac 13^{16}, yet see Lk $4^{20.21}$), and also the non-existence of many worshippers beyond the (Gentile) women who here as elsewhere, especially in Macedonia (Ac 13^{50} $17^{4.12}$), were attracted to Judaism. From this class, at any rate, was drawn the first convert, Lydia the purple seller of Thyatira, who was followed by the whole *familia* of which she was the mistress; her house became the home of the apostle and the centre of the Philippian Church (see LYDIA, and cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Roman Traveller*, p. 214).

Among the women influenced by St. Paul, either as an attendant at the preaching by the riverside, or simply from the general spread of interest in the strangers and in the novel faith they were propagating in Philippi, was a slave girl, who performed in a small way the functions of an oracle, and gave answers like one under inspiration to whatever questions might be asked of her, her owners, of course, reaping the benefit of the fees paid for the privilege of inquiry.

As the pagan prophetess (like the prophetesses of the Montanists) was conceived of as the passive instrument of the spirit which inspired her, she would speak with its voice, not with her own, and so might be called (as Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 215) *ventriloqua* or ἐγγαστρίμυθος (thus the Witch of Endor in the Fathers is called both πυθώνισσα and ἐγγαστρίμυθος). For several points in the story, compare the description of a false prophet in the Shepherd of Hermas, *Mand.* xi. § 12, μισθοὺς λαμβάνει τῆς προφητείας αὐτοῦ, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ λάβῃ οὐ προφητεύει: § 2, ὡς ἐπὶ μάντιν ἔρχονται καὶ ἐπερωτῶσιν αὐτὸν τί ἄρα ἔσται αὐτοῖς: § 6, ὅλως οὐ λαλεῖ ἐὰν μὴ ἐπερωτηθῇ: § 13, κατὰ γωνίαν αὐτοῖς προφητεύει.

Daily as St. Paul passed to 'the (place of) prayer,' the girl, perhaps from some fixed station at a street corner, annoyed him by following and crying out that he and his companions were, like herself, 'slaves of (the) God,' divinely inspired to preach to the Philippians a 'way of salvation,'—a form of recommendation not at all after the mind of St. Paul,—till at last one day he turned and made use of those powers of exorcism which the early Christians never for a moment doubted that they could wield, 'in the name of Jesus Christ,' over the spirits that 'possessed' such pagan devotees. The girl, whose belief in him was no doubt very real, lost from that day forward her supposed gift; and her owners (the injury to their gains making them keenly susceptible to the injury to their religion) seized Paul and his chief companion, Silas, dragged them to the *forum*,—the great open space in a Roman city on to which the law-courts would look,—and brought them before the magistrates on the double charge of violating public order (ἐκταράσσουσιν τὴν πόλιν) and of preaching rites which for Romans at least, whatever might be the case with others, it would be illegal to accept or carry out (καταγγέλλουσιν ἔθη ἃ οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν παραδέχεσθαι οὐδὲ ποιεῖν Ῥωμαίοις οὖσιν).

The magistrates are called ἄρχοντες in Ac 16^{19}, στρατηγοί in $16^{20.22.35.36.38}$; and Prof. Ramsay (*St. Paul*, p. 217, *Journal of Theological Studies*, Oct. 1899, p. 115) sees in St. Luke's employment of the two terms in $16^{19.20}$ a proof that the book never received its finishing touches. ἄρχοντες was the normal Greek word for a supreme board of magistrates. στρατηγός was, in later times at least, used interchangeably with ἄρχων; but it was also the technical rendering of the Latin *prætor* (so ἀντιστράτηγος = *proprætor*); and in some colonies the highest grade of magistrates were actually called after the Roman model *prætores*, so that it has been questioned whether this may not have been the case at Philippi. But it would seem that this usage was confined to the period B.C. and to the oldest group of Roman colonies outside Italy, those in *Gallia Narbonensis*. It must be taken, then, as fairly certain that the official title of the superior magistrates was not *prætor* but as in other colonies *duumvir*. [The inscription *CIL* III. Suppl. No. 7339, which speaks of one who was Quæstor in Bithynia-Pontus, Cerial Ædile, Prætor-designate, Decurion or Senator, at Philippi and in Thrace, refers to the Roman Prætorship]. *Duumvir*, *Duoviri*, can be represented literally in Greek by δυανδρικός, δύο ἄνδρες; but it is beyond question that a writer like St. Luke would avoid, if possible, such awkward literalism. He could only fall back on the rough equivalent στρατηγός: and his use of this Greek phrase in no way proves either that the magistrates at Philippi were *prætores*, or even that they were called so by courtesy.

The trial was never carried to an end (ἀκατακρίτους, Ac 16^{37}); popular feeling had been roused, and the magistrates, in the exercise of their general power to detain and punish suspicious characters (Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, 1899, p. 309, n. 1), summarily ordered their lictors to scourge the prisoners. A Roman citizen was by law exempt from a form of punishment which was looked upon as degrading (ὑβρισθέντες ἐν Φιλίπποις, 1 Th 2^{2}); and since on one other occasion at least St. Paul claimed his rights (Ac 22^{25}), it is possible that at Philippi too he made a protest which passed unheard or unheeded; but as he suffered scourging altogether not less than three times (τρὶς ἐραβδίσθην, 2 Co 11^{25}), it is also possible that for the moment he was silent of set purpose about his citizenship. [If it could be supposed, in face of $16^{37.\ 38}$, that Silas was not a citizen, the motive of his silence would be obvious]. The prisoners were then remanded with special instructions as to their safe custody; and the gaoler, no doubt rightly interpreting this as a warning against too lenient a treatment, threw them into the inner prison and made their feet fast in the stocks.

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* There appears to be little or no evidence for any technical use of προσευχή in the sense of an informal 'place of prayer' as *opposed* to 'synagogue.' See art. SYNAGOGUE.

The ἐσωτέρα φυλακή was surrounded entirely by the outer prison, and appears to have had no light and no air except through the door: for illustrations of the inner prison and stocks, cf. (1) Epistle of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne (A.D. 177: Eusebius, *HE* v. 1), τὰς κατὰ τὴν εἱρκτὴν ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ τῷ χαλεπωτάτῳ χωρίῳ συγκλείσεις καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ διατάσεις τῶν ποδῶν ἐπὶ πέμπτον διατεινομένων τρύπημα; (2) Acts of Perpetua (A.D. 202) § 3, post paucos dies recipimur in carcerem et expaui quia numquam experta eram tales tenebras, *ib.* paucis horis emissi in meliorem locum carceris; § 8, die quo in neruo mansimus; (3) Acts of Pionius (A.D. 250) § 11, οἱ δεσμοφύλακες . . . ἔβαλον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ἐσώτερον, but afterwards they were allowed out εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν; (4) Eus. *HE* vi. 39, cf. Origen (*c.* A.D. 250), τάς τε ὑπὸ σιδηρῷ κλοιῷ καὶ μυχοῖς εἱρκτῆς τιμωρίας καὶ ὡς . . . τοὺς πόδας ὑπὸ τέσσαρα τοῦ κολαστηρίου ξύλου παραταθεὶς διαστήματα κατασπώμενος κ.τ.λ; (5) Cyprian, *Ep.* xxxvii. 3, squalorem carceris ac receptaculi poenalis horrorem; xxxix. 2, per decem nouem dies custodia carceris sæptus in neruo ac ferro fuit. Cf. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, p. 302.

At midnight Paul and Silas were singing at their prayers (προσευχόμενοι ὕμνουν: Jewish liturgiology is too obscure a subject for us to say whether it formally included prayers for midnight, but Ps $119^{62.\ 164}$ should not be overlooked; in any case, the 'hymns' may probably have been from the Psalter), when an earthquake shook the prison so violently that the bars of all the doors and the fetters of the prisoners gave way. The gaoler, supposing naturally that his prisoners had taken the opportunity to escape, and knowing that he would be held responsible for them, would have committed suicide if St. Paul had not been able to reassure him, and so turn him from his purpose. From that moment, if not before, it is clear that he attributed the convulsion of nature to the prayers and powers of his two prisoners; and he at once professed himself their convert. From the inner prison he removed them to his own house,—a violation of the spirit rather than of the letter of the magistrates' injunctions,—ministered to their temporal wants, and received from them spiritual instruction and baptism. As in Lydia's case, the whole household came over to Christianity with its head.

As soon as day broke, the *duoviri*, doubtless thinking to avoid all further complications by seeing that the objects of the riot left Philippi before the excitement should burst out afresh, sent their lictors to the prison with an order terminating all further proceedings, which, as Roman prisons were used only as places of detention before or during trial, was equivalent to a direct order of release. St. Paul refused to leave in this undignified fashion; he advertised the fact that he and Silas were citizens; and he demanded a personal acknowledgment of their error by the magistrates. This was willingly accorded as the price of the departure of the unwelcome strangers, whose citizenship not only rendered illegal the previous proceedings, but would complicate any future proceedings that the owners or the populace might choose to press against them. St. Paul, though he would not forego a formal farewell to his hostess and his converts, did not further contest the demand that he should leave Philippi, where, indeed, his presence might for the moment hinder rather than further the work of the gospel. But the foundations of a flourishing Church had been laid; and Luke, the writer of the Acts, was (to judge from the dropping of the first person plural between 16^{17} and 20^{5}) left in charge of it.

Five years later (perhaps in A.D. 55) St Paul, on his way to Corinth in the course of the third missionary journey, passed again through Macedonia and exhorted at length the Christians of 'those parts' (παρακαλέσας αὐτοὺς λόγῳ πολλῷ, Ac 20^{2}). We may be certain that a visit to Philippi was included, for the time occupied in travelling from Ephesus to Corinth was apparently as much as six months (cf. 1 Co 16^{8} with Ac $20^{2.\ 6}$). On his return from Corinth in the early spring he paid another and unintended visit (Ac 20^{3}), the last of which we have a definite record; and though it delayed the journey to Jerusalem, which he was so anxious to accomplish by Pentecost (Ac 20^{16}), he spent with the Philippian Church the last *pascha* which he was to enjoy in freedom for many years, while his (mostly Gentile?) companions went on and awaited him at Troas. At Philippi the 'we-passages' commence again (20^{5}): St. Luke appears to have joined St. Paul again at this point, and probably stayed by him during the rest of the period of the Acts.

The bonds of peculiar affection which united St. Paul to his Philippian converts are impressed on every line of the letter (see PHILIPPIANS, EPISTLE TO THE) which he wrote to them from Rome, probably at the beginning of his first captivity there (*c.* A.D. 59–60).

That St. Paul again visited Philippi during the eastern travels implied in the Pastoral Epistles, is not recorded, but may almost be assumed. The apostle journeyed to Macedonia from Ephesus (1 Ti 1^{3}), and the journey would naturally be made *viâ* Troas and Philippi. And if the recorded visit to Troas (2 Ti 4^{13}) belongs, as is probable, to a different and later occasion, the indications of the Pastoral Epistles suggest two visits to Philippi rather than one.

At the beginning of the 2nd cent. the Church of Philippi emerges once more for a moment into the light of history, when it received a visit from one apostolic father and a letter from another. Some time in the reign of Trajan (*i.e.* before A.D. 117), Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, was condemned to death as a Christian, and sent in charge of a guard of soldiers to be thrown to the beasts at Rome. His route, as we know from his Epistles, lay through Philadelphia, Smyrna, and Troas. Thence, like St. Paul, he must have crossed to Neapolis and so reached Philippi (his guards were probably making for one of the Adriatic ports by way of the Egnatian road), since the Church of Philippi 'welcomed' and 'escorted' him, and on his departure wrote two letters, one to the Church at Antioch consoling them for the loss of their bishop, and one to Polycarp of Smyrna asking for copies of as many as possible of the letters which Ignatius had written in Asia Minor.[*] St. Polycarp's answer is his *Epistle to the Philippians*, the sole source of our knowledge of this episode of Philippian history. We learn from it, further, that scandal had been caused at Philippi by the conduct of the presbyter Valens (the name is singularly frequent in Philippian inscriptions), and his wife, who had apparently, like Ananias and Sapphira, combined to carry out some dishonest financial transaction. Avarice would seem specially reprehensible to a Church which had distinguished itself for liberality as the Philippian Church had done in St. Paul's day (Ph $4^{10\text{-}18}$; and of Macedonia generally, 2 Co $11^{8.\ 9}$ $8^{1\text{-}5}$).

Of the subsequent history of the Philippian Church nothing seems to be known till we meet the names of a few of its bishops among the subscriptions to 4th and 5th cent. councils: 'Porphyrius a Macedonia de Philippis' at Sardica in A.D. 344 (the Church of Philippi was therefore Athanasian, not Arian); 'Flaviano Philippensium qui Rufi quoque reuerendissimi Thessalonicensium episcopi locum gerebat' (he signed next after the bishops of Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Ephesus) at the œcumenical Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431; 'Sozon Philippi' at the Latrocinium of Ephesus in A.D. 449, and the same bishop, 'Sozon Philippensis,' at the Council of Chalcedon, which undid the work of the Latrocinium, in A.D. 451.

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[*] It is not impossible that this request of the Philippians was the origin of the collection of a *corpus* of the Ignatian letters, and therewith of their preservation for later ages.

LITERATURE.—For the topography—Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, iii. (1835), esp. pp. 214–225; and the Austrian and Bulgarian staff maps of Macedonia. For the secular history—Livy, xlv. 29; Diodorus; Strabo, vii. fr. 41; Dio, li. 4, § 6, and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, III. i. 633–707, III. *Supplementum*, 7337–7358. For the history of the Philippian Church generally—Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*^{4}, pp. 47–65, *S. Ignatius and S. Polycarp*^{1}, II. ii. pp. 897–934; Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 429; Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, ii. pp. 66–70. For further discussion and illustration of points in St. Luke's account (Ac 16^{12-40}) see, *e.g.*, the commentaries of Wetstein (1752) and Blass (*Acta apostolorum*, 1895), *ad loc.*; Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, ch. ix.; Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire* (1893), esp. pp. 156–158, and *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* (1895), pp. 213–226.

C. H. TURNER.

PHILIPPIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.—

i. The Church of Philippi.
ii. Time, Place, and Circumstances of Writing.
iii. Contents of the Epistle.
iv. Characteristics of the Epistle.
    Note 1. On Ph 1^1.
    ,, 2. ,, ,, 2^{5-11}.
    ,, 3. ,, ,, 3^{1b-20}.
v. Genuineness and Integrity of the Epistle.
Literature.

i. THE CHURCH OF PHILIPPI.—On the town see preceding article. The Church of Philippi was founded by St. Paul during his Second Missionary Journey, about the year A.D. 52 [Turner, 50]; it was the first Church which he founded on the soil of Europe (Ac $16^{12ff.}$). On his arrival in the city, according to his custom, he sought out the Jews, who do not appear to have been numerous, for they had no synagogue within the city, only a 'place of prayer' (προσευχή) outside the gates, on the banks of the river Gangites. Paul, accompanied by Silas and Timothy, and possibly by Luke (the use of 'we' in Ac 16^{13}, and the graphic character of the whole narrative, betray the hand of an eye-witness), repaired to this place on the Sabbath day and spoke to some women whom they found there. A certain God-fearing proselyte named Lydia [or this may be simply an ethnic name='the Lydian'; see above, p. 177^b], from the city of Thyatira, received the word, and was baptized with her household. Paul and his companions remained for some time in Philippi, continuing to frequent the Jewish place of prayer; there does not appear to have taken place any breach between him and the Jews on this occasion. The incident of the maid with the 'spirit of divination,' and the subsequent arrest of Paul and Silas, led to their abrupt departure, but not until the nucleus of a Christian Church had been formed. The author of the Book of Acts says (16^{40}) that before leaving Philippi, Paul and Silas entered the house of Lydia and comforted 'the brethren.'

Two features in the narrative deserve special notice, for they were not without influence on the subsequent history of the Philippian Church. The first is that the Jews were few in number; the second, that the earliest converts were women. To the first we may ascribe the failure of the Judaizers to gain a footing within this Church; and perhaps the second explains the specially kindly interest taken by the Philippian Church in the personal comfort of the apostle. It may also account for the circumstance that the disputes in the Philippian Church were about personal rather than doctrinal questions. It has been said that the narratives in Ac 16^{13} $17^{4.12}$ indicate—there is some corroborative evidence in the inscriptions—that in Macedonia women held a higher position than elsewhere. Female influence certainly continued strong in the Church of Philippi, for Paul regarded a personal quarrel between two of his female converts as a serious danger to the Church (Ph $4^{2.3}$).

The Church founded by Paul and his companions continued to prosper. It suffered persecution (2 Co 8^2), but remained conspicuously faithful to the gospel of Paul and to Paul himself. If we are to understand 'bishops,' 'deacons' (Ph 1^1) as names of ecclesiastical officers, it appears to have made more rapid progress in organization than other Churches (see on this point below, iv. n. 2). The Churches of Macedonia, and we may be sure Philippi was not an exception, manifested their attachment to Paul by the alacrity with which they collected money for the poor saints of Jerusalem, although they were themselves in deep poverty (2 Co 8^3). The Philippians also sent repeated personal gifts to Paul when he was in Thessalonica and in Corinth (2 Co 8^9, Ph $4^{15.16}$); and, lastly, when he was in Rome their care for him again revived, and they sent a gift through Epaphroditus, who was instructed to remain in Rome and minister to the apostle (Ph 4^{18}).

It is probable that the friendship between Paul and the Philippians was cemented by more frequent intercourse than we know of. Polycarp (*Philip.* iii. 2) speaks of the 'letters' written by Paul to the Philippians; and, although this may be a mere inaccuracy on the part of Polycarp, or even if the plur. ἐπιστολαί may be used to denote a single letter (see Lightfoot, *ad loc.*), it is most improbable that Paul made no written acknowledgment of the repeated gifts. As Philippi lay on the Via Egnatia, he must have frequently received tidings of its Church from friends and messengers (Ac 19^{22}). In the year 57 [Turner, 55] Philippi had two visits from the apostle in person; and it was in Macedonia, and almost certainly in Philippi, that he spent the anxious days of waiting for Titus (2 Co 2^{12} $7^{5.6}$). There also he wrote, in all probability, the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (2 Co 2^{13} 7^5 8^1 9^{2-4}). If that was the case, Paul passed one of the most critical seasons in his life, when his entire life-work seemed in danger, among the Philippians; and at such seasons friendships are deepened. A second visit was paid to Philippi when Paul kept the Paschal feast with his converts before leaving for Jerusalem; and the language in Acts suggests that it was with difficulty that he tore himself away from them (Ac $20^{5.6}$).

In his Epistle, Paul expresses a hope that he would again visit the Philippians after his release from his Roman captivity (Ph 2^{24}). Whether this hope was fulfilled we cannot say. If he was released,—as seems more probable,—and the Pastoral Epistles are to be accepted as a genuine record of his subsequent labours, he certainly paid one visit to Philippi after his release (1 Ti 1^3), and probably more than one.

ii. THE TIME, PLACE, AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF WRITING.—When St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Philippians, he was a prisoner (Ph $1^{7.13.14.17}$), and the place of his captivity was almost certainly Rome. He sends greetings from those of Cæsar's household (4^{22}). A large and active Christian Church is in his neighbourhood, of whose doings he is fully cognizant (1^{14-17}). A number of friends, old and new, are beside him, and appear to have free access to him ($4^{21.22}$); he sends letters and messengers to distant Churches, and messengers come from other lands to visit him (4^{18}). All this is in harmony with his Roman life as described in Acts (28^{30}): it is improbable that he enjoyed the same liberty in Cæsarea, where, moreover, as far as we know, there was no Christian Church. One expression only in the Epistle suggests Cæsarea. In 1^{13} the apostle writes that his bonds had become manifest in Christ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ. When in Cæsarea, Paul was confined in the prætorium of Herod (Ac 23^{35}). Usage forbids us to understand *prætorium* as the imperial palace on the Palatine; nor does it seem to have been used (as is held by Ellicott, Meyer, etc.) as a name for the barracks of the imperial guard (see Lightfoot, *Philip.* p. 99). It is a designation, however, frequently given by Latin writers (*e.g.* Tac. *Hist.* ii. 11) and by Josephus (*Ant.* XIX. iii. 1) to the prætorian or imperial guard; and in this sense most modern commentators understand it here. Mommsen (*Berlin. Akadem. Sitzungsberichte*, 1895, p. 495 ff.), who is followed by Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 357), maintains that it is here a name for the supreme imperial court, before which Paul appeared. This explanation relieves Paul's words of that note of exaggeration which they contain according to the former interpretation; for it is not possible that the knowledge of Paul as a bondsman of Christ should have pervaded the ranks of the immense imperial guard. See, further, art. PRÆTORIUM.

If Paul wrote the Epistle in Rome, it was written between 62 and 64 [Turner, 59 and 61]; or if Harnack's chronology be adopted, between 57 and 59. The probability is that it is the last of the Epistles of the captivity, and that it belongs to its closing period. (Bleek, Lightfoot, Sanday, Hort, *et al.* would place it first among the Epistles of the captivity; the view advocated in this art. is that of Zahn, Gwynn, Ramsay, *et al.*). A good deal had happened in Rome since Paul's arrival. If we accept Mommsen's view (see above), he had already appeared before his judges; and he was looking forward to a speedy settlement of his case (2^{24}). The assumption of Zahn (*Einl. in d. NT*), that when the apostle wrote, the period of *libera custodia* had ended, and that he was in strict durance, rests upon a slender foundation, and is hardly consistent with the free intercourse with his friends implied in 2^{19}.

St. Paul's Roman life, as mirrored in the Epistle to the Philippians, presents that blending of joy and sorrow, of unexpected triumphs and baffled hopes so familiar to the reader of the Book of Acts and of the Pauline Epistles. For years he had longed to see Rome that he might preach the gospel in that great gathering-place of the nations, and communicate some spiritual gift to the Church of the metropolis of the world. He entered Rome, however, in a guise that seemed to mock all his hopes of fruitful apostolic labour; but he was able to assure the Philippians that the frustration was only in appearance; for his bonds in Christ had become manifest in a manner which had spread to wide circles the knowledge of Christ (1^{13}); and his presence as a captive for Christ's sake had quickened evangelistic zeal within the Roman Church (1^{14}). But an element of personal bitterness mingled with his joy at the success of the preaching of the gospel. Some of the preachers whom his inspiring presence had sent forth to preach were animated by feelings of animosity towards himself, and preached Christ 'of faction,' hoping, as the apostle expresses it, to add affliction to his bonds (1^{17}). This can hardly mean that they hoped to increase the rigour of his captivity, for if they had irritated the authorities by their preaching, they would themselves have been the first sufferers; they rather wished to make him feel more acutely the limitations of his captive condition as compared with the unfettered freedom enjoyed by his rivals. It is the opinion of some critics (*e.g.* E. Haupt) that the cause of the hostility of those preachers was simply jealousy of the masterful alien who had become the leader of the Christian community in Rome. Had they been Judaizers, it is urged, Paul could not have rejoiced in their preaching, after his emphatic condemnation of different gospels in the Ep. to the Galatians (1^{6} 5^{2}). It is true that there do not seem to have been in Rome, when Paul wrote to the Romans, Judaizers of the extreme Galatian type. The Roman Church appears to have contained a majority of Gentile Christians, but there must have been in it a considerable minority of Jewish Christians, some of whom were anxious to preserve certain Jewish rites and customs. These may have taken alarm at the immense accession to the strength of the other party by the arrival in their midst of the great representative of anti-legal Christianity. It seems therefore not improbable, and it is certainly more charitable to assume it, that those who preached Christ 'of faction' were under the influence of a more respectable motive than personal jealousy of the apostle. St. Paul might rejoice in their preaching, because through it men heard of Christ who would otherwise not have heard the gospel at all. It was otherwise when, as in the case of the Galatian Judaizers, an attempt was made to substitute a gospel trammelled by legal conditions for the free gospel of the grace of God, which the Galatians had already received.

During his Roman captivity St. Paul was solaced by the society of a number of friends. Timothy, Luke, Epaphroditus, Aristarchus, Epaphras, Tychicus, John Mark, Demas, Jesus Justus, and Onesimus [see separate articles on these names] were all more or less frequent visitors in the hired house (μίσθωμα, Ac 28^{30}) in Rome, and not improbably often lodged under its roof. To a man like Paul, who possessed a genius for friendship, the presence of his friends must have been a source of unfailing joy and comfort; and he owed to their ministrations not only the personal comfort which he enjoyed, but his opportunities of missionary effort in Rome and elsewhere; for he frequently sent them out on apostolic missions. But one expression in the Ep. to the Philippians shows that the element of disappointment was not altogether absent even when he was in the society of his chosen friends, and that they did not always come up to the apostle's high standard of self-forgetfulness in the service of Christ. He writes ($2^{19.\ 20}$), 'I hope in the Lord Jesus to send Timothy shortly. For I have no man likeminded who will care genuinely for your state. For they all seek their own, not the things of Jesus Christ.' It has been said that if these words are to be taken seriously, they show that Paul, like Luther in his old age, fell into a mood of morose complaining, which made him unjust towards his fellow-workers. But we need not apply them to all the friends of whom mention has been made above, only to those, and perhaps few, who happened to be present with him at the time he was writing; some of these appear to have pleaded private business, and to have excited Paul's easily roused indignation by their apparent indifference to a mission which was dear to his heart. '"All,"' writes Jülicher (*Einl. in d. NT*), 'is without doubt hyperbolical. Paul was a man; and he had a right to give expression in his letters to his passing moods.'

It is generally supposed that Epaphroditus was the bearer of the letter to Philippi, and that he was also the amanuensis. Lightfoot's judgment is that 'on the whole it seems most probable' that 4^{3} is an appeal to Epaphroditus, who was by Paul's side and writing down his words, to use his best endeavour to heal the grievous quarrel between Euodia and Syntyche. Others consider this unnatural, and prefer to take *Σύνζυγος* as a proper name, and to explain *γνήσιος* as 'truly called.' The return of Epaphroditus and the fitness of sending thanks for the gifts received, through the person who had brought them, was probably the immediate occasion of the Epistle.

iii. THE CONTENTS OF THE EPISTLE.—The Epistle begins in St. Paul's usual manner, with this exception, that the bishops and deacons are singled out for special greeting ($1^{1.2}$). The apostle goes on to say that the remembrance of the Philippians always awakens in his heart thankfulness to God, and that his prayers for them are accompanied with joy, because of their fellowship in the furtherance of the gospel from the day they first heard it (vv.$^{3-8}$). A prayer follows, that their love may abound more and more, and that it may be accompanied with knowledge and discernment so that they shall be able to prove things that differ, and be found free of offence unto the day of Christ (vv.$^{9-11}$).

The apostle then turns to his own affairs, which are likewise those of the gospel. His captivity, instead of proving a calamity to the cause of Christ, as might have been feared, had contributed to the spread of the glad tidings, his bonds having become manifest in Christ throughout the whole prætorium and to the rest. His captivity had likewise emboldened many brethren to speak the word of God without fear; and although some of the preachers had been animated by unworthy feelings towards himself, he was able to rejoice that they had proclaimed Christ. For himself, he cherished the confident expectation and hope that Christ would be magnified in him, whether by his life or by his death. Death was to him a more attractive prospect than life, for after death he should be with Christ; but his life was more needful for the Philippians and his other converts, and he felt confident that he would be spared for their sakes. Only one thing could damp the joyful confidence of the apostle, evil tidings of his converts, and he therefore exhorts them to live in a manner worthy of the gospel, and not to be intimidated by adversaries (vv.$^{12-30}$).

An appeal to the Philippians follows, to fulfil the apostle's joy by living lives of brotherly love. They are warned to shun the spirit of faction and vainglory, and to cultivate lowliness of mind. In their Lord Christ, who exchanged the form of God for the form of a servant (Bruce, *Humil. of Christ*, p. 28; see Gifford, *Incarnation*, p. 22 ff., and below, iv. n. 2), they had before them an example of lowliness of mind, and in His subsequent exaltation, a proof of God's approval of the lowly mind (2^{1-11}).

The apostle then repeats certain warnings already given against disputings and murmurings, and entreats the Philippians to live as children of God. His absence ought to act as an additional incentive to more strenuous efforts on their part to work out their own salvation with fear and trembling (vv.$^{12-18}$).

The apostle intimates his intention to send Timothy to visit Philippi, that he may comfort them, and bring tidings of them to himself. Timothy is one who will truly care for their welfare; and such men were at the time rare among the apostle's companions, for they all seek their own, not the things of Jesus Christ. The apostle explains that he has sent back Epaphroditus whom the Philippians had sent to minister to him, because Epaphroditus, after a dangerous illness, had been seized with a longing for his home. He had, however, done noble service to the apostle, and deserved the best reception from his fellow-Christians in Philippi on his home-coming. The passage ends with the words, 'Finally, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord' (2^{19}–3^{1a}).

The last words of the former paragraph seemed to indicate that the apostle was about to close his letter. But a new paragraph begins with 3^{1b}, in which he goes on to state that he does not hesitate to repeat warnings formerly given, as he knows that they are a means of safety for his converts. An impassioned invective follows against the 'dogs' of the concision who were always barking at him. Their worship, which they were so eager to introduce among all Christians, was a worship in the flesh, and not by the Spirit of God. Paul had himself possessed, in all their fulness, the fleshly privileges of which the Judaizers boasted, and had renounced them that he might gain Christ in their stead, and experience the power of His resurrection, and that fellowship in Christ's sufferings through which lies the path to a joyful resurrection. The apostle adds that he is aware that his own apprehension of the blessings of the Christian calling is as yet incomplete, but he describes himself as one who is forgetting the things that are behind, and stretching forward to the things which are before. A warning reference follows to some who are spoken of as the enemies of the cross of Christ, not apparently because of their opposition to the gospel, but because of their worldly and licentious lives. These men mind earthly things; but the citizenship of the Christian is in heaven. The passage concludes with a general exhortation to Christian steadfastness (3^{1b}–4^{1}). An entreaty follows to two women, Euodia and Syntyche, who had been formerly fellow-labourers with Paul, to be of one mind in the Lord; and an unnamed true yoke-fellow (or perhaps [see above] a friend named *Synzygus*) is exhorted to labour to bring about the desired reconciliation. All are exhorted to rejoice in the Lord, and to show by their gentle and forbearing behaviour towards all men that they believed their Lord to be at hand. Their needs should be laid before the Lord in prayer, and the peace of God—a better defence than all the devices of men—would stand sentinel over their hearts and thoughts. After another 'finally,' a passage follows which seems to breathe the spirit of the philosophic moralist rather than of the Christian apostle. Let them open their minds and hearts to the contemplation of all true and beautiful thoughts, of all fair deeds wherever they are to be seen (4^{2-9}).

St. Paul then gives thanks for the gift the Philippians had sent through Epaphroditus, which he valued because of the spirit of which it was the manifestation, rather than for itself, for he was not in need. The Epistle closes with salutations and the Pauline benediction (vv.$^{10-\text{end}}$).

iv. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EPISTLE.—In the Ep. to the Philippians and in the Second Ep. to the Corinthians, St. Paul's personal character is more clearly revealed than in any of his other writings. But the two Epistles disclose different sides of his character. In 2 Co he is writing to adversaries and to lukewarm or suspicious friends, and we mark how acutely he felt personal slights and unworthy accusations. He pleads his own merits and services in a manner which shows that self-esteem was by no means dead within him, and he verges on what appears to the modern reader boastfulness. In writing to the Philippians, he is addressing some of the most trusted friends he had in the world. This trust in his readers gives a pleasing sense of repose to the Epistle. It accounts for the epistolary undress of the language, for the want of plan, for the repetitions, and for the obvious reluctance to leave off. There were some things amiss even in Philippi, and Paul had to administer certain reproofs, but he is less fearful than on other occasions, having a full conviction that God would perfect His good work among them, and reveal His will to them in those matters which were as yet obscure to them. Chapter 3 forms an exception to the general restfulness of tone observable in the Epistle (see Note 3 below). Critics, however, have discovered that there existed a soreness in the mind of the Philippians about Paul's reception of their pecuniary gifts. Zahn (*Einl. in d. NT*) maintains that they had written a remonstrance to him complaining that he had not suitably acknowledged it. Another critic (Holsten) finds in St. Paul's words 4$^{10-19}$ 'thankless thanks.' A third (E. Haupt), however, regards his acknowledgment as a veritable masterpiece of delicate and considerate courtesy. The practice of lauding the courtesy of the apostle has been somewhat overdone. St. Paul could be very courteous, but his courtesy was always kept in strict subordination to his duties as a counsellor and as a reprover. To say not only that he did not desire, but that he did not require the gift, was not precisely the courtesy of the courtier; and was likely enough to bring a shade of disappointment to the countenances of the poor people who had sent it. But the apostle evidently recognized that they were in some danger of exaggerating the value of the money gift. He said, therefore, with all plainness of speech, that to him its value consisted solely in the evidence it gave of their personal affection, and of their willingness to make sacrifices for the cause of God.

NOTE 1.—Ph 1^{1} *σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις*. This is the first (unless we take into account the words attributed to Paul in Ac 20^{28}) mention in the NT of bishops. Its presence in a letter purporting to be written by St. Paul has excited suspicion of the genuineness of the letter, as the episcopal office (at least in its monarchical form) is generally admitted to have originated at a later period. It is very doubtful, however, if St. Paul here refers to the holders of a definite ecclesiastical office. When writing to the Thessalonians, he spoke of their leaders as *οἱ προιστάμενοι* (1 Th 5^{12}). In the Ep. to the Ephesians those exercising episcopal functions are named *ποιμένες καὶ διδάσκαλοι* (Eph 4^{11}). In the Ep. to the Hebrews they are termed *ἡγούμενοι* (He 13^{17}). The apostle here names those 'bishops' who were elsewhere called by other names, but who exercised the same functions. Whether this was the first occasion on which the word was uttered in the Christian Church, we cannot say; probably it had been already given by Paul or by others to Philippian Church rulers; but it was a name, once given, that was likely soon to supersede all others on the principle of the survival of the fittest. It was well known and understood by Greeks; and not less so by the Jews, for it is common in the Septuagint; and it expresses by a single word at once the dignity and the duties of the rulers of the Church.

E. Haupt suggests that the bishops and deacons are here selected for special greeting because they had taken a leading part in arranging for and collecting the gift sent by Epaphroditus. With regard to the two classes of persons named, Haupt writes: 'It is possible that there is no reference here to the offices. In 1 Th 5^{12} the same persons are certainly designated by the expressions *οἱ κοπιῶντες* and *οἱ προιστάμενοι*; and it is at least probable that the same is the case with regard to the *ποιμένες* and *διδάσκαλοι* of Eph 4^{11}. Clement (*1 Ep.* xlii. 5) ascribes presidency to *ἐπίσκοποι* and *διάκονοι* alike. It is, therefore, possible that here *ἐπίσκοποι* and *διάκονοι* are to be understood as applying to the same persons; and that here as in the other Pauline Epistles, there was as yet no fixed terminology for the office of president' (*Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe*, p. 3). See, further, on the subject of this note, Hort, *Ecclesia*, 111 f.

NOTE 2.—Ph 2$^{5-11}$. This passage has been pressed into the service of speculative theology, and many attempts have been made to extract from it an apostolic doctrine of the relations of the Divine and human natures of our Lord. It is very doubtful, however, if the apostle had any intention of formulating, or even of hinting at the meaning which his words are supposed to bear. In v.^{4} he had uttered a warning against factiousness and vain glory, and a counsel follows to cultivate lowliness of mind. Of this voluntary choice of lowliness, Christ was their great example, for He had exchanged His heavenly glory for the life of humanity,—for a life which ended in a death of shame.

According to some commentators the words *ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ* refer to the lowliness of spirit exhibited by the Son during His pre-existent life. Although in the form of God, He did not ambitiously snatch at equality with the Father. If this be the meaning, it is a thought strangely foreign to the ordinary thought of St. Paul to hint even at a possible rivalry between the Father and the Son. Nor do the words force us to adopt this interpretation. The word *μορφή* as distinguished from *σχῆμα* denotes that which is essential to the subject, that which properly belongs to its nature; and the words *τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ* need not express a different, but the same idea. Christ being in the form of God, therefore possessed equality with God. The only word which creates difficulty is *ἁρπαγμός*, which, according to its termination, signifies 'a snatching,' not 'the thing snatched.' But substantives in *-μος* are frequently used to describe the concrete thing (*e.g.* *πειρασμός*, *πορισμός*, *δεσμός*). *Ἁρπαγμός* occurs only once in classical writers in a passage in Plutarch (*Mor.* p. 12 A). So we cannot say with certainty whether or not it was ever employed in the passive sense. It was certainly so used by the Greek Fathers, who were writing in their native tongue. In a number of passages the Fathers employ the expression *ἁρπαγμόν τι ποιεῖσθαι* as synonymous with the more ordinary expression *ἅρπαγμά τι ποιεῖσθαι*. If we may so translate *ἁρπαγμός* here, the meaning is that Christ did not regard the equality with God which He possessed, as a prize to be eagerly grasped and retained, but of His own will surrendered it for the condition of lowliness. The verb *κενοῦν* (Ro 4^{14}, 1 Co 1^{17} 9^{15}) refers to this surrender by Christ of His heavenly glory and dignity, and the manner of surrender is explained in the expression that follows—*μορφὴν δούλου λαβών*. To answer the questions of speculative theology as to the exact relation which continued to exist between the 'two natures' of Christ, was entirely foreign to the purpose of St. Paul's exhortation. 'It contains,' writes Zahn (*Einl. in d. NT*), 'hardly more dogmatical teaching than the sentence in 2 Co 8^{9}.'

NOTE 3.—Ph 3^{1b-20}. This passage does not harmonize either in substance or in tone, with the rest of the Epistle. It almost looks as if it had been torn out of its connexion in the Ep. to the Galatians, or in the 2nd Ep. to the Corinthians. It has certainly more kinship with those Epistles than with the Epistle in which it stands. It consists of a passionate invective against the Judaizers, reminding us of Galatians, followed by a vindication of St. Paul's own position as the possessor of all the privileges of which the Judaizers were fond of boasting.

It is extremely difficult to discover a fitting connexion between it and the preceding paragraph, which concludes with the words, 'Finally, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord.' Some commentators (*e.g.* Bengel, B. Weiss, Klöpper) have seen a link of connexion in the circumstance that Christian joy was obscured by the practice of Judaic rites which diverted the gaze from Christ: 'Gaudium spirituale optimam affert certitudinem contra errores, Judaicos præsertim' (Bengel). But a connexion so delicately hinted, when the Judaizers were in question, is unlike St. Paul. Lightfoot gives up the attempt to establish an inner connexion of the passage with what goes before. He conjectures that the apostle was interrupted when writing the letter. In the interval something occurred in Rome which reminded him of the restless propagandism of the Judaizing missionaries. 'What if they should interfere at Philippi as they were doing at Rome, and tamper with the faith and loyalty of his converts? With this thought weighing upon his spirit he resumes his letter.' But a device of this character rather suggests the interpreter in despair. We prefer the explanation of E. Haupt, who remarks that the fragmentary character of Paul's closing exhortations makes it unnecessary to look for a connexion with the foregoing passage, if a possible danger to the Philippians from the Judaizers was present to his mind. That he is speaking of the Judaizers sufficiently explains the sudden change of tone to severity and solemn warning; for the mention of those plotters against the peace of his Churches always excited the indignation of the apostle. It also accounts for the introduction of the vindication of his own ancestral privileges as a Hebrew of the Hebrews, and as one who had always been found blameless as touching the righteousness which is of the law; for the apostle was aware that it was the invariable practice of the Judaizers to indulge in detraction of himself, whom they regarded as the chief obstacle to their designs upon the freedom of the Church.

v. THE GENUINENESS AND INTEGRITY OF THE EPISTLE.—The genuineness of Philippians was denied by Baur and his scholars Schwegler, Volkmar, etc., and by Hitzig. The mention of bishops and deacons in the greeting betrayed, they maintained, a later date than the lifetime of St. Paul. They found in it, moreover, evident traces of the Gnosticism of the 2nd century. Its teaching regarding the Kenosis of Christ (2^{6}) was a reflexion of the Valentinian myth of the fall of Sophia from the Pleroma to the Kenoma. In 2^{8} they found the Gnostic Docetic teaching about the body of Christ; and in 2^{10} Marcion's doctrine of a *Descensus ad Inferos*. In Clement, who is mentioned in 4^{3}, they perceived a reference to the Clement of the Clementine Romances. The design of the Epistle, according to Baur, was to repel Ebionite assaults, and to promote unity between the two sections of the Church. The views of Baur with regard to this Epistle possess at present only a historical interest. The Epistle to the Philippians is accepted, if not by all, at least by a great majority of NT critics. Many who reject Ephesians and are doubtful of Colossians (*e.g.* Jülicher, Hilgenfeld, Pfleiderer, Lipsius), accept Philippians as the genuine work of the apostle. Holsten in his latest work (*Paulinische Theologie*, 1898), although he continued to place it among the Epistles wrongly ascribed to Paul, admitted that its teaching is wholly Pauline. A theory was broached recently by Voelter (*ThT*, 1892) that the Epistle is in part the work of Paul, in part by another hand. The genuine parts are, according to Voelter, $1^{1-7.\ 12-14.\ 18-26}$ 2^{17-29} $4^{10-21.\ 23}$. The remaining parts are not genuine. Spitta (*Zur Geschichte u. Lit. d. Urchristenthums*, 1893) also denies the integrity of the Epistle. C. Clemen (*Die Einheit d. paulin. Briefe*, 1894), while rejecting the theory of Voelter and defending the genuineness of the whole of the Epistle, maintains that it consists of two letters of the apostle, written at different times, and made into one by an editor. 2^{19-24} 3^{2}–4^{3} $4^{8.\ 9}$ he holds to belong to the second letter. The expression of Polycarp, that Paul wrote 'letters' to the Philippians, is relied upon as giving a certain traditional authority to this theory. Did the portions which are considered as belonging to different letters follow one another consecutively, the theory might deserve some consideration; for two letters by the same author might easily have got fastened together, and would in time have been regarded as one letter. But it is hard to see what motives could have induced an editor to transform two connected letters into a document of artificial piecework. Chapter 3 alone gives some colour to the idea that foreign matter may have found its way into the Epistle, but is not sufficient to lead us to accept Clemen's theory.

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J. GIBB.

PHILISTIA.—See next article, and PALESTINE.

PHILISTINES (פְּלִשְׁתִּים, in Am 9^{7} and 1 Ch 14^{10} [*Kethîbh*] פְּלִשְׁתִּיִּים; LXX Φυλιστιείμ in the Hexateuch, and ἀλλόφυλοι elsewhere; in Josephus and other Greek writers Φυλιστῖνοι or Παλαιστῖνοι).—'Philistines' is the gentilic plural of פְּלֶשֶׁת, in AV 'Palestina,' 'Palestine,' 'the Philistines,' but in RV always 'Philistia'; in Assyr. '*Palastu*,' '*Pilistu*'; in Gr. Παλαιστίνη, but in LXX always transmuted into the word for 'Philistines' (Ex 15^{14}, Is $14^{29.\ 31}$, Ps 60^{8} 83^{7} 87^{4} 108^{9}, Jl 3^{4}). The Hebrew name as well as the Greek has been explained, though with very doubtful warrant, as by derivation denoting 'immigrants.'

1. *The Name.*—It is probably Semitic. It has a peculiar grammatical use. The Hebrew has two usual ways of designating a people as such. One way is by the use of the primitive noun without modification, just as proper names of persons are used. For example, 'Asshur,' 'Assyrian,' 'the Assyrian,' 'the Assyrians' are in Hebrew all alike *Asshur*, this noun denoting either the founder, the country, the nation, or the people, and in each meaning used in the masculine singular, and without the article. But no such use is ever made of any primitive from which *Pĕlishtîm* might be derived. The other way is by the use of the gentilic adjective in the masculine singular, with the article. We have, for example, 'the Moabite,' 'the Jebusite,' 'the Ekronite,' 'the Gittite,' in the singular, alike for an individual and for the people as a whole, though the English versions pluralize words of this class when they denote peoples. In contrast with this, the word *Pĕlishtî* is used in the singular only of individuals, the instances being Goliath (1 S $17^{8.\ 10}$ and often) and the Philistine of 2 S 21^{17}, and is always plural when it denotes the Philistine people. Further, it is regularly used without the article, though there are some exceptions, *e.g.* Jos 13^{2}, 1 S 4^{7} 7^{13} 13^{20} $17^{51f.}$, 2 S 5^{19b} 21^{12} (*Keth.*), 1 Ch 11^{13a}, 2 Ch 21^{16}. These facts differentiate this name, in a very marked way, from most other biblical names of peoples.

This differentiation becomes the more marked when we note that it serves to affiliate the Philistine name in certain directions, as well as to sever it in other directions. Perhaps the name *Caphtōrîm* and the six other unusual names mentioned with *Pĕlishtîm* in Gn $10^{13.\ 14}$ follow completely the same usage, though the number of instances is too small to be decisive. The word *Rĕphāîm*, when used as a gentilic name, follows the same usage; and the other proper names of the giant peoples follow it in that they are used in the plural (see GIANT, etc.). The name מִצְרִי, denoting the Egyptian people, is plural except in Ezr 9^{1}. The words כּוּשִׁי, 'Ethiopian,' לוּבִי, 'Lybian,' כַּשְׂדִּי, 'Chaldæan,' denoting peoples, are always plural, and are regularly definite without the article. All this is certainly significant of facts in Philistine history. Whether the facts thus signified are recoverable is another question.

2. *Characteristics of the Philistines in the times when they are best known.*—The usage attending the name is not more remarkable than are many of the facts concerning the Philistines themselves, as they appear in the OT.

Their territory extended 'from the Shihor* which is before Egypt, even unto the border of Ekron northward' (Jos $13^{2.\ 3}$). Its eastern limit was at Beth-shemesh (1 S 6^{18}). It included possibly 2000 square miles of land, much of it remarkably fertile. Within this territory there were, according to the biblical writers, in the times when the Philistines were prominent, four kinds of inhabitants. First, there were the Philistines proper. Second, there were remnants of the Anakim and the Avvim in Gaza, Gath, Ashdod, etc. (Jos 11^{22} 13^{3}, Dt 2^{23}). These were politically Philistine, as the Anakim at Hebron were politically Amorite. Third, the accounts of the conquest under Joshua and of the subsequent events seem to imply that there were Canaanites living among the Philistines, some of whom were conquered and superseded by Israel (see 3 below). Fourth, some of the southern Geshurites (Jos 13^{2}, 1 S 27^{8}), and perhaps other like tribes, lived within the Philistine territory, near the Egyptian border. It is noteworthy that the Philistines seem to have confined themselves to their own narrow region, even when for decade after decade they held dominion over the wider territories of Israel. It is recorded as an exceptional fact that, after the overthrow of Saul at Gilboa, some of them became resident among the Israelites in the regions beyond Jezreel and Jordan (1 S 31^{7}, 1 Ch 10^{7}).

The Philistines were proficient in agriculture

* That is, either an arm of the Nile (Dillm.) or the *Wâdy el-'Arish*, 'river (נַחַל) of Egypt.'

(Jg $15^{4.\,5}$, 1 S 6, 2 K 8^{2} etc.). They were skilful in architecture, in sculpture, in the working of iron and of the precious metals, and in other arts (*e.g.* Jg 16^{25-30}, 1 S 5. $13^{19.\,20}$ $17^{5.\,6}$ etc.). At a relatively early date they seem to have had monetary usages peculiar to themselves, witness the 'eleven hundred of silver' (Jg $16^{5.\,18}$; cf. 17^{2}). In fine, they are presented to us as relatively a wealthy and highly civilized people. So far as appears, it was only in later times that they engaged largely in commerce and maritime pursuits.

Politically, they had five principal centres, the cities of Ashdod, Gaza, Ashkelon, Gath, and Ekron (wh. see, severally, and see also 1 S 6^{17}, Jos 13^{3}, Zeph 2^{4-7} etc.). It has been inferred that Ashdod possessed a right of hegemony over the others; but the order of mention differs in different places; and, judging by the history, the claim of Gath to the hegemony is much stronger than that of Ashdod. Besides the five, the Philistines had many other cities, the following (which see) being familiar examples: Gerar, Gezer, Timnah, Ziklag, Gob, Gibbethon, Jabneh (2 Ch 26^{6}); and many of them dwelt in unwalled towns (1 S 6^{18}, Dt 2^{23}); but the five principal centres representatively included them all (1 S 6^{13}).

Their political organization was unique. The people of each centre are currently spoken of in the ordinary way in which other nationalities are mentioned, as 'the Ashdodite,' 'the Ashkelonite,' etc. But the centres themselves and their political heads are alike designated by the altogether peculiar word סְרָנִים, *ṣĕrānîm*, tr. 'lords' in AV and RV (Jos 13^{3}, Jg 16^{5} etc.). This word is used only in the plural. It is doubtless the native term, and has no near cognates in the Hebrew, save that a word of the same spelling is used (1 K 7^{30}) of some accessory to the wheels of the laver-bases of Solomon's temple. Here the RV, following Vulg. and many lexicons, tr. by 'axles,' though the word is different from the one rendered 'axle-trees' in the same context. Half a dozen opposing derivations have been conjectured for *ṣĕrānîm*, none of them more plausible than the natural suggestion that these five cities and their chiefs were regarded as the centres or representatives of national power; or that *ṣeren* is the Greek *τύραννος*.

The *ṣĕrānîm*, 'lords,' are distinguished from the *sārîm*, שָׂרִים, 'captains' (1 S 18^{30} 29^{2-9}, where AV and RV misleadingly translate 'princes' instead of 'captains'). The former are the depositaries of national authority, and the latter the men in actual military command. In particular cases, both offices may or may not have been combined in one person. The LXX prevailingly tr. *ṣeren* by *σατράπης* or *σατραπία*, 'satrap' or 'satrapy,' and *sar* by *στρατηγός*, 'captain,' but sometimes interchange the two, and sometimes tr. *ṣĕrānîm* by *ἄρχοντες*, 'rulers.'

The functions of the *ṣĕrānîm* were both civil and military. We have no account of any one *ṣeren* acting by himself, but only of acts in which the whole body of *ṣĕrānîm* participated. The accounts speak sometimes of the 'armies' and sometimes of the 'army' of the Philistines (1 S 23^{3} 28^{1} 29). Apparently each of the five centres had its independent force, but all were combined, in time of war, under one command. In David's time Gath was especially prominent, and perhaps held the hegemony (1 Ch 20^{6}, RV of 2 S 8^{1}; cf. 1 Ch 18^{1}). King Achish of Gath may have been the Philistine commander-in-chief, though the narrative does not explicitly say so (1 S 29).

We have no information as to whether the office of *ṣeren* was hereditary or elective or perpetuated in some other way, nor as to the relation between this office and that of king. None of the Philistine kings who are mentioned reigned over all Philistia (Gn 20^{2} $26^{1.\,8}$, Jer 25^{20}, Zec 9^{5}); they were all local. We are not told whether the *ṣĕrānîm* existed from the earliest times, or whether they continued to exist after the conquest by David. But in the one instance we have of a Philistine king in relations with the *ṣĕrānîm*, the instance of Achish (1 S 28. 29), the king is compelled to submit to the *ṣĕrānîm*. Achish may himself have been *ṣeren* of Gath, as well as king of Gath.

The religion of the Philistines was in some respects unique (see DAGON and BAAL-ZEBUB). They were a very religious people. Their priests and diviners (1 S 6^{2}) had great influence. Their cloud-observing (?) soothsayers (Is 2^{6}) were famous. Their being an uncircumcised people is much emphasized in the biblical records (Jg 14^{3} 15^{18}, 1 S 14^{6} $17^{26.\,36}$ 31^{4}, 2 S 1^{20}, Jer $9^{25.\,26}$).

They were distinguished especially for military prowess. Pretty full details of their system might be gathered from various parts of the Bible, including mention of their archers, their equipment for heavy armed infantry, their organization into hundreds and thousands, etc. (1 S 31^{3}, 1 Ch 10^{3}, 1 S 29^{2}). The accounts make the impression that they usually fought as infantry, though chariots and cavalry are mentioned (1 S 13^{5}, 2 S 1^{6}, and perhaps Jg 1^{19}). We have descriptions of their savage treatment of the bodies of their fallen enemies (1 S 31, 1 Ch 10), and of the honours with which their women welcomed their warriors returning from victory. But more significant than all matters of detail is the fact that this little nation, with its few hundred square miles of territory, was able again and again to conquer Israel, and to hold Israel in subjection for generations.

In their military operations they seem to have pursued a very definite policy. In the earlier stages of any movement of conquest they practised effective and systematic pillage, as, for instance, in the case of Keilah (1 S 23^{1}), or earlier, after their first great defeat of Saul (1 S $13^{17.\,18}$). The indications are, however, that the Israelites increased in population and wealth during the long periods of Philistine oppression, provided they were submissive. From this we may infer that it was the policy of the conquerors, whenever resistance ceased, to abstain from pillage, doubtless exacting tribute instead, and finding it for their own interest to have the tributary people as prosperous as possible.

To secure submission, the Philistines practised the disarmament of the subjected people. We have an instance in the time of Saul (1 S 13^{19-23}), and what seems to be an allusion to an earlier instance of the time of Shamgar (Jg 3^{31} 5^{8}). According to the LXX in the first of these passages, the Philistines used this as a method of exacting tribute, suppressing the working of metals in Israel, and then compelling the Israelites to pay an exorbitant price for their tools.

It was the Philistine policy to prevent the existence of a united Israel. As long as David is king of Judah, and has a rival king farther north, they seem to be content. When Israel is divided, the Philistine supremacy is not imperilled. But when it is proposed that David reign over all the twelve tribes, the Philistine armies march at once (2 S 5^{17}). A similar situation had arisen previously, when Samuel became judge (1 S 7^{7}).

Presumably, the Philistines did not achieve all their successes single-handed. It is a familiar fact that in cases of Egyptian invasion, in earlier times, or, later, of Assyrian invasion, it was the custom of the multitudinous little peoples between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean to band together against the common foe. Judging by the numbers of the Israelites, as mentioned in the Hexateuch, the invasion under Joshua was sufficiently formidable to call for similar confederations of the threatened peoples. As a matter of fact, the Bible represents the resistance made to Joshua and, later, to David as being of this character. We shall presently find evidence that in some of the wars of subjugation the Philistine success was due in part to the ability to array many allies against Israel.

3. *The History of the Philistines.*—Beyond dispute, they were immigrants into Palestine. The passages presently to be cited affirm this explicitly. It has been thought to be implied in the etymology of the Hebrew name *Pĕlishtîm* as well as of the Greek Ἀλλόφυλοι. So far, the problem is easy. But the questions whence they migrated, and when and how the migrating stock was modified in its new seats, are questions not so readily answered.

The Philistine language was probably Semitic, although the data whence this conclusion is drawn are restricted. So were certain important elements in their religion and their civilization. This proves either that the Philistines were originally Semitic, or that they changed their language, and to some extent their institutions, under the influence of the Semitic region to which they came.

We are told that they came from Caphtor, as Israel from Egypt, or Aram from Ḳir (Am 9^7, Dt 2^{23}); that they were Caphtorim (Dt 2^{23}). They are called 'the remnant of the coast of Caphtor' (Jer $47^{4.5}$). The Caphtorim are said to be one of the seven nationalities begotten by Mizraim (Egypt), and the Philistines are said to have 'come out' from the locality where one or more of the other six were (Gn $10^{13.14}$). The text has the adverb of place 'from where,' not the pronoun 'from whom,' and the two expressions are not in Hebrew convertible. It is not said that the Philistines are descendants of the Casluhim and the others, and there is no need to transpose the clauses or otherwise change the text (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*). The net result from this part of the testimony is that the nucleus of the Philistine people consisted of Caphtorim, who migrated, within known historic times, from regions inhabited by Caphtorim and kindred peoples.

But where was *Caphtor*? The LXX uniformly either transliterate the name or make it Cappadocia. Some have identified Caphtor with Cyprus. This finds some support in the fact that the Egyptian monuments associate the Philistines with the Zakkal, a people from Cyprus, and portray the two as scarcely distinguishable. Ebers, Halévy, and others have strongly held that Caphtor was a region in or near the Egyptian Delta. There is a strong recent trend toward the opinion that Caphtor was *Crete*. See CAPHTOR, CARITES, CHERETHITES AND PELETHITES, CRETE.

The argument for identifying Caphtor with Crete connects itself closely with the phenomena presented by another biblical name. In two relatively late places (Zeph 2^5, Ezk $25^{15.16}$) the Philistines are identified, wholly or in part, with the *Chĕrēthîm*, whom the LXX, in these places, make to be the Cretans. In both passages the word *Chĕrēthîm* is used in a punning way, effecting a play on words. The name does not occur elsewhere in the plural, but, in the singular, 'the Cherethite' is once mentioned (1 S 30^{14}) as living in or near the Philistine country, and six or seven times in connexion with 'the Pelethite,' as forming a part of king David's military force (1 Ch 18^{17}, 2 S 8^{18} 15^{18} 20^7 and *Ḳĕrê* of ^{23}, 1 K $1^{38.44}$). On the basis of these facts it is affirmed that *Cherethite* is another and earlier name for the Philistines, that they were Cretans, that *Pelethite* is merely a variant form of *Philistine*, and that David's successes were largely due to his having Philistine troops. These conclusions are plausible, though they lack something of being sufficiently proved.

The evidence, however, amounts to a strong probability in favour of the more general fact that the Philistines were originally Aryan pirates, whether from Crete or Cyprus or elsewhere, who forced a settlement for themselves among the Semites and Rephaim of the Mediterranean lowland, and adopted the language, and in part the religion and civilization, of the Semites whom they conquered. Of this we shall find many confirmations as we proceed to consider the evidence as to the date when the migration took place.

Ramses III. of Egypt, contemporary, in part, with Joshua, says that in his eighth year he repulsed an invasion made by six or seven hostile nations. Most or all of these nations have Greek names. They are kin to other Greek peoples, settled on the African coast west of the Delta, who made trouble for Ramses in his fifth and his eleventh years, and who had previously made trouble for his predecessors. The invaders who came in his eighth year came by land and by sea. Those who came by land plundered the Syrian regions, 'beginning with the people of Kheta, of Kadi (Galilee), and Carchemish, Aradus, and Alus,' established a rendezvous 'in the land of the Amorites,' and were defeated by Ramses on the frontier between Egypt and the land of Zahi, that is, the region that we know as the land of the Philistines (Insc. in the Ramesseum at Luxor, as cited by Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, p. 329). Those who came by sea entered the mouths of the Nile, and were there defeated, large numbers of them being captured.

Of these six or seven peoples, two are many times mentioned together, to the extent of being somewhat distinguished from the others. In the sculptures they closely resemble one another. They are, of course, Greek in features and equipment. These two are the Zakkal and the Pulusata, Pulsata, Pulista, Purusata, Purosatha, as the name is variously transliterated. Scholars seem to agree that the Zakkal came from Cyprus. The Pulsata have been identified with the Pelasgi, with the Prosoditæ of Cyprus, and with the Philistines. Some of those who believe that they were the Philistines hold that they came at this time from Crete or Cyprus, and were settled by Ramses, after their defeat, in the cities of Zahi. But it is more in accord with the whole of the evidence to hold that the Pulsata and the Zakkal had then been on this coast for some generations, keeping in communication with their kindred in the various Greek regions, and now making themselves leaders in the movement of the hordes that sought the spoils of Egypt. If the Pulsata of Ramses had then just come from Crete, he would surely have designated them by their Greek name, and not by a Semitic descriptive word. If they had just come from Crete, it is difficult to account for the resemblance which the Egyptians found between them and the Cypriote Zakkal, while this is easily accounted for if the two had long been dwelling among Semitic neighbours on the coast. Other Greek invaders Ramses describes as 'kings,' or as 'peoples of the sea,' but he speaks of the 'leaders of the hostile bands' of the Pulsata and the Zakkal, just as he does in the case of the Edomites ('Effigies at Medînet-abu,' as cited in Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, p. 332). Sayce (*EHH* p. 291) cites Hommel as having found a mention of the Zakkal on the coast near Dor, in a Babylonian document (*WAI* iv. 34, No. 2, lines 2, 6) of the 15th cent. B.C. The writers of the history in the OT certainly thought of the

Philistines as well established in their country before the Exodus (Ex 13^{17} 15^{14} 23^{31}, Jos $13^{2.3}$ etc.). Whether they believed that the Philistines were in the land in the time of Abraham and Isaac is not so certain. They designate as Philistine both the land and the people of that date (Gn $21^{32.34}$ $26^{1.8.14.15.18}$), but it is easy to understand this as a mere geographical use of the term, or as proleptical. On the other hand, however, these Philistines are described as a military people (Gn $21^{22.32}$ 26^{26}), and as having other resemblances to the Philistines of later times; and the proofs that the Philistine migration had not begun as early as the time of Abraham are not so decisive as many imagine.

Whenever the Philistine settlements began, they probably began on a relatively small scale. The immigrants came in successive expeditions, and not all at once. In certain matters they accepted the conditions of life which they found on the soil. They became owners of cattle if the people whom they conquered were owners of cattle, and raisers of crops if the conquered were agricultural people. If they conquered Egyptian tributaries, they accepted the suzerainty without which Egypt would have forthwith expelled them. They seem to have accepted the Semitic names of the cities they conquered. At all events, Gaza, Gath, Ashkelon, and several other cities of the region were known by the names still familiar to us, as early as the time of Amenhotep III. of Egypt (Tel el-Amarna letters). There were of them more men than women, and the marrying of native wives began at once. Their peculiar political organization, that of the *ṣĕrānîm*, presumably grew up upon the soil. From the time of Ramses III. they were probably driven from the sea, isolated from their Greek kindred, and compelled to become a non-maritime people. Through these various changes of blood, institutions, government, and external relations, they became at length differentiated as a people by themselves.

The accounts of the conquest by Joshua make the impression that the Philistines were then in their five central cities, but that there were also in the region several independent petty Canaanitish kingdoms; that Israel at that time conquered most of the Canaanite kingdoms, although it failed to permanently hold some of them (Jos $10^{33.41}$ $11^{2.3.16}$ 12^{12} 15^{33-47} $16^{3.10}$ etc.); but did not conquer the Philistine cities (Jos $13^{2.3}$), though Ekron, Ashdod, and Gaza are by the tenure of promise included in the inheritance of Judah (Jos 15^{45-47} 13^{6}). It is said that Judah, after Joshua's death, conquered Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ekron (Jg 1^{18}), but that the Philistine cities were independent when the struggle of the conquest came to an end (Jg 3^{3}).

The biblical records signalize four periods of oppression of Israel by the Philistines. The first is that in which Shamgar was the deliverer (Jg 3^{31} 10^{11}). This was in the time of the twenty years' oppression by Jabin and Sisera (Jg 4^{2-4} $5^{6.7}$). Presumably, a generation or two of prosperity had raised Israel to a position where he was formidable to his neighbours, and so a coalition was formed against him by the Philistines and the many peoples of the north. The Philistine pressure was mainly felt by Judah and Simeon, and it may account for the absence of these two from Deborah's roll-call of the tribes that marched against Jabin. We have no details of the Philistine operations, but there is a suggestion of a disarmament of their enemies, like that which was practised afterwards in the time of Saul (Jg 3^{31} 5^{8}).*

The second Philistine oppression of Israel is that mentioned in Jg $10^{6.7}$ as occurring before the eighteen years of oppression by the Ammonites. Contrary to common opinion, the writer of this article holds that this was the oppression in which Samson distinguished himself (Jg 13^{2}–16). It began, apparently, before Samson's birth (Jg 13^{5}), while Tola was judge. In the time of Samson's wild youth it was so thoroughly a recognized fact (14^{4} 15^{11}) that it did not prevent relations between Israelite and Philistine families. It ceased when Samson was made judge, after the battle of Lehi (15^{14-20}). During the twenty years of his public life, the Philistines kept on their own side of the border (16), even when plotting against him.

The third Philistine oppression was the one that lasted through the forty years that Eli was judge (1 S 4^{18}, here regarded as corresponding to Jg 13^{1}) and the twenty years that followed (1 S 7^{2}). After the first horrors of conquest were over, the Israelites seem to have prospered under the yoke, if we may judge of the population by the size of the armies (1 S $4^{2.10}$ 11^{8} 15^{4}). This oppression ceased after Samuel became judge (1 S 7^{7-14}). He defeated the Philistines in a decisive battle. He compelled them to surrender the cities in their country that belonged to Israel, that is, apparently, those that had formerly been Canaanite, and had been conquered by Israel. 'And the Philistines were subdued, and they came no more into the coasts of Israel; and the hand of the Lord was against the Philistines' as long as Samuel remained chief magistrate of Israel, a statement not inconsistent with 10^{5} $13^{3.19ff.}$.

The fourth oppression was that of the time of Saul. It began when Saul had been long enough on the throne for his son Jonathan to have grown to military age (1 S 13^{3}). The account says that they invaded Israel with an army extraordinarily large (1 S 13^{5}). Deal as we may with the numbers given, it appears that they had at that time great respect for the strength of Israel, and had gathered an immense body of allies to assist them. It turned out that their precaution was needless. Saul quarrelled with Samuel. His army melted away from him. With no resistance worthy of the name, the Philistines became masters, and plundered and disarmed Israel at will. Later, however, Israel rallied. During the remainder of his reign Saul waged a series of fierce battles with the oppressors. He perished in the battle of Gilboa, and the Philistine power over Israel became supreme (1 S 31).

Presumably both David and his northern competitor paid tribute to Philistia during the seven and a half years that he reigned over Judah (2 S 5^{5}). Naturally, they interfered to prevent his becoming king over a united Israel. He defeated them in two desperate defensive campaigns (2 S 5^{17-25}), and then, in four or more aggressive expeditions (2 S 8^{1} 21^{15-22}), reduced them to subjection.

In consequence of the disruption of the kingdom after the death of Solomon, the Philistines became independent, but they never re-established their earlier glory. We hear no more of their *ṣĕrānîm*. Later, in the Assyrian times, they have a king for each of their cities (Zec 9^{5}, Jer 25^{20}, and many passages in the records of Sargon and his successors). In the same later times they seem to be engaged in commerce, dealing especially in Israelitish spoils and slaves (Am 1^{6-8}, Jl 3^{4-8}, cf. Ob $^{13.14.19}$, depending, however, on the date one assigns to Joel and Obadiah). Perhaps there are signs of a Greek revival among them (Jl 3^{6}, and the *Yavan* of Sargon).

However their institutions changed, we have frequent mention of the Philistines themselves. Among the cities fortified by Rehoboam were Gath and Mareshah, etc. (2 Ch 11^{8}). The Philistines warred with Israel for Gibbethon (1 K 15^{27} 16^{15}). They were celebrated for their oracles (2 K 1^{2}) and their soothsayers (Is 2^{6}). Some of them paid tribute to Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 17^{11}), after whose death they raided Judah ($21^{16.\ 17}$). Philistia was a refuge for fugitives when the invasions of Shalmaneser II., warring with Benhadad and his allies, caused famine in northern Israel (2 K $8^{2.\ 3}$). Hazael of Damascus captured Gath (2 K 12^{17}). Ramman-nirâri III. of Assyria conquered Damascus and took tribute from the Philistines. At this point there is a wide gap in the Assyrian records. When they again become available, the Philistines, with a multitude of other nations between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, have become independent of the Assyrian, and are again being reduced to subjection. Uzziah of Judah is especially prominent among the rebel kings. Later, by intrigue and by arms, Tiglath-pileser, to whom Ahaz of Judah was tributary, reduced Gaza and Ashkelon to tribute (B.C. 734). Under Sargon and Sennacherib there were two parties in the Philistine cities, the one favouring Assyria and the other favouring Hezekiah of Judah, and the latter was crushed. From Sargon to Assurbanipal the Assyrians have much to say concerning their Philistine conquests and subjects. The Philistine military operations of Uzziah and Hezekiah were doubtless connected with Assyrian politics (2 Ch $26^{6.\ 7}$, 2 K $18^{7.\ 8}$). Their mutual relations to the Assyrians account for the fact that the Israelite historians and prophets, from Amos to Ezekiel, speak of the Philistines sometimes with denunciation, as enemies, but also often as having a common interest (2 Ch 28^{18}, Is 9^{12} 11^{14}, Am 1^{6-8}, Mic 1^{10-15}, Zeph 2^{4-7}, Jer 47^{4-7}, Ezk $16^{27.\ 57}$ $25^{15.\ 16}$, Am 3^{9} 6^{2} 9^{7}, Zec 9^{5-8}, Jer 25^{18-20}). Gath vanishes from the biblical records (except Mic 1^{10}) from the time of its capture by Uzziah (2 Ch 26^{6}), and is similarly absent from the Assyrian monuments.

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* Moore (*Judges*, pp. 80, 105) argues that Shamgar appears too early as a champion against the *Philistines*.

The Philistines suffered greatly in the struggle between Egypt and Assyria, in the decades when the Assyrian power went down. Herodotus says that Psammitichus I. of Egypt, the contemporary of Manasseh and Josiah of Judah, took Ashdod after a siege of 29 years (ii. 157); that in the later part of his reign Scythian hordes plundered the temple of Venus at Ashkelon (i. 105); that his successor Necho, returning from the battle of Megiddo (when Josiah was slain, B.C. 608), captured Gaza (ii. 159); that when Cambyses invaded Egypt, about B.C. 625, Gaza and the whole coast belonged to the king of the Arabians (iii. 5).

This is practically the close of Philistine history, though the cities and some of the institutions long survived, and the region has been the scene of many interesting events. The Ashdodites came into collision with Nehemiah (Neh 4^{7} 13^{23}). Alexander the Great took Gaza from the Persians. Ptolemy Lagi did notable fighting there. In the Greek accounts of the Maccabæan times the *Allophuloi* and the land of the *Allophuloi* figure prominently, and the land thus described is the Philistine country; but the persons called *Allophuloi* are any heathen in arms against Israel (*e.g.* 1 Mac 3–4). Sketches of the later history are given under the names of the respective cities.

LITERATURE.—Hitzig, *Urgeschichte . . . der Philistäer*; Knobel, *Völkertafel*; Movers, *Phönizier*; Pietschmann, *Phönizier*, p. 261 ff.; Stark, *Gaza und die philistäische Küste*, Jena, 1852. Of more real value are recent works on Palestinian geography and explorations, works which give the text of Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions, works on the history of the nations mentioned in the Bible, and commentaries on the biblical passages where the Philistines are mentioned. As examples one may specify McCurdy, *HPM* vol. i. sections 166, 54, 192–194; Sayce, *EHH*, p. 291, and *HCM* (index); G. A. Smith, *HGHL* ch. ix.; Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, chs. ix.–xiv. etc.; W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, 387 ff.; Schwally, *Die Rasse der Philistäer*, *ZWTh*. xxxiv. 103 ff.; Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 463 f.

W. J. BEECHER.

PHILOLOGUS (Φιλόλογος).—The name of a Christian greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16^{15} along with Julia, Nereus, Olympas, and others. The name is common among slaves and freedmen, and in inscriptions of the Imperial household (*CIL* vi. 4116). Philologus was commemorated with Patrobas (which see) on Nov. 4. Later legends about him will be found in *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov., ii. 1, p. 222.

A. C. HEADLAM.

PHILOMETOR.—See PTOLEMY VI.

PHILOSOPHY.—

Introduction: the place and function of philosophy; the relations between religion and philosophy; the periods of contact between them.

I. The Problem of Greek Philosophy.—1. First Stage: early Greek thinkers. 2. Second stage: the Sophists; Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. 3. Third Stage: Stoics and Epicureans; Scepticism; Neoplatonism.

II. The Contact of Christianity with Greek Philosophy.—1. The Christian Unity: Christianity and Neoplatonism contrasted. 2. Christianity and the Greek dualism: (i.) the speculative problem; (ii.) the ethical problem. 3. The relation of Christian experience to Greek forms of thought. Reference to the conclusions of the 'historical' school.

The Place and Function of Philosophy.—Man lives, and man thinks about the life he lives. This is the essence of his constitution as man. He is under the constraint of his nature to re-think the life he lives. This is his distinction from the lower animals, who live, but do not think of their life. Admit that man is an animal, and has been produced by evolution. Admit even that there are traces of several mental faculties in the lower animals. Yet the fact remains that for man alone does life present itself as an object of reflexion. For man alone is experience a problem. Philosophy, speaking broadly, is the activity of thought brought to bear on experience as a whole. It is, in Schwegler's phrase, 'the thinking consideration of things.' It is implied in the very fact of experience being a problem that, throughout its manifold and diverse elements, there is a unity of thought, reason, or spirit. If it were not so, experience would not be a problem, for it would never have arisen as a whole out of the succession of separate sensations. It is the task of Philosophy to make explicit this unity which is implicit in human experience. We can see, therefore, in broad outline, the course which the history of Philosophy must take. It is a progress towards unity, towards a synthesis of elements, towards a view of human experience, with its varied contents, from one central standpoint.

The stages of this progress will be marked by the unifying principles which they severally employ. Such a principle, let us suppose, is reached. It serves to explain a number of the particular elements of experience, and to bring them into a harmony which shall be for the time satisfactory to thought and stimulating to action. Soon, however, it is found that this synthetic principle is not adequate to the complexity of life. Elements of experience come into view which refuse to be explained by the alleged universal principle. The harmony which was temporarily reached is broken. Tragic discord appears. The quest for unity has to be resumed with a deeper, sadder, insight, and a larger, more patient wisdom. As we review the history of Philosophy, accordingly, we see that no speculative system is final. Each system, in turn, has failed. We see, moreover, that Philosophy, if we choose to speak paradoxically, must always end in failure. It is the last result of thought to raise questions which thought alone cannot answer, to penetrate to discords which the energy of thought alone cannot reconcile. This very failure of Philosophy, however, is, in the highest sense, its success. Want of finality in Philosophy, inability to comprehend the variety of experience in one formula, is not a mark of weakness, but of strength. It means that thought is not content with abstractions, but is resolute to face the facts of life in their fulness and their mystery. It is essentially the quest for a synthesis of life. The success of the quest consists in so deepening the problem that it is seen that no merely intellectual synthesis is possible. The problem of Philosophy merges into the problem of Religion; and Philosophy points beyond itself.

Religion and Philosophy thus present many features of resemblance and contrast, and have close and intricate mutual relations. Religion *provides* the solution which Philosophy *seeks*. That which is the quest of Philosophy is the realized experience of Religion, a unity in which the profoundest differences in life are actually reconciled, which leaves nothing beyond itself to confound the human spirit, but brings all elements of experience into a perfect spiritual harmony.

Towards religious experience, Philosophy renders a service which is at once apologetic and critical, and is in both aspects helpful and indeed indispensable. Philosophy vindicates the validity and reasonableness of religion. In the words of the Master of Balliol, it provides 'a vindication of the religious consciousness—the consciousness of the infinite—as presupposed in that very consciousness of the finite which at present often claims to exclude it altogether, or to reduce it to an empty apotheosis of the unknown and unknowable' (E. Caird, *Essays on Literature and Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 224). Philosophy at the same time has to consider the form in which this religious experience at any particular epoch clothes itself. And if it shall appear that the form contradicts the universality and comprehensiveness of the experience of which it is the expression, and is, therefore, falsifying and imperilling that experience, Philosophy must ruthlessly assail that form, and break it up, in name of that principle of reconciliation which is the inspiration and the goal both of thought and action. Religion holds an analogous position toward Philosophy, and has a work to do in its behalf, both constructive and critical. Religion discovers the principle for which Philosophy has been seeking, and exhibits it, not as a theory, but as a power, in the freshness and originality of actual life, transforming character and inspiring service. Philosophy, sinking into exhaustion through the inadequacy of the synthesis which it has reached, is rejuvenated at the fountain of religious experience, and is enabled to meet the deepening complexity of its problem with a more comprehensive and more detailed explanation. Religion at the same time has to consider the intellectual synthesis to which its own inspiration has given birth. And if it shall appear that this synthesis has omitted some element in the problem, and has obtained an appearance of harmony by neglecting some source of discord, and is thus stopping the progress of thought short of its goal, Religion must resist the claim of this Philosophy to be absolute, must emphasize the neglected elements of the problem, and must proclaim again the harmony which triumphs over the discords of life,—a harmony found not in intellectual formulæ, but in the verifiable realities of spiritual experience. It follows that Philosophy and Religion can never in their inner meaning be opposed to one another. They are both necessities of the human spirit. Both alike presuppose the spiritual unity which pervades experience, and makes possible both thought and life. Each has its special function in apprehending and realizing this unity; and in their respective functions each is essential to the other. Those periods in which they come into close and conspicuous contact are peculiarly interesting in the history of each. The most important of these occurred in the beginning of the Christian era. In that period, Greek philosophy reached the goal of its long development. In this article we desire to show what that goal was, and how, in reaching it, Greek philosophy asked a question to which Christianity brought the only adequate answer.

I. THE PROBLEM OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY.—The movement of Greek thought falls into three well-marked stages. In the first of these, the principle of explanation is sought beyond consciousness. In the second, a spiritual principle has been won, and is used for the comprehension of all existence, and the erection of a system of encyclopædic knowledge. In the third, thought retreats to the standpoint of the individual; the problem of knowledge is raised in its acutest form; the exhaustion of Philosophy overtakes it, and an intense demand is made for a religious solution.

1. *First Stage.*—The early Greek thinker looks out upon nature with joyous curiosity, and asks, 'What is the principle which underlies these multitudinous phenomena?' The earliest philosophies contain brief dogmatic answers to this question. They are not valuable in themselves; but they are interesting as stating the problem of Philosophy, and indicating the goal of thought. They are divided into four schools. The *Ionic School* identified the explanation of all things with one element in nature, saying with Thales (B.C. 640–550), 'all is water'; or with Anaximander (B.C. 611–547), 'all is matter,' τὸ ἄπειρον; or with Anaximenes (B.C. 588–524), 'all is air.' The *Pythagorean School* passed from substance to the proportion which all things bear to one another, and taught that 'all is number.' The *Eleatic School* passed still further on the path of abstraction, from 'substance' and 'number' to 'being,' saying with Xenophanes (B.C. 576–480), 'all is one.' The *Physicists*, in reaction from this abstractness, sought to analyze existence into its material elements. This period closes with Anaxagoras (B.C. 500–428). His great distinction as a thinker is that he relies on the principle of reason, νοῦς, as the principle of explanation. Νοῦς is a world-forming intelligence, acting on the primitive constituents of matter. Thus the first stage in the great movement of Greek philosophy has brought us to a spiritual principle. This is its great achievement, the splendid heritage it hands on to succeeding generations of thinkers. But along with this it also hands on another and less satisfactory heritage, viz. dualism, the opposition of the spiritual and the material, Thought and Extension.

2. *Second Stage.*—At the period of Greek history at which we have now arrived, about the middle of the 5th cent. B.C., we notice that the interest of thought is turning from the outer world of nature to the inner world of the human spirit. Thought, accordingly, becomes anthropological, and seeks the ultimate principles of truth, not beyond, but within man's consciousness of himself.

(*a*) *The Sophists.*—By these men this new departure in the development of Philosophy is inaugurated. One of the most famous of them is Protagoras of Abdera (*c.* 440 B.C.), a pure subjectivist, who taught that there is no absolute standard either of truth or right. Nothing is good or bad by nature (φύσει), but merely by statute (νόμῳ). Another is Gorgias (*c.* 427 B.C.), who taught a rigorous individualism, summed up in a series of paradoxes. Nothing exists; or, if something exists, it cannot be known; or, if it can be known, it cannot be communicated. The work of the Sophists was destructive, and often ethically mischievous, but it was necessary, as a preparation for the great forward movement which Greek philosophy was now to take. Their *merit* is that they have claimed on behalf of man that the principle which is to explain experience must be in harmony with his self-consciousness. Their *defect* is that they have construed man too poorly, and have regarded self-consciousness as little more than individual opinion or feeling.

(*b*) *Socrates* (B.C. 469–399).—In one sense Socrates is a Sophist. He occupies the position of subjectivity, and is a keen critic of conventional customs, institutions, and dogmas. His aim, however, is always positive. He desires to break through mere opinion in order that he may reach universal principles of thought and action. His method accordingly has a double aspect. It is destructive, an 'irony' by which he destroys the conceit of knowledge and convinces of ignorance, which is the 'original' sin of the Socratic theology; but it is also constructive, an obstetric process, whereby universal truth is brought to the birth, and instinct is raised to the rank of clear self-consciousness. In a word, his method is induction, the process whereby is discerned in a mass of particulars what is universal, and therefore fundamental and true. The last result of this method is condensed into the famous Socratic phrase, 'Virtue is knowledge,' knowledge of universal principles of thought and action. In Socrates the problem of Greek philosophy has deepened so as to include the element of man's conscious life. It has become a moral, even a religious problem, how to live life whole, and reach a complete synthesis of experience. Socrates finds the answer in Thought or the Universal. His gospel is 'Salvation by Wisdom.' Defective as it was, the teaching of Socrates declared the supreme worth of man as a spiritual being. It gave direction to the whole subsequent course of Greek thought, till at length the problem became too complex for the Socratic solution.

(*c*) *Plato* (B.C. 427–347) *and Aristotle* (B.C. 385–322).—Socrates attempted no systematization of thought. He was content with enunciating and illustrating a principle. It was the work of Plato and Aristotle to take the Socratic primacy of thought, and from this standpoint to frame systems of knowledge. Their systems have been called 'splendid digressions.' This would be incorrect if it meant that they were not in the main current of Greek thought. It is true, however, that one element prominent in Socrates is lost in them, to reappear with yet stronger emphasis in the post-Aristotelian thinkers, viz. subjectivity. They treat thought as a universal organ. Man as an individual falls into the background. Their problem is that of all Philosophy, to find a unity that shall reconcile all differences; but among these the self-assertion of the individual and the claim of the particular have not found their place.

The Socratic universal principles are in Plato 'ideas,' which are reached by 'reminiscence,' and form the archetypes of all things. Supreme among the ideas is the Good, the ultimate reality, the common ground of all thought and being. The Good is God; but for Plato the question of the personality of God has not arisen. He is moving in the pure ether of speculation, high above the strife and tragedy which make men so eagerly demand or so passionately deny a personal God. Aristotle occupies the same ground as Plato in holding that the universal is the real. But he has a deeper interest than Plato in the phenomenal and the particular. His aim is to bring the universal and particular together, and to exhibit them in their true relations. The formula he uses is that of Form and Matter, *εἶδος* and *ὕλη*. Form acts as a plastic artist, taking up the rude amorphous matter, and transforming or rather forming it into actuality. Not only so, but this relation has stages: that which is Form to what is beneath it, being Matter to what is above it. Thus there is a chain of being with mere Matter at one end and pure Form at the other. Pure Form originates the whole movement of existence, but is itself unmoved. It is Thought, in its pure activity, having no object but itself, Very Thought of Very Thought, *νόησις νοήσεως*. Thus the high level of Greek speculation is theism, not that of the Hebrews with its ethical content, but a theism of thought, in which God abides by Himself in the bliss of perfect knowledge.

Both in Plato and in Aristotle the Unity is magnificent, but it is incomplete. The dualism of Anaxagoras is not yet exorcized. The phenomenal and the individual still fall apart from this sublime transcendental Thought. They must receive their proper place before a true unity can be reached, and when it is, it will not be merely intellectual.

3. *Third Stage.*—In this, the closing period of Greek philosophy, a great change has come over the ancient world. It is the age of world-wide empire, crushing out the earlier civic life. It is therefore also the age of individualism.

In Plato and Aristotle we are aware of an aloofness from the problems that most interest us; but in the post-Aristotelian philosophies we find an affinity with our modes of thought and our general attitude toward life which make them interesting and valuable, though speculatively they are beneath the level of the great encyclopædic systems which immediately preceded them. The Philosophy of this period is intensely and increasingly occupied with the needs of man. To begin with, it is essentially Ethic, and this Ethic is meant to suffice man for religion. As it advances, it becomes more and more religious, till in the end, in Neoplatonism it is avowedly Religion. The systems of this period all logically connect themselves with elements to be found in Aristotle. In Aristotle we have still the Greek dualism unreconciled. Form and Matter, Reason and Sense, are still in opposition. Accordingly we find: (*a*) one system which makes Reason its ruling principle; (*b*) another which chooses Sense for its keynote; (*c*) a third which chooses either element to contradict and destroy the other; (*d*) finally, a system which strives to rise above the antagonism of elements, and makes a leap for unity.

(*a*) The first is *Stoicism*, which regards the soul of the universe as rational, and gives to it the significant title of the Logos. Of this rational whole of things, man is part. He finds salvation, accordingly, in living according to nature, taking his place at the standpoint of all governing Reason. Thus all things work together for his good. Stoicism, to its eternal honour, lays hold of human personality, and attributes to it absolute independence and infinite worth. In this aspect it approximates to Christianity, and formed a mental and moral discipline which prepared the Roman world for the preaching of the gospel. At the same time, Stoicism failed as a redemptive power in the fast-growing corruption of the Roman world. It is 'Salvation by Wisdom,' limited, therefore, to the few, and precarious even in them. Reason fails as a reconciling, unifying principle. See STOICS.

(*b*) The second is *Epicureanism*, which frankly makes matter the ground of all things, sense the ultimate principle of knowledge and action. The Epicurean, like the Stoic, said, 'Live according to nature'; but nature, as he conceived it, was material only, and the end of a life within its limits is no more than pleasure. Such a principle does not necessarily lead to vice; but it may lead to this as well as to virtue; and in any case it fails to organize life into a whole, or quicken it with sustained energy. Epicureanism is the intellectual expression of the decay of moral life in the Roman world. See EPICUREANS.

(c) The third is *Scepticism*, which, by keeping rigidly to the individualism which was common alike to Stoicism and Epicureanism, showed that no absolute truth of knowledge, no authoritative rule of action, is possible. Thought and life are reduced to the mere play of opinion and impulse. The only possible attitude toward reality is mere suspense of judgment. Such a position is paralysis both mental and spiritual. Scepticism makes articulate the despair which was brooding over the hearts of men. It is the last utterance of Philosophy, and it is the demand for Religion.

(d) The fourth is *Neoplatonism*. The life of man had become hopeless. The demand of the age, therefore, is not now Wisdom for the conduct of life, but Salvation, *σωτηρία*, escape from the dissatisfaction of this life, emergence into a higher sphere. To this demand Neoplatonism makes response. It is at once the climax and the destruction of Greek philosophy. In it Thought, the mighty force which had led the human spirit in its quest for unity, breaks down, and gives up the reins of government. After Neoplatonism barbarism followed, and would have followed more disastrously than it did, had not Christianity succeeded to the place vacated by Greek philosophy. The real advance of Neoplatonism on all preceding systems consists in its conception of the speculative and practical problem. The old Greek dualism of Form and Matter is deepened, and is transformed into that of God and the World, the Infinite and the Finite, Good and Evil. It is thus specifically a religious problem; and Neoplatonism is avowedly a religious solution, a Philosophy which takes up all religions into itself, and claims to be the Absolute Religion. The great precursor of Neoplatonism is Philo Judæus. Its chief exponent is Plotinus (A.D. 204–270).

It is impossible here to give any adequate account of the systems of these men, or of the many systems elaborated through the opening centuries of the Christian era. They all occupy the same standpoint, and exhibit many resemblances in their treatment of the problem which they all alike are designed to solve.

It is important, however, to note the three great doctrines into which all Neoplatonic systems may be condensed.

(i.) *The Doctrine of God.*—God is transcendent, the Absolute, the Original (*τὸ πρῶτον*), the Unlimited (*ἄπειρον*). To Him no finite predicates are applicable. He is beyond all determination by human thought. If we attribute to Him power or goodness, it must be remembered that these designations cannot express His real nature.

(ii.) *The Doctrine of the World.*—Between God and the World, the Infinite and the Finite, there is a great gulf, which Neoplatonism proceeds to fill up with variously conceived schemes of emanation. From the Infinite height there is a descent through less and less perfect beings, till at length crass matter is reached. Only by some such machinery would Neoplatonism allow that God could possibly be the source of material existence.

(iii.) *The Doctrine of Man.*—Man has in him a spark of the divine. He lies, however, immersed in the sensuous sphere. Salvation for him, therefore, consists in escaping from this sphere and rising into that supersensuous sphere to which he truly belongs. This escape is accomplished in a process of purification (*κάθαρσις*) by means of ascetic discipline.

To such a system had the long evolution of Greek thought arrived, when Christianity went forth on its mission. With this system Christianity was confronted as its chief antagonist.

II. THE CONTACT OF CHRISTIANITY WITH GREEK PHILOSOPHY.—1. *THE CHRISTIAN UNITY.* Into the Hellenic world, torn as it was with divisions, hysterically eager for intellectual and moral satisfaction, Christianity entered with the claim to be the unity which men of Hellenic culture, and human hearts everywhere, required and sought for. It differed profoundly, however, from Neoplatonism or any such system, both in the interpretation which it put on the problem and in the nature of the solution it proposed.

(a) *The Christian interpretation of the intellectual problem and of the moral need of men.* Beneath the opposition of elements, Form and Matter, Infinite and Finite, which was the deepest conception Greek thought had formed of the problem of life, Christianity pierces to antagonism of wills, the personal will of man in revolt from, and out of harmony with, the personal will of God. This is the hurt of the human soul; this is the secret also of the world's pain and unrest. Greek thought never did justice to personality. Pantheism drew the Hellenic mind like a magnet. Its goal was ever absorption of personal life in the wide sea of impersonal being. The hindrance to such a consummation always lay outside the constitution of man, in the material environment of his soul. Christianity boldly grasped the fact of personality; had for its goal the fulness of personal life in communion with a personal God; and saw the hindrance to this consummation within the personal life itself. Evil, the barrier to unity of God and man, is not outside of man, in the material framework in which he finds himself, but within man, in the determination of his will against the divine will.

(b) *The nature of the Christian solution.* In one word, it was Christ. Christianity, whose keynote, like that of Neoplatonism, is unity, whose phraseology often resembles that of Neoplatonism, differs from it by the whole diameter of mental culture and spiritual experience. It approaches the human spirit, not with a theory, scheme, or process, but with a gospel, a declaration whose sum and substance is Christ Jesus, incarnate, crucified, risen. Holding stedfastly before the eyes of men, as the ultimate problem of life, the reconciliation of wills, human and divine, it proclaims the problem solved, the reconciliation achieved through Christ. *Christ is God Incarnate*, not a man who has reached the highest point in a process of *κάθαρσις*, but God, who, in order to effect the reconciliation of man, has entered into humanity, and taken it into union with Himself. The long quest of man for God had ended on the verge of an impassable gulf, across which he vainly sought to cast a rainbow bridge of fair images. In the Incarnation, God of His own proper motion crosses the gulf, and by His own act annihilates the distance. *Christ has died for men.* That which holds God and man apart is not the frailty of man, as though that could be any real hindrance to spiritual and personal fellowship, or as though the removal of it could secure that fellowship. On this rock Neoplatonism wrecked itself as a redemptive power. The root and secret of man's inability to reach God is sin. He does not need to make himself divine in order to hold communion with God. He does need to be delivered from the burden of guilt. This deliverance has come through the sacrificial death of Christ. Guilt is not a feeling of uneasiness at the division man finds in his own nature. It is the consciousness of alienation from God. Sin is not an element in man's subjectivity, a moment in the process whereby he rises out of individualism. It is an objective reality of the spiritual world, which must be taken out of the way before the human spirit can be at one with God. Christ has done this in the deed of sin-bearing. *Christ is risen.* His life, while lifted above time and space, is continued in organic union with those who occupy time and space. He raises them through personal union with Himself into union with God. He in them is the source of a life whose spirit is sonship, whose privilege is communion, whose goal is likeness. The occasional ecstasy, which was the highest privilege possible under Neoplatonism, is replaced by a daily fellowship, without ecstasy but with true and abiding intimacy, open not to a few accomplished spirits, but to all who come to God through Christ.

With this the Christian solution is complete. The problem, constituted by antagonism of the human will to the divine, is solved at length.

2. *CHRISTIANITY AND THE GREEK DUALISM.*—Greek Philosophy, as we have seen in the foregoing sketch, was haunted by a dualism which it sought in vain to overcome. The secret of the failure lay in not conceiving the dualism profoundly enough. Christianity penetrates beneath the dualism of elements to antagonism of wills. The Greek problem lies within the Christian problem. The Christian solution is at the same time also the solution of the Greek problem. This does not mean that Christianity is a philosophy, or has its truth bound up with any special metaphysical system. It is a Religion. But it is a religion which provides the unity sought for by Philosophy.[*] It contains, therefore, implicitly the answer to the question raised by Philosophy.

(i.) *The speculative problem.* The Greek mind presupposed the irreconcilability of form and matter. The utmost effort in the direction of reconciliation was that made by Neoplatonism, the filling up of the gulf by a series of emanations. The Christian teachers, surveying the long toil of the Greeks after wisdom, said in effect, 'The ultimate dualism is not that of form and matter; it is that of the divine and human wills. What hinders man from reaching God is not his material environment, but his sin. Christ has taken away the sin of man. The Incarnate Christ may be reached by any human soul, immediately, at a step, a touch, a look. And when Christ is reached, God is reached.' They found, however, that the Greek mind was hag-ridden by phrases and formulæ, Pleroma, Logos, and what not, all implying the impossibility of getting to God except by a clumsy machinery of emanations. They therefore boldly adopted this nomenclature and baptized it into Christ.

What was supposed to be done by emanations, etc., and never really was done, has been done by Christ. He that hath seen Him hath seen the Father. Do they speak of the Pleroma? He is the Pleroma (so in Colossians). Do they speak of the Logos? He is the Logos (so in the Fourth Gospel). These Greek philosophic terms do not indicate that the Christian leaders who use them are sitting at the feet of Greek metaphysicians. The NT conveys a thought which had another origin than the speculations of a Philo; but, entering the Greek world at the time it did, it uses the terms which expressed the endeavour of the Greek mind, to carry the truth which the Greek mind despaired of reaching. In other words, Christianity, not by emanations or by hypostatized abstractions, but by the living Christ, lifts men to a central standpoint, and enables them to look out on experience as a unity, and to see even in its most material elements no remote antithesis to God, but the manifestation of His mind, the instrument of His purpose. God is self-revealing Spirit. The universe is spiritual to its core. Christ has abolished dualism. Christianity, it cannot be too much insisted on, is not a philosophy; but it is the inspiration and the goal of all philosophy.

(ii.) *The practical problem.* The Greek dualism haunts Greek ethic, and sets Reason and Sense in eternal opposition. The senses, seated in man's material frame, form the great hindrance to virtue. Greek ethic, accordingly, resolves itself very much into various plans for the disposal of the sensual element in man's nature. Neoplatonism preaches the elimination of sense by an ascetic discipline, which shall gradually set the spiritual nature of man free from all perturbation by the senses. Stoicism proclaims the dominion of reason over the passions. Man is to be a despot in the domain of his nature, crushing every uprising of sense with the proud might of reason. Aristotelianism, breathing the classic spirit of Hellenism, teaches that reason is to use sense as an artist uses the material with which he works, and by means of which he elaborates an artistic product.

Tracing evil to the senses as a given element in man's constitution, Greek ethic never deepens toward conviction of sin, has no need or room for redemption, and remains always proud and self-sufficient. Christianity by a deeper analysis traces evil, not to sense as an element in man's constitution, but to will, *i.e.* to the man himself in revolt from God. It therefore accumulates upon man responsibility for moral evil, and deeply humbles him before God. Christian morality, accordingly, has the note of humility and contrition which is absent from Greek ethic. It also exalts man, and holds out to him hope of an attainment far higher than was possible under Greek ethic. Let his will be yielded to God and made one with the divine will. He is then at once placed in a position which is central and supreme. His whole nature, including his material frame, is now a domain wherein the will of God is being progressively realized. The painful and precarious treatment of sense as an alien element is replaced by a process by which every element in man's complex nature is brought into harmony. This process has its human side, requiring strength of will and strenuousness of purpose. It is conducted, however, in the might of a divine energy, and its product, the Christian character, is not a manufactured article in which man may pride himself, but a creation, the work of the Divine Spirit operating immediately upon the surrendered spirit of man.

3. *THE RELATION OF CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE TO GREEK FORMS OF THOUGHT.*—The after-relations of Christian faith to Greek forms of thought have been made a subject of close and prolonged investigation by the modern school of historical criticism of which Harnack is the great representative, and of which Hatch and McGiffert are leading English examples. The work of this school is of priceless value in respect of its pure historical research. But in so far as it is dominated by certain presuppositions, and is determined by a certain preconceived idea, it seems to the present writer to be mistaken in its results. That dogma is 'in its conception and development a product of the Greek spirit on the soil of the gospel' (Harnack) may in a sense be admitted. At the same time, care must be taken

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[*] The reference in Col 2^8 is not to be regarded as a condemnation by the apostle of Philosophy in itself. It has in view a definite form of teaching, easily recognizable by the first readers of the Epistle, though affording matter of inquiry and discussion in later times. This teaching was probably of a theosophic Jewish Christian character, not without relation, as Lightfoot and others have shown, to the Gnostic Judaism of the Essenes (see art. COLOSSIANS). Bengel's remark is apposite, 'Philosophia in se est *medium* quiddam: sed tamen facilior abusus ad *fraudem*, in ea præsertim philosophia Judaica, quam tum jactabant et puritati fidei attemperare conabantur' (*Gnomon N.T. in loc.*).

in the application of such a principle to do justice to the original content of the gospel with which later reflections had to deal. In the hands of certain members of the school it may be doubted whether this is secured. In the Hibbert Lecture of the late Dr. Hatch, the problem, as conceived by these writers, is expressed with a clearness which leaves nothing to be desired, viz. 'Why an ethical sermon stood in the forefront of the teaching of Jesus, and a metaphysical creed in the forefront of the Christianity of the 4th cent.?' The conclusion to which the brilliant ability and ripe scholarship of the author are devoted is, that this change, being 'coincident with the transference of Christianity from a Semitic to a Greek soil,' is 'the result of Greek influence.' In plain words, primitive Christianity was simple ethical teaching regarding God and duty, undisturbed by intellectual problems, and absolutely free from speculative elements. Theology, as embodied in the great creeds, is a superstructure of mischievous metaphysic reared by the fruitless subtlety of the Greek intellect, which must be swept away before genuine Christianity can be revealed in pristine beauty and power.

Obviously, then, the question is as to the nature of primitive Christianity. Is it true that it was ethical merely? Is it true that its essence is summed up in the Sermon on the Mount? Is it permissible to lay aside every element in the NT that is not rigidly and exclusively 'ethical'? Is it fair to state the problem as being the transition from the Sermon on the Mount to the Nicene Creed? If the problem be misleading, the conclusions cannot fail to be erroneous. In order to reduce the problem to the simplicity and narrowness of the above statement, the following positions must be maintained. (1) Jesus Christ cannot have been more than a unique religious personality, with deep and true moral instincts, and a high degree of spiritual-mindedness. He cannot have made Himself the centre of His message. His declarations regarding His second coming must have been an afterthought, due to the discovery on His part that His mission was to end in His being rejected and put to death. Here we have to ask: (*a*) Is this a fair account of the Jesus of the Gospels? Can the personality of Christ as presented in those narratives be reduced to the outlines of such a sketch? Take the picture of Jesus drawn by the historical school and place it beside that given in the Gospels, and say if they are duplicates. If that of the historical school be correct, then that of the Gospels is not merely incorrect in certain features, but is a sheer monstrosity, which invalidates the whole Gospel narrative, and makes it valueless for purposes of sober history. (*b*) Is it fair to ignore the self-consciousness of Jesus as gathered into His most pregnant sayings? On what principles of historic research is it permissible to discount the self-assertion of Jesus? Has the Self of Jesus not such a place even in that very Sermon on the Mount as to give an entirely different view of the sermon itself, and an entirely different reading of the problem 'from the Sermon on the Mount to the Nicene Creed'? (2) The religion of the primitive disciples must have been simply Jewish Unitarianism and Jewish Legalism, modified in some of their elements by the teaching of Jesus regarding God and duty. Here again the question is as to matter of fact. Is this the whole truth regarding the first generation of Christians? Is this account a fair interpretation of the narrative in the Acts? Can the life and work of the early Church, its worship, its preaching, its missionary impulse, its labours and martyrdoms, be made intelligible on such a supposition? In particular, is it fair to discount the place which the Risen Christ had in the faith of the early Church? Why was He worshipped, prayed to, trusted, served, and that long before Hellenic influence had touched the Church's creed? Give due weight to the self-consciousness of Jesus, estimate aright the place of the Risen Christ in the life of the early Christians; and the positions of Hatch and McGiffert must be profoundly modified. (3) The conceptions of Christ to be found in the NT writings must be due to peculiarities in the intellectual history of their authors, and cannot express anything in the general belief of Christians. On the face of it, such a proposition is utterly improbable. The NT writings are chiefly letters between correspondents. Whatever may have been the intellectual idiosyncrasies of the writers, it is inconceivable that they do not express a consciousness common to writers and recipients. Indeed, this is expressly claimed by the writers, and Paul insists that his teaching is simply the faith of Christian people as such. The existence of a Pauline or Johannine Christianity which was not that of the Church at large, and, in particular, was not the Christianity of Christ, is an unproved hypothesis, not warranted by the known facts of the NT period, and not required for their interpretation.

If, then, the NT as a whole is substantially correct, both in its narratives of events and in its interpretation of them, the problem for the historian is not 'from the Sermon on the Mount to the Nicene Creed,' but 'from the NT as a whole to the Nicene Creed.' The question at issue is, 'Is there anything in the Nicene Creed which, in respect of the truth sought to be expressed, is not already in the New Testament?'

Go back now to the moral and intellectual situation of the age in which Christianity appeared. Greek philosophy has led men to a fundamental dualism, and has uttered the demand of the human spirit for union with God. Neoplatonism, the last despairing effort of Greek thought, fails to meet the demand. Christianity enters the Hellenic world with the proclamation of that for which Hellenic thought had sought in vain, union with God. This, accomplished in Christ, is its message to the Hellenic world, and to the heart of man as such. A mere amended Judaism would have had no point of contact with the Greek mind, or with the spirit of man anywhere. The personal Christ, Son of God and Son of Man, is the centre of the primitive gospel.

Conceive now Christianity entering the Hellenic world; it will bear a twofold relation to Hellenic culture and to Greek forms of thought. (*a*) It will be influenced by them. It is implicitly the solution of the problem of Greek philosophy. It will thus naturally use the terminology of Greek philosophy, and fill the formulæ of unsuccessful thought with the meanings of a divine revelation. (*b*) It will stiffly refuse to be coerced by them. The Christian idea of union with God, viz. reconciliation through a Person, utterly transcended Greek thought. Again and again, in the centuries preceding Nicæa, the attempt was made to reduce Christianity to a phase of Greek Philosophy. Sabellianism on the one hand, Arianism on the other, were more logically consistent as speculative systems than the fulness of the gospel. Yet Christianity declined to surrender its independence. In the end the Christian experience was gathered into the Nicene Creed, which, in effect, is this: Christianity, stating, in terms borrowed from Greek Philosophy, that which is too great for any system of philosophy, a truth distinctive, unique, a revelation, not a discovery.

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PHINEES (Φινεές, *Finees*).—**1.** Phinehas, the son of Eleazar and grandson of Aaron. 1 Es 5^{5} 8$^{2. 29}$ (B Φορός, A Φινεές), 2 Es 1^{2b}. **2.** The son of Heli and father of Achias. These three names are mentioned among the progenitors of Ezra only in 2 Es 1^{2a} (cf. the lists in Ezr 7, 1 Es 8): their insertion here is probably an error, since Ezra belonged to the line of Eleazar, and Phinehas son of Eli to the younger branch of the line of Ithamar. **3.** A priest of the time of Ezra, and father of Eleazar, 1 Es 8^{63} (LXX ^{62}). H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

PHINEHAS (פִּינְחָס, LXX Φινεές).—**1.** Son of Eleazar, and his successor in the high priesthood, Ex 6^{25}, 1 Ch 6$^{4. 50}$, Ezr 7^{5}, 1 Es 8^{2}, 2 Es 1^{2}. The circumstance by which Phinehas is chiefly remembered (Nu 25) bears a striking analogy to the most decisive crisis in the life of St. Peter. The great confession at Cæsarea-Philippi was scarcely more significant and epoch-making in the growth of Christian discipleship than was that act of fiery zeal at Shittim in the history of the Old Covenant, when for the first time the Mosaic religion came into collision with Baal worship, its future rival. In both cases we have, 'in the fulness of the time,' a great moral decision to be made of world importance, 'Jehovah or Baal,' 'but whom say ye that I am?' Alike at Shittim and at Cæsarea, amidst a general hesitancy and failure to grasp the situation, there is a prompt response on the part of one alone, followed by the pronouncement on that one of a signal blessing of far-reaching import. When 'Israel joined himself unto Baal-peor' it was no ordinary revolt or murmuring. Something more was needed 'to make atonement' than the official execution by man of 'all the chiefs of the people,' or even than the visitation of a plague by God. The Divine want was satisfied by the personal devotion of the young priest who, while others wept helplessly, identified himself with 'the Lord whose name is Jealous' ('He was jealous with my jealousy among them'), and determined for ever the rightful attitude of a whole-hearted servant of J″ towards any encroachments of the abominable idolatries of the heathen. Accordingly we find that the slaying of Zimri and Cozbi was ever after one of the proud and stimulating memories of Israel's past history. In the psalmist's retrospect (Ps 106$^{30. 31}$) Phinehas, it is implied, was a second Abraham. His deed of faith 'was counted unto him for righteousness, unto all generations for evermore.' The son of Sirach in his 'praise of famous men' stamps Phinehas as 'the third in glory' after Moses and Aaron, 'in that he was zealous in the fear of the Lord, and stood fast in the good forwardness of his soul when the people turned away, and he made reconciliation for Israel' (Sir 45$^{23-25}$). The slaughter of the apostate Jew and of the king's commissioner at the hands of Mattathias, which initiated the Maccabæan revolt, recalls to the historian the example of Phinehas, and, in his dying exhortation to his sons, Mattathias reminds them how 'Phinehas our father, for that he was zealous exceedingly, obtained the covenant of an everlasting priesthood' (1 Mac 2$^{26. 54}$). With respect to this covenant, reasons have been given under the article ABIATHAR for believing that the promise to Phinehas of an everlasting priesthood was conditional, as are all the promises of God, and that, in fact, Abiathar was his last direct representative. The other notices of Phinehas in the Bible history are of lesser importance. Nu 31^{6} (P) states that he accompanied the punitive expedition against Midian, not as commander (Jos. *Ant.* IV. vii. 1), but in his priestly capacity, 'with the vessels of the sanctuary and the trumpets for the alarm in his hand,' in accordance with the law (Nu 10$^{8. 9}$; cf. 2 Ch 13^{12}). He was leader and spokesman of the deputation from the western tribes to the eastern concerning the erection of the altar Ed (Jos 22$^{13. 30-32}$); and in Jg 20^{28} the civil war between Benjamin and the other tribes is incidentally stated to have occurred during his high priesthood, and that the ark was then at Bethel (so also Jos. *Ant.* V. ii. 10), not at Shiloh as previously and subsequently (Jos 18^{1}, 1 S 4^{3}). Ewald (*HI* ii. 313) notes that the estate given to Eleazar (Jos 24^{33}), being called Gibeath-phinehas, is 'a proof that in popular estimation he ranked even higher than his father.' For this place see art. GIBEAH, **3.** According to 1 Ch 9^{20} Phinehas at one time had been superintendent of the Korahite gate-keepers. 'The sons of Phinehas' (Ezr 8^{2}, 1 Es 8^{29}, 1 Es 5^{5}) seems to mean the clan of priests who elsewhere are called sons of Eleazar.

It remains that a brief mention should be made of the legends that gather round Phinehas in Rabbinical literature. His grandfather Putiel (Ex 6^{25}) was identified with Jethro by an absurd etymology, and Phinehas, before his great exploit, had been constantly reproached with his Midianite origin (*Sota*, Gemara, viii. 6, ed. Wagenseil and Targ. of Jonathan). In the Targ. of Jonathan on Nu 25, twelve signs testify to a Divine interposition in the death of Zimri and Cozbi, and the promise of God receives this remarkable addition: 'I will make him the angel of the covenant, that he may live for ever to proclaim redemption at the end of the days.' A combination of this legend with Mal 4^{5} is the probable origin of the widespread belief in the identity of Phinehas with Elijah (Fabricius, *Cod. pseudepig. Vet. Test.* ch. 170; *Seder Olam*, ed. Meyer, pp. 261, 845). He was also identified with the anonymous prophet of Jg 6^{8} (*Seder Olam*, ch. xx.) and with the prophet who denounced Eli (Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* on 1 S 2^{27}). Eusebius (*Chron. An.* 860) blunderingly identifies Phinehas with Eli. Phinehas was also said to have been the author of the last verse of the Book of Joshua, and of an explanation of sacred names (Fabricius, *l.c.*).

2. Younger son of Eli, 1 S 1^{3}. Jos. (*Ant.* V. xi. 2) says that his father had resigned the office of high priesthood to him on account of his old age. It is true that the biblical narrative implies throughout that Hophni and Phinehas performed the active functions of the priesthood, but there seems no other ground for this supposed abdication in favour of the younger son than the fact that the succeeding high priests were descended from him. Hophni was probably childless. Two sons of Phinehas are mentioned, Ahitub (1 S 14^{3}) and Ichabod (1 S 4^{21}). On the other hand, it is almost certain that in 2 Es 1^{2} this Phinehas is reckoned among the high priests. That list alone inserts Heli, Phinees, and Achias (*i.e.* Ahijah) between Amariah and Ahitub. This is evidently an attempt to make a complete list by adding Eli and his successors, who are ignored in Ch, Ezr, and 1 Es. This is not the place to moralize on the excesses of Phinehas and his brother, or on their indulgent father's dignified but feeble remonstrances, or on their miserable death. Their ritual irregularity, however, demands an explanation. They committed two distinct breaches of the law. (*a*) It seems clear that 'the memorial,' which in animal peace-offerings was the inner fat (Lv 3), was always burnt on the altar first; that is, the Lord received His portion before either priest or offerer took theirs. (*b*) The portion of the animal due to the priest was strictly defined, although neither the law of Lv 7^{34} ('the wave breast and the heave thigh have I taken . . . and given unto Aaron the priest and unto his sons as a due for ever from the children of Israel') nor that of Dt 18^{3} ('they shall give unto the priest the shoulder and the two cheeks and the maw') may have been then in force. The worshippers, however, seem to have resented the impiety more than the greed of the priests. The sin of the young men is graphically summed up in the statement that 'they contemned (נאצו) the offering of the Lord' (1 S 2^{17}, on which see Driver or H. P. Smith).

3. Ezr 8^{33}, 1 Es 8^{63}. Father of Eleazar, one of the two priests who received at Jerusalem the offerings brought by Ezra from Babylon.

N. J. D. WHITE.

PHINOE (Φινόε, AV Phinees), 1 Es 5^{31}=Paseah (Φισόν), Ezr 2^{49}, Neh 7^{51}.

PHLEGON (Φλέγων).—The name of a Christian greeted with others by St. Paul in Ro 16^{14}. He is commemorated with Herodion and Asyncritus (which see) on April 8 (*Acta Sanctorum*, April, i. p. 741). The name was borne by a Greek writer of the 2nd cent. who is stated by Origen to have given some information concerning Christ.

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PHŒBE (Φοίβη).—In Ro 16^{1} St. Paul commends Phœbe to the Roman Christians. He describes her as (1) 'our sister,' (2) 'a servant (διάκονος) of the Church that is at Cenchreæ'—the port of Corinth. (3) He asks that they 'receive her in the Lord, worthily of the saints, and 'assist her in whatsoever matter she may have need of them.' (4) He says that she has been 'a succourer (προστάτις) of many,' and of himself in particular. It is generally assumed that Phœbe was the bearer of the Epistle, and the words by which she is introduced (συνίστημι ὑμῖν) imply a formal introduction to the Roman community.

Two points demand a short discussion: (1) How far is διάκονος technical? This is the only place where the office is referred to by name in the NT (for 1 Ti 3^{11} $5^{3ff.}$ cannot be quoted), but the younger Pliny (*Ep.* X. xcvi. 8) speaks of *ministræ* in the Christian Church, and there are constant references to them under the names of διάκονος (ii. 26) and διακόνισσα (viii. 19, 20, 18) in the *Apostolic Constitutions.* Moreover, the circumstances of Oriental life must have made it necessary that there should be female attendants to perform for women what the deacons did for men, in baptism, in visiting the women's part of the house, and in introducing women to the bishop or deacons (*Apost. Const.* iii. 15, etc.). There is no occasion, therefore, for thinking that the word has not, at any rate to a certain extent, a technical meaning, but we have not sufficient grounds for assuming an order of deaconesses in the later sense. The translation 'servant,' however, is inadequate.

(2) The description of her as προστάτις suggests that she was a person of some wealth and position. This word again is probably technical. It implies the legal representative or wealthy 'patroness.' Her residence at Cenchreæ — the port towards Ephesus—would enable her to exercise the duties of hospitality, and to give other forms of assistance to Christians on their first landing in the country, and to help what must have been a small and struggling Church. She is commemorated on Sept. 3. See *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept., vol. i. p. 602.

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PHŒNICIA.—

i. Sources.
ii. The Country—
    (*a*) Its extent and natural features.
    (*b*) Its history.
    (*c*) Greater Phœnicia.
iii. The People.
iv. The Alphabet and Language.
v. Constitution and Government.
vi. Civilization and Commerce.
vii. Religion—
    (*a*) The deities.
    (*b*) Sacred objects and cultus.

i. SOURCES.—The sources of our knowledge of Phœnician history and civilization are contained in—(*a*) *Inscriptions in the Phœnician language.* These are very numerous, amounting to some thousands. They have been found in Phœnicia itself and in Cyprus, Egypt, Greece, the islands of Melita, Gaulos, Sicily, Cossura, Sardinia, and Corsica, as well as in Africa, Italy, France, and Spain. Whilst these are invaluable for the restoration of the language (especially such as have Greek transliterations and translations appended), unfortunately very few are of historical interest, few are of any length, few have been found in Phœnicia itself, and, with one exception, none are earlier than the Persian period. The oldest known is *CIS* No. 5. This is on the fragments of a bowl discovered in Cyprus ('in insula Cypro, casu [ut putamus] reperta') but belonging to a temple of Ba'al not far from Sidon, and on palæographical grounds is assigned to the 9th cent. B.C. It mentions a 'Hiram, king of the Sidonians,' but it remains uncertain to which of the kings of this name it refers. The remaining inscriptions consist mostly of dedications and memorials on tombs, with two or three pertaining to sacrifices. Their chief value lies in the names of kings they contain, and in the proper names containing names of gods.*

(*b*) *The Egyptian hieroglyphic and Babylono-Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions* contain many references to the land of Phœnicia, and give some idea of its relation to foreign powers from the 16th cent. B.C. to the Persian period. The Tel el-Amarna tablets give a glimpse into contemporary history which is valuable and probably characteristic. Much, however, remains to be done in the classification and identification of the geographical names in the cuneiform inscriptions. For the Egyptian much has been done by W. Max Müller.†

(*c*) *References to the Phœnicians, and especially to Tyre and Sidon with their dependencies, in the Old Testament.*—These occur in writings extending over a period of about four centuries (9th to 5th cent. B.C.). They consist partly of short notes ethnographical (more properly geographical) as in Gn 10; archæological or geographical, as in Dt 3^{9}, Jos 13^{4}; historical, as in 1 K 5 and 16; or relating to religion, as in 1 K 11^{5}. In addition to these the longer passages in the books of Isaiah (ch. 23), Jeremiah (chs. 25. 27. 47), and Ezekiel (chs. 26–32) give a striking picture of the commerce and civilization of the chief Phœnician cities at the time when these prophecies were written.*

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* The Phœnician inscriptions are collected in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, pt. i. vols. i. and ii., Paris, 1881–99. Further details as to some of them, and two or three new and recently discovered inscriptions, will be found in the *Oriental Journals* of Germany, Vienna, Paris; in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. v. No. 1, and other journals.

† The references to Phœnicia in the Egyptian inscriptions will be best found in Flinders Petrie's *History of Egypt*, Brugsch's *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, and W. Max Müller's *Asien und Europa.* The Tel el-Amarna tablets are edited by Winckler, *The Tell el-Amarna Letters.* A very useful compendium with much valuable comment is contained in Flinders Petrie's *Syria and Egypt from the Tell el-Amarna Letters*, London, 1898. The best collection of Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions is in Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vols. i.–iv.

(*d*) *Greek writings.*—For fragments of two of the most important writings on Phœnician history we are indebted to Josephus, Eusebius, and others whose writings we have, who may have taken them from the encyclopædic writer Alexander Polyhistor. *Menandros of Ephesus*, who seems to have flourished about the 2nd cent. B.C., wrote a history or chronicle of some at least of the Phœnician cities. The first fragment (in Josephus, *c. Ap.* i. 18 and in part also in *Ant.* VIII. v. 3) contains Tyrian annals, with a list of kings from the early part of the 10th cent. B.C. to the founding of Carthage at the close of the 9th century. A second fragment (*Ant.* IX. xiv. 2) tells of a siege of Tyre under Shalmaneser, and a third (*c. Ap.* i. 21), usually ascribed to Menandros, though he is not explicitly mentioned as the author, gives further chronology and list of kings from a siege of Tyre under Nebuchadnezzar to the accession of Cyrus to the throne of Persia. Three other smaller pieces are of minor importance.

Dios, an otherwise unknown writer, is quoted in Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 17 as having written an accurate history of Phœnicia. The extract given tells of Hiram the contemporary of Solomon. Two or three other authors are mentioned in Greek literature as writers on Phœnician history, but their works have perished.—Quite different in character from the works mentioned seems to have been the Phœnician history of *Philo Byblios*, a writer of the end of the 1st cent. A.D. His work professed to be a translation of the writing of a Phœnician named Sanchuniathon who lived in the period before the Trojan war. The portions of his work preserved for us by Eusebius show him to have been a euhemerist, who in his description of the gods and his cosmogony has used Phœnician material, but has so adapted it to suit his own views that his work can be used only after most searching criticism.—Besides the above works, there are references in Greek writings too numerous to be mentioned here. The *Iliad* mentions 'Sidon,' 'Sidonians,' and 'Phœnicians,' and the *Odyssey* the same, with the addition of 'Phœnicia.' Herodotus tells of Phœnician legends and commerce, and many writers after him have incidental notices of this land and people.—Of *Roman* writers, one deserves mention. In the prologue to the 18th book of Justin's epitome of the history of *Pompeius Trogus* (about the beginning of the Christian era) occur the words, 'Inde (continentur) origines Phœnicum et Sidonis et Veliæ Carthaginisque res gestæ in excessu dictæ.' The only section that remains is in Justin, xviii. 3 ff., and was probably taken from a work of Timagenes (1st cent. B.C.).†

(*e*) *Archæological remains.*—Underground Phœnicia is still almost entirely unexplored, though a beginning has now been made at Sidon. Scattered about, however, on the surface of the ancient Phœnician land are remains of walls, fortifications, temples, and tombs, which help to tell the story of bygone days. Of the colonies, Cyprus and Carthage have yielded a large number of articles (vases, statuettes, etc. etc.), which throw light on the arts and daily life of the people. Coins also, and seals, though not in large numbers, are now to be found in museums (see below under 'Civilization and Commerce').

ii. THE COUNTRY.—(*a*) *Extent and natural features.* Although the Phœnicians inhabited cities as far north as Myriandos (in the Gulf of Alexandretta) and as far south as Jaffa (see below) in the Persian period, the earlier Phœnician territory may be said roughly to have been bounded on the north by the river Orontes or Mt. Casius, and on the south by Mt. Carmel. On the east the limits are entirely unknown, but the Bargylos and Lebanon ranges seem to form natural boundaries on that side. Colonists from Sidon, however, appear to have pushed their way as far inland as the neighbourhood of the sources of the Jordan (Jg 18). The land thus consisted of two distinct regions: (1) The hill-country, *i.e.* the slopes of Bargylos (Nusaireyah) and Lebanon. Both these ranges extend from N. to S.: the former from Antioch to the river Eleutheros, the latter from this point to the mountains of N. Galilee and Hermon. They are of limestone, with many other formations, and in some parts reach a height of over 10,000 ft. The scenery is magnificent, especially in the great gorges where the rivers pass down into the plains. The vegetation is luxuriant for a long distance up the slopes, and the many flourishing villages on the side of the Lebanon facing the sea to-day, tell us of one part of Phœnician life which has vanished almost entirely from its history. The chief rivers are the Eleutheros, which separates Bargylos from Lebanon; the Adonis, famous in history; and the Lycos, at the mouth of which still remain the well-known Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions. But besides these there are many small streams which pour down from every mountain slope, full in the rainy season, empty in the dry, and for this very reason affecting both commercial and military movements. (2) The plains are best known as containing nearly all the cities that have left their mark in Phœnician history. The extreme north is a mere strip of land between the mountains and the sea, and the first great plain is that extending for about 60 miles south from Gabala, with a width varying from 2 to 10 miles, and containing the cities of Arvad and Simyra. The next piece of open country is that from the Lycos river to a few miles below Beyrût, then follow the plains of Sidon, about 10 miles long and 2 broad, Tyre about 20 miles long and from 1 mile to 5 miles broad, and Acre about 8 miles long and 6 broad. These plains as well as the hilly slopes were famous for their cultivation, and there are traces to-day, in the remains that are found, of the industries that were carried on in them. But they owe their fame mostly to the fact that they are the highways along which the trade of the East came to the West. The inscriptions at the mouth of the Lycos, the annals of Egypt and Assyria, and the descriptions of the OT prophets, all bear witness to the constant traffic and frequent invasions that were made possible by this low-lying coast-land of Phœnicia.*

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* For a complete list of OT passages referring to Phœnicia, see the *Concordances s.* 'Sidon,' 'Sidonians,' 'Tyre,' 'Arvad,' 'Gebal,' and consult the table in Gn 10; see also CANAAN in vol. i. p. 347. Tyre and Sidon are mentioned in the NT by the Synoptists, Mt $11^{21.22}$ 15^{21}, Mk 3^{8} $7^{24.31}$, Lk 4^{26} 6^{17} $10^{13.14}$, and in Ac 12^{20} $21^{3.7}$ 27^{3}. In Mk 7^{26} the adjective Συροφοινίκισσα occurs.

† The fragments of Menandros are collected in Müller's *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. iv. p. 445 ff., but to Müller's list must be added the paragraph contained in Jos. *Ant.* IX. xiv. 2, and it should be noticed that a part of the first piece is repeated in *Ant.* VIII. v. 3. It will be observed that Josephus says that Menandros wrote of the 'kings of the Greeks and the Barbarians.' The fragment of Dios is contained in the same volume (*Frag. Hist. Gr.* iv. 398), where the author is identified with Ailios Dios; but this is very doubtful. The remains of Philo Byblios are collected, *ib.* iii. 560 ff. The value of his work has been much discussed by scholars. A good essay on the subject is that of W. Baudissin in his *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, vol. i. pp. 1–46. His conclusion is that Philo has taken his material from various sources—some Semitic—and given to it the name of a man of antiquity. Sanchuniathon is a genuine Phœnician name. In any case the work as a whole represents Phœnician religion in its *decline*, not in its origin.

* A description of the old Phœnician territory at the present time may be read in Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*; Walpole, *The Ansayrii*; Reclus, *l'Asie Antérieure*; and Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria*.

(*b*) *History of the country*.—The earliest historical mention of the Phœnician land is in the older Egyptian inscriptions, where it appears under the name of *Dahe* (or *Zahi*).* Between B.C. 1587 and 1562 Aahmes reached it in his northern conquests. He also mentions a people called the Fenkhu as workers in his quarries. Thothmes I. (1541–16) overran the whole length of Syria as far as the Euphrates. Thothmes III. (1503–1449) in his 23rd year records a victory over the Fenkhu and other Syrians; in his 29th year another campaign to Retennu, Tunep, Arvad, and Zahi, with much Phœnician spoil; in his 30th year a campaign to Kedesh, Simyra, and Arvad; and in his 34th year a campaign which brought tribute from Zahi, Retennu, and Asi (Cyprus). In the reign of Amenophis III. (1414–1379) Egyptian power seems to have been at its highest, and Phœnicia, with the rest of Syria, was entirely subject to it. The next reign, that of Amenophis IV. (or Akhenaten, 1379–66), is one of decay. The discovery of the Tel el-Amarna tablets has given us a rather fuller insight into the relation of Phœnicia to Egypt than we have had hitherto, for some of the letters contained in these tablets are from or to Egyptian governors and others in Phœnician cities. Thus we have mention of Abimilki of Tyre, Amunira of Beyrût, Khaib, commissioner of Simyra, Ribaddi of Gubla, Shutatna of Akko, Zimrida of Zidon, etc. Nearly all the letters tell the same story of attacks from without and rebellion within, and prove that whether Phœnicia now made a stand for independence or became a prey to other rising empires, it was at this time passing from Egyptian dominion. The Egyptians still made raids into Phœnician territory or marched through it (cf. the inscription of Ramses II. at the mouth of the river Lycos) to attack other enemies, and Phœnicians probably still paid tribute from time to time to Egypt. We have no details of the history of the land at this time. We know, however, that it never formed one united kingdom. Its history is the history of its cities. Of these, Arvad seems to have enjoyed a pre-eminence in the earliest times, and more certainly Sidon a little later. The whole people was sometimes known to foreigners as the Sidonians. The era of Tyre began about B.C. 1197 (according to Jos. *Ant.* VIII. iii. 1); but Arvad and Sidon were still independent cities in the 9th cent.: in the 8th Tyre seems to bear rule over Sidon, Akko, and other cities. Later, Diodorus Siculus (xvi. 41) mentions a united council of men of Arvad, Tyre, and Sidon at Tripolis (native name unknown). This development of the government of cities was not without foreign intervention. The Egyptians had scarcely ceased troubling them when they were brought face to face with danger from a new quarter. It is possible that as early as 1140 Nebuchadnezzar I. of Babylonia invaded their country (cf. Winckler, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 95 and note 18). Tiglath-pileser I. (*c.* 1100) also seems to have reached the Mediterranean coast near Arvad. In the 9th cent. Assurnaẓirpal raided the country, as did his successor, Shalmaneser II., who received tribute from Tyre and Sidon and Byblos (Gebal), as well as from Jehu king of Israel; and Mattanbaal king of Arvad fought with Ahab at the battle of Karkar (854). In the 8th cent. the cuneiform inscriptions record tribute received by Tiglath-pileser III. from Arvad, Tyre, and Gebal; and Menander tells of a siege of Tyre by Shalmaneser IV. which lasted for five years. In the following century Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon all sent their armies to Phœnicia, and the last named even to Idalion in Cyprus; and in the 6th cent. the new Babylonian empire continued the work of Assyria in the famous siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar. With the rise of the Persian empire came a change which greatly benefited the Phœnicians. Cyrus seems to have left them alone, and about this time they again supplied the Jews with materials for building their temple (Ezr 3^7). Cambyses enrolled them in a satrapy with Cyprus, Syria, and Palestine, and thus received from them their share of tribute; but was friendly to them, and depended on them entirely for his navy (cf. Herod. iii. 19); nor did he attempt force against them even when they refused to give him ships wherewith to attack Carthage. The Phœnician fleet continued to do good service for the Persians, especially against the Greeks, until 351, when Sidon, under Tabnit, revolted; but Ochus soon brought Phœnicia back to obedience, and its cities continued to flourish under their native kings until after the battle of Issus they fell into the hands of Alexander the Great, Tyre only after suffering a long siege and a cruel punishment. After Alexander's death, Phœnicia fell with Syria to Laomedon, then in 320 to Ptolemy Lagi, and in 314 to Antigonus. In 287 it again passed to the Ptolemies, who held it until 198, when it became part of the Seleucid empire. During all this period Greek manners and customs and language were largely introduced into the country. Finally, after it had shared with Syria in the many vicissitudes of the Seleucid power, in 65 Rome took possession, and Phœnicia was included in the province of Syria under a proconsul or pro-prætor, though Tyre, Sidon, and Tripolis remained free cities with their own elected magistrates and council (cf. Ac $12^{20f.}$). In Mk 7^{24-30} a woman of this country is called a Syro-phœnician; in Mt 15^{21-28} the older name 'Canaanitish' is used. For this section, see, further, the Literature cited in the notes to 'Sources,' above.

(*c*) *Greater Phœnicia*.—A sketch of the history of Phœnicia would be incomplete without a notice of the many ports, especially in the Mediterranean, where its people settled, and from which came many of those articles of commerce which made them renowned. Some of these settlements can be traced back to the 15th cent. B.C. There may have been some before that time; but records fail us. In some of these places the Phœnicians seem to have had real colonies, in others merely 'factories,' where their traders received the wares of the neighbouring country to export them to their own land. Cyprus was very early settled by them, and although the Greeks afterwards took much of the island, the towns of Kition and Idalion flourished up to Roman times (see CYPRUS). The islands of the Ægean Sea (including Crete, Rhodos,

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* W. Max Müller suggests that this name may be connected with the root [illegible]; 'to be beautiful,' [illegible] 'to act well'; cf. צחה 'to shine' (*Asien und Europa*, p. 176). This name begins to go into the background in the 12th cent., and is almost forgotten in the Ptolemaic period. *Kaft* or *Keft* (in the inscription of Thothmes III. etc.) is frequently taken to indicate the Phœnician coast (cf. Sayce in article CANAAN), but Müller (p. 337 ff.) argues strongly for its representing Cilicia. *Canaan* is a geographical term denoting the low land, and seems to have been used by the Phœnicians themselves at one time to denote their land (see CANAAN). The name Φοινίκη given by the Greeks (it occurs in *Odyss.* iv. 83) has given rise to much discussion. It seems to have been used (like Ἑλλάς) for the land where Phœnicians dwelt, whether at home or abroad; thus Euripides (*Tro.* 221) uses it for Carthage. The older derivations of the name Φοίνικες (Phœnicians) from φοῖνιξ, the bird ('phœnix'), or a 'palm,' are fanciful and secondary. Some derive the word from φοινός, 'brownish-red,' as denoting the colour of the skin (Pietschmann, *Gesch. d. Phönizier*, p. 13), a root which reappears in the Latin *Pœnus* ('Punic' of Carthaginians). Some (cf. CANAAN and Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alterthums*, §§ 180, 190, etc.) refer both these names back to the word 'Fenkhu,' which appears in the inscription of Thothmes III. at Karnak. To this Müller objects (p. 208 ff.), that this word was originally only an *Egyptian* term used in a general sense for the northern barbarians. Finally, Ed. Glaser (*Punt und die südarabischen Reiche*, 1899) has revived the view that the name is connected with the 'Punt' (or Powen-at=Poen-at) of the Egyptian inscriptions, a part of South Arabia and East Africa.

Kythera, and many others) were occupied by them—as many scholars hold—even in pre-Homeric times (cf. Bérard, 'Les Phéniciens et les poèmes Homériques,' in *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, xxxix. 173–228 and 419–460). The advance of the Greeks, and consequent expulsion of the Phœnicians from these islands, seems to have led to an increased interest in the settlements in the West Mediterranean, some of which, at least, had been founded long before. Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Malta, Gaulos, Tarshish, and Gades in Spain, various places in N. Africa, including the famous Carthage, were settled by them, and were in constant communication with the home country. Many of these settlements have been assigned by history and tradition to certain Phœnician cities, *e.g.* Utica and Carthage to Tyre, and Carthage itself seems to have established new trading ports on the opposite coast of the Mediterranean. (For settlements outside the Mediterranean, see paragraph in small type below).

iii. THE PEOPLE.—The origin of the Phœnician people is wrapped in mystery. According to their own traditions of the 5th cent. B.C., they dwelt formerly by the Erythræan Sea (Herod. vii. 89; cf. i. 1), *i.e.* the Indian Ocean, including the Persian Gulf. This tradition is repeated by other classical authors—Strabo, Justin, Pliny, *et al.* Justin enlarges the story by a statement that an earthquake was the cause of their movement, and that they dwelt then near the 'Assyrian lake' (XVIII. iii. 2); and Strabo (who in I. ii. 35 regards the story of the migration as untrustworthy) says (in XVI. iii. 4) that in the Persian Gulf are two islands—Turos and Arados—whose temples resemble those of the Phœnicians, and that the inhabitants of these islands say that the Phœnician islands are named after them, and their towns are settlements from themselves. Sayce (note to Herod. i. 1) suggests that the similarity of names gave rise to the whole legend, and points out that the names are really different, as according to Ptolemy and Pliny the real name of the island in the Persian Gulf was Tylos, while the Phœnician city Tyre was צר, and the Phœnician Arados was properly Arvad. Failing historical evidence, we are led to such testimony as we can get from language, anthropology, and religion. This is avowedly incomplete at the present time; but the material available shows the Phœnicians of the Syrian coast to have been a Semitic people, who took part in the great migration to the West which at different times sent also the Aramæans to Syria and the Hebrews and their kin to Palestine.

It has long been known that the activity of the Phœnicians was not confined to the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, and it has been suspected that the Phœnicians of the Syrian coast were perhaps only one branch of a race which had settlements in other parts of the Semitic world. A work entitled, *Punt und die südarabischen Reiche*, by Eduard Glaser, the famous traveller in South Arabia, appeared in the end of 1899, in which evidence has been gathered from the records of Egypt and the South Arabian inscriptions to show that these conjectures are supported by history. According to Glaser, the land of Punt, so often mentioned in Egyptian inscriptions, was a large part of the coasts of East Africa and South Arabia. Thence the Egyptians obtained incense, gold, etc. From this land were established several colonies, including Mashonaland and Socotra. But the remains in the former place are evidently Phœnician, various signs indicate the identity of the races inhabiting the land of Punt, and the name itself is identical with 'Phœnician.' Thus we must in future speak of two branches of the Phœnician people, a Northern on the coasts of Syria, and a Southern (of the same race, language, and origin as the Northern) which left the Erythræan Gulf at a very early period, and ceased from that time to influence the other members of the race. The confirmation or otherwise of this theory must depend on the further evidence of the Babylonian and S. Arabian inscriptions.

iv. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE.—(*a*) The Phœnician *alphabet* is purely consonantal, and consists of 22 characters, written from right to left. Tradition says that this was the first alphabet invented—

> 'Phœnices primi, famæ si creditur, ausi
> Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.'—(Lucan).

It is, however, generally recognized that the invention consists in the taking over of signs used originally by other peoples to denote syllables, and the adaptation of these to denote simple sounds, together with the simplification of what were originally pictorial or hieroglyphic characters. Together with this we must recognize that some letters were not taken over directly, but were formed by slight modifications of those thus received (thus the sign for the rough aspirate *ḥ* is formed from that of the simple *h* by the addition of a stroke to the left). Various opinions are held as to the original source. Until lately the favourite view has been that the Phœnicians borrowed their characters from the Egyptian. This was also held in ancient times, and is mentioned in Tacitus—'Primi per figuras animalium Ægyptii sensus mentis effingebant . . . et literarum semet inventores perhibent; inde Phœnicas, quia mari præpollebant, intulisse Græciæ gloriamque adeptos, tamquam reppererint quæ acceperant' (*Ann.* xi. 14). Supporters of this opinion are divided as to whether the Phœnician characters were derived directly from the hieroglyphs or from the hieratic writing. Much has been written of late to show that the Babylono-Assyrian cuneiform is the real source of the Phœnician alphabet. This opinion was also held in early times. Pliny says, 'Litteras semper arbitror Assyriis fuisse, sed alii apud Ægyptios a Mercurio, ut Gellius, alii apud Syros repertas volunt' (*Nat. Hist.* vii. § 37). The widespread use of the cuneiform characters about the time to which is assigned the invention of the Phœnician alphabet, is used to support this hypothesis. A third view held by some corresponds in some degree with the last mentioned by Pliny, and derives the Phœnician characters from the Cypriote, which are connected with the so-called Hittite characters. This opinion is altogether too undeveloped at present to be judged properly. Nor is it easy to decide as to the Egyptian and Assyrian theories. The selection of the characters to which the Phœnician are referred seems arbitrary, and a succession of intermediate forms is wanting. Either view seems to be historically possible, neither proved. The Phœnician alphabet, like most others, seems to have only incompletely represented the sounds of the language. Two words beginning in Phœnician with the same letter are represented in Greek by different letters, צור=*Τυρος*, צידן=*Σιδών*. These characters are identical with those found on the Siloam inscription in Judæa and the Moabite Stone, and on early Jewish coins, and may thus be called Canaanitish (in the large sense) as well as Phœnician. The early Greek alphabet was also derived from the Phœnician (cf. Herod. v. 58), though soon altered in many ways to suit the needs of the Greek language.

(*b*) The *language* of Phœnicia is pure Semitic, and belongs to the same branch of that family as the Hebrew, the Moabitish, and the Semitic glosses in the Tel el-Amarna letters, forming with these (and probably other dialects of which we have no remains) the so-called Canaanitish group. The materials for an exact comparison with Hebrew are wanting. The inscriptions (with the single exception of *CIS* i. 5, see above under 'Sources') are later than the 6th cent., and mostly of the 4th and later, when the language had probably suffered a certain amount of decay. The Punic passages in Plautus are of the end of the 3rd cent., and can be used only with care (cf. Nöldeke, *Die semitischen Sprachen*, p. 25 f.), and the vowel letters in the inscriptions are rare. The consonants are the same as in Hebrew, but many words were probably pronounced with different vowel sounds from those used in the same words in Hebrew. The wau conversive with the imperfect, so familiar in Hebrew, is wanting in the Phœnician, which, on the other hand, seems to have formed a kind of pluperfect with *kān* (*CIS* 93). Words, too, that became rare or poetical in Hebrew were in common use in Phœnician. The later language shows the same weakening and confusion of gutturals that marks late Hebrew.

LITERATURE.—On the Phœnician alphabet see de Rougé, *Memoires sur l'origine égyptienne de l'alphabet phénicien*, 1874; Deecke, "Ursprung d. altsemitischen Alphabets aus d. neu-assyrischen Keilschrift,' in *ZDMG* xxxi. 102 ff.; and cf. Zimmern, *ib.* l. 667 ff.; Isaac Taylor's, *The Alphabet* ^{2}, where the Egyptian origin is accepted; Ball, 'Origin of the Phœnician Alphabet,' in *PSBA*, 1893, 392–408; Berger, *L'écriture dans l'antiquité.* Conder, in *The Bible and the East*, p. 74 ff., supports the Cypriote origin.

The inscriptions are collected in the French *Corpus*; the words in them are collected in Bloch's *Phœnicisches Glossar* (Berlin, 1891); and esp. by Lidzbarski, *Handbuch d. nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (Weimar, 1898). The words in Plautus are discussed by Gildemeister in Ritschl's edition of Plautus, vol. ii. fasc. 5 (Leipzig, 1884). A fuller discussion of these by Prof. D. S Margoliouth will appear in a forthcoming number of the *Classical Review*. The only grammar of Phœnician is Schröder's *Phœnizische Grammatik* (Halle, 1869). Cf., further, article on LANGUAGE OF OT.

v. CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT.—The Phœnicians never appear in history as one united people under one government. Their political history resolves itself into the history of their chief cities. Naturally a quiet and unwarlike people (Jg 18^7), the country folk were probably content with the simpler forms of local or patriarchal government usual among Eastern peoples, depending for help in time of need upon the city that was nearest to them or which they had originally left as settlers. In the cities the government was more conventional. Kings of Sidon, Tyre, Gebal, Kition, and Idalion are mentioned in the OT, in foreign records, and on the Phœnician inscriptions. From Menander's list of the kings of Tyre we can see that the monarchic power remained in the same family, except when revolutions broke the order of succession. As to the constitution of the court circle, we can only gather from our knowledge of Carthage, and of the Semitic states bordering on Phœnicia, that there existed an aristocracy which probably owed its existence in early times to prominent position in the tribes. In some of the cities a body of ten chiefs (Justin, xvii. 6. 1) seems to have been prominent in international business. This seems to have been part of a larger council of a hundred men. Of the organization of the traders, the most important part of the population, we know nothing. A tradition in Justin (xviii. 3) seems to indicate the presence of a large slave population. Among the different cities it was inevitable that one or another should gain some pre-eminence over the others. This is historically proved by the fact that at one time Sidon gave its name to the Phœnician people as a whole, while in OT times Tyre evidently had some kind of supremacy. For the Persian period Diodorus Siculus (xvi. 41) mentions a federal government with headquarters at Tripolis, where Arvad, Sidon, and Tyre held a common council. Even when under the sway of foreign powers, the chief Phœnician cities seem to have always maintained a large amount of self-government in internal affairs; and under the Romans we know that Sidon, Tyre, and Tripolis retained the rank of 'free cities,' with the right to appoint their own councils and magistrates.

vi. CIVILIZATION AND COMMERCE.—The people were originally, in all probability, largely agricultural. The inscription of Thothmes III. mentions among the spoil of Phœnicia, 'good bread and various bread, corn in grain, flour . . . and all good fruits of the land.' But though the agricultural class doubtless existed throughout its history, it soon yielded in importance to those of the manufacturers, merchants, and seamen, who received raw material from various parts of the known world, and sent it forth again in new and more useful or more beautiful forms, or contented themselves with simply acting as intermediaries with profit to themselves. Their navigation, originally taken up for business purposes, became later a great source of influence and probably of wealth to them, when they provided a navy for their Persian rulers. Phœnicia was essentially mercantile, and was warlike only when commercial life was threatened. Situated on the only part of the Syrian coast that had any pretence to natural harbours, and hemmed in by lofty mountains on the north and east, its people naturally turned to the sea. And so the sea soon carried their ships; its shells gave them their valuable dyes, and its sand the material for their glass. The meeting of the land trade-routes from Asia and Africa, and of the sea-routes from all parts of the Mediterranean, made alike the history and the civilization of Phœnicia. The land-routes existed for natural reasons; the sea-routes were due to the skill and enterprise of the sailors who pushed their way from island to island, and cape to cape, until they reached the southern capes of Spain, and passed through the Straits of Gibraltar. Yet the people do not seem to have been very original or inventive, and their chief merit seems to have been rather the power of adapting and fitting for commercial purposes the arts they learned from others. They had, too, the advantage of being able to collect in one place the products of many lands, and thus of producing an effect on the imagination of peoples which gave them a glory not all their own. Glass was one of the manufactured articles for which they gained much credit, and tradition came to ascribe its invention to them (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 65); but it had been made 'from time immemorial' in Egypt, and the art of making it was probably taken by the Phœnicians from that country. The dyed wares of Phœnicia were renowned throughout the ancient world, and the abundance of the *murex* on their coasts (see COLOURS in vol. i. p. 457) gave full opportunity for the production of the most brilliant colours then known; but the art of dyeing probably came from Babylonia. Their weaving and embroidery were alike famous and sought after; but we are still ignorant as to how much progress in these arts was due to native workers. Gold, silver, iron, tin, and lead were imported by them long before the days of Ezekiel, and were wrought into forms of beauty that were known to the Homeric poems (*Il.* xxiii. 740 ff.; *Odyss.* iv. 618); but their artistic forms show undoubted marks of large foreign influence. Amber, it is now known, was dug in Phœnicia itself, but was also probably received by the ordinary trade-routes from the Baltic, and objects made of it have been found in the ruins of Mycenæ.

The *artistic side* of Phœnician life (with a rather large commercial appearance in it) is well represented in the various objects which have been dug up or discovered in Phœnicia itself, but more extensively in Cyprus and Carthage and a few more of the old Phœnician colonies. The pottery discovered belongs mostly to the Græco-Roman times, and most of its excellences seem to be due to foreign influence. Earlier specimens, supposed to be Phœnician, are both of the painted and incised varieties, but are not at all remarkable. The metal-work is more interesting, and the statuettes of bronze are curious if not particularly beautiful. The bronze bowls of Cyprus and the celebrated cup (discovered at Præneste) of silver, overlaid with gold, with figures in low-relief, alike bear witness to the influence of Egyptian and Assyrian art. The same applies to the seals and cylinders, which do not usually show a very fine finish, and are generally of serpentine, sometimes of glass, etc. The chief feature of this sculpture was the application of colour to give emphasis to certain parts of the figure. Their architecture is only partially known to us from very imperfect remains. A marked feature in their building is the employment of the natural solid rock, as far as possible. This is the case with the old walls of Sidon, much of the funeral architecture, and the famous monolith house of Amrith. There seems to have been no vault in Phœnician architecture, the roof being terraced, as in Syria at the present day. The columns, cornices, and other decorations are almost entirely foreign, largely Egyptian. The tombs were in caves, and sarcophagi were used, and sometimes massive monuments like the so-called ‘Hiram's tomb’ towered above the burying-place. The architecture of their temples was probably Egyptian. That in all these arts the Phœnicians were reputed to be skilful workmen we know from the OT account of the relations between Solomon and Hiram of Tyre. A namesake of the Phœnician king made for the temple at Jerusalem the two great pillars of bronze, the molten sea, and other objects of beauty and utility (1 K 7 ff.). To reconstruct these from the descriptions given has been a desire of many writers on ancient art, but there is and must be much uncertainty as to the details of the work. See art. PILLAR.

The only *metal* found in Phœnicia itself was iron, but the abundance of minerals in some of their colonies soon made the Phœnicians expert miners. Cyprus contained large quantities of copper, and the island gave its name to this metal. The Sardinian settlements were apparently due to the search after copper and lead. The mines of Thasos were known to Herodotus (vi. 47), and the Spanish colonies were perfect storehouses of gold, silver, copper, tin, iron, and lead.

The attention given to *navigation* naturally gave rise to a large industry in the art of shipbuilding, and it is possible to trace on the Assyrian sculptures and Phœnician vases and coins the development from the rude and small boats first used to the large and well-fitted vessels used in later times, and so warmly eulogized by Xenophon in the *Œconomica* (§ 8). The art of navigation, too, as distinct from the usual hugging of the shore and sailing in the daytime only, seems to have been developed if not invented by these people, to whom the Polar star was known. ‘The ships of the sea, with their mariners,’ occupy the first place in Ezekiel's description of the pride of Tyre (ch. 27).

From this description by Ezekiel we can easily understand that the private life of the Phœnician traders was one of great luxury. Many of the articles of commerce, in which they traded, found their way into the homes of the people. Little is known of their private life, but there are indications that behind the outward show of wealth and civilization lay a selfish and even cruel spirit. The traffic in slaves was no unimportant part of their commerce, and for the sake of it they would forget ‘the covenant of brethren’ (Am $1^{9.10}$). Commerce was the life and soul of the people, and the faults as well as the virtues of a purely commercial people marked the Phœnician race (cf. Is 23, etc.).

LITERATURE.—The remains of Phœnician industry and art may best be studied in Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, tom. iii. ‘Phénicie-Cypre’; L. P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus, its Cities, Tombs, and Temples*; A. P. di Cesnola, *Salaminia*; Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kupros, die Bibel und Homer*; Davis, *Carthage and her Remains*. For fragments of the Phœnician calendar, cf. Conder in *PEFSt*, 1889, p. 22 f.

vii. RELIGION.—The religion of the Phœnicians was polytheistic, nor so far as we can go back do we find any traces of its ever having been monotheistic. In the Tel el-Amarna tablets the Phœnician names contain the names of several of the gods; in the OT, too, the *baʿalim* (plur.) are mentioned. The origins of the gods are unknown. The statements of Philo Byblios in this matter are useless, for everything is made to serve his own euhemerism. The view that Baʿal was the name of an originally one and only god—and that the sun-god—has been shown to be more than doubtful (see art. BAAL). Even the later identification by the Greeks of certain Phœnician gods with their own tells us nothing of their origin and previous history. As Ed. Meyer says (*Gesch. d. Alt.* § 192, note), ‘It should never be forgotten that of the Phœnician religion we know very little (*recht wenig*), of the Phœnician mythology proper, nothing at all.’ It is a striking fact that one goddess, ‘Tanith,’ is mentioned about 2000 times in Carthaginian inscriptions, and we know nothing either as to the meaning of the name or the nature of her being. Without attempting to explain the nature of each individual god, it seems clear, however, that some at least took their origin in the worship of the powers of nature (cf. the ‘Baʿal of heavens,’ the worship of Eshmun and Adonis, the feasts of the seasons of the year, the veneration of objects of nature, etc. [see below]). In this respect they fall in line with other Semitic peoples. Another determining feature in their worship seems to have been their social organization. The existence of various tribes among the Phœnicians has often been asserted, and is in itself very probable, but there is no evidence for it. On the other hand, the city has played a part, larger than in the history of any country, except perhaps the history of Italy in the Middle Ages. That each city had a god of its own is evident. Sometimes he was simply called the Baʿal of that city (see BAAL), sometimes he had a name of his own (as *Melkarth*, the Baʿal of Tyre). Beyond the actuating power of these two factors—reverence for the powers of nature, and the bond of city life—it is difficult, if not impossible, to go in the present state of our knowledge of the early gods of Phœnicia. A striking feature in the names of the gods is the presence of so many appellatives in the names of the best-known (thus *Baʿal*, ‘possessor’; *'Adon*, ‘lord’; *Milk*, ‘king,’ etc.). Another characteristic is the recognition of female as well as male deities. By the side of Baʿal is Baʿalat (as early as the Tel el-Amarna tablets ‘Baʿalat ša Gubla’), with Milk is Milkat, with El is Elat (see *CIS* 243, 244); but it does not follow that because the masculine and feminine forms of the same words are used, that there is necessarily any special relation between the god and goddess represented by them. A closer relation between two gods seems to be indicated by the compounding of two divine names, as in Milk-'ashtart, Baʿalmelkart, Ẓadmelkarth, Ẓadtanith, etc.; but whether this has any political or doctrinal significance is uncertain.

In later times Phœnician cities, like other peoples of the ancient world, introduced foreign gods into their temples. Egypt especially furnished its share, and Babylonian deities are not wanting; while in regard to the other nations around them (other Canaanites, Aramæans, etc.), it is often difficult to say whether one has borrowed from the others, or all have received them from a common stock. In Greek times the identification of their own gods with Greek deities did much to change the nature and worship of both.

The relation of the individual (we have no evidence of the tribal relation prominent in Arabia, and undoubtedly present among the early Israelites, cf. TRIBE) to the god is expressed by the various words expressing dependence on or relation to, prefixed to names of gods to form names of persons, *e.g.* עבד־ 'servant of' (which occurs with the name of nearly every Phœnician god known); איש־ 'man of'; בר־ 'branch, member of' (see Bloch, *Phœn. Gloss.* p. 19, note); חי־ (for אחי) 'brother of'; גר־ 'client of'; and once or twice אב־ and אבי־ 'father, *or* my father is' . . . Women's names are also formed by prefixing the following and similar words to the divine names בת־ 'daughter of'; אחת־ and חת־ 'sister of'; אמת־ 'handmaid of'; ארשת־ 'bride of.'

(*a*) *The deities.*—Altogether about 50 names of gods are known from the Phœn. inscriptions (see Lidzbarski, 152 ff.). Of many of these we know nothing but the name. Among the most important are the following (in the order of the Phœn. alphabet):—

ארני (Gr. Ἄδωνις, cf. Heb. אֲדֹנָי), originally an appellative. A god in Byblos, then in Cyprus, where he was also joined with Eshmun. Origen and Jerome identify him with Tammuz (Ezk 8^{14}), who was really a Babylonian god. In some places he is joined with Osiris. For the probable meaning of the Adonis feast, see Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, ii. 188, note.

אל (cf. Heb. אֵל) occurs in several proper names, but it is still doubtful whether it stands for a particular god. Philo of Byblos says that he was the chief god of Byblos, but had neither temple nor cultus. The feminine form אלת occurs on two Carthaginian inscriptions as the name of a goddess with priests of her own.

אשמן (called by the Greeks Ἀσκλήπιος) is not mentioned in the OT, but was worshipped in Sidon, Berytos, Carthage, Cyprus, etc.; and his name occurs frequently in proper names, and compounded with Melkarth (cf. Ed. Meyer in Roscher's *Lexikon d. Griechischen u. Römischen Mythologie*, i. 1385 f.).

בעל (Gr. Βάαλ, Βῆλος, Βήλ, and in proper names Βάλ) was worshipped also by the Israelites, Philistines, and probably by Moabites. He appears in Palmyrene inscriptions as בול and בל. He was probably also indigenous in Arabia (Nöldeke in *ZDMG* xl. 174), and is evidently connected with the Babylonian Bel. See BAAL. The feminine form בעלת (Gr. Βααλτίς, Βῆλτις) occurs in the Tel el-Amarna tablets as *Ba'alat ša Gubla*. It is as goddess of the same place that she is mentioned four times in *CIS* 1. It seems also to be present in the OT place-names בַּעֲלָה, בַּעֲלַת בְּאֵר, and בְּעָלוֹת.

גד appears in Phœnician inscriptions only in proper names, but occurs as a god in Is 65^{11}, in the מגדל גד of Jos 15^{37}, and in Ezr 2^{12}, also in Aramaic (*ZDMG* xlii. 474), in Arabia (Wellhausen, *Reste d. Arab. Heidentums* ^{2}, 146), and probably in Palmyrene, but is unknown to the Babylonians. He was a god of Fortune (see art. GAD); but the city-god Τύχη of Greek inscriptions and coins from Syria, with whom he has been generally identified, is regarded by Baudissin (Herzog-Hauck, vi. 334 f.) as referring more probably to Atergatis.

מלך, originally an appellative,—cf. Molech and Milcom of the Ammonites (see MOLECH),—is mentioned in the Tel el-Amarna tablets in the names Abi-milki, Ili-milki, 'Abd-milki, etc., and in many names in the Phœnician inscriptions. A goddess מלכת is also found in Carthage, Hadrumet, and Sardinia.

מלקרת (=מלך־קרת 'city-king') is not mentioned in the OT, but was the Ba'al of Tyre, and was identified by the Greeks with Ἡρακλῆς (so in *CIS* 122, *c.* 180 B.C.). His temple, according to a tradition in Herodotus (ii. 44), was founded about B.C. 2740. His name is also found in Cyprus, Malta, and Carthage, and in such proper names as Hamilkar, and is preserved in the Greek Μελικέρτης. In compound names of deities he occurs with Eshmun, Zad, and Resheph (see Ed. Meyer in Roscher's *Lexikon*, ii. 2650 ff.).

סכן occurs in the proper names גרסכן, עבדסכן, and סכניתן, which last is also the name Σαγχουνιάθων of Philo's fictitious authority.

ענת (in the Greek part of *CIS* 95 represented by Ἀθηνά) is met with in the OT in the place-names Beth-anoth (Jos 15^{59}), Beth-anath (Jos 19^{38}, Jg 1^{33}), and Anathoth (Jer 1, etc.). As a goddess of war she was known and honoured by the Egyptians in the 17th and 18th dynasties, having, according to Meyer (*ZDMG* xxxi. 718 f.), been taken over from the Hittites. A connexion with the Babylonian Anatu is not proved.

עשתרת (Gr. Ἀσταρτη), identified by the Greeks with Ἀφροδιτη. See ASHTORETH.

צד seems to be connected with the Heb. ציד 'to hunt, fish,' but occurs only in names of men and of compound deities.

רשף occurs in proper names of Cyprus, and meets us in Egypt as *Rashpu*, and is ascribed by Meyer, like *Anath* (see above), to the Hittites. It seems, however, more natural to connect the name with the Hebrew word for 'flame,' and to look upon the deity as a god of storms or lightning. This seems, too, to be confirmed by the combination רשף חץ in *CIS* 10 (cf. Driver, *Deut.* 68, with references).

תנת was the great goddess of Carthage; but though her name occurs some 2000 times in inscriptions, we are ignorant of her nature and origin. Except in two or three inscriptions she is always entitled פן בעל 'face of Ba'al. A compound deity צרתנת occurs in some inscriptions.

As has been noticed in the case of 'Anat and Resheph, it is possible that some of the gods already mentioned were taken from other peoples. In the later period this borrowing certainly took place, and in the inscriptions we find the Babylonian Nergal, the Egyptian Isis, Osiris, Absit (*e.g.* Bastu, cf. Bubastis, Ezk 30^{17}), Horus, and Ptah. In some cases a Phœnician god was joined with a foreign one, as in Melekosir (so Jeremias), but the first part of the name may be only appellative.

(*b*) *Sacred objects and cultus.*—As in other Semitic religions of Western Asia, the most prominent objects of nature had an idea of sanctity attached to them. Whether as themselves containing spirits, who had power over men, or simply as the greatest gifts of the gods, they were regarded with feelings of awe. High places (במות) were chosen for their temples and altars as being especially near the deity; and it was on Carmel (which was known to be sacred in the time of Tacitus, cf. *Hist.* ii. 78) that the priests of Ba'al offered with Elijah (1 K 18). In Greek and Roman writers there are many memories of the earlier sanctity of various Phœnician mountains, from Mt. Casius to Carmel. Waters, too, were regarded with veneration, and some were particularly associated with certain gods, and even named after them (as the Adonis). Springs and rivers, two sources of life in the East, were regarded with peculiar reverence. Trees, too, we find sacred, especially to certain goddesses. The cypress, myrtle, and palm were closely associated with Astarte. This specialization is, however, probably only a development from an earlier form of nature-worship.

The ordinary worship of the Phœnician might be offered in any place in the open air, but was most natural on high places, with trees, and often with a sacred stream. Among these surroundings was built an altar with an *ashera* beside it, and on it the sacrifice was offered. But there is mention in history of temples (*e.g.* the temple of Melkarth at Tyre); and one would naturally expect that those who did so much for the temple of Jerusalem should have had great sanctuaries of their own. Yet it is very doubtful whether the temple ever played a very important part in the worship of Phœnicia, or was ever much more than a prominent adornment of a city. Sacrifices were usual, and human life was offered in the fire and human blood on the altars, but apparently only on important occasions. Various animals, both tame and wild, were offered, and products of the field as well as flesh. Sacred prostitution was also a form of offering common to many acts of Phœnician worship. Vows were made in time of difficulty or danger, and votive offerings (statuettes, tablets, etc.) were common. Feasts, too, were often associated with religious rites. Priests and priestesses officiated, and the king himself was sometimes (if not always) a priest.

LITERATURE.—The articles TYRE, SIDON, TARSHISH, etc., in this Dictionary, as well as articles on several of the gods by Ed. Meyer in Roscher's *Lexikon*, by Baudissin in Herzog's *Realencyclopædie*^{3}, and by various writers in this Dictionary, and in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*; Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, especially pp. 16–65, with Nöldeke's review in *ZDMG* xlii. 470 ff.; Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, i. and ii.; Jeremias in de la Saussaye's *Lehrbuch d. Religionsgeschichte*^{2}, i. 221 ff.; Orelli, *Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte*; Tiele, *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst in de Oudheid* (Amsterdam, 1893), i. 245 ff.; Ed. Meyer, 'Ueber einige semitische Götter,' in *ZDMG* xxxi. 716 ff.; Hoffmann, *Ueber einige phönikische Inschriften* (Göttingen, 1889); Hommel, *Die altisraelitische Ueberlieferung*, p. 219 ff. [*AHT* p. 219 ff.]; and the following:—

GENERAL LITERATURE.—In addition to the works mentioned and quoted in the different sections of this article, the following are the most important general writings on the subject: Movers, *Die Phœnizier* (a new edition has long been promised, and should become the standard work); Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phœnizier* (in Oncken's series); Kenrick, *Phœnicia*; Rawlinson, *History of Phœnicia* (and a smaller volume in the 'Story of the Nations' series): the sections dealing with the Phœnicians in the Histories of antiquity of Duncker, Ed. Meyer, and Maspero; cf. Meltzer, *Geschichte der Karthager*.

G. W. THATCHER.

PHŒNIX (Φοῖνιξ, AV Phenice) was a good harbour on the south coast of Crete. When the cornship from Alexandria, bound for either Puteoli or the Portus Augustus beside Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber,[*] on which St. Paul was sailing from Myra towards Italy, had been detained so long on the voyage that it was considered too late in the season to risk the passage across the open sea from Crete to the southern coast of Italy, it was resolved to winter in Crete. When the resolution was come to, the ship was lying in Fair Havens, near the middle of the south coast. The question then arose, where should the ship lie up? The centurion, who evidently had the supreme authority,[†] called a council to advise him on this question; and the opinion of both captain and sailing-master was that they should seek an opportunity and make for the harbour of Phœnix. Paul, whose opinion was also asked (as, though a prisoner, he was treated with much consideration, being a Roman whose appeal to the emperor had been allowed by the procurator governing Palestine, and being also an experienced and practised traveller), strongly urged that they should stay where they were. There must have been good reasons on both sides. The experienced sailors had some ground for their opinion: presumably Phœnix was a better and safer harbour, and quite probably also it was recognized as being the proper place to winter in, if one of the many ships engaged in that trade had to spend the stormy season on that part of their long voyage (as must have been often the case). On the other hand, Paul dreaded the voyage to Phœnix, which therefore must have been some distance away. Winds from the north strike with terrific force on the sea a little south from Crete (though the waters immediately on the coast are protected by the lofty mountains). The danger, then, would be greatest in crossing the great opening of the gulf of Messaria, which begins a few miles west of Fair Havens. It is obvious, therefore, that Phœnix is to be looked for somewhere on the other, or western, side of that gulf.

The centurion, as was right and almost obligatory in his situation,[*] took the advice of the experts; and, when the opportunity of a mild south wind was given, they set sail; but in attempting to run across the gulf of Messaria, they were caught by a tremendous north-easterly gale, which swooped down on them from Mount Ida, and narrowly escaped after a terrible voyage of many days across the open sea.

Phœnix is described by Strabo (p. 475) as being a settlement (κατοικία, denoting a large flourishing village,[†] originally a settlement of colonists or κάτοικοι) on an isthmus. The passage is very obscure, owing to a lacuna; but apparently what Strabo describes as the isthmus was a narrow part of the island of Crete, between the northern and the southern sea, with a small town, Amphimalla, on the northern coast, and Phœnix on the southern. Apparently he considered Phœnix as a settlement in the territory of Lampa or Lappa, a Cretan city of importance, striking coins (Φοίνικα τὸν Λαμπέων). Now the situation of Lappa is practically certain; it was situated in the inner country, where Crete is narrow for a space, before it broadens out again to its western end, at a site called Pólis. On the southern coast of this narrower part of Crete, Phœnix must be sought. Nearly due south from Lappa there is a village, Loutró, with a harbour, described as the safest harbour on the south coast of Crete. Captain Sprat, an experienced surveyor and sailor, was fully convinced, after an exploration of the south coast, that Loutró must be Phœnix, 'because it is the only harbour west of Fair Havens in which a vessel of any size[‡] could find any shelter during the winter months.' James Smith, who defends this view by very convincing arguments, quotes several even stronger assertions of the superiority of Loutró to all other harbours on the south coast. There is some evidence that the tradition of the ancient name remains among the Greeks of the place (Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, ed. 3, p. 250 ff., App. I. and II.; also p. 86 ff.).

Ptolemy (iii. 17. 3) describes both a harbour Phœnikous and a town near the south coast called Phœnix. His frequent vagueness and want of accuracy make him an unreliable authority; but he places the town and harbour evidently in this part of Crete (see further, below).

Phœnice (*i.e.* Phœnix) is mentioned as a bishopric in the earlier *Notitiæ*, viii. and ix.;[§] and Hierocles gives it in his list of Cretan cities. All three authorities speak of it as beside a place Aradena (or Ariadne, *Not.* ix.): the phrase Φοῖνιξ ἤτοι Ἀραδένα denotes that two distinct places were united as a single bishopric. Now Aradena still retains its ancient name as Aradhena, a place which is not much more than a mile from Loutró. Again, Stephanus Byz. mentions Aradena (Ἀραδήν) as a city of Crete which is also called Anopolis; and about two miles north of Loutró there is a village on high ground with ruins which is called still Anapolis. This is probably to be identified with the Phœnix which Ptolemy distinguishes from the harbour, while Aradhena and Loutró together constitute his harbour Phœnikous, and all three were united in a single bishopric.

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[*] At that period more probably the former.

[†] That this was so, and that the centurion had authority even over the captain, results from the character of the imperial service (the ship belonged, of course, to one of the imperial corn fleets), in which the military service ranked higher than the naval, and yet was not strictly divided from it. But the centurion exercised his authority with the penalty of severe punishment before him, if he mismanaged; and he therefore would necessarily ask advice on the point of where to winter, and in purely nautical matters would leave the captain and the sailing-master free in their own departments. See Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 324 f.

[*] See the preceding note.

[†] See Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, p. 2 f.

[‡] The ship which is concerned in the question was large, being able to accommodate 268 of a crew and passengers, and a cargo of corn from Alexandria for Rome.

[§] In *Not.* vii., which is the oldest known, there is a lacuna of about 200 names, among which were the Cretan bishoprics.

Again, Hierocles (whose order in enumeration is commonly a very good guide) mentions the island of CAUDA or Clauda (he uses the form Κλαῦδος) next to Phœnix. Now that island is only a few miles due south of Loutró.

Finally, an inscription placed here in the reign of Trajan shows that an imperial ship was spending so long a time at this point of its course between Alexandria and Italy that there was time to erect some considerable work, whose nature is not specified. There can hardly be any doubt that the ship was lying up for the winter, and the imperial freedman who was in authority on the ship employed the crew at some useful work on shore. The sailing-master, *gubernator* (compare κυβερνήτης, Ac 27^{11}), and the ship's sign, *parasemum* (compare παράσημον, Ac 28^{11}), are both mentioned. See Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck*, 261.

Thus we see that Loutró was beside a harbour where at least occasionally the large ships of that Egyptian corn service wintered.

The identification of Loutró as the harbour called Phœnix in Ac 27^{12} seems beyond dispute, it these accounts of travellers and explorers rest on a sufficiently minute examination of the coast. But the identification is encumbered by one serious difficulty. The harbour of Phœnix is described in Acts as looking towards the south-west and the north-west, *i.e.* apparently as opening towards the west, with a mouth just so wide that the entrance extends up towards north-west and down towards south-west. But the harbour of Loutró opens towards the east, looking between north-east and south-east.

In this difficulty there seem to be only three alternatives open. 1. The harbour of Loutró is formed by a very narrow isthmus connecting a broader peninsula with the mainland; and there is a harbour on each side of the isthmus. As the isthmus runs out south from the mainland, one of these harbours looks east, viz. Loutró, while the other looks west. Bishop Wordsworth has suggested that the western harbour may be the ancient Phœnix, and has pointed out that on the Admiralty chart the name Phinika is given to it. Obviously, most of the arguments for identifying Loutró as Phœnix would apply equally well to this western harbour, which is separated from the other only by a narrow isthmus, and is almost equally near Aradhena and Anapolis. The only difficulty lies in the very positive assertions that Loutró is the only well-sheltered harbour; and certainly the chart represents the western harbour as more widely open. Still it is distinctly desirable that the western harbour should be more closely and critically examined. Sprat, indeed, can hardly have failed to do so, and his weighty authority is almost conclusive (though not quite); but the rest of the evidence depends much on the statements of residents in Loutró; and every traveller knows how prone the Greeks are to emphasize too strongly the arguments which support the identification of their own town with an ancient place of fame; their very love and respect for antiquities lead them to exaggerate the claims of their home.

The conclusion must be that Wordsworth's suggestion is not absolutely disproved, though the evidence accessible at present is against it. Among other things one desiderates careful examination as to whether the coast-line has been modified during eighteen centuries, and whether there are any traces of the western harbour having been used in ancient times.

2. James Smith suggests that the words of Ac 27^{12} βλέποντα κατὰ Λίβα καὶ κατὰ Χῶρον, do not mean, as is commonly thought, 'looking towards south-west and north-west,' but 'looking in the direction in which the south-west and north-west winds blow' (*i.e.* towards north-east and south-east). His rendering is distinctly against the analogy of Greek literary expression; but, considering how little is known of Greek technical sailor language, one cannot feel quite certain that the rendering is absolutely impossible.

3. It has been pointed out* that Luke did not actually visit Phœnix (for the ship never went there), but merely speaks on report: his authority was the argument used by the captain and the sailing-master of the vessel in the council which the centurion called. Naturally these arguments were reported to him by Paul; and, even if Luke were wrong, his mistake would prove, not want of observation of a place which he had seen, but misapprehension of the description of a place strange to him, after that description has passed through an intermediate channel. If (as was often the case) the expression of sailors differed from that of literary Greek and of the ordinary landsman, an error might have thus been produced without any one being conscious of it.

The case, therefore, must be pronounced undecided until Sprat's statement (weighty as it is) is confirmed by new and careful examination; but the balance of evidence is strong that Loutró is Phœnix; and in that case the third alternative is perhaps least improbable, though the second is not proved to be impossible. W. M. RAMSAY.

PHOROS (Φορὸς) = Parosh; 1 Es 5^9 8^{30} (B Φαρές, AV Pharez), 9^{26}.

PHRURAI.—In Ad. Est 11^1 the Book of Esther is called 'the epistle of Phrurai' (ἐπιστολὴ τῶν Φρουραί, A . . . Φρουραιά); cf. Est 9^{26}, and see ESTHER, and PURIM (FEAST OF).

PHRYGIA.—

I. Geographical and Historical.
II. Pauline Geography.
III. Phrygia in Acts 2^{10}.
IV. Christianity in Phrygia.
V. The Jews in Phrygia.

Phrygia (Φρυγία) was the name of a very large country in Asia Minor. On the view which will be here set forth, the noun Phrygia never occurs in the Bible, but only the term 'the Phrygian region' (Ac 16^6 18^{23}); † and in 2 Mac 5^{22} the ethnic 'Phrygian' is applied to Philip, who was left as governor of Jerusalem by king Antiochus Epiphanes about B.C. 170. In addition to this, a journey right across Phrygia is implied tacitly in Ac 16^{7-9}, and another is briefly described in Ac 19^1 (according to the view to be here explained). But in spite of the very small appearance made by the Phrygian name in the Bible, there are such difficult questions connected with the passages where it occurs that a somewhat long discussion is needed. Moreover, Phrygia had unusual importance in early Christian history, and the monuments of Christianity before the time of Constantine that remain in the country are of unique number, interest, and importance. It can be truly said that the first Christian city was a city of Phrygia.

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* Ramsay, *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 326.

† Many scholars regard Φρυγίαν as a noun, not an adjective, in both these passages; others take it as an adjective in 16^6, and a noun in 18^{23}. These opinions will be very fully treated in the sequel.

It will be convenient to classify the following remarks under headings.

I. Geographical and Historical.—The vast country of Phrygia presents so great a variety in natural character that it cannot be described except at too great length. The level of the cities varies from the frontier town Karoura in the coast-valley of the Mæander, 500 ft. above sea-level, to the ancient city, among the monuments of the early kings beside the tomb of Midas, about 4000 ft. Great mountains, plains, and lakes are found in it. The two chief cities of Phrygia in the time of Paul were Laodicea and Apamea (Strabo, p. 576).

Phrygia means the land of the Phryges; and there is a general agreement that (as Herodotus, vii. 73, says) the Phryges were a tribe, or union of tribes, from Macedonia or Western Thrace, who crossed the Hellespont into Asia Minor, and gradually spread their conquests first over the Troad, and then farther east and south over the plateau. In the eastern direction they penetrated at their extremest range of power through the Sangarius valley and up to the banks of the Halys. On the south-east they reached Iconium, which was the last Phrygian city on that side. On the south they were stopped by the Pisidian mountains, the northern ridges of the Taurus range, into which they seem never to have penetrated. On the west the boundaries vary most; but on all sides they vary to an extraordinary degree. Hence, in trying to define what any ancient author means by the name 'Phrygia,' we must begin by inquiring what period is referred to, and what was the usage of the name in that period.

That the country of the Phrygians at an early period was bounded on the north-west only by the waters of the Ægean and the Hellespont is beyond doubt. They were the masters of the sea, according to Diodorus (vii. 11), for 25 years about B.C. 900. Troy is frequently called Phrygian, and there was a large, vaguely defined region along the Hellespont and the Sea of Marmora, called Hellespontine Phrygia. The country beside Mount Sipylos, north of Smyrna, the realm of Tantalos and Pelops, is often called Phrygia by the poets, who reproduce ancient semi-historical myths; and this shows that considerable part of western Lydia once bore the name of Phrygia.

At an early time the irruption of Thracian tribes, such as Thynoi, Bithynoi, Mysoi, across the Bosporus drove a wedge through the country of Phrygia, and separated Hellespontine Phrygia from the inner country, which was henceforth termed Great (Μεγάλη, *Magna*) Phrygia. The Phrygian element and name died out in Lydia also at an early period. The Troad ceased to be called Phrygia; and though the name of Hellespontine Phrygia[*] lingered on for several centuries, the land lost the Phrygian character,[†] and after the time of Alexander the Great it seems to have no longer possessed any claim to be called a distinct and separate country. Strabo still uses the name in A.D. 19. The north-eastern regions of Phrygia Magna were transformed into Galatia during the 3rd cent., first through gradual drifting of the Gauls into that district as the one where there was least resistance to contend with, and finally, about B.C. 232, by general agreement of the surrounding rulers, and especially Attalus I., king of Pergamum, who penned them into this place and acknowledged their right to it, but set limits to their wide-ranging forays. About B.C. 205 a new name, Phrygia Epictetus, *i.e.* Acquired Phrygia, came into existence. It was applied to a region in the north which seems to have been acquired by Attalus I. from Bithynia. According to Strabo (p. 576) it contained six cities at least, Azanoi, Nakolia, Kotiaion, Midaion, Dorylaion, Kadoi. Another name for a special district was Paroreios Phrygia,[*] the great valley in the east between Sultan-Dagh and Emir-Dagh (whose ancient names are unknown), with the cities Ipsos or Julia, Philomelion, Thymbrion or Hadrianopolis, Tyriaion, and many small towns and villages.

A third district was Pisidic Phrygia, or Phrygia towards Pisidia, or Phrygia the Pisidian.[†] The city of Antioch towards Pisidia is the only one assigned to this district by Strabo; but Ptolemy, and probably Polybius, extend it more widely to include Apollonia and other cities in the valleys underneath the northern flanks of Taurus. Strabo clearly says that Paroreios and Pisidian Phrygia were only parts of Great Phrygia, whereas he distinguishes Epictetus as a separate and added country.

Under the Romans, the whole country of Cibyra and most of the valley of the Lysis were reckoned to Phrygia, though previously they had been counted either to Pisidia or to Kabalis or to Milyas. It would also appear that the lower part of the Lycus valley was divided at an earlier time between Lydia (viz. Hierapolis and Hydrela) and Caria (viz. Laodicea and Trapezopolis and Attoudda);[‡] but in the Roman period all these cities came to be classed to Phrygia. On the other hand, Iconium was then classed to Lycaonia (except in the estimation of its inhabitants, see Iconium and Lycaonia), as were also Laodicea Katakekaumene and even perhaps Tyriaion.

In the Roman time Phrygia was divided between two provinces, Asia and Galatia, with thorough Roman indifference to national frontiers in mapping out their province—an indifference which resulted in the final failure of those provincial divisions to attain permanence. These two parts were called *Phrygia Asiana* and *Phrygia Galatica*: for the former name, see Galen, π. τροφ. δυν. iv. p. 312 (Kuhn, vi. p. 515); for the latter, see a notice in a Byzantine Menologion (taken from a good and ancient source) quoted in *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept. 28, p. 563.

That part of Phrygia was included in the province Galatia, though often ignored, is no longer denied by any scholar. A number of inscriptions, enumerating the parts of the province Galatia, mention among them Phrygia; *e.g.* *CIL* iii. 6818, mentions the parts as Galatia, Pisidia, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Isauria, Paphlagonia, Pontus Galaticus, Pontus Polemoniacus; compare *CIL* iii. 6819; Fränkel, *Inschr. Pergam.* No. 451 (the lists vary at different periods as districts were added to or taken from the province). See also Galatia, vol. ii. p. 90 f.

Moreover, several cities which Strabo and Ptolemy assign to Phrygia, *e.g.* Apollonia and Antioch, are shown by their coins and by other means to belong to the province Galatia; and Ptolemy gives the region which he calls Pisidian Phrygia as a part of the province Galatia.

Galatic Phrygia, or the Phrygian region of the province Galatia, was not a very large country. It was a strip of territory extending in considerable length along the front of the Pisidian mountains; and it included the cities of Iconium (in the native usage), Antioch the *Colonia*, Apollonia, and, as Ptolemy says, several others. Asian Phrygia was immensely larger, including all Paroreios and Epictetus and far the larger part of Great Phrygia. In process of time the Pisidian connexion became stronger, and the name Pisidian Phrygia was gradually disused. Antioch ceased to be considered a city of Phrygia and was called 'of Pisidia.' Some of the epigraphic lists of the regions making up the province Galatia omit Phrygia and mention only Pisidia. At last a distinct Roman province Pisidia was constituted about A.D. 295, with the metropolis Antioch and a secondary metropolis Iconium. But in the time of St. Paul, and long after, the view was dominant among the people that Antioch and Iconium were cities of the Phrygian region.[*]

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[*] Also called Little Phrygia in distinction from Great Phrygia (Strabo, p. 571).

[†] The Phrygian character was probably bound up with the use of the Phrygian language. Iconium called itself Phrygian, because the language was used there (see Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, p. 216).

[*] It is often wrongly said that Paroreios denoted the country west and south from Sultan-Dagh, with the city of Pisidian Antioch. That was Pisidic Phrygia (see following note).

[†] Pisidic Phrygia, Polybius, xxii. 5 14; Phrygia πρὸς Πισιδίᾳ, Strabo, pp. 557, 566, 5797; Phrygia Πισιδία, Ptolemy, v. v. 4.

[‡] Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. pp. 6, 183 f.

A distinction between High Phrygia and Low Phrygia can be traced in the Roman time from Strabo, A.D. 20, onwards. Low Phrygia was a name that included Hierapolis (Philostratus, *Imagines*, i. 12) and Lake Anava (Strabo, i. p. 49) and the Sangarios (Steph. Byz. *s.v.*), *i.e.* it included those districts that were less elevated above sea-level, while High Phrygia (ἡ ἄνω Φρυγία) was the elevated region of central Phrygia lying between the Sangarios on the north-east and the great road passing close to Hierapolis in the Lycus valley and along the edge of Lake Anava. Aristides speaks of a certain city (probably Akmonia, possibly Synnada) as in High Phrygia. The pair of terms rarely occur in literature; but they clearly were in current local use.

We have seen how Phrygia steadily diminished, losing parts on the west, north-west, north-east, south-east, and south. About A.D. 295 or soon afterwards, when the great province Asia was broken up, two new provinces were formed,[†] Phrygia Prima and Secunda, called also Great and Small,[‡] or Pacatiana and Salutaris: the last pair of names came into use in the latter part of the 4th cent., and soon established themselves in almost universal usage. The name Salutaris is explained by the Byzantine writers as caused by the fact that St. Paul had preached the gospel of salvation there. This is a curious statement: it implies that St. Paul had preached much more in Phrygia Secunda than in Phrygia Prima (which was the western half under the primacy of Laodicea). Now that may be either a belief founded on old authority, or a mere groundless fabrication of the Byzantine time, to explain a curious name. In the former case it would afford valuable evidence bearing on the history of St. Paul, for there was good authority underlying the really old tradition in Asia Minor. In the latter case it would be absolutely valueless. Unfortunately, the latter alternative is pretty certainly true. The name is Latin (*Salutaris*) transformed into a Greek word; but if it had rested on a genuine popular tradition or belief, it would have been Greek, for Greek was the language of the country, and very few can have known Latin in Phrygia. The name *Salutaris* has probably nothing to do with St. Paul or with religion.

The name Phrygia henceforth was restricted within the limits of those two provinces. The district of Cibyra, on the south-west, was given over to Caria, Apamea and Metropolis to Pisidia, and (between 386 and 395) Amorion, Orkistos, and other north-eastern cities to Galatia. In the 8th cent. part of Paroreios was transferred to Galatia, and placed under Amorion as metropolis: it is, however, very doubtful whether this transference affected more than the ecclesiastical organization, for the civil division into provinces (though always retained in the ecclesiastical system) disappeared politically in the 8th cent., and was replaced by the military system of Themes. In the later Byzantine authors much confusion and ignorance is shown in regard to the divisions of Phrygia. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in his treatise *de Thematibus*, defines the extent of Salutaris in a thoroughly erroneous way. Cinnamus (p. 198) speaks of Laodicea *ad Lycum* as on the border of Little Phrygia. Ducas gives the name Great Phrygia to part of the region of Hellespontus (from Assos to the Hellespont), calling it also Low Phrygia: he does not speak of Little Phrygia or of High Phrygia, but apparently he must have treated those names as equivalent, and including both Pacatiana and Salutaris (as Cinnamus evidently does), which he sums up as 'all Phrygia' (see pp. 13, 72). Cedrenus (ii. p. 69), and Nicetas Chon. (p. 68) speak of High Phrygia as evidently including both Pacatiana and Salutaris. In those writers the names are prompted rather by inaccurate antiquarian memory than by real survival of the names in popular usage (see Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, pp. 150–153).

II. PHRYGIA IN PAULINE GEOGRAPHY.—This long enumeration of vicissitudes and changes shows how slow one must be in making assertions as to the meaning of the name Phrygia in any ancient writer, and how carefully the situation and the context must be studied. Accordingly, when in a writer of the 1st cent. we find the statement that a traveller crossed Phrygia, we must not assume forthwith that a journey across Phrygia *Asiana* is meant. The term Phrygia is employed freely in inscriptions of that period, found in the country outside of it, in the sense of Phrygia Galatica; and a writer who follows as a rule local expression may have used this term Phrygia in the same way as local inscriptions do. In such a case we must examine the context to see which division of Phrygia is to be understood. Now in Ac 16^{6} Paul is stated to have traversed the region of Phrygia.[*] What part of Phrygia did he traverse? The situation makes this clear. Paul in his journey had reached Lystra.[†] He now went on through Phrygia. It is beyond doubt that the part of Phrygia through which he must go immediately on leaving Lystra was Galatic Phrygia, which began only a very few miles north of Lystra. Moreover, Paul had started on this journey with the deliberate intention of visiting two cities of Galatic Phrygia, Iconium and Antioch; and as we now see, geography makes it clear that he could not possibly proceed onwards from Lystra without going through Iconium and through part of Galatic Phrygia.[‡]

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[*] In Antioch the memory of its Phrygian character remained as late as the 3rd cent. (see evidence in Ramsay, *Histor. Comment. on Galatians*, §§ 19, 20); but outsiders called it 'of Pisidia' in the 2nd cent. Similarly in Iconium.

[†] Malalas says that Constantine divided Phrygia into two provinces, implying that in 295 only one province, Phrygia, was constituted. If so, Constantine's action is older than A.D. 325, as is shown in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pt. i. p. 81; Malalas, in fact, mentions Constantine's act before the Council of Nicæa (A.D. 325), xiii. p. 323.

[‡] Small Phrygia (Μικρὰ Φρυγία) occurs in a few 4th cent. authorities; the name Great Phrygia in this new sense does not occur (our authorities say 'Phrygia' and 'Small Phrygia'), but seems necessarily to follow from the other term.

[*] It is immaterial to the geogr. import whether Φρυγίαν in that passage is to be taken as a noun or (what we think right) as an adjective connected with the following χώραν.

[†] Some say Iconium; but we cannot consider that Ac 16^{2} implies that Paul has reached Iconium, for he is still in Lystra in 16^{3}. Ac 16^{1} and 16^{6} give the successive stages of travel. This, too, hardly touches the geogr. import.

[‡] This is even clearer on the North-Galatian than on the South-Galatian theory. If Paul were going from Lystra to North Galatia, he must proceed first to Iconium in Galatic Phrygia; and if he were in Iconium, he must go on through part of that country. It may, on that theory, be maintained that Paul went on through Asian Phrygia afterwards; but it must be admitted that he first went through Galatic Phrygia.

Moreover, if a writer of that period desired to be thoroughly clear, he ought to add some expression or epithet to show which part of Phrygia he meant. But this is exactly what Luke does in Ac 16^6. He adds the adjective 'Galatic' to show that he means 'Galatic Phrygia.' It is unfortunate that both AV and RV confuse the expression, and render the Greek adjective by the noun 'Galatia.' Luke never speaks of 'Galatia'; because, like most Greeks, he disliked calling the province by that name, and preferred the expression 'Galatic province or region' (as used in *CIG* 3991).

If Luke had used the noun Phrygia in this place, he would have simply appended the adjective and called the country traversed by Paul 'Galatic Phrygia,' the term quoted above. But he desired to be minutely and pragmatically accurate; and (as is sometimes the case in ancient writers[*]) in his desire to exclude all possibility of mistake he employed a more cumbrous expression, which becomes obscure to us through our ignorance of the nomenclature of that little known region. A custom existed of designating the various districts included in the vast province GALATIA[†] as *χῶραι* or regions; *e.g.* the Isaurican region (Strabo, p. 568 f.), the Antiochian region (at this time a kingdom governed by Antiochus, but afterwards incorporated, see Ptolemy, v. 6. 17). Luke follows this custom: he thinks of 'the Phrygian region,' and adds the adjective 'Galatic,' calling it 'the region (which is at once) Phrygian and Galatic,'[‡] *i.e.* the country which ethnologically and according to native Greek expression is Phrygian, while politically and according to Roman provincial classification it is Galatic (*τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*). Lightfoot was the first to see and to state clearly the right and necessary construction of this expression, and subsequent discussion has failed to shake his decisive argument; but, while he correctly translated it, he failed (owing to the obscurity in which central Asia Minor was then enveloped) to see the right geographical application.

The interpretation of Ac 16^6 affects that of 18^{23}; and on that account Luke expresses his meaning more briefly in the second passage. In that passage, as Dr. Hort says (*Lectures on Colossians and Ephesians*, p. 82), 'he followed his old course (*i.e.* as in ch. 13) through southern Asia Minor, and this time was allowed to follow it right on to Ephesus,' instead of being stopped and turned away north, as in 16^6. He passed now through 'the region of Galatia and Phrygia,' as it is rendered in RV (*τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν*). These words are applied to a more extended journey than those of 16^6, for in 18^{23} the journey through Derbe and Lystra is included, whereas 16^6 begins from Lystra, and includes only the subsequent journey. The difference of order of the words is important: in 16^6 two epithets are attached to one noun which follows them, whereas in 18^{23} an epithet with its noun is connected by *καί* with a following epithet (or noun),[§] and the second epithet (with the preceding noun repeated in thought) indicates a second region (this order in enumerating a list is common in Greek).[‖] Two interpretations of the words have been suggested—

1. *Φρυγίαν* is to be interpreted as a noun, and indicates the country Phrygia, both Asian and Galatic; Luke may be supposed to use *Φρυγία χώρα* in 16^6 to indicate Phrygia as a region of the Galatic province, and *Φρυγία* the noun in 18^{23} to indicate the country Phrygia as a single conception independent of Roman provincial divisions. Then *τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν* would indicate 'the Galatic region' in the sense of the province like *Γαλατικὴ ἐπάρχεια* in the Iconian inscription of A.D. 54–55, *CIG* 3991. Luke would, on this theory, say that Paul traversed the Galatic province and Phrygia (the country). There is a certain simplicity in this view which recommends it; yet for many reasons we are obliged to reject it. The following arrangement seems conclusive. St. Paul, as he traversed the region of Galatia and Phrygia in order, stablished all the disciples: there were disciples in both the region of Galatia and in Phrygia, so that throughout both regions he passed from Church to Church. Now we know positively that he had as yet no Churches in any part of Phrygia except Galatic Phrygia. Moreover, the remarkable reading of the Bezan text Ac 19^1 shows clearly that its originator (whether Luke himself, as Prof. Blass and his supporters hold, or a 2nd cent. reviser, as seems more probable) considered Paul to have arrived at the borders of Asia in 18^{23}, and then, after completing his survey of his Churches, to have begun to return to Jerusalem, when the Spirit bade him turn back again into Asia (*i.e.* the province Asia), the higher parts of which he traversed, and so, finally, came to Ephesus.

We must therefore adopt the following interpretation:—

2. *Φρυγίαν* is an adjective, being the briefer description of the same region which in 16^6 is called with pragmatical minuteness *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*. Luke would on this theory say, 'Paul traversed the Galatic region and the Phrygian.' Now, in truth, Paul did traverse two regions of the vast Galatian province, one Lycaonia containing the cities Derbe and Lystra, the other Phrygia with the cities Iconium and Antioch.[*] The one real difficulty is this: could Roman Lycaonia be called simply 'the Galatic region'? The phrase can be explained and defended only on the supposition that the speaker conceives himself standing or travelling in Lycaonia: Lycaonia consisted of two parts, Roman or Galatic and non-Roman or Antiochian (under king Antiochus): Ptolemy tells us that the latter was called *Ἀντιοχιανὴ* (*χώρα*), and the corresponding term for the other part necessarily would be *Γαλατικὴ χώρα*: the inhabitants of Lycaonia would describe the two divisions of his country by those terms. This explanation may seem rather complicated, but the complexity is due to the real complexity of the divisions at the time. As we see, it is the expression of one who feels himself standing in the country, *i.e.* it must be regarded as the expression used by St. Paul the actual traveller, and caught from his mouth by the listener Luke.

The system of dividing Phrygia into High and Low is probably referred to in Ac 19^1, though the name of the country is not actually mentioned. The journey described in 18^{23}, as we have just seen, carried St. Paul over ground which he had previously traversed and cities where there were already disciples; but there still remained a long stretch of country between him and his goal in Ephesus, viz. the whole breadth of the large province Asia. The journey is resumed in 19^1, where St. Paul is said to have traversed the higher parts (*τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη*). The term *ἄνω* is often used in Greek to indicate simply the inner country as distinguished from the coast;* but this distinction seems not in harmony with Luke's narrative: it is of no consequence to him to distinguish coast and interior: moreover, most of the previous part of the journey was over the high ground of the interior. Here we want some expression suitable specially to describe the part of Asia which he traversed. The word ἀνωτερικός is a rare one, and seems chosen in order to suggest a contrast with certain lower parts;† in other words, the meaning is that St. Paul avoided the route through Lower Phrygia, and traversed Higher Phrygia (according to the distinction mentioned above, § I.). This distinction was important: Luke had a definite purpose in defining the part of Phrygia which St. Paul traversed. He makes it clear that the apostle did not follow the longer and easier trade-route by Apamea, Lake Anava, Colossæ, and Laodicea (which led through Lower Phrygia, see above, p. 864), but took the other more direct road (less suitable for wheeled traffic, but better for walking travellers) across High Phrygia, keeping very near a straight line from Metropolis to Ephesus.‡ That was a point of some importance, for Paul mentions that he had never seen the Churches of Colossæ or Laodicea, which therefore must have been founded by some of his coadjutors (perhaps Timothy).

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[*] An instructive example is mentioned by Mommsen (*Res Gestæ D. Aug.* p. 38), '*præcipuam curam ducens sensum animi quam apertissime exprimere nec dubitans gratiæ aliquid detrahere ut vitaret obscuritatem* (Sueton. *Aug.* 86), ut fit, ipso nimio ambiguitatis vitandæ studio incidit in ambiguitatem!'

[†] See above, p. 864, and vol. ii. p. 87.

[‡] The idiomatic English is 'the Phrygian or Galatic Region,' see ii. p. 90, and *Classical Review*, 1898, p. 337.

[§] Epithet *or* noun, according as we take *Φρυγίαν* as adjective or as noun; see next sentence.

[‖] Examples are given in vol. ii. p. 90, *τῆς Ναβατικῆς χώρας καὶ Ἰτουραίας καὶ Μωαβίτιδος καὶ Ἀρηλίτιδος*, etc.

[*] Compare the precise and clear definition of 18^{23} by Asterius about A.D. 400, quoted in vol. ii. p. 91.

III. PHRYGIA IN ACTS 2^{10}.—Phrygia is also mentioned in Ac 2^{10} in the list of places whence came the Jews and proselytes who were present in Jerusalem at the Feast of Pentecost shortly after the Crucifixion—'dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judæa§ and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt,' etc. This remarkable list is an insoluble puzzle. It is made on no discoverable principle, either as regards the order of enumeration or as regards the districts mentioned and omitted. The only certain fact about it is that it is quite different in style from the original work of the author of Acts, and must have been derived by him from the earlier authority, or authorities, to whom he owed the narrative of the events described in ch. 2. Some districts where Jews were numerous, and which are certain to have had representatives at Jerusalem, such as Cilicia, are omitted. The names, as a rule, are those of countries, not of Roman provinces; yet Asia is mentioned; this name must denote either the Roman province or a much larger region (see LYDIA); in the former case it would include Phrygia Asiana, in the latter case it would include all Phrygia, both Asiana and Galatica, together with Pamphylia.‖

The most probable view is that Asia in this passage means the province (a Roman province being named in this one case, because the name had already established itself in popular Greek nomenclature); and Phrygia is named in addition, partly because it was inhabited by such large numbers of Jews (see below, § V.), partly because Phrygia Galatica, which contained very many Jews, was not included in the province Asia. Similarly, the Lugdunensian Christians wrote to *τοῖς ἐπ' 'Ασίας καὶ Φρυγίας ἀδελφοῖς*, for they desired to include in their address the important Churches of Iconium, Antioch, and probably several in Galatic Phrygia of later foundation (which were not in Asia). On this address, probably, Tertullian models his expression (*adv. Prax.* 1) '*pacem ecclesiis Asiæ et Phrygiæ inferentem.*' There can be no doubt that the Churches of Phrygia Galatica were as important in the 2nd cent. Christianity, as its Jews were in the Jewish world.

IV. CHRISTIANITY IN PHRYGIA.—Christianity was introduced into Phrygia Galatica by Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary journey (Ac 13. 14). Paul revisited, confirmed, and strengthened them (Ac 16^{1-6} 18^{23}). Considering how much space the author of Acts assigns to the account of the formation of these Churches (along with the two Lycaonian Churches), and considering how often Paul visited and consolidated them, we must see that they were regarded as being highly important in the early Church.

Phrygia Asiana was traversed at least twice by St. Paul. On his second journey, accompanied by Silas and Timothy, he went from Pisidian Antioch northwards through the country to near the Bithynian frontier (probably to about Dorylaion, over against Mysia), and then westwards into Mysia and the Troad.* Paul was on that journey forbidden to preach in [the province] Asia, so that he cannot have founded any Churches in Asian Phrygia (though, perhaps, we need not interpret the prohibition so strictly as to suppose that he was bound to keep silence absolutely about the gospel on the journey to the Troad: probably the command only implied that he was not to make Asia his sphere of work). On the third journey St. Paul traversed Phrygia Asiana from east to west on a line between Antioch and Ephesus (see above). He probably preached on the journey; but there is no sign of any success; and he was evidently eager to go to Ephesus, and make it the centre for the whole province. Thus in all probability the earliest Churches in Phrygia Asiana were those of the Lycus valley, Colossæ, Laodicea, Hierapolis, founded through the work of his assistants and subordinates (probably Timothy in particular), while he was in Ephesus.

According to tradition of somewhat uncertain value, the Lycus valley was afterwards the scene of missionary work by St. John the apostle and by St. Philip (probably the apostle, though several authorities, especially the later, say he was the deacon). Archippus of Colossæ, the 'fellow-soldier' of St. Paul (Philem ^{2}), was said to have been the first bishop of Laodicea (probably a recollection of his 'ministry, διακονία, in the Lord,' Col 4^{17}), and to have been martyred at Chonæ (*i.e.* the later Byzantine representative of Colossæ); and Nymphas or Nympha *Laodicensis* is coupled as an apostle with Eubulus of Rome in the Greek Menæa, and commemorated on 28th February: cf. Col 4^{15}. Heros is said to have been appointed bishop of Hierapolis by St. Philip, Epaphras of Colossæ by St. Paul. These traditions, hardly trustworthy in themselves, are at least evidence that the Lycus valley was the scene of steady and progressive work in the second half of the 1st century. That work was certainly not confined to the valley, but spread up, doubtless, east and north into Phrygia, and perhaps south towards Cibyra, so that LAODICEA must be taken as the centre and representative of a number of young

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* ἄνω is used always in that sense, not ἀνωτερικός.

† ἀνωτερικός (except in passages dependent on Ac 19^{1}) is used only by medical writers, Hippocrates and Galen (if we may depend on Steph. *Thesaurus* on this matter). Hobart (*Medical Language of St. Luke*, p. 148) does not fail to observe the confirmation which this word gives to his views.

‡ *The Church in the Roman Empire before* 170, second or later editions, p. 94, note.

§ The name Judæa is suspected by Blass, who would substitute on Jerome's authority Syria. It is, of course, not in harmony with the context; but, in a list which is as a whole incomprehensible, it is vain to carp at one incomprehensible detail.

‖ Pontus and Cappadocia may be regarded as the external boundaries of 'Asia,' taking that term in the sense described in a very difficult passage, Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* v. 28), where it is said that 'Asia,' if its two parts are taken together, extended from the Ægean and Egyptian and Pamphylian Seas to Paphlagonia and Pontus: on the meaning, see *Studia Biblica*, iv. p. 45.

* The North-Galatian theory would lengthen the westward journey across Phrygia Asiana, and shorten the northward journey by diverting the route from that country into Galatia.

Churches (as well as those in Colossæ and Hierapolis; see above, p. 831^a). Papias and Apollinaris, the great bishops of Hierapolis, Sagaris the bishop and martyr of Laodicea, are evidence of the importance of the Lycus valley in Christian history during the 2nd century.

If Laodicea was such a centre of Christian influence, so also we may be sure were Pisidian Antioch and Iconium. A trace of this work may be observed in the tradition that Bartholomew was the apostle of the Lycaones. It has been pointed out[*] that this must mean, not the people of Lycaonia, whose apostles were Paul and Barnabas, but the tribe of the Lycaones in central Phrygia, west and north-west of Synnada. But far more important and trustworthy evidence is furnished by the Christian inscriptions of Phrygia, which are collected for the central and south-western districts in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pt. ii. chs. xii. xvii.[†] The earliest is the famous epitaph of Avircius Marcellus, presbyter or bishop[‡] of the less famous Hieropolis or Hierapolis in the Glaukos valley about A.D. 192. This document mentions St. Paul in such a way as to suggest that he was regarded with special respect in that district, probably owing to its having been first evangelized by his immediate followers and ministers.

The inscriptions fall into three local groups, differing widely in character. One has its chief centre in Eumenea and Apamea, and probably resulted from the influence of the Lycus valley Churches; one is strong in the extreme south-east of Phrygia (and in the adjoining northern part of Lycaonia), and evidently sprang from the influence of Iconium and Antioch; the third is seen in the north of Phrygia in the valley of the Tembris or Tembrogius, and seems connected with the Christianity of the Troad (2 Co 2^{12}),[§] spreading up through Mysia and the province Bithynia. All three therefore seem traceable to a Pauline source. The inscriptions of the third group are more akin to the Montanist type, and those of the first to the Orthodox type,[‖] while those of the second are mostly indifferent, but contain occasional examples like both other classes. The inscriptions of the first two groups throw considerable light on the Christians of the 3rd cent. Already during the 2nd cent., in the Montanist controversy, Phrygia stands out rather as a country where Christians are contending with Christians, than one where missionaries are trying to convert pagans; and the inscriptions of the 3rd cent. set before us Eumenea as a city which was mainly Christian in the period 250–300, in fact as the first Christian city (one may say with great confidence); and, further, they show probably that the prosperity of Eumenea died about the beginning of the 4th cent. Now Eusebius and Lactantius mentioned that a city of Phrygia, whose population was wholly Christian, was destroyed by fire in the persecution of Diocletian, A.D. 301–312; and, though there are some slight discrepancies in details between their statements and probably some exaggeration in the sweeping conclusion, yet the general truth cannot reasonably be doubted; and the coincidence with Eumenian history is so striking that the statements may with the highest probability be applied to it. Apamea, its neighbour and fellow in Christian history, also seems to have sunk in importance to an extraordinary degree about the same time. On the very remarkable type of Christianity developed in those cities, see the full discussion in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ch. xii.

Christianity did not spread uniformly over Phrygia. The three local groups of inscriptions are separated by a large district, where the new religion seems not to have grown so strong until the time of Constantine.[*] The Phrygian martyrs who are known by name almost all belong to the period before A.D. 184 (see Neumann's list in *der röm. Staat und die allgemeine Kirche*, p. 283). When Christianity was so strong, the Roman theoretical principle, that Christians should be treated as outlaws, was difficult to carry out; for a formal accusation by an overt prosecutor was ordinarily required, and it would be difficult to find private persons ready to incur the hatred of a united and energetic body like the Christians. But in Diocletian's persecution the government hunted down the Christians, and employed soldiers and officials for that special purpose; and in such a time the cities where Christians were most numerous would suffer most. Even in Diocletian's time individual Phrygian martyrs were little remembered, but only the general facts that whole communities and one entire city were destroyed.

Considering at how early a date Christianity was diffused over large parts of Phrygia, it may seem strange that the ecclesiastical system was so backward there during the 4th cent., except in Galatic Phrygia, where the list of bishoprics can be traced almost complete during that century.[†] The reason lies in two noteworthy facts. In the first place, Phrygia was the country where, above all others, heresy was strongest; but the ecclesiastical lists are of the Orthodox Church. Thus, for example, Kotiaion was a great seat of Christianity in the 3rd cent., and so was the country of the Praipenisseis. Yet neither can be traced in the lists earlier than the 5th cent. The reason is, undoubtedly, that the Orthodox Church had little hold there. We know of either bishops or presbyters at Otrous and Hierapolis in the 2nd cent.; but in the ecclesiastical lists those two cities appear only in the 5th cent. In the second place, Phrygia was regarded by the orthodox writers as rude and uneducated,[‡] because the organization and equipment of the Orthodox Church were in a backward state there. Christianity was so strong in certain parts of Phrygia that the persecution of Diocletian raged there on a vast scale, and almost annihilated people and civilization and organization.

V. THE JEWS IN PHRYGIA.—The position and history of the Jews in Phrygia is another large subject, which throws much light on the narrative of Acts and on the rapid spread of Christianity in the country. The Jews were much favoured by the Seleucid kings, as trustworthy colonists in the many cities which they founded to maintain their empire in Asia Minor, especially along the routes leading from their capital at Syrian Antioch through Cilicia and Lycaonia into Southern Phrygia[§] and Lydia.

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[*] *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pt. ii. p. 709. See also PONTUS, and Lipsius, *Apocr. Apost.* ii. 2, 55 ff.

[†] The other districts will be treated in pt. iii. See Cumont's very imperfect list (*Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 1895).

[‡] He is addressed by a friend as co-presbyter (συμπρεσβύτερος), which may be used of a bishop.

[§] Perhaps also with Ac 16^8, according to a tradition that can be traced in the interior of Mysia during the 4th or 5th cent. (see *Acta S. Philetæri*, 19th May; and *Expositor*, Oct. 1888, p. 264). This tradition perhaps led to the Bezan text in Ac 16^7 διελθόντες for παρελθόντες; and, if so, the tradition must be as old as the 2nd cent. (implying that the statement that Mysia was 'neglected,' or 'passed by,' was regarded at that early date as incorrect in the quarters where the Bezan text originated).

[‖] But one case at least of the most marked northern type occurs, *Cities and Bishoprics*, ii. No. 393.

[*] On the evidence, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii. p. 715; also p. 501.

[†] Galatic Phrygia is part of Pisidia in the lists. Those Pisidian bishoprics which can first be traced in the 5th cent. or later were in the mountainous and backward districts.

[‡] See, for example, *Acta S. Hypatii*, 17 June, iv. 249.

[§] Northern Phrygia and Galatia, which were little or not at all under Seleucid power, shared very little in these settle-

Seleucus Nikator (B.C. 301–280) granted them the highest class of rights, equal to those of Macedonian and Greek settlers, in all his colonies; and his successors maintained the privileges of the Jews. Various privileges were conceded to their religious scruples: the entire body of regulations guaranteeing their rights and privileges seems to have remained permanently in force in the cities, and is appealed to as 'the law of the Jews' in an inscription of Apamea as late as the 3rd cent. after Christ.* By one single act Antiochus the Great ordered 2000 Jewish families to be brought from Babylonia and settled in the strong places of Lydia and Phrygia about B.C. 200. When such a course of action lasted for fully a century, it is plain what large numbers of Jews must have been settled in Phrygia, Lycaonia, etc.

These considerations explain how Flaccus, the Roman governor of Asia in B.C. 62, could seize 100 pounds weight of gold at Apamea, and 20 at Laodicea, being contributions from the Jews of Phrygia on the point of being sent up to Jerusalem. These large sums, of course, represented the contributions of great districts, and not simply of the two cities. They are calculated by M. Th. Reinach as together equivalent to 100,000 drachmæ, being the contributions of 50,000 people paying two drachmæ annually.†

According to Dr. Neubauer (*Géographie du Talmud*, p. 315), these Jews had to a considerable extent lost connexion with their country and forgotten their language; the baths and wines of Phrygia had separated the Ten Tribes from their brethren, as the Talmud expresses it; they were readily converted to Christianity; and the Talmud alludes to the numerous converts. These opinions have been strongly confirmed by epigraphic discovery. The Phrygian Jews were strongly affected by their surroundings, and were ready to comply, at least outwardly, with many pagan customs, and especially with the forms of the imperial religion, regarded as the test of loyalty to the Roman empire. They probably were often inclined to magic and forbidden arts (see THYATIRA and Ac 19^{13}). Their frequent tendency to amalgamate Jewish and pagan ideas in an eclectic philosophical system is illustrated at Colossæ (see the Epistle). A Jewess married to a Greek and having an uncircumcised son is mentioned at Lystra (Ac $16^{2.3}$). At the same time there can be no doubt that the Phrygian Jews as a body preserved much of the old Jewish character, and presented in society a much higher and purer moral tone than the pagans; and it was this character that gave them great influence and attracted numerous proselytes. On the whole their existence was not hostile, but favourable, to Christianity. Luke emphasizes every instance of their opposition, but he shows clearly that there was another side to the question: the Jews of Pisidian Antioch were opposed to Paul's placing the Gentiles on an equality with themselves (Ac 13^{45}), but not so much to his doctrines: a great multitude of Jews at Iconium believed. The Jewish and the Christian inscriptions melt into one another in Phrygia, so that it is often difficult to draw a line of distinction. The Phrygian Christians were strongly inclined to Judaism. Every heresy in Phrygia tended to become Judaistic. Novatianism, which seems to have been quite free from any Judaizing character in the West, became strongly tinged with it in Phrygia. The Phrygians regarded the 14th day of Nisan as the great religious day, and seem to have called the festival Azyma, the Unleavened. There is every appearance that the reconciliation between Christians and Jews, which was one great aim of St. Paul's work, was attained far more thoroughly in Phrygia than elsewhere.

Early Phrygian Judaic Christianity thus presents a very remarkable character, which stands in the closest relation with the Pauline Epistles. Its development was arrested by the terrible persecution of Diocletian, which seems to have raged with special fury in that most thoroughly Christianized of countries. As Eumenea was the most thoroughly Christian city, so Apamea was the most strongly Jewish; and they (so far as we can judge) were the greatest sufferers (certainly very severe sufferers) under Diocletian.

W. M. RAMSAY.

PHYGELUS (Φύγελλος, WH Φύγελος).—Mentioned in 2 Ti 1^{15} along with HERMOGENES (wh. see) as among those in Asia who turned away from St. Paul during his last imprisonment in Rome. The phrase 'all they which are in Asia,' proconsular Asia that is, must be qualified in some way, known doubtless to Timothy, and may perhaps be best taken to mean, 'All whose help I asked' (cf. 2 Ti 4^{16}). We cannot tell what Phygelus refused to do, nor can we affirm with certainty that apostasy or declension from the faith is implied. Possibly he was asked to go to Rome to use some influence he had on the apostle's behalf, and refused to admit that St. Paul had any such claims on him. The forcible language used makes it probable, however, that Phygelus was guilty of something worse than merely neglecting to visit the apostle in his imprisonment. W. MUIR.

PHYLACTERIES, FRONTLETS.—*Phylactery*—so first in the Genevan Bible, 1557, in earlier versions *filateris* (Wyclif) and *philateries* (Tindale, etc.)—comes to us through the Vulgate from the Greek *φυλακτήριον*. In the Greek of the 1st cent. A.D. this word signified an amulet or charm, which possessed the property of protecting (*φυλάσσειν*) * the wearer against evil spirits and similar malign influences. Among favourite charms were slips of parchment, written over with a magical spell and placed in a case which was hung round the neck, hence also called *περίαπτον*, *περίαμμα*, synonyms of *φυλακτήριον*.

In His great anti-Pharisaic discourse (Mt $23^{1\text{ff.}}$), our Lord charges the scribes and Pharisees with ostentation in the discharge of their religious and social duties, 'for they make broad their phylacteries (*πλατύνουσι γὰρ τὰ φυλακτήρια αὐτῶν*), and enlarge the borders of their garments (for which see FRINGES in vol. ii. 68 ff.), and love the chief places at feasts,' etc. (Mt $23^{5\text{f.}}$ RV). Now there has never been any doubt that the author of the first Gospel here uses *φυλακτήρια*, which is not found elsewhere in the NT, as the equivalent of the contemporary Hebrew word תְּפִלִּין, *tĕphillîn* (plur. of תְּפִלָּה 'a prayer'), the name then, and by the Jews still, given to two small cases of leather, to be described in the sequel, which were worn by the more ardent legalists of the time, one upon the forehead and the other upon the left arm. This practice, very considerably curtailed, however, is still regarded as one of the most sacred of religious duties by orthodox Jews of the present day (cf. opening paragraph of art. FRINGES).

In this article it is proposed to investigate the origin, history, and significance of the phylacteries,

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ments. The Jews of North Galatia were probably all late immigrants from Phrygia, etc.

* *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pt. ii. No. 399 *bis*; see also ch. xv. on 'The Jews in Phrygia.'

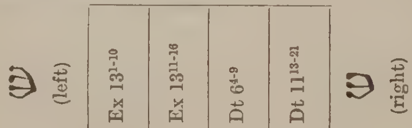
† *Textes Relatifs au Judaisme*, p. 240. He thinks they must represent several years' contribution; but as the two cities stand for all Asian Phrygia and great part of Lydia, it seems not at all impossible that they are the contribution of one year. Adramyttium and Pergamum are the only other two places where Flaccus is said to have seized Jewish money.

* The perverted derivation still met with in some quarters from *φυλάσσειν* (*τὸν νόμον*), as if *φυλακτήρια*=*observatoria*, is now entirely abandoned by scholars.

and for this purpose, on the principle of proceeding from the more familiar to the less, we shall examine—

i. The practice of modern orthodox Judaism;
ii. The alleged Scripture warrant for this practice;
iii. The date of the introduction of the phylacteries;
iv. The manner and extent of the practice in NT times.

i. THE PRACTICE OF MODERN ORTHODOX JUDAISM.—Every male Israelite above the age of thirteen years is required to 'lay (לְהָנִיחַ, Mishna, *Shebu.* iii. 8, 11, etc.) the *tĕphillîn*'—to use the technical expression—at daily morning prayer. To this extent the use of the phylacteries has been curtailed since NT times (see § iv. below). The *tĕphillîn* or phylacteries are two in number, known since the earliest times as the head-phylactery (תְּפִלָּה שֶׁל רֹאשׁ) and the hand-phylactery (ת״ שֶׁל יָד), and consist of two cubical leather boxes or cases, varying in size from ½ to 1½ in. in the side. The material is the prepared skin of a clean animal which has been thoroughly soaked in pure water. A cube-shaped wooden block (טְפוּס [τύπος] Mishna, *Kel.* vi. 7) is employed to give the desired shape and size. To form the head-phylactery, three deep incisions (קְצִיעוֹת) are made in the block, and the moist parchment spread over it and inserted into the incisions. When the material has dried and hardened the block is removed, and a leather case of four compartments, technically 'houses' (בָּתִּים), is the result. Before this, however, two *shins* (ש) have been impressed on the soft leather, one with the ordinary *three* prongs on the outer wall of the *báyith*, which, when the phylactery is complete, will be to the right of the wearer, and another with *four* prongs on the outer wall to the left. This fourfold case is now fitted with a leather brim, and into each 'house' is inserted a slip of specially prepared parchment (קְלָף *Shabb.* viii. 3), having written on it, in a special caligraphy, one of the Scripture passages to be cited presently, and each bound round with a few white hairs of a calf or cow. A firm base is supplied by a square piece of thick leather, connected by a flap with the brim, and sewed to the latter by means of twelve stitches (representing the twelve tribes) of clean gut. The four passages of Scripture above mentioned are those which the Jews have always regarded as constituting their warrant for the use of the phylacteries (see ii. below), viz. Ex 13^{1-10} 13^{11-16}, Dt 6^{4-9} 11^{13-21}. They are inserted in the four compartments in the order represented by the diagram—



The hand-phylactery is shaped on a similar block without incisions, and consists of a single compartment (בַּיִת *báyith*) with plain walls, fitted with brim, base, and flap as before. The same four passages are written in four parallel columns on a single piece of parchment, and inserted in the *báyith*. Both phylacteries, coloured a deep black, are kept in position by leather straps (רְצוּעוֹת *Yad.* iii. 3), which are passed through the flaps. Both straps are of considerable length, and blackened on the upper side. The head-phylactery is fitted to the wearer's head by having its strap tied at the back of the head into a knot (קֶשֶׁר), of the shape of a *daleth* (ד). One end of the other strap, after being passed through the flap of its phylactery, is formed into a noose by means of a knot of the shape of a *yod* (י). The *shin* of the head-phylactery together with these knots thus make up the letters of the sacred name *Shaddai* (שדי 'Almighty'), to which a mystical significance is attached.

The phylacteries, as has been said, are now worn daily at morning prayer, except on Sabbaths and festival days, which, being themselves 'signs,' render the phylacteries unnecessary on those days. After assuming the *ṭallîth* (see FRINGES), the worshipper proceeds 'to lay the *tĕphillîn*.' The hand-phylactery is laid first. Its position is the inner side of the left arm, which must be bare, just above the elbow, so that, when the arm is bent the phylactery may rest 'upon the heart' (as commanded Dt 11^{8}). The long strap, which passes through the noose, is drawn tight, and wound three times round the arm above the elbow, the worshipper pronouncing the following benediction in Hebrew: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast sanctified us by Thy commandments, and hast commanded us to lay the *tĕphillîn*.' The strap is thereafter wound four times, then three times, round the arm below the elbow, in such a manner as to form a four-pronged and a three-pronged *shin* respectively. At this point the head-phylactery is placed in position, so that the case lies in the middle of the forehead just touching the hair, the two ends of the strap hanging down over the shoulders in front, the following benediction being meanwhile repeated: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast sanctified us by Thy commandments, and hast given us command concerning the precept of the *tĕphillîn*.'* To this is added, when the adjustment is completed: 'Blessed be His name, whose glorious kingdom is for ever and ever.' Finally, the remainder of the strap of the hand-phylactery is wound three times round the middle finger, and the following is said: 'And I will betroth thee unto Me for ever; yea, I will betroth thee unto Me in righteousness, and in judgment, and in loving-kindness, and in mercy: I will even betroth thee unto Me in faithfulness; and thou shalt know the Lord' (Hos 2^{19}). Prayers over, the phylacteries are taken off in the reverse order, the head-phylactery first, then the hand-phylactery. We cannot here attempt to give even a summary of the exceedingly numerous and minute precepts which have been elaborated and codified by the Jewish authorities regarding the preparation of the materials, the manner of writing, the preservation and inspection, etc., of the *tĕphillîn* (see authorities named in the bibliography at end of article).

ii. THE ALLEGED SCRIPTURAL AUTHORITY FOR THE PHYLACTERIES.—The command to 'lay the *tĕphillîn*' is contained, the Jews maintain, in four passages of the Pentateuch, viz.: Ex $13^{9.16}$, Dt 6^{8} 11^{18}. It is of the utmost importance for our investigation to obtain an accurate and unprejudiced exposition of these cardinal passages, which we proceed to examine in their order.

(*a*) The bulk of Ex 13 is made up of injunctions regarding the perpetual observance of the Feast of Unleavened Cakes or Maẓẓoth (vv.$^{3-10}$), and of the Dedication of the Firstborn (vv.$^{11-16}$). The former, we read, 'shall be for a sign (אוֹת *'ôth*) unto thee upon thine hand, and for a memorial (זִכָּרוֹן *zikkārôn*) between thine eyes, that the law of J″ may be in thy mouth: for with a strong hand hath the Lord brought thee out of Egypt' (v.^{9}). Similarly with regard to the dedication of the firstborn, 'it shall be for a sign (*'ôth*, EV 'token') upon thine hand, and for frontlets (טוֹטָפֹת *ṭôṭāphôth*) between thine eyes,' etc. (v.^{16}). Now these two verses are so similar in their phraseology that no sane expositor would hesitate to declare them to be, in the writer's intention, completely identical. The feast of Maẓẓoth and the dedication of the firstborn shall alike serve as perpetual reminders to the Hebrews of the Egyptian deliverance, and of J‴s resulting claim upon them.

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* On the slight variation in the form of these and similar benedictions see Friedländer, *The Jewish Religion*, 1891, note, p. 329 f.; to this excellent work the student is referred for an exposition of the 'sign' of *tĕphillîn* from the orthodox Jewish standpoint. The renderings given above are from Singer's edition of *The Authorized Daily Prayer-Book*, 1892, p. 16.

(*b*) In Dt $6^{6ff.}$ we read: 'And these words, which I command thee this day (the exact reference of 'these words' will be considered presently), shall be in thine heart; and thou shalt teach (שָׁנַן)* them diligently unto thy children. . . . And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be for frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the door-posts of thy house, and upon thy gates.' In the second passage from Dt (11^{18-20}) this injunction is repeated with only slight verbal changes (cf. 11^{18a} 'ye shall *lay* these words upon your heart and upon your soul,' with 6^{8a}). We have now before us the cardinal passages on which has been based the ancient Jewish custom of the phylacteries. Do they, we must now ask, or do they not command and sanction this custom? The answer is by no means so easy as may at first sight appear, for it is not an affair of exegesis alone, but involves questions of criticism and lexicology.

Thus we note that the language of the passage Ex 13^{3-16} presents a strong Deuteronomic colouring, which has prevented our foremost critics† from assigning it exclusively to J, with which source it has also undoubted affinities. Only two alternatives are possible (cf. Wellh. *Comp. d. Hexat.*^{3} 74). Either we have here a section composed in whole or in part by an editor of the Deuteronomic school (so Kautzsch, Cornill, Bacon), or we have one of several examples of the literary activity of the writer (R^{JE}) who united J and E into a single work, and who must have belonged to 'the circles whence Deuteronomy issued' (Kuenen, *Hexat.* § 9 n. 4, § 13 n. 29).‡ In either case the important result follows, that we have to deal not with two enactments, separated by a couple of centuries, the earlier of which may possibly be understood in a figurative and the later in a literal sense, but with enactments of approximately the same age and reflecting the same religious standpoint.

With regard, further, to the Deuteronomic passages (Dt 6^{6-9} 11^{18-21}), various critical difficulties suggest themselves. Whence this unwonted and almost *verbatim* repetition in the course of the same address? Must we hold that in some of the early copies of Dt the verses repeated stood in ch. 6, in others with some variations in ch. 11, and that our present text has inserted a harmonized version of them in both places (so Steuernagel in Nowack's *Handkommentar*, 1898, p. 40)? Or shall we, with the latest commentator (Bertholet in Marti's *Kurzer Hand-Commentar*, 1899, p. 36), regard 11^{18-21} as an insertion which interrupts the connexion between v.^{17} and v.^{22}? The strong adversative with which v.^{22} opens in the original (כִּי אִם = 'but,' not as EV 'for') certainly follows awkwardly on vv.$^{18-21}$, which so far makes for the latter view. The present writer, however, doubts whether either passage is in its original place. Dt 6^{2}, for example, which is parallel to 11^{21}, looks as if originally intended to form the continuation of vv.$^{6-9}$; this would give the following correspondences: $6^{6.8} = 11^{18}$, $6^{7} = 11^{19}$, $6^{9} = 11^{20}$, $6^{2} = 11^{21}$. Assuming that both passages are genuine, we should thus have an impressive call to the continued observance of the provisions of the Deuteronomic code placed both at the beginning and the close of the hortatory introduction in chs. 6–11. In any case the characteristic Deuteronomic phrase, 'these words which I command thee this day' (6^{6}), must have here, as it has everywhere else in chs. 5–11, a *prospective* reference to all the provisions of the following code, and not merely to the two preceding verses, as the commentators suppose. The two pairs of passages, then, we have seen, are alike in tone and intention, and that intention is to impress upon those addressed the duty of perpetual observance, in the one case (in Dt) of the whole Torah, in the other (in Ex) of two particular ordinances thereof. The whole and its parts should be continually in their thoughts and on their lips, and should form a never-failing subject for the instruction of their youth.

When we proceed to a closer examination of the special verses, Ex $13^{9.16}$, Dt 6^{8} 11^{18}, it is very evident, if our contention as to their authors' motive is correct, that the language of these verses is *figurative throughout*, as, indeed, is usually admitted for Exodus, but denied, or at least questioned, for Deuteronomy. But all figures of speech in Hebrew, as in other tongues, are borrowed from the common objects and processes of nature, or from the familiar facts of human life. So it must be in the case before us. Thus, as regards the 'sign' upon the hand, we have only to recall the widespread practice, among all primitive races, of tattooing or branding various parts of the body with the name or symbol of the deity to whom one wishes to dedicate one's self, and whose protection it is desired to secure (see CUTTINGS IN THE FLESH in vol. i. 538^{b}). Such, doubtless, is the underlying idea of the mark (אוֹת)* of Cain, by which he was placed under the special protection of J″ (see esp. Stade's brilliant essay, 'Das Kainzeichen,' in *ZATW*, 1894, p. 250 ff. In this essay Stade has further shown [p. 310 ff.] that זִכָּרוֹן of Ex 13^{9} is a synonym of אוֹת in this sense).† The forehead,—for such is the meaning of 'between the eyes' in all our passages,—even more than the hands and wrists, was specially adapted for the reception of these religious tokens, and is so used by the most widely scattered savage and semi-savage races at the present day. But even in the canonical and extra-canonical literature of the Hebrews we find undoubted references to this practice. Thus we have the young man who bore on his forehead some mark or token that he belonged to the prophets of J″ (1 K 20^{41}; see Stade, *loc. cit.* 314 f.; and Kittel, *Handkom. in loc.*), Ezekiel's cross (תָּו $9^{4.6}$) on the foreheads of the faithful (cf. Rev 7^{3} 14^{1}), the 'token of destruction' (*σημεῖον τῆς ἀπωλείας*) on the forehead of the wicked (Ps-Sol 15^{10}, cf. v.^{8}), while 'the mark of the beast on hand or forehead' (Rev 13^{16} 14^{9} etc.) is familiar to all. These instances more than suffice to give us a glimpse of the circle of ideas which supplied the metaphors of the passages we are considering. The ordinances of the Torah were to serve the same purpose as these *στίγματα* of the ancient cults; they were to be outward and visible tokens of the Hebrews' allegiance to J″ their God, and of J‴s special propriety in them.

In three of the cardinal passages, however (Ex 13^{16}, Dt 6^{8} 11^{18}), for the *zikkārôn* of Ex 13^{9} there is substituted a word of uncertain signification, טוֹטָפֹת *ṭôṭāphôth*, EV 'frontlets.'

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* שָׁנַן, only here in OT, appears to mean 'to prick with a sharp-pointed instrument,' hence probably = tattoo (see below).

† Except Dillmann; but see his latest editor's view in Dillmann-Ryssel, *Exodus*, pp. 111, 141.

‡ For a conspectus of modern critical opinion regarding Ex 13^{3-16} see Holzinger, *Einleit. in d. Hexat.* 455 f., and the 'Tabellen' accompanying that work.

* These marks were called *στίγματα* by the Greeks (see Stade, *ut sup.*, and Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 266 ff.); cf. LXX Lv $19^{27f.}$ *γράμματα στικτά*.

† Cf. Nu $16^{38.40}$ (Heb. $17^{3.5}$), where אוֹת and זִכָּרוֹן are used interchangeably.

The singular of this word appears as טוֹטֶפֶת in post-biblical Hebrew, and the טוטפת of the MT should in all probability be so pointed.[*] In form it resembles כּוֹכָב for כַּבְכָּב, by reduplication from a root which must be either טפף or טוף (see König, *Lehrgeb.* II. i. § 60, 6*a*). The latter form is generally preferred on the strength of the Arab. *ṭâfa*, 'to encircle,' but the sense 'fillet, head-band' (so Ges. *Thes.*, Dillm., Driver, etc.) suits neither the descriptive expression 'between thine eyes' nor the circle of ideas from which, we are convinced, the figure in the text is borrowed. The rendering *tĕphillin* of the Targums is merely a reflexion of the interpretation which had long been current among the Jews (see below). The root טפף is therefore to be preferred, but its significance can only be conjectured. Several modern scholars favour a conjecture, first proposed by Knobel, viz. 'to strike,' then 'to make an incision,' so that *ṭôṭāphôth* would thus also denote στίγματα (Klein, 'Die Totaphoth nach Bibel und Tradition,' in *Jahrb. f. protest. Theologie*, vii. (1881) p. 673; Siegfried-Stade, *Lex. s.v.*; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 134). This conjecture, it may here be added, has the support of the Peshiṭta in Dt 6^8 11^{18}, where *ṭôṭāphôth* is rendered by *rûshmâ*, 'a mark,'[†] which is also used to render Ezekiel's mark and the mark of the beast in Revelation.

In the absence, however, of all trace of the above signification in the extant literature, it is more probable that we have in טפף a root akin to נטף 'to drop,' and actually found in this sense in the Talmudic מְטַפְטֵף 'to drip *or* drop' (used of wine, oil, blood, etc.); cf. the series המם, הום, נהם, and Arab. *hamhama*, Ges.-Kautzsch, *Heb. Grammar*, § 30*k*.

טוֹטֶפֶת is thus akin to נְטִיפוֹת '[ear-]drops' (Jg 8^{26}, Is 3^{19}), as is further confirmed by the rendering of the Samaritan Targum טפין, which must be the Aram. טִפָּא 'a drop' (of blood, etc.; see Levy, *s.v.*). It prob. denoted a '*drop*,' *bead*, or *jewel* worn as an amulet,[‡] *i.e.* as a true φυλακτήριον. In the Mishna, *Shabb.* vi. 1, 5, *ṭôṭépheth* clearly signifies a jewel worn by Jewish women, attached to their head-dress.[§] The Deuteronomic authors, then, do not shrink from the use of another bold metaphor to express the thought that the commands of J″ shall be as constantly present to the thoughts of His people, and as highly prized as the most precious of jewels by their superstitious contemporaries.

The results of our investigations may now be summed up. The passages in Ex and Dt on which the institution of the phylacteries is based cannot be kept apart in such a way that the expressions of Ex are to be taken *figuratively* but those of Dt *literally*. The figurative interpretation of both passages, further, is confirmed by such additional considerations as the following: (*a*) numerous other expressions in the contexts are plainly figures of speech; such are the references to the words of J″ being in the mouth (Ex 13^9, cf. Schoettgen's remarks, *Horæ Heb. et Talmud.*, 194 f.) and in the heart (Dt 6^6), to the duty of impressing (שִׁנֵּן 'to prick with a sharp instrument') them upon the children (6^7), and of laying them upon the heart and the soul (11^{18}, but see above, § i., for an attempt to do this literally); (*b*) similar expressions elsewhere have never been taken otherwise than figuratively, *e.g.* Dt 30^{14}, Pr 3^3 ('bind them [kindness and truth] upon thy neck, write them upon the tablet of thine heart'), 1^9 6^{21} 7^3, Jer 17^1 31^{33} etc.; (*c*) there is the impossibility of carrying out the injunctions in the literal sense when these refer to the whole Deuteronomic code, as we saw to be the case even in Dt 6^8,—a consideration, it may be added, which effectually disposes of the strictly literal interpretation of 6^{10} ($=11^{20}$).

iii. THE RISE OF THE LITERAL INTERPRETATION OF EX 13^{16} ETC., AND THE DATE OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THE PHYLACTERIES.—We have now to inquire at what period of Jewish history the literal interpretation of the four passages in question took its rise. A strong presumption against a date in the Exile, or even early in the post-exilic period, is furnished by the fact that the phylacteries are unknown to the Samaritan community (see Klein, *loc. cit.* 686 f.; Hamburger, *Realencycl. d. Judenthums*, ii. 1065). The Aramaic form of the name *tĕphillîn* points unmistakably in the same direction. An evident *terminus a quo*, however, is supplied by the figurative passages from Proverbs just cited. These are admittedly echoes of the Deuteronomic teaching (see Driver, *LOT*^{6} 396), and it is incredible that a Jewish writer would have so expressed himself, if the literal interpretation of Dt 6^6 etc. already held the field. Now the passages in question are all contained in the later section of the book (Pr 1–9), which, if the earlier section (10 ff.) date from the late Persian period, can hardly be earlier than B.C. 300.[*] Even half a century later, *c.* 250 B.C.,—the provisional date generally accepted for the beginnings of the Alexandrian translation (LXX),—the figurative interpretation was still accepted, at least in Egypt. This we see from the LXX rendering of the crucial טוטפת (καὶ ἀφάψεις αὐτὰ εἰς σημεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς χειρός σου, καὶ ἔσται ἀσάλευτον πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν σου, Dt 6^8) as something 'immovably fixed' (ἀσάλευτον;[†] cf. Ac 27^{41}, He 12^{28}) before one's eyes, the unchanging subject of one's thoughts.

The *terminus ad quem* is suggested by the famous letter of the pseudo-Aristeas, who represents himself as having been instructed by Eleazar, the then high priest at Jerusalem, in the institutions of Moses. The latter, says Eleazar, in addition to 'the token of remembrance on our garments (see FRINGES) and the texts (τὰ λόγια) on doors and gates, commanded us expressly to bind the sign on the hands also' (καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν τὸ σημεῖον περιῆφθαι—Hody, 'Aristeæ Historia,' in *De Bibliorum Textibus*, p. xviii; Kautzsch, *Pseudepigraphen*, 'Der Brief d. Aristeas,' v.^{159}), an unmistakable reference to the hand-phylactery, *but to that only*.[‡] Unfortunately the date of Aristeas is still *sub judice*. For various reasons we decline to accept the early date, *c.* 200 B.C., advocated by Schürer (*HJP* II. iii. 310), and incline to a date early in the 1st cent. B.C. (cf. Wendland in Kautzsch, *op. cit.*). We thus obtain a period of one hundred and fifty years (B.C. 250–100), to which the introduction of the phylacteries may confidently be ascribed. Now it is more than a coincidence that this is the period which witnessed the growth of that more strict and literal observance of the requirements of the Torah, which is associated with the rise to power and influence of the sect of the HASIDÆANS (wh. see) and of their successors, the Pharisees. The latter, we know, acquired great influence under John Hyrcanus (B.C. 135–105), imposing upon the people their views regarding sacrifice, prayer, and worship generally (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. i. 3), and it may well be that among the observances which the Pharisees then introduced (see *ib.* XIII. xvi. 2), and which were successively abrogated by Hyrcanus and reintroduced by Alexandra (B.C. 78), the practice of 'laying the *tĕphillîn*' had a place. Our conclusion, then, is that the introduction of the phylacteries may with certainty be assigned to the period between B.C. 250 and 100, and conjecturally to the generation embraced by the reigns of Simon the Hasmonæan and his son John Hyrcanus, viz. B.C. 140–105.

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[*] It should be noted that the Hebrew text has twice טוטפת and once טטפת, never, as in the Samaritan Pentateuch, טטפות, with express plural termination.

[†] Which favours the singular pointing, as suggested above.

[‡] It is well known that the practice of wearing jewellery in the ears, nose, etc., had its origin in the desire to guard the orifices of the body against the entrance of evil spirits (cf. W. R. Smith, *RS*^{1} 433 f.). As rings could not be inserted in the eyelids as through the ear-lobes and nostrils, the same end was secured by hanging a jewel 'between the eyes.'

[§] Cf. the explanation of the Jerus. Gemara in Levy, *s.v.*, 'something worn in the place of the *tĕphillin*,' *i.e.* on the forehead.

[*] Toy in the *International Critical Comm.* says *c.* 250 B.C. ('Proverbs,' Introd. xxx); so, too, Wildeboer in Marti's *Hand-comm.*

[†] For this term and the variant σάλευτον (of which Philo gives an ingenious explanation, *Opp.* ii. 358), as also for the renderings of the later Greek versions, see Field, *Origenis Hexapla*, at Ex 13^{16} and Dt 6^8.

[‡] Have we here an indication that the head-phylactery was of later introduction than the hand-phylactery? The female diviners of Ezekiel's day were in the habit of binding amulets (כְּסָתוֹת, EV 'pillows,' but understood in the former sense by Ephraem Syrus, and the anonymous 'Hebrew' who rendered the word by φυλακτήρια, see *ap.* Field's *Hexapla*, *in loc.*) on their wrists, a practice which Hitzig regarded as the precursor of the phylacteries (see the comm. on Ezk $13^{18ff.}$, and art. KERCHIEF). The late W. R. Smith seems to have shared this view (*Jour. of Philology*, xiii. 286).

iv. THE PHYLACTERIES IN THE EARLY CENTURIES A.D.—By the NT writers, as by Josephus (*Ant.* IV. viii. 3) and by their contemporaries generally, the phylacteries, like the use of the *Shĕma*ʿ (שְׁמַע) in the daily prayers (Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 77, 84 f.),—for both practices doubtless had their rise in the same period and in the same circles,—were regarded as dating from the days of Moses. The practice was, of course, regarded as having scriptural authority, but even the details of the construction of the phylacteries were ascribed to a special revelation to Moses (technically הֲלָכָה לְמֹשֶׁה מִסִּינַי, for which see Hamburger, *Realencycl.* 2nd Suppl. p. 162 ff.). The following details, gleaned from the Mishna,—which may be taken as authoritative for the century ending A.D. 135, although in its present form of somewhat later date,—may be given as illustrating the practice of orthodox Jewish circles in NT times, and as showing, when compared with the details already given in § i., how little change has been introduced since the 1st cent. A.D. In the Mishna, then, we find the same terms applied to the phylacteries as at the present day, *tĕphillā shel rôʾsh* and *t. shel yādh* (for the latter also, more correctly, ת״ שֶׁל זְרוֹעַ '*tĕphillā* of the arm,'—*Miḳw.* x. 3, 4). The material was the same (*Kel.* xxiii. 1); the shape square, not round (*Megil.* iv. 8). The head-phylactery, sometimes spoken of as *the* phylactery *par excellence* (*Kel.* xviii. 8, etc.), was already divided into four compartments (*Kel. ib.*), but not more (*Sanhed.* xi. 3), each with its parchment slip (*Shabb.* viii. 3; cf. Justin Martyr, the first Christian writer outside the NT to refer to the phylacteries by name, *Dial. c. Tryphone*, 46, ed. Otto[1], ii. 148, *φυλακτήριον ἐν ὑμέσι λεπτοτάτοις γεγραμμένων χαρακτήρων τινῶν*) containing in all probability the same passages as in modern times. Thus the third of the passages in question (Dt 6^{4-9}) is expressly described as 'the smallest section (פָּרָשָׁה קְטַנָּה) in the *tĕphillîn*, which is, Hear, O Israel' (*Sanhed.* viii. 3).* The writing had to be in the square Hebrew character (אַשּׁוּרִית, lit. Assyrian, *i.e.* Syrian or Aramæan). Women, slaves, and minors (קְטַנִּים) were exempt from the obligation of wearing the phylacteries (*Berakoth*, iii. 3), also all males in the presence of their dead (*ib.* iii. 1), and on Sabbaths and festivals, the latter as greater 'signs' rendering superfluous the observance of the lesser sign of the phylacteries. When not in use the phylacteries were kept in a case (תִּיק, *θήκη*, *Shabb.* vi. 2). From various indications it may be inferred that they were worn during the whole day, the justification for which was found in a mistaken interpretation of Ex 13^{10}. There the Hebrews are enjoined to keep the feast of Unleavened Cakes מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה, *i.e.* not from day to day, every day, but—as the phrase elsewhere signifies and as the context requires—*from year to year* (so correctly Onkelos; also Aquila *ἀπὸ χρόνου εἰς χρόνον*). The Jews, however, referring the command to the phylacteries (v.^{9}), interpret the words as enjoining their use 'from day to day.' This interpretation is most clearly expressed in the Targum (pseudo-)Jonathan to Ex $13^{9f.}$. After the direction that the hand-phylactery shall lie on the upper part of the left arm, and the head-phylactery in the middle of the upper part of the forehead, we read: 'Thou shalt observe this commandment of the phylacteries in the appointed time, on working days but not on Sabbaths and feast days, and in the day time not in the night time' (*ap.* Walton's *Polyglot*, vol. iv.). The later limitation of their use to the time of the daily prayers was no doubt due to the same causes as brought about a similar curtailment in the wearing of the *ẓiẓith* (see FRINGES in vol. ii. 69^{a}).

It is difficult to say with certainty to what extent this habitual wearing of the phylacteries prevailed among the Jewish people as a whole. That it was the invariable practice of the Pharisees and of the scribes, who belonged almost exclusively to that sect, we may take for granted. On the other hand, the balance of probability is against its adoption by the Sadducees, who may possibly be referred to in the Mishna sentence (*Sanhed.* xi. 3) as saying, 'there is no such thing as *tĕphillîn* (אֵין תְּפִלִּין).' Certainly the Karaite Jews, who claim to be the religious successors of the Sadducees, maintain the figurative interpretation of the injunctions in Ex and Dt (Hamburger, *op. cit.* ii. 1204; Klein, *loc. cit.* 688). The great mass of the people also,—*ὁ ὄχλος ὁ μὴ γινώσκων τὸν νόμον* (Jn 7^{49}),—engrossed in the hard routine of daily toil, paid no heed to this enactment of the scribes (with Jn 7^{49} cf. Talm. Bab. *Berakoth*, 47*b*: 'Who is an ʿ*am-haʾareẓ*? R. Jehoshua says: Every one who does not lay the *tĕphillîn*' [כל שאינו מניח ת״]). Hence we may infer that neither our Lord nor His disciples followed, in this respect, the lead of the Pharisees (cf. Jn 7^{15}). In His denunciation of the latter (*πλατύνουσι γὰρ τὰ φυλακτήρια αὐτῶν*, Mt 23^{5}) our Lord is generally understood to refer to the ostentatious breadth of the straps (רְצוּעוֹת *Yad.* iii. 3, etc.) by which the phylacteries were firmly secured on head and arm, as is expressly stated by the earliest Syriac translators (see *loc. cit.* in the codices of Lewis [Sinaiticus] and Cureton: 'for they make broad the straps of their *tĕphillîn* [ערקא דתפליהון]).' It is probable, however, that this increase in the width of the straps was accompanied by a corresponding increase in the size of the phylacteries proper, and that both are included in the denunciation.

In addition to the Talmud (Mishna and Gemara), we have in the Targums ample evidence of the Jewish belief in the antiquity of the phylacteries, resulting in several cases in amusing anachronisms. Thus Saul's bracelet or armlet (2 S 1^{10}) is converted into 'the phylactery * (טוֹטַפְתָּא) which was upon his arm.' The turbans (פְּאֵר) of Ezekiel and his fellow-exiles are changed to phylacteries (Targ. Ezk $24^{17.23}$), while Mordecai is represented as recognizable as a Jew by his phylacteries (Targ. Est 8^{15}).

While we believe that the introduction of the phylacteries was not due to a superstitious belief in their magical virtues as 'appurtenances to make prayer more powerful' (so W. R. Smith, *Jour. of Phil.* xiii. 286, and others), but, as we have shown above, to a mistaken obedience to the letter on the part of over-zealous students of the Torah, it cannot be denied that by the rank and file of the people—from whom, no doubt, the name *φυλακτήρια* proceeded—and even by some of the more educated, the phylacteries were regarded as possessing magical properties. This appears from the repeated mention, in the Mishna, of the *tĕphillîn* alongside of the *ḳĕmîa*ʿ (קָמֵיעַ), which was an amulet also written on parchment by a professional exorcist (see *Shabb.* vi. 2), and worn on the person, from the rendering of Ca 8^3 in the Targum,[*] and from various references in the Midrash and Gemara (for which see Klein, 679 f.; Hamburger, art. 'Tephillin').

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* Jerome (*Comment. in Matth. ad* 23^{5}) was evidently mistaken in thinking that the orthodox phylacteries contained the Decalogue. He seems to have confused them with similar *φυλακτήρια* used exclusively as amulets (see below).

* This is a preferable rendering to 'bracelet,' which is based on the precarious etymology referred to above (§ ii.).

On the other hand, the Talmud abounds in extravagant eulogy of the religious value of the phylacteries.[†] In the Middle Ages, from the 8th, and especially from the 10th cent. (Hamburger), they were less esteemed; and, in some parts at least, the practice almost became extinct (see Rodkinssohn, תפלה למשה, *Ursprung u. Entwickelung d. Phylacterien-Ritus*, 1883 (Hebrew), to be used with caution, cf. *REJ* vi. 288). The fact that several Jewish scholars of note, beginning with Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam, 1080–*c.* 1150), in their commentaries maintained the figurative interpretation of the cardinal passages, no doubt contributed to the growing disuse of the phylacteries. A return to the earlier practice, however, was gradually effected, and their use is now universal among the orthodox Jews, both of the Polish and Spanish rites. At the age of thirteen years and a day the Jewish boy attains his religious majority, becomes responsible for his actions, and a 'Bar-Miẓvah' (בַּר מִצְוָה, for the history and significance of which see Löw, *Die Lebensalter in d. jüd. Literatur*, 210 ff.). Among the duties and privileges of the Bar-Miẓvah not the least important is that of 'laying' the *tĕphillin.*

LITERATURE.—The commentaries, esp. Dillmann-Ryssel, *Exodus*, etc.; Dillmann, Driver on *Deuteronomy*; Kalisch, *Exodus* (special dissertation, pp. 223–227). The numerous minute Rabbinical prescriptions will be found in the authoritative works of Maimonides (*Yad Ha-ḥazaka Hilkoth Tephillin*) and Joseph Caro (*Shulḥān 'Aruk*). Extensive excerpts from Maimonides in Ugolinus, *Thes. Antiquitatum Sacrarum*, xxi., containing treatise 'de Phylacteriis Hebræorum.' Of the older discussions the most valuable are those by Buxtorf, *Synagoga Judaica*, pp. 170–185; Spencer, *de Legibus Hebræorum*, etc., Cambridge, 1727, lib. iv. capp. 1–7 ('de natura et origine Phylacteriorum'); Bodenschatz, *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden*, iv. 14–19 (with illustrations). Lightfoot, Schoettgen, and similar works on Mt 23^5. M. Margoliouth, *The Fundamental Principles of Mod. Judaism*, pp. 1–49. Of the articles in Bible Dictionaries perhaps the most important are those by Delitzsch in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, etc. (art. 'Denkzettel'), by Ginsburg in Kitto-Alexander's *Biblical Cyclopædia* (art. 'Phylactery'), both illustrated, and by Hamburger, *Realencyclopædie d. Bibel u. Talmud*, vol. ii. (art. 'Tephillin'). The only critical investigation of the subject hitherto has been by Klein, 'Die Totaphoth nach Bibel u. Tradition,' in the *Jahrbücher für protest. Theologie*, 1881, pp. 666–689 (useful collection of material, but critically and exegetically weak). The varying usage of the Middle Ages is given by Rodkinssohn, תפלה למשה, *Ursprung u. Entwickelung des Phylacterien-Ritus bei den Juden* (in Hebrew), 1883 [not seen]. A short exposition of modern Jewish teaching in Friedländer, *The Jewish Religion*, 331–338.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

PHYLARCH (τὸν φυλάρχην, 2 Mac 8^{32}).—There can be but little doubt that this word is not a proper name (as in AV; cf. RVm), but a military title. In Athens the 'phylarchs' had command of the cavalry; and here either a cavalry officer or a commander of auxiliary forces seems to be intended. Zöckler still supports the proper name.

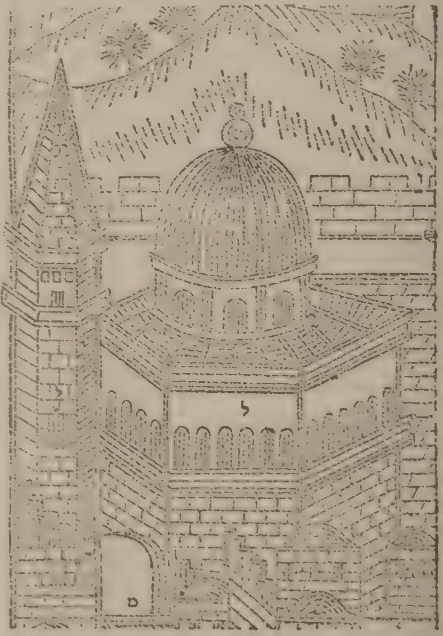
PHYSICIAN.—See MEDICINE, p. 321.

PI-BESETH (פִּי־בֶסֶת, Βούβαστος).—Ezk 30^{17}, a city in Lower Egypt, the hieroglyphic *Per-Bastet*, 'House of Bastet,' in Copt. *Pubasti*, *Buasti*, etc. The city was named *Bast*; the goddess who dwelt in it was hence called *Bastet*, 'the Bastite,' and thence again was formed the sacred name of the city, viz. *Per-Bastet*, lit. 'the house of the Bastite.' The sacred name was that adopted by the Greeks and Romans; the modern name of the site, Tell Basṭeh, 'the hill of Basteh,' may be derived from the original form.

Bubastis was probably a wealthy and important city from the earliest times. Its mounds are very extensive, and its temple, recently excavated by Naville for the Egyp. Expl. Fund, contained monuments of every period from the 4th Dynasty down to Roman times. It is now entirely deserted, but lies close to the large town of Zagazig, which owes its importance to the railway. Bubastis was capital of the 18th nome of Lower Egypt, the boundaries of which are very uncertain. In history it does not appear until the time of the 22nd Dynasty, founded by Shishak about B.C. 1000, and known as the Bubastite Dynasty, under which Bubastis was the second city of Egypt, Thebes still remaining the first. When that dynasty expired, and Egypt was divided, Bubastis was still the capital of a royal family, which was afterwards considered to be the legitimate 23rd Dynasty. The city was visited by Herodotus, who greatly admired the situation and beauty of its granite temple, and has recorded the existence of a popular and somewhat licentious annual festival held in honour of the goddess Bastet (Hdt. ii. 59 f.). The goddess was figured with the head of a lioness, or later almost invariably of a cat. She was held to be a mild form of Sekhemt, the goddess of destruction. Cats were sacred to her. Her son was named Mahes, 'fierce-eyed lion'; but Nefer-Atum was commonly worshipped as the third member of the Bubastite triad. Mummied cats, sometimes in bronze cases, were very abundant, the cat cemetery having extended over many acres; but antiquity dealers have now plundered what the damp atmosphere of the Delta had spared.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

PICTURE is AV trⁿ of **1.** מַשְׂכִּית Nu 33^{52} (LXX τὰς σκοπιάς), Pr 25^{11} (ὁρμίσκος). In the former of these passages RV has 'figured stones' (cf. Lv 26^1). These may have been stones erected for worship,



JEWISH ENGRAVING OF THE TEMPLE AND MOUNT OF OLIVES.

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[*] It is maintained by some, however, that the power of protecting from evil spirits here affirmed is confined to the *mĕzûzā.*

[†] It is unfair, however, to use for polemical purposes such purely academic statements as *Berakoth*, 6*a*, that the Almighty Himself 'lays the tĕphillin'! (a curious inference from the following passages: Is 62^8, Dt 33^2, Ps 29^{11}).

or with a hand or other amulet sign marked upon them for the preservation of fields and vineyards from evil influences. For 'pictures of silver' in Pr 25^{11} RV gives 'baskets (m. filigree work) of silver.' See Lagarde, *Anmerk. z. Gr. Uebersetz. d. Proverb.* 80. 2. שְׂכִיָּה. For עַל כָּל־שְׂכִיּוֹת הַחֶמְדָּה of MT the LXX has ἐπὶ πᾶσαν θέαν πλοίων κάλλους, AV 'upon all pleasant pictures,' RV 'upon all pleasant imagery' (m. 'watch-towers'). Siegfried-Stade propose to read סְפִינוֹת (cf. Jon 1^{5}), 'ships,' for שְׂכִיּוֹת.

Figures were represented either by an image completely separated from its surrounding material, or by a surface in partial relief, or by a line of stain or etching (מְחֻקָּה) on the surface.

At the present day, when a pious Syrian Jew wishes to have a picture of the temple and the Mount of Olives in his house, he falls upon the device of having a line engraving made up of Scripture quotations, thus avoiding the formal infringement of the second commandment. See engraving on previous page. G. M. MACKIE.

PIECE.—1. A measure: 1 Es 8^{20} 'an hundred pieces of wine' (Gr. μετρητής, RV 'firkin,' as the same word is translated in Jn 2^{6} AV and RV). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. 2. An instrument of war; 1 Mac 6^{51} 'pieces to cast darts and slings' (Gr. σκορπίδιον, dim. of σκορπίος, a scorpion). In this sense the word is scarcely obsolete. Shaks. *I Henry VI.* I. iv. 15, has—

> 'A piece of ordnance 'gainst it I have placed.'

In Selden's day the word was beginning to be replaced by gun. He says (*Table Talk*, p. 65), 'Sometimes we put a new signification to an old word, as when we call a piece a Gun.'

PIETY.—In Lat. *pietas* signified duteous regard (1) to the gods, (2) to one's parents [cf. the familiar 'pius Aeneas' of Vergil, *Aen.* i. 220, etc.] and inferiors, (3) to one's country; and the Eng. word 'piety' retained all these meanings. We use it now of devotion to God only, although we can prefix an adj. and speak of 'filial piety.' We cannot say with Milton, *Samson Agon.* 993—

> 'The public marks of honour and reward
> Conferred upon me for the piety
> Which to my country I was judged to have shown.'

In AV the only occurrence is 1 Ti 5^{4} 'If any widow have children or nephews, let them learn first to show piety at home,' where εὐσεβεῖν is rendered 'to show piety,' and the tr. is retained in RV. An example of the meaning 'devotion to God' is found in the Preface to AV, 'Piety towards God was the weapon, and the onely weapon that both preserved Constantines person, and avenged him of his enemies.' J. HASTINGS.

PIGEON.—See DOVE.

PI-HAHIROTH (פִּי הַחִירֹת).—When the Israelites turned back from ETHAM, 'in the edge of the wilderness,' they encamped 'before (לִפְנֵי Ex 14^{2}) *or* beside (עַל v.^{9}) Pi-haḥiroth, between MIGDOL and the sea, before BAAL-ZEPHON.' The name occurs again in the itinerary of Nu 33$^{7.8}$. In v.^{8} RV has 'from before **Haḥiroth**,' instead of 'from before Pi-haḥiroth,' following in this the MT מִפְּנֵי הַח׳, which, however, may be a copyist's error for מִפְּנֵי פִּי הַח׳ or מִפִּי הַח׳. All the passages in which Pi-haḥiroth is mentioned belong to P. Unfortunately, the above definition of its position is insufficient to fix its site, for Migdol and Baal-zephon, like most of the places named at the initial stages of the Exodus, are themselves unknown. Even RAAMSES has not been identified, although we know the site of PITHOM. See, further, art. EXODUS in vol. i. p. 803.

The etymology and the meaning of the name Pi-haḥiroth are likewise uncertain, although attempts have been made to explain it from the side both of Egyptian and of Hebrew. The LXX, which finds a proper name in Nu 33^{7} (B ἐπὶ στόμα Ἐπιρώθ, AF . . . Εἰρώθ)^{8} (BA ἀπέναντι Εἰρώθ), treats פי החירת in Ex 14$^{2.9}$ as an appellative, ἀπέναντι τῆς ἐπαύλεως. The 'farmstead' of this last rendering reminds Sayce (*EHH* 181) of the *ahu* or 'estate' of Pharaoh in the district of Thukut, on which, according to a letter dating from the 8th year of Merenptah, the Edomite herdsmen were allowed to settle. Naville has proposed to make Pi-haḥiroth = *Pi-Qerhet*, 'the house of the goddess Qerhet,' the name of a sanctuary in or near Pithom, but to this there are philological objections. The Pesh., Targ., and Sa'adya take פי as the construct of פֶּה 'mouth,' while חירת, according to the first, means 'trenches *or* canals,' according to the other two, 'mountains *or* rocks.' For modern conjectures see Dillm.-Ryssel on Ex 14^{2}, which, along with Sayce (*HCM* 252 ff.) and Driver (in Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology*, 57, 61), may be consulted on the question of the site. J. A. SELBIE.

PILATE.—Pontius Pilatus (Πόντιος Πειλᾶτος) was the fifth * Roman procurator of Judæa. After the deposition (A.D. 6) of Archelaus, his territory, which included Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa,† was erected into an imperial province in charge of an officer of the equestrian order with the title of *procurator*. In the Gospels, Pilate is called simply *governor* (ἡγεμών); but Josephus specifically calls the ruler *procurator* (ἐπίτροπος; *Ant.* XX. vi. 2, *BJ* II. viii. 1, ix. 2, etc.),‡ as also does Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 44). His official residence was in the palace of Herod in Cæsarea (cf. Ac 23^{35}); but at the time of the feasts he usually went up to Jerus., probably occupying there also the palace of Herod.§ The military force under him consisted of about three thousand men at Cæsarea, besides small garrisons scattered throughout the country, and a cohort (500 men?) stationed in Jerusalem.|| His judicial authority was supreme, except in the cases of Roman citizens, where appeal lay to the emperor, while his chief duty concerned the financial administration and the collection of taxes for the imperial treasury. The Judæan procurators thus exercised much higher authority than officers of the same name in most Roman provinces, where they presided merely over the finances. Similar administrative functions, however, were entrusted to the eparchs of Egypt and the procurators of Noricum, Rætia, and a few other exceptional peoples.¶

But while Judæa was thus directly governed by Rome, a large measure of local self-government was allowed, especially to urban communities. In Jerus. the Sanhedrin was the supreme court of the nation, and as many judicial functions as possible were retained by it. Death sentences, however, required the governor's confirmation, and were executed by him (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XX. ix. 1, *BJ* II. viii. 1). The tolerant Roman rule showed much respect for the customs and prejudices of the Jewish

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* Some count him the sixth procurator, reckoning as the first Sabinus who took charge during the absence of Archelaus (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. ix. 3, x. 1); but Sabinus, as procurator in Syria under Varus, merely acted to secure Cæsar's interests after the death of Herod, and while the cause of Archelaus was yet in doubt.

† Except the towns of Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos (Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 39).

‡ Jos. also calls the governor ἔπαρχος (*Ant.* XIX. ix. 2, etc.), προστησόμενος (*Ant.* XX. vii. 1), ἐπιμελητής (*Ant.* XVIII. iv. 2), as well as ἡγεμών (*Ant.* XXVIII. iii. 1).

§ See PRÆTORIUM.

|| See Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 49–57; cf. Ac 21^{31}, Jn 18^{12}.

¶ Comp. authorities cited by Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 45; also Mommsen, *Provinces of the Rom. Emp.* ii. 201.

people. It aimed at as large liberty as was consistent with order and tribute. Most of the difficulties in Judæa arose from the religious zeal and intractable disposition of the Jews themselves. On the other hand, their liberties were liable at any moment to be overruled, if necessity seemed to require it; and the procurators were generally men who grievously abused their authority. The nation itself also was divided, and in an almost constant state of tumult. The recollection of these facts is necessary in order to appreciate the position of Pilate when Christ was brought before his bar.

Of Pilate's origin we know nothing,[*] though it has been inferred, from his *nomen* Pontius, that he belonged to an ancient Samnite family whose name frequently appears in Roman history.[†] His *cognomen* has, however, been derived from *pileatus*, —one who wore the *pileus*, the cap of manumitted slaves,—and the inference has been drawn that he was a freedman, or descended from one. But his appointment as procurator makes this improbable, since such officers were uniformly of equestrian rank.[‡] Hence others derived *Pilatus* from *pilum*, a javelin. His *prænomen* is unknown, nor does his name appear in history apart from his residence in Judæa. He was preceded in office by Coponius (A.D. 6–9?), Marcus Ambivius (A.D. 9–12?), Annius Rufus (A.D. 12–15?), and Valerius Gratus (A.D. 15–26), and was appointed (Eus. *HE* i. 9) in the twelfth year of Tiberius (A.D. 26), and continued in office ten years (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 2).[§] The unusual length of time during which he and Gratus held office was, in accordance with the policy of Tiberius, based on the opinion that governors who had already enriched themselves, would be better for the people than new ones whose avarice was yet unsatisfied (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 5). Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 80, iv. 6) also notices the long governorships under Tiberius. Pilate came therefore to Judæa contemporaneously with the appearance of John the Baptist, and his rule covered the period of Jesus' ministry and of the first establishment of Christianity in Judæa.

Pilate's administration was marked by events which show both the difficulties of his task and the small effort which he made to understand the Jews or accommodate himself to their prejudices. The first disturbance (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. iii. 1, *BJ* II. ix. 2, 3) probably occurred soon after his entrance on office. To satisfy the Jews, the Romans had directed their soldiers not to carry to Jerus. upon their standards the usual image of the emperor; but Pilate sent the army to Jerus. to winter, and directed that the standards, with the images upon them, should be taken by night into the sacred city. This seemed to the Jews a direct violation of their religious laws. Forthwith multitudes hastened to Cæsarea to implore the governor to remove the images. For five days he refused to heed them, and on the sixth he admitted them to his presence, but suddenly ordered his soldiers to surround them, and threatened them with instant death if they persisted in their request. To his astonishment the Jews threw themselves on the ground, and declared that they would rather die than endure the violation of their laws. Pilate, of course, had not intended so great a massacre, and was forced to direct the removal of the images. Another disturbance arose from Pilate's use of the money contributed to the temple treasury, to build aqueducts to Jerusalem. It has been suggested that his real object was to provide water for an army besieging the city (cf. Müller, *Pont. Pil.* p. 16). At any rate the project aroused violent opposition, and when Pilate came to Jerus. the people clamoured against his design. On this occasion, however, he silenced the tumult by introducing disguised soldiers into the crowd, who, at a signal, drew their clubs and scattered the multitude (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. iii. 2). The incident, referred to in Lk 13^{1}, of the 'Galilæans whose blood Pilate mingled with their sacrifices,' is not mentioned by other authorities. Doubtless Pilate ordered them to be slain in the outer court of the temple, perhaps on account of some riot, while they were celebrating one of the feasts. This appeared to some an unusual judgment of Providence upon these men; and the incident illustrates the disturbed state of the country, the frequent severity of Pilate's measures, and the odium in which the governor was held. The sedition in which Barabbas took part (Mk 15^{7}, Lk 23^{19}) is another example of the turbulent state of the community; while still another incident, characteristic of Pilate's rule, is described by Philo (*ad Gaium*, 38). Philo makes Agrippa relate to Caligula that Pilate once hung gilt shields in the palace of Herod in Jerus., on each of which was inscribed the name of the donor and of him in whose honour the shield was dedicated. But even this aroused the fury of the Jews. Their chief men, including four sons of Herod, besought him to remove the objects of offence; and, when he refused, they wrote to Tiberius, who ordered the procurator to take the shields to Cæsarea. Philo makes Agrippa describe Pilate as 'inflexible, merciless, and obstinate.' He says that the Jews' threat to communicate with Tiberius 'exasperated Pilate in the greatest possible degree, as he feared lest they might go on an embassy to the emperor, and might impeach him with respect to other particulars of his government — his corruptions, his acts of insolence, his rapine, and his habit of insulting people, his cruelty, and his continual murders of people untried and uncondemned, and his never-ending, gratuitous, and most grievous inhumanity.' This is doubtless a one-sided representation. In the Gospels Pilate manifests a strong desire to do justice, and he was not more arbitrary or cruel than many other Roman officials. But he also appears in the Gospels, as in Philo, passionate and fierce, uniting obstinacy with weakness, seeking his ends by unworthy devices, and restrained in his desire to do justice by dread both of his turbulent subjects and of the effect of an appeal from them to the emperor. All accounts agree in testifying to the hearty dislike which existed between him and the Jews.

Pilate's share in the trial of Jesus is related briefly in Mt and Mk, but somewhat more fully in Lk; while Jn records further details which explain and confirm the Synoptic accounts. The governor evidently had some previous knowledge of Jesus, as his wife also probably had (Mt 27^{19}). The Lord's ministry indeed had been mainly in Galilee, so that probably He had only within a short period before his arrest come under Pilate's notice. But it is incredible, in view of the interest lately aroused by Jesus in Judæa, and the necessary watchfulness of the government, that His presence had not been reported to the procurator; and at the trial it is expressly stated that Pilate 'knew that for envy they had delivered him unto him' (Mt 27^{18}). But when, early in the morning, the representatives of the Sanhedrin, which had already condemned Jesus to death for blasphemy, brought Him to Pilate for permission to have Him put to death, and refused to enter the governor's residence lest they should be defiled (Jn 18^{28}), Pilate went out [*] to them and demanded what charge they brought against the prisoner. They seem to have expected him to confirm their sentence without inquiry, a fact which illustrates the large authority conceded by the Romans to the native court. But Pilate refused to act without reasons. When they suddenly cried, 'If this man were not an evil-doer, we should not have delivered him up unto thee' (Jn 18^{30}), he contemptuously remarked, 'Take him yourselves, and judge him according to your law,' thus forcing them to admit that they could not secure their purpose except through him. His position fully warranted this haughty expression of authority; but he was probably actuated in this instance by the desire to do justice, or at least to prevent the injustice which they intended (Mt 27^{18}). The Jews therefore, being forced to present charges, and knowing the uselessness of bringing the charge of blasphemy, made three accusations, viz. perverting the nation, forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, and claiming to be Christ, a king (Lk 23^{2}). The latter two, and perhaps the first, were matters with which the civil authority would naturally deal. Pilate therefore asked Jesus, 'Art thou the king of the Jews?' Jesus replied in the affirmative, but to the accusing cries of the Jews He was silent. The governor was impressed by His demeanour, though acknowledging so grave a charge, as that of no ordinary prisoner. So he led Jesus within the palace, and privately examined Him (Jn 18^{33-38}).[†] In this interview the disposition and character of Pilate specially appear. Jesus freely answered his questions, and explained the entirely unworldly nature of His kingdom. He dealt with the Roman throughout as with one not actuated by malice, but placed in circumstances where he could escape guilt only by courageously obeying the truth (cf. also Jn 19^{11}). For this, however, Pilate was not prepared. His ejaculation, 'What is truth?' (Jn 18^{38}) was the utterance of a worldly mind, entirely sceptical of the worth of real religious and moral principles. But he was convinced that Jesus was politically harmless, and ought not to be sacrificed to Jewish malice and fanaticism. So he resolved to save Him. Yet he was afraid peremptorily to release Him: a fear which is perfectly intelligible in view of the evident determination of the chief priests, the serious charges they had presented, the large tolerance always shown to Jewish prejudices, as well as of the suspicious character of Tiberius and the excellent grounds of complaint which the Jews already had against the governor. Therefore Pilate began the series of feeble devices, which the Synoptists record, to secure the release of Jesus by a popular verdict, or at least to free himself from participation in His death. He first brought Him forth, and declared that he found no fault in Him (Jn 18^{38}). But this unexpected announcement evoked from the priests and bystanders the cry, 'He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judæa, and beginning from Galilee even unto this place' (Lk 23^{5}). Hearing that Jesus was from Galilee, and impressed by the fury of their desire, Pilate thought to rid himself of the case by transferring it to Herod Antipas, who was then in Jerusalem. He was the more willing to do this because the relations between him and Herod had been strained, and he desired to show his friendliness. But Herod, perhaps out of compliment to Pilate, refused to accept jurisdiction, only indicating by his mockery of Jesus his contempt for the prisoner's claims (Lk $23^{7ff.}$). Pilate thus found himself compelled to adjudicate. He again declared his conviction of the prisoner's innocence, and appealed to Herod's refusal to pass sentence in confirmation of his own judgment. He proposed therefore to please the Jews by chastising Jesus, but his own conscience by releasing Him (Lk $23^{14ff.}$). It was a weak compromise, and certain to satisfy no one. Meanwhile the multitude, doubtless increased by new arrivals, some of whom hardly understood the purpose of the assemblage, began to clamour (Mk 15^{8}) that Pilate should, according to his custom at the feast,[*] set free some notable prisoner. Knowing the popularity of Jesus, Pilate hoped through this custom to prevent the purpose of the chief priests, and asked if he should release Jesus. But he was foiled by the priests persuading the people to demand the release of a certain Barabbas, who was probably popular as a leader of sedition against the government (Mt 27^{20}). It was apparently at this point that Pilate, having taken his seat on the chair of judgment (see GABBATHA),[†] received the message from his wife,[‡] which doubtless added a superstitious feeling to the force of his conviction that Jesus ought to be released (Mt 27^{19}). But he had already yielded his true ground and could not recover it. When again he asked whom they would choose for release, they unitedly cried 'Barabbas.' When he next inquired what they wanted him to do with Jesus, the cry arose, at the instigation of the priests, 'Crucify him.' Shocked by their fierceness, the governor protested against so extreme a penalty. 'Why? What evil hath he done? I have found no cause of death in him. I will chastise and release him' (Lk 23^{22}). But they clamoured for crucifixion. Pilate appears to have been simply overborne by their fierceness and the threatening aspect of affairs. His fault was moral weakness. Yet the peculiar character of his government and the known tolerance of Rome toward Jewish prejudices make it quite intelligible that unwillingness to anger the Sanhedrin should outweigh with such a man the feeble sense of duty. His handwashing (Mt 27^{24}, cf. Dt 21^{6-8} though the act was a natural symbol) was but the weak device of a superficial mind, as he sought to calm his conscience by throwing the guilt of the transaction upon others.

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[*] The Germanic legends mention several towns as the birthplace of Pilate. One of the most widespread locates his birth in Mayence, as the illegitimate child of a king (variously styled Cyrus, Tyrus, and Atus), who sent him, because of a murder, to Rome, whence, because of another murder, he was sent to Pontus, from which place he derived his name. There he served the emperor by conquering the wild tribes of that region; whereupon Herod made him his co-regent, and was in turn overcome by him. See G. A. Müller, *Pont. Pil.* p. 48 ff.

[†] See Pauly's *RE* under 'Pontii.'

[‡] The case of Felix, who was a freedman, is remarked upon by Tacitus as if quite unusual.

[§] He must have been removed early in A.D. 36, since Vitellius, after sending Pilate to Rome, attended a passover in Jerus. (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 3), and shortly after began the expedition against Aretas, king of the Nabatæans, which, however, was prevented (*Ant.* XVIII. vi. 4) by the news of Tiberius' death (early in A.D. 37). Pilate's appointment therefore is to be dated A.D. 26, since Josephus states that he ruled ten years.

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[*] Being only a procurator, Pilate had no quæstor, and therefore conducted the trial himself.

[†] This narrative of John's is absolutely necessary to explain the Synoptic account of Pilate's conduct.

[*] The origin of this custom is unknown. Schürer (*HJP* I. ii. 60) states that it 'was grounded on a special authorization of the emperor, for the right of remitting a sentence was not otherwise given to the governors.' He cites Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Akad.* 1889, p. 439; and Merkel, *Abhandl. aus d. Gebiete des. röm. Rechts*, 1 Heft, 1881. Friedlieb (*Archäol.* 110) thinks it was done at every feast, but St. John (18^{39}) limits it to the passover. Some suppose it was a Jewish custom retained by the Romans, and Pilate's language in Jn ('Ye have a custom,' etc.) seems to confirm this view. Others think it was of Roman origin, and connect it with Livy's statement (v.^{13}) that, at the feast of the gods called *Lectisternium*, prisoners were freed.

[†] The βῆμα (Mt 27^{19}), which had been put on 'a place called the Pavement, but, in the Hebrew, Gabbatha' (Jn 19^{13}). Those who identify Pilate's residence with the fortress Antonia suppose this place to have been the elevated, paved ground between the fortress and the temple (see PRÆTORIUM). Those who identify Pilate's residence with Herod's palace suppose the βῆμα to have been placed on a mosaic floor (λιθόστρωτον, 'spread with stones'), which was called in Aram. *Gabbatha* (גַּבְּתָא 'elevation') from the elevated position which it, with perhaps the βῆμα upon it, occupied. Cæsar (Suet. *Jul.* 46) is said to have carried a portable pavement on which to place his judgment-seat; and St. John's mention of the pavement with the βῆμα seems to imply that it had some connexion with the delivery of a judicial sentence, and gave formality to Pilate's final decision. See GABBATHA.

[‡] Originally magistrates were not allowed to take their wives to the provinces, but the rule had ceased to be observed, as is shown by the failure of an effort to enforce it mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* iii. 33, 34).

But, though Pilate yielded to their request, and delivered Jesus to his soldiers to be scourged preparatory to crucifixion, St. John's narrative (19^{1-16}) shows that the governor's conscience was not yet silenced. Once again he sought to satisfy the Jews by the spectacle of Jesus bleeding and mocked, declaring that even yet he had discovered in the prisoner, though under torture, no cause of death. When they still cried 'Crucify him,' Pilate became sullen and angry. In bitter satire, and as though about to dismiss the whole case, he bade them do the foul deed themselves. Then first they brought forward a religious charge, apparently feeling that now they needed only to work on the governor's sentiments and make him realize how serious the case appeared to them. 'We have a law, and according to our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God.' But the words roused afresh Pilate's superstition. Again, and now with evident anxiety and fear (Jn 19^{8}), he privately examined Jesus, this time concerning His origin. The silence of Jesus to these inquiries further wrought on Pilate's mind, and, though he tried to induce Jesus to speak by boasting of his own power, he again made an effort to release Him. But the Jews, now fully realizing that they must conquer the impression which Jesus had made on Pilate by bringing to bear a stronger motive, taunted the governor with infidelity to the emperor in favouring a pretended king; and this appeal to Pilate's political ambitions proved decisive. He resolved to silence his convictions. Resuming his seat on the *Bema*, he satirically and sullenly presented Jesus to them as their king. Thereupon he had at least the grim satisfaction of hearing his turbulent subjects vigorously forswear their political freedom and profess their allegiance to the emperor (Jn 19^{15}). Then he finally delivered Jesus to crucifixion; but it was quite in keeping with Pilate's character and with the violence which he had done to his own convictions, that he obstinately refused to change the title on the cross, its very offensiveness to the Jews being a merit in his eyes (Jn 19^{22}).

Thus Pilate appears a typical specimen of a worldly man. The good in him was unsupported by moral principle, and overborne by personal and political considerations. Compelled to take the leading part in a transaction where high moral qualities were supremely demanded, he proved himself to be without them, and made a great crime possible by his feebleness of character. This is quite consistent with his bravado and recklessness on other occasions. Christ's judgment upon Pilate (Jn 19^{11}) is also the verdict of history.

Pilate's rule was brought to its close by an ill-judged attempt to suppress a harmless movement in Samaria (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 1). A certain impostor summoned the Samaritans to Mount Gerizim by promising to show them the sacred vessels which Moses was alleged to have hidden there. They came armed, and collected in a village called Tirabatha. But Pilate fell upon them, and caused many, both then and subsequently, to be slain. Thereupon the Samaritans appealed for redress to Vitellius, the legate in Syria, pleading that no political sedition had been intended. Vitellius ordered Pilate to repair to Rome to answer the complaints against him; but before the procurator reached the capital, Tiberius had died. Thereafter Pilate disappears from authentic history. Traditions, however, concerning him existed in the Church, and finally took the shape of fantastic legends. Eusebius (*HE* ii. 7 and *Chron.*) relates, on the authority of certain unnamed earlier writers, that Pilate fell into such misfortunes under Caligula that he committed suicide; and later authorities repeat the statement. The Apocr. literature elaborated the story (see Tischendorf, *Evang. Apoc.*, Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. viii.). According to one version ('Παράδοσις Πιλάτου'), Tiberius summoned Pilate to Rome to answer the charge of crucifying Christ. When, at the examination before the Senate, Tiberius uttered Christ's name, the statues of the gods fell to the ground; whereupon Tiberius ordered war to be made against the Jews, and Pilate to be beheaded. The latter, however, with his wife, died a penitent, and was assured by a voice from heaven of his forgiveness. According to another and probably later account (*Mors Pilati*), Pilate appeared before Tiberius in the Saviour's tunic, which protected him from the emperor's fury. When he was stripped of it, Tiberius condemned him to death, but Pilate killed himself. His body was cast into the Tiber, but the evil spirits so disturbed the waters that the Romans carried the body to Vienne and sank it in the Rhone.* Thence, for the same reason, it was removed to the territory of Losania (Lausanne), but was finally sunk in a pit surrounded by mountains. Thus the legend connected itself with the mountain opposite Lucerne (supposed to have been named originally *Pileatus*, because surmounted often by a hat-shaped cloud, but corrupted by connexion with the legend into *Pilatus*; see Ruskin, *Mod. Painters*, v. 128; Müller, *Pont. Pil.* pp. 52, 53) where the body of Pilate is said to lie in a lake on the mountain, and at times emerge and go through the motion of washing the hands. The legend exists in various forms, however (see Müller, *ib.*), and attached itself to several localities. In one of the later accounts Pilate is said to have been executed by Nero (see Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 88 n.). The 'tendency' of the earlier legends was to represent the Roman Government in its treatment of Pilate as vindicating the Christians and Christ; while the disposition to represent Pilate as becoming himself a Christian † explains, perhaps, the belief of the Coptic Church that he died a saint and martyr.‡

Pilate's wife is said to have been named Claudia Procula or Procla. Christian tradition made her a proselyte to Judaism (*Gosp. of Nic.* 2). That she became a Christian is also a very old tradition (Orig. *Hom. on Mt.* 35). In the Gr. Church she became a saint, honoured on Oct. 27th. Some have even identified her with the Claudia of 2 Ti 4^{21}. Her dream may be assumed to indicate that she had heard of Jesus and His beneficent life and deeds.

That Pilate made a report to Tiberius concerning Jesus is affirmed by Justin (1 *Ap.* 35) and Tertullian (*Ap.* 21), as well as by later writers (*e.g.* Eus. *HE* ii. 2), and Apocr. literature. Some report from the governor to the emperor is probable; but it is doubtful if the early Fathers rested their appeal to it on any certain knowledge of its existence, or of its preservation in the archives. Certainly the extant *Acta Pilati* are spurious. Eusebius relates (*HE* ix. 5) that in the great persecution under Maximin, *Acts of Pilate* derogatory to Christ were forged and circulated by the pagans; but none of these have survived.

LITERATURE.—G. A. Müller, *Pontius Pilatus der fünfte Prokurator von Judäa* (Stuttgart, 1888), gives a table of earlier literature, enumerating 110 treatises and articles. The 17th and 18th cents. were especially rich in literature about Pilate (see Müller). Note, besides Müller, P. J. de Mounier, *De Pont. Pil. in causa servatoris agendi ratione* (1825); G. Warneck, *P. P. der Richter Jesu Christi, ein Gemälde aus der Leidensgesch.* (1858); R. Rosières, *Ponce Pilate* (1883); Arnold, *Die neron. Christenverfolg.* pp. 116–120, on Tacitus' reference to P. (1888); Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 39–87; Keim, *Jesus of Naz.*, Eng. tr. i. p. 229 f., vi. p. 79 ff.; Leyrer in Herzog's RE^2, art. 'Pilatus'; Waltjer, *P. P. eene Studie* (Amsterdam, 1888); Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Mess.* bk. v. ch. xiv. and App. vi.; Ollivier, 'P. P. et les Pontii' (*Rev. Bib.* v. pp. 594–600); Lange, *Life of Lord Jesus Christ*, Eng. tr. 1864, vi. 414 ff.; Weiss, *Life of Christ*, Eng. tr. iii. 343 ff.; Farrar, *Life of Christ*, Pop. ed. 1894, p. 588 ff., and *Life of Lives*, 1900, p. 494 ff.; Stalker, *Trial and Death of Jesus Christ*, 1894, p. 43 ff.; Andrews, *Life of Our Lord upon the Earth*, new ed. 1892, p. 528 ff.; Gilbert, *Student's Life of Jesus*, 1898, pp. 363 ff., 367 ff.; Cox, 'A Day in Pilate's Life,' in *Expos.* ser. II. vol. viii. (1884) 107 ff.; Macgregor, 'Christ's Three Judges—Pilate,' in *Expos.* ser. VI. vol. i. (1900) p. 59 ff.; Taylor Innes, *Trial of Jesus Christ, a legal Monograph*, 1899; Carpenter, *Son of Man among the Sons of Men*, 1893, p. 33 ff.; Quandt in *Voice from the Cross*, Eng. tr. by Macintosh, 1888, p. 99 ff.; Simcox, *Cessation of Prophecy*, 1891, 287 ff.; Maclaren, *Wearied Christ*, 1893, p. 222 ff.; Macmillan, *Mystery of Grace*, 1893, p. 217 ff. See also R. A. Lipsius, *Die Pilatus-Akten, kritisch untersucht* (1871); Tischendorf, *Pilati circum Christum judicio quid lucis afferatur ex Actis Pilati* (1855); Creizenach, *Pilatus-Legenden* (1874); Harnack, *Die Chronol. d. altchrist. Lit.* i. 603 ff.

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* 'Pilate's tomb,' a curious monument, 52 ft. high, is still shown at Vienne.

† Tertullian (*Ap.* 21) says Pilate at or immediately after Christ's death was 'already a Christian in his own convictions' (*jam pro sua conscientia Christianus*), and in the first Gr. form of the *Gosp. of Nicod.* (*Acts of Pilate*) he is described as 'uncircumcised in flesh but circumcised in heart.'

‡ He and his wife are honoured by the Copts on June 25th (Stanley, *East. Ch.* p. 13; Müller, *Pont. Pil.* p. 7).

G. T. PURVES.

PILATE, ACTS OF.—See last paragraph of preceding art. and NICODEMUS (GOSPEL OF).

PILDASH (פִּלְדָּשׁ, Φαλδάς).—One of the sons of Nahor, Gn 22^{22} (J). The personal name פלדשו has been read in the Nabatæan inscriptions (*ZDMG* xiv. 440). The proposal of Knobel to connect *Pildash* with the Ῥιπάλθας of Procopius (*de Ædificiis*, ii. 4) is rejected by Dillmann.

PILHA (פִּלְחָא, B Φαδαείς, A Φαλαεί).—One of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10^{24}.

PILL.—See PEEL.

PILLAR.—**1.** מַצֵּבָה, Arab. *nuṣub* or *nuṣb*, plur. *anṣâb*, from the Semitic root נצב, meaning 'to set upright.' **2.** נְצִיב, from the same root, employed in Gn 19^{26} to describe the pillar of salt into which Lot's wife was transformed. **3.** עַמּוּד, rendered in Greek by στήλη (also employed by LXX in Gn 19^{26}). This Hebrew word occurs in Jer 27^{19} in the sense of 'column,' which is probably its only signification, whereas מַצֵּבָה means any upright stone. More frequently עַמּוּד is rendered by the Greek στύλος (Ex 13^{21}, Jg 20^{40}, Job 27^{11}), or by the word κιων, Jg $16^{25.26}$. **4.** חַמָּן (used in plur.), pillar dedicated to sun-worship. Cf. the Carthaginian בעל חמן, Baethgen, *Beiträge zur sem. Rel.* p. 25 ff. (cf. חַמָּה 'sunglow' = sun in Job 30^{28}). On ־ָן see Gesen.^{26} § 85 n. The plur. occurs in Ezk $6^{4.6}$, Is 17^8 27^9, Lv 26^{30}, 2 Ch $14^{4.7}$. It may have been a later equivalent of מַצֵּבָה (so Kittel). LXX did not understand the term, variously rendering by ξύλινα χειροποίητα, τεμένη, βδελύγματα, and εἴδωλα.

The term מַצֵּבָה is nearly always used in association with religious cultus,[*] and signifies the upright stone which, in the pre-exilian and pre-Deuteronomic worship of Israel, was the never failing accompaniment of the Heb. sanctuary or *bāmāh*. It consisted of rough unhewn stone, and was the symbol of the Divine presence or *numen*, which was considered in some sense to reside in or be attached to it (see Jos $24^{26.27}$). Upon it the blood of the sacrificed victim or the oil of the vegetable offering was poured or smeared (cf. Gn 28^{18}).

There is clear evidence that in the primitive sanctuary of the early Semites the upright stone served as altar and Divine symbol in one; but in the later and more developed form of the cultus, both among Semites and other races, the altar and stone-symbol came to be separated the one from the other. This probably arose from the fact that it was found convenient to have a separate place for the reception and slaughter of the victim, and to this another motive came to be superadded in connexion with the larger and more important sanctuaries, viz. the need of having an erection which should be *conspicuous* to a large concourse of beholders who witnessed in silence the solemn act of slaughter. The further need to provide for the reception and disposal of the blood gave rise to special arrangements in this particular apparatus of worship. That the distinction between altar and stone-symbol arose very early in the history of primitive Israel is clearly revealed by the facts of language, since it is quite evident that מִזְבֵּחַ 'altar' or place of slaughter, belongs to early as well as late Hebrew. These views are established by archæological evidence. Primitive dolmens have been discovered provided with hollows formed for drink-offerings, and intended to serve as altars. Stones were also used by the ancient Palestinian inhabitants for the worship of ancestral manes as well as to mark the place of burial. See Nowack in *Heb. Archäol.* i. p. 92, who cites from the researches of Noetling and Schumacher in *ZDPV* ix. 268, and *Zeitsch. für Ethnol.* xix. 37 ff.; and Conder, *Heth and Moab*, pp. 238, 266 ff. The Rev. James Sibree has informed the present writer that many similar stones have been found in Madagascar.

Much obscurity hangs over the origin of the unhewn stone representation of deity. It has been generally held that that origin is to be found in the primitive fetish worship of which many illustrations have been collected by Prof. Tylor[*] and other writers from Africa, India, and ancient Hellas. Theophrastus (4th cent. B.C.) describes the superstitious Greek as passing the anointed stones in the street, taking out his oil-phial and pouring its contents on them, and then, after falling on his knees to worship, going on his way (*Char.* xvi.). Survivals of stone-worship were to be found even in quite recent times among the remote mountain peasants of Norway (Tylor, *ib.* p. 167). Accordingly the employment of the stone-symbol among the primitive Semites may be regarded as part of a well-nigh universal tradition of antiquity. In ancient Arabic polytheism we find the stone *nuṣb* or the group of *anṣâb*. The blood of the sacrificial victim was smeared upon the stone. The idea involved in this act was evidently, as Robertson Smith suggests, that of bringing 'the offering into direct contact with the deity, and in like manner the practice of stroking the sacred stone (*e.g.* that of the Kaaba) with the hand is identical with the practice of touching or stroking the garments or beard of a man in acts of supplication before him.'

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[*] The exception Is 6^{13} is far from certain. The last clause of the verse is omitted in LXX BA* though supplied in Luc. text and by a later hand in A. The preceding relative clause, with its ἅπ. λεγ. שלכת and the unique use of מצבת, appears to the present writer to have been mutilated at some early date.

[*] *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii. p. 161 ff. It is by no means easy to define the meaning of 'fetish.' Usually it is explained as meaning the material thing, as a stone, which is made the object of worship. Others deny this, treating the fetish as a magical 'medium whereby one is placed in closer connexion with the deity, and in which divine powers reside.' See Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgesch.*^{2} i. p. 14. This writer remarks with much truth that it is not any or every object of sense-perception to which the term can be applied, 'but only the individual, one might say, accidental object which attracts the attention of the savage.' There is no essential distinction between the fetish and the idol. The distinction is merely one of external form. The former is a rude natural object accidentally found, the latter is carved or painted by human hands. In both cases the spirit, which is the object of worship and whose help is sought, is supposed to be in some way incorporate in the material. Siebeck, *Lehrbuch der Religionsphilosophie*, p. 64, contrasts this view with the more advanced conception which regards the idol as the *symbol* and not the seat of deity. It may here be remarked, in order to prevent misunderstanding, that the expression 'stone-symbol' is not used in this exclusive sense in this article. The stone among the early Semites *not only represented but incorporated* the *numen* of the deity. See Robertson Smith, *RS*^{2} p. 204 ff.

The stone might represent a male or female deity, but it must not be inferred that the plurality of stones represented always a plurality of deities. Probably it represented as a rule a single object of worship, just as the twelve stones erected by Joshua at Gilgal (Jos 4^{20}), and the same number by Moses (on the occasion of the covenant sacrifice at Sinai, Ex 24^4), for the twelve tribes of Israel, represented the one God, Jehovah. According to Wellhausen (*Reste arab. Heid.*^{2} p. 102) it was customary in oaths to swear 'by the *anṣâb* which stand around such and such a god.' In an interesting passage in which Herodotus describes the mode in which the ancient Arabs ratify a solemn covenant (iii. 8), he speaks of seven stones on which the sacrificial blood was smeared in honour of Dionysus and the heavenly (goddess), probably meaning the sun and moon (so Abicht). In the interesting narrative of Nilus quoted by Robertson Smith (*RS*^{2} p. 338), the camel chosen as a victim is bound upon a rude altar of stones piled together. Probably this may be regarded as the most primitive type of Arabian or Semitic sacrifice.

The sacred stone (or stones) was not conveyed by the nomadic clan from place to place in its wanderings, like an ark or some movable *simulacrum*, but remained stationary, since the stone may be considered to have focussed the presence and personal power of the deity that owned and occupied the *Temenos*, *Ḳodesh* (or *Ḥaram*), as the hallowed spot was named by Greek or Semite respectively. Such a spot was frequently one of special fertility accompanied by a sacred spring and tree. Frequently the *mazzēbā* consisted of a large natural upright rock of irregular shape. The two pillars of Heracles (the Greek equivalent of Baal) consisted probably of enormous cliff-like rocks situated by the Straits of Gibraltar. Numerous examples of such natural blocks of stone *in situ* are given in *RS*^{2} p. 110 (see especially the footnote). Among these is the notable stone-symbol of the goddess *al Lât* (see *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 292 ff.). Doughty gives a description of his visit to *eṭ-Ṭâif*, where he saw this and two other sacred stones (*Arabia Deserta*, ii. p. 515 ff.). The interesting fact that goddesses were also worshipped under these stone-symbols clearly proves that Movers is wrong in ascribing to them a phallic origin and character.[*] They can only be explained as one of the many forms of fetishism out of which polytheistic cultus grew.

Any stone of this character would mark a *Bêth-el.* Hence such stones came to be called by the Greeks βαίτυλοι or βαιτύλια.[†] In Is 57^6 we have an interesting reference to the wide prevalence of this worship of sacred stones, on which drink-offerings were poured and to which meal-offerings were offered. In the wādis, the winter-torrents made these boulders smooth and round. See Cheyne's note, *ad loc.*, in *SBOT.*

It was not at every spot that such sacred pillars were erected. There must be a special manifestation of the Divine presence in order to render the worship valid, because the place had thus become invested with special sanctity. Not simply fertile oases with trees and flowing spring coming from the depths of the soil, but also special events, as battles, signal deliverances and visions, were tokens of God's presence. Thus after the battle of Michmash, Saul ordered a great stone to be rolled (1 S 14^{33}) which served as an altar (v.^{35}); Bethel, according to JE, became a consecrated spot through the vision of Jacob, who in consequence set up the stone pillar and poured oil upon it (Gn 28^{18}).

These passages sufficiently illustrate the primitive character of the pre-exilian Hebrew *mazzēbā* which formed the indispensable accompaniment of every sanctuary (Hos 3^4). The early pre-exilian code of legislation preserved in Ex 20^{25} sought to keep intact the stone's primitive condition. It was to remain unhewn and no iron instrument was to desecrate it, either because the stone itself, was sacrosanct like the sacred enclosure in which it stood, or perhaps, as Nowack suggests (*Heb. Archäol.* ii. p. 17), because the profaning hand of man drove the *numen* out of the stone. If we are to believe the statement of the Mishna tract *Middoth* (iii. 1), the altar of burnt-offering in Herod's temple was formed of unhewn stones. Throughout the earlier portion of OT narrative we constantly meet with allusions to the stone pillars of the local sanctuaries, *e.g.* Shechem (Jos 24^{26}), Ramoth-gilead (Gn 31^{45}), Gilgal (Jos 4^5), Mizpeh (1 S 7^{12}), Gibeon (2 S 20^8), En-rogel (1 K 1^9). Sometimes the stone gave the name to the spot, as Eben-'ezer (1 S 7^{12}, cf. 4^1). Here again, as in the case of 1 S 14^{33} (already mentioned), the erection of the stone at a particular spot follows the manifestation of Divine power in His people's signal victory. That the rough stone (*mazzēbā*), as the symbol of Jehovah, differed in no respect from that which was erected to represent Baal, is quite certain. Baal worship and Jehovah worship at the local *bāmôth* were inextricably blended in the pre-Deuteronomic period, as the oracles of Hosea clearly testify (Hos 2^{18} the genuineness of which Wellhausen and Nowack unnecessarily surrender). The *mazzēbôth* of Baal were destroyed in Samaria by the reforming zeal of Jehu (2 K $10^{26.\,27}$).

BRAZEN PILLAR.

Whether there is any reference to the stone-symbol in the designation of Jehovah by the name 'rock' in many poetical passages in the OT (Ps

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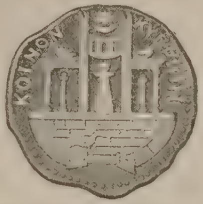
[*] Comp. *RS*^{2}, p. 456 ff, (additional Note D).

[†] On these *bêtyls* as wonder-working stones endowed with magic powers, see Pietschmann, *Gesch. der Phönizier*, p. 206, and François Lenormant, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, iii. 31–53.

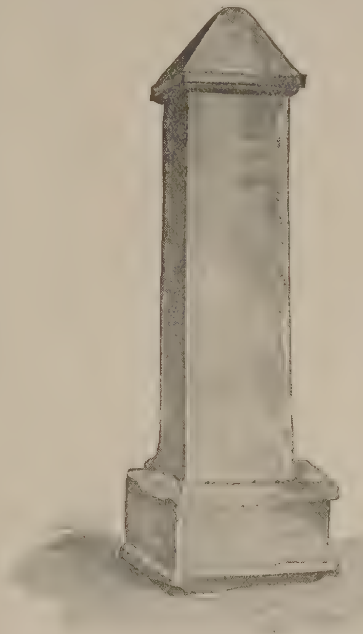
18^{32}, 1 S 2^2, Dt $32^{4ff.}$, Is 30^{29}), it is not easy to determine. The name for rock here is צוּר, which also enters into proper names which have their parallels in Assyrian (Schrader, *COT* ii. p. 326). The balance of evidence is on the whole against this attractive supposition. In the first place, the occurrence of such names in Hebrew is late (Buchanan Gray observes that they occur only in P and never in JE or Judges *). In the second place, צוּר is not the term associated with the sacred symbol by the Hebrews, but אֶבֶן; but אֶבֶן is never employed in personal proper names. Probably, therefore, we should regard the use of צוּר in the personal names and in the poetical passages as figurative only, Jehovah being regarded as a safe and strong place of refuge (Ps 27^5 61^3), or as affording shadow from oppressive heat, cf. Is 32^2. See, further, art. ROCK.

In Phœnician cultus we frequently notice the presence of *twin pillars.* Thus we find twin pillars erected in Solomon's temple † by Hiram the Tyrian artificer (1 K 7^{15-21}). Similar twin pillars are exhibited on coins which portray the temple at Paphos, and also they represented the deity Melkarth at Tyre. The latter are specially described by Herodotus (ii. 44), who paid a personal visit of inspection to this famous Tyrian shrine of Hercules (Melkarth). According to Herodotus, this temple was sumptuously wrought and furnished. One of the pillars was of refined gold, and the other of emerald (or more probably, as Abicht suggests, of green glass), the latter emitting a bright light at night-time, perhaps for the mariners at sea. To the same category belong the bronze pillars of the temple of Hercules at Gades (גָּדֵר), another Phœnician settlement, described by Strabo.



TWIN PILLARS IN TEMPLE OF APHRODITE AT PAPHOS.

Respecting Phœnician stones, sometimes called נציב, see Pietschmann's *Gesch. der Phönizier*, pp. 204–213. Among the varied forms of these Phœnician *stelæ*, some of which were worked into a square shape tapering at the top (see illustration below), special mention should be made of the *votive stelæ*, erected by individuals as the result of a vow to the deity in order to secure some desired object. Many of them have no inscription. Others bear a legend which would nearly always be somewhat of the following character: 'To the Rabbat, the Tanit-P'nê-Ba'al and the Adon, the Baal-Ḥammon, as N.N. son of N.N. has vowed, since they have heard his voice; may they bless him.' It is possible that this may have been the real character of the memorial stone erected by Absalom (2 S 18^{18}, 'Now Absalom in his life time had reared up for himself the *mazzébeth* which is in the king's dale; for he said, I have no son to keep my name in remembrance; and he called the *mazzébeth* after his own name, and it is called Absalom's monument (יָד) unto this day'). It may have been rather a votive stone than merely memorial, erected in anticipation of his attempt to seize the throne. There is no necessity, with Löhr, to suppose that this *mazzēbā* was originally the mark of an old Canaanite sanctuary, and that its significance as a Divine symbol has been transformed into something else by the writer; see Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgesch.*² p. 132 and footnote.


PHŒNICIAN MAZZEBAH.

The erection of the *mazzēbā* as a stone-symbol was forbidden in the Deuteronomic code (Dt 16^{22}, 'Neither shalt thou set thee up a *mazzēbā*, which the LORD thy God hateth'), which belongs to about the year B.C. 621 in Josiah's reign. Hereafter it became illegitimate. The reference to the pillar to Jehovah at the border of Egypt in Is 19^{19}, 'there shall be a *mazzēbā* at the border [of Egypt] to the LORD,' must be regarded as pre-exilian and pre-Deuteronomic, though it is probable that the chapter in which it occurs has been affected by later influences. See art. ALTAR.

LITERATURE.—Besides the literature referred to, consult Wellhausen, *Reste ar. Heid.*² pp. 101, 141; Dillmann on Gn 28^{18}, Dt 16^{21}; Driver on Dt 16^{21}; Smith on 1 S 6^{14}; Conder, *Syrian Stone Lore*, new ed. 1896, p. 86.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

PILLAR, PLAIN OF THE.—In Jg 9^6 we read that the men of Shechem and all the house of Millo made Abimelech king 'by the plain (AV; RV 'oak,' RVm 'terebinth') of the pillar that was in Shechem' (עִם־אֵלוֹן מֻצָּב אֲשֶׁר בִּשְׁכֶם; LXX B *πρὸς τῇ βαλάνῳ τῇ εὑρετῇ τῆς στάσεως τῆς ἐν Σικίμοις* [A om. *τῇ εὑρετῇ* and the second *τῆς*]; Aq. *ἐπὶ πεδίου στηλώματος*; Vulg. *juxta quercum quæ stabat in Sichem*). The correct rendering is undoubtedly 'the terebinth of the pillar' (see OAK No. 3 and PLAIN No. 2), although it is doubtful whether this can be obtained from the MT מֻצָּב. The latter word is held by some (*e.g.* Studer) to be a noun synonymous with מַצֵּבָה; but even so the absence of the article has to be accounted for. It is possible that, inserting the article, and punctuating differently, we should read הַמֻּצָּב (cf. 1 S 13^{23} 14^{15}, 2 S 23^{14}); but, upon the whole, the best course appears to be to emend, with Moore (followed by Budde), to הַמַּצֵּבָה 'the *mazzēbah* terebinth.' Abimelech, as Moore appositely points out, was thus acclaimed at the sanctuary of Shechem, as Saul was at that of Gilgal (1 S 11^{15}). The name was in all probability purposely obscured by the Massoretic reading and punctuation מֻצָּב. The *mazzēbah* mentioned in Jg 9^6 is perhaps the same as is called in Jos 24^{26} 'a great stone' (אֶבֶן גְּדוֹלָה).

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* *Hebrew Proper Names*, p. 194, cf. also 195 f.

† On the difficulties of the text of 1 K $7^{15\cdot 22}$ dealing with the two pillars in the portico of Solomon's temple, Jachin and Boaz, see Klostermann, Kittel (cf. Jer $52^{21\cdot 23}$), and Benzinger, *ad loc.* The last is especially useful on the archæological details and religious significance. See also the figured representations in his *Commentary*, p. 44, and in his *Heb. Archäol.* pp. 245, 249 f. The Babylonian parallels to the names of the two pillars may be found in Schrader, *COT* i. p. 174.

J. A. Selbie.

PILLOW.—1. כְּבִיר 1 S $19^{13.16}$ [only]. Michal, according to AV and RV, put a pillow of goats' hair at the head of the teraphim which she had laid in David's bed. The LXX (ἧπαρ) reads כְּבִיר as כְּבַד (constr. of כָּבֵד 'liver'); and this is adopted by Jos. (*Ant.* VI. xi. 4), who describes, somewhat fancifully, how the palpitation of the goat's liver under the bed-clothes conveyed to Saul's messengers the impression that David was gasping for breath. The root כבר, from which כְּבִיר is derived, probably means to 'intertwine *or* net,' so that כְּבִיר הָעִזִּים would signify something woven or netted from goats' hair. Hence one or other of the two renderings proposed in RVm ('quilt *or* network') should probably be adopted in preference to the text. A number of commentators (*e.g.* Sebastian Schmidt, Ewald, Keil) think the reference is to a mosquito-net (κωνωπεῖον) spread over the face of a person sleeping. But, as Driver points out, in Jth 10^{21} 13^9, where this Greek term is used of the Canopy (wh. see) of Holofernes' bed, the κωνωπεῖον is fixed upon the στῦλοι or bedposts. In favour of the rendering 'quilt' we have the employment of a cognate Heb. term מַכְבֵּר in 2 K 8^{15} for the coverlet which Hazael used to smother Benhadad. But it must be confessed that the description of Michal's action in 1 S 19^{13} is not clear enough to determine the sense of כְּבִיר. The following term מְרַאֲשֹׁתָיו (AV 'for his bolster,' RV 'at the head thereof') does not define the position in which the כְּבִיר was placed with reference to the head, whether over, or under, or around it; it simply implies proximity (see, further, Driver, Löhr, and H. P. Smith, *ad loc.*). 2. It is this word מְרַאֲשֹׁת which is rendered by AV 'pillow' in Gn $28^{11.18}$, but RV gives more correctly 'under his head' (LXX πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ). The other occurrences of the Heb. expression in the same sense are 1 S $26^{7.11.16}$, in all of which AV has 'at his bolster,' RV 'at his head' (in v.^{12} read מְרַאֲשֹׁתָיו for מְרַאֲשֹׁת שָׁאוּל; AV 'from Saul's bolster,' RV 'from Saul's head'; LXX ἀπὸ πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ); 1 K 19^6, where both AV and RV render מְרַאֲשֹׁתָיו by 'at his (Elijah's) head' (AVm 'bolster'; LXX πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ). 3. כְּסָתוֹת (LXX προσκεφάλαια) Ezk 13^{18} (AV, RV 'pillows'). The meaning appears to be 'fillets' or 'bands,' used as amulets or charms, for instance in the process of divination. See art. Kerchief, also Phylacteries, p. 872^b, and cf. the Comm. of Davidson or Bertholet, *ad loc.* 4. προσκεφάλαιον. 'Pillow' is the correct tr. of this word in 1 Es 3^8, where we are told that the three pages of Darius each wrote his sentence, sealed it up, and put it under the king's pillow. The only other Biblical occurrence of this Gr. term (in addition to the LXX of Ezk $13^{18.20}$ above) is Mk 4^{38}, where we read that Jesus was in the stern asleep 'on a pillow' (so AV, but RV 'on the **cushion**,' Gr. ἐπὶ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον). The reference appears to be to the cushion used by rowers (Cratin. *Hor.* 18, Hermipp. *Strat.* v.); see the Comm. *ad loc.*

J. A. Selbie.

PILTAI (פִּלְטָי, B om., A Φελτεί).—The head of the priestly house of Moadiah in the time of Joiakim, Neh 12^{17}. It is possible that we should emend to פַּלְטִי, *Palti*; cf. Nu 13^9, 1 S 25^{44}, 2 S 23^{35}.

PIN.—Jg $4^{21.22}$ RV for AV 'nail.' The Heb. is יָתֵד (LXX πάσσαλος). In 5^{26}, by an unaccountable inconsistency, RV retains 'nail,' although the Heb. is the same, and relegates 'tent-pin' to the margin. On the other uses of the word יָתֵד see art. Paddle. The tent-pins, to which the ropes of the tent were fastened (Is 33^{20}), were not of metal but of wood, as among the Bedawîn at the present day (see Moore, *ad loc.*). For the question whether the description of Jael's action in $4^{21.22}$ is not due to a prosaic misunderstanding of 5^{26} (Wellh. *Comp.* p. 222; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*² p. 132; Stade, *GVI* i. p. 178 n.), see artt. Jael and Sisera.

PINE TREE.—The trⁿ in AV of two Heb. expressions—1. עֵץ שֶׁמֶן *'ēẓ shemen* (Neh 8^{15}), RV 'wild olive.' We incline to the rendering 'fatwood trees' for this expression in this and the other passages in which it occurs. This would include all the resinous trees of Palestine and Syria, especially the pines. See Oil Tree.

2. תִּדְהָר *tidhhār* (Is 41^{19} 60^{13} RVm 'plane'). There is nothing in the etymology to indicate the tree intended. *Dardār* in the Arab., which is used for both the elm and the ash, is cited by the *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*; but this is from a different root, *dardār*, not *dāhar*, and really sheds no light on the question. Theodotion (Qᵐᵍ) transliterated תדהר by θαδδάρ, while Symmachus rendered it πτελαίαν, *i.e.* πτελέαν, 'elm.' In the LXX there are five trees named where there are three in MT; possibly two of the names are doublets. The reading of RVm (and Cheyne) 'plane' does not seem to have any foundation. The same is true of Gesenius' rendering 'oak.' This he obtains from the radical signification of *dahr* (Arab.) = 'age' or 'duration'; but the Heb. [דָּהַר] *dāhar*, has not, so far as we know, any such meaning. Perhaps the best refuge for our ignorance would be a textual or marginal transliteration *tidhhār*, as suggested in the case of *tĕ'ashshûr* in the same passage (see Box Tree), and *'algummîm* (see Algum).

G. E. Post.

PINNACLE (πτερύγιον, diminutive of πτέρυξ, 'wing'; so lit. 'little wing'; Vulg. *pinnaculum* and *pinna* respectively in Mt 4^5 and Lk 4^9, the only two places where the Gr. word occurs in NT).—That part of the temple enclosure (τὸ ἱερόν, not ὁ ναός) to which the devil took our Lord for the purpose of tempting Him.

πτερύγιον is used in the LXX to translate the following Heb. words:—1. כָּנָף *kānāph*, wing or border, as of a garment, Nu 15^{38}, 1 S 15^{27} 24^4. 2. סְנַפִּיר *sĕnappîr*, fin of a fish, Lv 11^9. Aristotle in περὶ ψυχῆς, i. 5. 14, has the word in this sense. 3. קָצָה *kāẓāh*, Ex 28^{26} (AV 'border,' RV 'edge' of breastplate).

In NT it stands for some part of the roof of the sanctuary or of the temple proper, perhaps the S.E. corner, from which the widest and most impressive view was obtained. The part meant was well known, as the use of the article τὸ (πτερύγιον) shows, but the word is used in this connexion only, and we have no means of definitely fixing its connotation. Opinions, which differ widely, may be arranged in two main classes.

(*a*) Those which make the pinnacle a part of the sanctuary or temple proper (ὁ ναός). Meyer (on Mt 4^5) argues that the use of τοῦ ἱεροῦ, not τοῦ ναοῦ, shows that the temple proper cannot be meant; but he forgets in this criticism that ἱερόν is a general word which embraces the sanctuary and also the adjoining buildings; it therefore covers ναός, though it includes more. It has this more extensive meaning in Mt 12^6 24^1, Mk 13^3, Lk 21^{5} 22^{52}, though in some other passages it seems to denote the buildings around, to the exclusion of the temple proper, as in Mt $21^{12.14}$ 26^{55}, Mk 14^{49}, Lk 19^{47} 21^{37} 22^{53} 24^{53} etc. In Mt 4^{5} and Lk 4^{9} it may be used in the broad or in the narrow sense—the word itself proves nothing. The sense here must accordingly be ascertained from the context, or the probabilities of the case. Those who seek the pinnacle somewhere in the sanctuary differ as to its exact situation. (1) Luther, Beza, and Grotius place it on the parapet surrounding the roof; such a fence had by law (Dt 22^{8}) to be placed on the roof of all buildings, to prevent accident by falling. (2) The ridge or the highest point of the roof, say Fritzsche and Winer. (3) According to Paulus, it is the gable or pediment of the roof, and it gets its name from its shape Λ. (4) Krebs, Keim, and generally the older expositors identify the so-called pinnacle with the roof. (5) Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb.* on Mt 4^{5}) holds that the summit of the אולם (*'ulâm*) or porch, which extended on both sides of the sanctuary on the east, is what we are to understand. This porch was, he says, like a wing of the temple, and the top of it was like its wing.

(*b*) Others hold that a part of some out-building is what is meant. Here again, as before, there are differences as to the details. (1) Wetstein and Michaelis think that Solomon's porch on the east of the temple (see Jos. *Ant.* XXI. ix. 7) is what is meant. (2) The Στοὰ βασιλική on the south side of the temple area (see Jos. *Ant.* XV. xi. 9) is what B.-Crusius, Arnoldi, and Meyer take the word to stand for. From this portico, according to the account of Josephus (see above), the view below is a deep and giddy one. This is the opinion to which Lightfoot is most inclined next to his own.

When, however, we remember that the sanctuary was on the highest of a series of terraces, so that its roof would command valleys and mountains around Jerus., and even beyond Jordan, it is much more natural and impressive to make the sanctuary roof the scene of this temptation. Meyer objects that, on account of its being covered with pointed spikes, put there to keep the birds away, Christ could not have been placed there; but the priests are known to have ascended to this roof (*Middoth*, ch. 4; *Tannith*, Talm. Bab. fol. 29). T. W. DAVIES.

PINON (פִּינֹן).—An Edomite 'duke,' Gn 36^{41} (A Φινές, *D* Φεινών, E Φινών) = 1 Ch 1^{52} (B Φεινών, A Φινών). It is the same name which appears in Nu 33^{42} as **Punon** (פּוּנֹן), one of the stations of the Israelites. See PUNON.

PIPE, in the sense of a tube, occurs in AV and RV of Zec 4^{2} (מוּצָקוֹת), and in AV (RV has 'spouts') of v.^{12} (צַנְתְּרוֹת) in connexion with the golden candlestick which the prophet saw in a vision, and which had a bowl at the top filled with oil for supplying its seven lamps by means of *pipes* leading to them. For 'pipe' in the sense of a musical instrument see MUSIC. J. WORTABET.

PIRAM (פִּרְאָם 'wild ass'?).—The king of Jarmuth who joined other four kings against Gibeon, but was defeated by Joshua at Beth-horon and afterwards put to death at Makkedah along with his allies (Jos $10^{3ff.}$). According to Hommel (*Anc. Heb. Trad.* 223 n.), *Pir'am* is identical with *Pir'u*, the name of an Arabian king in the time of Sargon. Sayce (*EHH* 225 n.) compares the Egyp. *Pi-Romi*.

PIRATHON, PIRATHONITE (פִּרְעָתֹנִי, ὁ Φαραθωνείτης, Luc. Ἐφρααθωνίτης), Jg $12^{13.15}$.—Abdon, a minor judge, was a Pirathonite, *i.e.* a native of Pirathon 'in the land of Ephraim, in the hill-country of the Amalekites,' a district either anciently held by the Amalekites, or seized by them on one of their invasions from the south. Benaiah, one of David's mighty men, belonged to the same town, 2 S 23^{30}, 1 Ch 11^{31} ὁ Φαραθωνεί, 27^{14} ὁ ἐκ Φαραθών. It is generally identified with *Fer'ata*, 6 miles S.W. of Samaria (a site also proposed for Ophrah); some prefer *Fer'on*, due W. of Samaria. Smith suggests that Pirathon was a fortress at the head of the Wady Far'ah, *HGHL* 355, cf. 350 f.; Moore is inclined to look for it in Benjamin, as Abdon is a Benjamite family in 1 Ch $8^{23.30}$ 9^{36}. Pirathon was one of the places fortified by Bacchides, 1 Mac 9^{50} καὶ τὴν Θαμνάθα Φαραθών. It appears that καὶ τήν has fallen out of the text before Φ. here. The other fortresses in this verse are all ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, so that Φ. can hardly be the same as Pirathon above; unless the author made the mistake of introducing a Samaritan town into his list of Judæan forts. See also Jos. *Ant.* XIII. i. 3.
G. A. COOKE.

PISGAH.—This word (which always has the def. art. הַפִּסְגָּה) is not found by itself, but in the expressions רֹאשׁ הַפִּסְגָּה and אַשְׁדֹּת הַפִּסְגָּה. The first of these occurs in four passages, two of which refer to Moses (Dt 3^{27} 34^{1}). In art. NEBO (MOUNT) it is pointed out that 'the top (head) of Pisgah' and 'Mt. Nebo' are alternative designations (in D and P respectively) of the same spot, and the situation is described. The two other passages are Nu 21^{20} 23^{14}. In Nu 21^{20} a station in the journeyings of the children of Israel is described as 'the top of Pisgah which looketh down upon the desert' (AV 'toward Jeshimon,' cf. RVm); and according to Nu 23^{14} Balak brought Balaam, after sacrificing on the high places of Baal, or at Bamoth-baal (22^{41}), 'into the field of Zophim, to the top of Pisgah.'

The second expression is found Dt 3^{17} 4^{49}, Jos 12^{3} 13^{20}. RV renders 'slopes of Pisgah,' with 'springs' in the margin; AV has 'Ashdoth-pisgah,' except in Dt 4^{49}, where it has 'the springs of Pisgah.' In Jos 10^{40} 12^{8} הָאֲשֵׁדוֹת occurs by itself, and is rendered RV 'slopes,' AV 'springs'; and אֶשֶׁד is the first word of Nu 21^{15}—RV 'slope of the valleys,' AV 'stream of the brooks.' From these versions it will be seen that the unusual word from the root אשד has been variously interpreted. In Aramaic אשד means 'to pour' [it is the Targ. rendering of שפך in MT], and hence אֶשֶׁד and אֲשֵׁדוֹת are interpreted as places where water is poured down, *i.e.* the sloping sides of hills, or as pourings forth, *i.e.* streams or springs.

The AV, in treating it as a proper name, follows the LXX, which renders uniformly Ἀσηδώθ (Μηδώθ is a variant in B of Jos 12^{8} and A of 13^{20}). The hesitation of AV is like that of the Vulgate, which renders *radices montis Phasga* in Dt, and *Asedoth* in Joshua. The *Onomasticon* takes it as the name of a city in the tribe of Reuben, and adds 'adpellatur autem addito cognomento Asedoth Fasga, quod in lingua nostra resonat abscisum.' (Cf. Eus. [Lag. 206]: λέγεται δὲ Ἀσηδὼθ Φασγὼ ὅ ἐστι λαξευτή.) It also asserts (*s.v.* 'Abarim') that a district was still called Φασγώ, Fasga (*Onom.* Lag. ed. pp. 124, 125, 237). No trace of such a district has been found on the eastern side of the Dead Sea, but a very similar name is applied to a promontory on the western shore (*Ras Feshkah*); and in its neighbourhood is the Neby Musa of Moslem tradition.

The renderings of LXX for Pisgah call for some comment. In the second group (those containing *'Ashdôth-happisgāh*) we find Φασγά or Φασχά three times, and τὴν λαξευτήν in Dt 4^{49}. In the first group (those containing 'top of Pisgah') we find Φασγά once (Dt 34^{1}), but Nu 21^{20} τοῦ λελαξευμένου, and Nu 23^{14}, Dt 3^{27} (both B) Λελαξευμένου.

The root פסג occurs only once in the Massoretic text of OT (Ps 48^{14}) in Targ. Jerus. as a verb 'to divide' (MT נתח and the ἅπ. λεγ. בתר of Gn 15^{10}), and פסגא denotes 'a portion.' The word λαξεύω (which is used of hewing and dressing stone) is the LXX rendering of the MT פסל in the command to hew the second tables of stone (Ex $34^{1.4}$, Dt 10). In the *Onomasticon* it is regarded as a translation of Pisgah, and the '*abscisum*' of Jerome (see the passages given above) seems to indicate a mountain with precipitous sides. Pisgah as seen from the heights of the Moabite plateau would not suggest the idea of a mountain cut off from its fellows, but as seen from the Dead Sea and Jordan Valley its steep sides justify the epithet '*abscisum*,' which may be taken as an interpretation of λαξευτὴν and Pisgah. There is another alternative suggested by the similarity between פסל and פסגה, viz. that the LXX translation is due to a confusion of consonants. It may further be noted that the different renderings of the LXX are not found in different books, but that in both Numbers and Deut. Pisgah is translated in one place as a proper noun, and in others explained by the Greek verb λαξεύω.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

PISHON (פִּישׁוֹן, Φεισών, *Phison*).—See EDEN. In Assyrian *pisannu* means 'water-channel.'

PISIDIA (Πισιδία) was a country in the southern part of Asia Minor, bounded by Lycia on the west, Phrygia on the north, and Pamphylia on the south, while on the east it passed in a vague, indefinite way into the land of the Isaurian or Tracheiotic tribes. Its greatest length, east to west, was about 120 miles, and its greatest breadth about 50. On the north and south Pisidia was originally well defined by its relation to the Taurus mountains: in this part Taurus is a broad tract of many lofty ridges intersected by valleys, some of large size along the course of considerable rivers or the margin of lakes, others mere glens among the hills. Where the mountains are merged definitely in the great plateau on the north, or sink to the level coast-land on the south, Pisidia ended. Several of those large valleys bore special names, such as Kabalis, Milyas the land of the Milyes or Milyai, the country of the Etenneis (more strictly Hetenneis, transformed in Greek into two separate names attached to two parts of the country, Etenneis and Katenneis), the country of the Orondeis, the country of the Homonades: sometimes those districts were called by their special names, but often they were summed up as parts of Pisidia.

In the course of Roman history the name Pisidia was changed from a strictly geographical to a political term. Pisidia was merely a part of the great province Galatia in the 1st cent. after Christ. In A.D. 74 the larger half of Pisidia was taken from the province Galatia and attached to the new double province of Lycia-Pamphylia. It was then reckoned part of Pamphylia; and that name now gradually came to be used as including many cities which previously were purely Pisidian; while the name Pisidia was more especially applied to the part of that country which was still in the province Galatia, and Pisidia steadily encroached on PHRYGIA until in practice the whole of Galatic Phrygia was called Pisidia. Antioch and Apollonia, originally cities of Phrygia, then came to be called cities of Pisidia. Still later, probably under Diocletian, the whole of southern Galatia was formed into a province Pisidia, to which were attached western Lycaonia and another slice of Phrygia with the cities of Apamea and Metropolis. Thus we find Iconium called a city of Pisidia in the 4th cent. by Ammianus Marcellinus. About 372 another new province Lycaonia was constituted out of parts of the provinces Isauria, Pisidia, and Galatia (eastern Lycaonia and Isauropolis from the first, western Lycaonia and parts of eastern Pisidia from the second, Glavama or Egdaumana from the third); and henceforth the name Pisidia was used to denote the diminished province with Antioch as capital.

In the time of St. Paul, Pisidia was still used in its old and strict sense to indicate the whole great group of mountain valleys in the Taurus, which politically formed part of the province Galatia. Paul traversed Pisidia on his way from Perga to Antioch (Ac 13^{14}), and again on his return journey from Antioch to Perga (Ac 14^{24}). On the former occasion Pisidia is not named, probably for the reason that Paul and Barnabas were going straight to Antioch and did not preach by the way. On the second occasion 'they passed through Pisidia and came to Pamphylia'; the two names are here used as political terms, one being a region of the province Galatia (see vol. ii. pp. 87, 90 f.), the other the small procuratorial province on the coast.

In Ac 13^{14} the true text is 'Pisidian Antioch' [*] (not Antioch of Pisidia), that being a way of distinguishing it from the many other Antiochs, abbreviated from the fuller description 'a Phrygian city towards Pisidia': the region (of the province) of which Antioch was metropolis is mentioned Ac 13^{49}: it was (Galatic) PHRYGIA.

If Paul preached in Pisidia, the brevity of the reference rather suggests that the work was unimportant and unsuccessful. He found there no 'door opened unto him' (2 Co 2^{12}). A rude, little-educated, rustic population was not favourable to his teaching; and there is no reason to think that Pisidia was early Christianized. The only part where there are any pre-Constantinian Christian inscriptions, is that which lies closest to Apamea; [†] and the new religion is likely to have spread there from that great seat of early Christianity (see PHRYGIA).

Yet a Pauline tradition seems either to have remained alive from the first or to have grown up later in Pisidia. The modern name of the imposing but wholly desolate and unpopulated ruins of Adada is Kara Bavlo. The word Kara (literally 'black,' metaphorically in common usage 'terrible' or 'strong') is often applied to ancient sites. The name Bavlo is now applied to the modern town 5 or 6 miles south of Kara Bavlo, which has replaced it as the seat of government. Plainly the name was carried with the population from the old site to the new; and the old city was henceforward distinguished as Kara Bavlo. Now it is evident and certain that Bavlo is merely the modern pronunciation of the apostle's name Παῦλο'; and clearly this name was the popular local designation of Adada, derived from the patron saint. And it is highly probable that this local identification of Adada with the apostle's name is to be connected with the fact that Adada is the one important city in Pisidia on the direct road from Perga to Antioch; and that the name attests a local legend that St. Paul passed that way and taught in the city. A remarkable and very early ruined church stands near the road leading to the south about a mile or two from the city.

One other trace of Pisidia has been left on the NT. When St. Paul speaks of the 'perils of rivers' and 'perils of robbers' which he had been exposed to, no locality is likely to have been so prominent in his mind as Pisidia. It was still barely conquered when he traversed it. Augustus had found it necessary to plant in it several colonies, Cremna, Comama, Olbasa, Parlais, to keep down its unruly tribes. Its mountain fastnesses were the natural haunt and refuge of robbers; and the inscriptions bear testimony to this. Some examples are quoted in the *Church in the Roman Empire before 170*, p. 23 f.; see also Conybeare and Howson's scholarly work on St. Paul (though it indicates a different route across Pisidia).

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[*] Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν Πισιδίαν, ℵABC, Tisch., Westcott and Hort, etc.

[†] Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pt. ii. p. 498.

Literature.—As to Pisidian ethnology and language hardly anything is known; Ramsay, 'Inscriptions en Langue Pisidienne,' in *Revue des Universités du Midi*, 1895, p. 353, has published the only known monuments of the language; but they contain hardly anything more than proper names, revealing a few grammatical forms. The proper names, Grecized in form, which occur in Greek inscriptions, are of remarkable and peculiar character: many Greek inscriptions of Pisidian cities are given by Sterrett in his *Wolfe Expedition* and his *Epigraphic Journey in Asia Minor*; by Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* (containing also splendid accounts and photographs of sites and monuments).

W. M. Ramsay.

PISPAH (פִּסְפָּה, B *Φασφαl*, A *Φασφά*).—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7^{38}.

PIT in OT represents twelve Heb., and in NT two Gr. words. **1, 2.** From the root באר, only in Piel, 'make distinct *or* plain':—(*a*) בְּאֵר (possibly from idea of *coming to light* or *appearing*), commonly rendered 'well,' indicating a deep shaft containing water. It corresponds with Arab. *bi'r*. It is once used of the *pits* whence bitumen was taken, בֶּאֱרֹת חֵמָר (Gn 14^{10}). The dark, cold depths, from which, if one fell in, escape would be so difficult, doubtless suggested the figures 'pit of destruction' (Ps 55^{23}), 'pit' (Ps 69^{15}), 'narrow pit' (Pr 23^{27}). (*b*) בּוֹר the usual word for 'cistern,' which should take the place of 'pit' (RVm) in Lv 11^{36}, 1 S 13^{6}, 2 K 10^{14}. When empty, the *bōr* was frequently used as a place of confinement (Gn 37$^{22ff.}$, Zec 9^{11}). It is rendered 'dungeon' in Gn 40$^{15ff.}$, Is 24^{22} RVm, La 3$^{53.\,55}$; so also Jer 38^{6} (RVm 'pit'), which may explain the figure in Ps 40^{2}. בֵּית הַבּוֹר (Ex 12^{29}, Jer 37^{16}) is a prison cell. Thus it comes to be used for the universal prison of the tomb (Pr 1^{12}, Ps 28^{1} 30^{3}, Is 14^{15} 38^{18}, Ezk 26^{20} etc.). The pit in which Benaiah slew the lion (2 S 23^{20}, 1 Ch 11^{22}) and the pit, prepared against the necessities of a dreaded siege, into which Ishmael cast his slaughtered victims (Jer 41$^{7.\,9}$), were probably large empty reservoirs. The hole out of which stones have been quarried (Is 51^{1}) is often used as a cistern.

3. גֵּב (from גוב 'to dig') corresponds with the Arab. *jubb*, a deep well or cistern or ditch. The word occurs in 2 K 3^{16}, where the most likely sense is 'trenches' (RV), and in Jer 14^{3}, where 'pits' should surely be 'cisterns' (possibly also in same sense [so Klost.] in Jer 39^{10} 52^{16} ∥ 2 K 25^{12}).

4. גֶּבֶא (from גָּבָא ? 'to gather together') a cistern, as in Is 30^{14} RV; but in Ezk 47^{11} probably a marsh or pool.

5. גּוּמָּץ (an Aram. loan-word) occurs only in Ec 10^{8} 'He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it'; cf. the parallel in Pr 26^{27}, where the word used is שַׁחַת; root גמץ Syr. and Aram. = 'to dig.'

6. פַּחַת (from an unused root פָּחַת 'to excavate'), probably an excavation, or deep cleft with gloomy recesses in which one might hide (2 S 17^{9}). It is rendered 'hole' in Jer 48^{28}, and doubtless because of its forbidding aspect it is associated with those things which inspire terror (Is 24^{17}, Jer 48^{43}, La 3^{47} RV, etc.). Into some such opening the body of Absalom was thrown (2 S 18^{17}).

7. שְׁאוֹל. In each of the three cases where AV renders 'pit' (Nu 16$^{30.\,33}$, Job 17^{16}) 'Sheol' is preferable (see art. Hades).

8. 9. 10. From the root שׁוּחַ 'to sink or subside':—(*a*) שׁוּחָה, in Jer 2^{6} of the pits which enhanced the perils of the desert march; fig. in Pr 22^{14} 23^{27} (AV and RV 'ditch'), Jer 18$^{20.\,22}$. (*b*) שַׁחַת, the pit in which snares are set to take wild beasts, and so metaph. the cunning designs of a man's foes to compass his undoing (Ps 7^{15} (ditch) 9^{15} 35^{7} 94^{13}, Pr 26^{27}, Ezk 19$^{4.\,8}$). It is also used as equivalent to *the grave*, which is destined to entrap all living (Job 33$^{18ff.}$, Ps 30^{9} 55^{23}). 'Pit' (RVm) should take the place of 'corruption' in Job 17^{14}, Ps 16^{10} 49^{9}, and Jon 2^{6} (RVm); of 'destruction' Ps 103^{4}, and of 'grave' Job 33^{22}. In Job 9^{31} it seems to indicate a receptacle of filth, while in Is 51^{14} it clearly denotes a dungeon. (*c*) שִׁיחָה occurs thrice (Ps 57^{6} 119^{85}, Jer 18^{22}), fig. in each case, of the subtle and malevolent schemes of enemies.

11. 12. From the root שָׁחָה 'to bow down':—(*a*) שְׁחוּת only once, fig. (Pr 28^{10}). (*b*) שְׁחִית (Ps 107^{20}, La 4^{20}). In the former case, instead of 'destructions,' we may read with Delitzsch (*in loc.*) 'pits,' referring to the sufferings into which they had sunk. In the latter it again refers to the successful designs of the enemy.

In the NT the terms used are—**1.** *βόθυνος* (= *βόθρος*, any hole or hollow in the ground, as, *e.g.*, the trench in which a tree is planted), Mt 12^{11}. In Mt 15^{14}, Lk 6^{39}, AV renders 'ditch'; RV uniformly 'pit.'

2. *φρέαρ*, an artificial well, cistern, reservoir, or, generally, pit. In Lk 14^{5} (RV), where the empty well is doubtless intended, and Jn 4$^{11.\,12}$ it is rendered 'well.' In Rev 9$^{1ff.}$ it is used figuratively of the pit of the abyss. Empty wells are often left uncovered and unguarded near the villages, and especially around deserted sites in Palestine, and form a serious danger to the traveller, particularly in the dark. See, further, the following article.

W. Ewing.

PIT (metaphorical).—As might be expected, the metaphorical use of this word is most frequent in the poetical and prophetical books of the Bible, and in passages where an elevated style is natural. It stands in the EV (see the preceding article) for a number of Heb. words, and the utter lack of consistency in the translation is well exemplified in Pr 22, in the 14th verse of which 'pit' is the rendering of שׁוּחָה, whilst in 23^{27} בְּאֵר is represented by 'pit,' and שׁוּחָה by 'ditch.' The shades of meaning may be classified as follows:—

1. In a solitary instance, Is 51^{1}, 'the hole of the pit (בּוֹר)' refers to Sarah, the ancestress of the nation, the quarry from which it was digged.

2. Very frequently the *pit* is a stratagem or device by which an enemy is injured. Ezk 19$^{4.\,8}$ justifies the conclusion that the figure was suggested by the pits in which wild animals are captured. The Heb. words used in this sense are—בְּאֵר, בּוֹר, פַּחַת, שׁוּחָה, שַׁחַת, שְׁחוּת, שְׁחִיתָה, שִׁיחָה. See Ps 9^{15} 35^{7} 119^{85}, Pr 22^{14} 23^{27} 28$^{10.\,17}$ etc.

3. From this sense the transition is easy to that of the miserable condition or the ruin into which one falls—the roaring pit (בּוֹר שָׁאוֹן) of Ps 40^{2}, the watery pits (מַהֲמֹרוֹת) of Ps 140^{10}, the *βόθρος* of Sir 12^{16}, the *βόθρος ᾅδου* of Sir 21^{10}.

4. A wretched underground dungeon thoroughly deserves this name. It is found at Is 24^{22} (בּוֹר), Zec 9^{11} (בּוֹר), Wis 10^{13} (*λάκκος*, here used, is the LXX rendering of בּוֹר, Joseph's dungeon, Gn 41^{14}).

5. The *grave* is often entitled 'the pit.' Here, again, a variety of Heb. words are employed—בְּאֵר, בְּאֵר שַׁחַת, בּוֹר, שְׁאוֹל, שַׁחַת, שַׁחַת בְּלִי. Such passages as Ezk 32^{23} call up the picture of a huge *columbarium* with graves in the sides. But here and elsewhere it is not easy to distinguish between this signification and the one mentioned under No. **6.**

6. Hades, the realm of shades, situated beneath the earth, and tenanted by thin, unsubstantial ghosts, bears this name. At Is 14^{15} the *pit* (בּוֹר) is obviously the same as 'hell,' *i.e.* Hades (שְׁאוֹל).

7. In the Apocalypse the abode of the devil and his angels is conceived of as a vast underground abyss, communicating with the surface of the earth by a great shaft, which is opened or closed from above by God's angels sent forth for the purpose. For this *pit*, or *bottomless pit*, *φρέαρ*, *φρέαρ τῆς ἀβύσσου*, *ἡ ἄβυσσος*, see Rev $9^{1.2.11}$ 11^7 17^8 $20^{1.3}$, and cf. art. ABYSS. J. TAYLOR.

PITCH (זֶפֶת, כֹּפֶר, *πίσσα*) may denote either *mineral* pitch (bitumen), or the *vegetable* pitch obtained from resinous trees. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xiv. 25, xvi. 23) reserves the word *pix* for the latter, while the former is called *pissasphaltus*. The words rendered 'pitch' in Scripture apparently refer to mineral pitch, an inflammable, viscous substance, composed of a mixture of hydro-carbons, and found now in a more liquid, now in a more solid state (see BITUMEN).

כֹּפֶר occurs in Gn 6^{14} as the name of the substance with which the ark was covered both within and without. The word has a variety of meanings elsewhere in OT, and its usage here is connected with the simple sense of the verb כָּפַר ('to cover'), which appears in the same verse as the cognate of the noun, and is tr^d 'to pitch.' LXX has *ἀσφαλτώσεις τῇ ἀσφάλτῳ*, and *ἄσφαλτος* is elsewhere the rendering of חֵמָר ('bitumen').

זֶפֶת in Ex 2^3 is one of the substances with which the ark of bulrushes was daubed, the other being חֵמָר. It might seem from the Hebrew as if two distinct substances were referred to, but LXX combines both in the translation *ἀσφαλτοπίσσα*. The distinction between זֶפֶת and חֵמָר is probably that between the more liquid and the more solid varieties of bitumen.

In Is 34^9 זֶפֶת (LXX *πίσσα*) occurs twice in the prediction of the desolation of Edom. 'The streams thereof shall be turned into pitch, . . . and the land thereof shall become burning pitch.' The mention of 'brimstone' in the same verse, and the fact that bitumen occurs along with sulphur near the Dead Sea, suggest that here also bitumen is meant.

In Apocr. *πίσσα* occurs thrice. Sir 13^1 refers to the defilement caused by touching pitch. In Three^{23} pitch is mentioned among the substances used in kindling Nebuchadrezzar's fiery furnace. Bel ^{27} describes how Daniel slew the dragon by putting into its mouth lumps of pitch, fat, and hair, that had been boiled together. JAMES PATRICK.

PITCHER (כַּד *kad*, LXX *ὑδρία*; in La 4^2 נֵבֶל, LXX *κεράμιον*, as in NT).—A vessel for holding water (Gn $24^{14ff.}$), carried by girls on their shoulders (v.^{15}). These vessels were made of earthenware (Jg $7^{19.20}$), and sufficiently wide-mouthed to admit a torch (Jg $7^{16.19.20}$). It was in a *kad* that the widow of Zarephath kept her meal (1 K 17^{12}), although the word is translated 'barrel' in AV and RV; and the vessels of water (also called 'barrels') which Elijah caused to be poured over his sacrifice at Carmel were *kaddîm*. In the figurative description of death in Ec 12^6 the pitcher is said to be broken at the fountain. The *nĕbel* of Jeremiah was an earthen vessel in shape resembling a skin bottle, and probably had a narrower neck than the *kad*. As both vessels were made to be carried, they had usually a pair of handles. The pitcher borne by the man who led the apostles to the place where the Passover was to be prepared was a *κεράμιον* (Mk 14^{13}, Lk 22^{10}). The Samaritan woman's waterpot was a *hydria* of earthenware (Jn 4^{28}), smaller than the stone *hydriæ* of Cana (Jn 2^6), which do not seem to have been equally portable. In Is 5^{10} *κεράμιον* of LXX represents Heb. בַּת (EV 'bath'); in Jer 35^5 it represents *nēbel* (RV 'pots,' AV 'bowls').

The Egyptian *gad* or *gai* (Copt. ⲕⲉⲗⲱⲗ) was an earthenware vessel resembling the *kad*, with side handles, and sufficiently wide-mouthed to serve as a receptacle for fruit or other solids (*Papyrus Anastas.* iv. 14), while commonly used for water or beer, as in the story of Anpu and Bata. Pitchers of this kind have been figured by Bliss (*A Mound of Many Cities*, pp. 118, 120), and by Petrie in his sketches of Palestinian pottery; see *Tell el Hêsy*, p. 40, pl. vii. figs. 123, 125, ix. fig. 190. See art. POTTERY.

The English word 'pitcher' is derived from the French. The vessel is called *pichier* in the Languedoc, and this has its root in the Latin *picarium* or *bicarium*, from which we also have got the word 'beaker.' The word does not occur in Middle English to the writer's knowledge, the water vessel being an *euwere* or ewer; see *Boke of Curtasye*, 641. It had, however, become common in Elizabethan English, as in the familiar Shakspearean phrase in *Taming of Shrew*, IV. iv. 52, and *Richard III.* II. iv. 37. A. MACALISTER.

PITHOM (פִּתֹם; B *Πειθώ*, A *Πιθώμ*).—In Ex 1^{11} it is said that the Israelites built for the Pharaoh of the Oppression the cities of 'Pithom and RAAMSES,' to which the LXX adds, 'and On, which is Heliopolis.' They are called עָרֵי מִסְכְּנוֹת, usually rendered 'treasure (AV) *or* store (RV) cities,' but the exact signification of the term is doubtful, and the LXX makes it *πόλεις ὀχυραί*, 'strong *or* fortified cities' (see also 1 K 9^{19}, 2 Ch 8^4, where the same Heb. is tr., in the first passage *π. τῶν σκηνωμάτων*, and in the second *π. ὀχυραί*). The site of Pithom has been the subject of much controversy, which, however, has been finally set at rest by the excavations of Dr. Naville for the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1883.

Herodotus (ii. 158) describes the canal made by Necho to connect the Red Sea with the Nile as starting 'a little above Bubastis' (now Zagazig), and passing 'Patumos, a city in the Arabian nome' (*Πάτουμον τὴν Ἀραβίην πόλιν*). 'Arabia,' or the Arabian nome, was the 20th nome of Lower Egypt, called Sopd-Qemhes in Egyptian, whose capital was Qosem or Goshen, now Saft el-Henna. Patumos is evidently the Pa-Tum or Pi-Tum, 'the house of Tum'—the ancient sun-god of Heliopolis—of the Egyptian texts. At Dendera the city of Pi-Tum is described as in the land of Ro-Abt, 'the entrance to the East,' a name which Dr. Naville suggests may be the origin of the Greek 'Arabia,' when used to denote the 20th nome (see Mariette's *Denderah*, iv. 75. 12). The name Pi-Tum is first found in monuments of the age of the 19th dynasty; thus a letter dated in the 8th year of Meneptah II. the son and successor of Ramses II., and translated by Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, Eng. tr. 2nd ed. ii. p. 133), speaks of Edomite nomads being allowed to pass the Khetam or 'fortress of Meneptah in the land of Thuket' (Succoth), which protected the eastern frontier of Egypt, and to feed their flocks near 'the lakes (*birkata*) of Pi-Tum of Meneptah in the land of Thuket' (*Select Papyri in the Hieratic character from the Collections in the British Museum*, pl. cxxv.-vi.).

Chabas had already, in 1864, pointed out that the Pithom of the OT must correspond with an Egyptian Pi-Tum, and suggested that its site should be sought at Abu-Keshêd or Tel el-Maskhûta in the Wady Tumilât, 17 kilometres south-west of Ismailiya (*Mélanges*, p. 162), a suggestion which he afterwards withdrew in favour of Tmui el-Emdid, the ancient Thmuis. So far as the form of the name was concerned, however, the conclusion of Chabas was soon afterwards confirmed by the publication of various geographical texts by Brugsch, Dümichen, Mariette, and others, from which it appeared that the capital of the 8th nome of Lower Egypt, Nefer-Abt, had the civil name Thuket and the sacred name Pi-Tum. Tum, the setting sun, was worshipped there under the form of a serpent, and its chief temple was accordingly termed Pi-Qereḥt, 'the house of the snake.' According to Brugsch (*Zeitschrift für Ægypt. Sprache*, 1876, p. 127), the sacred lake or canal bore the name of 'Crocodile Lake' (*Kharmu*), the domain-land being Annu or On.

Brugsch first showed that Thuket is the biblical SUCCOTH, the Egyptian *th* being, as elsewhere, represented by the Hebrew ס, and the vocalization of the name having been assimilated to that of the word which means 'booths' in Hebrew (*Zeitschr. für Ægypt. Sprache*, 1875, p. 7). Succoth was the first stage of the Israelites in their flight from Egypt before they encamped at ETHAM, the Egyptian Khetam or 'fortress,' which commanded the approach to 'the wilderness' (Ex 12^{37} 13^{20}). Pithom, accordingly, must have been in or adjoining the land of Goshen.

When the Fresh-water Canal was made almost on the lines of the old canal of Seti I. and Necho, it passed through the Wady Tumilât, and skirted the ruins of Tel el-Maskhûta ('the mound of the Image'). Various monuments of the age of Ramses II. were discovered in the Tel, including the one from which it derived its name, and were removed to Ismailiya. Lepsius had already proposed to see in the Tel the site of the city of Raamses (*Chronologie*, p. 348); and Maspero, who published some of the inscriptions in 1877 (*Revue archéologique*, nouv. sér. xxxiv. p. 320), arrived at the same conclusion. But the study of the monuments at Ismailiya, all of which were dedicated to Tum by Ramses II., led Dr. Naville to suspect that the Tel really represented Pithom, and not Raamses, and accordingly he commenced excavations on the spot. The result was the discovery of a temple, as well as of storehouses, private habitations, the walls of the city, and various inscriptions. The city and temple proved to have been built by Ramses II. of the 19th dynasty, and to have lasted down to the Roman era. They proved also to be the Pi-Tum or Thuket of the hieroglyphic texts.

The discovery was important, as it not only settled the site of Pithom, and so threw light on the route of the Israelites, but it also showed that Ramses II., the builder of Pi-Tum, must have been the Pharaoh of the Oppression. Unless we deny the historical character of Ex 1^{11}, the date of the Exodus is definitely fixed.

Dr. Naville's discoveries further showed that Pithom changed its name in the Greek age. It became Heroopolis, which the Romans abbreviated into Ero, as is proved by inscriptions, which confirm the statement of Stephanus Byzantinus (*s.v.*) that the Heroonpolis of Strabo was also known as Hêrô. An explanation is thus afforded of the reading of the LXX in Gn 46^{28} 'he sent Judah before him unto Joseph to meet him at Heroonpolis in the land of Ramesses,' where, it is noticeable, the Coptic version substitutes 'Pithom the city' for Heroonpolis. D'Anville (*Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, p. 121 ff.) long ago suggested that Heroopolis was to be sought at Tel el-Maskhûta, and the suggestion was adopted by Quatremère, Champollion, and others. In the inscription of the obelisk of Hermapion, quoted by Ammianus Marcellinus (Champollion, *Grammaire égyptienne*, p. 361), 'the son of Tum' is translated 'son of Hêrôn' (or 'Hêrô'). Pi-Tum or Heroopolis was the capital of the 8th nome of Lower Egypt; consequently Herodotus was mistaken in placing Patumos in 'Arabia.' It adjoined the Arabian nome, but was not actually in it. The high priest of its temple had the title of *Herti-sonti*.

The city was in the form of a square, containing about 55,000 square yards. The temple of Tum occupied a small space in the south-western angle of the enclosure, and seems never to have been finished. To the north was a series of brick buildings, in which Dr. Naville sees storehouses in which the provisions were gathered 'necessary for armies about to cross the desert, or even for caravans and travellers which were on the road to Syria.' The chambers composing them had thick walls, and were without communication with one another, the access to them being from the top. The whole city was ruthlessly levelled when the Romans formed a camp on the site of it, and founded the later Heroopolis on the north-eastern edge of the camp immediately to the south of the present Fresh-water Canal.

LITERATURE.—Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, first memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1885; Jacques de Rougé, *Géographie ancienne de la Basse-Égypte*, 1891; Sayce, *HCM*, 1894, pp. 239 ff., 250 ff.; H. Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Égypte*, 1879; see also Driver in Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology*, 1899, pp. 54 f., 61, 68; Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 109 f.; Dillm.-Ryssel on Ex 1^{11}.

A. H. SAYCE.

PITHON (פִּיתוֹן).—One of the sons of Micah, the son of Merib-baal, 1 Ch 8^{35} (BA *Φιθών*) ‖ 9^{41} (פִּיתֹן, B *Φαιθών*, A *Φιθώ́ν*).

PITIFUL.—Pity is the same word as piety, the Eng. having followed the Old Fr. in separating the one word *pietas* into *piété* 'piety,' and *pitié* pity. The adj. 'pitiful' was formed after the separation, and is simply 'full of pity.' But pity may be given or received, and 'pitiful' is used about 1611 in three ways: (1) showing pity, compassionate; (2) exciting or deserving * pity, miserable; (3) contemptible, despicable, the modern use of the word. Shaks. has all three—

(1) *Rich. III.* I. iii. 141—

> 'I would to God my heart were flint, like Edward's;
> Or Edward's soft and pitiful, like mine.'

(2) *Othello*, I. iii. 161—

> ''Twas passing strange,
> 'Twas pitiful, 'twas wondrous pitiful.

(3) *Hamlet*, III. ii. 49—'That's villainous; and shows a most pitiful ambition in the fool that uses it.' In AV 'pitiful' is used only in the first sense, *compassionate*; La 4^{10} 'The hands of the pitiful women have sodden their own children' (נָשִׁים רַחֲמָנִיּוֹת, LXX *γυναικῶν οἰκτειρμόνων*); Sir 2^{11} 'The Lord is . . . very pitiful'; Ja 5^{11} 'The Lord is very pitiful' (*πολύσπλαγχνος*, RV 'full of pity'); 1 P 3^{8} 'Be pitiful' (*εὔσπλαγχνοι*, RV 'tender-hearted').

The subst. 'pitifulness' occurs in Job 16 $^{\text{heading}}$ in the sense of misery.

J. HASTINGS.

PITY.—See COMPASSION. In Ezk 24^{21} 'that which your soul *pitieth* (marg. 'pity of your soul') is equivalent to 'object of affection' (cf. v.^{25}). There is a play upon words in the Heb. (*maḥmad 'ênêkhem umaḥmal naphshĕkhem*).

PLACE OF TOLL.—See TOLL (PLACE OF).

PLAGUE (*i.e.* *πληγή* 'blow,' 'stroke').—A general term for a penalty inflicted by God. It is often used as a synonym of 'pestilence,' but is usually more comprehensive and used of other punishments as well as diseases. It is employed to indicate the last of the Egyptian plagues (Ex 11^{1}), and is here the tr. of נֶגַע *nega'*, literally 'a stroke.' In Lv 13 and 14 this word occurs 59 times as descriptive of leprosy, as also in Dt 24^{8}. It is used (in the verbal form) of Divine chastisement in general in Ps $73^{5.14}$, as a synonym of 'pestilence' in 1 K 8^{37-38} and Ps 91^{10}, and it denotes the punishment inflicted on Pharaoh in the matter of Sarah in Gn 12^{17}.

The word נֶגֶף is six times translated 'plague.'

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* Cf. Fuller, *Holy Warre*, 4, 'We leave them in a state most pitifull, and little pitied.'

It is used in Jos 22^{17} of the plague of Baal-peor; in Nu 16$^{46-47}$ [Heb. 17$^{11-12}$] of that following the rebellion of Korah. Elsewhere its meaning is more general, as in Ex 12^{13} 30^{12}, Nu 8^{19}. The verb נגף (AV 'plague') in Ps 89^{23} is tr^{d} by RV 'smite.'

In Nu 11^{33} the judgment at Kibroth-hattaavah is called מַכָּה *makkāh*, a word usually translated 'wound,' 'smiting,' 'chastisement,' etc. In Dt 28^{61} it is employed for any disease inflicted as a penalty, as in Lv 26^{21}, Dt 28^{59} 29^{22}. In 1 S 4^{8} it refers to the plagues of Egypt, and in Jer 49^{17} 50^{13} is used of the plagues to be inflicted on Babylon and Edom, over which the enemies of these countries are to hiss in derision and astonishment.

In 22 other passages 'plague' is the rendering of מַגֵּפָה *maggēphāh*, used of the Egyptian plagues in Ex 9^{14}; of the disease that slew the spies, Nu 14^{37}; or that which slew the rebels who followed Korah, Nu 16$^{48. 49-50}$ [Heb. 17$^{13. 14. 15}$]; of Baal-peor, Nu 25$^{8. 9. 18}$ 26^{1} 31^{16}, Ps 106$^{29-30}$; of the infliction on the Philistines, 1 S 6^{4}; and of that which followed David's census, 2 S 24$^{21-25}$, 1 Ch 21$^{17-22}$. It is also prophetically employed of the punishment of those that neglect the ceremonial law, Lv 14$^{12. 15. 18}$.

'Plague' in Hos 13^{14} is *deber*, usually tr. 'pestilence.' In 1 Co 15^{55} κέντρον, 'sting,' appears to be the rendering of דֶּבֶר; the LXX in Hosea uses κέντρον as the translation of קֹטֶב, and δίκη as that of *deber*.

In NT the issue of blood is called a 'plague' in Mk 5$^{29-34}$, where the Greek term is μάστιξ, literally a 'scourge.' This word is used of other diseases in general in Mk 3^{10}, Lk 7^{21}. In RV the word πληγή is 12 times rendered 'plague' (AV wants it in 9^{18}). See, further, MEDICINE, p. 324.

A. MACALISTER.

PLAGUES OF EGYPT.—The judgments inflicted upon the Egyptians by God on account of their oppression of the Israelites and refusal to release them. They are detailed in Ex 7^{8}–12^{31}, and given in epitome in Ps 78$^{42-51}$ 105$^{27-36}$. In the longer narrative ten successive plagues are enumerated: (1) the turning the river into blood, (2) frogs, (3) lice, (4) flies, (5) murrain, (6) boils, (7) hail, (8) locusts, (9) darkness, (10) the slaying of the first-born. In Ps 78 the list consists of 1, 3, 2, 8, 7, 5, 10; that in Ps 105 includes 9, 1, 2, 4, 3, 7, 8, 10. Philo gives them in the following order: 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 4, 5, 10, but that is to suit an obviously artificial classification (*Vit. Mos.* i. 17). The Jewish teachers use as a mnemonic the words רצך ערש באחב, the initials of the plagues in the order given in the text.

Egyptian history is silent concerning these as well as the other incidents of the Exodus; but that is not surprising. There were, however, evidently several ancient versions of the story, which have been collated and combined by those to whom we owe the text in its present form. It is probable that the groundwork of the narrative (J) was a document giving an account of *seven* plagues, viz. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10. The infliction of each of these is preceded by an interview of Moses with Pharaoh at which its onset is threatened; and the sign is brought to pass by Jahweh directly (see art. MOSES, p. 439^{b}). With this is combined another version (E), whose record embraced *four*, possibly *six* plagues, viz. 1 (Ex 7$^{15b. 17b. 20b}$), 7 (8$^{22-23}$), 8 (10$^{12-14}$), 9 (10$^{20-23}$); there are also traces of its influence in the account of 10, and perhaps in that of 3. Moses in these is the thaumaturgist, and works by stretching forth his hand or his rod (see art. MOSES, p. 441^{a}). The third component document (P) couples Aaron with Moses; and, in general, attributes the carrying out of the miracle to him and his rod. The accounts of *six* plagues 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 10 seem to be taken in whole or in part from this (see art. MOSES, p. 443^{a}). It will be seen from this analysis that 3 and 6 are peculiar to P, 4 to J, and 9 to E. 1, and possibly 10 are found in all three, 2 and 5 in P and J, and 7 and 8 in J and E. This list suggests the possibility that the list set forth in the Massoretic text may contain reduplicated narratives.

The district affected by the plagues is called in Ps 78$^{12. 43}$ 'the Field of Zoan' (שְׂדֵה־צֹעַן). This may be either a limitation to the eastern part of Lower Egypt, or, more probably, a poetical synecdoche. J and P in several places refer the influence of these visitations to all the land of Egypt, meaning probably Lower Egypt. In 4, 5, 7, 9, 10 the immunity of the land of Goshen is specially mentioned. The interval between the first plague and the Exodus is not stated. The actual duration of the 1st and 9th plagues is given, but not of the others. It has been supposed that the first was connected with the early stages of the Nile overflow, possibly the end of June, and that the others occurred at intervals between that time and the following Passover, which was the definite terminus in point of time. The presumption in the narrative is that of a fairly regular and quick succession of stroke upon stroke.

The plagues have been variously classified. Philo divides them into four groups: 1st, those in which God asserts His power over the grosser elements, earth and water, intrusting the bringing of the plagues to Aaron (=1, 2, 3); 2nd, plagues of air and fire inflicted by Moses (=7, 8, 9); 3rd, one plague hurtful to mankind inflicted by both together (=5); 4th, those inflicted directly by the hand of God (=4, 6, 10). The first three were admonitory, characterized by uncleanness and discomfort; those following were more or less destructive to property and injurious to man, leading up to the overwhelming catastrophe of 10.

The story of the plagues is preceded by the account of a series of signs which Moses was instructed to perform: these were twofold: (1) two were for the purpose of attesting the reality of his Divine mission to his own countrymen; (2) the other was for the purpose of influencing Pharaoh. With the former pair, the conversion of his *own rod* into a serpent, and the leprous hand, we are not at present concerned. The last, the conversion of *Aaron's* rod into a serpent, is a part of the same group of signs as the plagues. This sign Moses caused to be performed in the presence of the advisers of Pharaoh, who are called חֲכָמִים *ḥăkāmîm* 'learned men,' מְכַשְּׁפִים *mĕkashshĕphîm* or 'sorcerers,' and חַרְטֻמִּים *ḥarṭummîm* or 'sacred scribes.' While the first two names are undoubtedly Semitic, the last may possibly be the name of an order of Egyptian priests, a derivative of the native name *ḥrdot*, but this is unlikely. In the Gr. these are called ἐπαοιδοί [in Dn 1^{20} σοφισταί]; see, further, in vol. ii. p. 773^{a} note **. There is a tradition that two of these were chosen to confront the two wonder-working Israelites, namely, Jannes and Jambres (see vol. ii. p. 548). These last two names occur in very many forms both in Jewish and Gentile literature. When these variants are compared, the constant elements are *Ane* or *Ani* and *Mre* or *Mri*, which are two of the commonest names found on the monuments of the 19th and of the immediately succeeding dynasties. In Lieblein's list, *Ani* or some allied form of the name occurs 24 times, and *Mri* 23 times. The *Gospel of Nicodemus* calls them ἄνδρες θεράποντες. It is suggestive that *Ambres* was the name of an Egyptian medical book known to Numenius and Clement (see Horapollo, i. 38).

The first sign, that of changing a rod into a serpent, was the converse of the common magical trick of rendering snakes rigid like rods. The African *Psyllæ*, who had control over serpents either by natural power or artificially by the use of herbs (Ludolf, *Hist. of Ethiopia*, Gent's tr. ix. p. 49), are mentioned by many classical writers: Herodotus (iv. 173), Dio Cassius (li. 14), Lucan (*Phars.* ix. 890, 925), Ælian (*de Nat. Anim.* xvi. 27), Vergil (*Æn.* vii. 753), Solinus Polyhistor (*Memor.* xl.), Aulus Gellius (xvi. 2), Silius Italicus (i. 411, iii. 302, v. 354, viii. 498), Pliny (vii. 2), and several others. The same form of serpent-charming is still practised in Egypt and North Africa, and has been described by several travellers, for example, von Schubert (ii. 116), Trotter (p. 174), Antes (p. 15), etc. For other observations on the snake as symbol and wand, see Böttiger's *Kleine Schriften*, 1837, p. 112. The writer has seen both a snake and a crocodile thrown by hypnotism into the condition of rigidity in which they could be held as rods by the tip of the tail.

(1) The First Plague, **the defilement of the river,** was a severe blow to Egyptian prejudices. The river was a god to whom offerings were made (Stern, *Zeitschr. Ægypt. Spr.* 1873, 129) and adorations addressed (Maspero, *Hymne au Nil*, 1868). According to the narrative in J and E, the transformation was confined to the water of the river, killing its fish ($7^{17-18.\,21.\,24.\,25}$), but P states that it extended to the canals, pools, ponds, and cisterns of wood and stone (v.^{19}). It is noteworthy that vessels of earthenware are not mentioned, and perhaps this may be connected with the statements of Alpinus (*Med. Æg.* i. 16*b*), Norden (i. 52), Sonnini (i. 124), Troilo (472), and Volney (i. 20), that it is only in earthenware vessels that the discoloured waters of the Nile-flood become clear and can be kept clear. See also Galen, *de Simpl. Med. Facult.* i. 3, § 2. The former narrative (JE) says that the people dug beside the river for supplies, and although it says nothing of the kind of water in these wells, it does not say that it was blood; the latter (P) declares that the water in these also was changed into blood, and Philo paraphrases this by comparing these wells to blood-vessels, from which the blood was flowing, as in a hæmorrhage. Volney says that the water found by digging wells is brackish and unfit for use (i. 16). Such a change was plainly miraculous, and this is also shown by its definite duration of seven days and its sudden disappearance.

In the normal condition of the river, as its waters rise in the third week of June, they become discoloured. This has often been described by travellers. Abd-al-latīf says that the water becomes green from the fragments of vegetable matter suspended in it, and remains discoloured until August (de Sacy's tr., p. 333), and Makrizi refers to this alteration in colour and to the offensive exhalations from the water at a later stage (quoted by de Sacy, p. 345). Vansleb adds that in process of time the water changes in colour from green to a dull ochreous red (1677, p. 53). Many other travellers confirm this observation. See Maillet, p. 57; Tourtechot, 14; Hartmann, 128; Pococke, i. 199; Savary, 1786, ii. 179. The last author speaks of the unwholesomeness of the waters in this stage, and this is confirmed by Pruner (p. 21). These changes in colour are probably due to the wasting down of some great accumulation of vegetable matter high up in the river, like the *Sudd* or great Nile dam described by Sir S. Baker (*Lake Albert Nyanza*, ii. p. 329). Ehrenberg attributes the red coloration to a minute organism, *Sphæroplea annulina* Agardh, which multiplies in the water after the inundation, and he has described a large number of cases of red discoloration of water in Poggendorf's *Annals* for 1830, p. 477. This reddening of ponds by minute organisms is not uncommon. Swammerdam tells us that he saw a pool in the Bois de Vincennes made crimson by minute crustaceans. Schuyl describes the same at Leyden, and Hjaerne at Dalecarlia (*Bybel der Natuure*, 1737, pp. 89, 90). The present writer has seen a similar discoloration in a pool in the Phœnix Park, Dublin, on account of enormous quantities of a species of *Peridinium*. The example in 2 K 3^{23} may be quoted here. It has recently been shown that in many of these coloured animals the pigment is contained in parasitic bacteria.

Changes in the water of the Nile were not unknown in the legendary history of Egypt. Manetho states that in the days of Nephercheres (about B.C. 4000) the Nile for eleven days flowed with honey. Eusebius mentions the same change as occurring in the reign of a nameless king 200 years earlier.

The plague must have been a serious calamity to the whole population, not only on account of the lack of water, but also because of the killing of the fish, as these formed an important element in the diet of the Egyptian. There is a little obscurity in the description, arising probably from the different standpoints of the original authors of the narratives. In v.^{17} Moses was instructed to say to Pharaoh that he would cause the plague by smiting with his rod on the waters (E), while in v.^{19} (P) Aaron is instructed to bring the plague by stretching forth his rod.

The plague lasted seven days and was apparently then suddenly removed. It was imitated by the magicians, which seems to imply that not all the water of the land was transformed. As to the time of year of its occurrence, if the phenomenon had any relation to the natural discoloration, it probably took place about the height of the flood in the month of Epiphi (beginning June 25), or, if Ehrenberg's hypothesis be adopted, probably in the month of Thoth, beginning about the 29th August.

(2) The Second Plague, that of the **frogs** (Ex 8^{1}, J, P), was preceded by an interview with Pharaoh, at which Moses announced the visitation. This was at once brought upon the land by the agency of Aaron stretching forth his hand. Frogs are in most years plentiful in the Nile, and the ponds and canals connected with it, but do not usually wander far from the water; but now they suddenly swarmed on the land, invading the houses, even the bed-chambers, ovens, and kneading-troughs. In Ps 78^{45} they are said to have destroyed the Egyptians, hence some Rabbinical authorities suppose these were other than ordinary frogs, but the word used, *ẓĕphardēaʻ* (LXX βάτραχος), is the name of the ordinary amphibian. It was noticed by some Hebrew writers that while the word is used in the plural in general, it is singular in v.^{6}, literally, 'and the frog ascended,' hence Akiba says in *Semoth Rabbah* that there was but one frog, so rapidly prolific that it filled the whole land. The word is obviously used as a collective, as it occasionally is in Arabic. The magicians imitated the miracle, but, as more than one commentator remarks, when the land was full of frogs, who could tell those brought by the Israelites from those of their Egyptian imitators? The plague must have been one of great irritation, not only from the discomfort, but from the croaking noise which at times frogs utter continually. The Nile frogs make a sharp sound like two pieces of wood striking together (Hasselquist, pp. 68, 254, 304). The frog was not reckoned unclean by the Egyptians, nor was it specially venerated in Lower Egypt as far as is known. In the Egyptian language the figure of a frog was used as a numerical symbol for 100,000 with the phonetic value *ḥfnu*. In Upper Egypt there was an obscure goddess represented with a frog's head and named

Ḥkt, but we know little of her, except that in the Middle Empire the superintendents of nomes in Upper Egypt are called her priests, especially about the 12th dynasty. Horapollo says that the frog was the symbol of Ptaḥ because it is the representative of man in embryo (*Hierogl.* i. 25), but there is no native confirmation of this. A frog-headed figure, called 'Ka, the father of waters,' is figured by Wilkinson and thought by him to be a form of Ptaḥ (iii. 15). In *Papyrus Ebers* lii. a frog boiled in oil is recommended as an external application for swelling of the abdomen.

Several species of frog inhabit the Nile, the commonest being *Rana esculenta*, *R. Nilotica*, and *R. Mosaica*. They are called in Egyptian *ʿbĕnh* and in Coptic ϫⲣⲟⲩⲣ. The sagacity of the Egyptian frog is said to exceed that of all others. See Ælian, *Variæ Historiæ*, i. 3.

Plagues of frogs were known in ancient times. Pliny (viii. 43), Orosius (iii. 23), Ælian (*de Nat. Anim.* ii. 36), Diodorus (iii. 29) give instances of these. Athenæus quotes from Heraclides Limbus an account of an invasion of frogs in Pæonia and Dardania, which drove out the inhabitants; and Justinus, in his epitome of Trogus Pompeius (xv. 2), speaks of a similar occurrence in Thracia Abderitis. Showers of frogs are often referred to by the old writers. Ælian tells us that he experienced on his way to Dicæarchia a fall of rain mixed with tadpoles and mud (*Hist. Anim.* ii. 56). Several such occurrences are referred to in Beyerlinck's *Theatrum*, under the head of *Pluviæ extraordinariæ*. See also Valentinus Albertus, *de Pluvia Prodigiosa*. Similar occurrences are reported in recent times, one in London, in the *Mirror* for 4th Aug. 1838. Several others are collected in Andrews' *Book of Oddities*, 1892, and some well-authenticated Scottish instances are given in the *Glasgow Herald* for 19th July 1894 and several succeeding issues. A plague of toads in the upper Nile Valley is reported by Haggard (*Under Crescent and Star*, 1895, p. 279). For Egyptian frogs see Seetzen (*Reisen durch Syrien*, etc., 1854, iii. pp. 245, 350, 364, 490, 501); see also Cameron, *Across Africa*, i. 267.

At Moses' entreaty the frogs were removed, and their dead bodies were gathered in heaps which made the land to stink, and probably gave rise to plagues. Appius tells us that when the people of Antareia had offended Apollo, he sent, among other plagues, an immense host of frogs, which, when they decomposed, poisoned the waters and caused a pestilence which drove them from their homes (*de rebus Illyricis*, 4). See also Ælian, *de Nat. Anim.* xvii. 41.

(3) (4) The Third and Fourth Plagues consisted of *insect pests*, the former of כִּנִּים *kinnîm*, or כִּנָּם *kinnām*, tr. **lice** AV and RV, 'sand flies or fleas' RVm; the latter of עָרֹב *ʿārôbh*, tr. **flies** AV and RV. The account of the Third Plague is derived from P (Ex 8^{16-19}), that of the Fourth from J (v.$^{21-31}$). The *kinnah* was probably a stinging fly, mosquito or gnat, such as was, and still is, common in Egypt (Herodotus, ii. 95). A cognate word is applied in *Peah* to a grain-fly. This plague was sent without any warning to Pharaoh, and was brought about by Aaron smiting the dust with his rod, as God commanded him. The insects attacked man and beast (v.^{17}), devouring them (Ps 78^{45}). The interpretation in AV and RV, 'lice,' is an ancient one, as it is found in Jos. *Ant.* II. xiv. 3, and in many other Jewish writings. LXX renders the Heb. words by *σκνῖφες*, *σκνῖπες*, or *κνῖπες*, the name given to small insects found in figs and other fruits (Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant*, ii. 9, iv. 17), and the Vulgate calls them *ciniphes*. *Κνῖπες* and *ψῆνες* are mentioned by Aristophanes as fig-parasites (*Aves*, 590). Philo (*Vita Mosis*, i. 17) says that they were small insects which not only pierced the skin, but set up intolerable itching and penetrated the eyes and nose. Origen describes them as little flying insects (*Hom. in Ex.* iv. 6). That they were not lice in the ordinary sense of the word is shown by their attacking beasts as well as men, for none of the three species of human pediculi will live and multiply freely on animals. It has been argued in favour of the ordinary interpretation that they came out of the dust, but while lice are not generated naturally in dust, the eggs of some species of the common small stinging flies are found in dried pools. Most travellers in Egypt speak of these gnats as one of the most troublesome of pests (see Troilo, 774; Prosper Alpinus, *Hist. Nat. Ægypti*, i. 4. 3; Wittman, ii. 135; Scholz, 93; Lepsius, 93; Russegger, iii. 13; Lane, i. 4, and others). Such flies are always worst after the recession of the inundation in October (Hartmann, i. 250), the larvæ living in pools and the perfect insects emerging as these dry up.

The magicians were unable to cope with these insects or to produce them, as they themselves were attacked by them, so they called them the 'finger of God.' In Egyptian *dd ntru* = the phrase in the text, is found in several papyri (see Papyrus 438 Boulaq), and is used of anything sent by the divinity. The magicians meant thereby that the plague was sent by their own gods, not by Moses.

The account of the plague is imperfect, as there is no mention of Pharaoh's entreaty for its removal, or of Moses' intervention for this purpose; but in the case of the Fourth Plague, that of the *ʿārôbh* or 'swarms' ($8^{20ff.}$, P), these lacunæ are supplied. There Moses is recorded to have threatened the infliction, and the Lord is said to have brought up the swarms, and at Pharaoh's entreaty they were afterwards removed. The nature of these pests is not mentioned, nor is there any reference to the magicians. These insects are called by LXX and Symmachus *κυνόμυια*, 'dog-flies,' interpreted by Jerome in the last paragraph of his epistle to Sunnia and Fretela '*omne genus muscarum*,' as if it were *κοινόμυια*. Aquila in Ps 78 calls them *πάμμικτος*, 'a mixed multitude,' a word used of crowds of men by Æschylus, *Persæ*, 53, 'a motley host.' Josephus (*Ant.* II. xiv. 3), Jerus. Targums, Sa'adya, and other Hebrew authorities call them different kinds of pestilent animals, but, as Knobel remarks, some *particular* creature must be meant.

Flies of many kinds abound in Egypt and are common pests, as testified by Sonnini (ii. 320), Carne (i. 77), Rüppell (73), etc. Such swarms are often brought up by the south wind, filling the houses and appearing in clouds. Comparison of the descriptions of these two plagues given in the passage renders it probable that 3 and 4 are both accounts of the one plague given by different writers. Ps 105 groups them together, while Ps 78 makes no mention of the *kinnîm*. With this plague began the sundering of the land of Goshen from the rest of Egypt.

(5) (6) In like manner there is a probable connexion between the Fifth Plague (Ex $9^{1ff.}$, J), the **murrain**, and the Sixth (9^{8}, P), the **boils**. Neither of these is explicitly mentioned in Ps 78 or 106, unless they are the 'evil angels' mentioned between the hail and the tenth plague in the former; and, considering the connexion between disease and demonology in the Jewish mind, this is probable. Plague 5 was heralded by an announcement to Pharaoh, while there was no such for 6. The Fifth was sent directly from the hand of the Lord, while Moses and Aaron are the instruments in the Sixth. It is also explicitly stated that 6 was upon beast as well as man (v.^{10}). All these considerations strengthen the probability that these

are respectively the Jahwistic and Priestly records of the one plague.

The nature of the murrain is not given; it was דֶּבֶר כָּבֵד מְאֹד 'a very grievous pestilence' (see PESTILENCE and PLAGUE, pp. 755, 865), but the word *deber* is too general to give a definite idea of its species. Leyrer has conjectured that it might be anthrax or milzbrand (Herzog, *RE*, viii. p. 251). It was a disease affecting flocks, herds, camels, horses, and asses, evidently very fatal (though v.^{26} shows that 'all' is not literally intended). Severe cattle plagues have been recorded in Egypt by many writers. Pruner says that splenic fever, anthrax, and rinderpest occasionally prevail, and speaks of an epidemic of the last in March 1842, which lasted nine months, and was very destructive, but it did not affect camels or horses. Camels are not very liable to epizootic diseases, but suffer sometimes from tuberculosis, and often from itch (102 ff.). They were, however, at the time of Moses not plentiful in Egypt, if they were found there at all (see Chabas, *Etudes sur l'Antiquité Historique*, 1873, p. 398 ff.; and Dillm. on Gn 12^{16}). Lepsius mentions the same outbreak of cattle-plague in 1842, which had been fatal to 40,000 oxen (p. 14); and it is also graphically described by Mrs. Poole (*The Englishwoman in Egypt*, i. 59, 114; ii. 32).

We have no mention of the removal of this plague, which probably worked itself out; but immediately succeeding it, if not a part of the same infliction, was the outbreak of the שְׁחִין *shĕḥîn* or 'boils' on mankind and beast. This came without warning, Moses and Aaron being instructed to sprinkle handfuls of the ashes of a furnace towards heaven. Although probably for the most part derived from P, there are signs of the influence of E in v.^{8}. This plague affected all classes, but we do not read that it was very fatal. Its nature has been discussed already in MEDICINE, p. 324, and references to similar diseases in Egypt will be found in Niebuhr (*Descr. d'Arabie*, i. 133). Little blister-like swellings on the skin are described by Döbel (*Wanderungen*, ii. 184); a more severe form is recorded by Berggren (*Reisen in Æg.* ii. 121). Similar diseases are described by Vansleb (*Voyage en Egypte*, 1677, p. 58), Volney (*Travels*, Eng. tr. i. 248), Wittman (who notices the pestilential effects produced by the putrid carcases of camels, horses, etc., around the Ottoman camp, leading to malignant fever, etc., and whose 'Medical Journal' is most valuable), *Travels with the Turkish Army*, 1803; Russegger (i. 247); Seetzen (*Reisen*, iii. 204, 209, 377), etc. In view of the recently discovered capacity of mosquitos and gnats to carry contagion, it is striking to note that disease of man and beast so quickly followed the swarms of flies. Josephus puts the distemper of animals as a supplement to the plagues of the swarms.

(7) (8) Egypt was essentially an agricultural country, as we can gather from the monuments, especially from the tomb-pictures; therefore the two plagues which followed affected the material prosperity of the country in its most vital point. The Plague of the **hail** was foretold to Pharaoh by Moses at his next interview (9^{18}, J), and by the warning he gave the Egyptians the opportunity of saving their cattle. On the day following, Moses, by God's command, stretched forth his hand to heaven (v.^{22}, E), and the storm of lightning and hail burst over the land, beating down the crops, breaking the trees, and killing the cattle left by the murrain (v.^{25}). Visitations of this kind, though not unexampled, are exceedingly rare in Egypt (see HAIL, vol. ii. p. 282). Pruner saw hail showers only three times in twelve years, and these were slight, while he knew of only one fatal case of lightning stroke in that time (p. 36). Sonnini describes a thunderstorm accompanied by snow (hail?) in January (ii. 133), Niebuhr in December (i. 497), as also Thevenot (i. 344). Wittman says that on 20th November 1801 'we had a tremendous storm of rain, thunder, and lightning, which began at two o'clock and continued near two hours' (p. 577). Another storm occurred in March. Lepsius relates that in December 1843 there was a sudden storm growing into a hurricane 'such as I had never seen in Europe,' and a hail which made the day dark as night (p. 26). Monconys also describes a lightning storm in January (p. 180); Pococke notes lightning and rain in the Fayyum in February (p. 92). Seetzen experienced it also in March (iii. 98); Vansleb heard thunder only twice in Egypt, in January and May 1673 (p. 39).

The destruction of the cattle was due to their being in the field in spite of the warning. Niebuhr says that the herds are put out in the field from January to April (i. 142), and Hartmann that they are generally kept in their stalls from May to the end of November (i. 232). See also Diodorus Siculus, i. 36). The date of this plague is fixed by v.$^{31.32}$ (E), which say that it happened when the barley was in the ear and the flax in bud ('bolled,' AV), but the wheat and spelt were not yet in ear, or sufficiently forward to be destroyed. Flax is sown usually in mid-November or December, rarely as late as in January (Russegger, i. 231), and flowers in February (v. Schubert, ii. 137; Forskål, *Flora*, p. xliii) or March (Russegger); it is usually pulled in April (Seetzen, iii. 241), according to Wilkinson about 110 days after sowing. Knobel quotes Sicard for its flowering as early as December, but this must have been exceptional. Denon found the barley in flower in December (p. 143). Sonnini says that the barley is nearly a month earlier than the wheat (ii. p. 20), and Brown, that the wheat is beginning to bud at the end of January (ii. p. 138). Wheat, spelt, and barley are generally sown in November. The barley harvest is early in March, sometimes 90 days after sowing. In Olivier's journey to the Pyramids in April, he found the barley already cut, the flax mostly pulled, but the wheat was ripening (iii. 125). Von Schubert (ii. 175) and Forskål confirm these observations, and state that the barley is ripe by the end of February or beginning of March, while the wheat is not ripe until April (*Flora*, p. xliii). The spelt (AV 'rye') ripens at the same time as the wheat (Forskål, p. xxvi). The deduction from these data is that the plague took place probably about the middle of January. Confirmatory observations as to the ripening of crops in Egypt will be found in Radziwill (*Hierosolymita Peregrinatio*, Brunsberg, 1601, 159), Nordmeyer (*Comment. Calendar Ægypt.*, Göttingen, 1792, 23–29), Shaw (ii. 171).

The Eighth Plague, that of **locusts** (Ex 10$^{4-6.12-15}$, J, E) followed while yet the devastation of the last plagues was fresh in the memories of the people, who said to Pharaoh, 'Knowest thou not that Egypt is destroyed?' (v.^{7}). Pharaoh was warned of its imminence, but Moses and Aaron were driven from his presence (v.^{11}). The plague followed the stretching forth of Moses' hand (v.^{12}) or rod (v.^{13}) over the land, and the locusts were brought from the Arabian side by an east wind. The coming of locusts from the East has been mentioned by Shaw, as it was in olden time by Agatharchides (*Mare Rubrum*, ch. v.) and Diodorus (iii. 29). Strabo likewise speaks of the locust-eaters of the Galla country, to whom the west wind drives the great clouds of these insects on which they live, and the unwholesome nature of that food (xvi. p. 772).

The species of locust was the אַרְבֶּה *'arbeh*, or common migratory locust (see above, p. 130^{a}).

The peculiarity of the plague was their coming in such immense numbers, for Egypt is by no means so liable to devastation by locusts as Syria; and they swept clean all the remnants of vegetation that the hail had left, including the wheat and the spelt. The ground was darkened, that is, concealed by the multitude of the locusts. Burckhardt has described such a locust-plague in the Ḥaurân (*Syria*, p. 381). Lepsius also, in March 1843, while engaged in opening a sarcophagus in a mummy pit, was suddenly overshadowed by a cloud of locusts from the south-west, which darkened the heavens (p. 45). Denon saw in May an immense mass of locusts flying from east to west a little over the ground (p. 286). Volney's description of the locust-plague in Syria is well known (i. 305).

At Pharaoh's entreaty Moses prayed for their removal, which was accomplished by a strong wind from the Mediterranean, which swept them into the Red Sea, for, destructive as they are, they are the sport of the winds so much that 'tossed like a locust' is a proverbial expression (Ps 109[23]).

For other references to locusts in Egypt see Tischendorf's *Reise im Orient*, i. 252; Shaw, 165; Hasselquist, 254; Niebuhr, 168; Forskål, 81.

(9) The Plague of **darkness** was sent without warning, and was brought on by Moses stretching forth his hand (10[21-23], E). For three days the land was covered with a palpable cloud which shut out all light from sun, moon, and stars. This condition is described in the words וְיָמֵשׁ חֹשֶׁךְ 'that one may feel (the) darkness' (LXX *ψηλαφητὸν σκότος*). Of this plague there is a graphic account in Wis 17.

It has been supposed that the author of J did not know of this plague, from the words 'only this once' in v.[17], but it may have been immediately after the locusts, as if a part of the same visitation. The condition of darkness referred to is strikingly like that brought about by the severer form of the electrical wind *ḥamsin*. This is a S. or S.W. wind that is so named because it is liable to blow during the 25 days before and the 25 days after the vernal equinox (*ḥamsin*=50). It is often not so much a storm or violent wind as an oppressive hot blast charged with so much sand and fine dust that the air is darkened. It causes a blackness equal to the worst of London fogs, while the air is so hot and full of dust that respiration is impeded. There are excellent accounts of these storms of darkness in Prosper Alpinus, *Medic. Ægypt.* i. 7; Savary, ii. 229; Niebuhr, i. 468; Legh, 48; v. Schubert, ii. 409; Ruppell, 270; Sonnini, ii. 166; Pruner, 35; Wittman, ii. 54; Volney, i. 47; Pococke, i. 306. Denon says that it sometimes travels as a narrow stream, so that one part of the land is light while the rest is dark (p. 286). In such a way the Land of Goshen was left unclouded while the rest of Egypt was dark. As the first plague showed God's power over the river, so did this over the light of the sun, who as *Ra* was one of Egypt's chief deities. At Pharaoh's request this plague was also removed. Three days is not an uncommon duration for the *ḥamsin*.

(10) **The Death of the Firstborn.**—In his last interview with Pharaoh, Moses was dismissed from his presence with the threat of death if he again appeared on behalf of Israel, whereupon he announced God's last judgment (11[4]). The plague followed at midnight on that day. God claimed all the firstborn of humanity as His own, and ordained that in Israel they were to be redeemed by sacrifice (13[13]). In this plague the unredeemed firstborn of Egypt were sacrificed in one great slaughter. It affected all classes from Pharaoh on the throne to the maid at the mill (11[5], J), to the captive in the prison (12[29], J, P) as well as the domestic cattle. By this final catastrophe the obstinacy of Pharaoh was overcome, and, as Moses had foretold, the Egyptians not only freed Israel, but commanded their exodus.

There are many traditional and historical records of sudden outbreaks of plague. See Syncellus (i. 101–103), Diodorus (40), Thucydides (ii. 48), Procopius (ii. 22), etc. Modern outbreaks in the month of April, or a little after the vernal equinox, are reported by Bruce (iii. 715), Sonnini (i. 277), Tobler (*Lustreise*, i. 137), Legh (113). It is worthy of note that many authorities say that the plague often is worst at the time of the *ḥamsin* wind (Prosper Alpin. i. 7; Thevenot, i. 375; v. Schubert, ii. 138; Lane, i. 3; and Pruner, p. 419). The coexistence of cattle disease with the plague is mentioned by Döbel (*Wanderungen*, ii. 205).

The account of this plague bears internal evidence that it is compiled from materials from all three sources.

This catastrophe has been regarded by some as a sudden outbreak of *pestis siderans*, but according to the narrative it cannot have been a natural plague, but on account of the peculiarities in its course and incidence it was evidently a direct interposition, and one the memory of which was meant to have a lasting effect on the conduct of Israel (13[14. 15]).

In reviewing the narratives of these Divine judgments, we have seen not only that there are reasons to believe that they consisted of eight episodes, 1, 2, 3 (4), 5 (6), 7, 8, 9, 10, but that there is a certain thread of connexion running through the series. If the first took place towards the end of the period of high Nile in August, it is probable that the second occurred in September, which is still the month when frogs are most abundant. The insect plagues may conjecturally be supposed to follow in October or November, and the disease plagues in December. The notes of time of the hail-plague give us surer ground to refer it to January. The locusts and the darkness intervened between this and the 14th of Abib (the date of the Exodus).

In some of the series, and possibly in all, it is to be noted that the Divine power used the ordinary seasonal phenomena in a miraculously intensified form as the instrument of judgment. If the narrative of J, which confines the blood-change to the Nile, be taken as the oldest account, it is possible that it may have been due to some special detachment of a dam of vegetable matter like the *Sudd* above referred to. This, with the organisms which must exist in myriads in it, might well have caused the discoloration and fœtor of the waters. Such a mass of organic matter with its concomitant animal life would be the condition under which frogs would multiply rapidly, and may have been the antecedent used to bring about the condition of the Second Plague. The decomposing masses of frogs could not fail to have been the best possible breeding grounds of very many kinds of insects, a veritable 'motley multitude' fulfilling the name of the Fourth Plague. The results of recent bacteriological observations show how great a factor in the spread of disease these insects are, and so 5 and 6 would follow as the sequences of 3 and 4. The Seventh inaugurates a new series, and is followed by the two other plagues, depending on atmospheric conditions. The onset of the east wind brought the locusts, and the shift to the west removed them, while the dropping of the wind to the south-west brought up the dreaded *ḥamsin*, carrying the plague in its train.

In the Apocalyptic visions of the trumpets and vials (Rev 8 ff.) much of the imagery is taken from the story of the Plagues in Egypt.

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A. MACALISTER.

PLAIN.—This word (as a subst.) stands in AV, in some cases inaccurately, for several very different terms in the Heb., which it has been the aim of RV, though with only partial success, to express and distinguish correctly. The following are the words which are tr^{d} 'plain' in AV :—

1. אָבֵל 'meadow' in Jg 11^{33} ('the plain of the vineyards,' RV 'Abel-cheramim').

2. אֵלוֹן 'oak' (in accordance with an old Jewish interpretation), in 'plain(s) of Moreh,' Gn 12^{6}, Dt 11^{30}, and 'of Mamre,' Gn 13^{18} 14^{13} 18^{1}, RV in each case 'oak(s),' marg. 'terebinth(s)'; also in Jg 4^{11} $9^{6.\,37}$, 1 S 10^{3} (RV as before). See MOREH.

3. בִּקְעָה (from בָּקַע 'to cleave'), *a broad plain between hills* ('a surrounding of hills seems necessary to the name Biḳ'ah, as if land *laid open* in the midst of hills,' *HGHL* 655, where mention is also made of a small upland plain, surrounded by mountains, on the E. of Jordan, called the *Beḳ'a*, or [dimin.] the *Bukeï'a*; see also Stanley, *SP*, App. § 5). In AV *biḳ'āh* is rendered 'plain' in Gn 11^{2}, Neh 6^{2} ('the plain of Ono'), Ezk $3^{22.\,23}$, Am 1^{5} (RV 'valley'), Dn 3^{1} (Aram. בִּקְעָא,—'the plain of Dura'). Elsewhere in AV and RV 'valley,' by which, however, must then be understood not a ravine (גַּיְא), but a *broad vale*. The *Biḳ'āhs* mentioned by name in the OT are those of Jericho, Dt 34^{3} ('the Kikkār [see below], (even) the *plain* of Jericho'); of Mizpeh, Jos 11^{8} (prob. the *Merj 'Ayūn*, N.W. of Dan, between the Litāni and the Ḥasbāni); of Lebanon, Jos 11^{17} 12^{7} (probably the broad flat plain between Lebanon and Hermon, even now called in Arabic by a nearly corresponding word, *el-Beḳā'a*); of Megiddo, 2 Ch 35^{22}, Zec 12^{11} (the plain of Esdraelon, girt by hills on all sides; see *HGHL* 385 f.); of Ono, Neh 6^{2} (7 m. S.E. of Joppa); of Aven, Am 1^{5} (the broad plain between Lebanon and Hermon; see AVEN); and of Dura, Dn 3^{1} (near Babylon). *Biḳ'āhs* without names are referred to in Gn 11^{2}, Ezk $3^{22.\,23}$ 8^{4} $37^{1.\,2}$ (in the vision of the dry bones: prob. the same as the *biḳ'āh* of 3^{22} etc.); the word occurs also, without reference to specific localities, in Dt 8^{7} 11^{11}, Ps 104^{8}, Is 40^{4} (see RVm), 41^{18} 63^{14} (all). The retention of the two renderings 'plain' and 'valley' in RV is to be regretted; but it is no doubt due, at least in part, to the fact that there is no exactly corresponding English term. 'Plain' is, on the whole, preferable to 'valley.'

4. כִּכָּר (properly *a round*, *e.g.* of metal, *i.e.* a 'talent,' or of bread, *i.e.* a loaf or round cake), used specifically of the 'round,' or as we should probably say, the 'oval,' of Jordan, the (approximately) oval or oblong basin into which the depression (*el-Ghôr*) through which the Jordan flows expands, as it approaches the N. end of the Dead Sea: it must also, if the 'cities of the *kikkār*' are rightly placed at the S. end of the Dead Sea, have included the Dead Sea itself.[*] The expressions used are 'the *kikkār* of Jordan,' Gn $13^{10.\,11}$, 1 K 7^{46} (=2 Ch 4^{17}), and 'the *kikkār*' alone, Gn 13^{12} $19^{17.\,25.\,28.\,29}$, Dt 34^{3} (cited above), 2 S 18^{23}. The word occurs also, perhaps in the same sense, in Neh 3^{22}; but probably in a more general sense in 12^{28} (see Comm.: AV 'the plain country'). In RV always 'Plain' (usually with a capital P). Cf. *SP* 284, 287, 488; *HGHL* 505 f. No doubt this is the region meant by ἡ περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου in Mt 3^{5}; for LXX renders כִּכָּר by ἡ περίχωρος in Gn and 2 Ch (ἡ π. τοῦ Ἰορδάνου in Gn $13^{10.\,11}$), and by τὰ περίχωρα in Dt.

5. מִישׁוֹר *a smooth and level tract of country* (from יָשַׁר 'to be level'): the general meaning of the word appears well from Ps 26^{12} 27^{11} ('a path of *evenness*'), 143^{10} (RVm), also from 1 K $20^{23.\,25}$ (where it is opposed to the 'hills'), Is 40^{4} RVm ('level'; ‖ בִּקְעָה), Zec 4^{7}. With the art., this word is used specifically of the elevated plateau, or table-land, of Reuben or Moab, E. of the Dead Sea, Dt 3^{10} 4^{43}, Jos $13^{9.\,16.\,17.\,21}$ 20^{8}, Jer $48^{8.\,21}$ (in the prophecy on Moab), 2 Ch 26^{10}. AV and RV in all these passages render 'plain,' except Dt 4^{43}, Jer 48^{21} 'plain country,' and 2 Ch 26^{10} AV 'plains.' RV has sometimes the marg. 'Or, *table land*.'

6. עֲרָבָה *steppe* (in poetry, Is $35^{1.\,6}$ 40^{3}, Jer 17^{6} *al.*), with the art., as a proper name, הָעֲרָבָה, the 'Ărābāh, the name given to the gravelly, sandy, and generally unfertile floor of the valley through which the Jordan runs, and which extends southwards to the Gulf of 'Aḳabah (see ARABAH; and *HGHL* 483 f.), now called *el-Ghôr* (the Hollow, or Depression), in AV nearly always 'the plain,' in RV 'the Arábah,' Dt $1^{1.\,7}$ 2^{8} (here of the same valley, S. of the Dead Sea, now *el-'Arăbah*), $3^{17.\,17}$[†] $4^{49.\,49}$ 11^{30} (AV 'the champaign'), Jos 3^{16} 8^{14} (see Dillm.) $11^{2.\,16}$ $12^{1.\,3.\,3.\,8}$ $18^{18.\,18}$ (AV 'Arabah,' RV 'the Arabah'), 1 S 23^{24}, 2 S 2^{29} 4^{7} 15^{28}, 2 K 14^{25} 25^{4} (=Jer 39^{4}=52^{7}), Ezk 47^{8} (AV 'the desert'), Am 6^{14} (AV 'the wilderness'), Zec 14^{10}, RV (fig. of a *level*; MT, however, as Baer shows, points both here and in Is 33^{9} without the art., *i.e.* 'like a steppe'); see also Is 33^{9} RVm.

The same word, in the plural, occurs also in the two expressions, 'the plains—better *steppes*, or *desert parts*—of Moab,' Nu 22^{1} $26^{3.\,63}$ 31^{12} $33^{48.\,49.\,50}$ 35^{1} 36^{13}, Dt 34^{1} (see Driver), v.^{8}, Jos 13^{32}, and 'of Jericho,' Jos 4^{13} 5^{10}, 2 K 25^{5} (Jer 39^{5} 52^{8}), of the parts of the same depression, on the opposite sides of the Jordan, in the latitude of Jericho. In the case of the plur., RV retains the rendering 'plains': in 2 S 15^{28} 17^{16} ('plains of the wilderness'), however, it follows the Kethibh (עַבְרוֹת for עַרְבוֹת), and renders 'fords' (with marg. 'plains'). There may not be a precise English equivalent; but 'plains,' it should be remembered, does not at all express the distinctive idea of the Hebrew word (bare, desolate, and unfertile soil; cf. *HGHL* 483, 485).

7. הַשְּׁפֵלָה (from שָׁפֵל *to be low*), the *lowland*, the technical designation of the low hills and flat valley land stretching down towards the Mediterranean Sea in the W. and S.W. of Judah. This term is in AV rendered 'plain' only in Jer 17^{26}, Ob ^{19}, Zec 7^{7}; 'low plains' in 1 Ch 27^{28}, 2 Ch 9^{27}; 'vale' in Dt 1^{7}, Jos 10^{40}, 1 K 10^{27}, 2 Ch 1^{15}, Jer

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[*] Cf. under LOT, pp. 150, 151.

[†] Here, as also 4^{49b}, Jos 3^{16} 12^{3b}, 2 K 14^{25}, the 'Sea of the Arabah,' *i.e.* the Dead Sea; cf. Ezk 47^{8}, Am 6^{14}.

33^{13}; 'valley(s)' in Jos 9^{1} $11^{2. 16. 16}$ 12^{8} 15^{33}, Jg 1^{9}, Jer 32^{44}; 'low country' in 2 Ch 26^{10} 28^{18}: in RV it is rendered uniformly 'lowland.' The reference in all these passages is the same, except in Jos $11^{2. 16b}$, where the context shows that a locality further to the N. must be intended, probably a group of similar low hills, between Carmel and the high central range of Samaria (*HGHL* 49 and 203 n.). The LXX represents השפלה mostly by *ἡ πεδινή* (cf. 1 Mac 3^{40}), but by *ἡ Σεφηλα* in Jer 32^{44}, 33^{13}, Ob ^{19}, 2 Ch 26^{10}, which also occurs in 1 Mac 12^{38} (AV 'Sephela,' RV 'the plain country').

The region commonly known as 'the Shephēlāh' must have been a fairly definite one: in Jos 15^{33-44} it forms a distinct district of Judah (side by side with the 'Negeb,' v.$^{21ff.}$, the 'hill country,' v.$^{48ff.}$, and the 'wilderness,' v.$^{61f.}$), and 39 (40) Judahite cities contained in it are enumerated, those at present identified being (beginning at the N.) Gimzo (a little S.E. of Lydda), Aijalon, Gedērah, Eshtaol, Ẓor'ah, Beth-shemesh, 'En-gannim, Ẓanoaḥ, Jarmuth, Socoh, 'Adullam, Marēshah, 'Eglon and Lachish (W.S.W. of Marēshah), and Beth-tappuaḥ (a little W. of Ḥebron): Adida (included in it in 1 Mac 12^{38}) is a little N. of Gimzo (Ḥaditheh); Emmaus (*ib.* 3^{40}) is very near Aijalon; and Timnah (2 Ch 28^{18}) is close to 'En-gannim. All these cities are between the high central range of Judah on the E. and the Philistine plain on the W. The W. limit of the 'Shephēlāh' has, however, been disputed. It has generally (*e.g.* by Dillm. on Jos 15^{33}) been held to include the Philistine plain, and the Phil. cities are certainly enumerated after those of Judah in Jos 15^{45-47}; on the other hand, Ob ^{19}, Zec 7^{7}, and 2 Ch 28^{18} imply that it was outside the Phil. territory. Hence G. A. Smith insists strongly that though the term may sometimes have been used more widely, it was limited more properly to the intermediate region indicated above, consisting of a mass of 'low hills,' varied often by stretches of 'flat valley land,' which, as viewed from the Phil. plain and the sea, appear 'buttressing the central range all the way along,' but which are separated from it in fact by a well-defined series of valleys, running from Aijalon to near Beer-sheba' (*HGHL* 49, 211 ff.; cf. Buhl's criticism, *Geogr.* 104, with Smith's reply, *Expositor*, Dec. 1896, pp. 404–406). This 'maze' of hills 'curves round the Phil. plain from Jaffa to Gaza like an amphitheatre': it is pierced by five important valleys running up from the plain into the heart of Judah: viz. (1) the road from Joppa and Lydda, through the hollow Vale (עֵמֶק) of Aijalon, and then up through the hills, past the two Beth-ḥorons, to Gibe'on and Michmash; (2) the Wādy eṣ-Ṣurār, or valley (נַחַל) of Soreḳ, up past Beth-shemesh and Ḳiriath-je'arim, to Jerusalem (the course taken by the modern railway from Jaffa); (3) the Wādy eṣ-Sunṭ, leading up from Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi, through the Vale (עֵמֶק) of Elah, past Socoh, and then either up the Wādy el-Jindy to Beth-leḥem, or (turning S.) along the Wādy eṣ-Ṣur, past 'Adullam, to Ḳe'ilah; (4) the Wādy el-Afranj leading up from Ashdod, past Eleutheropolis, to Beth-tappuaḥ and Ḥebron; and (5) the Wādy el-Ḥesy, starting a little N. of Gaza, passing Lachish, and leading up to a point 6 miles S.W. of Ḥebron. The historical and strategical importance of these valleys is well drawn out in *HGHL* 209–236: the first, especially, is a route along which have passed many times the hosts of both invading and defeated foes.

8. *τόπος πεδινός*, Lk 6^{17}; RV 'a level place.'

Of the words rendered 'plain,' even in RV (Nos. **3, 4, 5, 6**), each, it will now be seen, has a definite and distinctive meaning of its own: the environs of Jericho are indeed described (from different points of view) as a *kikkār*, a *biḳ'āh*, and *'ărābōth*; but the *mishōr*, for instance, could never have been called a *biḳ'āh*, nor could a *biḳ'āh*, speaking generally, have been called an *'ărābāh*; and the 'plain' (*mishōr*) inhabited by the Moabites (Jer 48^{8}) was geographically quite distinct from the 'plains' (*'ărābōth*) of Moab. The only term which really corresponds completely to our 'plain' is *mishōr*.

S. R. DRIVER.

PLAIN.—The only unfamiliar occurrence of the adj. is in Gn 25^{27} 'Jacob was a plain man, dwelling in tents.' As RVm ('or *quiet* or *harmless*, Heb. *perfect*') shows, the Heb. (תָּם) is the epithet so frequently applied to Job and tr^{d} 'perfect' (Job 1^{1-8} 2^{3} 8^{20} $9^{20. 21}$; cf. 9^{22}, Ps 37^{37} 64^{4}). The idea expressed by the word is completeness or flawlessness. 'In the present context,' says Dillmann, 'it can neither mean morally blameless nor ἄπλαστος, ἁπλοῦς, *simplex*, simple, unsophisticated; for Jacob, in what follows, appears always, on the contrary, as sly and cunning.' He compares the German *fromm* (pious), and considers the meaning to be ἥμερος, 'quiet' or 'peaceful,' in antithesis to 'wild.' The tr. 'plain' is from the Geneva Bible, which has the marg. alternative 'simple and innocent.' 'Simple' is Tindale's word, and the marg. note in Matthew's Bible reads, 'He is simple that is without craft and decept and contynueth in belevyng and executynge of godes wyll.'

J. HASTINGS.

PLANE TREE.—Gn 30^{37}, Ezk 31^{8}, AV 'chestnut,' Sir 24^{14}. See CHESTNUT.

PLANT, PLANTS.—See NATURAL HISTORY.

PLAY.—The verb to play had a wider use formerly than now. Tindale has: Ex 1^{10} 'Come on, let us playe wisely with them, lest they multiply'; Ex 5^{5} 'Beholde, there is much people in the londe, and ye make them playe and let their worke stonde'; Ex 10^{2} 'the pagiantes which I have played in Egipte, and the miracles which I have done amonge them.' And in AV to 'play' is used in the sense of to 'sport,' not only of 'boys and girls' (Zec 8^{5}) or a 'sucking child' (Is 11^{8}), but of men and women in worship. Thus Ex 32^{6} 'The people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play' (לְצַחֵק,[*] quoted in 1 Co 10^{8} *παίζειν*); 1 S 18^{7} 'The women answered one another as they played' (הַמְשַׂחֲקוֹת,[†] RV 'in their play'); 2 S 6^{5} 'And David and all the house of Israel played before the Lord on all manner of instruments made of fir wood [or, better, 'with all their might, even with songs,' reading, with parallel passage in 1 Ch, בְּכָל־עֹז וּבְשִׁירִים instead of בְּכָל־עֲצֵי בְרוֹשִׁים], even on harps,' etc. (the playing here is not playing *on* the instruments as AV, but sporting and dancing to the accompaniment of the music on the instruments, as shown in 1 Ch 13^{8}; RV 'with all manner of instruments'). See GAMES.

The phrase 'play the man' occurs in 2 S 10^{13} 'Be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people' (חֲזַק וְנִתְחַזַּק, LXX *ἀνδρίζου καὶ κραταιωθῶμεν*), a phrase which comes from the Douay Bible, where, however, it is the tr. of the first

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[*] This verb צחק in its Qal conjug. is the usual verb in Gn (where alone it is found) meaning to laugh (Gn 17^{17} $18^{12. 13. 15\ bis}$ 21^{6}); in its Piel conjug. it occurs Gn 19^{14} 21^{9} (RVm 'play') $39^{14. 17}$ (followed by בְּ) where it is tr. 'mock'; 26^{8} 'sport'; and Jg 16^{25} 'make sport.'

[†] This, a later form of צחק, is the verb translated 'play' (in the sense of sport) throughout the rest of OT (except Is 11^{8} 'the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp,' שִׁעֲשַׁע), 1 S 18^{7}, 2 S 2^{14} $6^{5. 21}$, 1 Ch 13^{8} 15^{29}, Job 40^{20} 41^{5} (here and in the following passage with בּוֹ = 'play with.' Followed by לְ, שׂחק means 'mock at,' *e.g.* Ps 37^{13} 59^{8}, Pr 31^{25}, Job 5^{22}. Margoliouth surely forgets this when [p. 17 of *The Origin of the 'Original Hebrew' of Ecclesiasticus*] he renders שׂחק ל 'played with'), Ps 104^{26}, Zec 8^{5}.

Heb. word, 'Play the man, and let us fight for our people,' after Vulg. 'Esto vir fortis et pugnemus.' The phrase is not uncommon, especially in echoes of this passage, as Foxe, *Martyrs*, vii. 550, 'At the stake Latimer exhorted his fellow-sufferer, Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man'; Herbert, 'The Church Porch,' lxxvii.—

> 'In brief, acquit thee bravely, play the man:
> Look not on pleasures as they come, but go;
> Deferre not the least virtue: life's poore span
> Make not an ell by trifling in thy wo.'

J. HASTINGS.

PLEAD.—To plead in AV never means to pray or beseech, but always to argue for or against a cause. Thus Job 16^{21} 'O that one might plead for a man with God,' and 19^{5} 'If indeed ye will magnify yourselves against me, and plead against me my reproach.' The verb most frequently tr. 'plead' is רִיב, which is also rendered 'contend,' 'strive with' or 'strive against,' etc. It is the verb used in Job 13^{19} 'Who is he that will plead with me' (RV 'contend with me'); Is 1^{17} 'Plead for the widow'; 3^{13} 'The Lord standeth up to plead'; Jer 2^{9} 'I will yet plead with you, saith the Lord'; 2^{29} 'Wherefore will ye plead with me?'; Hos 2^{2} 'Plead with your mother, plead.' Amer. RV usually prefers 'contend.'

The subst. 'pleading' has the same meaning in Job 13^{6} 'Hearken to the pleadings of my lips' (רִבוֹת).

Plead is to be traced back to Lat. *placitum*, an opinion (fr. *placere*, to please); in Low Lat. a writ summoning a court of justice, in the form *quia tale est nostrum placitum*, 'for such is our pleasure.' Then *placitum* came to mean the court so convened, and also the pleading or business done at it. *Placitum* became *plait* in Fr., whence Eng. 'plea' and 'plead.' An older spelling of plead is 'pleate,' found in Ps 35^{1}, Pr. Bk. (in mod. editions printed 'plead'). J. HASTINGS.

PLEASURE as a verb is found in 2 Mac 2^{27} 'for the pleasuring of many' (*διὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν εὐχαριστίαν*, AVm 'to deserve well of many,' RV 'for the sake of the gratitude of the many'); and 12^{11} 'promising both to give him cattle, and to pleasure him otherwise' (*ὠφελήσειν αὐτούς*, RV 'to help his people'). The Rhemish translators speak (on Lk 16^{9}) of 'the farmers whom the il steward pleasured.' Cf. Shaks. *Timon*, III. ii. 63—'I count it one of my greatest afflictions that I cannot pleasure such an honourable gentleman.' J. HASTINGS.

PLEDGE.—**1.** חֲבֹל (once Ezk 18^{7} חֲבֹלָה) noun, חָבַל verb (LXX *ἐνεχύρασμα, -μός, ἐνεχυράζω*). The primary meaning of this root is 'to bind,' hence 'to hold one by a pledge.' The taking of a pledge for the repayment of a loan was sanctioned by the Law (Ex 22^{26} [Book of the Covenant], cf. Dt $24^{6.\ 10\text{ff.}}$, where, however, in v.$^{10\text{ff.}}$ the term for 'pledge' is עֲבֹט, see below); but it was enacted that when this pledge consisted of the large square outer garment or cloak called *simlah* or *salmah*, it must be returned before nightfall, since this garment often formed the only covering of the poor at night (cf. the reproaches uttered in Am 2^{8}, Job 22^{6} 24^{9}, and see Ezk $18^{6.\ 12.\ 16}$ 33^{15}). In Pr 20^{16} we read, 'Take his garment that is surety for a stranger, and hold him in pledge (AV and RVm 'take a pledge of him') *that is surety* for strangers' (m. 'a strange woman' [following *Ḳerê*], so AV, omitting 'that is surety'). The same saying recurs in 27^{13}, where both AV and RV have 'a strange woman.' The Heb. reads (לְ)קַח־בִּגְדוֹ כִּי־עָרַב זָר וּבְעַד נָכְרִיָּה (נָכְרִים) חַבְלֵהוּ; LXX of 27^{13} (20^{16} is wanting) *ἀφελοῦ τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ, παρῆλθεν γάρ· ὑβριστὴς ὅστις τὰ ἀλλότρια λυμαίνεται.* This appears to be a reflection on the folly (cf. Pr 22^{27}) of becoming responsible for another man's debt (see Toy, *ad loc.*, who would read, 'for a stranger *or* strangers' [masc. sing. or plur., not fem. sing.] in both passages). It was forbidden to 'take the mill or the upper millstone to pledge,' as this was tantamount to taking 'a man's life to pledge,' Dt 24^{6} (see Driver's note). A similar provision is found in v.^{17}, which forbids taking the widow's garment (בֶּגֶד) in pledge; cf. Job 24^{3}, where the taking of the widow's ox is condemned.

2. עֲבֹט occurs four times, Dt $24^{10.\ 11.\ 12.\ 13}$ (LXX *ἐνέχυρον*). In vv.$^{10.\ 11}$ it is prescribed that when an Israelite lends to his neighbour on the security of a pledge, he is not to go into the house for the purpose of fetching his pledge, but the borrower is to have the right of selecting the article. Vv.$^{12.\ 13}$ contain the same provision as Ex $22^{26\text{f.}}$ (see above). The primary sense of the root עבט (Qal 'borrow or pledge,' LXX *δανείζομαι*; Hiph. 'lend on pledge,' LXX *δανείζω*) is doubtful.

The word 'pledge' is also introduced by RV in Hab 2^{6} as tr. of עַבְטִיט in the phrase וּמַכְבִּיד עָלָיו עַבְטִיט (LXX *καὶ βαρύνων τὸν κλοιὸν αὐτοῦ στιβαρῶς*): RV 'and that ladeth himself with pledges' (*sc.* which he has taken from the nations, and whose restitution is at last compelled [cf. Job $20^{10.\ 15.\ 20}$]). AV 'thick clay' and Vulg. *lutum denseum* are due to understanding עַבְטִיט as two words, עָב (constr.) and טִיט 'clay,' cf. Ex 19^{9} בְּעַב הֶעָנָן 'in a thick cloud.'

3. ערב, Qal and Hithp., 'to be surety,' 'to give a pledge,' 'to make a wager.' Thus in 2 K 18^{23} = Is 36^{8} the Rabshakeh says in his message to Hezekiah, 'Now, therefore, I pray thee, give pledges (AVm 'hostages') to my master the king of Assyria' (הִתְעָרֶב, *μίχθητε*). The correct sense is undoubtedly that given in RVm 'make a wager,' by handing over a pledge to be forfeited in case of failure to furnish men to mount the 2000 horses offered by the Assyrian king. The noun עֲרֻבָּה is tr. 'pledge' in 1 S 17^{18} 'Look how thy brethren fare and take their pledge' (אֶת־עֲרֻבָּתָם תִּקָּח, A *ὅσα ἂν χρήζωσιν γνώσῃ*, Luc. *καὶ εἰσοίσεις μοι τὴν ἀγγελίαν αὐτῶν*), *i.e.* 'bring back some token of their welfare' (Driver), which had probably been agreed upon beforehand. This yields an excellent sense, and there appears to be no sufficient reason (with many scholars, including H. P. Smith) to doubt the correctness of the MT. The cognate form עֵרָבוֹן (LXX *ἀρραβών*, cf. the NT use of this word for the 'earnest' of the Spirit in 2 Co 1^{22} 5^{5}, Eph 1^{14}; see art. EARNEST) is used in Gn $38^{17.\ 18.\ 20}$ of the pledge (consisting of his staff and signet ring) which Judah gave to Tamar as security for the fulfilment of his promise to send her a kid. J. A. SELBIE.

PLEIADES.—The three passages (Am 5^{8}, Job 9^{9} 38^{31}) which contain the proper noun כְּסִיל (*Kĕṣîl*, Orion) also mention כִּימָה (*Kîmâ*), and the Eng. Versions have in each case taken the latter to be the Pleiades, their rendering, 'the seven stars,' in the first of these passages, obviously pointing to the asterism which they call Pleiades in the other two.* The Pleiades are a group of stars, seven larger and some smaller, in the constellation of the Bull, near the ecliptic, belonging to the northern hemisphere. To the ancients the rising and setting of this group announced respectively the beginning and end of the season of navigation. Hence their name is usually derived from the Greek *πλέω*, 'to sail,' though others would connect it with *πλέος*, 'full,' and understand the reference to be to their being apparently closely packed together. Josephus, in one of his rare references to astronomical phenomena, employs 'the setting of the Pleiades' to mark a date (*Ant.* XIII. viii. 2). The common Arabic name for these stars is *el-negm*, *i.e.* the star group *par excellence*, because they serve the nomads and peasants as calendar and time-measurer, especially by their monthly conjunctions with the moon. It has been shown recently that in Egypt the rising of the Pleiades was watched for astronomical purposes 'even in pyramid times,' and that three Greek temples—the archaic temple to Minerva at Athens (B.C. 1530), the Hecatompedon (B.C. 1150), on whose site the Parthenon was subsequently built, and the temple of Minerva at Sunium (B.C. 845)—were orientated, the first two to the rising and the third to the setting of η Tauri in the Pleiades [see Lockyer, pp. 418, 419].

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* Lockyer, *The Dawn of Astronomy*, p. 134, remarks: 'The seven stars are held by many to mean the Pleiades, and not the Great Bear; but this, I think, is very improbable.' Yet Lockyer has admitted, p. 133, that the Pleiades are mentioned in Job 38^{31}, and there is no good reason why the original word should have diverse senses in the two passages.

The verb *kûm*, from which *Kîmā* must be derived, is not found in biblical Hebrew. In Syriac the cognate verb is frequently employed in the sense of 'heaping up.' In Arabic *kumat*='a heap.' In Assyrian *kimtu* ='a family.' The name *Kîmā* would thus seem peculiarly appropriate to the Pleiades. The ancient VSS of the Bible, though somewhat wavering, are on the whole in favour of the identification. The LXX at Job 9^9 has Ἀρκτοῦρον, at Job 38^{31} Πλειάδα, at Am 5^8 it follows a corrupt text. The Pesh. and the Targ. retain the Hebrew word. Aq., Symm., and Theod. all use Πλειάδα at Am 5^8. Jerome varies between *Hyades* (Job 9^9), *Pleiades* (Job 38^{31}), and *Arcturus* (Am 5^8). An attempt has been made by Hoffmann ('Versuche zu Amos,' *ZATW*, 1883) to prove that *Kîmā* is Sirius. The chief arguments are that Sirius, Orion, the Hyades, and the Pleiades—the order which, on this interpretation, is followed at Job $38^{31 \cdot 32}$—are ranged in the sky in this order, almost in a straight line; and, moreover, that an accurate picture of natural phenomena is thus obtained. 'Dost thou keep bound the refreshing influences of Sirius, and dost thou let loose the outpourings of Orion?' The reference would then be to the rise and overflow of the Nile, which was heralded each year by the heliacal rising of Sirius on the day of the summer solstice. But this interpretation depends partly on the conjectural alteration of the word מוֹשְׁכוֹת into מסבות, which we have felt constrained to reject [see art. ORION], and partly on a mistaken derivation and explanation of מַעֲדַנּוֹת (LXX δεσμόν), which does not mean outpourings, but 'bands,' 'links,' 'knots.'

As might have been expected, this conspicuous group of stars arrested the attention and exercised the imagination of many peoples. The Australian saw in them a group of girls playing the corroboree. The North American Indian thought of them as dancers. There is some reason for believing that at one time in Egypt they were connected with Isis. The Greeks represented them as sisters flying before Orion: the maidens prayed for deliverance from the giant hunter, and were heard by the gods, who changed them into doves, and placed them amongst the stars. In this mythology their names are Electra, Maia, Taygete, Alcyone, Celæno, Sterope, and Merope. The Arabs pictured them as a group of riders mounted on camels; and Wetzstein (in App. to Delitzsch's *Book of Job*) points out that they named the star immediately in front of the cluster *ḥadi*, *i.e.* the singer who rides in front of a troop of camels and stimulates them to swift movement by his song. The Persians compare them to a cluster of jewels or a necklace. Their mention in the Bible has no mythological tinge. At Am 5^8, Job 9^9, the constellations are adduced as forming part of that wonderful complex of creation the existence of which bears testimony to the Maker's almightiness. At Job 38^{31} they are signs of the seasons, and the recurrence of these seasons year by year is altogether beyond the control of man. He cannot tie the bands which hold this group together—another proof of that impotence which should lead him willingly to submit to God.

LITERATURE.—Hoffmann's article quoted above; Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, 1887, p. 290; Cox, *Book of Job*, 1885, p. 518; Delitzsch, *Book of Job*, Eng. tr. 1866; Com. on *Job* by A. B. Davidson (1884), or E. C. S. Gibson (1899). Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob*, 1897, follows Gustav Bickell, *Das Buch Job*, 1894, in omitting the verse Job 9^9 from the text.

J. TAYLOR.

THE END OF VOL. III.